

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The world has been witnessing different kinds of movements since the beginning of the twentieth century. Some of the movements are organized on the line of caste, class, gender, religious, cultural, linguistic, tribe, ethnicity, etc. The Modernization theorists have argued that ethnicity will wither away due to the growth of modernization process but defiantly modernization and globalization seems to have strengthened ethnic competitions and conflicts and have added to the growth of ethnic movement.¹

Even in India, ethnic movement and confrontation between the tribal and the non-tribal society is not a new phenomenon. The country has been witnessing different kinds of ethnic movement. Many of the movements such as those of the Hos, Munda and the Uraons were due to the loss of the tribal land.² These tribes rebelled against the administration that failed to protect their rights from the outsiders. In the Chotanagpur³ and the Santhal Parganas⁴ such rebellions of desperate tribesmen recurred throughout the nineteenth century, and there were minor risings in the agency tracts of Madras and in some of the districts of Bombay inhabited by Bhils. The Bhils were made to serve as watchman by the local rulers and zamindars as the Marathas were frequently raiding their territories. In spite of the valuable services rendered by the Bhils to the local rulers and feudal chiefs they were not given due compensation and as a result Bhils were getting marginalized and became poor. The recurring famines have added much to their misery.⁵ Soon after they became ruthless in their methods and were described as cruel and savages.

Throughout the ages, the tribal were exposed to forces of change. The changing social, political and economic contexts continued to alter the prevailing tribal and non-tribal equations and upset the delicate equilibrium of tribal societies. The Santhal rebelled against the government in 1855 on account of economic losses caused by grasping and

¹ Deutsch, Karl W., *Nationalism and Social Communication*, Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press, 1966.

² John MacDougall, *Tribal Resistances*, New Delhi: Critical Quest, 2008, pp. 22-23

³ Fidelis Desa, *Crisis in Chotanagpur*, Bangalore: Redemtorist Publications, 1975

⁴ H. McPherson, *Final Report on Survey and Settlement Operations in District Santhal Parganas*, Calcutta: Government of Bengal, 1907

⁵ R.W. Russel, *Central Provinces District Gazetteers*, Betul, 1907, pp. 37-38

rapacious Hindu landlords and money-lenders.⁶ The Koya rebellion in the East Godavari in 1879 has been traced to the aggressiveness and atrocities of the police. The Kol insurrection of 1833 was largely due to the encroachment of land by non-tribal zamindars, money-lenders, traders, petty officials who termed as 'Diku' by the tribal of Chotanagpur. They settled in their areas after the advent of the British into their region. During this insurrection the aim of every rebel was to kill all the 'dikus'.⁷ The Soara agitation in 1941 was mainly caused by imposition of new forest laws. The social or ethnic movements involve sustained collective mobilization through either informal or formal organization.⁸ In the mainland India, ethnic movement mainly took shape in the form of religious and linguistic lines.

Initially in North-East India the tribal uprising was confined to agrarian resistance and protection of their land. The Khasi rebellion (1828-1834) under the leadership of Teerut Singh was due to the apprehension of taxes levied by the British. In the course of the uprising two British officers- Burlton and Bedingfield were massacred. But later British officer Robertson devised a plan and Teerut Singh was forced to surrender. The Lushais have started their first raid in the plains of Cachar in 1849. In 1889 the Lushais made not only made a raid on Chittagong but took some as captives. This incident eventually led to the British occupation of the Lushais hill. The hill tribes of North East India like Singphos, Mishmis, Khamtis, Garos, etc are also raided plains area and killed people. The Jaintia uprising of 1860 and 1862 were of serious nature as these involved the whole tribe inhabiting the Jaintia hills. The outbreak occurred due to imposition of house tax on Jaintias and Syntengs who were unknown to taxation system at that time.⁹

Since the twentieth century, regional-cum-ethnic movement has taken primarily in the form of political assertion of the tribal communities and emerging nationalities in North-East India. The region still remains in a state of turmoil because of these factors. The people of the region have unique cultures, traditions, languages and traditional institutions. The hill tribes of the North East India suffered from a sense of apprehension in the light of the impending independence of India. Many tribes hurriedly formed political organization in order to preserve the tribal ways of life and to safeguard their interest from outside exploitation. The conventional and largely accepted solution is to balance the dichotomy between assimilation, identity of the tribal people and to define the line of a national policy that would allow them to preserve their way of life without compromising development on the other. The most common problems face by the ethnic

⁶ L.P. Mathur, *Movements of Tribals during the Colonial Rule*, New Delhi: Inter-India Publication, 1995, p. 40

⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 28-29

⁸ M.S.A. Rao (ed.), *Social Movement in India: Studies in Peasant, Backward Classes, Sectarian, Tribal and Women's Movements*, New Delhi: Manohar Publishers and Distributors, 2000.

⁹ P.C Dutta and B.C. Pradhan, Peasant Movement in North-East India, in J.K. Das (ed.), *Agenda for Assam and the North East, Vol. 2*, Guwahati: EBH Publishers, 2012, p. 25

tribal was non recognition of their right to autonomy, right to seek justice within their own traditional or customary law and the right to own and exploit the natural resources in their own habitats. Means to address the tribal problems are incorporated in the Constitution of India but still there exist considerable differences in the way the north-easterner were treated. Thus the movements in north-east region of India have enough attributes to be classified under the broad category of socio-political, socio-economic and socio-cultural. The impact of immigration on the regional landscape is also contributed for the growth of ethnic agitation in various forms and compelled the inhabitants to re-assess their position.

1.2 Statement of the Problems

Militancy is not an isolated phenomenon in India. Different states in the country experience the violence and attack carried out by the militants. Karbi Anglong is also not exempted from such turmoil. The Karbi militant organizations which were formed with an objective to have self-rule and to protect the Karbis and their land have resulted loss of many lives and untold miseries to the people.

