

# Role of Armed Forces in Internal security- with special reference Jammu and Kashmir

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India has one of the largest, most disciplined and most efficient Armed forces in the world. From Gujarat to Nagpur, From Jammu to Kanyakumari, Whenever civil order has broken down and terror has reared its head, It has been Armed Forces who have always stepped in to protect the people. The purpose of Armed forces is to protect the nation's citizens and territory from threats.

To fully understand the role of Armed Forces in contemporary society, One must understand the absolute priority, the govt. and the military leadership have placed on the importance of internal security to the achievement of national stability often turnout the greatest threat to national security.

The specific object is trying to understand the limitations of the use of Armed forces in such internal security situations and throws open the question of how effective the application of Armed Forces is in internal security situations. As the great war scholar, teacher and diplomat per excellence kautilya has said

“The instruments of war have to be separated and kept apart from the institutions of peace.”

These is the need to understand the defined roles of Armed forces in India.

\*\*\* Primary role is to defend the nation against external aggression.

\*\*\* Secondary role is to assist the civil administration in internal security duties and in times of natural calamities.

Indian Army has been involved in counter insurgency operations almost continuously since independence. Its formations have been active in counter insurgency operations in Northeast since 1950 and in Jammu and Kashmir since 1990.

More than the external enemies, the enemies from within have demanded the pro-active deployment of Armed Forces to maintain law and order in front of serious threats i.e. communalism, regionalism, secessionism, terrorism and militancy to national integration. To combat these threatening elements at national level, Armed Forces are repeatedly and unwittingly utilized by political leadership. The subordinate role played by Armed Forces to the bureaucracy and by the bureaucracy to the political leadership is not new to Indian context. The resistance to military being used in less war like activity counter insurgency, peace keeping is evidence of how narrowly their task can often be defined. Most regular armies over the world complain about internal security duties, particularly in criticism of the limitations placed on them.

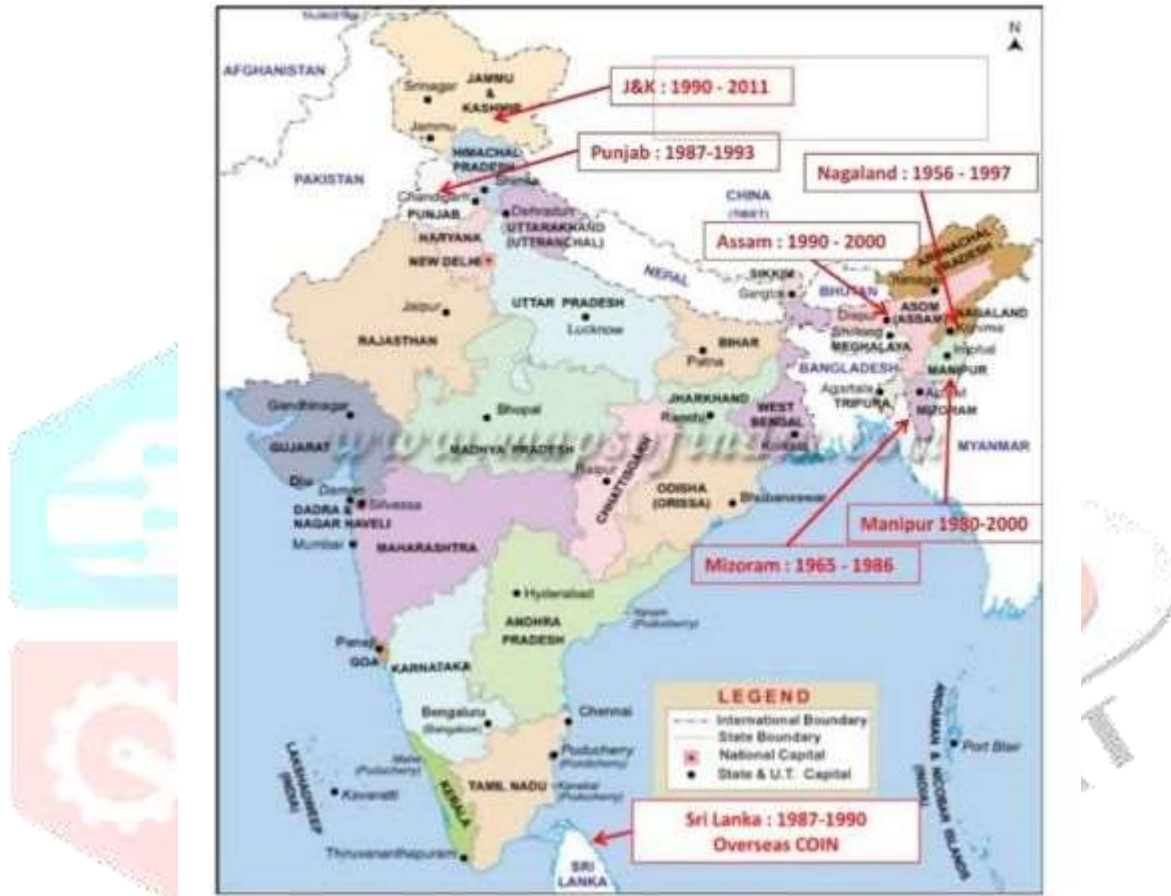
Now-a-days external and internal security are mashed together more than ever before. In proxy war, counter-terrorism and counter insurgency operations, the Indian Army's commitments in such operations have increased considerably over the years. Indian Armed Forces are being used for control of communal riots like those post Ayodhya or Godhra. Counter insurgency operations in the northeast and proxy war in Jammu and Kashmir

