CHAPTER - II

INSURGENCY: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.
Civil war, ethnic conflict, terrorism, communal violence and insurgency have become common across the world especially in the underdeveloped regions during the last four decades. During 1990-2002, there were 56 major armed conflicts in 44 different locations in the world. Amongst the continents, Africa has experienced a high prevalence of civil wars. Over the last 40 years, nearly 20 African countries have experienced at least one period of civil war. The problem of insurgency is one of the most significant questions confronting modern states. During the four decades after World War II, there have been more than a hundred insurgency movements of varying intensity in different parts of the world. Each of them resulted in loss of lives including the innocent people, stagnated economic development, and disrupts the normal life of the people. Therefore, insurgency may be considered as an incurable disease that leave hundreds of scars among the masses and lead the revolution as means of overthrowing the existing system of the country. Most of the insurgency movements in various parts of the world are mainly an intention to overthrow the existing system of governance of a country initiated by a group or groups which have not find an adequate system for the expression of their will. It soon proliferates and affects the lives of majority of the people within the area of its operation.

This undesirable phenomenon is widely prevalent in various parts of the world. Valuable lives have been lost; many innocent civilians who do not indulge in any kind of movement are the main victims of insurgency. Insurgency inevitably arouses the existing authority in one form or the other. The counter-insurgency measures taken by the existing authorities in one form or the other is inevitable. This has led to a widespread insurgency movement claiming the lives of both insurgents and the existing political authority. As these kinds of movement have increased in its number and area of its operation

widened, nations of the world are busy in checking insurgency movement within their own jurisdiction.

**Nature:** Although the problem of insurgency can be found in most of the countries of the world, the nature of insurgency is not always and everywhere the same. It has differed in form and intensity in various parts of the world at different times. It is seen that those who resort to insurgency almost seek to overthrow the existing social, economic or political order and replace it by one of their choice. The political, economic or social order that led to the discontentment of any group easily turn into a violent means. Sometimes, constitutional means is employed, but when all these pacific means fail, an armed movement or insurgency is the next step to be taken for the benefit of the disgruntled elements.

When examining the history of different insurgency movements that are currently going on in the world, one will notice that all insurgencies are different in regard to their environment, aim, strategic approach and means. This complex mix of variables makes it hard to understand or to predict the actions or success of an insurgent. In order to better understand an insurgency movement one must first try to identify the goals of the insurgents, their strategic approach, and the means they can choose from. Second, one must understand the environment in which an insurgent is operating.

Surprisingly, insurgency is not as widely studied a phenomenon as terrorism more particularly in conceptual terms. It is still difficult to give a meaningful analysis of what insurgency actually means. The concept of Insurgency though becomes a vogue; it has yet lacked a clear cut conceptual analysis. The Reader’s Digest Dictionary refers to ‘insurgence’ as ‘uprising’ and ‘an act of revolt’. “An insurgent is one who revolts against authority.”

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kind of movement against an authority which gains an image of revolution is termed as insurgency. The reason might be anything— it might be seeking political space for those who resort to revolution in order that it creates a vacuum for participation in the governance of a country, it might be economic factor, seeking economic upliftment and better economic status. Again it might also be due to social movement which seeks survival in the multi-cultural society. All these reasons might have led to the formation of a revolutionary group claiming a better status; an attempt to bring a sudden change in the existing structure through violent means is anyhow an insurgency.

Meaning: The word Insurgency is taken from the verb ‘in surge’ which means a “heaving or rising; an upheaval.” It has also meant “little revolution: its motivation being overthrow of the existing structure.” Here the intensity of an insurgency is limited within the area of ‘little revolution’. Here lies some difference between a full-fledged revolution and little revolution. ‘Revolution’ which according to Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English means a time when people change a ruler or political system by using force or violence. Sometimes involves an interference of majority of the population. Revolutionary movements of such types brought about significant changes in the whole structure of society, if got success. Meanwhile, there are insurgencies which are of less intensity, the number of people involved in such type is much lesser and it always confines within a limited area. The limited area is usually an area of operation of revolutionary groups. The change which a revolutionary party brings may not be much significant for the whole sections of the society where a revolution has taken place, but significant only for those small revolutionary groups. Anyway, the term ‘insurgency’ was usually restricted in the past to rebellious activities that did not reach the proportion of an organized revolution.

