Chapter 1

Diaspora and Militant Nationalism: An Analytical Framework
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For more than two decades, conflict-generated diaspora have been playing a significant role in the homeland militant movement. Though they are widely dispersed, globalization and the easy availability of communication tools have created a concrete platform for them to come together and express their solidarity. Influenced by the memories of pain and suffering, the diaspora community takes an uncompromising position on the rights of its compatriots and contributes to their struggle. Its enjoyment of political freedom in the host country and ability to organize as a community encourage the militant organizations to develop international networks with a view to mobilizing funds, acquiring weapons and securing political support to carry forward their armed struggle.

Since the decade of the 1990s, there has been an emergence of diaspora theorization in various disciplines. The extended use of the term has been seen in various fields including literature, sociology, anthropology, film studies, area studies, and ethnic studies. Academics also lament that the term diaspora is often used as a catch-all phrase for any kind of movement and even for symbolic dislocations (Braziel and Mannur 2003: 3). They caution against such "uncritical, unreflexive application of the term" to all global movements. The theorization of diaspora is generally linked to the concepts of nationalism and ethnic identity. In the present study, these concepts need to be analysed in the light of examination of contemporary forms of relationships among the diaspora scattered in various countries and also with the militant movement at home. The study focuses on the diaspora people who are regularly in contact with their ethnic community settled in other parts of the world and also maintain relations with their people in the conflict-affected homeland, contributing to the insurgent movements.

When a conflict gets aggravated at home, the resultant violence and economic hardships force the victimized community to migrate, but it develops a strong attachment to its homeland. Such diaspora communities build new identities outside
their home. There are many ethno-national diaspora all over the world, which maintain contacts with the people of their homeland. Diaspora communities such as Indians, Jews, Palestinians, Indonesians, Lebanese, Sri Lankan Tamils, Kurds, Armenians, and Chechens are significant in this context. Ethno-national diaspora now openly identify with diaspora organizations and support the militant movement in their home country. With their increasing self-confidence and assertiveness, many diasporic communities proudly maintain their ethno-national identities. Militant groups have easily harnessed this new diaspora consciousness to sustain their militancy.

### Meaning of the Term Diaspora

The term diaspora is derived from the Greek *diaspeirein* (−*sperien, “to sow or scatter seeds”; *dia*, “across”). The term has historically referred to communities of people who have been dislocated from their native homeland (Braziel and Mannur 2003: 1). The word was first used in the *Septuagint*, a Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures (ibid.). These scriptures, meant apparently for the Hellenic Jewish communities in Alexandria (circa third century BCE), were intended to describe the plight of Jews expelled from their homeland of Palestine and relocated in one or more nation-states. In contrast to the classical period, when the term had a religious significance, the contemporary times cover a wider range of diaspora communities. The term got liberalized from the confines of Jewish history and experience and came into intense use to define “any processes of dispersion” and “countless so-called dislocated, de-territorialized communities” (Baumann 2000: 314). John Armstrong (1976) defines diaspora as: “any ethnic collectivity which lacks a territorial base within a given polity”. In the early modern period, the dispersion of people was a result of conquests, genocide and the spice, sugar and slave trade. The reasons for dispersal in the contemporary period are far more numerous than in the classical period.

