

# **The Prachanda Path and Óglaigh na hÉireann: A Comparative Case Study of the Insurgencies in Nepal and Northern Ireland**

**A Monograph  
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**AY 2008**

# REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

*Form Approved*  
*OMB No. 0704-0188*

Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing this collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden to Department of Defense, Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports (0704-0188), 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302. Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to any penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number. **PLEASE DO NOT RETURN YOUR FORM TO THE ABOVE ADDRESS.**

<b>1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY)</b> 2008-05-22		<b>2. REPORT TYPE</b> SAMS Monograph		<b>3. DATES COVERED (From - To)</b> SEP 2007 – MAY 2008	
<b>4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE</b> The Prachanda Path and Oglai gh na hEireann: A Comparative Case Study of the Insurgencies in Nepal and Northern Ireland.				<b>5a. CONTRACT NUMBER</b>	
				<b>5b. GRANT NUMBER</b>	
				<b>5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER</b>	
<b>6. AUTHOR(S)</b> MAJ Robert Schexnayder				<b>5d. PROJECT NUMBER</b>	
				<b>5e. TASK NUMBER</b>	
				<b>5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER</b>	
<b>7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)</b> Advanced Military Studies Program 250 Gibbon Avenue Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027-2134				<b>8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER</b>	
<b>9. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)</b> Command and General Staff College 100 Stimson Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027				<b>10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)</b> CGSC, SAMS	
				<b>11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)</b>	
<b>12. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT</b> Approved for public release; distribution is unlimited.					
<b>13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES</b>					
<b>14. ABSTRACT</b> See Abstract					
<b>15. SUBJECT TERMS</b> The Prachanda Path, Oglai gh na hEireann, Insurgencies, Nepal, Northern Ireland					
<b>16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:</b>			<b>17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT</b>  UU	<b>18. NUMBER OF PAGES</b>  53	<b>19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON</b> Stefan J. Banach, COL, US Army
<b>a. REPORT</b> Unclassified	<b>b. ABSTRACT</b> Unclassified	<b>c. THIS PAGE</b> Unclassified			<b>19b. TELEPHONE NUMBER (include area code)</b> 913-758-3300



## Abstract

THE PRACHANDA PATH AND ÓGLAIGH NA HÉIREANN: A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY OF THE INSURGENCIES IN NEPAL AND NORTHERN IRELAND by MAJOR Robert J. Schexnayder, U.S. Army, 51 pages.

Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the Global War on Terrorism have raised the interest of the United States Government in insurgencies and counterinsurgencies. There are many different types and classifications of insurgencies. Two major types are leftist, Maoist style insurgencies and right-wing, nationalist/religious style insurgencies. As the right-wing, nationalist/religious style insurgencies continue to grow and gain momentum, the question becomes, "Are right-wing, nationalist/religious style insurgencies better structured and equipped to succeed than the leftist style insurgencies?" In order to answer this question, this monograph will analyze the structure, tactical levels of discipline, operational focus, and insurgent strategies of two modern insurgencies, each representing a right-wing, nationalist/religious style or left-wing, Maoist style movement: the Irish Republican Movement in Northern Ireland and the Maoist Rebels in Nepal.

The Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) (CPN(M)) initiated its insurgency in 1996, when it started a "people's war," against the government of Nepal. The CPN(M)'s main goal was to establish a communist government in Nepal, remove the monarchical system, and remove the caste system from the country. The CPN(M) is an egalitarian type of insurgency that uses Mao Tse-Tung's Protracted People's War strategy. However, they have modified the strategy over the past few years to incorporate urban terrorist operations. This new strategy is called the Prachanda Path, named after the leader of the CPN(M)--Prachanda. The insurgents are organized around three groups: a political party, a military wing, and other groups (called the United Front). They rely on criminal activity and their diaspora for financing their operations. Operationally, they conduct activities from geographical base areas, have a well-educated leadership, poor logistics, and use both passive and coercive recruitment techniques. At the tactical level, the CPN(M) conduct full spectrum operations and limited terror operations.

The Provincial Irish Republican Army (PIRA) (Óglaigh na hÉireann in Gaelic) started in 1969 when it split from the Official Irish Republican Army. Their initial goals were to protect the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland, force the British to leave Northern Ireland, and unite Northern Ireland with the Republic of Ireland as one country. They are a secessionist insurgency that uses an urban insurgent strategy. They conduct terrorism in Northern Ireland and abroad to try to force the government of the United Kingdom to the negotiating table. Their structure consists of an Army Council, Chief of Staff, General Headquarters, Northern and Southern Commands, Active Service Units (ASUs), and a political party--Sinn Féin. Operationally, since the 1980s, they have conducted both military and political actions ("Armalite and the Ballot Box" strategy) to achieve their goals. They have experienced, if not well educated, leadership that rose through the ranks. They use self-recruitment to maintain small, highly-motivated units. Logistically, they use criminal activity, a large diaspora (especially in the United States), and, at one time, the country of Libya for support. At the tactical level, they utilize primarily terror tactics and guerrilla operations (Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs), mortars, sniping, etc.).

In conclusion, the comparison of these two cases suggests that even in the twenty-first century, leftist, Maoist style insurgencies are better structured, disciplined, and equipped to achieve their goals than right-wing, nationalist/religious style insurgencies. Despite the fact that the appeal of communism is fading, one can argue that the Protracted People's War structure is well designed to run simultaneous political and military lines of operation. Even though it is not a "cookie-cutter" solution for every insurgent, with modifications it still offers the best chance of success.