There are many cases in various parts of the world where there is an internal political revolt started by some marginalized sections of society. The states which have not been affected by such internal revolt used to call it as a ‘civil war’ or in common parlance ‘an autonomy movement’. The name of such movement is coined by different writers according to the changed circumstances. This illustrates that there is no clear cut acceptance on the criteria of insurgency. “In International Law, it is used to describe an internal political revolt which the state did not wish to recognize as belligerency.” Therefore, the insurgents do not seek the protection customarily extended to the belligerents.

In the contemporary literature there are many definitions of relevant terms as insurgency, revolution, guerrilla warfare, and terrorism and freedom struggle. Some authors use these terms imprecisely and many times interchangeably. According to William J. Lucas, an insurgency is an organized movement aimed at the overthrow of a legally constituted government through the use of subversion and armed conflict. Another definition of insurgency which focuses more on the political aspect is from Andrew M. Scott: "Insurgency refers to efforts to obtain political goals by an organized and primarily indigenous group using protracted, irregular warfare and allied political techniques." Depending on which definition is used, the amount of categories will vary. O'Neill defines insurgency as, "a struggle between a non ruling group and the ruling authorities in which the non-ruling group consciously uses political resources (e.g. organisational expertise, propaganda

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and demonstrations) and violence to destroy, reformulate, or sustain the basis of legitimacy of one or more aspects of politics.⁷

However, the problem with such a definition is that the term insurgency is more or less equal to the much talked ‘terrorism’ of the contemporary world as there are no accepted interpretation of its process and how it has been carried out. It will be erroneous to view insurgency from the military angle alone and deal with it as such. It can be viewed as a kind of social movement which according to T.K.Oommen “is perhaps the chief mechanism through which the deprived categories demonstrate their power.”⁸ Though social equality becomes vogue in most of the countries of the world, democratic countries are even stressing social equality between different societies within its jurisdiction. The practical implementation of complete equality is still an imagination. Societies often discriminate and governments are often partial and bias in giving treatment to its citizens. The number of representative of a social group always determines the level of treatment given to that particular group. Some groups who uphold a distinct social life are often neglected and ill-treated. The outcome of such step-motherly treatment is an outburst of social movement. When the marginalized sections of the society in a state system felt deprived of their rights and welfare, the only instrument in their hands is to show their discontentment through any means. It is understandable to study ‘insurgency’ as and indication of social movement. The inspiring factor is still the same, that is, a feeling of being neglected and deprived. Most of the insurgent movements of the world are inspired by this feeling and display itself as a social movement which soon reached a stage of use of arms and weapons. Therefore, it is desirable to study insurgency as a kind of social movement where some section


of society tries to have a voice in the societal structure of a multi-society system.

**Insurgency and terrorism:** Insurgency being a movement is significantly different from terrorism. Insurgency, since it is “rise in revolt against authority” indicates an objective, the objective of uprooting or changing that authority. Terrorism, on the other hand, cannot be an objective. “It is use of terror as a strategy or tool to achieve certain objectives, which could very well be what a group of insurgents are attempting to achieve.”

Terrorism involves use of violence to put pressure on the government or to create fear among the people to achieve their goal, but it may not aim at overthrow of the government. Thus terrorism may be said as a by-product of insurgency in many cases. In some cases, insurgent groups use tactic of terrorist to pressurize the government, but the main objective of the insurgent groups’ i.e. gaining political benefit still remains the same. Another significant difference between the two is that while an act of insurgency is always against political authority; terror could be used as a strategy either by a political authority or against it. When political authority strives to promote their interests at the opposition of certain groups, resistant groups have been often formed, authorities need to check resistant groups by using force or terrorist tactics. When such time occurred, the much talked ‘reign of terror’ may then begin.

