
UNIT 6 TYPES OF WAR: REVOLUTIONARY WAR, CIVIL WAR, GUERRILLA WAR, INSURGENCY AND COUNTER INSURGENCY, PROXY WAR AND ASYMMETRICAL WAR AND TERRORISM

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6.1 INTRODUCTION

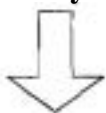
In the earlier chapter on types of war we saw that the discussion of 'war' is done at two levels. At one level, the discussion concerned the conflicts between nation-states. War, as is normally understood, is 'international'; where two or more nations fight on issues of differing national interests. These interests may focus on ideology, power, territory or simply perceptions of each other. At another level, one can see that the discussion centred on conflicts that occur within nations. These conflicts may arise to oust those who hold the reigns of power; they may arise to seek redressal of grievances, or arise out of certain rights that have been denied to a section of populace of a particular nation. In some cases, the internal uprisings may get support from outside powers, on some they may not. They may seek change within the nation-state in terms of change of government or regime; they may seek more powers through decentralisation; or they may eventually lead to a call for self-determination and the creation of a new nation-state itself. In either or all of these

cases the problem is of **internal** security in a broad sense. The labels, however, may vary from revolutionary wars, civil wars, **guerrilla** war, insurgency, **asymmetric** warfare or terrorism.

One must also make a difference between types of war as they have come to be classified and the methodology used to fight them. The term **revolutionary war** or **civil war**, for example, has over the years come to be classified as a type of war in view of the political objectives that it carries. **Guerrilla war, terrorism, low intensity conflicts, proxy war**, on the other hand, are tools, means, or methods of conducting such a struggle. All of them are methods of warfare used in revolutionary war or civil war. These methods, that is, guerrilla warfare, terrorism and low intensity conflict, together may be considered as **insurgency** in a broad sense of the term. Insurgency is primarily a political phenomenon that uses violence as a 'legitimate' tool. The tool of violence is manifest in forms like guerrilla war, terrorism, and low intensity conflicts. This system of warfare that is a product of such tools of violence is also called **asymmetric warfare**. It is asymmetric not only because of the differential in the force-capabilities of the two sides, but also because the war is fought without any 'ground rules'. In this type of warfare, little distinction is made between combatants and non-combatants. No value judgement is attempted to be made in the use of terrorism and the destruction that it carries. **Proxy war** as a tool or means of conducting a struggle has a slightly different connotation. Proxy war has an underlying political motive to it; it is generally associated with an indirect support given by any country for a political struggle in another country or against another country.

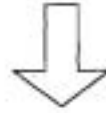
Non-Traditional Forms of Conflict

Revolutionary War



Against the State to capture political power

Civil War



Objectives

Internal societal turmoil to retain or capture power

Method of Warfare

Politico-Military

Politico-Military and Social

Description of the methods of Warfare

Asymmetric warfare / Insurgency
Proxy war

Tools used in Warfare

Guerrilla war, terrorism, low intensity conflicts

6.2 REVOLUTIONARY WAR

A very simple definition of Revolutionary War would be a war that seeks to capture political power through use of armed force. There are several implications to the capture of political power that are implied in the definition. Firstly, there is a well-articulated and

well-propagated political programme for which a **significant** number of the people are fighting against the **regime** in power. There is also an undercurrent of feeling of having been deprived or violated against as justification for the struggle **against** the ruling classes. There is, further, an argument that peaceful change has not worked, hence the people taking to **arms**. The struggle is usually not a short battle but a prolonged struggle against the repressive rule. In most cases this **struggle** is likely to be a violent one (though not all revolutions are violent). Essentially, there is a degree of consciousness about the objectives, the goals and the methods used to conduct the struggle. The objective **must be** revolutionary, in the sense it seeks a fundamental change in the existing system of power.

Revolutions shake the politico-social order in the society. Leon **Trotsky**, once actually **argued** that the final **revolution** in the world would **consist** of a series of small and violent upheavals going on everywhere, lasting perhaps for generations. The Americans have never experienced a modern political revolution, which is the overthrow of an established government to form a new society (not just a new government). The American Revolution was really a war of independence, it gave America freedom and a new government, but it left the essentials of the American society unchanged. It was the French Revolution that gave the word its first modern meaning. Revolution was more than making right the things that were wrong, it was an apocalyptic **programme** of a total social **transformation** and rebirth of a new society and with it a new polity.

