

Dynamics of India's Contemporary Domestic Security Challenges

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Abstract

India's immense diversity is unique with its pluralism based on myriad ethnic communities, cultures, religious identities and tribes. Since independence, the country failed to produce one single dominant nation's concept because identities have not yet forged a common national outlook and its ethnic, religious, and cultural identities remains strong and quite distinctive. Moreover, the Indian federal structure seems to be failed to accommodate the expectations of diverse communities and socio-political cultures. Consequently, the federation is asymmetric with the separatist movements in many parts of the country specifically violent movements in Kashmir, Nagaland, Assam, Manipur and Mizoram which have severely challenged the country's sovereignty. Furthermore, the insurgencies in Northeast of India and violent movements of Naxalites and Maoist have also challenged India's territorial integrity. In the same manner the Dalits (Harijan) and minorities (Christians and Muslims), are the victims of superior Hindu caste and Hindu chauvinism. Hence it is perceived that India has lost sight of vital constitutional spirit of secularism and federalism. Further, the worst internal security situation lies on India's unfair, unbalanced and discriminatory policies with the communities and especially with its judicial system. Nonetheless, it has proved that various socio-economic and political imperatives are not fulfilled by the ruling elites or society. Thus, ethno-religious-ideological fault lines, which exist in India, have to be managed with a sense of fairness and transparent federal policies and there is no need to use forces to suppress people. In this context, India requires peaceful and development manual at the national level in order to stabilize all section of society. Without a coordinate approach, the domestic security threats will lead the country to the worst situation.

Keywords: India's separatists movements, Right & Left wing extremism, Northeast of India's violent insurgencies, Federalism and Secularism, Unfair Political and Justice System and Use of force.

India is the world dominant leading multi-cultural society and one of highest growing populated country which is not only socio-culturally heterogeneous and politically eclectic but also amazingly diverse. It is embraced of a colorful mosaic of ethnic communities, cultures, and belief system. All identities have not yet forged a common national outlook because the political fabric of the land is a multi-nation, comprising of many different people. The ethnic, religious, and cultural identities are strong and quite distinctive. The country's guardian normally exploited its skilled professional elites, its urban-based prosperity, fueled cultural influence and declared country the world's third-most powerful nation.¹The diverse narrative, however, given a parallel reality about the country because in many parts of the country bask in the glow of new-found affluence, others still to stay in the basket of miserable poverty. Moreover, domestic security in India is characterized by one of the national subjects that encompasses many complex, across the center, state and local jurisdictions, and is defined by domestic instabilities feed their security relations in which separatist

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activists, whether ethnic communities, religious or linguistic severely pose serious threats to the country.

It is an axiomatic truth that more than half of India's 636 districts agonize from serious domestic insurgencies. According to the US State Department's most recent "Country Reports on Terrorism," India is one of the world's most terrorism-afflicted countries in the world (state, 2013). The present India's structure completely failed to ensure India's solidarity and stability as a polity in the face of continue separatist's movements which is deep-rooted in various complex social and cultural diversity, grave poverty, illiteracy and widespread extreme regional inequality in development. Many scholars like Jyotindra and Kamat argued that the present India's unity is artificial and unnatural which is the cause of serious political breakdown or continued instability which has jeopardized national security scene (Dasgupta, 1998). In the age of what Eric Hobsbawm has called "nation-splitting," India's relative unity, integrity and survival as a state is superficial (Hobsbawm, 1991). In reality, domestic security fabric emanating from caste dissensions, communal tensions and linguistic diversities has damaged the basic national cohesiveness. India's ruling elites failed to protect minorities and to promote their occupational and political interests who are continue to remain potentially divisive force in India's national integration (krishnan, 2005). Therefore, the challenging threats to India's national security are internal not external which are dominant cultural group identities and particularly linguistic separatism crystallizing into political antagonism in the national context, which result in fears of national disintegration (P. Brass, 2004). Since long time, India remained the area of many lands, regions, cultures and traditions. In this context, southern India, which is itself a region of many regions, is obviously different in culture and traditions from the north, the west and the north-east. Moreover, the eastern part of India is entirely diverse from the North-East which is the combination of seven constituent units of Indian federation. Thus, there is a need of the hour to reconcile the diversities with a unified national consciousness and without that the consequences will be messy and miserable. This blithe narrative, though, produced a similar reality about India because the country is under the grip of violence and unrest, which has not only threatened the federal system even created tremendous problems for internal solidarity. Nonetheless, the most severe challenges of India are internal order of the country which may well intensify in the years ahead who are largely violent and less coexists peacefully.

Kashmir Separatist Movement:

The separatist movement in India has proven the most deadly and inflexible, and Kashmir is not new phenomenon and poses the most serious dilemma to India's internal security. Gun battles and bomb blasts in Indian controlled Jammu and Kashmir is a common feature, and reportedly state forces killed an average of five or six people every day over the last two decades (Kerr, September 1, 2011). The dispute

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over Kashmir freedom also has taken international attention to a potential “flashpoint” for interstate war between two regional nuclear-armed powers. New Delhi government is using all possible tactics to prevent uprising against India and resurgence of international attention but failed (Kerr, September 1, 2011). India blamed Pakistan to provide military support to Kashmiri militants and for “cross-border terrorism” and for encouraging an insurgency in the Kashmir region with armaments, training, and militants through a “terrorism infrastructure” on the Pakistani side of the Line of Control (LOC).ⁱⁱPakistan, for its part, claims to provide political, diplomatic and moral support to “freedom fighters” who resist India’s autocratic regime and victim of proven human rights violation in the area.