The term ‘Terrorism’ is derived from Latin words ‘terrere’ and ‘deterre’, the word ‘terrere’ means to tremble, and the term ‘deterre’ implies to frighten. Thus, terrorism means to harm people so that they are so frightened that they start trembling. It is a strategy to achieve an avowed objective through the systematic use of violence thereby undermining the lawful authority of a

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10 Among the three theories of terrorism, Conservatives on terrorism, attribute terrorism to the natural stresses and strains of nation-building. New systems of laws and institutions backed by a government often frighten some people. Classes, castes, religious and linguistic groups– all may find difficult to adjust under a new government and a new laws. The state tries to enforce its laws. Various groups may resent these attempts. The state may use force to check violence by resistant groups. A cycle of violence and counter-violence may then begin.

11 A period when a ruler or a government kills many of their political opponents.
government or a state. In the past, violence was resorted to when the rulers failed to redress the grievances of the people, and they resorted to oppression and infringement of the rights of the people. Terrorism has political overtones, and violence is the means resorted by it. Terrorism is violence for effect; not only, and sometimes not at all, for the effect on the actual victims may be totally unrelated to the terrorists’ cause. Terrorism is violence aimed at people watching. Fear is the intended effect, not the by-product of it. The intent of terrorist violence is psychological and symbolic, not material. Terrorism is premeditated and purposeful violence, pursuit of political power. It is the strategy of the weak against the powerful.

In many ways the modern terrorist is the very creation of the mass-media. He has been magnified, enlarged beyond his own powers by others. The terrorists use every convenient means to pose a threat to the minds of the people. As such, their targets are not armed forces or political authorities; instead it is directed primarily at innocent people or soft targets. Thus, terrorism is a well thought out strategy, in which the terrorists make use of violence to create fear and terror among the people. The terrorist group may or may not have a specific goal. Their goal may be quite vague at times. The Irish Republican Army wanted the end of British rule in Northern Ireland and its merger with the Irish Republic. The People’s War Group in Andhra Pradesh and Jharkhand in India are fighting against, what they allege an oppression by capitalist-controlled state. The Armed Islamic Group is an extremist group that seeks to overthrow the secular Algerian government and replace it with an Islamic state. The HAMAS or Islamic Resistance Movement emerged in 1987 from the Palestinian Branch of the Muslim brotherhood. It pursues the goal of the Palestinian state in place of Israel. The Al Qaeda, on the other hand does not have any limited goal. It wants to destroy Americans in particular, an all alleged Islamists in general, and its area of operation is world-wide.
In the meantime, insurgency has differed in form and objective in comparison to the much talked terrorism. It may be defined as a cellular development of resistance, raised by a section of the people against the ruling political regime, with an aim to overthrow that regime and or secure a change in the existing social, economic or political order. It is a condition resulting from revolt or insurrection against a constituted government and in its early stages fall short of civil war. Thus insurgency is essentially a political legitimacy crisis of some sort. It involves sustained violence which does not relent till it succeeds in its aim. Here violence is inseparably wedded to politics.

Both terrorism and insurgency are variants of militant politics. But there are fundamental differences. While insurgency involves warfare waged by the nationals of a country against indigenous governments, terrorism covers all actions like intimidation, assassination, bombings, kidnapping, hostage taking, sky-jacking, sabotage and arson etc. committed by terrorists against the nationals or property of any country. This includes both doctrinaire terrorism of Western Europe as well as separatist sub-nationalist terrorism practiced by the Irish Republican army or the Palestinians or the Nagas, Mizos and Sikhs.

Modern terrorism and modern insurgency differ in their aims and objectives as well as the milieu in which they are carried out, the nature, scale and target of their violence and their armament and equipment. Those who resort to insurgency are almost always leaders of revolution who seek to overthrow the existing social, economic or political order and replace it by one of their choices. Insurgency can also be waged by ethnic, religious or other minority groups seeking separation from a country. Terrorism on the other hand has a much narrower and limited aim—often tactical—like demanding ransom for freeing a kidnapped person or the release of imprisoned fellow terrorists or demanding that the manifesto of the terrorist may be broadcast in return for releasing hostages.

