CHAPTER-II
PARAMETERS OF NATIONAL SECURITY

It will be next to impossible to propound a universally applicable concept of national security for not only it covers a variety of notions but also from the fact that threat perception varies from nation to nation. Traditional Realist School takes the concept from the angle of power based assessment.

As Hans J. Morgenthau, a contemporary realist, explains that the main signpost that helps political realism to find its way through the landscape of international politics is the concept of interest defined in terms of power.¹ The traditional realists say that issues of national security is the primary national goal of a nation and that international politics and security threats are permanently interrelated.²

The rhetoric of national security justifies strategies evolved at considerable cost to bolster
industrial, military, and political structures of the free world. It is also a rationale for international co-operation for the United Nations, as well as justification for alliances, foreign aid, and extensive military involvements. 3 With the emergence of Cold War in the international political game, the strong nations, particularly the super powers have got an easy hand for justification and broadening of the concept for national security on their own right. And the concretization of deterrence to security threats has been projected in a variety of ways—more legitimately in the following manner:

1. Regional Military Alliances;
2. Bilateral Pacts or Treaties;
3. Bilateral Defence Agreements;
4. Foreign Sponsored Military Alliances;

For Regional Military Alliances, NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) and WPTO (Warsaw Pact Treaty Organization) are good examples. Regarding Bilateral Pacts or Treaties, the Soviet-Afghan Treaty of Friendship and co-operation could be cited. As for
Bilateral Defence Agreements, the US-Pakistan Mutual Defence Agreement is an unique-example. As regards to Foreign Sponsored Military Alliances, CENTO (Central Treaty Organization) and SEATO (South-East-Asian Treaty Organization) are more than enough to demonstrate.

Leaving aside the Realist School which has been noted above, there is another kind of an approach based on peace. The thinkers on this line are rather identical to the idealist school of thought. This school has been confronted with two main weakness. They are:

1. To chalk out a clear-cut definition of the word "peace" which they find to be a difficult task.

2. Even though the approach concerns directly to the essential nature of war, it can be effective not more than to find out some head-ways to the problem as it goes more towards moral and intellectual terms.

Thus the above two approaches, (one based on power
and the other on peace) have often been used to analyse national security as well as International relations of nations and between nations. If we have to pick-up more, we can find another school of thought known as Behavioral School. This particular school gained its popularity after 1945. This school of thought does not differ much from Traditional Realist school as it also believes in power model. The appreciable quality of this school is its concern for scientific, value-free, and quantitative aspects.

These are hence the inadequacies in putting forward a satisfactory concept of national security. Not surprisingly, the problem is more complex in case of the newly emerged nations of the post 1945 period. It is true that most of the new nations have got multiple problems such as ethnic, cultural, linguistic, racial etc., backgrounds of which reflect in various forms inside the country itself. As for the strong nations, realist school of analysis has been found to be of functional value. These nations view national security primarily in terms of protecting the state from
external threats and interference.

In recent years, the concept of national security policy has been a subject to new interpretations in India. The traditional Indian view—one that is also familiar elsewhere in the world—held that the objective of national security was to protect the state's domestic physical assets, social and cultural values, and life styles from outside aggression, and that security was achieved when the nation possessed sufficient power to deter external threats or withstand external aggression. These issues emanate from international politics at both regional and the global levels. Since achieving independence in 1947, the government of India has sought in varying degrees to build up its armed forces and weapon systems to meet perceived external threats. These efforts have led to the creation of elaborate decision-making systems at home and the promotion of various policies to procure the weapons needed from domestic and external sources.⁴
Since the mid-1970s, however, a second, equally important concept of national security has received greater attention in India. From the standpoint of the newer states in Africa and Asia, security is also perceived to be the ability of a state to avoid, resolve, or ward of internal disorder and violence, secessionist movements and perhaps even the fragmentation and collapse of the state itself. Problems here usually arise from domestic political, economic, ethnic, or social issues. It is true that in case of the new states, the inter-relationship between internal and external security is a distinctive feature. This inter-relationship is often lost sight of because problems involving internal and external security are not considered in the context of total national security but as separate entities whereas actually they are part of the same problem. It will not be wrong to say that for most of the third-world nations, a reliable yard-stick to calculate the capacity to react against external threats can be taken from the level of intensity of internal conflicts.
The Iraqi attack against Iran just after the fall of Shah might have been calculated from such an angle (even though Iraq could not do much in the later period of the war).