Historically, the Kashmir issue is imbedded in competing claims to the former princely state, which is the unfinished agenda of partition (1947) and divided between Indian held Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan’s Azad [Free] Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan (Northern Areas). The dispute concerns to the national identities of both countries: India is committed with its secular and multi-religious diversity, in part by effectively incorporating a Muslim-majority region, while Pakistanis in struggle to implement the rights of self-determination for Kashmiri people. Both India and Pakistan have fought five (1947, 1948, 1965, 1971 and 1998) wars including severe skirmishes on Kargil over Kashmir. The situation in Indian held Kashmir become worst when the federal government with the planned conspiracy rigged state elections in 1989, and people started indigenous movement against the New Delhi domination. The majority of Kashmiri youth in the line of Palestinian struggle initiated street battle against the Indian rule and from that day around 700,000 Indian forces entered in the held Kashmir and killed approximately 75,000 thousands innocent and armless people (Siddique, September, 2013). According to *Alan Kronstadt* and *Paul Kerr*, the renowned South Asian experts has reported that India’s military action against the Kashmiris has created panic situation among the local communities, and many Hindu families has migrated to other parts of India (Kerr, September 1, 2011). The media reported that around 18,000 Kashmiris have “disappeared” or killed by the security forces and unmarked graves have discovered in 55 villages over a few years (Rights, August 25, 2011). Some militants’ liberation groups, including the Hizbul Mujahideen (HuM) have close association with Pakistan and fighting for independent or autonomous Kashmir.ⁱⁱⁱAll Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC) was formed in March 9, 1993 and it is an umbrella organization of twenty parties who challenge the legitimacy of Indian rule in Kashmir.^{iv}Hurriyat Conference leaders demanding liberation from India and noted Kashmiri cleric Mirwaiz Umar Farooq claimed that Kashmiri will not accept any political and economic package other than freedom. He also accused New Delhi of lacking the will needed to find a political solution to the problem (Reuters, August 30, 2007).

In the early 1990 the level of violence in Kashmir was in extreme position and given a tough time to New Delhi administration but the situation changed after the incident of

9/11 (2001) when the United States pressurized Islamabad to prevent material support to the Kashmiri freedom fighters. The long continued violence has badly damaged the scenic region's major tourist industry. New Delhi claimed that the support to infiltration in the Kashmir valley has reduced, but the issue is still alive which is disturbing for the New Delhi establishment and progress of political dialogue on Kashmir between India-Pakistan remain vain. In the situation, the normalization of relations is a complicated matter because both parties are not willing to change their traditional stance. On the other hand, freedom fighter's violent activities against the Indian security forces are great setback for New Delhi and they believe that Pakistan's continues diplomatic and material support to Kashmiri is *catastrophic* for India. However, the freedom fighters, seeking opportunity to bleed India and challenging New Delhi's legitimacy by their violent activities and not willing to prevent bloody attacks, likely meant to acknowledge India against their initiatives. However, **the Kashmir situation became more sensitive at the end of 2009 when the chain of protest activated in the valley of Indian controlled Kashmir. These protests have become known as "Intifada" or, as someone recently given name the "Kashmir Spring," with reference to Arab awakening (Arab Spring).**The indigenous Kashmiri youth demonstration taken momentum in the beginning of 2010 in protest of New Delhi domination and deprivation to the Kashmir valley's people; administrative corruption and ill-treatment have exposed Indian brutality across the region. The Kashmiri youth abused New Delhi because of economic backwardness, rising prices, unemployment, and human rights violation, which is the main phenomenon the Kashmiri are facing. In addition, **the fundamental causes of the Kashmiri youth revolt is not only confine to domestic reasons but it also affected by the global changes such as the victory of Afghan freedom fighters against Moscow, success of Solidarity in Poland, collapse of the Soviet Union, triumph of democracy and another possible reason could be the destruction of Berlin Wall and the death of communism.** Thus, the situation becomes worse when New Delhi deployed 300,000 regular army troops to prevent the violent protests in the streets of Kashmir valley to control the violent situation and to sustain law and order. Though, people protest cross the limits and expand to many other areas of Indian Kashmir and the number of troops increased on the request of state government to the 700,000 but freedom struggle is still continue in the area.^v

In this regards, Indian military fully implemented the controversial Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) to control protest in the region which named by human rights institutions as a helper of misuses of rights in Kashmir and other parts of region (Ambreen, July 10, 2015). Indian government economic packages have failed to bring peace including the withdrawn of paramilitary Central Reserve Police Forces from Srinagar and some other parts of region as part of peace initiatives. On the other hand, New Delhi using utmost efforts that Kashmir issue should not be "internationalized" by the third-party participation and normally assumed to maintain territorial status quo.^{vi} However, Islamabad has intention to invite external power to neutralize India's

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position especially through the United States. But the US has adopted strategy that it [US] will facilitate both countries on Kashmir issue; and the dispute must be decided through mutual dialogue between the two countries and no party can ignore the desire of the Kashmiri people.^{vii} The US administration repeatedly showed its inclination to play a role in sinking strains between the two countries provided the concerned parties have consensus (Grenier, July 14, 2010). In the same way, the United Nations have also hesitation to play a role in the Kashmir problem unless both request for the settlement.