Though terrorism and insurgency differs in form and objectives, terrorism is the method of any insurgent groups. However, Creation of fear and to let the people trembling is an important mechanism employed by insurgents. To pressurize the authorities, different means may be employed, but the most effective tool is use of violence to press the existing authority. In this very point, terrorism and insurgency though different have a close relationship. All the terrorist groups are not insurgents and all terrorism do not seek to overthrow the existing structure. But all the insurgents use terror and violence to put pressure on the authorities. Terrorism can be used by the insurgents to achieve its goals in all levels of conflict from a state of peaceful competition to general war. Terrorism creates an environment of fear from which the insurgent is trying to gain advantage. The techniques of terrorists are only limited by their own imagination and resources. Well known techniques are: bombing, assassination, kidnapping, hijacking, hostages and bank robberies. As S.K. Ghosh pointed out “Terrorism is defined as the use of violence when its most important result is not the physical and mental damage of the direct victims but the psychological effect produced on someone else.”\(^{13}\) Terrorism is a specific term signifying use of terror as a tool either by state or against it; or even by one small group against another for specific objective, political or otherwise, when terror is used against the state or a political authority to change the power structure or wrest political authority or to secede from a politico-territorial configuration, it becomes an act of insurgency.

**Insurgency and Conventional warfare:** Insurgency is once again different from conventional warfare. A conventional warfare is a fight under accepted norms and principles of International law. Battles are fought through full-fledged armies including the army, navy and air force. Wars are fought and ended in a negotiation initiated by either of the side or a third party. In such

wars, wars have been fought on a massive scale and nations are openly attacking each other. An insurgency on the other hand is like a leech that sucks the blood of the opponents. It is a form of warfare based on mobile tactics used by small, lightly armed groups, who aim at harassing their opponent rather than defeat them in the battle. It is a weapon of the weak like that of terrorism. Though insurgency cannot be predicted, an insurgency is usually slow to develop and is not an accident, for an insurgency leader appears and then the masses are made to move. There are differences between insurgency and conventional warfare, an insurgency is started by the people of a country to overthrow the existing structure or to bring about change in the existing structure in favour of their own. It may be started by an ethnic group or groups, while conventional warfare is started by an enemy of another country. Conventional warfare involves at least two different countries or nation states. Insurgency is an intellectual gymnastic but conventional warfare is a soldier’s war. Insurgents adopt most irregular tactics, they surprisingly attack the government forces and when the retaliation is ready they move to their sanctuary and stop fighting. These surprise attacks often resulted in gradual weakening of their opponents. In the case of conventional warfare set tactics are being followed.

Insurgency is a lingering type of warfare; so long as the insurgents have resources and reasons to fight they adopt irregular means of warfare striking the government forces. There is no time bound for insurgents to cease fighting, the main determinant of the length of their activities depends upon the achievement of their demands on ground that if their demands have successfully been met. Conventional warfare on the other hand begins at a particular time and ends after concluding an agreement. After the war has been ended there is no more continuation of warfare activities. Insurgents do not follow any conventional rules and regulations; there are no terms like Prisoner of War, Horse de Combat etc. The rules followed by insurgents are framed and formulated by
themselves. An insurgent is the sole authority to follow any rules of warfare; meanwhile any conventional warfare has to follow rules and regulations which are based on the idea of humanity and respect of dignity as a human being.

There is no war as final defeat in insurgents’ ideology, if they suffer a serious setback in an armed confrontation, another opportunity to strike back is what an insurgents look for. They never give up their fighting unless and until their demand has been met or at least considered by the government. Most of the insurgencies in the world are a protracted insurgency because of this strategy. In conventional warfare either party has to accept the final defeat if they suffered a serious setback. When the United States of America dropped two atom bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Japanese Government had accepted her defeat and cease to fight, thus paved the way for the end of the Second World War.

