

Contemporary Threats to India's Internal Security

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Security has three dimensions, viz, individual, social and state. These layers interpolate each other. In India the three are closely related and do not have wide differences between the social and the state. In 2001, the Indian province of Gujarat witnessed a massive earthquake exposing the faultlines of economic greed, shortsighted governance, and communalised rehabilitation and siphoning off of foreign monetary aid. In 2002 the communal rioting in Gujarat preceded by burning of a railway carriage of Sabarmati Express at Signal Falia in Godhra. It took its toll in a genocide, which unearthed the fragility of a liberal-democratic polity. The subsequent 2003 Gujarat elections, where the forces supporting the pogrom won a landslide, brought to the fore the vulnerability of a democratic polity.

The September 11, 2001 attack on the symbols of US power and December 13, 2001 attack on the Indian Parliament made Indian Prime Minister say that there was a danger of terrorism wherever there were Muslims. He also said that BJP was not in need of the Muslim vote. The attack on the Parliament has been recognised as the war on the State by the High Court as well. The spat between Vajpayee and Musharraf at the UN General Assembly in August 2003 was followed by increased terrorist attack on the paramilitary forces in J&K in September 2003. In October 2003, there was a Naxal attack on Chandra Babu Naidu of Andhra Pradesh. In the month of November there were fatal attacks on Biharis in Assam and on the Assamese population in Bihar. This raised the issue of “sons of the soil” with regard to recruitment in the Indian Railways. This issue has raised its ugly head in Maharashtra, Bihar and the Northeast. In the Northeast, it relates to border management. The elections to the four North Indian States of Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Chattisgarh and Delhi brought to the fore the continuing appeal of caste, religion, royalty and the fact that out of the four states, in three, women led their respective parties to victory was no guarantee of women-empowerment in India. The violation of women's dignity in Delhi, especially the rape of a Swedish diplomat and a film maker, Ms. Joshi in the capital suggests that security in all its dimensions is the major issue of concern in India of the twenty first century. In this context it is necessary to study the sense of security at three separate levels, i.e., individual, social and state.

The word security is taken from the Latin root of *La Securitas* which means ‘free of anxiety’. Let us see at the three separate levels, with the changing socio-economic dynamics, whether the sense of ‘anxiety’ has increased or decreased and how far the sense of security has been determined by it.

Socio-economic context and the individual

The thrust of cyber-driven globalisation has raised the issues of localisation or dislocation of local cultures by replacing them by laptop-delivered software on cultures, communication and commerce. Practically in all the Third World States the response is a dual one — accept it if they must, oppose it if they can. The recent round of meetings on World Trade Organisation showed the Third World solidarity in matters of trade related neo-liberal agenda. This agenda is part of the Washington Consensus, which was originally meant for Latin America. The ten items of the Washington consensus are *fiscal discipline*: strict criteria for limiting budget deficits; *public expenditure priorities*: away from subsidies and administration towards ‘neglected fields with high economic returns and the potential to improve income distribution, such as primary health, infrastructure; *tax reform*: broadening tax base and cutting marginal tax rates; *financial liberalisation*: interest rates should ideally be market-determined; *exchange rates*: which should be managed to induce rapid growth in non-traditional exports; *trade liberalisation*: tariffs not quotas, and declining tariffs to around 10 per cent within ten years; *Foreign Direct Investment*: no barriers and equality with domestic firms; *privatisation*: state enterprises should be privatised; *deregulation*: abolition of regulations that impede the entry of new firms or restrict competition, and establishing such criteria as safety, environmental protection, or prudential supervision of financial institutions as the means to justify those which remain; *property rights*: secure rights without excessive costs and available to the informal sector.[1]