It will be interesting to note that Recrane, Haas, Whitings, and Quincy wright suggest that there is a general relationship between internal and external conflict behaviour. However it can be confidently claimed that the relationship is "not just general" in case of the third-world nations because many a times, it determines even the survival of the regimes, or the political system. This can be exemplified from the political trends in many of the third-world nations. From another angle, it can be assessed that internal security problems in a country may provide a vital ground for the other external powers to take advantage or even to intervention in the domestic affairs indirectly and in many cases, directly. The intervention by the USSR in the affairs of Afganistan and the US intervention in Nicaragua will be unique examples of such phenomenon.

And again, on the other hand, when an internal
problem has gone up to an insurgency situation, the linkages between internal and external conflicts often come out more clearly showing an external dimension of the problem. Such a picture can be seen in the insurgency problem in the North-Eastern Region in India.

Insurgency in North-East India has an external dimension due to the linkages established between Indian Naga and Mizo hostiles, and the insurgent groups like Kachin Independent Army in North Burma. Fraternal ties between these insurgent groups is well-known as the tenous hold of the Burmese Central Government over these areas. China is assisting the Burmese insurgent groups as a part of her total policy towards Burma. Conditions of marked instability in North Burma might spill over the border, and exacerbate the situation in North-East India. Here, it reflects the importance of geographical factors with a flavour of national, regional, international political tension.7

"It is noteworthy that tribal insurgencies in the
North-Eastern Region have and could have occurred only in territories with international borders, and no system of government could have altered the facts of geography. The notion of Security has a vast parameter and it should not be confused with the narrower concept of defence. It is a way of estimating a state's own calculation of resources and predecaments, and refers as much to social, economic and geographic factors as to any specific assessments of weakness or strength. It is significantly dependent upon self-evaluation rather than objective analysis, although it may play some parts, for states that have sophisticated governmental structures, and it often owes as much to cultural and elemental perspectives as it does to deduction.

The roles of many elements which are the part of internal security problem have to be paid important priority within the perview of the wider sense of national security. Internal threats, particularly in the third-world nations, quite often, play a more vital
role to disintegrate a nation than the role played by external threats. Internal threats may come in the form of direct or indirect way or in combination with both. Some times, it came in an abstract form related to the abstract problems of society and may convert into a violent manner within a short period. Such a problem would naturally be prevalent in a pluralistic country like India.

The Indian civilization is composed of three main religions apart from other religions which are also present. They are Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. Not only such a feature produced cross-interaction, but also on the other hand, provides a medium for conflict. In case of Middle East, as it is the "tri-junction" of three religions like Islam, Judaism and Christianity, conflicts to a larger intensity has been witnessed in conjunction with other factors of international politics.

The concept of internal security traditionally includes concern over the aspects of stability and continuity of the regime. It may also include the
non-military threats to social, economic, and cultural system along with distrust and even hostility towards the states which are the source of the threat. Domestic political factors, traditions, ideologies, and the event of share concensus of national goals within the society all help to determine the range and priority that include security.\textsuperscript{10}

Nevertheless, it has been projected that the aspects of internal threats cannot be isolated or ignored while dealing in the broad sense of national security particularly in the context of the third-world nations. However, it does not imply that we should put more priority to internal security or we have to let the priority of internal security excessively over ride the concerns of external security issues. The main logic in essence is of paying priority to both internal and external threats for bringing out an adequate concept of national security to match up with the third-world nations in view of their typical social, political, economic and historical realities.
It is unfortunate that in the contemporary world, a majority of states spend so much of their national resources to armaments and that they clearly put a very high priority on military preparedness and expenditure than on domestic attributes of society for developmental purposes. They accept this because of their inherent state of insecurity, which virtually amounts to laying a siege on their economy, with an increase risk of eventually precipitating domestic imbalance and instability. This problem is particularly evident in the geographical area called West-Asia.\footnote{\textsuperscript{11}}