Indigenous Violence in India

India is basically a plural and multi-cultural society, but its federalism failed to create sense of solidarity among the diversity. The constitution of India has given equal rights to each and every citizens and government has taken upon itself the responsibility to protect the constitutional rights of people even to protect its own citizens, but all successive governments failed to fulfill the spirit of secularism. The federal structure in India mostly controlled by the majority of Hindus including army, bureaucracy, civilian leaders and law enforcement agencies and all are supporting Hindu extremist actions. Moreover, majority secessionist movements which are operational in the country normally based on sectarian, caste, ethnic, linguistic and regional loyalties and identities. It has been perceived that both parliamentary system and state structures have failed to harmonise people and the country's guardian has become conflicting to consensually reconcile. The policies of the federal government provide more fuel to differences and deprivation of minorities and their reaction become the challenge to stability and security of the country (Komireddi, January 19, 2011). The discrimination with the minorities is shocking and is the real source of internal instability which has grave potential to create discord in society and other enduring conflicts.^{viii} In this context, New Delhi's assessment about the nature of domestic security is wrong and their response is confused, illogical, and showing sickness towards crisis. It has proved that Hindu extremism and fundamentalism has created more complexity and is responsible for destabilization of the country (Siggel, 2010).

Hindu Fundamentalism:

In contemporary time, it is difficult to ignore the role of religion in modern society and most of the violence that has and is occurring seems to have some degree of religious undertone, either implicitly or explicitly (Larsson, 2004). It means that majority of nation-states plagued by religious violence and Indian society is not free from religious prejudices and biases. So, religious fundamentalism or extremism is not a new phenomenon in India and it is very much with political objectives and state is responsible for the division of society on sectarian lines. According to Jakob De Roover, Hinduism has many faces and associated with fundamentalism. The current

situation in India witnessed that Hindus are just as likely to be fundamentalists and develop fundamentalist ideologies (Roover, 2013).

Historically, religious violence in India is not a new occurrence because Hinduism is not an intellectual or philosophical notion rather a rigid set of beliefs. The major Hindu right wing parties normally used religion as an instrument of power against other beliefs including Muslims' or other minorities. From this perspective, it is proven that Hindu fundamentalists have created the seemingly impossible situation where the possibility of a unified principle of meaning appears unachievable. In fact, *Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)*^{ix} has many faces such as Shiv Sena, Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS), and Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) are the part of the SanghParivar or BJP, group of Hindu extremist organizations under the umbrella of RSS which has given identity to common Hindus with the pride of religion. They have desire to promote "Hinduize" at the cost of its peaceful and humble minorities. The RSS claimed that Christians and Muslims have changed their religion and must be rejoin Hinduism. In case they are not willing to integrate then should leave India.^x

In fact, the BJP decided in 1984to destroyed Babri Masjid in Ayodhya on the plea that it was on the ruins of Hindu temple. Although there is no historical or archaeological signs available but the BJP exploited that the mosque had been constructed on the ruins of a Temple which dedicated to the Hindu God Ram. So, it was December 1992 when the approximately 200,000 Hindu extremists backed by BJP crying "Hindustan is for the Hindus" and "Death to the Muslims" captured the Babri mosque and used iron sticks, hammers and other instruments to destroy mosque and it was one of India's worst incident of inter-communal violence.^{xi} It is worth noting that levels of violence in India remained high as indicated by the US Counter Terrorism Center's reports (2012-2014) that the number of brutal events in India increased since the destruction of Babri Mosque and India has the 4th largest number of human losses in 2007-2008 (Department, June, 2015). In the circumstance, Hindu extremism is gradually increasing its influence in the country and especially under the BJP it has firm strength in everywhere of India including bureaucracy, administration, (Police, Para-military forces), media, political parties, educational institutions and so forth. Thus, Hindu chauvinism for the promotion of Hindutvahave taken a dangerous proportion and this barbaric growth has posed a great danger to all the dominant minorities including Muslims.

So, the forces of Hindutva and main stream Hindu parties including Shuseena have been steadily undermining the spirit of secularism in India. In this context, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and specifically Narandra Modi regime proved Hindu fundamentalist openly encouraging Hindu right-wing for violence and declare Hindu dominance. They have given open hand to Hindu right wing extremist parties for "Indianisation" based on anti-Muslims rhetoric. In this way, Christians and other low caste dalits is also victim of caste crimes (Report, 2007). In Kerala and Karnataka, and