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1. Michele Reis (2004) incorporates the Jewish diaspora as part of a classical period; the second classification refers to the modern period and finally the contemporary or late-modern period.
2. The Black African diaspora is another early historical reference (Braziel and Mannur 2003: 1). With the beginning of the slave trade in the sixteenth century, many West Africans were forced out of their countries by the colonial rulers and they were dispersed to various countries in North America, South America, the Caribbean, etc. to work as slave labour.
3. Robin Cohen (1997) constructs five different forms of diaspora community: victim, labour, trade, imperial, and cultural. Some may take dual or multiple forms and can change their features with time. The experience of the Jews is an example of proto-typical form; Africans and Armenians as *victim*;
It was expected that with globalization, communication technology and easy international transport facilities, the essence of ethnic cultures and their distinctiveness would weaken, as the modernized world facilitates assimilation of various cultures. However, globalization has transformed the globally scattered ethnic migrant community into a powerful influential force capable of manipulating the politics in its homeland. Globalization, triggered by a technological revolution, could change the cultural dimensions. The instant flow of communication over large distances also breaks down the barriers of territorial identity. The diaspora’s maintenance of close relations with the motherland and emigrant kinsmen is not confined to a few contacts (Baumann 2000: 314). The contemporary concept of diaspora is mostly related to this globalization. From this perspective, globalization may be defined as “the process of increasing interconnectedness between societies such that events in one part of the world have more and more effects on peoples and societies far away” (Shani, <http://www.isanet.org>). This increase in their relations can be observed in the three different meanings of diaspora enunciated by Vertovec and Cohen (1999: xvii–xx), namely, diaspora as social forms, diaspora as kinds of consciousness, and diaspora as modes of cultural production. Social forms are specific kinds of social relationship between diaspora – social relationships between members of a diaspora group in one host country and in another. Though globally dispersed, they are collectively self-identified ethnic groups. Diaspora as types of consciousness is explained by their feeling of out-of-place, of sharing collective memories with co-ethnics about the homeland and the past or a collective aspiration about the homeland’s future. Diaspora as modes of cultural production arises from the flow of ideologies, cultural commodities and imageries.

Many contemporary studies often use the terms ‘transnational network’, ‘transnational communities’ and ‘diaspora’ interchangeably. The term ‘transnational’ usually means “migration of people across the borders of one or more nations” (Sahoo 2003: 160). In common, transnational networks are a prerequisite to the rise of transnational communities. This process is termed ‘transnationalism’, which is defined by Basch and others as “a process by which immigrants forge and sustain

Indians as an example for labour; British as imperial; Chinese and Lebanese as trading; and Caribbean as cultural (cited in Anthias 1998: 562).
multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement."4

In the classical period, diaspora indicated a weak, powerless, scattered population. It was seen as "the processes of dispersion and decomposition, a dissolution into various parts (e.g., atoms) without any further relation to each other" (Baumann 2000: 316). But the contemporary diaspora denote a strong, powerful and bonded group capable of altering the events at home. They are exceptionally well connected.

The diaspora communities are reinventing their culture outside their home in a much more effective manner with their strong economic base in the Western countries. They are making a conscious effort to preserve their culture and identity. They develop institutions in their host land similar to those at home. They establish various and divergent networks, which facilitates interaction with the homeland and the host land at the same time. These networks help the militant movement to reach the diaspora to politically and economically gain support from them. The relationship between the ethno-national diaspora and the ethnic movement at home has become a significant centre of concern in the contemporary diaspora studies. They reflect the collective processes of cultural production – collective memories and commitments; and group consciousness – sentiment of solidarity, etc. which can take the "social form of passing rituals that perform solidarity" (Nonini 2005: 559). This also implies the formation of formal institutions for reproducing solidarities. Hence, diaspora may be defined as an ethnic community with common history and culture that traumatically leave their homeland, whose solidarities strengthen with the shared memories of pain and oppression by developing a strong commitment and network to restore the ethnic rights of their community.

However, many of the contemporary conflict-generated diaspora, though they speak of a strong attachment to the homeland, are unwilling to return home. The material comforts and secure life, especially in the West, induce them to opt for permanent residence away from their homeland.

4 However, referring in particular to Muslim migrants Riva Kastoryano of the Center for International Studies and Research (Paris) says that transnationalism is different from the diaspora nationalism. While the mode of action of transnationalism is de-territorialization with globalization, diaspora nationalism may change into movements for "re-territorialization and statehood" (Sahoo 2003:161).
Factors Compelling Migration

With the change in the political situation after the colonial rule, mostly in the period after World War II, there emerged many new nation-states, mostly in Asia. The persistent domination and position of privilege of particular ethnic groups in the socio-economic and political realms created a fear complex and a sense of deprivation among the others. The elite among the ethnic minorities could escape the discriminatory policies of the State by migrating to the West, taking advantage of their education and wealth. Even as early as the decade of the 1960s there had been new immigration laws or labour recruitment schemes. These laws encouraged, at times, an enormous flood of migrants from Asia and other places to the countries in North America, Europe and Australia (Baumann 2000: 313). But the mass migration of millions of political refugees seeking asylum in other countries, especially the West, got triggered with the initiation of armed conflict between militants and the State.