Revolutionary war is essentially a domestic phenomenon; it is not an international war in the sense of a war between two states. Historically, revolutionary wars have been episodes in the time span of nation-states. They may have their own bodies of thought, ideologies, myths and legends; they may also have their own successes and failures. If a revolutionary war fails it may be dubbed as a revolt or rebellion by the ruling regime; success would classify it a liberation struggle. The 1857 episode of India was a 'mutiny' for the British; historians of independent India have looked at it as the first war of independence. These struggles are usually **carried** out in secrecy, hence there would be very little of archival data available, except for either subaltern or oral history of the period.

Language has always played an important role in revolutionary wars. It is the presentation of ideas, the 'selling' of revolutionary ideas to the public at large, the **demonisation** of the ruling class, the creation of hate figures, etc. that are keys to the approach to such a war. The polemic is part of the game played to win support. Thus the government forces become 'occupation forces'; 'enemies of the people'; 'puppet regimes'; 'fascist'; and in modern times, 'violators of fundamental human rights'. There cannot be a political or neutral vocabulary as language itself is used as a weapon.

6.2.1 History

Many students of strategy have always looked to the **Chinese** military philosopher, Sun Tsu (or Sun Wu) as one of the first strategists who formulated the principles of revolutionary war. Sun Tsu put great stress on overcoming the enemy by stratagem and not by brute force. It meant submitting the enemy to one's will by **non-military** means **involving** struggles **in** the field of politics, economics, diplomacy and science and technology. **Chanakya** (Kautilya) accomplished a similar task in India. Chanakya presented his perceptions on

how to wage a battle. Both Sun Tsu and Chanakya focussed on the strategy to be adopted for success in battle. In a sense they do not constitute the core of the conceptual debate of revolutionary war as is understood in modern times as a struggle within a nation-state.

The French revolution of 1789 was not planned or instigated by conspirators. It was a spontaneous uprising of the masses, the peasants in particular, who demanded more land and fewer burdens, and of the urban folk who were sick of the poverty and degradation they were reduced to. It was partly a struggle of the middle classes excluded from political power by the feudal society. At the time of the revolution, France was not a poor country. Power was in the hands of the privileged nobles and the aristocracy, trade and industry were growing. Yet there existed a vast deprived class, those who sought political power and those who sought relief from hunger. The middle class revolution finally transformed France from a feudal to a bourgeois society.

The revolution of 1848 started in Paris when troops fired into a crowd of demonstrators. College students played an important part in the 1848 revolutions. In Berlin, they manned barricades; in Vienna students led brigades of workers in fighting the Imperial forces. The French King Louis Philippe was driven onto exile in Britain; Prince Metternich of Austria fled from the collapsing Habsburg Empire; in Prussia King Fredrick William was forced to promise wide ranging reforms; the Hungarians, Czechs and the Austrians were in revolt. It looked as if Europe had crossed the divide that the France had crossed in 1798. However, within a year these revolutions had been crushed. The armies had refused to join the revolution. But more important was the growing public fear of the new working class which had taken part in several uprisings. While the middle class were demanding civil rights, the working class sought a far more radical transformation of the society.

It was this cause of radical transformation of society that came to be championed by Karl Marx. It was in the Paris Commune of 1871 that Marx's proletariat made their debut as a revolutionary class. The Parisians' first act of defiance was in declaring themselves independent of the rest of France, the idea of a single city taking on the entire country never seemed odd to the revolutionaries. The rapid and decisive military action taken by the French nationalist government eventually left more than twenty-five thousand dead. Once threatened by an armed people, the ruling class had stopped at nothing to disarm them. There could not be a compromise. Yet the memory of the Paris Commune remained indelible. Karl Marx was to write in his dispatches 'the workingmen's Paris with its Commune will forever be celebrated as the harbinger of a new society'.

