

Introduction

An insurgency is an uprising against the authority or government when those taking part in the rebellion are not recognized as belligerents. It can be a clash between counter-insurgency warfare, and it may well be opposed by the agencies to protect the population, and by political and economic actions of numerous vicissitudes designed to deflate the insurgents' prerogatives against the mandatory organization. The studies of the different varieties of insurgencies are in fact an ambiguous concept. "Difference between state terrorism and insurgent terrorism, indeed, remains- while State terrorism is aimed at maintaining the status-quo, insurgency-related terrorism is directed at effecting changes in the prevailing political arrangement." (211)

All upheavals across the world cannot be regarded as insurgencies. Across the world there are many cases of non-violent upheavals, using civil resistance, as in the People Power Revolution in the Philippines in the 1980s that ousted President Marcos and the Egyptian Revolution of 2011. Where a revolt takes the form of armed rebellion, it may not be viewed as an insurgency if a state of belligerency exists between one or more sovereign states and rebel forces. For example, during the American Civil War, the Confederate States of America was not recognized as a sovereign state, but it was recognized as a belligerent power, and thus Confederate warships were given the same rights as United States warships in foreign ports.

When insurgency is used to describe a movement's unlawfulness by virtue of not being authorized by or in accordance with the law of the land, its use is neutral. However, when it is used by a state or another authority under threat, "insurgency" often also carries an implication that the rebels' cause is illegitimate, whereas those rising up will see the authority of the state as being illegitimate. Criticisms of widely held ideas and actions about insurgency started to occur in works of the 1960s; they are still common in recent studies.

Sometimes there may be one or more simultaneous insurgencies which one may call it as multipolar insurgencies occurring in a country. The Iraq insurgency is a fine example of a recognized government which versus multiple groups of insurgents. Other historic insurgencies, such as the Russian Civil War, have been multipolar rather than a straightforward model made up of two sides. During the Angolan Civil War there were two main sides: MPLA and UNITA. At the same time, there was another separatist movement for the independence of the Cabinda region headed up by FLEC. Multi-polarity extends the definition of insurgency to situations where there is no recognized authority, as in the Somali Civil War, especially the period from 1998 to 2006, where it broke into quasi-autonomous smaller states, fighting among one another in changing alliances.

If there is a rebellion against the authority and those taking part in the rebellion are not recognized as belligerents, the rebellion is an insurgency. However, not all rebellions are insurgencies, as a state of belligerency may exist between one or more sovereign states and rebel forces. For example, during the American Civil War, the Confederate States of America was not recognized as a sovereign state, but it was recognized as a belligerent power and so Confederate warships were given the same rights as US warships in foreign ports.

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The use of the term insurgency recognizes the political motivation of those who participate in an insurgency, but the term brigand implies no political motivation. If an uprising has little support such a resistance may be described as brigand and those who

participate as brigands. The distinction on whether an uprising is an insurgency or belligerency has not been as clearly codified as many other areas covered by the internationally accepted laws of war for two reasons. The first is that international law traditionally does not encroach on matters that are solely the internal affairs of a sovereign state, but recent developments such as the responsibility to protect, are starting to undermine the traditional approach. The second is that at Hague Conference of 1899, there was disagreement between the Great Powers who considered francs-tiers to be unlawful combatants subject to execution on capture, and smaller states, which maintained that they should be considered lawful combatants. The dispute resulted in a compromise wording being included in the Hague Conventions known as the Martens Clause from the diplomat who drafted the clause. Many insurgencies include terrorism. While there is no accepted definition of terrorism in international law, United Nations-sponsored working definitions include one drafted by Alex P. Schmidt for the Policy Working Group on the United Nations and Terrorism.

Fighting insurgency has been a homeland problem for India. According to the Indian federal structure, the fighting of insurgency is a provincial responsibility. Without attempting a comprehensive definition of terrorism, it would be useful to delineate some broad characteristics of the phenomenon. Terrorism is, in most cases, essentially a political act. It is meant to inflict dramatic and deadly injury on civilians and to create an atmosphere of fear, generally for a political or ideological whether secular or religious purpose. Terrorism is a criminal act, but it is more than mere criminality. To overcome the problem of terrorism it is necessary to understand its political nature as well as its basic criminality and psychology. The United Nations needs to address both sides of this equation.

Yet another conflict of definitions involves insurgency versus terrorism. The winning essay of the 24th Annual United States Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Strategic Essay

Contest by Michael F. Morris, said a pure terrorist group "may pursue political, even revolutionary, goals, but their violence replaces rather than complements a political program"(16). Morris made the point that the use, or non-use, of terrorism does not define insurgency, "but that organizational traits have traditionally provided another means to tell the two apart. Insurgencies normally field fighting forces orders of magnitude larger than those of terrorist organizations". Insurgencies have a political purpose, and may provide social services and have an overt, even legal, political wing. Their covert wing carries out attacks on military forces with tactics such as raids and ambushes, as well as acts of terror such as attacks that cause deliberate civilian casualties.