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Orissa (Southwestern and Eastern States), Christian and Dalits are under attack of Hindu fundamentalist (Jazeera, October 8, 2015), as mentioned the *New York Times*, a “Hindu mob” Catholic priest and nun kicked out from their home, insulted them, forced to march in the streets and raped the nun (Jazeera, October 8, 2015). So, there is an open assault on India's values of pluralism and secularism as one commentator warned that “unless something is done to quell rising Hindu fundamentalism,” the Bajrang Dal—a hard-liner Hindu nationalist group—could become “India's Taliban (News, October 20, 2015).” Moreover, the communities are in panic position because a Hindu extremist has created a situation where they are feeling strangers in their own native land. They have been sidelined despite of their substantial contribution to enhance Indian values, civilization and culture. If the present situation will continue then it is not difficult to predict that in future Hindu fanaticism will completely dominate in all field of life of the country. It was firmly perceived that in the coming time India will be communal frenzy because this continent has no destiny. All Hindu fundamentalist parties are unchecked and giving warning or threats to Muslim artists, actors, intellectuals, writers, poets, and professionals to delink with the Muslims. As Akshay Bardapurkar, (General Secretary of the Shiv Sena Chitrapat Sena, commander of film wing) declared that no Pakistani actor will allowed in Indian movie and as a cricketer on Maharashtra land. Shiv Sena has also compelled cricket observers such as Wasim Akram and Shoaib Akhtar as well as umpire Aleem Dar to be isolated from the India-South Africa series, and go back to Pakistan (News, October 20, 2015). It is also recorded that Shiv Sena targeted the main office of the Board of Control for Cricket in India (BCCI) and forced Shashank Manohar not to talk with Shaharyar Khan (Chairman Pakistan Cricket Board-PCB) for bilateral series. Moreover, the host of Pakistan's former Foreign Minister Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri's book “*Neither a Hawk nor a Dove: An Insider's Account of Pakistan's Foreign Policy*” launch^{xiii} was also subjected to an ink attack on Observer Research Foundation (ORF) chairman Sudheendra Kulkarni, by a Shiv Sena activists at the Hall of Culture, Nehru Centre, Mumbai.^{xiii}

Naxalbari Leftist Extremist Movement

The peasant revolt of Naxalbari^{xiv} started in 1972 in West Bengal and within a short time spread in populated tribal Darjeeling districts (Oraons, Mundas and Santhals) of the region. It is a peasant movement and become violent due to feudal lords oppressive behavior and unwilling to implement real agenda of Indian Constitution.^{xv} Naxalites have created violence in 180 districts (Ten States) of India.^{xvi} Since long India's civil establishment failed to constitute tribal councils who are living in the forests or scheduled zones in different states. Furthermore, the provincial government has given reserve forests to private companies on lease and expelling the tribals living in forests. Moreover, land revenue is a state subject under the constitution but states illegally legitimizing properties of poor farmers. They are

acquiring more agricultural lands from the landlords and reallocating to the landless peasant; but nothing has done which created frustration among the poor peasants.

The Naxalbaripeasant uprising in West Bengal controlled by the Communist Party of India under the fictions of Marxist-Leninist and Maoist (CPI-ML) is one of the violent movements in India, and Indian successive regimes failed to prevent the movement. In fact, the peasant uprising in West Bengal mobilized to protect the interests of the peasant and the labour classes and covering different ethnic and caste groups. The main purpose of Naxalbari movement is to replace individual ownership of land with communal ownership while the latter aimed at individual ownership. In this situation, militant group based on peasants prepared for an armed struggle against the New Delhi and preached massive participation of peasants for forcible occupation of benami land. In 1980 they emphasised liquidation of class enemies through the use of guerrilla tactics and by guerrilla activities they struck most in West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh and Bihar. They urged to seize the lands of jotedars and of the plantation workers, who forcefully purchased lands from poor peasants, cultivate the seized land and retain all the production from lands. In the situation, New Delhi authorities used force to suppress movement through military action but they failed to control the revolt which is still continuing in the region. Thus, left wing radicalism grew in India because of political deprivation and lack of economic development. The people are also against clogged judicial system because of the feudal arrogances and their behavior which expanded a sense of frustration and anger. So, the new generation doesn't like to deal injustice passively and wants to fight for their due rights. The movement is well organized and determined get their rights not by legitimate means but through armaments. Their actions to achieve objectives are similar with the modern fighters which have aim to overthrow elites classes for the legitimate socio-political order and later to gain separate state-hood.

Telangana Struggle:

Telangana people are involved in separate statehood and are against the local feudal (Jagirdar) and administration. A large numbers of local peasantry (Muslims and non-Muslims) supported by the influential people such as Nizam and the Razakars. The separate statehood campaign became violent, and New Delhi government declared that Telangana will be separate province^{xvii} in 2014, but the leadership of the region is against the sharing of assets and natural resources between the successor states and concerned stakeholders (local peasant, farmers and labourers) created revolt against the ruling feudal and central government for their legitimate demands. The Telangana people are in protest against the local and federal government and continue in protest due to the implementation of Gentlemen's Agreement. In various cases the protesters turned violent with the government forces and many of them were killed by police action. Historically, the Telangana captured around fifty (50) per cent of the area, twenty (28) per cent Marathwada region, and the remaining twenty two (22) per cent

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of the Kannada. No doubt that Telangana people got separate state status, but socio-cultural and administrative structure of the state is remains in the hands of feudal who are the main power to collect land taxes. Nonetheless, Telangana insurrection is a successful peasant resistance movement in India which has emerged as the source of motivation for radical left in the region. Now they are struggling through the arms and demanding redistribution of land to landless people and joining the Naxalbari against the central government.

Atrocity against Dalits:

Hinduism is one of the eldest religions which based on clutches of caste system, and this is the only nation which is shamelessly racial in the world. *Brahmins* mean priests & teachers, *Kshatriyas* mean warriors & rulers, *Vaisyas* mean traders, *Shudras* mean servant, and *Chandalas* which are the lowest of the Shudrasin caste hierarchy. Dalits category of people does not within the caste system called “untouchables” and lives below the four Hindu castes which treated inferior^{xviii} and are unrespectable in society. The upper caste (*Brahmins*)^{xix} is prestigious whether the person belongs and deserves it or not (V, 2015). In the 21st century, the nation's political system is not true democratic but is run through “castocracy” where people elected on caste lines. So, the caste system has become fixed and hereditary in Hinduism and preaches the sanctity and dominance of upper class Brahmins.