Williamson’s Washington Consensus is regarded as part of the new imperial state (US) in the contemporary period. This involves the role of the nation state vis-à-vis global capital. Samuel Huntington has defined a three pronged strategy of the US in the current imperialism. Nuclear weapons for the US alone; human rights and American style democracy; and (less obviously) limit to immigration and the free flow of labour. One might add a fourth crucial policy here: the propagation of the free market across the globe. This ‘latest form of imperialism will involve only the US’ and such utterly subordinated satellites (as UK, who will adopt the role of the world’s police men, and enforce their rule through selected intervention mostly bombings from a great height) in various alleged danger zones.[2]

In economic terms globalisation has led to a renewed interest in inequality. Under this scheme the measures to remove inequality were considered detrimental to growth. By the end of the century both socio-economic structures and the ten points mentioned above have renewed the debate and concern for inequality.[3] The thrust of the reform on labour markets is to adopt policies that will produce tradable surplus. This means liberalisation of capital markets, banking reform, public sector reform. The relationship between the two is complex. As a short term impact of these policies is seen in the phenomena of unemployment, lower wages, lower government expenditure having serious impact on human capital investment through education and training, and this can adversely affect the long-term function of the labour market. Indonesia and Thailand are recent examples of it. Russia shows examples of stabilisation leading large inequalities and clashes between social groups and so destroys social cohesion. In ancient times, Aristotle said in his *Politics* that inequality is the cause of revolutions. Capitalist inequality was the cause of revolutions said Marx. In South Asia the growth in formal sector has not expanded. In India the liberalisers in the bureaucracy are divided between fast and slow trackers. The latter focus more on the social concern of the latter. Further, social sector in terms of education and

health has suffered in India. Development sector declined and so did development take place that was jobless.[4] The income disparities between the poorest man and corporate employee have increased.[5] The interest rates on savings have gone down as well with each year's budget. This impacts on the retired sections of the society. The State in India appears to be able to stand up to the pressures of the international finance capital, especially the US in economic terms. Yet the business community seeks protection from foreign capital.[6] Thus at the individual level the factor of anxiety is the most pervasive, even though the middle classes have expanded and prospered and the capitalist market has expanded into the countryside.[7]

Security at the social level

At the societal level security means social cohesion and well being. However, in India in recent times, the sense of an Indian society melting local identities has been clouded by "sons of the soil theory" which has raised its ugly head from time to time. Shiv Sena came to power in Maharashtra riding the crest of that slogan. So did AGP in Assam. Today, as per the classified report of the then Governor of Assam, General Sinha, the demographic change in Assam is viewed as a security issue that began in the pre-independence period. The cross border movement of unarmed people raises the issue of border management and puts pressure on the paramilitary organisations of the country. Quite apart from this the recent events relating to holding of examinations for recruitment to Railways has created new faultlines and given a new twist to the theory of "son of the soil". Now the Biharis in Assam and Maharashtra are "the outsiders".

Strange as it may sound one wonders what India is in terms of its territorial reach, market expansion, job opportunity and even entry to educational institutions, if the Gujarat agitation of the 1970s is kept in mind. At one level it is the expression of social unrest generated by inequality. In India inequality is caste and class based. The recent Rajasthan elections showed that the reservations for the OBCs won the elections for the BJP. Yet when the Mandal issue was raised, the BJP had responded with the issue of Ram mandir in Ayodhya. The moot recognition is that the developmental model has to go a long way to remove poverty. No longer are there schemes that Mrs. Gandhi had instituted for specific target groups. Naturally social discontent is bound to arise. This will take the shape of unrest. Unrest can be of those who are poor and those who wish to become richer. The agitations of the farmers may carry the day. It is rarely seen that those of the agricultural poor succeed. Both show that social dissent is on. Further with the withdrawal of the subsidies from the farm sector and the decline in the demand for traditional crops even farmers are committing suicide in states known to be granaries of India, like Punjab. M. K. Narayanan had said in his study of the security scenario in the context of liberalisation that new unrest is on the anvil.[8]

