



STUDY OF VARIOUS APPROACHES TO UNDERSTAND INSURGENCY-

Special Reference to Naxalism in India and Maoism in Nepal

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Abstract

Insurgency has been defined by the United States Department of Defence as an organized movement aiming to overthrow a constituted government.¹ The means of the rebel are subversive and armed. It can also be signified as an employ of unlawful means towards an end, political, religious, social or even ideological. The paper tries to understand the theories propounded by thinkers to understand the birth of a insurgency in any state. The paper tries to apply the theory in the case of Nepal and India.

Keywords: Insurgency, rebel, armed, authority, dissatisfaction, class struggle.

Introduction

An insurgency in simple terms, is an organized movement aimed to overthrow a constituted government through the use of debasement or armed conflict.² Insurgency is also identified as a guerrilla warfare, which makes the scenario weird and difficult to objectify problem for the host government. Here, guerrilla fighter talks about a strategical fight by the party assembling against the power (government, group, dictator, class, caste many more) in a region, with explicit knowledge of the geography and topology, with clear demarcations of within and without for attack and escape, knowledge of the graphs of points for high intensity operation, hiding places. Above key strings denotes the commencement of the armed warfare at wild places (environment) with low density population. Such revolts generally aim at reforms in the social form of land/power ownership.

If we apply the above strategically move in Asia (India), Naxalism is the insurgency or the movement.³ It is said to be the great peasant mass movement for land acquisition, which constitutes and serve their life (as their cemetery). Insurgencies, whether old or new, tend to be elongated movements.⁴ The movement involves insurgents betting their stuffs, assets,

¹ Sheriff F. Folarin, Faith O. Oviasogie, Insurgency and National Security Challenges in Nigeria: Looking Back, Looking Ahead. <http://eprints.covenantuniversity.edu.ng/3243/1/Folarin%20and%20Faith%206.pdf>. Retrieved on 08/08/2018

² Low intensity conflicts in a liquid world (2016), Transversal Bridge, European Commission, Directorate General Home Affairs, EU, Pp-1-5.

³ Thomas F. Lynch III,(2016), India's Naxalite Insurgency: History, Trajectory, and Implications for U.S.-India Security Cooperation on Domestic Counterinsurgency, Centre for Strategic Research Institute for National Strategic Studies National Defence University, Washington, D.C.Pp-5-52

⁴ Dipak K. Gupta (2007),The Naxalites and the Maoist Movement in India: Birth, Demise, and Reincarnation, Democracy and Security, Taylor & Francis, Pp-3-34

ownerships, will and support, furnished with better equipment's and resources, and external support against an authoritative body.⁵

Mao Zedong theories supported the insurgency strategy. He enshrined the thoughts to his party's victory in China. The extraordinary theory of attaining power encouraged other examples of history like the Vietnamese, who adopted the theory with their narratives amalgamation. Other movements also did the same.⁶

Insurgents today often bypass Mao's first phase and let armed conflict speak for itself, taking various classifications and segregated in respect to the ends, ways, and means. Example, Taliban is a reactionary-traditionalist insurgency in Afghanistan. It wants to revive the conventional form of government of 800. It is keenly concentrated in uprooting the external intervention and imply the sharia law, which seems to be the best form of governance for peaceful, brotherhood sanctioned co-existence to them.

The traits of warfare encompassed by Mao talks about, hit at weak time- when the government is weak let it be instability of government, election issue, foreign aggressions, civil war, economic depression etc. The strong stake of the government is to be ignored; hiding strategies is to be used.⁷

Theoretical Perspective:

The Evolution or spontaneous rebellion, movement or activity influencing the political and social stability can be understood after a keen research of the political, social, psychological, topographical, scientific and other backgrounds, which will finally open up the foundational factors leading to insurgency, a threat to security of state or globe. Some theorist has tried to refine the relation between cause and effect. The causes read by various theorists stuck all of them with the same problem of indefinite and non-generalized factors leading to insurgencies in various corners of the world. Varying factors leading to insurgency has led to various schools of thoughts in accordance to the insurgency case-study of their research area.⁸

The unrevealed causes of insurgencies generally have led to discrepancies in thought and generalization of a theory. A theory propounds understanding and summons in solution after the generalized or universal applicability. Hence, the causes have to be classified uniformly (in any diversified arena) all over the globe or in all cases, to come to a decision or to form the relation between cause and effect, resulting in propounding of a theory, supportive for future application, understanding of problem and respective solution.⁹ Vulnerability in society, arising out of dynamism in life standards and style are the triggering factors for a rebellion which differentiate place to place.

Johnson propounds that disequilibrium or consistent imbalance and disparities among the society due to economic, political, educational and cultural

⁵ ibid

⁶ Tony K. Cho (2011), Mao's War of Resistance: Framework for China's Grand Strategy, Parameters Autumn edition, US Army War College, USA, Pp-3-13.