It was in Russia that the proletariat finally succeeded in realising the Commune's promise nearly forty years later. The Russian revolution of 1917 began spontaneously as an urban uprising against the monarchical and feudal regime doomed by its past and by the First World War. Yet Lenin knew that the proletariat could never win without a dedicated elite to lead them. It was the Bolshevik Party that swept him into power; it was this party, not the proletariat that was to finally taste the fruits of victory.

Still later, it was the victory of the communists in China in 1949 and the writings of Mao Tse-tung (Mao Zedong) that was to provide a contemporary relevance to the concept of revolutionary war in modern times. Mao Tse-tung realised that the Marxist approach to a

purely proletarian revolution may not work in the agrarian society of China, hence he looked to the peasantry as the main support of the revolution. The Chinese doctrine of revolutionary warfare was built around peasant based guerrilla war. Mobilising the support of the peasant class was a political not a military task and primacy of the political over the military concerns was the hallmark of Mao's idea.

In Mao's perception the **army's** role shifted from merely politicising the people to relying on the people. Since reactionaries and imperialists occupied the cities, it was necessary to build a base in the villages. Such bases would provide the means for carrying out the strategic tasks of acquiring control over the country. Mao's reliance was on the **villages**, on the regional forces and not the main army, on human motivation and not military technique, and warfare and not political action alone. Political power to him grew out of the barrel of the gun. Mao expected the revolutionary leader to fuse knowledge, intellect, passion and discipline into a single directed purpose. No gap existed between theory and practice, theorising about revolutionary strategy was itself part of revolution.

6.2.2 Features

One can identify the following general features of Revolutionary war:

Political Features: Revolutionary war is conducted for certain specific political objectives with a political leadership at the helm of the affairs. While the 'military' wing of the revolutionary warfare is important it would be under political control. It is through the political activities along with simultaneous revolutionary war that one can keep contact with the people at large who constitute the support base of the revolutionaries.

Military Features: Guerrilla warfare is an important element of revolutionary warfare. Since the revolutionaries have to face the might of the State they cannot afford to take on the State forces in direct confrontation. The skilful use of terrain, and designing the strategy to suit the **requirements** of the times are essential for the strategists of revolutionary warfare.

Socio-Economic Features: Revolutionary warfare is always fought against actual or perceived injustice. Efforts are made to keep the objectives of the struggle as those that benefit the oppressed population and those that would provide the population a relief from the burden imposed by the State. The logical target areas remain the **socio-economic** sectors where several promises could be made.

Ideological Features: Ideology **forms** a key element in revolutionary warfare. It provides the rationale to recruit persons and sustain interest in a long drawn struggle. It acts as a binding force and a motivator for taking risks that may prove to be suicidal at times.

Psychological Features: Revolutionary warfare seeks to capture the imagination of the people; it is a struggle for the mind of the people. One of the common means used to do this is propaganda. At another level, it is also a struggle to maintain the commitment of the revolutionaries who may be weary of a long and sometimes an unsuccessful struggle.

6.3 CIVIL WAR

Civil war is a societal conflict that occurs within a country. It may occur to either retain power and authority and therefore the legitimacy to govern or it may occur to snatch the same from those holding on to it. The means used to either retain power or snatch it are essentially extra legal in the sense that violence is a key element of the struggle. It is due to the use of violence that it is called a war. It is 'civil' because it is located in the society and deals with the future of the society concerned – it is not a war that is international or one that involves two or more nation-states.

Civil war may either be a spontaneous phenomenon or a deliberately planned one. In a number of states where there is instability in the political systems spontaneous uprisings may result in the sudden overthrow of governments. One or the other groups may fill up the resultant power vacuum and fighting may rage between them for several years. A **planned civil** war, on the other hand, is a systematic struggle that is deliberately structured.

Why does a planned civil war take place? Two reasons have been given for such an occurrence. Both these reasons assume that the ultimate objective of the fight is to seek a change in government, capture authority (not just power) and gain legitimacy. These reasons are: (a) there do not exist normal and effective channels for grievance redressal in an existing system of governance. It is also likely that any attempt to express one's grievance may be construed as opposition to or a revolt against the authority and be crushed by use of force. (b) a slow but certain feeling takes shape amongst the people that the only way to get the authorities to redress their grievances is to revolt since all peaceful means have proved futile.