The beginning of Karbi militancy can be traced back to 1972 when the Mikir Hills Nationalist Liberation Organization (MHNLO) was formed. At that time, the main objective of the organization was to achieve a separate statehood through arms movement.¹⁰ The state government then took repressive measures and many of the leaders were arrested, tortured and some were remanded to police custody. And the organization was defunct due to lack of efficient leaders to lead the members. After a gap of twenty two years, Karbi National Volunteers (KNV) was formed on March 22, 1994 in a remote village called Dikhlem near Kheroni in West Karbi Anglong. The main objective of the volunteers is to liberate Karbi Anglong from state colonialist attitude.¹¹ Another militant organization named Karbi People's Force (KPF) was formed on September 12, 1994. The objective of the organisation was to defend the Karbi tribe from unprovoked attack and to pressurize the government to confer an Autonomous State for the Karbis.

A new militant organization named United People's Democratic Solidarity (UPDS) emerged on March 22, 1999 with the merger of two Karbi militant organizations i.e. KNV and KPF in a general council held at *Langtibuk*.¹² The main objective of the

¹⁰ Mondol Sing Bey, *A Glimpse of socio-political evolution of the Karbis of Karbi Anglong*, Diphu: Bimola Teronpi, 2005, p. 105

¹¹ An approach paper of the first ASDC Youth Convention held at Diphu from January 31-February 1, 2011.

¹² A remote Karbi Village under Singhason Constituency which is 78 km from Karbi Anglong District Headquarter- Diphu

organization was to obtain self-determination for Karbis with defined territory. However, the UPDS signed a ceasefire agreement with the Government of India as early as May 23, 2002.

The signing of ceasefire agreement at an early stage with the government has brought a division among cadres and leaders of the UPDS. And rift between the UPDS (pro-talk) and UPDS (anti-talk) has widened up. The anti-talk faction later gave birth to Karbi Longri and North Cachar Hills Liberation Front (KLNLF) on May 16, 2004 and committed to self-determination for the Karbi people within the framework of the Indian constitution. The organization is now under ceasefire with the government and negotiation is on the process.

Unlike other tribes living in North East India who could secure at least some political concession because of militant movement, the Karbi militant movement has not succeeded in achieving their self-rule or separate statehood demand. The militant movement has resulted immense loss of lives and properties in the district. Frequent bandhs; killing and confrontation among ethnic groups have paralyzed the normal life and affect the business, educational institutions and civic activities in the district. The present research will mainly deal with two major Karbi militant groups operating in Karbi Anglong i.e. UPDS and KLNLF. The study seeks to find out factors responsible for militancy in Karbi Anglong, its genesis, leadership, objectives and resources. Finally, the study investigates the current process of negotiation between the Indian government and the Karbi militant leaders.

1.3 Conceptual Framework

The term 'Autonomy' derives from the two Greek words '*auto*' meaning 'self' and '*nomos*' meaning 'law' or 'rule' therefore the literary meaning of 'Autonomy' is the right to make one's own law or managing one's own affairs without outside interference.¹³ According to Oxford English Dictionary (Indian edition, 2011) 'Autonomy' refers to 'self-government' or 'freedom of action'. Due to the diversities of culture, religion, race and language, also initiated their movements for autonomous status of different variations. It forces the people to demand for self-government or self-determination. The demand for autonomy is raised from an ample gamut of political commitments. Autonomy is apolitical arrangement to allow ethnic and other minority groups claiming a distinct identity to exercise direct control over affairs of special concern to them, while the larger entity, those powers which cover common interests.¹⁴

¹³ Thomas Benedikter, '*The World Modern Autonomy System: Concept and Experiences of Regional Territorial Autonomy*' Bozen: Eurac Research, 2009, p. 18

¹⁴ Yash Ghai (ed.) '*Autonomy and Ethnicity: Negotiating Competing claim in Multi-ethnic states*' Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, p.484

The term 'militant' refer to aggressive action in support of a cause. It also refer to vigorously active; combative person or one who is engaged in warfare or warring.¹⁵ Some scholar like Bristow term 'Militants' are citizen army constituted of men who freely enlist to perform occasional mandatory military service so as to protect their country or state.¹⁶ Militants may be armed and trained bands of locals who could be mobilized on short notice for the defense of a cause. Militants as comprising citizens including young people and unemployed youths marginalized and dissatisfied with the weak state.¹⁷ Militants are not members of a regular trained army but can operate in the same manner because they have been trained to perform certain functions similar to the ones soldiers perform such as homeland defense and security for civil populace especially when they are engaged in battle fronts.

Thus, a militant may be regarded as one who has an active, aggressive and combative character in the service for a cause. A militant group seeks solution to the problem by using military power. Zhimomi has stated that, 'The militant are those groups who are deprived of legitimate right, for which they have been demanding vociferously'.¹⁸ Militant group claim to be a representative of a particular community or class engaged in political movement for attainment of a particular objective. Although they adopt aggressive action, militants are not to be equated with anti-social elements like robbers or dacoits; they have specific aims and objectives for a particular group; tribe, communities, religious or secular. Schneckener defined 'militants' as irregular, paramilitary combat units that aim at protecting and defending the interests of the government and/or certain sections of the society.¹⁹ While Okumu and Ikelegbe argue that a 'militant' is 'an armed force of ordinary persons...an armed faction engaged in combat or fighting or that resorts to violence to attain certain objectives'.²⁰ Usually, a discontented group of people who use force and violence to achieve their set political goals are referred to as militants. 'Militancy' denotes the state or condition of being militant. Militancy has direct relation to armed force & rebellion. It is related to the term 'militarism' which in a spirit or an attitude of a person, group of person who have also faith in force and violence. In general sense, militancy denotes the various attitude and practices associated with armies and wars. It regards armed establishment and its

¹⁵ David.D Laitin, *Nations, States and Violence*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

¹⁶ Edward Bristow, *Individualism versus Socialism in Britain*. New York: Fordham University Press, 1998.