Heterogenous identities

The issue of the son of the soil has also raised the larger question of Indian nationhood in the context of micro-identities. Such identities exist on the basis of regional interests as recognised by the NDA government and scholars.[9] There are different interpretations of a region. New states have already been formed. More are in the offing e.g. the demand for Telangana or Vishal

Andhra is one example. This could in future lead to rise of other regional identities at the taluk and district levels. Second, there are linguistic identities. The Constitution gives recognition to these. But these are not yet exhausted. Even in Bihar within the Hindi framework there are plural linguistic identities. The BODO-Assamese linguistic conflict has already assumed violent and terrorist proportions and has had cascading effect. At the time of independence assertion by people of their linguistic identity was favourably considered.[10] However, the process is not complete even after the division of Punjab into Haryana and Punjab with Chandigarh being the Union territory. The carving of States in the Northeast has raised the issue of recarving of states in the context of meeting the Naga irredentist demand. Vajpayee said during his visit to Nagaland that this would involve discussion with other states. Manipur is involved in this apart from other states. The issue is explosive. Manipur burnt owing to the Naga-Kuki struggle.

Nationalism, subnationalism

The more fundamental reason is that of the relationship between nationalism and sub-nationalism. The Assam struggle for identity is regarded as assertion of sub-nationalism.[11] As far as nationalism is concerned it is a sentiment, as per Weber. Micro identities surfacing as sub nationalism build upon sense of ethnicity. This introduces the idiom of tradition in politics of nationhood.[12] Formation of ethnic identities has been conceptualised on the basis of various theories. One is the subjectivist. Second is the instrumentalist. Third is the constructivist. The first two take note of the role that tradition plays in articulation of dissent and mobilization of protest. For example the ULFA demands of self-determination are based on ethnicity. So are the demands of the Bodos. Religion has some role to play to heighten such consciousness too among people. We notice how many of the Kashmiri youth have been misguided, as were the Sikh and the Tamil youth. The third theory develops a secular view of construction of identities. The failure of the constructivist led to the break up of Yugoslavia. In case of a composite nationhood with secular state is in danger owing to the lack of constructivist vision. This is a national security threat.

Nation-in-the-making

Nation formation is a process. The need to recreate a social compact emerges from time to time even with the spread of the market or sentiment. Both are interconnected as well. The pre-independence context was the British hyperbole of India not being a nation and the consequent legislative reform acts. India had to assert its national identity since the Motilal Nehru committee Report in the 1920s. Jinnah's Two Nation's Theory that led to Partition countered Nehru's discovery of India and the role of the masses and their unity in diversity. The human tragedy was unparalleled. The post independence period noticed the three populist movements in Punjab, Tamilnadu and Telangana in the context of integration of States. The assertion of linguistic formation of state was resolved satisfactorily.[13] The Naxal movement, the students movement, the Gujarat Navnirman Samiti, and JP's Total revolution were attacks from the left and rightwing in the post Nehru period. Despite the fact that Mrs. Gandhi was able to extend the frontiers of India's power internally and externally she had to rely on the Emergency. Ranbir Samaddar is of the view that a new compact could not be formed in response to the class challenge and students challenge.[14] The end of the 1970s saw the resurgence of the Akali agitation on the basis of Anandpur Sahib resolution and its submission to the Bhindranwale

phenomenon. Described as product of the party politics in Punjab, communalism and distortion of religion had a heady mix that led to terrorism.[15] The festering wound of J&K began by 1989. The siege within in the Punjab and the spiralling events in J&K needed a new compact.

At the same time the Congress system was coming to a collapse in terms of the social compact among the Brahmin, the dalits and the Muslims. The anti-Congress politics based on caste and communal idioms did not fill the space vacated by the Congress. Coalitions were not answer to the problems. All this had effect on the politics of the state as well as state's response to terrorist situations. Once the Congress driven order fell through, the divisive politics crystallizing around identities and political groups discussed above ensured the rise of coalition politics that had its impact on the way state would react and respond to crisis situations. It is during the period of the V. P. Singh coalition that Home Minister's daughter had been kidnapped and restored as a result of a compromise. It is also during the rule of yet another coalition that the IC-814 was hijacked to Kandahar and the Indian Foreign Minister had to hand over the arrested terrorists in exchange of the flight's crew and passengers.