Members of oppressed ethnic groups turn to militancy as a measure of desperation. When their cause is not paid attention, they resort to violent methods to force the State to pay attention to their sufferings. When the government is oppressive and treats some unfairly, the militants dedicate themselves to get separated from the government and create their own nation to protect their language, customs or religion.

To counter the guerrilla attacks, the government indulges in savage and indiscriminate violence against the civilians. It imposes checks and regulations, restricting individual freedom. Especially, it targets members of the ethnic group pledging their support or involvement in the militant activities. Indiscriminate arrests, disappearances and mass murders become a regular phenomenon in such societies. When the militants employ guerrilla tactics, in which they fight from the populous areas, they use the civilians as human shields. The militants also conscript civilians. Gross human rights violations and complete breakdown of law and order, along with economic hardships caused by the war devastation, force the civilians to leave their homeland. Many, though not victimized by the war, migrate for better economic prospects. The co-ethnics, friends or relatives already settled outside the homeland act as a pulling factor for further migration. Migration also takes place to the former colonial states.
Militant Nationalism

Generally, militancy driven by ethnic conflict possesses a nationalist ideology. Ross defines ethnic conflict as “collective actions, not individual acts, initiated with a perceived divergence of interests or incompatibility of goals among cultural groupings of people who develop competing interests and incompatible identities” (Ross 1998: 20). A militant group based on ethno-nationalism has the advantage of acquiring automatic support from the community it represents. A group’s national consciousness tends to rise when ethnic discrimination becomes widespread. This creates a tendency for revenge against all those who inflicted severe hardships on the minority.

Nationalism is defined as “the strong and sometimes intensely strong identification of an individual with his or her ethnic group” (Ranjit Wijesinha, Shanti Online Journal). In modern times, nationalism is considered as a political movement which aims at creating territorial nation-states. An understanding of nationalism requires explanations of the cultural and symbolic elements of an ethnic group. Not only the language and dress, but also the shared memories, myths, values and traditions are important elements. Shared memories constitute a defining element of a national community. Common deprivation and suffering bind the members of an ethnic group. They are united by their shared grievances. Thus, an ethnic group is defined by Anthony D. Smith (2001) as “a named unit of population with common ancestry, myths and shared historical memories, elements of shared culture, a link with a historic territory, and some measure of solidarity, at least among the elites.” In a multi-ethnic state, various communities may exist in harmony and appear largely apolitical. However, when an ethnic group is attacked or suppressed, there are chances of it turning political and it becoming the source of new nationalism (Hastings 1997: 182).

In the elements binding an ethnic group, the bondage with its territory is significant. Conventionally, the nation constitutes only the people living in the homeland. However, in the modern period, almost every nation has its members living outside and so includes diaspora too. Fred Riggs (2000) used the term anaspora – the people who remain in the homeland – as an antonym to diaspora. With the increasingly permeable borders and easy transport, Riggs (2000) believes that nations
are to be viewed as “globalized systems whose members may be concentrated territorially, in *anaspora*, but include others who are scattered, in diaspora.” In the same way, ethno-national communities which aim to carve a nation within a state (in some cases more than in one state) also have *anasporans* and more or less large and active diaspora.

The attachment of diaspora to their homeland influences them to play an active role in the ethnic politics. The homeland is more than a territory when a particular ethnic group lends its name to that region. The emotional attachment is reflected in the use of terms such as ‘motherland’, ‘native land’ and ‘homeland’. In the concept of a homeland, territory becomes interlocked with notions of ancestry and family. This emotional attachment to the homeland is drawn from the diaspora’s perceptions of it being a cultural haven. The homeland is perceived as “the geographic cradle of the ethno-national group” (Connor 2001). Sarah Wayland (2004) describes diaspora as “a type of transnational community that has been dispersed from its homeland, whose members permanently reside in one or more ‘host’ countries and possess a collective, sometimes idealized, myth of the homeland and will to return.”