**Types of Insurgency:** Looking at the present situation of the contemporary world and the past history, Giriraj Shah divided insurgency into three categories which are as follows;

a) **Communist Insurgency:** The aim of communist insurgency is to overthrow a regime and to change the social and economic order. This includes the struggle carried in the name of national liberation against comprador bourgeoisie government of political independent countries. Communist insurgency has world wide significance compared to the regional and sectional involvement of the other type. It deals particularly with the growth and development pattern of the communist insurgency. There is, however, no similarity between the communist insurgency process and the other type.

b) **Ethnic Insurgency:** Struggle aimed at splitting off from the one existing country and/or uniting with other country. This is also for gaining of religious, social and communal privileges and rights.
c) **Colonial Insurgency**: Insurgency is directed against particular form of government like monarchy, dictatorship or foreign power who occupied the country.

These broad classifications are mainly focusing an insurgency of a broad nature. The government of a nation-state is the main target of insurgent groups who seek their overthrowal for the establishment of a new structure.

NC Asthana and Anjali Nirmal described various types of Insurgency. According to them, by focusing on the ultimate goal of the insurgents, one can identify six types of insurgent movements.

a) **Secessionist Insurgency**: Secessionist insurgents, such as the Eritreans in Ethiopia, reject the existing political community of which they are formally a part. They seek to withdraw from it and constitute a new autonomous political community of their own.

b) **Revolutionary Insurgency**: Revolutionary insurgents seek to impose a new regime based on revolutionary egalitarian values and centrally controlled political structures designed to mobilize the people and radically transform the social structure within an existing political community. Communist insurgencies fall in this category.

c) **Restorational Insurgency**: Restorational insurgent movements also seek to displace the regime, but the values and structures they champion are identified with a recent political order. In this case the values are ascriptive and elitist while the structures are oligarchic ones that have little or no provisions for mass participation in politics.

d) **Reactionary insurgency**: Reactionary insurgents also like to change the regime. However, they want to replace it by a past political order, an idealized golden age in which religious values and benevolent authoritarian structures dominated life. The Muslim Brotherhood (Ikhwan-Ul-Musalmeen) of Egypt is a good example of this type.
e) **Conservative Insurgency:** Conservative insurgents seek to maintain the existing regime in the face of pressures on the authorities to change it. For example, the protestant organizations in Ulster in the early 1970’s wished to retain the regime in Northern Ireland that they perceived as threatened by the Irish Republican Army, Catholic moderates, the Irish Republic and the ‘British Capitulationist’ This can be regarded as a special case of vigilantism. That is, acts or threats of coercion, conducted by individuals and groups seeking to defend the existing order against subversion which transfigures the accepted normative restraints on coercion in a polity.

f) **Reformist Insurgency:** Reformist Insurgents are concerned with the policies that are considered discriminatory. They desire to obtain more political, social and economic benefits without necessarily rejecting the existing political at large; the Kurds in Iraq are a case in point.

The divisions of different types in this viewpoint are made on the basis of an objective of insurgency. Some types are seeking a complete change in the whole structure while some types fall under an insurgency which does not necessarily brings a total change in the existing structure. But all these types seek an advantageous position in comparison with their present condition. Even if an insurgent does not seek complete change, he is looking for a better position in various aspects of life and for that resort to insurgency of any type.

In the meantime, O'Neill defined seven types of insurgencies based on the insurgent's ultimate goal and the aspects of politics the insurgent focuses on.\(^\text{14}\) The following are the different types of insurgencies according to O’ Neill:

Table 2.1

### Types of insurgency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of insurgency</th>
<th>Goal</th>
<th>Example</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anarchist</td>
<td><strong>To eliminate</strong> all institutionalized political arrangements; they view authority relationships as unnecessary and illegitimate</td>
<td>Black Cells in Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egalitarian (communist and socialist)</td>
<td><strong>To impose</strong> a new system based on distribution equality and centrally controlled structures to mobilize the people and radically transform the social structure within an existing political community</td>
<td>Shining Path in Peru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditionalist</td>
<td><strong>To displace</strong> the political system; the values they articulate are primordial and sacred ones rooted in ancestral ties and religion</td>
<td>Hezbollah in Lebanon</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pluralist</td>
<td><strong>To displace</strong> the political system in favor of individual freedom and liberty</td>
<td>UNITA in Angola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secessionist</td>
<td><strong>To withdraw from</strong> the present political community and constitute a new and independent political community</td>
<td>Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reformist</td>
<td><strong>To gain autonomy</strong> and reallocate political and material resources within the present political system</td>
<td>Kurds in Iraq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preservationist</td>
<td><strong>To maintain the existing</strong> political system by engaging in illegal acts against non ruling groups/the authorities who want to change</td>
<td>Ulster Defense Association in N-Ireland</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Strategies of Insurgency:** All the above types of insurgencies can, depending on the environment and strength of the insurgent, choose from several strategic approaches to reach their political goals. Although some types of insurgencies generally prefer a particularly strategic approach, they all can be
useful. All have been used by the different types of insurgencies throughout history. The following strategic approaches are defined by O'Neill:15