Under the 2001 census, the population of Dalits (16.6 per cent) recorded 167 million in the total population of (1.2 billion) India. Dalits can be Christian or Muslim and more than three fourths are still living in rural areas and very little numbers are living in urban areas. The highest numbers (40 Million) of Scheduled Castes living in Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal have approximately 20 million. Regrettably, the federal government is not willing to registered Dalits as ‘Scheduled Castes’ and not allocated seats in education institutions, public sector jobs and even there is no constitutional protection (Naqvi, January 17, 2014). Since long this community is under the victimization of superior classes, and discrimination is still going on in the society. There are unlimited cases of deprivation and suppression of Dalits as their literacy rate is very lowest in the whole country and poverty ratio is also higher as compared to other communities. They are bound to work as bonded farm labourers or working as leather workers, street cleaners, farmers, and manual scavengers. Millions of Dalits are involved in the business such as digging in graveyard, disposing of deceased animals, and cleaning washrooms. Moreover, they cannot enter in Hindu temples, forbidden for drinking water in public places; and forced to eat alone in the educational institutions. In general, federal government as such is biased with Dalits and has not given any opportunity in the government departments, which means society remains severely divided on hierarchical basis and imbalanced.

Nevertheless, the contemporary India's democracy is caste-based and discrimination is common feature in the society. The caste-system also makes the working of democracy difficult and exploitative. Although India has no official religion and under the constitution state is secular and did not proposed any kind of uniform civil code. So, in practice India is different as compare to constitution. There was a total violation of constitution when Dalits was banned from the basic rights and caste system is still alive in the 21st century. Apartheid policy in India is working because major minorities such as Dalits, Muslims and Christians suffering from the majority oppression. In this regard, Bhimrao Ambedkar,^{xx}the founding father of the Indian constitution, blatantly highlights the minorities problems, advocated social reforms and the abolition of the caste system; but his activism proved unsuccessful and ultimately concluded that it was an impossible task (Ambedkar, October 7, 1951). He categorically mentioned that if political equality was to be attained for Dalits, they will never think to disassociate from the Hindu religion. He has given threat to the government that "if there is no equality then I am going to become Muslim." As K. L. Gaba, also argued that "Hindu traditions must reform in the present context and if elites of society will not do then the future of India is bleak (Gaba, 1973)." It is reality because thousands of low-caste Hindus in India have converted to Christianity, Buddhism and Islam in protest against traditional laws that made such conversions difficult (Dalrymple, May 16, 2014). The observers argued that discrimination has become the daily feature of life; and Dalits has become the target of racist crimes and carnages (Nelson, May 20, 2014).

Maoist Struggle:

The Maoists, a bloody insurgency began in the remote jungle area of the West Bengal in the late 1960. Maoists are impressed by the political and militaristic idea of Chinese Communist Party (CCP) leader Mao Zedong and are struggling for the basic rights of deprived peasant and poor working class. The movement is for the liberation of the oppressed people and has set themselves the task of relieving all the troubled communities of India from despotism and struggling against racial discrimination. In fact, Maoists are the most popular vengeful group which is against federal government's apartheid policies and called itself "disempowered community" in India and claimed that New Delhi's domination is a laboratory of neoliberal brutality. There is no doubt that Maoists are the biggest and most violent leftist group in India, as Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has mentioned "Maoists are India's single biggest internal security challenge for both state and central government (Singh, May 24, 2010)."

The Maoists are active in at least twenty (20) states of India and are active in Chhattisgarh, Orissa, Bihar, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, and West Bengal, captured a large area. In the counter violence thousands people have been killed and mainly action have taken by the "Red Corridor" belong to central and eastern India. Majority

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of Maoist groups integrated with the Communist Party^{xxi} of India, which is one of the leading left-wing organizations in the country. They have one point agenda to overthrow the India's ruling establishment through the agrarian armed revolution, capture the political power of New Delhi and usher in a classless society. The CPI established an efficient networking in urban areas through its mass organizations. In addition, they have set up modern intelligence network to disable government and military operational activities. So, they have strategic defensive techniques to conduct counter-offensive attacks on security forces and made the government vulnerable to the internal security of the country. Maoist insurgents ostensibly engaged in violent struggle and the federal government called them terrorists and extortionists, and officials claimed that Maoists uprising is "the single biggest security challenge" to the country ever faced by India, and also mentioned that it threatened India's political system (Reuters, April 13, 2006)."