Many militant struggles are waged by the homeland peoples who have experienced relative deprivation and threat to their cultural rights. Homeland psychology is a major factor leading to violence and demands for autonomy and secession. A minority cannot claim a right to statehood if it occupies an area which is either “culturally, economically or militarily essential to the existing State” or “which has a disproportionately high share of the economic resources of the existing State” (Gilbert 1994: 122). If many of its members show strong antagonism towards living together with others in the group, then decent life is not possible. A militant movement, which overcomes these limitations, finds it more legitimate to demand secession. The comparative success of many ethno-nationalist militant movements is possible because of this clarity of goal, i.e. the establishment of a national homeland after seceding from the existing country.

According to John Breuilly (2001), nationalism is developed first within the culturally dominant groups which are condensed in a particular region of a multi-ethnic state. Separatist nationalism is promoted among the culturally subordinate
groups. The dominant groups consist of most of the landed and State elites while the subordinate groups are the deprived section of society. When a dominant group imposes its language on the subordinate group, the minority group lays claims to political and cultural rights. In modern days, nationalism is a product of the centralized State system. If members of an ethnic group feel relatively deprived under a State dominated by another ethnic group, they resort to armed struggle against such a State.

One of the basic principles with which guerrillas operate is to bring in the whole community not as passive onlookers but as active co-participants. It must be "all for one and one for all" in an engagement that is not coercion (Whittaker 2004: 77). The guerrillas' method of struggle becomes closer to the people when their efforts can politically convince a wider population, besides military victory. The support of the community is vital for the militant group because the community can provide manpower, intelligence and supplies to the movement.

When the community feels threatened, it gets bound against the common adversary. If the State uses indiscriminate violence against the community in the name of combating militancy, the coercion of the State automatically makes the community incline towards the militants. Government highhandedness always proves beneficial to the militants. The militants fighting against that threat are seen as protectors by the majority of the community and its members join the militant movement. By declaring that it is not just guerrilla warfare but a people's war of national liberation, the militants draw much support from the people. Nationalist groups can make a strong emotional appeal to their community. Often, it is not easy to be reluctant to the militant's demand. Fear of being seen as a traitor to the movement compels them to support the group. In some cases, even the militant group forces the people to join to sustain their violence.

Violence is seen by the militants as an essential tactic of militancy. Violence may be designed to achieve attention, acknowledgement, or even sympathy and support for their cause. A goal of violence may also be to achieve recognition to their rights and their movement. Groups using violence regard themselves as freedom fighters struggling against oppression to establish a legitimate and desirable political goal (O'Balance 1989: 10). The paradoxical use of violence is justified by the militants.
Margaret O. Hyde and Elizabeth H. Forsyth in their book, *Terrorism: A Special Kind of Violence*, say that the militants justify the means by the ends. They are able to kill because they see their victims not as people but as objects and symbols of a system which need to be destroyed (Hyde and Forsyth 1989). If the militants consider their goals and objectives to be principled, they justify their methods. “They feel a powerful, immoral, and evil enemy is arrayed against them. The enemy is considered to be adept at betrayal, exploitation, violence, and repression against the championed group” (Martin 2003: 57). This thinking will make them legitimate in fighting against it. History is identified and interpreted as being the source of the group’s modern problems. In later generations, native people who shared this history interpret it as the part of an ongoing pattern in contemporary times. They develop strong resentment against their perceived oppressor.

In a group conflict members of the constituent groups are more aware of their shared grievances. In such conditions, social components of self-concept become more prominent than individual components. Many studies show that when they are in conflict groups, they become more “prejudiced attitudinally” and “aggressive behaviourally” than in a context where they act as individuals (Stout 2002: 45).

The militants use various sources like newspapers, magazines, books, journals, pamphlets, songs, plays and poems to influence their community members not only at home but also among the diaspora. The publications of the militants aim at drawing the support of the masses. They also publish reports from the battlefield and heroic short stories.