¹⁷ David Francis, *Civil Militia: Africa's Intractable Security Menace*, 2005.

¹⁸ Kuoji K. Zhimomi; *Politics and Militancy in Nagaland*, New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, 2004, p.22

¹⁹ U. Schneckener, *Spoilers or Governance Actors? Engaging Armed Non-State Groups in Areas of Limited Statehood*, SFB-Governance Working Paper Series: 21, 2009, p.9

²⁰ W.Okumu and Ikelegbe, A. (eds.), *Militias, Rebels and Islamist Militants': Human Insecurity and State Crises in African*, Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2010, p.4.

maintenance as ends in themselves. In its specific sense however the supremacy of militant authorities is the essence of militarism.

The word 'movement' derives from the old French verb '*movior*' meaning 'to move', 'stir' or 'impel' and the medieval *movimentum* (turn) and then reproduces the definition of a movement from the Oxford dictionary as 'a series of actions and endeavors of a body of person for special object'.²¹ Ethnic movements involve group mobilization along ethnic lines by the leadership with a view to enhance the status of the group concerned. Notwithstanding the demand divergence of ethnic movements, the basic issues of identity and interests, access to and control over the power resources are common to all ethnic movements.²² Some scholars explain why social mobilization occurs, the forms under which it manifests, as well as potential social, cultural and political consequences.²³ A movement may be peaceful or violent in nature depending upon the pattern of leadership, the release of force and the coercive method adopted by the system under which it operates. It tends to modify, reinterpret, readjust and alter the age-old tradition, values and above all political culture, attacking the very foundation of legitimacy of the system for a new kind of social order.²⁴ Giddens argued that, social movement is a collective attempt to further a common interest or secure a common goal, through collective action outside the sphere of established institutions.²⁵

'Ethnic Militant' are organized violence-oriented groups populated by diverse elements, cutting across different age strata, but drawing membership exclusively from an ethnic group and established to promote and protect the interests of an ethnic group. Ethnic Militant is an extreme form of ethnic agitation for self-rule or self-determination and occurs when the ethnic group assumes militant posture. They serve as a social pressure group designed to influence the structure of power to the advantage of and call attention to the deteriorating material condition or political deprivation and perceived marginalization of their group or social environment. In any ethnic militant movement the use of force and violence becomes explicit as a means for attaining the movement's objective. There are various explanations of militant movement by different scholars that can be used to single out the common threads upon which the outlines of a conceptual framework could be based. In this study, 'militant movement' basically refers to Karbi Militant Movement which take recourse to violent and combative character for achieving their political goals.

²¹ Paul Wilkinson; *Social Movement*, London: Pall-Mall, 1971, p.1

²² Urmila Phadnis and Rajat Ganguly, *Ethnicity and Nation-Building in South Asia*, New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 2001, p.133-135

²³ Paul Wilkinson, *op.cit.*, p. 27

²⁴ R.N. Prasad (ed.), *Autonomy Movements in Mizoram*, New Delhi: Vikash Publishing House, Reprint 1997, pp.36-37

²⁵ A. Giddens, *Sociology*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997, p.511

1.4 Understanding Movements: A Theoretical Perspective

Scholars and writers around the world have forwarded different theories and assumptions to study the social movement, collective action and militants' movement which emerged in different part of the world. The present study examined some theories put forwarded by social scientists to explain the contemporary discourse on social and ethnic militancy movements.

'The Relative Deprivation Theory' holds that, relative deprivation is perceived by a group of people irrespective of their economic, political, educational and ethnic positions, act as the bedrock of the movements. The Relative Deprivation Theory is helpful in explaining the causes of social movement but fail to account for its success or failures. The theory does not give much emphasis to pursuit the stated objectives of the social movement.²⁶

According to Robert K. Merton, Strain Theory explains movement mobilization as a response to the amount of strains and stresses encountered by a particular society. The more people feel frustrated and alienated, the more likely they are to join groups that resist the perceived sources of their frustration. Merton considers structural strained as the underlying factor leading to collective behaviour. Structural strain occurs at different levels of norms, values, mobilizations, of motivational and structural conditions. While strain provides the structural conditions, the crystallization of a generalized belief marks the attempt of persons under strain to assess their situation, and to explain the situation, by creating or assembling a generalized belief. Both strain and generalized belief require precipitating factors to trigger of the movement.²⁷

'Collective Behaviour Theory' explains social movement in terms of collective reactions of the individual to grievances caused by system disequilibrium.²⁸

'Theory of Class Struggle' is an important part of the contemporary political theory. It emphasized on classes and class struggle which helps us to understand class based movement like peasants and workers' movement. The theory explains both the causes and consequences of social movements, but since its emphasis in on classes and class struggle it may not be able to explain ethnic movement.²⁹

²⁶ M.S.A. Rao (ed.); *Social Movement in India*, New, Vol. I, Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1984, p. 2

²⁷ Structural Strain Theory: An Overview from <https://www.sociology.about.com/od/Sociological-Theory/a/Structural-Strain-Theory.html> (accessed on 14/3/14)

²⁸ Neil J Smelser, *Theory of Collective Behavior*, London: Routledge and Kegan, 1962

²⁹ N. Jayapalan; *Comprehensive History of Political Thought*, Atlantic Publishers, 2001, pp. 252-255

‘Revitalization Theory’ holds that social movement develops out of a deliberate organized and conscious effort on the part of members of a society to construct as more satisfying culture for themselves. Wallace regards society a kind of organism and analyzes the dynamic of revitalization movement in four phases: period of cultural instability, period of increased individual stress, period of cultural distortion and consequent disillusionment, and period of revitalization. He stresses on the cultural aspect of the social structure and also put emphasis on the innovation of new cultural elements and social changes and adaptability.³⁰ However, the Revitalization Theory propounds that adoptive processes employed to established equilibrium situation.