Presently, approximately 18,000 hardcore Maoists are operating in around twenty states of India which is one-seventh of India's 14,000 police districts (Sahni, February 18, 2011). Their violent struggle comprising with sudden attacks on public places and have effective coordination to impose economic blockades within state and inter-state. They have capacity for offense and easily target police stations and mobile units, frequently using normal weapons and leaving government in helpless position.^{xxii} Federal government has deployed more than 60,000 regular and paramilitary troops in the region to control Maoist rebels (Hindu, December 29, 2010). However, they are continuously targeting both civilian and security personnel's and killed hundreds of Indian paramilitary soldiers (Morris, March 22, 2014). The federal government fully enforces an "Integrated Action Plan" in the sixty affected areas but no effective result has produced (The Times of India, February 1, 2011). Furthermore, it has observed that the growing violence of the Maoists is obvious that both Indian military and federal forces failed to control Maoist rebellion during the last many years. In reality, Maoists have stable long-term strategy to defeat regular forces and their leadership hope that soon they will gain control of the region. Maoists are hopeful that with the help of working-class they will overthrow the New Delhi ruling elites for the largest interest of native people. In this regard, working-class of the region have ideological association with Maoists and are working in the state industries, communication system, oil and natural gas, coal, and transport. Initially, the Maoists were fighting with the federal government by normal weapons but now have modern types of rifles (including self-loading ones), including light machine guns and infantry weapons which they have taken from Indian forces (Morris, March 22, 2014). They also have rocket launchers, mines technology, and other explosive devices, including landmines, claymore mines, and directional mines (Report, 2015). Nonetheless, Maoists have technical wing for training and guidance of comrades who can design rockets and rocket launchers and their project leader, known by the alias Tech Madu, developed "Rocket Launcher-I" and "Rocket Launcher-II" and also have shoulder-fired launchers and rockets.^{xxiii} Nevertheless, Indian government and mainland politicians

claimed that Maoists movement is a dangerous threat as compared to Kashmir not just to India's solidarity but to future of India (Bidyut Chakrabarty, 2010).

Violent Insurgencies in North East of India

North-east of India comprises seven sister states (Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura and plus the Himalayan state of Sikkim), cover an area of 255,511 square kilometers (98,653 sq mi) and have around 45 million populations (3.7% in total population) including 145 tribal groups of which 78 are larger in population.^{xxiv} The area is the home of great ethnic, cultural and religious diversity and even the topography of each is different from the other. The region is generally considered to be a backward enclave and one of the most challenging regions of the country to govern because whole of the region is packed by separatist movements among the tribal peoples.

Strategically, North-eastern states led in the foothills of the Himalayas and has a narrow corridor squeezed between Bhutan, Bangladesh and Myanmar (Burma). The area is physical gateway of mainland of India, China and Southeast Asia. This is a territory of *McMahon Line* and China has claim on the state of Arunachal Pradesh as part of South Tibet. Moreover, the state's share border with five countries (Bangladesh, Bhutan, China, Myanmar, Nepal), and have linked with the countries by a narrow strip of land. New Delhi has been having unfriendly relations with its northeast neighbours and its disturbed relations have had grave impact for India's north-eastern states. All mainstream religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam has existence in the region. In the last two decades, violence and bloodshed have taken a worst position because of New Delhi's discriminatory and unbalanced policies; and people are fighting for their socio-economic, constitutional and political rights and also have conflicting position on tribal ethnic identity, insufficient resources and inaccessibility.

Historically, separatist movements in the region are not new phenomena because they have given threat to the Indian federal system. All ethnic groups are severely feeling that they are the victim of systematic institutional discrimination and New Delhi has failed to share the legitimate benefits of economic growth (Times, December 6, 2014.). The region lacks the basic infrastructure and communication development as compared to rest of India – despite its significant contribution to the natural resources such as oil and gas. Agricultural and dairies products are very costly including rice, grain and milk which are popular products of the region. The federal government have programme to construct a hydro-power “megadams” in different states for electricity which have created a sense of alienation and deprivation in terms of resource allocation and distribution (Times, December 6, 2014.). However, the counter-insurgency actions in the Northeast and Indian army brutal operations have left bitter impression on people of areas (The Time of India, July 9, 2013). Thousands have been

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killed in the military operation and physicians speak of a 'collective post-traumatic stress disorder, passed down through generations', sociologists talk of communities inured to acts of violence after decades of conflict (Watch, 2015b). International human rights watch groups has indicated that India's operations in the Northeast region have left enormous human rights abuses including extra-judicial killing, torture, mass rape, detention and on freedom of expression and movement.^{xxv} According to IISS, the Indian army is the single biggest buyer of land mines in the world and using against the rebels who are involved in insurgencies particularly in the Northeast of India and Kashmir (Report, August 18, 2013). Nonetheless, it is reality that the north-east nations have nothing in common with the other India's communities. They are diversity but have no cultural assimilation with each other and these are negative sentiments for India in term of national solidarity and harmony.

Communal Violence between Hindu and Muslims

India's chronic domestic problems are rooted in the country's diversity and it is inevitable fact that diverse ethnic and regional identities have given serious challenges to India's political integrity. It perceived that the Indian present system has failed to defuse the emerging challenges and futile to create national cohesiveness (Rizvi, 1986). Historically, religious violence in India is not uncommon incident because clashes between Muslims and Hindus appeared when Islam came to this region and changed unfair social practices. In this context, Hindu-Muslim relations seem always uneasy and fraught with many difficulties. The violence between the two communities expanded more after the partition of British India (1947), when thousands of Muslims have lost their lives and asserts from Hindu hooligans. Apart from the tragic past, the killing of Muslims still going on yearly basis does not matter either so-called secular Indian National Congress or right-wing BJP is ruling in New Delhi and both are using Muslim as a trap-card in Indian body politics. According to *Amnesty International* report, Muslims (Males and Females) are being denied jobs and prevented from high caliber requirement in all fields of life. Marco Perolini, mentioned that "prejudices against Muslims are very common and it can be seen including mainstream political parties and public officials whose are often showing their selective approach towards the Muslims (Perolini, 2014)."