Therefore the new social compact as the basis of secular nationalism did not mature. The sour wine of opposition politics and the threats from within and without created the present dangers to India's nationhood. Modern nationalism has to be in the direction of civic nationalism. For civic nationalism to grow as a movement has to be away from traditional metaphors to modern metaphors. The talk of cultural nationalism was the beginning of this attack on the secular polity. The writings of historians on cultural nationalism justified this in the context of the controversy on Babri masjid and Ram temple in Ayodhya in the 1980s and the 1990s.

Terrorism and Communalism

Twin threats of communalism and terrorism were maturing fast. These could not be considered as same phenomena. Bombay blasts were terrorism. Bombay riots were communal. The two have different orientations, strategies and modus operandi. Communalism uses rumour. Terrorism does not. Communalism uses mass frenzy. Terrorism does not. Communalism does not target State symbols. Terrorism targets them. There are certain common features also. Both are linked to political processes. Terrorism disrupts them; communalism distorts them. Communalism may determine electoral outcomes. Terrorism may prevent electoral outcomes by boycotting the elections or disrupting them. A recent glaring example of their complexity is that the Gujarat riots were the context of the bomb attacks after a year on Gateway of India and Zaveri bazaar. The three of the family were egged on in the name of 'jihad' by one ISI agent, called Ansari to engage in the bomb blasts to take revenge of what the Muslims went through in Gujarat in 2002.

Communalism

Communalism is with us since the beginning of the twentieth century as a political phenomenon used by the rightwing political outfits like the Hindu Mahasabha, RSS and the Muslim League during the freedom struggle. In post independence period majority communalism played havoc with the national integration. Communal riots have been analysed from many perspectives. Bipan Chandra regards it like fascism as a middle class phenomenon[16]. Communalism was traced to the split in the middle class during the freedom

struggle by Mishra.[17] Communal riots have been analysed as a reflection of a conflict between petty business interests of the two communities.[18] They regard it as the phenomenon of capitalist strategy to break up the class solidarity of the working people.[19] Gupta regarded it as the strategy of the monopoly capitalism.[20] Nehru's hopes that modernisation and economic development would wipe out communalism were dashed to the ground with the eruption of communal riots in Jabalpur. Various Commission Reports on communal riots in India since the Jabalpur riots to the Bombay riots have blamed the RSS, Bharatiya Jan Sangh, Bharatiya Janata Party and the Shiv Sena,. Further they have blamed the provincial police forces, the communal elements in the Congress, the delayed response to communal events by the authorities of the day.

In the context of Advani's Rath Yatra in 1992 the communal riots have been analysed from the perspective of electoral aims.[21] The Rath Yatra and the subsequent demolition of the Babri Masjid set the tone of the Indian politics and death and destruction made the nation weep together and in fragments. Narasimha Rao and the RSS parivar must face and take the blame for broadening the communal fissure in Indian polity. The incidents in Godhra have been analysed by one and all but need to be looked in the context of the programme of the VHP and Bajrang Dal in Ayodhya and the violent incidents that took place in the Sabarmati express at Ferozabad and Lucknow against the Muslims. In Godhra the igniting of the spark has elicited number of theories, including from the forensic experts. It is difficult to prove of the complicity of elements from outside in the burning of the train. There is ample evidence to show how the Hindutva forces were ready for the event's exploitation and the lack of preparation by the railways and the State to prevent or meet such an eventuality. Even the armed forces were not alerted during the movement of the kar sevaks to and from Godhra. This was traditionally done in the history of Godhra communal rioting in the previous two decades.[22]