In relation to diaspora, the concept of long-distance nationalism has gained prominence in the literature. It is defined as “a set of identity claims and practices that connect people living in various geographical locations to a specific territory that they see as their ancestral home” (Schiller 2005: 570). This is demonstrated through various actions including lobbying, contributing money, voting, demonstrating, creating works of art, fighting, killing and dying. Long-distance nationalism is closely connected to the classic notion of nationalism and the nation-state. Long-distance nationalism is different from other forms of nationalism in terms of the nature of the relationship between the members of the nation and the national territory. Some members of a diaspora may become long-distance nationalists and take action to
obtain, defend or support political action in a specific territory that they designate as home. Long distance nationalism is not a new phenomena, although the term only become prominent in the social science literature beginning in the 1990s. The diaspora community’s sustained allegiance to the cultural and religious traditions of the mother country is explained by the “emotion-laden connotations of uprootedness, precariousness and homesickness” attached to the term (Baumann 2000: 314). Diaspora organize themselves as ethnic groups by nurturing their nationalistic tendencies in their host societies.

**Diaspora and Transnational Networks**

This emergence of transnational relations raises new issues in international relations, which reflect the alarming link between ‘ethno-national’ diaspora and continuation of ethnic conflicts at home. In many militant movements, the attitude and support of ethno-national diaspora determine the outcome. They are active supporters and actors in sustaining militancy, politically and economically. In the conflict-affected homeland absence of political rights and freedom of expression constrain the political role of the ethnic community. But when they migrate to open societies, the militant movements discover the potential of diaspora enjoying the new-found freedoms to publish, organize and gather financial resources.

Globalized diaspora networks connect multiple groups of diaspora distributed in various places. Not only in national homeland politics, groups involved in these diaspora networks also develop relations with other diaspora and non-diaspora groups involved in other types of transnationalism (Sassen 2005: 500). Transnational networks are crucial to diaspora, but diaspora are made up of more than networks. “Social networks” include individuals connected by more than one or more kinds of relationship but they are concentrated on some individual who is the nodule of that network (Nonini 2005: 562). This concept of social network was first put forward by J.A. Barnes. He saw the social network as an extension of social relations beyond and between formal groups. They are functionally autonomous from their normative order. Barnes saw these elaborated social networks as a characteristic of complex modern societies.
Tambiah speaks of vertical and lateral types of transnational relations (cited in Sahoo 2003: 161). The vertical relations implies "... participation of immigrants in the host country to improve and impact the host nation". In this type of relationship, diaspora by showing active participation in the social, economic and political spheres of the country of settlement become a significant force in the host land, socially and economically. The lateral relations refer to "... maintaining, reinforcing and extending the relation between the emigrant communities and their places of origin" (ibid.). This relationship, which is the focus of the present study, is called as 'transnational global networks'. Diaspora, by forming such ethnic networks worldwide, allow the militant organizations to engage in prolonged armed conflicts against the State. The diaspora communities are mobilized by the militants for funds and propaganda. They help the militant groups to develop international support infrastructure, and engage in training, weapon procurement and shipping. Diaspora contributions to militancy may thus be both political and economic.

**Political Engagement of the Diaspora**

Ethno-national diaspora form political networks across the globe and influence the policies of the home governments. Ethnic identity forms the basis for building these networks. Such networks function outside the conflict territory; the ultimate object is to achieve autonomy or secession for their homeland. Modern means of technology and globalization have permitted this new arrangement of ethnic interactions, though their political goals have their roots in the age-old concept of nationalism.

Cultural associations and other community organizations of ethno-national diaspora in various countries are engaged in political activities. The global diaspora function as a political voice for the homeland militant struggles to the audience worldwide. They internationalize the conflict and project the plight of the ethnic minority and the inevitable conditions that led them to leave the country from their perspective. They use various propagatory tools like images and publications to create awareness among the diaspora, mostly the younger generation, enlivening their ethno-nationalist feelings. Following the events of 1984 in Punjab, the Sikh diaspora displayed graphic images of tortured political prisoners and the demolished Akal Takht (Golden Temple) outside gurdwaras. See [http://www.isanet.org/noarchive/shani.html].
home state. They not only get involved directly in homeland politics but also influence the policy of the host governments vis-à-vis the conflict in their homeland. The diaspora develop connections with sympathetic groups like other ethnic groups, political parties, and non-governmental and international organizations. By developing this web of linkages, the diaspora are able to lend support to the militant movements at home.