‘Resource Mobilization Theory’ focuses on how social movement are organized and why some of them were successful than the others. Viewing the individual as rational actor engaged in instrumental actions, the theory explains how organizations are used to secure and mobilize resources for achieving the movement’s goals. It also observes political opportunities, role of pre-existing network and close knit within the group. Resources can be material (money, capital and physical); moral (solidarity, support for the movement’s goals); social-organizational (organizational strategies, social network, bloc recruitment); human (volunteers, staff leaders) and cultural (prior activist experience, understanding of the issues, collective action know-how).³¹ These resources need to be mobilized effectively by the movement’s leader to achieve power and influence for the successful realization of the movement’s objectives. Inability of the movement to mobilize resources effectively can be the main factor responsible for failure of any movement both social and militant.

‘Competition Theory’ observes ethnic identification from material point of view. It specifies that the struggle over resource can explain the surfacing and decline of ethnic groups. It also explains the reasons why ethnic identification appears visible and important at certain point of time and not at another time. Competition theory in the social constructivism perspective study of ethnicity explains that the perception of taking advantage of some resource opportunity is the rationale that informs ethnic identity formation. In the study made by Olzak and Nagel, attempt has been made to demonstrate how socially constructed identities come into being and entered on how economic and political competition arising from modernization.³²

‘Rational Choice Theory’ explains that individuals are rational actors who strategically weight the costs and benefits of alternative courses of action and choose that action which is most likely to maximize their utility. The drawback with this theory is the

³⁰ Anthony F.C. Wallace; ‘Revitalization Theory’, *American Anthropologist*, April 28, 1958. P.265

³¹ J.C. Jenkins, ‘Resource Mobilisation Theory and the Study of Social Movements’, *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 9 August, 1983, p.533

³² Susan Olzak and Joan Nagel (eds.), *Competitive Ethnic Relations*. New York: Academy Press, 1986.

collective action problem, or why rational individuals would choose to join in collective action if they benefit from its acquisition even if they do not participate. This theory explains the factors that motivate individuals to identify with a group as well as behave in a manner that advances nations' interest.³³

'The Fluid Theory' of militancy draws its explanation from both the state-centric and non-state actor theories of militants. Militants of this nature cannot be categorically identified and defined in terms of the characteristics and traits of their membership; often these types of militants are not organized and articulated. They tend to emerge from situations of social and economic conflagration in the state and always, as such they have no formal identity and so are easily withered from the scene once the issue that led to their emergence is tackled by the state. They are the sort of militant groups that can assume different forms depending on situation and circumstances per time.³⁴

'The Non-State Theory' of militancy can be categorized into two. The first category is those socially guaranteed by the state to perform specific function. These include community militant and other volunteer groups. Apart from community militant who has relationship with the state in maintaining security, there also exist politically supported militant groups and private security militants. Politically supported militants act as protective organ of the party. They execute distinct role and defend their fight for political power. As such, militant organizations are not just groups of the armed bandits having political intention to defend their interests, but in most cases also seek to deconstruct the state.³⁵ This kind of militants' establishment sees violence as a means of control over the tool of power. The belief is that the oppressor understands only the language of violence than non-violence.

The analysis of the above mentioned theories provide a wider understanding regarding the causes of the genesis of the movements. Apart from this, these theories highlight the factors responsible for the success/failure of the movements. The question is whether these theories are capable of explaining why militant movement exists in Karbi Anglong? In the present study an effort is made to understand the Karbi militant movement from various perspectives like the factors responsible for the genesis of the movement, factors responsible for its success/failure. It will be done within the framework of those theories and it will be observed that whether the Karbi militant movement can be understood within the framework of the theories mentioned or there is a need of some other theoretical framework in the understanding of the phenomenon of Karbi militancy. Therefore a case study of Karbi militancy is undertaken in this study.

³³ Dennis Chong, *Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

³⁴ David Francis, *op.cit.*

³⁵ Basil Davidson, *No Fist Is Big Enough to Hide the Sky*, London: Palgram Macmillan, 1981.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the research are as follows:

- (a) To study the factors leading to Karbi Militancy.
- (b) To study the genesis, leadership, objective and resources of Karbi Militant Movement.
- (c) To study the response of ethnic Karbis to Karbi Militant Movement.
- (d) To examine Karbi militant movement and its impact on Statehood demand.
- (e) To examine the response of the Government to Karbi militants' demands.

1.6 Review of Literature

Many scholars have dealt with the theory and practice of social movement and ethnic militant's movement in different countries of the world. Some of the movement adopted peaceful means to achieve their stated goal while some of the ethnic movement resorted to militant tactic to attain their demands. The scholars in their efforts gave explanations to establish direct links of deprivation with violent behavior. This viewpoint explains that militants' activity which includes violence is the result of a rational decision-making process that occurs in response to perceived economic or political grievances.³⁶

On the other hand, fundamental explanations which some other scholars have used, seek to identify deeper-level factors as responsible for creating the conditions in which some individuals and groups feel the need to resort to violence as a means of advancing their views.³⁷ Proximate explanation argues that violent behavior by militia groups is directly vigorous by specific political, social or economic injustices in societies where there is alleged lack of choice due to narrow space provided by the political system.³⁸ The study of ethnic militancy movement has assumed a great implication in contemporary political analysis.

The ethnic militants are extreme form of ethnic agitation for self-rule or self-determination added Guichaoua. In his research paper 'The Making of an Ethnic Militias explained that, membership of ethnic militant organization is solely supported and joined by individuals with common cultural background. It demonstrated about the past subjugation usually in a diverse society when an out-group ethnically dominated present

³⁶ Matha Crenshaw , 'The Causes of Terrorism', *Comparative Politics* (Vol.13, No 4), 1981 pp. 379-399

³⁷ Oliver Roy, *Globalised Islam*. London: Hurst and Company, 1994.