National Security is a term which has a fluid meanings. It has moral, ideological, psychological, financial, and even cosmetic in-puts. In limited sense, national security means security of territorial integrity, political independence, and sovereignty of nations.\footnote{\textsuperscript{12}} And the question of political independence and sovereignty of nation cannot be meaningfully spelt out if there is no economic independence. Most
of the one-time colonies are free today but many of these are still not free in true sense. It can be said that with the emergence of one-time colonies as independent nations, a number of settelite nations have also emerged and comparatively new term called 'neo-colonialism' has been functional.

The newly independent countries have now come to a painful realization that political independence and their dream of securing a decent living of standards for their people remains far from realizations. The people inside the country, many a times, come out against their own ruling elites. Interestingly they were once, against the foreign colonial masters who ruled their country. Thus, the phrase national security has come out to be not a simple phrase even though very commonly used these days by various sections of people.

Truely speaking, the formulation and projection of the concept of national security depend upon the elements like in-depth vision, range and quality of
perception, and also intellectual capacity of the policy-makers with reference to "inside and outside" security parameters of the nation concerned. An adequate concept of national security will come up only when we do not ignore the various notions and aspects related to internal security. This is the ambiguity which is faced today in India and most of the Third-World nations.

Internal threats play a vital role in the national security of the Third-World Nations. Internal threats to the security have almost become a chronic problem of the newly independent nations. The problem has been further accentuated because of the inherent political instability that was present in these new nations. After the independence, the new government of India was also soon faced with a tremendous problem of a variety of groups living in the different areas of the country. The government, in its infancy, could neither appreciate nor assess the problem in its larger perspectives to maintain cohesiveness and
infuse the sense of national integrity within the local population.

A cursory survey of the Third-World nations is enough to convince the observer of the endemic problem of political instability of these nations. Students and mass demonstrations have frequently been waged. Destructive terrorism have often been occurring and insurgents have actively undermining the existing governments. What has been emerging in the Third-World is a new political modality that has been able to endure in the face of many developmental crises and carry out planned socio-economic changes. Such a political modality, according to Janowitz, is characterised by an increasing reliance on para-military institutions. Such an arrangement is marked by a short termed policy, and it does not ensure that the problem will not re-occur in the near future.

In India, the locations in which the British choose to establish their administrative centres had a major impact on the peoples of the regions involved.
The British in Bengal made Calcutta the capital of British India. Although traditionally Bengal had been on the periphery of Hindu culture and politics, under British rule, its status rose and it became a literary and intellectual centre. Its closeness to British rule made Bengal one of the major nationalist centres. Also in British India, through the process of census-taking, the colonial government ratified and institutionalized distinction between ethnic groups by clearly identifying and classifying them.16

The major source of internal conflict (in India) is the difficulty in integrating the ethnically diversified population into a single polity. Before independence, the Congress Party adopted a secular and loosely defined nationalism to accommodate the various ethnic and religious groupings in the country. Since the Congress aspired for taking political control of British India and form a single political unit, it believed that this political formula was most likely to avoid division and strife. Others argued that
Congress Party's view was inconsistent with the country's reality. Some, specially Muslim and British analysts argued that 'there is not and never was, an India, or even any country of India, possessing - according to European ideas - any sort of unity, physical, political, social or religious: no "Indian nation", "no people of India". 17

Recalling the political scene in India in the early 1950s, Mr. Frank Moraes says the followings:

Plainly the monolithic foundations on which the Congress Party reared its government over the entire country are being badly shaken. The basic mistake of the Congress was to identify the party with the country in national process of reconstruction, for once the cracks showed in its own facade and foundation, they were bound to be reflected in the country. 18

The Indian sub-continent was more densely populated with more interconnections, competitions between peoples and their religions than what occurred in much of South-East Asia. The consequence is that the
ethnic picture in South-Asia is far more complex, with more than one type of ethnic group present. The types include tribal peoples, such as Nagas and Garos. In contrast with the situation in South-East Asia, the traditional states in the Indian subcontinent did not exert major control over them. More significant have been the ethnic-linguistic-regional identities which have developed over the centuries. 19

In the present day world, the dynamics of the assertion of dominance by a major ethnic group has been found changing. Sri Lanka has started facing a serious problem of ethnic crisis aiming at more autonomy to separatism. Pakistan has also started getting her share of the ethnic problem to the extent of casualties and death. Thus, ethnic problem may enlarge with harder and harder demands any where else in the newly developed nations of the third world.