Besides these reasons, Armed forces also plays a vital role in----- # maintenance of law and order  
# Maintenance of essential services.  
# Assistance during national calamities such as earthquakes and floods.

# Any other type of assistance which may be needed by civil authorities.

This shows the Armed forces have become increasingly important as facilitators of govt's foreign policy, taking part in peace keeping operations, military exercise and humanitarian relief mission. As Indian Armed forces may be considered as the relief bricks.

Indian Army's experience with counter insurgency warfare began in 1950s. A list of Indian Insurgencies is given out as -----



Map 1: COIN campaigns of the Indian Army

Place	Nagaland	Mizoram	Punjab	Assam	Manipur	Jammu & Kashmir
Period	1956-1997	1966-1976	1987-1993	1990-2000	1990-2000	1990-2011
Style	Guerilla	Guerilla	Guerilla, Terrorism	Guerilla, Terrorism	Guerilla, Terrorism	Guerilla, Terrorism
Type	Secessionist Preservationist	Secessionist Preservationist	Secessionist	Secessionist Preservationist	Secessionist Preservationist	Secessionist

Table 2: Major Indian Insurgencies<sup>36</sup>

Secessionist implies aim for independence after renouncing state and Preservationist implies resort to illegal actions against authorities and non-ruling groups to affect change.

After operation Blue star. It was decided that regular army would not employed in high profile operations. The regular army was subsequently deployed to secure the state. The national security Guards

(NSG) was formed in 1985 as an elite and anti-terrorist force. Then. In 1991, Army raised a new force Rashtriya (National) Rifles (RR) specially charged to deal with terrorism, rioting and communal violence. . By 1996-97 the new force had 40,000 members.

If we take an overview of Army' role in Jammu and Kashmir then this point by way of summary come to mind that Kashmir is an operational front with international focus on it. By may 1990, The Kashmir valley was in the throes of insurgency, which starting out in urban areas, rapidly spread to the countryside. The Army till then was guardian of international border and line of control, was called into conduct Counter Insurgency operations with a view to control the situation.