³⁸ John Stern, *Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill*, New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2003, p.284

government is controlling the handles of power.³⁹ The academic literature sustaining proximate causes for violent militants activities centre round rationalizations based on poverty and politics says Huntington, in his book *'Clash of Civilization'*. The poverty-driven view argues that violence is an expression of disappointment over the lack of educational and employment opportunities, social inequalities and the sense of hopelessness that occur in condition of poverty.⁴⁰ But in the book of Jervis, *'American Foreign Policy in the New Era'* pointed out that the academic literature on poverty driven arguments have failed to establish either a causal or correlative link between violence and poverty.⁴¹ Ethnic Movement has taken place in term of social groups, geographical areas and period and rightly pointed out the drawback in the existing literature for the raise of social movement in India. This was analyzed in the review work done by Ganshyam Shah, *'Social Movement in India: A Review of Literature'*.⁴² T.K. Oommen in his book, *'Protest and Change: Studies in Social Movement'* described the movement, looking at the protest as social changes, dealt with the theoretical, conceptual and methodological issues in the study of social movements in India and provides a penetrating analysis of the relationship between movements and institutions. It also focuses on the protest specific social groups and discusses aspect such as emergence of leadership, recruitment of members and supporters in the movements.⁴³ Numerous works have also been done by many scholars, on ethnic movement, self-rule and militancy in India. Social movements are influenced by various factors like resource, organizational structure, political opportunities, and traditional discontent was suggested by J.C. Jenkins *'Resource Mobilization Theory and the Study of Social Movement'*.⁴⁴ Another study has highlighted the factors like variety of sources, the relationship of social movement with authorities concerned, media, parties and interaction among organization in carrying out a movement and presents a set of concepts and proposition to explain social movement in Doug McAdam and John McCarthy's edited book, *'Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structure and Cultural Framing'*.⁴⁵ And some of the study on social movements gives extensive classic and contemporary reading on the origin, organization dynamic, effects of different social movement. Due to which different social movement has attracted the attention of many Indian social thinkers as well. And was believed that, social movement started due to the need of changes in the society elaborated by Jeff Godwin and James M. Jasper in their edited book, *'The Social*

³⁹ Yvan Guichaoua, *The Making of an Ethnic Militia. The Oodua People's Congress in Nigeria*, Oxford: Centre for Research in Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity (CRISE), 2005.

⁴⁰ Samuel Huntington, *Clash of Civilization*, New York: Touchstone Books, 1998, p. 42

⁴¹ Robert Jervis, *American Foreign Policy in the New Era*, New York: Routledge, 2007, p.43.

⁴² Ganshyam Shah , *'Social Movement in India: A Review of Literature'*, New Delhi: SAGE publication, 1990

⁴³ T.K. Oommen ,*'Protest and Change: Studies in Social Movement'*, New Delhi: SAGE Publication, 1990

⁴⁴ J.C. Jenkins, *op.cit.*

⁴⁵ Doug McAdam, *et.al* (ed.), *'Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structure and Cultural Framing'*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

*Movement Reader: Cases and Concept.*⁴⁶ In the contemporary world, terrorist movement creating fear psychosis to the civilians were also experiences by many countries. V.T. Patil in his manuscript '*New Face of Terrorism: Ethnic, Domestic and Foreign*' has analyses the appearances of terrorist in the form of ethnic, domestic and the foreign terrorist operating in other country. The tactics and ideologies used in creating terror by the movement are examines.⁴⁷ Sajal Nag in his book '*Nationalism, Separatism and Secessionism*' examines the boundary between nationalism, separatism and Secessionism in India. He explained that regional and secessionist tendencies in the North East India and elsewhere have their origins in the dominance and recognition of the language, culture and political ambition of the advance nationalities and the cost of the smaller communities.⁴⁸ North-East is a militant's prone region and the origin, causes, factors for the rise and continuance of militancy was found in the study made by J.B. Bhattacharjee (ed.), '*Roots of Insurgency in North East India*'.⁴⁹ He was also given stress how dynamics is the different militant's organization in the region. Economic backwardness and exploitation, subjugation and domination were also found to be some of the factors which were responsible for it.

Numbers of works also deals with the ethnic militant movement in North East India. Indian colonialism was one of the major issues which majority of the North-Easterner took to arms. Those who do not take arms also not satisfied with the present government system in India. Subir Bhowmik in his work '*Insurgent Crossfire: North-East India*' have reflected on the external linkages, implications of militancy on development, governance and human rights of the region.⁵⁰ Another comprehensive study on the prevailing situation in India's sensitive North Eastern region bordering with China, Myanmar and Bangladesh was discussed by Phanjoubam Tarapot in '*Insurgency Movement in North Eastern India*'.⁵¹ It also deals with the factors that led to the formation of different underground organizations in the region. Apurba K. Baruah, 'Communities and Democracy: A Northeast Indian Perspective, Identity Politics in Northeast India, in '*North East India Studies*'⁵² pointed out that, movement for ethnic autonomy on the basis of ethnicity has become a strong mobilizing force through which the different ethnic groups in Northeast India try to fulfill their aspirations, protect their

⁴⁶ Jeff Godwin and James M. Jasper (2003) in their edited book, '*The Social Movement Reader: Cases and Concepts*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2003

⁴⁷ Patil, V.T., '*New face of Terrorism, Ethnic, Domestic and Foreign*, New Delhi: Authorspress Global Network, 2008.

⁴⁸ Sajal Nag, '*Nationalism, Separatism and Secessionism*, New Delhi: Rawat Publications, 1999

⁴⁹ J.B. Bhattacharjee (ed.), '*Roots of Insurgency in North East India*', New Delhi: Akansha Publishing House, 2007

⁵⁰ Subir Bhowmik, '*Insurgent Crossfire: North-East India*, New Delhi: Lancer Publications, 1996.

⁵¹ Phanjoubam Tarapot, '*Insurgency Movement in North Eastern India*', New Delhi: Vikash Publishing House, 1993.