1) The Conspiratorial Strategy: In this strategy a small and well disciplined conspiratorial group forms a party to exploit grievances that have largely alienated elements of the population from the government. The insurgent does not seek to bring the general population against the government but it will mobilize segments for mass support in riots and demonstrations. When the government is no longer sure of the loyalty of the military and police, the government can collapse due to terrorism and mass demonstrations.

2) Protracted Popular War Strategy: This strategy is the most successful and written about (China and Mao, Vietnam and Giap). This strategy assumes that the government is in a superior position of power and is unlikely to fall without a protracted and significant effort. Success will be reached by a phased battle in which the government is attacked in areas and with means in which the government is not strong. In the first stage, political organization-terrorism, the organization and infrastructure of the insurgent is put in place. The focus of the first phase is on building a structure and isolating the government from the people. In the second phase, guerrilla warfare, violent military actions are aimed at the government. This makes the government to defend and militarize the country. The last phase, mobile conventional war, is started when the balance of power is in favor of the insurgent and the government can be defeated by overt military actions. The transition from one phase to another is seamless and stepping back into a previous phase is done if needed.

3) Military Focus Strategy: This strategy is a variation of the protected popular war strategy introduced by Che Guevara and Fidel Castro in Cuba.

15 Ibid, pp. 31-53
Instead of relying on a revolutionary condition to arise, this strategy is based on accelerating this (political) process by an armed revolt by a core of guerrillas. This strategy is easier to initiate and requires less organizational work, less popular support at the start and less time.

4) **Urban (terrorist) strategy.** This strategy employs terrorism within urban areas of a society to destabilize it and its government. The object is to create a crisis in both the government's inactivity or over-reaction decreases the government's credibility. The strategy uses the complexity, freedom of movement and anonymity of urban areas. The growing world population and urbanization makes the urban strategy the strategy of the future. These strategies can be shown as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.2</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Insurgent Strategic Approaches</strong></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Insurgent Characteristics</th>
<th>Example</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>strategic approach</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conspiratorial strategy (Lenin)</td>
<td>To remove the ruling authorities through a limited but swift use of force.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protracted popular war strategy (Mao)</td>
<td>To displace the present authorities using a sequential &quot;stages&quot; strategy based on popular support, organization and environment. Organisational/Terrorism stage, Guerrilla warfare stage, Mobile conventional warfare stage.</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Military focus strategy (Che Guevara)</td>
<td>To remove the ruling authorities by defeating the government forces on the battlefield. Although popular support is believed to be of value but not decisive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban (terrorist) Strategy (Carlos</td>
<td>To turn political crisis into armed conflict by performing violent actions that will force those in power to transform the political situation of the country into a military situation. The aim is to create havoc and insecurity which will lead to loss of confidence in the government.</td>
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<td>Marighella)</td>
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**Means of Insurgency:** These different strategic approaches can all be implemented using violent or non-violent means or a combination of both types. The insurgent will choose an approach depending on his own strength and the other players in the environment. Although some strategies focus more on violent means and others on non-violent/political means, they all have been used throughout history. The following means are defined by O'Neill.\(^\text{16}\)