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## Introduction

Wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, and the Global War on Terrorism have raised the interest of the United States Government with insurgencies and counterinsurgencies. Although insurgencies are definitely not a new phenomenon, the twentieth century experienced a rise in revolutions and insurgencies, mainly revolving around communist ideology. In the twenty-first century, the ability of insurgents to not only affect life within their own countries, but also to potentially cause violence and damage globally, has forced the United States to take a fresh look at insurgencies-- understanding and analyzing them and developing relevant means to counter them.

There are many different types and classifications of insurgencies. Two major types are leftist, Maoist style insurgencies and right-wing, nationalist/religious style insurgencies. Maoist style insurgencies have a goal of government overthrow in order to create a social revolution and form a new style of government--communism. They are usually structured around Mao Tse-tung's Protracted Peoples War concept. Right-wing, nationalist/religious style insurgencies are practically a polar opposite. They too, want to overthrow the government, but they do not want to instill a new form or revolutionary society. Instead they want to return to a previous, more traditional condition or secede from their current state to form a new one. These insurgencies are usually based on religious or extremely conservative societal ideologies.

Since Mao Tse-tung developed his strategy of a Protracted Peoples War, communist insurgents across the globe attempted to use his strategy with mixed success. Most left-wing insurgent groups that used it tended to deviate in some form or another. However, after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the dominance of capitalist economic practices, Maoist style insurgencies, and communism in general, started to die out. Towards the end of the twentieth century, the order of the day for insurgencies started to shift towards more traditional, religious-based ideologies, especially in the Middle East. Since these ideologies were based on a religious, rather than political context, they never developed a unifying principle or strategy. As the right-

wing, nationalist/religious style insurgencies continue to grow and gain momentum, the question becomes, “Are right-wing, nationalist/religious style insurgencies better structured and equipped to succeed than the leftist style insurgencies?”

In order to answer this question, this monograph will analyze the structure, tactical levels of discipline, operational focus, and insurgent strategies of two modern insurgencies, each representing a right-wing, nationalist/religious style or left-wing, Maoist style movement: the Irish Republican Movement in Northern Ireland and the Maoist Rebels in Nepal. Based on this analysis, this monograph answers the research question proposed above, and gives greater insight into both types of insurgencies and how to better defeat them.

The Provincial Irish Republican Army (PIRA) is waging an insurgency to “free” Northern Ireland from British control and allow it to join the Republic of Ireland. The PIRA can be considered a more right-wing, nationalist/religious style insurgency. Their grievances and disagreements are both ethnic and religious. They tend to utilize an urban strategy and terrorism as their *modus operandi* to obtain their objectives. Half a world away, the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)--CPN(M)--started their insurgency against the Government of Nepal in the mid-1990s. Their grievances and differences also contain elements of ethnicity and religion. However, their biggest grievances are economical and political. They want an end to the monarchial government and will settle for either a democratic, multi-party system (so they claim), or a communist government. The CPN(M) has attempted to use Mao Tse-tung’s Protracted People’s War strategy to obtain their goals.

In today’s world, many believe that the upswing of right-wing, nationalist/religious style insurgencies mean that they will have a greater success than the Maoist style insurgencies, mainly because the latter is slowly fading out across the globe as communist ideology dies out. However, based on the comparison of the two insurgencies with the four independent variables of structure, tactical levels of discipline, operational focus, and insurgent strategies, this monograph will prove that, even in the twenty-first century, leftist insurgencies, specifically Maoist insurgencies, are far

better structured, disciplined, and equipped to achieve their goals than right-wing, nationalist/religious style insurgencies.

One commonality between both types of insurgencies is that they both realized that they have to modify their approach and come to a “middle ground” in order to achieve their goals. Both the Maoist insurgency in Nepal and the right-wing, nationalist/religious style insurgency in Northern Ireland created a political party to mirror their guerrilla activities. These political parties have infiltrated the government of both countries and are now attempting to reach their objectives through the political processes of their respective governments.

The definitions of traditional and Maoist insurgencies used in this monograph are from Bard E. O’Neill’s, *Insurgency and Terrorism: From Revolution to Apocalypse*. Most of the research consists of data collection through books, journals, and other printed resources. Lieutenant Colonel John Rochelle (British Army), Commandant John McCrann (Republic of Ireland Defense Forces), and Major Nabin Silwal (Nepalese Army) were also interviewed for this monograph.<sup>1</sup>

## **Characteristics of an Insurgency**

The term insurgency can have many definitions, which can be confusing and contradictory. Is an insurgency defined by a revolt or uprising? Is it political activism or demonstration? Does it have to be violent? David Galula defined insurgency as “a protracted struggle conducted methodically, step by step, in order to attain specific intermediate objectives

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<sup>1</sup>Lieutenant Colonel John Rochelle currently works in the Department of Joint Interagency Military Operations, Command and General Staff College (CGSC), Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. He spent 5 years of his military career deployed to Northern Ireland. Commandant John McCrann was a CGSC international student and graduated from CGSC Class 07-02 in December 2007. He conducted counterinsurgency operations along the Northern Ireland border. Major Nabin Silwal is currently a CGSC international student in CGSC Class 08-01. He has served as a commissioned officer in the Nepalese Army since 1992.