⁵² Apurba K. Baruah, 'Communities and Democracy: A Northeast Indian, Identity Politics in North East India, '*North East India Studies*' (Vol.1 No.1) June, 2005

ancestral land or ethnic homeland as well as to create a political space for themselves within the existing polity in order to safeguard and maintain their distinct ethnic identity. The ethnic autonomy movement on the basis of ethnicity of the various ethnic communities to assert and protect their culture, language, tradition is commonly called 'ethnic identity movement' and this is the most significant aspects of the contemporary socio-political reality of India's North-East. Prasenjit Biswas and Chandan Suklabaidia, '*Ethnic Life-World in North East India*',⁵³ has given us an analysis of the cultural and political determinants of ethnic and identity-oriented struggles in North East India, as well as the cultural politics of ethnic mobilization in the region. The two major insurgent outfits of the region-National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) and United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) was critically examined. The Assamese and Nagas have been fighting for sovereignty. The study gave a reflection that, the socio-historical and political factors have led to separatist militancy in states of Nagaland and Assam. Udayon Mishra in his book '*North East India: The Quest for Identity*',⁵⁴ shows how the future of the nation-state in India depends on the ability to resolve the questions that are being thrown up by the struggle for a 'Swadhin Asom' and an 'Independent Nagaland' by the Assamese and the Nagas respectively. Sukalpa Bhattacharjee and Raju Dhamala, '*Human Rights and Insurgency: The North East India*',⁵⁵ highlighted that, in the name of protecting the land and its people there was also a bulk violation of Human Rights in the region. Many of the innocent lives were taken away by the militants. On the other hand, the security force too committed the same crime in the name of counter-militancy in the region. It was also discussed the effects of the hegemonic and counter hegemonic violence of the Indian states and militancy in Northeast India on women, children and the innocent masses. Kiran Shankar Maitra in his book '*The Noxious Web: Insurgency in the North East*' have importantly brought out the strategic linkages between different militant groups, their nexus with politicians, drug deal and with foreign rudiments like Inter Service Intelligence (ISI) of Pakistan and support from Bangladesh, Bhutan, Myanmar and China.⁵⁶

The works on militancy in northeast India reflected on the nature of organization and working of ethnic militant groups of the region. The studies were also done by Senba Ao, '*The Naga Resistance Movement: Prospect of peace and Armed Conflict*',⁵⁷ has discussed on the resistance movement taken out by the Naga militant and explores the

⁵³ Prasenjit Biswas and Chandan Suklabaidia, '*Ethnic Life-World in North East India*', New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 2008

⁵⁴ Udayon Mishra, '*North East India: The Quest for Identity*', New Delhi: Omsons Publication, 1998

⁵⁵ Sukalpa Bhattacharjee and Raju Dhamala (eds.) '*Human Rights and Insurgency: The North East India*', Delhi: Sipra Publications, 2002.

⁵⁶ Kiran Shankar Maitra, '*The Noxious Web: Insurgency in the North-East*', New Delhi: Akansha Publishers House, 2007

⁵⁷ Senba Ao, '*The Naga Resistance Movement: Prospect of peace and Armed Conflict*', New Delhi: Agency Publications, 2007

reasons for the endurance of the Naga ethno-political movement over the last five decades. It discusses the dynamics, role of leadership, internationalization of the issue, its external implications and prospects for management of the problem. Mizo National Front (MNF) is one of the successful militant organizations in the region. According to the study carried by Nirmal Nibedon, '*Mizoram: The Dagger Brigade*'⁵⁸ suggested that, due to well organize of the organization, ideology, strategy and tactics and its external links MNF demand was met. R.N. Prasad's (ed.) book entitled "*Autonomy Movements in Mizoram*" presents a collection of the scholarly written articles.⁵⁹ It deals impartially with the concept of autonomy movements in Mizoram. The work deals with the Mizo National Front (MNF) led militancy, its relationship with foreign powers, counter-militancy measures taken up by the government, the efforts of regional political parties in reconciling the crisis and impact of autonomy movements on socio-cultural and economic-political transformation in Mizoram. In her article, 'Militancy in Garo Hills: A preliminary Note', Caroline R. Marak has given an analysis on the rise of militancy in Garo Hills of Meghalaya. She also pointed out Naga Insurgency behind the emergence of several ethnic militant groups in the North East India.⁶⁰

The ULFA too were not lacking in their stand the literature written by Samir Kumar Das, '*ULFA: A Political Analysis*'⁶¹ gives a comprehensive analysis on the rise, demonstrations, retribution, confrontation, resurgence consolidation, and disintegration of the ULFA in Assam. P.S. Datta (ed.), '*Ethnic Movement in Poly-Cultural Assam*'⁶² also highlighted the rise, causes and dynamics of some of the ethnic movement of some ethnic tribes in Assam. Due to political consciousness among the different ethnic tribes in Assam every indigenous tribes is now demanding for their rights. How the ethnic movements have risen up? What are the causes and dynamic of the smaller ethnic communities in Assam was focused.

But literature on Karbi militant movement in Assam was very few. Their demand, ideology, leadership, strength; resources and external connection of the Karbi militant movement in Assam were little known. Due to which student, scholars, teachers and masses have limited knowledge on it. Praveen Kumar, '*Kuki-Karbi clashes in Assam*',⁶³ throw the light that, some of the militants organization in the Hills district of Assam clashes each other for supremacy, control over territory, natural resources, raw materials etc. But there are more to be focused and here the real picture was not displayed by the

⁵⁸ Nirmal Nibedon, '*Mizoram: The Dagger Brigade*', New Delhi: Lancers Publishers, 1983

⁵⁹ R.N. Prasad (ed.), '*Autonomy Movements in Mizoram*', New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1994

⁶⁰ Marak, Caroline R., 'Militancy in Garo Hills: A preliminary Note' *North-East India Studies* (Vol. 1 No.1) June, 2005, pp.97-109