Mr. Philip Mason, Director, Institute of Race Relations (London) has given five main areas of
Of the five main areas of diversity which may be dangerous for the Indian Union, the easiest to disentangle is religion. It has also played the most important part in the past, so that it may well spring to mind as the most threatening. Even after the split from Pakistan, there were still 50 million Muslims in India. It is with this, therefore, we begin.

The second diversity, and the most immediately threatening, lies in language and religion. Language constitutes a problem which in scale and intensity is unique to India; there are more than fifteen hundred language spoken within the Union, of which fourteen may be called major language, and there is no one language spoken by a majority of citizens; further, the main linguistic group in the North belongs to the Indo-European family, but the main southern group to a quite different family, so that the whole constitution of the forms in which thought is expressed is
different in the South with language go diversities in food, in custom in dress – all that we usually mean by culture.

Qualitatively, the emotional intensity of identification of the individual with his nation stands in inverse proportion to the stability of the particular society as reflected in the sense of security of its members. The greater the stability of society and the sense of security of its members, the smaller the chances of collective emotions to seek an outlet in aggressive nationalism and vice versa.21

India, being a leading nation among the developing countries, would naturally have the responsibility and idea for being a major actor in international relations. The awareness among the elite, educated and responsible citizens of India would have the enthusiasm to project India as an influential nation in the global arena. On the other hand, inside the country it is seen that the inter-group relationship based on regional and religious feelings, caste and creed feelings etc.
are being demonstrated from time to time in various forms.

Conflict behaviour within a nation may take a number of forms. There may be riots, demonstrations, coups, social revolutions, guerrilla warfare, assassinations, general strikes and so on. Any of these forms may occur by itself or in conjunction with others. When a number of conflict acts take place together within a nation, such as riots, demonstrations, general strikes etc., we can then speak of a cluster of conflict behaviour.\(^{22}\)

The separation of uneducated "masses" immersed in their traditional culture and the "intellectuals" who have modern education is representative of some disjunctions observable in the social structure of all the new states. Almost everywhere, the societies consist of relatively discrete collectives - ethnic, communal, religious or linguistic - that have little sense of identity with one another or with nation as a whole.\(^{23}\) In case of India, the socio-political
diversity has come out to be on a tremendous scale. India is the second most highly populated country in the world. She is also probably the most heterogeneous country in the world. The Hindus, with many sects inside the society, comprise the majority of the Indian population while other religious groups like Muslims, Sikhs and Christians form a good percentage of the population. There are sixteen major languages recognized by the constitution but the number of languages and dialects spoken in the country exceeds sixteen hundred.

The diversity of languages made India, what Michael Brecher called "babel", (a confused sound of voices) and for centuries the country could not emerge as a unified whole. According to 1961 census, there were 1652 languages in India, besides the 16 languages listed in the constitution. It seems that the Indian society is marked by a sense of regionalism or sectional interests. This can be exemplified from the level of influence that the regional parties do have in many regions of India
these days.