The distinction between terrorism and insurgency is not merely theoretical, as the appropriate responses to the two phenomena are very different. Before addressing preferred strategies to counter each, one should establish how they are alike and how they differ. Unfortunately, existing definitions do more to cloud than clarify the issues. Neither academic nor government experts can agree on a suitable definition for terrorism. Terrorists may pursue political, even revolutionary, goals, but their violence replaces rather than complements a political program.

If definitions offer only a partial aid in discriminating between terrorism and insurgency, organizational traits have traditionally provided another means to tell the two apart. Insurgencies normally field fighting forces orders of magnitude larger than those of terrorist organizations. Typically insurgents organize their forces in military fashion as squads, platoons, and companies. Terrorist units are usually smaller and comprised of isolated teams not organized into a formal military chain of command. Insurgent forces are often more overt in nature as well, especially in the sanctuaries or zones, which they dominate. Terrorist organizations, which tend towards extreme secrecy and compartmented cells to facilitate security, seldom replicate an insurgency's political structure. Insurgencies,

whether classical or contemporary, tend to be protracted conflicts where the insurgents bet their assets, support, and will against a weak government's staying power, its generally superior resources, and outside support. Rather than force-on-force conventional operations, where combatants fight to destroy one another, capture terrain, or break alliances, opponents in insurgencies fight for the support some would say control of the populace.

Insurgency in Assam has arisen out of the issue of deportation of illegal migrants from Bangladesh. Since India's Partition in 1947, a continuous flow of illegal migrants across the borders has disturbed the local demography and popular sentiments against the 'foreigners' led to a mass movement under the leadership of the All Assam Students Union (AASU) and the All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP) seeking the exposure of illegal immigrants, their deletion from the voters' list and their deportation to Bangladesh in 1979. The agitation ended in August 1985, with the signing of the Assam Accord with the Centre, and its leaders formed the Asom Gana Parishad (AGP) and engaged in electoral politics. Many felt that the AGP betrayed the Assamese and the dissident members of AASU formed the extremist organization called United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA). The United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA) was established on April 7, 1979, at Sibsagar, under the leadership of Paresh Baruah (Chief of Staff) along with Arabinda Rajkhowa (Chairman), Anup Chetia (General Secretary) and Pradeep Gogoi (Vice Chairman, under detention since April 8, 1998). This was a secessionist group. The ULFA functioned in close coordination with the AASU until the agitation ended in August 1985. After the Assam Accord, which was signed with the union government in New Delhi and which agreed on the identification of illegal migrants, AASU leaders formed the Asom Gana Parishad (AGP) and galloped to victory in the state assembly elections. The ULFA declined to succumb to the new government and continued with its terrorist acts of arson and killings. Since then ULFA created terror in the State, troublesome communications and hitting various economic targets,

seizing prominent businessmen for ransom and killing non-combatants and government officials. ULFA was proscribed under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967.

The north-eastern region of India also bears witness to the problem of ethnic conflict. In fact, the region is often called as conflict ridden area. The last decade of the twentieth century is best remembered in Manipur for the violent ethnic clashes.

Assam was one of those states where linguistic issues have emerged as dominant issue in the post-independent period. The two successive language movement indicate that how dominant was the language issue in Assam. The first most notorious language riot was started in 1960-1961, before and after the passing of the Official Language Bill by the state Assembly. The second outbreak of language movement was in 1972, when Guwahati University and Dibrugarh University decided to introduce Assamese as the medium of instruction in the collegiate level. In both instances, there were violent conflicts between ethnic Assamese and Hindu Bengalis and there were deaths, destruction and sufferings as a result of inter-ethnic conflicts as well as of police attempt to control protest demonstration and movements. Socio-political development and economic growth have also contributed to ethnic tensions. Relatively better economic opportunities have led to mass migration from Bangladesh to India, particularly to the bordering state of Assam. The native Assamese have mobilized in protest against the new migrants and have accused the central government of deliberately ignoring their loss of jobs, overcrowding and political shifts unfavourable to the native Assamese. Assamese leaders charge that India's central government, largely dominated by the Congress Party, sought the migrant vote and therefore ignored the Assamese demands. These suspicions led to several "sons of the soil" movements in Assam since the 1970s. In the mid-1980s there was tension and conflict between the Assamese and the Bengali Muslims, because of agitation against the influx of foreigners. This conflict has now re-emerged in violent form under the leadership of the NDFB (National Democratic