Based on its experience with low-intensity in Nagaland, Sri Lanka and Punjab. The Indian army by 1993-95 put together a road map for the Counter Insurgency operations in Kashmir. It soon realized that given the penetration of Pakistan backed militants inside Kashmir, it needed to generate a road map for that purpose. In the mid 1990s, the Army installed a simple three tiered counter infiltration system along the line of control and international border, which is used to this day.

# First tier was on the border itself and aimed to intercept and kill any insurgent trying to sneak in. Constant patrolling and ambushes were mounted to check infiltration.

# The Second tier consisted of a 5km belt from the border. There was night curfew in this belt, with shoot to kill orders.

# The Third tier was to 'cordon and search' villages behind the 5km belt depending on the area, the size of these tiers varied, for example in the kupwara sector the second tier would be 5km or more.

The counter insurgency campaigns in Jammu & Kashmir are composed of hard fought guerilla battles at the tactical level and demanded a constant evolution of tactics to defeat the insurgents and operational art to bridge the diverse geopolitical and strategic military aims to tactics. The major goal of Army in counter insurgency operation in Jammu and Kashmir has been divided into two terms as-----

Short term – To bring down violence to manageable level with a view to enable elected govt. state agencies and the democratic process to function.

Long term – Target the Achilles heel of the terrorist groups by denying them the firm bases tacitly supported by internal and external elements.

Countering the militancy in Kashmir has become a highly challenging task due to exploitation of new information and communication technology by insurgent groups. The battlefield is now a multi-dimensional one, encompassing both physical territory and cyberspace. Militants are systematically exploiting the internet to generate moral support, recruit personnel and transmit propaganda leading to the further militarization of Kashmiri youth against India. As Shiv Shanker Menon, former National Security Advisor said.....

'Real threats to India not from outside forces such as Pakistan or China. But from inside forces such as insurgents and terrorists.'

Recently in this April the incident of stone pelters has gone viral in social media which attracted everybody's attention. Major Leelut Gogoi, who had tied up Farooq Ahmed Dar to the bonnet of a jeep as a human shield to prevent a mob of stone pelters from attacking Election Commission staff in Jammu and Kashmir's Budgam. This incidents had become very controversial on social media. Arun Jaitley, our defence minister also defended an Army officer who had tied a man to a jeep as human shield against stone pelters in



Kashmir by saying that he must have taken the decision considering the ground realities. Major Gogai was awarded chief of Army Staff's (COAS) commendation card for his sustained distinguished service in Counter Insurgency operation in Jammu and Kashmir. The decision was hailed by many. The Army personnel through their military service have preached to fight a guerilla, one must become a guerilla. But when it comes to dealing with terrorists, they want ethics of Mahabharata? The question for them is between certificates of sainthood for the Army and saving lives on both sides (Army and civil). What is their choice? If it is former, then there is nothing more to discuss. But what actually has been done to Dar? Was he aimed or disabled for life? The fact is that the officer responsible used this unconventional method to save a very ugly situation without loss of lives and property which needs to be commended at the highest level. Israel has a law of 20yrs imprisonment for stone pelters and we have the media hollering that "The Army is caught in a tight spot". Surprisingly many who objected to how Dar was treated, have nothing to say about the security personnel getting mobbed, kicked and slapped by droves of terrorist- supporters-cum-stone-pelters.

Thousands of soldiers and Para-military personnel have been fighting insurgency in Kashmir for over 28 years and it is striking that we do not have a culture of recording their experience in ways that inform public debate on security policy. One estimate suggests that over 44200 people have died in Kashmir since 1988 including 6,286 personnel from security forces. India is believed to have maintained about half a million security forces in Kashmir for years but why are these hardly any accounts of soldiers about the insurgency either through interviews, articles and books? Why is it that defence publications and websites major on combat strategy and have very little on personal experience of warfare? What do Indian army soldiers and CRPF personnel, many of whom come from marginal backgrounds themselves really think about Kashmiris and Delhi's policies? There is no ethnographic research that addresses these issues?