leading finally to the overthrow of the existing order.”<sup>2</sup> Another definition, offered by Thomas A. Marks, gives even more detail: “Insurgency is violence in support, strategically, of a political goal, operationally, of a political infrastructure, tactically, of local political domination.”<sup>3</sup>

While both of these definitions are valid, they do not necessarily fit the definition and analysis used in this monograph. Galula’s definition best suits communist-style insurgencies, while Marks’ definition does not take into account the political action itself. A better definition, and the one that this monograph will use for its analysis, is: “[A]n insurgency is an organized, protracted politico-military struggle designed to weaken the control and legitimacy of an established government, occupying power, or other political authority while increasing insurgent control.”<sup>4</sup>

There are many different types of insurgencies, categorized by their ambitions and goals. The two case studies in this monograph can be categorized as either an egalitarian type of insurgency (Nepal) or a secessionist type of insurgency (Northern Ireland). Each type is explained in detail below.

Egalitarian insurgencies seek to equally distribute wealth, political power, and social and cultural status among the entire populace.<sup>5</sup> This type of insurgency not only seeks a governmental overthrow and change but also a major social change. Egalitarian insurgencies seek to mobilize the people, especially the ones who are disadvantaged. They are most often, but not always,

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<sup>2</sup>David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice* (1964; repr., Westport, CT: Frederick A. Praeger, 2005), 4.

<sup>3</sup>Thomas A. Marks, *Maoist Insurgency Since Vietnam* (Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1996), 4.

<sup>4</sup>U.S. Department of the Army, Field Manual (FM) 3-24, *Counterinsurgency* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2006), 1-1.

<sup>5</sup>Bard E. O’Neill, *Insurgency and Terrorism: From Revolution to Apocalypse*, 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2005), 20-21. Bard O’Neill defines insurgencies by their nature, i.e., egalitarian, secessionist, etc.

associated with communist movements. Ironically, most egalitarian insurgencies that have been successful have transformed into regimes that were “authoritarian, repressive, and elitist.”<sup>6</sup>

Secessionist movements are very radical in the sense that they actually seek to break away from the current nation-state and either form a new one, or join an existing one. These types of insurgencies do not have a common focus and can vary among ethnic identity, religious identity, ideological identity, or racial identity. They also vary on the type of political system they favor. However, most secessionist insurgencies do believe themselves nationalists.<sup>7</sup>

There are basically two types of environments an insurgent can operate in: urban or rural. In the past, many insurgencies eschewed operating in urban environments and sought refuge in remote, rural areas. However, as the world becomes more urbanized and technology increases, insurgencies will find it harder to operate in truly remote, rural areas. Insurgencies will develop different strategies and tactics based on what type of environment they operate in. This will be explained in more detail later.

Four independent variables will be used to analyze and compare the two case studies of Nepal and Northern Ireland. These variables are: structure, insurgent strategy, operational focus, and tactical discipline. All four contribute to determining the dependent variable of the monograph--insurgent success.

The structure and organization of the insurgency is extremely important. Many insurgencies are well organized. Some utilize a cellular structure in order to avoid identification and destruction by counterinsurgent forces.<sup>8</sup> Additionally, many insurgents form a political and

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 24-26.

<sup>8</sup>In this monograph, cellular structure refers to a compartmentalized hierarchical structure which is highly decentralized. Many terrorist organizations adopt this structure because of its “cell-like” nature. If one section of the organization is infiltrated or captured, it is still extremely difficult to trace the rest of the organization.

military organization, either working parallel to each other or with one subordinate to another. These structural and organizational patterns and choices matter in determining the resiliency of the insurgent movement and the ultimate success or failure of their endeavor.

Much like the types of insurgencies, there are many strategies an insurgency can utilize. Much of their choice depends on previously mentioned factors, such as their political and social beliefs and the environment that they work in. The strength of the government they are waging the insurgency against is also a factor in the type of strategy the insurgent uses. This monograph will explore two types of insurgent strategies: Urban Warfare Strategy and the Protracted People's War Strategy.

The Urban Warfare Strategy, as its name indicates, advocates operations in urban areas. In modern industrialized nations, remote areas in the countryside that allow insurgents to operate and receive sanctuary are virtually non-existent. Across the globe, in any type of nation, more and more people are living in urban areas. Based on this environment, many insurgent groups are moving to the urban areas as well.

Urban insurgents use terrorism as their primary strategy. They are very cellular in structure and do not feel the need, at least not initially, to attempt to cause a mass uprising of the people. Urban insurgents utilize terrorism as the principle tactic of choice. They also use "armed propaganda; strikes and work interruptions; ambushes; assaults on fixed targets (e.g., banks, businesses, military camps, police stations, and prisons; and sabotage of economic assets" to gain their objectives.<sup>9</sup> These insurgents want to sow disorder, incite sectarian violence, weaken the government, intimidate the population, kill government and opposition leaders, fix and intimidate police and military forces, and create government repression.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>O'Neill, 61-63.

<sup>10</sup>Galula, 1-6.