Front of Bodoland) and the ULFA (United Liberation Front of Assam). Except for a narrow corridor running through the foothills of the Himalayas that connects the state with West Bengal, Assam is almost entirely isolated from India. The state is bordering Arunachal Pradesh in the east, West Bengal, Meghalaya, Bangladesh in the west, Arunachal Pradesh, Bhutan in the north and Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Tripura in the south. Its longitude lies at 88.250E to 96.00E and latitude at 24.50N to 28.00N. Due to its location, Assam is also geo-politically and strategically significant. The population of Assam is 2, 66, 55,528 according to 2001 Census. Assam is a land of a large number of tribal and other 2 ethnic groups which are mainly of Mongoloid origin. Though there are some commonalities among all the groups, each also has a distinct cultural, linguistic, religious and historical identity with different problems. At present due to the unrest situation prevailing in Assam, the state is mainly as a hot spot of bloodshed and violence. There is an ongoing struggle by people trying to establish their right to autonomy in most of the seven North-eastern States, which led to political instability, strife and outright violence in the region. For example, Assam has witnessed the anti-foreigners movements, Bodo-Adivasi, Karbi-Dimasa and Karbi-Khasi ethnic strife and the secessionist movement by ULFA (United Liberation Front of Assam) since 1979. Thus for the last few decades the region has witnessed human rights violations due to the ethnic conflicts and militant activities and its resultant response of the state. Because of armed conflicts and state sponsored violence the innocent people like the women, children, the elderly persons and the disabled are worst affected. Besides in the North-eastern societies gender inequalities are deeply inherent, women's condition becomes more vulnerable during these conflicts. The ongoing armed-conflict prevalent in the Assam has intensified the violence faced by women, which takes the form of sexual, mental or physical abuse, killings and clashes. Although all the members of communities are affected,

the impact on women and girls is far greater because of their status in society and their sex. Men, women, boys and girls experience conflict in different ways.

Srutimala Duara is a bilingual writer from Assam, India. She writes in English and Assamese. *The Sunset and Other Stories*, *Waiting for the Last Breath*, *The Jhoolan Evening* are her short story collections in English. *Travelling with Dreams*, *Maya's Party* and *Ashes in the Seas* are her English novels. *Maan Gahanat* is her short story collection in Assamese. Her children books include *Sadhukathar Desh*, *Sadhukathar Bagicha*, *Sadhukathar Tupula* which was selected by National Book Trust as One of the Best Indian Children's Literature published between 1990-98. She has also written for *The Times of India*, *The Hindu* and *The Assam Tribune*. Her writings are marked with a strong sense of regional fervour of Assam and Assamese. She has published a number of novels, collections of short stories and articles in book form both in English as well as in Assamese. She has 6 books of children stories in Assamese. 2 books of rhymes are part of text book in a few schools. Her article "A visit to Kaziranga and Sivasagar" is included in class nine text book of "Beehive". She was awarded the "Naari Shakti Award" by Lions Club in April 2015 and "Woman of the Year" award by International Human Rights Council; Assam Chapter in 2016. She is the Secretary of Northeast Writers' Forum, a group of writers writing in English from the seven states of the Northeast. She was a presenter in Doordarshan Kendra, Guwahati for 20 years. She is also a known artist in the field of recitation.

Mitra Phukan is an Assamese author who writes in English. She is also a translator and columnist. She is the writer of *The Collector's Wife*, a novel set against the Assam Agitation of the 1970s and 80s. *The Collector's Wife* is considered to be one of the first generation novels in English written by an Assamese writer to be published by an international house. She is regarded as one of the most prominent literary voices in English from North-East India. She has written several books for children and won the UNICEF-CBT

award for children's writing for her book *Mamoni's Adventure*. She regularly contributes to *The Assam Tribune*, and is a prominent member of the North East Writers' Forum. Her notable works also includes *Mamoni's Adventures*, *Chumki Posts a Letter*, *The Biratpur Adventure*, *R G Baruah*, *The Architect of Modern Assam*, *The Collector's Wife*, *Terrorist Camp Adventure*, *A Monsoon of Music*, *Guwahati Gaze*, *Blossoms in the Graveyard*, *A Full Night's Thievery*.

Dhruba Hazarika is a former bureaucrat. He is an established creative writer in English. He has several novels and short stories to his credit. *Sons of Brahma* is authored by Dhruba Hazarika. The novel is written at the backdrop of ULFA uprising. The novel basically talks about a research scholar who gets caught up in the conflict between ULFA and police. Yet the novel does portray the experiences of the research scholar and his friend. It exhibits how insurgency was spread to every nook and corner of Assam and touched people of every class. The rich, poor, aristocrat all were equally victimized. The novel also reveals the corruption and diplomacy in the state machinery which is supposed to control insurgency.

The author of *A House With A Thousand Stories*, Aruni Kashyap is a young writer from Assam. He is a bilingual writer who has also received recognition as a translator. *A House With A Thousand Stories* represents insurgency from micro to macro level. The novel talks about the impact of insurgency on a village in Assam. The villager lived life always threatened by fear. No wedding was happy. No gossip could take place as the army suspects. They had no freedom to live a life of their own. However, they were frightened more by counter-insurgents than by insurgents. The insurgents show respect to the women and the elders; but the army misbehaves and performs atrocities on the innocent villagers as they fail to catch the criminals.

Works Cited

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