Ethnic tension or internal social divisiveness, as a form of social strain is highly correlated with public unrest while public unrest is the response of the population against the government and the population, ethnic tensions represent conflict of the population among themselves. The decisive nature of these factors is highly accentuated by the grim economic difficulties faced by the people. Manifestations of ethnic tension in Indian Society have taken the form of caste conflicts involving higher and lower castes, communal tensions and disturbances, "sons of the soil" movements, violent agitations against outsiders in various states, parochial and sectarian tendencies, movements of linguistic states, anti-Hindi and anti-Brahmin agitations in South India, and secessionists and rebellions in the North-East.26

Not only these, but also there are some more new problems cropping up these days. They are: religion-based violent uprisings like Khalistan movement in Punjab, terrorist activities in Tripura, renewed
border disputes between Karnataka and Maharashtra; Nagaland and Assam (which had gone to the extent of exchange of fire between Nagaland Police and Assam police), reservation and anti-reservation stir in Gujarat, language problem in Goa, Gorakhaland issue in West Bengal and demand for statehood with more autonomy in Auranachal Pradesh (now a full fledged state) etc. A very recently renewed phenomenon is that of the re-emergence of Naxalite activities in Andhra Pradesh. Even though the symptoms of all these problems are different, there is a common similarity among them, that is the association of violence in the initial phase or later period of the problem in an organized manner turning into terrorist acts.

First there has been, the problem of forming the present states themselves out of separate administrative unit (India). Between 1942 and 1950, the smaller princely states were merged with one another to form larger units or were merged with the states of British India. In 1956, the states were again redrawn to coincide, more or less, with linguistic
regions, and units were carved out of some states and added to others. Each of these re-organisations was accompanied by adjustment problems as the new units had to establish new relationship with one another. Bureaucrats had to be shifted from one state to another, and there was considerable tension as men found themselves in new administrative posts and the internal bureaucratic rules of one state were imposed upon another. Since the laws of the states often differed (on land revenue matters, for example), there was some strain as uniformity was imposed. Both within the structures of authority (the administration) and within the structure of consent and participation (the political parties) there had to be some adjustments. Political leaders in different regions of the newly established states quickly fought over where the capital should be located and even over the name of the new states. The group of each region fought for control over the Congress Party and ultimately for the government itself. Within the state governments, disputes arose over the share of each region
to the states economic development programmes.27

As one observer wrote:

"The independent Republic of India is now four decades old. We have made considerable progress, but our problems are many and serious, and on balance, appear to outweigh the progress. There is growing conflict across the nation. There is virtually no law and order. The processes of justice are not credible; and are increasingly becoming influenced by political fluctuations. The bureaucracy and police are losing respect. The politicians are losing credibility".28

On the other hand, all the internal problems noted above do not take much time to explode if timely and cautious actions are not taken. However, unfortunately in India's case, actions continue to be taken up only when the conflicts have been intensified with a higher intensity. And an interesting phenomenon is also seen in this juncture in the form of the proliferation of so many ordinances and Acts from time to time for dealing with the internal
security problems in the absence of a long-term policy.

The clearest examples of domestic conflicts are revolutions and guerilla warfare, as much as such behaviour by definition is at odds with the normal government operations. Assassinations, purges, riots, and the death rate due to domestic violence are some other domestic conflict behaviour indicators.

According to Gotteschalk, the first cause of revolution may be called "provocation" if it results in dissatisfaction sufficiently general to create not merely a certain slough of provocation as it occurred in the American revolution, French revolution, Russian revolution from such things as land, hunger, exclusion from certain kinds of office, mismanagement in government, bad roads, commercial restrictions, corruption, military and diplomatic defeat, famine, low wages and unemployment. But Gotteschalk further says that only frustration cannot be the cause of a
revolution in the absence of a solidified public opinion and leadership.  

On the otherhand, it can be mentioned that in most of the societies with which we are familiar, the states has right on the use of organised physical force within its governmental machineries for implementation of its programmes. But, when organised force or forces are employed by any subgroup (non governmental) we have a society in rebellion. 

As long as the regime operates within democratic constitution and not dominated by one major party which may have fought for independence, the government formed tends to be an uneasy coalition of sectional interests. Even the Congress like party of national independence struggle stature has shown signs of parocheal interests once the goal of gaining independence had been attained and particularly when nationalistic enthusiasm began to fade. 