The Protracted People's War Strategy is, unlike the Urban Warfare Strategy, a strategy that uses the mass uprising of the people to obtain its objectives. Out of all of the types of strategies, the Protracted People's War is the most complex. It calls for three phases: strategic defensive, strategic stalemate, and strategic counteroffensive.<sup>11</sup>

During the first phase, the insurgency expands its membership among the population. In phase two, the insurgents wage guerrilla campaigns against the government. Finally, in phase three, the guerrillas transform into a conventional force that defeats and overthrows the existing government. During all three phases, a shadow government (usually communist) conducts political activities and coordinates military operations.<sup>12</sup>

Mao Tse-tung created the Protracted People's War Strategy during his struggles against the Japanese and Nationalist China. Since its creation, it has been the most widely copied type of insurgency, oftentimes modified based on the circumstances and conditions at the time and place of its use. However, it has often failed to work more times than it has been successful. Reasons for this failure include its complex organizational structure, time required for success, and failure of the insurgent leaders to correctly adapt it to their countries' unique conditions.<sup>13</sup>

Operational focus is the ability of the insurgents to properly utilize their strategy to reach their objectives. This is a measure of how well the insurgents synchronize their military and political actions. If they cannot synchronize these two elements, they can experience difficulties with reaching their strategic objectives. The actions themselves are described in the next section-- Tactical Discipline.

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Ian F. Beckett, *Modern Insurgencies and Counter-Insurgencies: Guerrillas and Their Opponents Since 1750* (2001; repr., New York, NY: Routledge, 2003), 73-75.

<sup>13</sup>O'Neill, 49-55. This section of O'Neill's book gives perhaps the best and most detailed description of the Protracted People's War Strategy of any book researched for this monograph.

Operational focus also includes an analysis of the leadership of the insurgency. Different insurgent strategies and different forms of insurgencies require different types of leadership. The leadership of the two insurgencies in the case studies will be analyzed and their success included in the operational focus category. Recruitment techniques and logistics are two categories that will also be analyzed under operational focus.

The tactical discipline of an insurgency describes the type and efficiency of an insurgent's military and political actions. Some insurgent strategies sponsor terrorist activities to achieve their goals. Others promote guerrilla actions in rural areas. And others see these guerrilla activities eventually transforming into conventional ones.

The Urban Warfare Strategy primarily uses terrorism as its tactical action. The independent variable of tactical discipline will describe how well the urban insurgents performed this action and how successful were these actions in achieving their objectives. The Protracted People's War Strategy uses guerrilla actions that eventually become conventional war actions against the government. Again, tactical discipline will describe these actions for their performance and success in obtaining objectives.

Tactical discipline will also describe how both types of insurgencies used political structures to reach their goals. Both types foresaw the need for a political structure that eventually became involved with the political process of the very government they were trying to overthrow. Finally, this variable includes the insurgent's training program and their use of women within their ranks.

## **Insurgency in Nepal**

Nepal is a landlocked country in south-central Asia.<sup>14</sup> It borders two major countries-- China to its north and India to its south, east, and west. The population of Nepal is almost 29

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<sup>14</sup>See Appendix A and B for country data and a map of Nepal.

million and it has a land area of about 147,000 square kilometers, which makes it a rather small, but somewhat densely populated country. Nepal has rather diverse terrain. It has the highest point in the world at Mount Everest, but also includes lands that are near sea level in the southern part of the country.<sup>15</sup>

Nepal's terrain can be classified into three areas. All three areas run from east to west in the country. The Mountain Region (*Parbat* in Nepalese) is located in the northern part of the country. It contains the highest points in the country and the fewest amounts of people (only 8 percent of the population lives there).<sup>16</sup> The Hill region (*Pahar* in Nepalese) is located in the central part of the country and contains many important economic and political areas, including the capital city--Katmandu. The southernmost region, characterized by a flat, subtropical forest climate, is called the *Tarai* Region. This is where the majority of the Nepali population lives.

Ethnically, Nepal has a very diverse population with numerous ethnic groups. The population in northern Nepal is predominantly Tibeto-Nepali, while the population in southern Nepal is mainly Indo-Nepali.<sup>17</sup> These major ethnic groups can be subdivided even further, with several subgroups in each major group, such as the Newar, Sherpa, Gurung, Magar, and Tamang.<sup>18</sup> The Brahmans and Chhetri subgroups, from the Indo-Nepali group, are dominant in politics and society within Nepal and their language (Nepali) is the official language of the

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<sup>15</sup>Nanda R. Shrestha, *Nepal and Bangladesh: A Global Studies Handbook* (Denver, CO: ABC-CLIO, 2002), 8. Nepal is one of the most mountainous countries in the world. It has six of the world's ten tallest peaks. Mount Everest (*Sagarmatha* in Nepalese, which means "roof of the world") is the tallest mountain in the world.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, 85.

<sup>18</sup>Andrea Matles Savada, ed., *Nepal and Bhutan: Country Studies*, 3rd ed. (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division Library of Congress, 1993), xxxiv.

country.<sup>19</sup>

Nepal's two main religions are Hinduism and Buddhism. It is the only constitutionally declared Hindu state in the world.<sup>20</sup> Hinduism also dominates the social fabric of Nepal with its concept of a caste system. The caste system divides the population into different social levels, making it impossible for vertical movement from one social level to another. Thus, the poor and underprivileged can never move into a better position. Even Nepalese Buddhists follow a modified form of the caste system.<sup>21</sup> This has been a source of tension between the various ethnic groups within Nepali society.