6.3.1 Operational and Structural Aspects

Three stages have been identified as stages in the organisational development of a long range planned civil war. These stages may be considered in terms of the stages required for planning and execution of a civil war or in the context of the escalation of already existing violence.

The first stage is **the** building up of a structure of resistance movement. In such a stage the degree of violence may be sporadic and uncoordinated. There are several considerations that go **into** the building of a structure of resistance. Such a structure is usually a clandestine one. The density and the distribution of population would be one important consideration, especially in terms of deciding whether one has to conduct an urban or a rural operation. One part of the consideration of population is the ethnic composition of the people. The local customs and traditions have also to be noted, as they would **determine** the support base from the community at large. Along with the population, the geographic layout of land would also have to be considered to plan the method of operation.

Given these considerations the structural elements that take shape would include the following: the civil leadership; military headquarters; intelligence; communication; propaganda; cadres; logistic support; fighting arms (the guerrillas); and service providers like medical care, documentation, etc. The question of centralisation or decentralisation of the command

structure is also a matter of **consideration**. The LTTE in Sri Lanka, for example, has a relatively well-developed structure that has a centralised command structure.

The second phase is the application of violence. At this stage the structure is usually in place and the **guerrilla** activities including underground movements and sabotage start. The targets are usually centres that represent the authority of the State like the communication centres, police stations, government offices, etc. The techniques used by these fighters are usually organised along military lines. One of the critical **elements** in the method of creating terror is the way in which the population responds. The selective use of terror and the counter insurgency operations conducted by the State need to be understood. The success of the civil war is to get the population to oppose and hate the counter-insurgency operation through means of propaganda and violence. People constitute the key support to the fighters. If they lose that base they have lost the war. Hence the revolutionaries or insurgents have to ensure that the people are likely to turn against the State rather than against the fighters. In modern times most insurgent operations have blatantly used the cause of human rights violation as a weapon to target the State apparatus. Insurgents are able to gain sympathy internationally if they cry out against real or imaginary human rights violations by the state. There are several instances in **Kashmir** and the North East insurgent activity where the call for human rights has been misused by terrorist outfits through proxy.

The third phase is a crucial phase. Now the insurgency comes out in the open, it's the last stage to now gain power and is done publicly. The civil war may end successfully by gaining control of the government or may get destroyed in the bargain. However, success may bring its own problems. The revolutionary zeal that constituted the core of the struggle may not help in the future **governance** of the state, for governance is **more** of a status quo activity.

In South Asia, the civil war in East Pakistan eventually led to the **successful** takeover of power by the **Mukti Bahini**, which went to form the government of independent Bangladesh. The current **Sri Lankan** crisis is a civil war fought by the Tamils with the LTTE as the key **organiser** of the struggle.

6.4 INSURGENCY AND COUNTER INSURGENCY

An insurgency is a rebellion by an irregular armed force that raises up against an established authority, government, administration or occupation. It is an organised movement aimed at the overthrow of a constituted government through use of subversion and armed conflict. Insurgency is an activity. Though some forms may appear passive, insurgency is "action." **An** insurgency is usually directed at changing the policies of the government, its personnel, or the governmental structure, by non-legitimate means. Insurgency lies between politics and international war. If war, as Clausewitz declared, is "diplomacy by other means," then insurgency is certainly "politics by other means."

6.4.1 Major Forms of Insurgency

Non-Violent Resistance: Non-violence is to deprive a government of any **popular** support, to deny the government the sense of legitimacy it needs to exercise power. Despite being

termed as 'passive resistance' it is an active, not a passive, method of waging insurgent war by defying the authority of the state. The police and army are the usual targets of non-violent attack. The objective of such a form of warfare is not always to seek extensive changes in the overall structure and policies of government. It is a demonstration of dissatisfaction. People show they feel change is needed, but are willing for a compromise.