Ethnic conflict

The Gujarat carnage of 2002 has been variously described. It has been called as ethnic cleansing in line with the argument that communalism needs to be considered as a form of deadly ethnic riot.[23] The equation of the two has been contested by Indian scholars. Communalism is not derived from the word community, which is language, tribe or religion based, as per the dictionary meaning of the word community. Second, communal riot is not a religious riot since communalism is the transformation of the religious factor into the political factor in the context of colonialism and capitalism. It is not primordial while the ethnic may be so. We also must notice that the dictionary meaning of ethnicity is related to religion, i.e. non-Hebrew religion of a backward aborigines. If one retains the meaning then neither the Hindus nor the Muslims regard themselves as religions of aborigines.

Similar process

A communal riot may have a process similar to that of the ethnic riot in terms of its beginning or end. It may begin either spontaneously or in a prepared fashion. It may be accompanied by a rumour. It may use lethal weapons or just ordinary ones. It may bring about participation of large number of masses. It is therefore not out of place to use Horowitz's conceptualisation of riot as a process. In Godhra and Gujarat rumour was common and this spread the dastardly deed. In both the places premeditated actions unfolded. The way the bodies of the Sabarmati dead were brought to other parts was preplanned and this led to the communal fury. The State police's

inaction in saving the life of ordinary and elite Muslims owing to the intervention of the BJP ministers has been documented. The case of Ansari is well known. In this case the whole family was brutally done to death by butchering the bodies and then throwing them into fire. The State machinery was a mute spectator in most cases including in the act of saving the lives of high court judges. It is the military forces that attempted to save the lives of the family of the judge. The subsequent threats to the judges and upright police officers by the chief minister have been documented. Business revolted at the turn of communal events. Members of the civil society were threatened. The businessmen among Muslims in the cities along with the poor in villages were not spared. Police was part of their problem rather than a help to them. Right to life, liberty and property were violated. This was an attempt to try out a future RSS given the present constitutional arrangement. Ghanshyam Shah has taken the position that the bringing in of Modi as the Chief Minister was a change of track of the strategy of the RSS.

It was a shift from the strategy of removal of *bhook*(hunger), *bhrashtachar*(corruption) to the Hindutva agenda.[24] Jan Breman took the position that the unemployed labour, thrown out of textile mills in the earlier decade, had become the Hindutva foot soldiers.[25] Apart from the part of the electoral strategy this was a part of neo-liberal conservatism since the Hindutva card was used to jettison the welfarist agenda.[26] This view is contested on empirical and theoretical grounds. Does capitalism necessarily lead to neo welfarist agenda? Does the need to bring together the petty peasant and the big business need communal riot? In other words does modernity need its other to spread itself? These have not been concretely worked out at the empirical level. Those who are familiar with the scene in Gujarat know that the Gujarati businessman does not pursue communal riot for economic compulsions. There is however no doubt that the communal riot is a threat to internal cohesion as we noted earlier and may disorient people into terrorist politics.

Terrorist politics

Terrorism has been with us in the subcontinent for quite some time, at least since the assassination of Mahatama Gandhi. Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, Bandaranaike, Premdasa suffered assassination attempts. Mrs. Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi were the victims of the successful terrorist attacks by the Sikh bodyguards and LTTE activists, respectively. It is stated that the trouble began with the defeat of Pakistan in 1971.[27] The regional scene is analysed by focusing on the Pakistan factor in cross border terrorism by Afsir Karim, B. Raman, Kanti Bajpayee, and others.[28] This has other international linkages too. The US has been regarding many states as rogue states as part of its cold war logic. It adds to these the rogue organisations like the Al Qaida. In them it continues to discover rogue politicians: Osama Bin Laden, Saddam Hussein, Col. Gaddafi, Yasser Arafat in earlier times and Hamas in Palestine. The theorisation of the Jackal State and the Jackal does not apply to Pakistan. That is India's problem. Apart from Pakistan the foreign policy of the US has been analysed as being different from that of Jefferson. It has been called a rogue nation and a rogue state.[29] I view the problem of cross border terrorism as a product of strategic interests of the US and Pakistan joined in by China during the cold war period. In the post cold war phase one notices that our close relationship with the US, welcome as it may, has not yet delivered on our perception of the Jackal State or the Jackal, despite the Track-II diplomacy of Musharraf and Vajpayee.