\(^\text{16}\)Ibid, pp. 126-132.
Table 2.3

Insurgent means

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non Violence/Political activities</th>
<th>Propaganda</th>
<th>To influence national and international opinion and gain national and international support. Pamphlets, media broadcasts</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>To influence regional/national government. Media broadcasts, meetings, protest demonstrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td></td>
<td>Recruiting cadres, training, raising money, creating groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence</td>
<td>Terrorism</td>
<td>Bombing random or aimed, kidnapping, hijacking and sabotage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guerrilla warfare</td>
<td></td>
<td>Terrorism, small scale hit and run attacks, ambushes on military targets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conventional warfare</td>
<td></td>
<td>All military operations, excluding NBC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An insurgent can have different goals and can use different strategic approaches and means. When examining an insurgent one must pay equal attention to all three characteristics. Often the focus is on the violent incidents and the violent means that are used by an insurgent. To understand an insurgent one must examine the insurgent's goals and the insurgent's strategic approach and the means used by the insurgent.

In any of the insurgency movement, peoples’ support or massive support is a must. It is the strength of insurgency. There has to be a cause for finding supporters among the population by the insurgents. The insurgent cannot
seriously embark on an insurgency unless he has a very good reason with which to attract supporters. Where there is no problem there is no cause. The problem may be economic, social, racial and even artificial so long as it has a chance to be accepted as a fact. Insurgency can reach a high degree of development by legal and peaceful means, at least in the countries where political opposition is tolerated. Above all, insurgency is the most economical technique for their cold war campaigns. It is traditionally the method of the few fighting the many, and it costs the counter insurgents far more in terms of money, manpower and effort than it does to the insurgents. The people for whom insurgent groups worked for must have an awareness of what the insurgents are striving for. Insurgency has also been defined as a ‘little revolution’ as it has almost all the aspects of revolution in smaller proportion, i.e., a theory, an ideology and tactics. Like revolution Insurgency cannot thrive without mass support, if not mass participation. The objective of an insurgency is overthrow of existing political structure, motivation is ideological and tactics is hit and run with violence as an important ingredient. A tacit, if not an active, support of the masses is an important aspect of insurgency.

In an insurgency movement, the law of warfare has not bound activities of insurgents. The law of warfare has been neglected and set aside. Instead the perceptions of the guerilla fighters are a law itself. It is an extra-constitutional, going beyond an established law of the land. By mobilizing the ideologies of betterment, an insurgent seeks to champion the causes in the minds of the people. In short, they look for the people’s participation to strengthen their movements. They adopt every convenient means to spread their ideologies so that support of the masses is systematically manipulated. Perhaps, the most acceptable definition, comprehensive in scope which is more relevant for our study is that insurgency “could be considered an extra-constitutional; compositely progressive and variegated struggle launched against the incumbent authority by the consciously mobilized sections of indigenous
masses for the fulfillment of certain conceptual goals manifesting emancipation.”

Insurgency operations can be launched by a militarily weak side against powerful security forces of the state. The potential of such operations is widely accepted after Mao’s brilliant success in China and after the strongest military powers of all time was humbled in Vietnam, and another recently in Afghanistan. We in India are also experiencing a taste of this type of warfare. Guerilla warfare is an important aspect of insurgency but insurgency is something more than just guerilla warfare. Guerilla warfare is only a means to an end; it is not an end in itself and is adopted by the insurgents to put pressure on the authorities.

**Requirements of Insurgency:** Thus, it is clear that ‘Insurgency’ is used to describe a form of armed rebellion against the Government, without necessarily claiming an involvement of all the people whom the guerilla war is fought for. However, In order to conduct a successful campaign, an insurgent force needs to be assured of the following basic requirements:

a) **A cause to fight for:** Any insurgency has a cause to fight for, where there is no problem there is no cause. The problem may be economic, social, racial and even artificial so long as it has a chance to be accepted as a fact. As far as the insurgents can win the hearts of the causes, then they will attract attention from the people. The causes should be skillfully utilized to boost the morale of an insurgent group.

b) **Support from the local populace:** Innocent populations who do not indulge in any of the insurgent activities are the main victims of any insurgency. People’s support must be what the insurgents strive for. With that their fighting force must be strengthened and should easily find a safe haven whenever necessary.