Some of the methods of non-violence include Non-violent Protest, Non-violent Non-cooperation and Non-violent Intervention. Non-violent protest is symbolic action. Protest marches, demonstrations, are some of the means used for protest. Its purpose is to create awareness in the minds of the authority about the discontent in the minds of the people. Non-cooperation was one of the classic methods employed during the freedom struggle under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership. Strikes and slow downs in the work place are some of its methods. Non-violent intervention involves fasting, sit-ins, obstruction, even forced entry into buildings or restricted areas, and installation of parallel governments. It directly challenges the government. The most important condition in this form is to remain non-violent—even when faced with violence from opponents.

There are many familiar examples of non-violent insurgency: Mahatma Gandhi's resistance to the British; U.S. Civil Rights marches; the refusal of American colonists to buy goods from England; an outstanding recent example was the 1968 Czech people's response to the Soviet invasion.

Coup: The coup differs from revolution in that the power base of the country is not destroyed, and generally is not even damaged. It is usually done by the take over of the civilian authority by the military. Power in the society is simply transferred from one group in the power structure to another group in the same structure. Some scholars use the Samuel Huntington thesis of political order in post-colonial states to explain this phenomenon. The central argument is that poverty, ethnic, regional and linguistic conflicts, etc., do not by themselves create instability. Institutions are weak to cope with the conflicts over scarce resources arising out of socio-political mobilisation. It is the resultant gap between the State and the Society that becomes the basic cause or even pretext for military rule.

Guerrilla Warfare: Guerrilla war is comprised of combat operations conducted in enemy-held territory by predominantly indigenous forces. The operations use military or para-military methods and aim to reduce the combat effectiveness, industrial capacity, and morale of the enemy.

Terrorism: Terrorism has been defined as a sub-state application of violence or the threat to use violence with an intention to create panic in the society. US State Department defines terrorism as "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience".

Revolution: Revolutions shake the politico-social order in the society. Revolution, as we observed, is more than making right the things that were wrong, it was an apocalyptic programme of a total social transformation and rebirth of a new society and with it a new polity. (Details of this have been discussed elsewhere).

Civil War: Civil war, as we saw, is a societal conflict that occurs within a country. It may occur to either retain power and authority and therefore the legitimacy to govern or it may occur to snatch the same from those holding on to it.

Broadly, there are four types of insurgent groups. The first are the **Regime** Loyalists who are people who consist of the old military and security forces of the previous regime who oppose an existing regime. Second are the **Disaffected Citizens**. They are untrained, leaderless, delinquents and criminals for the most part, who will do anything for money, anything in the hope of making an illegal profit, and may or may not be genuinely angry about the occupation of their country. The third type is the **Terrorists** who may have been operating in the country beforehand, or terrorists who have come into the country after the occupation. Finally, there are the **Foreign Fighters** who would either be mercenaries or ideologically (religious or otherwise) motivated fighters.

Insurgency is a resistance movement that aims at challenging the duly constituted government. Insurgencies benefit from prevailing conditions of chaos, mob violence, societal breakdown, and psychological turmoil. Leaders gain prestige trying to mobilise people into action, and most groups use collective leadership since the movement would end if there is only single leader and he is killed. Such a movement also has some ideology that has popular appeal. Insurgency and counter-insurgency are asymmetric forms of non-traditional warfare. The insurgents are fighting for the most effect with limited resources, and the counter-insurgents are fighting to thwart their attempts; yet both sides are fighting for the hearts and minds of the population. In this sense, both sides are engaged in psychological warfare. A Psychological warfare campaign is a war waged by and for the minds, and involves the use of diverse communication devices: television, radio, loudspeakers, leaflets, newspapers, books, magazines, music, and posters to deliver a message that secures loyalty to the objectives of those in power.

The goal of counter-insurgency operations conducted by the existing government or militias is to stop insurgency. At times, these operations also help the opposing sides to agree to a cease fire or disarmament and restore some sense of civil law and order. Counter-insurgency operations are different from conventional warfare and other actions. In this case, counter-insurgency is like peacekeeping operations and nation re-building. It involves both activities, that of the military and police forces, and negotiation and conflict resolution by civilian authorities.