Track-II peace diplomacy

The bus diplomacy, the flights resumption prospects, the ferry between Bombay and Karachi, the bus between Srinagar and Muzaffarabad and other confidence building measures like the ceasefire line currently in vogue has had its earlier precedents. But terrorist incidents have not stopped in J&K. Zia had showered Morarji Desai with the highest award of Pakistan. Musharraf is offering the same possibility to Vajpayee, who was then the Foreign Minister. Will all this solve the problem of Kashmir, which stands, unlike any other region, at the centre of internal and external threats to India's security? Whether it is a victim of predatory state practices or not, it is a disturbed state and a peace-loving people have turned to violence in the name of distorted Islam, as did the Sikhs in the name of distorted Sikhism.

We notice that the US has strategic interests if one believes the recent proposals of two think tanks in the US. They have suggested to the US Congress that LOC should not be the international border and that there should be a neutral corridor. This if linked to recent air exercises the US had with India in the Ladakh region will bring out the perimeter of US strategic interests. In that context a Pakistani newspaper reports that Colin Powell has been in touch with Sinha and Kasuri to strengthen the peace process. [30] Both in the cold war and post-post cold war period the Kashmir issue has been defined by global and extra-regional linkages.

Conflict over water resource

The issue of water is a serious security concern. In Northeast it has relevance not only with regard to the movement of population and land disputes in the *chars* It has led to water riots in Northeast.[31] Harnessing of the Brahmaputra is necessary. The agreement on Farraka Barrage has led to *influx* of people into India owing to drying of the region in Mymensingh) building of the dam in Kashmir is a *bone of contention* between India and Pakistan. River water disputes are famously difficult to settle, as would the *inter-state* disputes between Haryana and Punjab and Tamilnadu and Karnataka show. Water riots have been reported from various cities in India. In Delhi itself the problem has been generally been acute and posh colonies witnessed riots.

The deserts have their own problems. How disputes will arise is indicated by a report of the UN on the Alwar region. Let us first look at the Rajasthan map on the water resource. The state of Rajasthan is the second largest state in the country covering an area of 34.271 million hectares, which is more than 10% of the total geographical area of the country. About five per cent of the total population of the country resides in the State and has more than 15.7 million hectares of land suitable for cultivation. Being the driest region it has only 1% of the total surface water resources of the country. In the Alwar region adjoining Delhi industries are being shifted and the local farmers are selling their land for industry. The net result of this shortsighted policy *will be conflict*.

The study on Jorhad shows that this “will lead to a conflict not only on the thorny question of water distribution but also to conversion of land use.”[32] It is well known that deforestation and industrial use leads to *unprecedented floods* that the Northeast suffers as also the affected regions in Rajasthan. Some districts of Bihar are famous for their perennial *flood related social conflicts and banditry* like in Barahiya Tal near Patna in the old Monghyr district. These are quite apart from the problems related to the pollution of water of Ganga and inaccessibility of it in it higher

mountainous course. The lack of rainfall causes the lowering of the water table to crisis point. The problems are most acute every where but especially in regions where the subsoil water is used for irrigation and industry. Both scarcity and abundance of water cause human dislocation, misery and conflict in rural and urban centres across the country.