In the contemporary India, Muslims have been permitted to discriminate on the grounds of religion and culture and clash exists normally in private or public jobs. Moreover, the socio-economic and political situation of Indian Muslims is bleak because they deprived from federal government jobs in all levels. The Public Service Commission has allocated 200 marks for viva or test and most of the time Muslim suffered badly due to Hindu panel (Billah, 2013). In the same way, minority areas and demands always neglected by New Delhi by lame excuses. The records have proved that the federal government completely failed to apply Dr. B. R. Ambedkar

constitutional provisions^{xxvi} with its letter and spirit and did not honour than the observance. In this regards, it is a well-known fact that the Indian Muslims are gradually ignored and sidelined in the country and various states and territories deliberately adopted the policy of divide and rule in the minority areas and accommodating them in other states to reduce their socio-cultural and political influence (Hassan, October 8, 2015). As a result of this policy, Kashmir has become the victim of New Delhi's segregative policy where Muslims have majority and New Delhi government providing lands to Hindu employees to reduce Muslim population in the area.

Furthermore, the Muslim suffering has gone in the extreme position under the BJP regime and particularly with the success of Narendra Modi who has previously shown poor governance as Chief Minister of Gujarat when he failed to protect Gujarati Muslims during religious riots (2002) on the demolition of 16th century Babari Masjid (Ayodhya) in north Indian state of Uttar Pradesh and promptly prosecute perpetrators continues to cause concern (Katju, February 25, 2013). The crisis has set in deeply because before the destruction of mosque, there was a movement of Hindu religious parties including the BJP, Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and Shiv Sena, had called for building a temple on the site of the mosque for *Hindutva* (Hindu rule) (Mark, October 5, 2010). More than 150,000 supporters of RSS known as *karsevaks* (voluntary workers) gathered at Ayodhya, where they attacked on mosque with hammers and pick-axes and reduced it to rubble (Watch, 1998). It is also fact that the Uttar Pradesh government and the New Delhi had given adequate warning about the intentions of the karsevaks, but the state government in directly encouraged the demonstrator for destruction of mosque (Watch, April, 2006). So, as the mosque was being destroyed in the presence of local police from Ayodhya as well as the Provincial Armed Constabulary (PAC, the Uttar Pradesh state police) by the order of Chief Minister Narendra Modi (Colachal, July 21, 2016). National police forces interfered when the mosque had been destroyed and the local Muslim population had suffered widespread violence.

During the unrests roughly 2,700 people (women, men, and children) were killed, 5,500 wounded and an unknown number of women and girls raped (Muhammad, June 13, 2012). It was reported that the majority who participated in violence were not arrested or impeached by the local police and judicial establishment. It has also recorded by the Independent Commission (2008) that the Gujarat state government headed by Modi and his ministers and officials were involved directly and indirectly in the riots and acted improperly (Katju, February 25, 2013). These types of incidents have shown that the BJP and its organizations are busy to washout Islamic teaching from the body fabric of India as the first move of "Hindu Rajya" or "Ramrajya." So, there are endless incidents in which the Muslim of India have been made subject for all level of discriminations. As Kailash Satyarthi (Nobel Peace Prize Winner 2014) spotlighted the fact that Muslims in India are still victim of worst forms of

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discrimination (Watch, 2015a). The Muslim minority has growing reasons to be highly disillusioned with the Indian secular ideal because the Hindu population tended to subscribe to an ethnicized, Hindu-centric vision of the Indian nation. It is an undeniable reality that India is constitutionally a secular country, but discrimination is prevailing on religious grounds in the arenas of politics in India. Nevertheless, Hindu-Muslim clashes in India has generated a condition in which religious riots is perceived to be normal and so diverse in its exhibitions as Paul R. Brass has mentioned that “communal violence perceived to be inevitable fact of India's majority Hindu political survival (P. R. Brass, 2003).” He mentioned that right-wing parties are using communal violence as an instruments gain sympathies of Hindu voters and many times they intentionally provoked riots for political, and socio-economic dominance of one community over another (P. R. Brass, 2003).

Conclusion

India is a perceived to be plural democracy based on legitimate liberalism which pledges for precise rights to the people but in practice political, socio-economic and cultural plurality is the implicit assumption. Since the partition of British India, country's deficits and vulnerabilities has extraordinary increased and the level of deficiencies have enlarged and the number of counterinsurgency and other threats have been increased and not defeated efficiently. In reality, unbalanced development, deprivation, federal policies, and cultural tyranny are the basic reasons of insurgencies in the country. It is too difficult to unite unmatched people and the country is remains the pocket of poverty and needs long time to achieve the level of progress and development. It is the will of British gifted federal system which united the country despite of much socio-economic vulnerability and as compare to Indian politicians, bureaucracy, civil-society and armed forces which has less contribution in an equitable manner.