The integration of ethnic minorities into Indian society must be viewed in the context of this recent
period with its incessant change. It is an era of transition with the terminus ad quem obscure, although official adoption of five year plans ostensibly furnishes unidirectional goals of "development". But when attention shifts from a narrow economic focus to a broader perspective, where cross currents are simultaneously visible, their immediate and delayed effects on minorities are clearly exposed.³³

There can be no truly modern society until there is a greater measure of active unity between the mass of the society and its leaders that exist today in any of the new states. At present, the new states are extremely heterogeneous ethnically and culturally. Particularistic religious traditions are powerful among them, and kinship and stratification make a narrow loyalty. Spirit of nationalism, on the other hand, tends to be enthusiastic and dynamic rather than civil, leading politicians into demology and away from the people. Nearly all the new states confront a vastly preponderant peasant majority which, if it is not apathetic and withdrawn into its own parochial life, is qualitatively indifferent or actively resistant
to efforts to make it concerned to the model the politicians hold before it. The closure of this gap between modernising elite and the mass of the population is the pre-requisite of the creation of a political society which is modern not only in its economy and administration but in its moral orders as well. Here, the question of the need of a long-termed multi-faceted programme would naturally arise.

When a government is considered to represent a particular kinship, caste or local interests, each section of the society is fearful of being exploited and suppressed by others. The effectiveness of the government is thereby weakened. Yet, to accredit themselves, government of the new states are effective and strong enough to satisfy some of the demands made by them. If they resemble to show favour to their own caste and community, they alienate the politically sensitive section of the society and thus accentuate the gap between the government and the governed.
Bureaucracy in India offers a most stable structural foundation for modernization of the society and growth of a consensual normative order. It, no doubt, suffers from internal cultural tensions, there tensions arise from role conflict in inter-structural participation of the bureaucrats, his familistic, caste and kin-oriented particularism might come into clash with the ideology of universalism in his bureaucratic roles; his personal loyalties might be cutting across the legal anonymity and abstractness of his "office". But these dangers have been overrated and over-emphasized, on the false belief that these exclusively arise out of the less "developed" and traditional nature of the Indian society; when we look deeper into it, many dysfunctions seem to be related with the phenomena of power and the relative deprivations of groups and classes.

The commitment of the bureaucratic elite to the national growth-ideology is still, however, secondary to their function in maintaining a stable and constitutional macro-structure of Indian society. This
elite social structure, though desperate, provides a principle of functional unity. If offers a social base for national consensus. Potter writes: "The I.A.S. officer, all India in his functional orientation, carries national ideology with him into every district, where he articulates it constantly in his exposed position before the district population. His behaviour reinforces the national consensus spreading through India's developing political system. Through its successive stages of change this elite structure also tends to conform to the same process of democratization and non-exclusiveness of its social base to which the political elite structure is exposed."

There is a general feeling of dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in the country as a whole, engineered greatly due to the incapacity of those in authority to ensure minimal standard of orderliness as also by enforcements. The basic requirements of an orderly system are the preservation of general law and order on the basis of accepted norms and its follow-up by a system of justice which should inspire
confidence not only in the public but also others
who are affected by the process of legal action.
The aftermath that is the system of reformation
or punishment of the culprits is also an essential
ingredient of this picture.39

There is a general feeling amongst the people
that nothing short of a revolution could perhaps
ratify the ills which have crept into the system.
Yet on all the three aforesaid basic features of
administration symbolizing a wish to get on. Nume-
rous commissions, committees of enquiry in all these
fields in the state and at the centre have come and
submitted the reports. Yet, there is hardly any
studying and complying with the recommendations. The
reasons are obvious. First, there is an absence of
political will. The recommendations can be enforced
in its basic features by the establishment alone.
But another (and to our mind more important) aspects,
of this failure is the absence of adequate public
opinion on the various aspects of governance. It is
necessary that the recommendations made by the various
commissions etc. should pass through the mill of public debate comprehensively planned before the points of action are isolated. At the same time their considerable amount of imagination, planning and determination and certain amount of risk-taking are a must to bring in changes which are likely to be of sweeping nature. There are not much which are ammendable to a mere tempering with fences. 40