Difference between Traditional War and Counter Insurgency

| | Traditional War | Counter Insurgency |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| Objective | Defeat of the enemy | National Security and Development |
| Target | Enemy forces | Legitimacy |
| Means | Police or Armed forces | Police force, Armed forces or Political initiative |
| Method | War | Limited use of armed forces as anti-insurgency campaign to break the insurgence. Initiation of developmental programmes at the socio-economic level; industrialisation; and initiation of the political process of representation. |
| Nature of the Methods used | Use of force | Psychological; Political and even use of force. |
| Planning | Traditional | New and Innovative planning |
| Areas of operation | Geopolitical field of the battle/war | Geopolitical; political and social |

6.5 GUERRILLA WAR

Guerrilla operations do not necessarily have a revolutionary political aim, though their actions always contain a revolutionary potential. The U.S. Army explains guerrilla war as "combat operations conducted in enemy-held territory by predominantly indigenous forces on military or para-military basis to reduce the combat effectiveness, industrial capacity, and morale of the enemy. Guerrilla operations are conducted by relatively small groups employing offensive tactics."

Guerrillas attack legitimate governmental and military targets. Guerrilla tactics consist of hit and run tactics, avoiding pitched battles, eluding the enemy pursuit by hiding in hills or forests or amongst the populace. These are simple tactics of conducting a revolutionary war. Guerrilla targets are military personnel (or police) rather than civilians. Guerrillas, by the nature of their offensive, must rely on significant popular support for their activities.

Guerrillas employ mobility, elusiveness and surprise to compensate for their weaknesses in men and equipment- and they usually comply with the recognised rules of warfare. By following those rules they earn the right to be treated as soldiers, not criminals. Under the most recent internationally accepted version of the rules of war, guerrillas must have a responsible commander who will answer for the conduct of subordinates; operations must be carried out in ways that comply with other customs and rules of warfare.

Guerrillas hold on to little or no territory; attack when and where they consider the opposition weakest, and withdraw when the enemy gains strength; and derive the bulk of their support from the people of the area where they are operating — though there may be some outside help.

Mao Tse Tung argued that guerrillas were like fish — in that they needed the water of popular support to survive. He defined three stages of guerrilla operations. The first phase is an organisation, consolidation and preservation stage. This is the stage when the infrastructure is developed; use is made of small-scale hit-and-run raids for propaganda, morale and training. In this phase attacks are allowed only when the insurgent guerrillas have overwhelming superiority in firepower, good position and surprise. The second phase is of "progressive expansion." In this phase, the guerrilla moves from small-scale operations to more ambitious attacks. While the hit-and-run tactic is still used, the guerrillas expand the base area and strengthen their control over that section of territory. Government-controlled areas that previously were immune to attack now come under attack. The third phase of guerrilla operations is a decisive stage. The insurgents have grown large enough, to oppose the government in conventional ways. Guerrilla-type hit-and-run tactics are now abandoned. Mao considers this phase to be like a Civil War.

In India, the tactics used by Chhatrapati Shivaji in Maharashtra were a classic form of guerrilla warfare. Shivaji's '*Adnyapatra*' spells out, the methods of guerrilla warfare. He made excellent use of the lay of the land that was essentially hilly and mountainous and with forest cover to harass the enemy. Given a relatively small army at his disposal and far lesser resources than the Mughal and Nizam empires, he avoided direct confrontation with the enemy forces, instead used hit and run tactics. He also made use of various hill forts as both, means of conducting warfare and also as sanctuary at times of siege.

6.6 ASYMMETRIC WAR AND TERRORISM

The concept of 'asymmetric war' has gained currency in the post-Cold war period, though it is as old as war itself, because it is about a confrontation between the powerful and the weak. In the asymmetric conflict, the militarily disadvantaged power, usually a non-state actor presses its special advantages or exploits its enemy's particular weakness to achieve its objective. In other words, this type of conflict eludes the internationally accepted rules of war that entered into force with the League of Nations first, and then with the United Nations. The tools or methods of asymmetrical warfare range from guerrilla tactics to propaganda and other varieties of low intensity conflicts. Since the Cold War, say analysts, examples of asymmetric war have included the struggles of the separatist Chechens against the Russian army and the Palestinians against the Israeli army. India now faces a virulent form of asymmetric warfare conducted from sub-state players based in Pakistan. .