The history of Nepal is important and leads directly to an understanding of the current political problems that are helping to fuel the insurgency.<sup>22</sup> Dynastic lines ruled Nepal in various parts from ancient times until the last few hundred years. In 1743, the House of Gorkha crowned the first Shah (or King), starting the last dynastic line in Nepal. The Shahs were very militaristic and expansionistic and managed to unite all of the different feudal elements of Nepal into one kingdom.<sup>23</sup> Their conquests created the boundaries of the modern state of Nepal.<sup>24</sup> The Shahs' expansion was finally brought to a halt in the Nepal-Anglo War (1814 to 1816) and British influence was injected into the country.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Leo E. Rose and John T. Scholz, *Nepal: Profile of a Himalayan Kingdom* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1980), 71-72.

<sup>20</sup>Shrestha, 95.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 93.

<sup>22</sup>See Appendix C for a timeline of Nepal.

<sup>23</sup>Shrestha, 28-30.

<sup>24</sup>Michael Hutt, ed. *Himalyan People's War: Nepal's Maoist Rebellion* (Bloomington, IN: University Press, 2004), 2.

<sup>25</sup>Shrestha, 32.

In 1858, a major political development occurred in Nepal. The Shahs, though remaining in a figurehead role, lost most of their political power. The true rulers of Nepal were now a courtly family, which used the title “Rana.” Rana rule was considered to be one of the cruelest and darkest times for the Nepalese. Their word was law, and they ruled in a very authoritarian manner.<sup>26</sup> During the Rana rule, Nepal was fully “Hinduized,” which imposed a national hierarchy of castes upon the nation, with the Brahmans and Chettri at the top of the social, economic, and political ladder.<sup>27</sup>

Rana rule ended in 1951, with the return to power of the Royal dynasty. The change in the political landscape was also supposed to bring about new democratic freedoms for the Nepalese. However, this was not to be the case. The first attempt at a democratically elected government occurred in 1959, and abruptly ended in 1960, when King Mahendra dismantled the elected government and installed the “Panchayat” system.<sup>28</sup> Under the Panchayat system, there was a veil of democratic participation, but in reality the Shah held all the power. Political parties and political activity were banned.<sup>29</sup> Finally, in 1990, the Panchayat system abruptly ended.

In 1990, a multiparty interim government took control of the country. The Shah remained, but again became more of a figurehead. In 1991, general elections occurred in the country and the Nepali Congress Party won the majority of votes. Unfortunately, the prime minister and the government proved to be ineffective and new elections were held in 1994.<sup>30</sup> This started a destabilizing cycle of elections, loss of confidence in the government, and new elections.

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 32-34.

<sup>27</sup>Hutt, 2.

<sup>28</sup>Shrestha, 35-37.

<sup>29</sup>Hutt, 3-4.

<sup>30</sup>Shrestha, 38-39.



In the 1990s alone, Nepal had nine governments and six prime ministers.<sup>31</sup> Obviously, this severely undermined the effectiveness of the democratic government.

The roots of the insurgency began when the communist parties were formed in Nepal in the mid-twentieth century. These early communists wanted an end to the Rana rule and later an end to the Panchayat system. In the 1990s, various communist parties vied for power, and several won seats in Nepal's Parliament. The largest group, the United People's Front (UPF), even won the majority of seats in the Parliament in the 1994 elections.<sup>32</sup> However, not unlike most of the governments in Nepal in the 1990s, this government was quickly disbanded and a new one formed. The UPF then split into two parts, one recognized by the government of Nepal, the Communist Party of Nepal (United Marxist-Leninist Party) (CPN(UML)), and one that was not recognized, the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) (CPN(M)). The CPN(M) believed that the UPF was not effective and needed to do more to transform the Nepalese government. In 1995, the CPN(M) split from the UPF, and in 1996, the CPN(M) declared that it was waging a "People's War" against the government of Nepal.<sup>33</sup> The CPN(M) issued a forty-point demand of the government, which consisted of "an end to the intrusion into Nepal and domination of foreign elements; for a secular state free of all discrimination and oppression with the monarchy stripped of its privileges; and for a wider range of welfare provisions and social and economic reforms."<sup>34</sup> This declaration marked the official beginning of the insurgency.

In 2001, the Nepalese royal family was murdered by one of their own--Crown Prince Dipendra. This event is significant because after the killings, the King's brother, Gyanendra, was

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid., 81.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Hutt, 5.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

crowned as the current Shah.<sup>35</sup> In 2003, Shah Gyanendra dismissed the democratic government of Nepal and took full executive powers himself, citing the communist insurgency and political instability as his reason. He established another parliamentary government that year.<sup>36</sup>

In 2005, Shah Gyanendra once again sacked the entire government. This time he took more power and became more authoritarian in his rule. Human rights groups from across the globe started an outcry against his actions. The CPN(M) pointed out these abuses as part of their information operations campaign. The year 2006 was marked with mass protests against Shah Gyanendra and continued fighting. Finally, towards the end of that year, the CPN(M) leadership and Nepalese Government negotiated a settlement. The existing Nepalese Government would vote on a new government, which would include the CPN(M). The CPN(M), in turn, would remove its “people’s government” from the base areas it controlled.<sup>37</sup>

The years of 2007 and 2008 have seen back and forth negotiations between the government and the communists. The communists became part of the government in 2007, but then decided to withdraw from the government in later that same year. There will be new parliamentary elections in April 2008. Additionally, the monarchy is supposed to officially end later this year.<sup>38</sup>

The insurgency in Nepal is egalitarian. It is a classic communist insurgency that is not only attempting to overthrow the government, but also to cause social change. One of their many goals is to remove the Hindu Monarchy and the caste system. They want equal social status for all

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<sup>35</sup>John Whelpton, *A History of Nepal* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 211-213.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 221.