India is a unique study of diversity, contradictions and flaws. The country is perceived to be home of ill- tolerated deficiency, poverty, poor economic progress and unfair distribution of wealth, hunger and diseases. The country's institutions failed to address the real problem of society and also unsuccessful to reduce the level of inequalities and human injustice. Many parts of India are under flames, other than Kashmir and particularly Northeast region is a volcano of India. The fruits of democratic culture have not given to native people and it is fact that revolt prolonged rather taken a limited lifespan and not losing its vigor momentum. Nonetheless, the country's responses to emerging challenges have been marked by a high measure of incoherence, structural infirmities, and a growing crisis of capacities. The rapid economic growth is a dream and remains crippled by the lack of a strategic vision and foresight. In many senses, it seems difficult to advise the ruling elites of India who should stay as per the guidance of the founding father of the nation. Nevertheless, Indian elites must meet the needs and aspirations of their people and there is no need

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to use forces to suppress people. In fact, India requires peaceful development program
meat national level in relations to stabilize society vis-à-vis must use coordinate
approach involving civil-society, academia and media to deal with the domestic
security challenges which plaguing the country.

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End Note

- ⁱ The new global power line-up for 2010 also predicted that New Delhi's clout in the world will further rise by 2025," as per 'Global Governance 2025,' jointly issued by the US National Intelligence Council (USNIC) and the European Union's Institute for Security Studies (EUISS) report has listed India as the third most powerful nation in the world after the US and China and the fourth most powerful bloc after the United States. See *The Hindu*, September 22, 2010.
- ⁱⁱ See *Times of India* (July 9, 2014).
- ⁱⁱⁱ See complete survey report on <http://www.indianexpress.com/stroy/210147.html>
- ^{iv} *The Times of India* (October 7, 2013).
- ^v "India's 700,000 Regular Troops in Kashmir," *The Times of India*, March 13, 2013 and see also Tara Dorabji, "Kashmir: The Untold Story of Indian Occupation," [http://projectcensored.org/kashmir-the-untold-story-of-indian-occupation/December 28, 2011](http://projectcensored.org/kashmir-the-untold-story-of-indian-occupation/December-28,-2011).
- ^{vi} See *The Economist* (London Magazine) May 2011, p. 13.
- ^{vii} See *Dawn* (Karachi), November 3, 2008.
- ^{viii} Ved Marwah, "India's Internal Security challenges," *Strategic Analysis*, pp. 3-4.
- ^{ix} The BJP is a Hindu fundamentalist party and second time India's ruling party. It was established in 1951 and until 1980, was known as the Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS). It was set up as a political wing of the RSS.
- ^x See "A primer on some Hindu extremist organizations," *Sound Vision*, http://www.soundvision.com/article/a_primer-on-some-hindu-extremist-organizations, November 9, 2015.
- ^{xi} "Mob rips apart mosque in Ayodhya," *BBC News*, December 6, 1992.
- ^{xii} The launch was followed by a panel discussion in which historian A. G. Noorani, actor Naseeruddin Shah and senior journalist and former Kashmir negotiator Dileep Padgaonkar propose to participate.
- ^{xiii} See *The Patriot*, October 12, 2015.
- ^{xiv} Term "Naxalite" comes from a small village by name Naxalbari in W. Bengal, where a section of CPI (M) led by Kanu Sanyal and Jangal Santhal initiated a violent uprising in 1967.
- ^{xv} The Fifth Schedule states define that all scheduled areas of the country which are forest reserves and inhabited by scheduled tribes are to be administered by the governors of the states by appointing tribal advisory councils from among the tribals of a particular forest reserve or a scheduled area. In the same way, the Ninth Schedule of the Constitution dealt with the fact that cultivable land which over thousands of years had come under the ownership of upper castes should be acquired by the government and redistributed among India's landless peasantry.
- ^{xvi} This includes, Chhattisgarh, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Jharkhand, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal.
- ^{xvii} Telangana became the 29th state of India to be carved out of the state of Andhra Pradesh in June 2014 and under the agreement Hyderabad would serve as the joint capital for

next 10 years. Earlier Telangana was the part of Hyderabad which was merged into the Indian Union on 17 September, 1948.

^{xviii}Literally speaking, the word Dalit translating to “oppressed” or “broken” is generally used to refer to people who are known as “untouchables”, those belonging to castes outside the fourfold Hindu Varna system.

^{xix}The Creator’s mouth became the Brahman priests, his two arms formed the Rajanya warriors and kings, his two thighs formed the Vaishya landowners and merchants, and from his feet were born the Shudra artisans and servants. Later, there developed a so-called “fifth” varna: the Untouchables.

^{xx}Bhimrao Ambedkar’s was a Dalit, or “untouchable.” He proposed major reforms, including the abolition of the caste system; the enactment of property inheritance for women; the legalization of divorce; and the inclusion of Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists under the code’s jurisdiction. His proposals were gutted and the resultant bills were ultimately defeated.

^{xxi}The Maoists are banned in India and the mainstream communist parties in India are active in Indian politics who regularly get elected to legislatures and parliament.

^{xxii} See Daily *Telegraph* (Kolkata), May 4, 2011 and also see Daily *Observers*, April 7, 2015.

^{xxiii} “Maoist Offensive Capability,” *The Times of India*, July 9, 2013.

^{xxiv} See Anthropological Survey of North East India available at: <http://www.ansi.gov.in/>.

^{xxv} Report of UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial Execution to the UN Human Rights Council A/HRC/4/20/Add.1 (para. 18); Asian Centre for Human Rights (2010) India Human Rights Report 2009. AI ref in unruly hills note 48; see also “Violence between security forces, militia and Maoists,” and “Human Right Violation in Northeast of Indian States,” *Amnesty International Report 2013-2014* (London: Amnesty International, 2014), pp. 117-124.

^{xxvi} See draft of Indian Constitution Article 15 (1) “the state shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them.”