Social conflict is revealed as both natural and functional in human society. Conflict is called "realistic" when relatively determined means are used to achieve culturally approved ends. When one contemplates the contemporary American sense, he may be appealed by the picture of internal conflict portrayed in the daily news. The nation is pictured as torn by dissention over Vietnam policy. The people are reportedly being split by racial strife that periodically erupts into open violence. Organized labour and management are looked in a perennial struggles that occasionally threaten the well-being of the
society. The repportionment issue has laced the ancient rural-urban conflict into public view. Religious demonstrations and faiths, strive against ancient conflicts of theology and doctrine towards unification and economism. Big government is joined in a continuing struggle against big industry, big business, big finance and big labour on behalf of the "public interest". The image created by such reports is that of a society "rocked", "split" or "torn" by its internal conflicts. The repetition of such phrases and the spotlighting of conflict suggest that the integration, if not the very existence of the society is threatened. It is thus implied, and indeed often stated that the elimination of internal conflict is the central problem for policy and action in society.

It is now clear that the strong nations also have huge internal conflicts. But they do not permit the conflict to get enlarged to an uncontrollable scale by means of timely detection, and also because
of the effectiveness of the concerned state machineries. Unfortunately for the third-world nations, internal conflicts often go up to the limit of challenging the authority with violence within a due course of time, implying a meaning that "internal security problems often converted into chronic law and order problem".

Western national societies show a much greater degree of social cohesion within themselves than among themselves. Cultural uniformity, technological unification, external pressure, and above all, a hierarchic political organisation combine to make national society an integrated whole set apart from other national societies. In consequence, the domestic political order is, for instance, more stable and less subject to violent change than in international order. 42

From the above assessments, it is found that there is a possibility of any internal conflict in the society (with reference to third world nations) to become an odd internal security problem giving
threat to national security particularly when it comes from the sub-group or group level. If there is a habit of ignoring such a problem on the pretext of a problem of mere day-to-day life, the problem may come out of hand in the form of insurgency activity which has got a typical characteristic of spreading from one area to another. Therefore, any abnormal system in the society should be analysed properly by the authorities before it has come up to a complicated phase.

A brief definition of domestic or internal conflict act or occurrence is as follows: 

1. Number of assassinations: any politically motivated murder or attempted murder of a high government official or politician.

2. Number of general strikes: any strike of 1000 or more industrial or service workers involved, more than one employee and that is aimed at national governmental policies or authority.

3. Presence or absence of guerrilla warfare:
any arms activity, sabotage or bombings carried on by independent bands of citizens or irregular forces aimed at the overthrow of the present regime.

4. Number of major government crises: any rapidly developing situation that threatens to bring down fall of the present regime - excluding situations of revolt aimed at such an overthrow.

5. Number of purges: any systematic elimination by killing or execution of political opposition within the ranks of the regime or opposition.

6. Number of riots: any violent demonstration or clash of more than 100 citizens involving the use of physical force.

7. Number of revolutions: any illegal or forced change in the top government elite, any attempt at such a change, or successful or unsuccessful armed rebellion whose aim is independence from central government.
8. Number of anti-government demonstrations: any peaceful public gathering of at least 100 people for the primary purpose of displaying or voicing their opposition to government policies or authority excluding these demonstrations of distinctly anti-foreign nature.

9. Number of people killed in all forms of violence: any death resulting directly from violence of an inter-group nature, thus excluding deaths by murder and execution.

In case of India, almost all the points of conflict act or occurrence given above are found to be very common. These conflict acts are often involved with terrorist acts or they themselves can be taken as terrorist acts and they may lead to insurgency activities (or a part in the process of insurgency activities). It can be noted that:

"The first task of every insurrection is to
bring the troops to its side. The means of accomplish­ing these are: mass processions, street encounters, battle of barricades. 

The following two tables in page numbers 58-60 show the number of "riots in India from 1953 to 1977" and "number of communal violence in India from 1976 to 1980", along with the number of persons killed respectively.