⁷ <http://www.intelros.ru/pdf/Understanding%20War/10.pdf>. Retrieved on 1/8/2018

⁸ http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/14953/7/07_chapter%201.pdf. Retrieved on 29/0/2018

⁹ ibid

differences, may result in sections segregation within a society, leading to discontent in the society. Thus, if economic output expands faster than the education or if political organization changes more rapidly than economic organization or vice versa, withdrawal of support towards regime by individuals may occur. Disequilibrium between different sectors are the key cause for the discontentment while Huntington signifies disequilibrium within the political sector. He emphasise crucial role of the political system and institutional procedures supportive to maximum political participation by the individuals. If the participation allowed is inadequate in comparison to the people's expectations, it may result in unrest and anti-state activities.¹⁰

Ted Gurr's calls about a modern approach which denotes the analysis of relative deprivation as the pre-condition for any civil discontent. The gap between the expectation by the people and delivery by the government i.e. when their social opportunities no longer accord with their expectations, either because expectations are rising too quickly or welfare is falling, feelings of 'relative deprivation' further results in formal or informal associative discontentment movement. The arena and intensity of the discontentment and distrust among the masses uniformly can lead them to take violent action against other party. Various forms of repulsive associations have been noted for the action against the political regime. Example: In the form of guerrilla wars, military coups, rebellion, extremists and riots This theory, however, provides only a partial explanation. As the theory of Ted Gurr fails in countering the situation of rebels in similar socio-economic and political conditions, where some are repulsive and some are not, thus theory has been criticized.¹¹

Disagreeing that disequilibrium or relative deprivation causes civil strife, Tilly by the 'Resource Mobilization' theory counters that the capacity of the unit or group, to attain an objective such as power, depends on the intensity of control or leading of: (a) normative resources (allegiance of members towards the group itself and its objectives and ideology) (b) coercive means of implying punishment on the enemy (c) utilitarian resources (rewards). In collective action against the opponents, acquiring these resources is mandatory. Tilly justifies the participation of the mobilized sections of the population in such violence.¹²

Finally, Gurr amalgamate both relative deprivation theory with Tilly's resource mobilization theory propounding: The political action by the groups is the output of the distrust, exasperation and the ingrained, blended with the capability of the group leaders to persuade these grievances further. The charismatically preachers line up the dissatisfied feeling of the consensus, unanimously and lead their voice.¹³

¹⁰ http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/14953/7/07_chapter%201.pdf. Retrieved on 29/0/2018

¹¹ ibid

¹² ibid

¹³ ibid

*“There are only two types of people around the world one “Haves” and other “Have-nots”-Karl Marx.*¹⁴

Conflict Theory propounded by Karl Marx (1818-1883) genesis the consistent conflict between the haves and have-nots. *“The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes”,* quoted Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in their book *“The Communist Manifesto”*. The bourgeoisie and proletariat though are dependent upon each other, still their relationship of equality and of respectable reciprocity are not just. Hence, it is a society with classes, resulting in coalitions between exploiters and exploited, oppressor and oppressed.¹⁵

Slowly and steadily the haves attained power and gets converted into authoritative body. Instead of merging the classes into one, the capitalist class or the ruling class shifts to internal colonialism. As seen in newly independent states. Example India- Left extremist in north-east India, Naxalism (Core Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Bengal, Andhra Pradesh etc.) But this theory fails to deal with the insurgencies which are not driven due to socio-economic reasons or development.

Lenin demarks the role of economic and social resentment among the individuals as an excuse to well-organized core of revolution fostering violent or non-violent insurgency. Lawrence signifies the importance of a base or centres, obscure to the counterinsurgents forces, with defensive terrain, sufficient supplies of ammunitions, and less dense region, with sufficient hideouts. He talks about counterinsurgent force dependency on a unprotected technology, such as a railroad would be beneficial.¹⁶

As mentioned by Cuny and Hill, refugees and displace individuals, can become the instant and easy recruiting belt for insurgents.¹⁷

Some counter-insurgency theories.