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c) **Bases:** Insurgency is an un-conventional warfare, insurgents practice hit-and-run policy. But the strength of insurgent groups is based on the bases they possessed. Most of the insurgent groups found their base at the thick forest where easy access by military troops is denied.

d) **Mobility:** Insurgency must be having such mobility to adopt hit-and run policy. They must be well acquainted with the terrain and let themselves not be encircled by the security forces.

e) **Supplies:** Supplies, not only of arms and ammunitions but of foodstuffs and basic necessities is important. Regular supply of necessities resulted in a prolonged sustaining of the fighting capabilities of insurgent groups.

Conversely, of course, if the security forces can deprive the insurgents of any of these essentials, it may prove to be a more effective method of defeating the revolt than hunting individual rebels. A good general rule is to take the basic principles of guerilla warfare and apply them in reverse. The guerillas’ principle being mobility, the first object of counter-insurgent groups is to deny their mobility, to pin them down, and to encircle them. As the insurgents need the support of the local population, the security force must at all costs deny it to them. Success of counter-insurgency operations depends upon the containment of all these elements.

**Conclusion:** Insurgency, therefore, is an organised movement of a section of the people of the country by unconstitutional means against the existing state authority with a view to capture state power to achieve its cherished political goals. Therefore the aspects of definition may be summed up under such heads. The summary of an insurgency holds a contemporary nature of insurgency.

**It is an organized movement:** No matter how much is an intensity of an insurgency or how many people have been indulged. Insurgency is an organized movement. In some cases like in the communist movements, majority of the population of a country takes part to overthrow the Czarist regime. But in some
cases only a few people organized to launch guerilla warfare against the authorities. Quantity of the participants does not necessarily determine the nature of insurgency. A movement launched with an arrangement of the fighting force or in short its nature of being an organized action is what determines most. There is at least a cause or causes to be champion for organized groups. These causes’ club together person, who shares a common ideology to organize systematically and hence, resulted in an insurgency movement.

By unconstitutional means, it includes peaceful, illegal and violent actions: Insurgency is fought with violent means to put pressure on the authorities. In most of the cases of insurgency, peaceful means is initially adopted and applied but when all these peaceful means fail, then illegal actions and violent means follow. But this does not necessarily mean that insurgency be started with peaceful means. An organized group may involve in violent and illegal means directly. Anyway, it is an extra-constitutional means of putting demand to the constitutional body. Insurgency is however, a movement beyond the established constitution of a country.

It is against the state authority: An insurgency is a social movement inspired by the accumulated discontentment of an organized group. The main target of insurgents is undoubtedly the state authority. It is an accumulated discontentment in regard to the treatment received on various aspects; this feeling of negligence has a psychological effect which displays it as an attack on the government power. Insurgents in most of the cases seek to overthrow the so called ‘Inefficient’ government in their eyes and mainly target the state authorities and state armed personnel. Unlike terrorism which seeks ways to let the people to be in fear, insurgency has not terrorise people without a reasonable cause. Their main target is the state authority that they think as the main cause of their discontentment.

Its main aim is to capture government power with the view to achieve political and socio-economic goals: As the insurgents look at the
government as machinery which creates an obstacle for their upliftment. They targeted the very existing authority and try to gain control of it. It is an expectation of better status after seizing power which urged insurgents to fight till their last breath. Most of the insurgent groups are having clear cut socio-economic goals; they try to achieve their ends by capturing a power of governance, which according to them is the only means to attain their desired goals.

After going through all these aspects of insurgency, an insight of insurgency illustrates the fact that when the marginalized sections of the society felt neglected and deprived of their rights as a subject of an authority, they easily fell into an action which manifested itself as an act of insurgency causing various intensities of troubles upon the existing authority. Again, Insurgency when looking from its objective clearly illustrates that it is an attempt to overthrow the existing structure with an attempt to replace it with one of their choice. Countries of the world are more or less disturbed by different insurgencies with various intensities for at least once or more. It seems like a disease of the contemporary world that gradually weakens the security of nation states through different manifestations. It is a tool in the hands of the powerless against the powerful. Insurgence ridden government should look at every viable means to suppress it and try to find out an amicable solutions before it reach the point of no return.

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