<sup>37</sup>Country Watch, *Nepal, Political Considerations*, [http://www.countrywatch.com.lumen.cgscarl.com/cw\\_topic.aspx?type=text&vcountry=123&topic=POPCO](http://www.countrywatch.com.lumen.cgscarl.com/cw_topic.aspx?type=text&vcountry=123&topic=POPCO) (accessed 4 March 2008).

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

citizens in Nepal. They claim they want a “new democratic revolution” like that of the Chinese Revolution under Mao Tse-tung.<sup>39</sup> Of interest is that fact that many of the communist parties in Nepal continue to attempt to affect change through the democratic system. Many have renounced the extreme measures taken by the CPN(M), even though their ultimate objectives are virtually the same.<sup>40</sup> China itself has announced its disapproval of the CPN(M), especially their use of Chairman Mao’s name.<sup>41</sup>

The environment that the insurgents are working in is primarily a rural one. Nepal is one of the few countries left in the world where the majority of the population lives in rural areas.<sup>42</sup> The mountainous and remote terrains are favorable factors for the CPN(M) to establish base sanctuaries and remain unmolested by government forces. There is only one major urban center, which is also the center of government--Katmandu. In the past, the insurgents avoided the city although they have changed their tactics in the past few years and have conducted some operations within the city. For the most part, the CPN(M) has attempted to establish base areas and conduct operations in the rural areas.

## **Structure**

The insurgency started with the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) as its base. Over the years, it has grown from a handful of rabble-rousers who could barely field modern weapons, to an organized conventional army several thousand strong, with the capability to challenge both the police and armed forces of Nepal. This change in capability is directly reflected in the structure and organization of the insurgency.

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<sup>39</sup>Onesto Li, *Dispatches from the People’s War in Nepal* (Chicago, IL: Insight Press, 2005), 90.

<sup>40</sup>Whelpton, 207.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 223-224.

<sup>42</sup>Shrestha, 21.

The CPN(M) decided to operate in a “Three-in-One” structure.<sup>43</sup> The first part of the structure is the political party. To the CPN(M), the political party is the most important and gives direction to the other two groups. The political party is divided, from top to bottom, into a standing committee, a politburo, central committee, regional bureaus (five total), sub-regional bureaus, district committees, area committees, and cell committees.<sup>44</sup> The central committee developed all policies for the People’s War.<sup>45</sup> The party also has an international department, which operates in India, Britain, Belgium, and Germany.<sup>46</sup> This very solid and structured organization ensures the party, the insurgents, and the People’s War can operate in a cohesive and synchronized manner. Most of the top-level leadership remain covert, known only to their peers in the highest levels of the CPN(M). Many are believed to be living in Katmandu and India.<sup>47</sup>

The second element of the CPN(M)’s structure is the army. The army’s bureaucratic organization consists of the central military commission, regional military commissions, sub-regional military commissions, and district military commissions.<sup>48</sup> The army itself consists of two main groups--the guerrilla fighters and the militia. The guerrilla fighters initially conducted irregular warfare activities against the Nepalese government. However, by 2003, they developed into a capable conventional force that could field brigade size elements.<sup>49</sup> The guerrilla fighters have a traditional chain of command comparative to that of most modern armies. They are the

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<sup>43</sup>Deepak Thapa with Bandita Sijapati, *A Kingdom Under Siege: Nepal’s Maoist Insurgency, 1996-2004* (2003; updated, New York, NY: Zen Books, 2004), 103.

<sup>44</sup>Hutt, 57.

<sup>45</sup>Thapa, 103.

<sup>46</sup>Hutt, 39-40.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., 57.

<sup>49</sup>Thapa, 104.

primary arm that the CPN(M) uses to fight against the Nepalese police and army. The militia has been, and continues to be, primarily a defensive force in CPN(M) base areas. The qualities of these troops vary, but most are well below the ability of the guerrilla fighters.

The final element in the organization of the CPN(M) is the United Front. This element consists of several groups (includes the Magarant Liberation Front, Tamuwan National Liberation Front, Tamang Liberation Front, and others) that work overtly in the country, but are indirectly linked to the CPN(M) and its insurgent activities.<sup>50</sup> The Maoists believe that the United Front has to be synchronized with the communist party and the army in order to achieve success.

A political party started the insurgency in Nepal. The party, like most communist organizations, believes in a very solid organizational structure. The CPN(M) developed and organized itself along this line of thinking. Over time, as the CPN(M) became more successful, it solidified its structure and, unlike cellular structures, overtly grew to give it the capability to affect those areas within the country that were under CPN(M) control.

## **Insurgent Strategy**

From the beginning, the CPN(M) decided to use Mao's Protracted People's War strategy. Because of their type of insurgency--egalitarian--and the nature of Nepal as a rural state, they believed that a Protracted People's War was the best way to overthrow the government and start a communist state in Nepal. They announced their rebellion as a "People's War" in 1996, named themselves the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), and proclaimed that they would take on a prolonged struggle against the government.

Their strategy centered on the three stages of the Protracted People's War; the strategic defensive, strategic stalemate, and strategic counteroffensive. The Maoists believed that they

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<sup>50</sup>Hutt, 41-42.

needed time to build up base areas in the countryside, obtain support from the populace, and construct and develop the guerrilla army.