Galula talks about convinced and supportive role of civilians in the operating zone of the insurgents, on their perusal of benefits and outcomes of such a support. Malayan insurgency is an example highlighting the role of civil support, who are tried to be pursued through offerings like economic benefits, security from violence, and political conciliation by counterinsurgents. Participation of the local population in counter-insurgency could be more beneficial as they are aware of the all loopholes, hideouts, strategy, food

¹⁴ <http://nishchhalkharal.blogspot.com/2012/03/relevance-of-marxists-conflict-theory.html>. Retrieved on 28/07/2018

¹⁵ *ibid*

¹⁶ <https://arxiv.org/ftp/arxiv/papers/1603/1603.01787.pdf>. Retrieved on 08/08/2018

¹⁷ F. C. Cuny and R. B. Hill (1999), “Famine, Conflict and Response: a Basic Guide,” Kumaran Press, West Hartford, Connecticut.

networks, external linkages and training of the insurgents. Hence, role of population becomes crucial.¹⁸

Leites and Wolf state cut-off the channels and modus operandi and resource inflows (such as munitions, supplies, and finances) can lower the pace and intensity. Ethical fronts, political socialization and allegiance or confidence in constitution or nation or government and its forces are important to side-line population from adjoining insurgents.¹⁹ Pardon, monetary rewards and offers of government and military positions may let the insurgents to give a rethink to change side.

Analysis: The essence of Marxist's Conflict Theory in C.P.N. Maoist Insurgency in Nepal.

The Conflict theory propounded by Marxist talks about a materialist interpretation of past, a logical discussion leading to appropriate analysis, including critical perspective towards existing social or political structure or reform or revolution. The C.P.N. Maoist in Nepal was analyzed to fall in the circumference of the conflict theory, the theoretical approach of the C.P.N Maoist, Nepal seemed to be matching with Conflict Theory of Karl Marx. C.P.N. Maoist was the rebel group. It had made drastic makeover in the political scenario of Nepal. The dynamism were within a short duration which became the talk of the town soon. The Civil War of 1996-2006 was only one comparative to its performance. This was not a silent process makeover, it charged with causalities of more than 15000 and disruption of rural living and development.

A 'People's War' on February 13, 1996 was scheduled as per the calendar by The Maoists. The rebel was to be voiced by the slogan: "Let us march ahead on the path of struggle towards establishing the people's rule by wrecking the reactionary ruling system of state." It resulted in innumerable killings of women, children, old and young people (some with vicious tortures) and the uprooting of authority. Insurgency in Nepal was residing under cover since five decades but 'people's war' on February 13, 1996, busted the desires out, led by the by the Communist Party of Nepal – Maoist, the most radical offshoot of the left-wing spectrum in Nepali politics.

Analysis: The Incubation of Disequilibrium or Relative Deprivation and Marxist theory in Naxalism context.

The Indian Maoist movement, also known as Naxal movement or peasant insurgency, arose from the broader communist movement in India in 1967. The Adivasis and Dalits, are the deprived section of the society, often ignored since independence. They were deprived with the access to the forest land and resources. The insurgents are prepared to face the armed operations to be used by the government to suppress their movement. They fantasize to defeat the Indian armed forces and dream of capturing political power. They talk about 'protracted agrarian armed struggle' against the state, acquiring power in the

¹⁸ <http://nishchhalkharal.blogspot.com/2012/03/relevance-of-marxists-conflict-theory.html>, Retrieved on 08/082018

¹⁹ <https://arxiv.org/ftp/arxiv/papers/1603/1603.01787.pdf>. Retrieved on 08/08/2018

rural areas and eventually encompassing the urban sectors too. This is assumed by them to be the best strategy (by the use of guerrilla warfare-hit and run) to bow down the enemy to surrender, symbolizing the situations in in China in 1960's. The fact is that this is the Indian democratic state unlike China at that time, neither the Indian army is Chiang-Kai-Shek's army. The Disequilibrium or Relative Deprivation and Marxist theory works together in the case of India as the discontent due to socio economic has led the conflict which also seemed to be a class struggle among haves and have-nots.²⁰

Conclusion

The System analysis theory propounded by David Easton in 1953 specifies the sustainable circle of a state, where input and output in the environment is proportionate. When the input-demands by the masses, attain output-policies by the government, the channel sustains the state and government. This theory justifies the importance of vice e versa responsibility of both the parties, governing and governed for peaceful co-existence. This can be the counter-insurgency theory.

A theoretical findings and keen practical observation of the insurgencies thoroughly, by the US military in 2006, brought them with a comprehensive qualitative model of insurgency to be discussed. Multiple factors were identified, which are pro and anti-Insurgency. The study concluded the suppression in any field, gives rise to insurgency as the masses sense the feeling of insecurity, hence counterinsurgency traits should include population's security, good governance and essential services, to resist such insurgency issues in future. Similar study at every level in every insurgency should be done. After a keen discussion on the theories and approaches, we can say that subjectivity is more inclined in all cases as the cause and effect, the objectives, modus operand varies, indeed a common actor in insurgency prevails, and that is leadership, which takes birth due to improper application and functioning of system analysis model as explained above.

²⁰Tej Pratap Singh (2012), The Maoist Insurgency in India, Retrieved on 08/08/2018 TheNaxaliteProblem_IndiasMaoistsandProspectsofPeace_DistilledMagazine.pdf.