We must accept the fact that turmoil in Kashmir valley is no ordinary Pakistan assisted insurgency. It has transformed into a vicious hybrid war backed by China-Pakistan unholy anti-India nexus i.e China's concept of unrestricted warfare includes means of biochemical, guerilla terrorism, psychological smuggling drugs, virtual media etc. Pakistan abides by the Quranic concept of war scripted by Brig. S.K. Malik in 1979 which explicitly justified the use of terrorism.

The Army's counter terrorism grid has no doubt been successful in thwarting several attacks. However this begs the question of how best to blunt or limit the impact of externally inspired and targeted militancy in Jammu and Kashmir. The terrorist violence caused extensive damage to private and public property with large number of people particularly minority Hindus being forced to migrate from the valley. Even foreign tourists have not been spared. Terrorist posed a serious threat to aviation security as they resorted to hijacking to achieve their demands. With the decline in local militancy, pan Islamic 'jehadi' outfits have come to dominate and seeking to destroy the secular fabric of the state. Young local Kashmiris from well educated and sound financial backgrounds are joining the armed fights against Indian army. It is also to be noted that Kashmir issue is not only a political one between India and Pakistan but it also has its fundamental in radical in Islam. The complexion of insurgency has undergone a change with focused attacks on security forces (SF). Suicide Attacks are on the rise. On Sept 18, 2016, suspected terrorists of the Pakistan backed jaish-e-Mohammed mounted a deadly fidayeen attack on Indian Army camp Uri, in Jammu and Kashmir killing 17 of its soldiers and injuring many others. This was the biggest such attack on Indian Army in a decade.

A systematic effort is being made to tarnish the image of Security Forces by whipping up allegations of violation of human rights even though Insurgents have shown no concern for the human rights of their victims. Army must learn to use the media as a force multiplier. It is important to not only speak the truth but also to be the first with the nexus so that a distorted picture does not emerge. It must be understood that the perceptions once created are difficult to remove. Insurgents' attempts to target the state democratic apparatus were reflected in their pole boycott threats issued in the wake of announcements of parliamentary, legislative election and in last few years and culminated in October 2001 attack on the state legislature building. The threat to census enumerators and attempt to disrupt could also be seen in the same light. Grass root political workers have continually been targeted by the insurgents. The death of deputy superintendent Mohammed Ayub Pandith (Jun23,2017) at the hands of a lynch mob highlights the danger to the police in Kashmir today whether from gun-wielding militants or local disgruntled mob against India.

More than 70,000 personnel of central Reserve police Forces have been pressed into operation to contain the current violence in Jammu and Kashmir as against 45,000 deployed in 2010. According to figures available with CRPF, around 55 battalions (a battalion has 1000 men) have been deployed in the valley, while nearly 15 have been stationed in Jammu. The numbers of personnel deployed in the valley swelled up also after central orders to divert troops for security during Amaranth Yatra.

Army had initiated a wide range of public welfare initiatives in the state under its Sadbhavana programme which it runs under the rubric of the winning hearts and minds (WHAM) strategy. Under these programmes the Forces provide a range of public services as-----

== Quality education

== Women's empowerment

== Health care

== Community development

== Infrastructure improvement

The schemes are fundamentally counter-democratic. As they involve patronage without any accountability to those for whom the services are meant. The schemes are meant to please people. If people are not pleased, they cannot complain. The attack by an unarmed mob on an Army camp in Kupwara vanished the Army's goodwill programmes under its Sadbhavana operations. The Indian strategy for Counter Insurgency rests on the British model of winning the hearts and minds of the people. The changing dynamics of insurgencies globally has meant revision of the basic doctrine. The factors which have fuelled unrest in the region in recent times are-----

# Use of social media for false rumours to instigate youth to lead violent mob.

# Stone pelting on Security Forces by radicalized and incited youth.

# Armed militants mixing with stone pelting mobs and addressing rallies.

# Militants using cover of agitating mobs firing at Security Forces and lobbing grenades, provoking Security Forces to retaliate.