Simultaneous with the military action conducted by the insurgents, the CPN(M) also established a “shadow government.” They called this the “people’s government” and it became the only form of government in the secure base areas of the CPN(M).<sup>51</sup> The government established a new social, economic, and political system in these areas. Nepalese government workers that lived within CPN(M) base areas were either co-opted, forced to leave, or killed.

In 2001, the CPN(M) believed that they had moved into the second phase of Mao’s Protracted People’s War--the strategic stalemate. However, that same year the CPN(M), recognizing that the Protracted People’s War could only go so far in taking them to their objectives, ratified a new strategy called the “Prachanda Path.” This new strategy melded the Protracted People’s War with their particular environment. Included with this strategy was the Russian model of armed insurrection. The Maoists wanted to not only expand their base areas, but also to invoke a people’s revolt at the center to overthrow the government. This required a revolt itself in Katmandu and for the Maoist to become more directly involved within the city.<sup>52</sup> The Prachanda Path is a deliberate copy of the Sendero Luminoso’s “Gonzalo Path.”<sup>53</sup>

The Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) also involved itself with international communist organizations. They became a member of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, which is a worldwide movement committed to the “scientific principles of Marxism-

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<sup>51</sup>Ibid., 5.

<sup>52</sup>Hutt, 53. The Prachanda Path is named after Pushpa Kumar Dahal (Prachanda) who is the Chairman of the CPN(M). He first published his ideas on the path in his essay, “The Great Leap Forward: The Inevitable Necessity of History.”

<sup>53</sup>Thomas A. Marks, “Insurgency in Nepal” (Monograph, Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle, PA, 2003), 13-14. The “Gonzalo Path” is named after Abimael Guzman Reynosos (“President Gonzalo”) who was the Sendero Luminoso’s party leader in Peru.

Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought.”<sup>54</sup> In June 2001, the CPN(M) helped form the Coordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organizations of South Asia (CCOMPOSA). This group includes communist insurgent elements in Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and India.<sup>55</sup>

Financial support for the CPN(M) is limited. Bank robberies and other criminal activities are carried out by the CPN(M) in order to raise money. The CPN(M) levies taxes on industry and households--more like a form of extortion. They also receive aid from the Nepalese diaspora.<sup>56</sup>

## **Operational Focus**

The insurgents understood that the population would be their base--their strategy called for it. The Maoists capitalized on the fact that some ethnic groups, because of the caste system, were ripe for joining the communists and were immediately targeted by the insurgents. The insurgent base areas grew from the remote and rural areas dominated by these ethnic groups. The first base for the insurgents was in the districts of Rolpa and Rukkum, in the mid-western region of Nepal. There, Nepalese of Magar ethnicity who felt disenfranchised by the government, quickly joined the CPN(M) cause.<sup>57</sup> The mid-western hill region is still considered the Maoist’s strongest power base.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>Thapa, 28.

<sup>55</sup>Li, 232.

<sup>56</sup>Marianne Heiberg, Brendan O’Leary, and John Tirman, eds., *Terror, Insurgency, and the State: Ending Protracted Conflicts* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 372-373.

<sup>57</sup>Marks, *Insurgency in Nepal*, 10.

<sup>58</sup>Whelpton, 203.

The operational plan that the CPN(M) developed was called the “Six Plans.” It consisted of six operational phases, focused around developing and maintaining guerrilla forces and base areas. It lasted until 2001, when the Prachanda Path superseded the Six Plans.<sup>59</sup>

Base areas are a critical operational consideration for the CPN(M). They can be categorized into three types: guerrilla zones, propaganda zones, and main zones. The guerrilla zone is where the government has some control with a police presence and possibly army forces. In this area the CPN(M) is conducting irregular warfare against the government. The propaganda zone is in the urban areas, like Katmandu, where the government is the strongest. In these areas the CPN(M) focuses on education, mass activities, and gaining support for the movement in the rural areas. The final area, the main zone, is where the CPN(M) is in control and has sanctuary.<sup>60</sup>

The CPN(M)’s original view of cities was that they were to be avoided. Their main tactic was to surround and cut off the cities.<sup>61</sup> They conducted these operations several times. After the CPN(M) embraced the Prachanda Path, they started to work more actively in the cities, using propaganda, coercion, and terrorism.<sup>62</sup>

The two known leaders of the CPN(M) are Prachanda and Dr. Baburam Bhattarai. Both have been members of various communist parties throughout most of their lives. Prachanda, which means “awesome or powerful,” is the hardliner and emotional leader of the Maoists. His real name is Pushpa Kumar Dahal. He became an underground communist in 1971, and eventually became a public and active member of communist parties in the 1980s. He is the original founder of the CPN(M), and he developed their current strategy called the Prachanda

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<sup>59</sup>Hutt, 51-53.

<sup>60</sup>Li, 219.

<sup>61</sup>Thapa, 98.

<sup>62</sup>Major Nabin Silwal, Interview by author, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 17 January 2008, Recording with author.