Among the diaspora, there are expatriates who might even stay in touch with no willingness to return. But for many reasons, wish to establish links with the place they call their home. This active relationship is seen among many first-generation settlers. Among the younger-generation diaspora, who are completely assimilated in their host country, some experience – a “chance encounter, conversation, reading, insult” or any other incident – might stir interest in their homeland (Riggs 2000). This will draw them towards active involvement in activities linking homeland.

The diaspora also have become more significant in relation to their contribution to peace-building efforts at home. When the conflict gets internationalized, the diaspora around the world, especially those in the West, even influence the role of their host countries in that peace process. The large presence of diaspora in certain Western countries also helps in choosing that location as a platform for negotiations between the militants and the State. The intellectuals among the diaspora can provide political and policy inputs to the militants by drafting the related documents and even participating directly in the peace talks.

Communities use different methods of communication to establish and maintain contacts. The internet has become a convenient tool to construct national identity, to instil and reinforce distinct political identities among ethno-national diaspora. Internet provides the groups an effective tool to develop and propagate their nationalism. For members of ethno-national diasporas, the internet offers the most effective way to maintain cultural and emotional ties with their people back home (Ranganathan 2002: 54). Internet provides for the identification of common interests, the sharing of information and the creation of awareness and mobilization. Militants use internet to contact members of diaspora, disseminate their views to a wider audience and tap new sources of financial support. Such electronic spaces “offer new resources and new disciplines for the construction of imagined selves and imagined worlds” (Appadurai,
I quoted in Yong, nautilus.org). The new electronic forms of communication reinforce political activism of this kind because the social overhead cost of dissemination through e-mail, cell phone, fax, and website on behalf of nationalist movements is low.

Discussions in such electronic forums like the internet are far and wide in their range. These discussions are interesting not because they will lead to any real political solutions in the future, but because they are taking place. It is difficult to say as to who participate in these discussions. From the fact that the discussions take place in online forums located in different parts of the world, it becomes obvious that the participants are drawn from a transnational audience both in and outside the theatre of conflict.

Members of transnational diasporic public may have transnational relationships among diaspora communities, even if one based on indirect, mediate quasi-interactions, can be an important source generating imaginative identification with places beyond the national territory (Nonini 2005: 564).

Whenever the government back home takes a tough stand against militancy or adopts any policy influencing their ethnic community, the diaspora act as a pressure group through their host governments. They offer their perspective to their host governments on the current situation in their home country. Ethno-national diaspora, through their vocal activism, make the entire world aware of the oppression and suffering their ethnic community faces in their home country. The need for unifying the voice and actions of diaspora around the world is emphasized in their political meetings and demonstrations.

Diaspora from a particular region, if their number is sufficiently large, do maintain their village and clan identities by establishing various representative associations in the countries of their settlement. Such organizations and their activities help them to

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6 When Kurdish leaders such as Abdullah Ocalan and Leyla Zana, involved in the struggle for Kurdistan, were arrested, diaspora organizations mobilized support for their release. Through their sympathizers in the US Congress, Kurdish diaspora organizations urged the US President to seek immediate release of the Kurdish leaders and also persuaded the American government to initiate efforts for the resolution of the Kurdish conflict (Bon Filner 1997). American Kurdish Information Network (AKIN), the Kurdish Cultural Center (KCC) and the Kurdish National Congress (KNC) are active in enhancing awareness about the struggle for Kurdistan among the Americans. By organizing events such as the International Kurdistan Festival, the global Kurd community is mobilized on to a common platform where their urge for self-determination is consolidated (Frank Pallone Jr. 1999).
keep in touch and make coordinated efforts to develop their respective village, region or educational institution.

**Economic Role of the Diaspora**

Economic contribution of diaspora forms the backbone for many militant organisations. The militant groups harnessed its overseas migrant community, using it for funding, arms running, and a host of other activities. The survival of some militant movements is bleak without their financial support. Through the front organisations, militants are involved in international trade, investment and enterprise.