6.6.1 Terrorism

Asymmetric warfare is not synonymous with terrorism though terrorism is sometimes used as a tactic by the weaker side in an asymmetric conflict. Terrorism has been defined as a sub-state application of violence or the threat to use violence with an **intention** to create panic in the society. It may appear to use guerrilla tactics, but it differs from **guerrilla** warfare in that terrorists do not hold on to territory like the guerrillas do at some stage of their operations. The US State Department defines terrorism as "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national **groups** or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience".

The word 'terrorism' was coined during France's Reign of Terror in 1793-94 following the French Revolution. Originally, the leaders of the Revolution attempted to weed out "traitors" among the revolutionary forces. They praised terror as the best way to defend liberty. But as the Revolution progressed, the word soon came to be associated with state violence by the Revolutionary State itself and with the guillotine. The dawn of modern day terrorism is considered to begin with the attack on the Israeli Olympic team at Berlin in 1972. Since then there have been airplane hijackings and bombings; assassinations like that of Rajiv Gandhi; and in, perhaps, one of the most daring of episodes, the using of aircraft by the terrorists in the September Eleven destruction of the New York World Trade Centre and the Pentagon. Today, most terrorists eschew the label, preferring to perceive themselves as irregular military forces and even as freedom fighters.

The terrorists of the earlier century had strong ideological moorings. Terrorist groups traditionally contain strong quasi-religious, fanatical elements that form the core of the fighters. But a distinction needs to be made between state sponsored terrorism or state terrorism and non-state terrorism. Americans have for long identified Libya and Iran (during Khomeini rule), as cases of state sponsored terrorism. States that provide a haven for terrorist activity or sanctuary for terrorist groups would also be in this category. Today, much of terrorist activity is in the nature of ethnic separatist movements. In some cases, the ethnic groups are supported by pan religious linkages that cut across borders. The many-branched Muslim Brotherhood would fall in this category while groups like the Irish Republican Army (IRA), the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), Kurdish extremists, the Basque Homeland and Liberty (ETA) of Spain fall in the ethnic movement category.

One can identify four different types of terrorism. First, there is the **Nationalist-Separatist Terrorism** which is violence undertaken by those seeking to establish a separate state for their own national/ethnic group. The Irish Republican Army (IRA), Basque Homeland & Liberty (ETA), the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK), Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam are some of the terrorist groups that fall in this category. Then there is **Religious Terrorism** or the use of violence by those fighting for abstract religious ideologies, seeking to further what they conceive as divinely commanded purposes, often targeting broad categories of 'enemies' in an attempt to bring about sweeping changes. Aum Shinrikyo, Al-Qaida, Hizbollah, Hamas etc are some of the terrorist groups that fall under this category. **Left-Wing Terrorism** is another type of terrorism. It refers to violence undertaken by those seeking to destroy capitalism and replace it with a communist or socialist regime. Some of the terrorist groups in this category are the Red Army Faction (RAF), German Red Brigades, Prima Linea, the Weather Underground/Symbionese Liberation Army, etc. Closely related to this category is the **Right-Wing Terrorism** practiced by those seeking to dispense with liberal democratic government. Finally, we have **State sponsored terrorism**. Here the State itself either uses terrorist tactics to achieve its objectives or harbours or supports terrorist groups by providing them with a variety of support structures.

There has always been a debate about ethnic movement-based terrorism that one needs to mention here. If the ethnic movement seeks the right to self-determination and is using terrorist means to achieve it, would they be classified as terrorists or freedom fighters? Academic literature on the concept of right to self-determination presents several theories that seek to understand the morality of secession. 'Just Cause' theories present a strong link between the right to resist tyranny and the right to self-determination and by doing so it grounds the right to self-determination in the framework of human rights. Therein comes the big question, can one man's terrorist be another's freedom fighter?

The case of Kashmir in the Indian context has been presented in this framework. Pakistan has always referred to the terrorism in Kashmir as the freedom movement of the Kashmiris (with or without support of Pakistan). India has criticised it as terrorism that has been sponsored by external forces. Perhaps an answer lies in the approach that one takes on the issue. One can look at the situation from two perspectives. One perspective is that of national integration of India. Any legitimate demand made by the people within the framework of national integration would be a legitimate demand even if the means border on terrorism. At another level, if terrorism is conducted in the name of abstract ideological considerations by elements that have no concern for the indigenous people and their legitimate concerns, such a struggle cannot be a legitimate one. Much of the 'Jehadi' struggle in Kashmir is of the latter variety, hence the concern about terrorism in the region.