Table No. 1

RIOTS IN INDIA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Actual Number</th>
<th>Per 1,00,00 population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>20,529</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>22,777</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>23,609</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>24,700</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>23,750</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>24,742</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>26,987</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>26,890</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contd...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Actual Number</th>
<th>Per 1,00,000 Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>27,119</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>29,096</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>28,114</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>32,693</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>32,940</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>34,696</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>42,447</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>45,801</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>55,796</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>69,331</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>64,114</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>65,781</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>73,388</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>80,547</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>67,241</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>80,081</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table No. 2

COMMUNAL VIOLENCE IN INDIA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of incidents of communal violence</th>
<th>Number of persons killed</th>
<th>Number of persons injured</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1,122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>1,853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>2,379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>2,691</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table No.1 (Riots in India) shows that riots rate in India keeps on increasing gradually in the span of thirteen years, i.e. between 1958 and 1966, stepping up from 5.5 to 7.1 per one lakh population. The rate jumped up to 8.5 in 1967 and then to 10.7 in 1969. In between 1970 and 1977, the riot rate fluctuated between 11.5 and 13.7 per lakh.
Table No.2 (Communal Violence in India) shows the increase of confrontation and casualties from the incidents of communal violence in India between 1976 and 1980. Communal violence increased from 169 in 1976 to 421 in 1980. The number of people killed in such incidents rose from 39 to 372 during this period. The overall trend demonstrates that there has been a gradual increase of communal violence and casualties in India.

The publication of Indian crime statistics lags at least four years behind the time of occurrence. "Crime In India, 1977" was not published by the government of India until 1981.  

As it has been demonstrated above that group or sub-group violence has become a common practice in the Indian society. And within a period of time, group or sub-group violence may become a chronic national problem in the form of internal threats to the national security. Pluralistic society, of course is, prone to many group actions. When a
number of internal conflicts are occurring in a society day by day, it not only signifies a confusing picture of the society but also implies the ineffectiveness of the administration. Hence, any conflict or violence in the form of group or sub-group level has to be paid important priority before it proliferates into a higher intensity. It is not surprising that such problems are often associated with terrorist acts. Thus in the absence of a long term strategy, it will be meaningless to depend upon time to time actions.

In the next Chapter, it will draw the linkages between terrorism and insurgency in the modern time as a part of group or sub-group violence.


5. Ibid pp. 3-4.


9. Peter Nailor, Sawarkar Centenary Lecture on
"Stability and Security in South and West Asia".
10. P.J. Norman, and L.A. George, "The Dynamics of
International Politics", (MacMillan and Co.,
12. Yogesh K. Tyagi, "International Law and National
Security : Some Reflections" in Gautam Sen Ed.
India's Security Considerations in Nuclear Age
(Atlantic Publishers and Distributions, New
13. Colonel D. Banerjee and Major A.A. Athale, "World
Today" (Published by Mrs. S.Banerjee and Mrs. O.
Systems and Styles" in Morris Janowitz Ed. Civil-
Military Relations : Regional Perspectives (Saga
15. Ibid., p. 27.


24. According to R.A. Schermerhorn, Director of the Institute of Race Relations, London, in *Ethnic Plurality in India*, (University of Arizona Press, Arizona, 1978), p. 323, the following percentage (in terms of the total population) is given:
- Muslim - 11.21
- Schedule Tribes - 6.94
- Christians - 2.6
- Sikhs - 1.89
- Jains - 0.48
- Anglo-Indians - 0.05
- Parsis - 0.0167
- Chinese - 0.0097
- Jews - 0.0029


36. India has a large, relatively well-educated middle class and very competent civil service. The civil armed of its Government has established unquestioned ascendancy over the military arm. Refer to Edward Shills, op.cit., p. 64.
37. Yogendra Singh, "Modernisation of Indian Tradition: A systematic Study of Social Change".
38. Ibid., p. 150.
40. Ibid., p. 54.
43. Raymond Tanter, "Dimensions of Conflict behaviour within and between Nations, 1958-60",
    Calgett and G. Smith, op.cit., p. 251.
44. Marxism, Communism and Western Society: A Comparative Encyclopaedia, (Harder and Harder,
45. George J. Bryjak, "Collective Violence in India in Asian Affairs: An American Review, Vol. 23,

***