Natural calamities

Orissa suffered a cyclone and Gujarat suffered an earthquake. In both places the Governments remained paralysed for weeks. If this is the story of the Governments then the NGO's engaged in disaster management will not be equipped properly or adequately in terms of finance, infrastructure, help, hospital facilities, vehicles for reaching to inaccessible areas, telecommunication equipment to communicate from disconnected locations. Add to these the human nature as described by Thomas Hobbes in modern terms: egotistic. This will combine with business that never forgets its profit. Parties add to the woes further. It is recorded that the BJP and the RSS parivar used the communal measure to render rehabilitation help. This also happened with regard to the relief camps during the communal riots in Gujarat in 2002.

On 26 January 2001 Gujarat witnessed an earthquake measuring 6.9 on richter scale, as per Indian sources but U.S. and the U.N. considered its scale at 8.1. The event affected 21 of 25 districts. Prior warning of it was noted at a seminar in BHU in December 2000 by S.S. Medh, a geologist. A three year study of the Kutch region by the centre for Earth Sciences studies in Thiruvananthapuram had warned in November 2000 that the seismogenic fault at Kutch, a boundary fault of the rift system appears to be capable of generating larger earthquakes of 7 or more on Richter scale. Neither the Centre nor the State was prepared for it. The allegation have been that those in charge of governance were contributors to the high magnitude of the disaster. There was tardy implementation of the relief activities. The State Government was just bewildered. Delay in response in Ahmedabad and Delhi cost lives and delayed rescue operations. Thousands battled with injury without any first aid. Many died under the debris. The quake shook people's faith in the builders as well as those in power. Corruption became the central focus. We are witnessing niceties of politics and law about corruption of Judeo or Jogi by the political elite. Every body forgets the words of a great Roman, Cicero: 'the safest of the people shall be the highest law'. Gujarat and Orissa have proved beyond doubt that India's ruling elite has miserably failed to effectively harness in proper time the endowments made available by science to mitigate large scale avoidable effects of natural disasters.

In 1999 Orissa witnessed severe cyclones. The intensity of the one on October 29-30 was unheard of before. It claimed 10,000 lives. The sea surged to the height of 7-10 metres with waves travelling inside the land with a speed of 30 km. The storm wind that penetrated the land from the sea coast was 200 kilometres of speed. Twelve districts of Orissa and two districts of West Bengal were affected. The Central Government declared this to be a calamity of rarest severity. It destroyed the base of rural economy. In this case also there were lapses of governance and cases of not heeding earlier warnings. Orissa had only 21 cyclone shelters constructed with assistance from German Government. The Government does not carry any such programmes. According to the Comptroller and Auditor General of India report money meant for calamity relief has been spent on routine work by successive governments. There is deep rooted corruption.

The recent elections to Rajasthan were conducted in the context of drought. It came in 1999-2000 and repeated itself. Both the Congress government in the State and the BJP Government at the Centre blamed each other for lack of help to the affected areas. In 2000, 30,585 villages were affected in 31 out of 32 districts. Thirty three million people were affected, 8.9 million hectares of land was affected.[33] Jaisalmer, Barmer, Jodhpur and Jalore were worst affected. The Governments of India have not been able to manage droughts even when they can see their slow arrival. The earliest drought management programmes were criticised by Hanumantha Rao Committee in 1994-95.

Conclusion

To conclude all these experiences show that security around all the three axes is in danger. The area of security concerns is policy formulation and policy implementation. One notices that the bureaucracy, called the intelligence arm of the State by Weber, is unable to pre-determine, prevent and mitigate crises by formulating policy responses in any aspects of internal security.

The role of the political class is equally unenviable. There is much to be desired in implementation of the policy formulated. The crisis of internal security is writ large on the forehead of India's ecological, geographical, cultural, economic and political, and, individual landscape in all the three dimensions. Corruption is having a heavy toll on all fronts of policy making and policy implementation. Contemporary challenges to internal security develop their internal and external syndrome through hawala transactions and kick-backs feeding all channels of security crises.

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