# Attacks/threats on govt. officers political representatives and policemen.

# No identifiable leadership of protests.

# The challenge of radicalization of youth.

The Army is today a part of daily life in Kashmir. New generations of Kashmiris have grown up living next door to military camps. While the Army, too has learnt more about dealing with the valley. As the

Indian Army has worked hard to cultivate is that of its own ethos rubbed off on local life. The Army has always lived and acted, regardless of what anyone says or does, as an institution. It has always won the hearts and minds of people in insurgency hit areas. The presence of the Army in Jammu and Kashmir has been a catalyst in its development. As being manpower intensive, the Army requires considerable administrative support for its routine functioning. Take for example rations, While rice, white flour and cereals may be procured from elsewhere, the Army has to fully rely on local sources for supply of perishable items like vegetables, milk, meat and poultry product. This is actually a boon in disguise for people residing in these remote areas because the locals who earlier could not market their produce in the hinterland due to prohibitive transportation and storage costs, Now have a buyer at their door step as Army in Jammu and Kashmir buys approximately 33,000 liters of milk daily. Army spends approximately Rs. 96 Crores hiring porters and ponies every year which is the major source of employment for locals. Similarly the Army spends approximately Rs 120 crores for hiring transport for movement of men and material within the state. This means that by its presence itself the Army is actually a major employer in the state promoting enterprise in remote areas and ameliorating the lot of locals. The presence of the Army in remote areas also promotes the improvement of infrastructure and facilities in them. Similarly the road from Leh to the spectacular Pangong Tso lake was a foot track which has been converted into a motorable road to transport and maintain troops guarding the Indian border. This area was heavenly beautiful and isolated part of the country has transformed into the popular tourist spot due to Army.

Kashmir which was once declared as one of the most violent zones of the world, has limped back to normalcy with encouraging signs for the future. Even though Kashmir is likely to see a long phase of low level violence. There is elaborate evidence that militancy has failed to establish itself in the valley. Yet today Kashmir is witnessing hit and run militancy along with low intensity daily conflicts which is low as it started in the 1990s and clearly, militancy is on the ebb. Only 20 percent of people in Jammu and Kashmir now think militancy will help to solve the dispute. India has made the power of the state visible to the insurgents. India's counter insurgency operations have effectively marginalized the terrorist movement in Kashmir. The violence has drastically reduced over the past decade as compared to the 1990's. However, the militancy in Kashmir is quietly making a comeback.

For most part of the insurgency in Kashmir, The Army and other Para-military Forces have been seen as representing the repressive arm of the state. The Army at the forefronts of the fight against the militants and the CRPF are dealing with protestors on the streets demanding Azadi with immense courage and sacrifice. Army officers have brought the proxy war in the state under control.

To summarize the focus of the Indian counter insurgency, this figure shows the theme of people centric approach of Indian Army----



The Indian counter insurgency effort has successfully thwarted the insurgency in Kashmir. However, what it is now, grappling in transnational terrorism, which is no longer limited to Kashmir. The continued cross border support is main source of sustenance to this narrative. The Indian Army doctrine and concept of operations in counter insurgency have seen a complete evolution process with counter insurgency campaign in Kashmir. Indian Army calls for a unity of effort at all levels and a common shared understanding of the larger picture to change Kashmiri narrative from Azadi/pro Pakistan to a nationalistic one.

Today's society recognizes the Armed forces as much more than brave men immortalized in tales and stories. The Armed forces have integrated their roles as protectors of society from within and outside and in doing so, have prepared themselves for the myriad of challenges that lie ahead. So we may say that,

"The Indian Armed Forces are our pillars of strength. They are prime guardians of our national integrity and sovereignty. The Armed Forces are seen as last bulwark of honor and patriotism in the nation".