The perpetual conditions of war encourage more and more people to migrate out of the conflict affected land. This massive influx of refugees could maintain their village and clan identities by establishing various representative associations in the countries of their settlement. Such organizations and their activities help them to keep in touch and make coordinated efforts to develop their respective village, region or educational institution.

Sympathisers also extend their support. Many individuals involve themselves in militant acts, and harbour militants by providing them food, clothing, shelter etc. They ignore their involvement in crime and are seen as the “romantic rebels”, “courageous men and women fighting for a strong cause” (Singh 1989: 51).

Apart from having a proper cause and a degree of popular support, militant groups need certain financial resources to operate successfully. Exceptional advances in modern technology have materially facilitated the growth of militant movement. With the advent of improvements in weapons, communications, transport and electronics, it is easy for the militant group to sustain. Innovations in communication and transport enhance their strength. This helps them to expand internationally and survive. Their links with other militant groups increase their efficiency.

Diaspora contribution to the militants’ finances may be voluntary or involuntary, the latter being made out of duress. Militant group’s propaganda campaigning is important in raising funds. Diasporas in Western countries are quite rich when
compared to their ethnic brethren in their homelands. Militants employ the threat or use of force while collecting taxes. Militant organizations, through front, cover and sympathetic organizations are also involved in money laundering. Money laundering is done to make the funds legal. Many militant groups also engage in money laundering to produce profits in safe ventures. Extremist groups invest in stock exchanges. Many militant groups own printing presses, supermarkets, gas stations, transportation companies, travel agencies, canned food industries, video and audio parlours, computer schools, phone card companies and security firms in the UK, Switzerland, Germany, France and Canada. Some of them own broadcasting stations, restaurants, newspapers, etc. Militant groups also organize cultural events and lotteries to make money. They are also involved in unauthorized foreign exchange transactions (Gunaratna 2000: 9).

Governments back insurgencies primarily for strategic reasons. But diaspora funding may become more important when state funding stops or becomes unobtainable. The withdrawal of superpower support in the early 1990s caused the collapse of several insurgencies that depended on Moscow to survive. Diaspora motivations differ considerably from those of state sponsors. Migrant communities are motivated largely by a desire to support a kin group. As discussed, inherent to the idea of a diaspora is a concept of homeland. Sometimes these communities may also feel guilt because they are safe while their kin are involved in a brutal and bloody struggle. Diaspora often feels a genuine sympathy for the domestic struggles of their overseas kin. Insurgent groups play on this sympathy and guilt to gain financial support. Military victories tend to capture greater support from abroad. This provides more money for continued success in the domestic theatre.

The diaspora may sometimes contribute to an insurgency for ideological as well as communal reasons. In general, however, an insurgency’s ideological bent is far less important to diaspora communities than its representation of a particular community’s political and military aspirations.

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7 PIRA relied for long on Kurds in Germany and Irish-Americans, respectively, to provide needed funds (Hoffmann and Schalk 2004: 42).
8 Many Palestinians backed leftist organizations such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command because of their ideological inclination (Hoffmann and Schalk 2004: 56).
Transnational support structure is an important component of many contemporary militant groups. Their infrastructure in the home country can be easily detected and disrupted. But, it is difficult for the concerned governments to destroy their international network. The host governments show greater tolerance towards diasporas. Also, it is difficult for a host government to distinguish between the pro-militant activists and the general empathizers of the ethnic community. In many cases, the lack of international cooperation in checking militancy has facilitated links between the diaspora communities and militant movements. In the process, diasporic communities become a greater source of strength to sub-national movements.

**Conclusion**

The fear complex and sense of deprivation of a particular ethnic group in cultural, political and economic functions in its home country may result in compels them to leave the home country. Such members of minority groups resort to violence to redress its grievances. The resultant war with the State creates devastation and affects the livelihood of the ethnic group and security and triggers mass migration. The globalized world with advanced technology gives the migrants an advantage to be in regular touch with the co-ethnics and helps in setting up formal and informal diaspora networks. Militant organizations benefit from these communication networks for their own sustenance. Diaspora, though scattered and away from home, could play significant political and economic contribution to the militancy at home. However, the recent increase in global sensitivities to terrorist networks and the attention given by the international community to its elimination have constrained the militant groups' extent of influence.