⁶¹ Samir Kumar Das, '*ULFA: A Political Analysis*', Delhi: Ajanta Publication, 1994

⁶² P.S. Datta, '*Ethnic Movement in Poly-Cultural Assam*', New Delhi: Vikash Publishing House, 1990

⁶³ Praveen Kumar, '*Kuki-Karbi clashes in Assam*', in the journal *Strategic Analysis*, Vol. 28, No. 2 April-June, 2004, pp.352-357

author. The fighting is not only for supremacy and control over raw materials but it's an offensive measure to protect its own people. There are some important factors behind persistent ethnic conflicts, particularly of the Kuki-Karbi violence-2003 & 2004, Karbi-Bodo violence-2005, Karbi-Dimasas violence- 2005 in Assam. Hundreds of innocent people were killed and thousands were rendered homeless. Mondol Sing Bey, *The Ethnic Fare up of Karbi Anglong*'⁶⁴ has detailed about the tribal militants in the district and its subversive activities leading to an ethnic violence. The district has a bitter experienced in those years of conflict but was little known to the outside world. The unswerving effort made by the Karbi tribe to have their own separate statehood was elaborated in Mondol Sing Bey, '*Karbi Anglong and Dima Hasao State Movement*'.⁶⁵ The demand for Hills State was started since 1960 comprising several tribal leaders of the region. In the process Meghalaya, Mizoram has attained their Statehood. But the aspiration of the people in the two hills district of Assam is yet to fulfill. According to him the different factors leading of failure for statehood by the hills people of Assam are lack of perseverance, poor economic condition, politically not united, ignorance and illiteracy.

The Review of Literature shows that much of the ethnic and militant movements in Northeast India are struggle for Self-determination, autonomy, exertion of sub-national identity, peace and security, development and human rights protection. Most of the works has been done on militancy in Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram and Tripura. The studies on militancy in Assam normally focus on ULFA, BLT, and NDFB. Even though much has been written about Karbi tribe and their history, social movement before and after 1952 only few articles talked about the Karbi militant movement in Assam in spite of it significant affect. They have not been systematically described in details in published literature on these movements. The movements constitute an important part of the process whereby the Karbi tribes adapt to changing conditions. Hence, this work is an attempt to study the root causes of militancy in Karbi Anglong from 1972-2012 and the response established by the government.

1.7 Hypotheses

The study has tested the following hypotheses:-

1. Non fulfillment of Statehood demand has led to the genesis of Karbi Militant Movement.
2. Cultural and socio-economic exploitation led to the growth of Karbi Militant Movement.
3. Mismanagement of resources (material and human) has weakens the Karbi Militant Movement.

⁶⁴ Mondol Sing Bey, '*The Ethnic Fare up of Karbi Anglong*', Diphu: Bimala Teronpi, 2010

⁶⁵ Mondol Sing Bey, '*Karbi Anglong and Dima Hasao State Movement*', Diphu: Self Published, 2014

4. Ineffective mobilization of resources (moral and social) contributed for the failure of Karbi Militant Movement.

1.8 Methodology of the Study

The study adopted both qualitative and quantitative methods in data collection and analysis. This implies that the focused of the study centered on the discovery of the underlying motives of the Karbi Militant Movement and analyzed the various factors which motivate them to switch into armed movement. The reason behind the adoption of qualitative method is that the research intends to discover the underlying motives, desires and opinions about the existence of militancy in Karbi Anglong.

The data was collected both from primary and secondary sources. The primary sources such as (i) schedule to public and unstructured interviews to militant, social and political leaders (ii) legislative assembly debates and pronouncement on Karbi militants demand by the government (iii) personal diaries & memories of those who matter in the study.

The present study is also based on some secondary sources such as books, research journals/articles, magazine, and newspaper reports describing the actions of the Karbi militant movement. Memorandums submitted to the government by the organization leaders, government publications, conference papers, seminar reports, etc.

1.8.1 Universe of the Study

All the ethnic Karbi population living in Karbi Anglong district of Assam constituted the Universe of the Study.

1.8.2 Sample Size of the Study

The study is based on the sample of two components- the public and the militants group in Karbi Anglong. The choice of the public is made on the fact that the militant movement has great impact on the civil society. Many of the individual, households and villagers are the sufferers of the militant movement in Karbi Anglong. It is therefore justifiable that in a study of this nature, the inhabitant must fall naturally into the sample. The other sample includes the militant's leaders and cadres including both the UPDS and KLNLF whose selection is grounded on the fact that the group are dominantly operating in Karbi Anglong. This choice is justified also just like the civil society the militant are demanding for Statehood and negotiation with the government are on. The justification for choosing the militants rose from the fact that their activities challenge the authority which brought unrest situations in the hill district of Assam.

1.8.3 Variables of the Study

The researcher had developed the instrument used in this study after an extensive review of literature in the subject and related theory found in the literature. In these way six different variables like language suppression, cultural and religious assimilation; demographic invasion, subjugation of traditional administrative system (including customary law), economic exploitation and land alienation were designed to study genesis of Karbi militancy as cited in the objectives of the study. Other variables like lack of vision, egotism, mismanagement and ineffective resources, factional clashes of the movement were considered for the study of leadership, objectives and resources of Karbi militant movement and the counter-militancy, peace-talks, peace accord were carefully measured to study the response of government to Karbi militant demands.

1.8.4 Sampling Procedure

The primary data was collected from the ethnic Karbi population the sample of which was collected on the basis of both random and purposive sampling wherever necessary. In order to collect the opinion of the Karbi population with regard to the militancy in the district of Karbi Anglong, their problems, the challenges they face, feelings about the government response, their feelings about the status of their culture, tradition, socio-economic and political life, a sample of 180 ethnic Karbis were chosen on the basis of random sampling from 18 Revenue Villages. Further 10 Karbis from 10 different households from each revenue village were chosen on the basis of random sampling.