How does one protect oneself from terrorism? Long established democracies have today to face the reality that some loss of civil liberty is inevitable if one has to institute measures to protect the people. This would include curbs on free passage of people across borders; greater surveillance on suspect individuals; suspension of some civil rights in affected areas; etc. The fight against international terrorism cannot be conducted by individual nations; it has to be a coordinated effort. A sustained effort by the intelligence and law enforcement agencies across the world would be necessary to anticipate, identify, track and destroy terrorism. In the long run one would have to fight the mindset that is likely to generate terrorism and not simply try to contain it by force.

6.7 PROXY WAR

The term proxy war carries two crucial meanings that make it different from being a 'type of war' to just a 'tool' or a 'method' of conflict. The first is the state centric perspective about the war. Here the primary conflict is between two or more States; the method of conflict is not conventional war. Since the conflict is essentially between States, the objective of the conflict may be described as essentially 'political'. The second meaning of proxy war arises out of the indirect nature of involvement by the adversaries to the conflict. At a simplistic level this is a conflict between two or more states; the 'war' is not fought directly by the two states but through some other **intermediaries**. Such an intermediary may be another State or a group (terrorist/militant/etc) that would fight against the adversary (another state or government) by taking a variety of support from the first State. This support may **come** in form of weapons, finance, sanctuary for the fighters, global propaganda to support the struggle against the adversary, etc. One must note that despite the 'political' nature of the objectives of such a war, this war does not get classified as a different 'type of war' because of the nature of the war. It remains a 'tool' or a 'method' of warfare because the fighters who are involved in the war are essentially 'mercenaries'. They by themselves carry no concrete political agenda of their own since they are fighting some one else's war for a variety of benefits.

This term was used during the Cold war days in a specific context. During the days of **US-Soviet** rivalry, this term was used to describe the indirect involvement of either superpower in regional or local conflicts **around** the world. In the post-Soviet era, this term has acquired a new meaning. Today, it is loosely used to describe any indirect level support to either a country or a militant (or terrorist) group. The underlying purpose of this war has remained political. Thus one **talks** of a 'proxy war' that Pakistan is conducting against India in **Kashmir** through support given to a variety of militant groups. Such a support comes in form of finance, weapons, training, and provision of safe sanctuaries to militants in one's own country.

6.8 SUMMARY

Whereas previous wars were between armies and nations, and largely fought over spheres of influence, in the recent past a new type of **warfare** has gained prominence which involves more shadowy players with very different motives. Falling within the ambit of internal security, it involves marginalised and other groups which seek to oust the government or regime, redress grievances or independence. In some cases such intrastate conflicts may get support from outside powers. This unit focused on revolutionary wars and civil wars which have over the years come to be classified as a type of war associated with the political objectives that they carry. As we saw, revolutionary war is a war that seeks to capture political power through use of armed force. It is essentially a domestic phenomenon; it is not an international war in the sense of a war between two states. Civil war is also a societal conflict that occurs within a country. It occurs to either retain power and authority and therefore the legitimacy to govern or it may occur to snatch the same from those holding on to it. Civil war may either be a spontaneous phenomenon or a planned one. Insurgency, which is another type of war aimed at overthrow of constituted government

through the use of subversion and armed conflict.

Apart from discussing the different types of wars that fall within the ambit of intra-state conflicts, we have examined the means, tools and methods employed in these conflicts- **guerrilla** war, terrorism, and proxy war. In the subsequent units of this course, we examine the various approaches to deal with armed conflict and build peace.

6.9 EXERCISES

- 1) What is revolutionary war? How does it differ from civil war?
- 2) Define insurgency and examine the various forms of insurgency.
- 3) What are the features of asymmetric warfare?
- 4) Describe the features and **types** of **terrorism**.
- 5) Critically examine the meaning of proxy war.