While choosing the revenue villages, the care was taken to represent entire district of Karbi Anglong. The district consists of three Sub Divisions namely- Diphu, Bokajan and Hamren. Each Sub Division consists of several Development Blocks. Diphu Sub Division consists of 4 Development Blocks, Bokajan Sub Division consists of 3 Development Blocks and Hamren Sub Division consists of 4 Development Blocks. Two Development Blocks were randomly chosen from the 3 Sub Divisions.

1.8.5 Method of Data Collection

As the study is basically a qualitative study of the attitudes, feelings and opinions of the respondents regarding their support to militancy and demand for Statehood, 180 sample sizes has reasonably been chosen. The data from the Karbi respondents was collected through the tool of interview schedule. In some villages where respondents are illiterate, the researcher recorded the replies of the respondents. The schedule addressed issues such as the historical support and constitutional assurance for Statehood, genesis of Karbi militant movement, other factors responsible for the growth of the movement,

support for the movement and response to their demand. The detail profiles of the respondents are given below.

Table 1.1: Socio-Economic Profiles of Respondents

Socio-Economic Profiles of Respondents		Number (In Percentage)
Age Group	From 20 years	20 (11.2%)
	20-30 years	87 (48.4%)
	30-40 years	48 (26.6%)
	40 years >	25(13.8%)
Gender	Male	140 (77.7%)
	Female	40 (22.3%)
Marital Status	Married	123 (68.3%)
	Unmarried	57 (31.7%)
Caste Category	Schedule Tribe	180 (100%)
Education	Illiterate	7 (3.8%)
	Literate	13 (7.3%)
	Primary	27 (15%)
	High School	58 (32.3%)
	Intermediate	45 (25%)
	Graduate	18(10%)
	Post Graduate	7 (3.8)
	Other	5 (2.8%)
Religion/Belief	Hindus	94 (52.3%)
	Christianity	48 (26.6%)
	Others/Animism	38 (21.1%)
Occupation	Primary	112 (62.2%)
	Secondary	55 (30.5%)
	Tertiary	13 (7.3%)
Annual Income	< 15000	67 (37.2%)
	15000-25000	33(18.3%)
	25000-35000	47(26.2%)
	35000-45000	17(9.5%)
	45000-55000	10(5.5%)
55000>	6 (3.3%)	

Source: Compiled from the Interview Schedule

Apart from studying the people's views, opinions on Karbi militant movement the response of the leaders who involved were also collected. The data from leaders of militant organizations like UPDS and KLNLF were collected through the technique of unstructured interview. The leaders of social and political organizations like Karbi Lammet Amei, Karbi Cultural Society, Karbi Anglong North Cachar Hills Autonomous State Demand Committee, Karbi Riso Adorbar, Karbi Student Association, Karbi Human Right Watch, Congress (I) party, Joint Action Committee for Autonomous State, Hill State Demand Committee leaders of the district were interviewed.

1.8.6 Method of Data Analysis

In the present study various statistical methods like simple percentage used for for the analysis of data. Simple tabulation, bi-variate and multi-variate tabulations, diagrammes, pie charts were used for the data presentation and interpretation on. After receiving data from the respondents editing was undertaken in order to ensure the omission, completeness and consistency of the data.

1.9 Operational Definition of Terms

1.9.1 Autonomous State: Autonomous State refers to the ‘self-governing power’ or ‘freedom of action’ of the people living in the state which comprise ethnically different from the dominant group. It is a state within the state approach and having autonomous power to decide their action for the welfare of ethnic groups. The present study refers it as a political arrangement to allow ethnic groups and other minority to exercise their political power independently.

1.9.2 Sub-Nationalism: Sub-Nationalism is the movement of people to pursue autonomous statehood or regional autonomy within a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-linguistic state. Sub-nationalism inclines to ethnocentrism and enlistment for economic and political advantage against other. The study also refers to sub-nationalism as a movement or revolt of peoples against the unitary nature of state, resistant by indigenous rights and conflict of power.

1.9.3 Ethnic Militant: Ethnic militants are planned violence-oriented groups engaged by assorted elements and drawing membership exclusively from an ethnic group and established to promote and protect the interests of an ethnic group. In the ethnic agitation the militants took violent action for self-rule or self-determination. The ethnic group switches on to militant posture when they were deprived of their legitimate right. They serve as a social pressure group designed to influence the structure of power to the advantage of and call attention to the deteriorating material condition or political deprivation and perceived marginalization of their group or social environment.

1.9.4 Homeland: Homeland is a region created or considered as a state for people of particular ethnic origin. It is the native land of a particular ethnic group and the region one lives or was born. It also can be considered a nominally independent tribal state.

1.10 Significance of the Study

The study contributes to the literature on ethnic militant movement. It will open new outlook of understanding on the subject, thus providing concerned stakeholders opportunity of sympathetic the causal factors of subnationalism, socio-economic and

cultural exploitation as it relates to the Karbis context. This is significant in the sense that it shall establish factors that pull towards autonomy, sub-nationalism, and socio-economic exploitation within the peculiar Indian setting which in turn will guide the management of ethno-national tendencies for a multi-cultural society.

The present study tries to dig out the underpinning historical facts and constitutional commitment which led the Karbi militants to demand their rights. It is hopes that the study will find out a ways and means to return peace and serenity in the territory.

1.11 Scope and Time Frame of the Study

The process of spotting a militants or members of the organisations or penetrating the two groups (UPDS and KLNLF) was not easy though they are under ceasefire with the government and so obtaining accurate and confidential information was indeed very difficult. The present study has tried to delimit the Karbi Militant Movements in Assam from 1972- 2012 which covered the genesis and major activities of the armed movements for Statehood by the Karbis, in due course few Karbi militant groups are coming up in the state. Due to time constraint and limited resources the study could not include them and there are many factors responsible for the complexity which it cannot be ruled out. But this limitation has no bearing affect on the generalization of the study.