Path.<sup>63</sup> Dr. Bhattarai, the more moderate of the two, is also well-known and often attends peace talks dressed as historical communist figures, like Karl Marx.<sup>64</sup> He obtained his Ph.D. in India in 1986, and had been a spokesman for communist parties in Nepal throughout the 1990s.<sup>65</sup> Additionally, the CPN(M) has an advisory body of intellectuals. Although not much is known about this body, it is believed that it is comprised of sympathizers from universities in and out of Nepal. Nepalese Maoist doctrine states, “[E]veryone connected to the revolution does not have to just carry a gun. According to one’s proclivities, and the necessities of the revolution, some carry a physical weapon and others a mental weapon.”<sup>66</sup>

Recruitment for the CPN(M) comes in two forms, the willing and the unwilling. Many disenfranchised and impoverished ethnic groups, especially those in the mid-western hill region, are willing to assist and actively work with the CPN(M). Those who are not are often either coerced or killed. Surprisingly, the CPN(M) has been extremely effective recruiting women within its ranks. Many women in Nepal are victims of cruelty and inequality and often join the CPN(M) to escape this treatment. Women are used in both combative and non-combative roles.<sup>67</sup>

Logistically, the CPN(M) has very little support. Most of their initial arms and weapons were captured from Nepalese police forces. Some weapons and equipment may be infiltrated into Nepal from communist groups in India; however, most support is conducted internally and through “self-help” means.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>63</sup>Whelpton, 242.

<sup>64</sup>Heiberg, 369-370.

<sup>65</sup>Whelpton, 238.

<sup>66</sup>Heiberg, 370.

<sup>67</sup>Li, 167, 171.

<sup>68</sup>Whelpton, 206.

## **Tactical Discipline**

Tactically, the CPN(M) has conducted a full spectrum of operations from hit-and-run strikes to conventional attacks on police outposts. They have taken full advantage of the remoteness of the country and used the terrain and poor infrastructure to help isolate police and army outposts.<sup>69</sup> They have not attempted a large-scale attack on Katmandu, but have cut off the lines of communication leading to the city several times.<sup>70</sup>

The CPN(M) uses terror as a tactical tool only. They primarily use terror on an individual basis for coercion and discipline within their own ranks and within their base areas. They have recently used Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) and other mass terror operations within the city of Katmandu.<sup>71</sup>

Training is a central part of preparing the people's army to fight the insurgency. Initially, guerrilla forces in the people's army learned "on the job." Many commanders felt that was the best way for training insurgent forces. However, as the insurgency grew, training camps were established in CPN(M) base areas in Nepal and also in India.

All tactics are carefully thought out and planned by the people's army chain of command and committees, which answers to the CPN(M) party committees. Most actions are coordinated and synchronized; however, discipline has been a problem at times. The guerrilla forces are more disciplined and dedicated than the militia and are the primary forces used to conduct actions against the Nepalese government.

## **Insurgency in Northern Ireland**

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<sup>69</sup>Ibid., 218-223.

<sup>70</sup>Major Nabin Silwal, Interview by author, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 17 January 2008, Recording with author.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid.

Northern Ireland is a part of the United Kingdom, located in the northeastern corner of the island of Ireland.<sup>72</sup> The rest of the island is a separate sovereign state--the Republic of Ireland. Northern Ireland has a population of approximately 1,700,000 and comprises a land area of 14,120 square kilometers.<sup>73</sup> It is a small country, with a small population, but has caused a disproportionate amount of destruction and misery with its insurgency, both internally to Northern Ireland and externally to the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland as a whole. It has also produced one of the longest lasting insurgencies in the world's established democracies.<sup>74</sup>

The country consists of mainly open land, characterized by rolling hills and intermittent lakes. It has a very long coastline and borders the Republic of Ireland to its south with an indistinguishable geographical border. A large proportion of the population lives in urban areas, with the majority of rural areas consisting of farmland and other agricultural structures. The country is only around 75 kilometers wide at its widest point, and there are really no geographically remote areas within Northern Ireland.

The population of Northern Ireland consists of two ethnically divided people--the indigenous Irishmen and the settler Irishmen. The indigenous Irishmen living in Northern Ireland share a common historic Irish (Gaelic) language and are mainly Catholic. The settlers came from England and lowland Scotland in the seventeenth century, speak English as their primary

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<sup>72</sup>United Kingdom. *Operation Banner: An Analysis of Military Operations in Northern Ireland*, Ministry of Defence, July 2006, para. 109, 1-4. Northern Ireland has often been called "Ulster" by citizens of the United Kingdom and unionists (those in Northern Ireland who want to remain members of the United Kingdom). Ulster is an historic name of several counties in the Northeastern part of the island of Ireland.

<sup>73</sup>See Appendix D and E for country data and a map of Northern Ireland.

<sup>74</sup>Heiberg et al., 211.

language, and are mainly Protestant.<sup>75</sup> The primary way one can differentiate between the two ethnic groups is by the names (English or Gaelic) or by the individual's religious preference.

As previously mentioned, religion plays a major role in characterizing and differentiating the two different ethnicities in Northern Ireland. Religion also plays a major role in the insurgency and conflict in the country. Almost 50 percent of the population is Protestant, approximately 40 percent are Catholic, and 10 percent profess no religion.<sup>76</sup> Although both the Catholics and Protestants can be considered secular, religion is a way of distinguishing between the two main groups there (much like Muslim, Catholic, and Orthodox differentiate ethnicities in Bosnia, Herzegovina, even though all three groups are relatively secular).<sup>77</sup> However, religion, and its social and political connotations has remained the biggest discriminator and stimulator of conflict in Northern Ireland for the past 400 years and has kept the flames of hate burning.<sup>78</sup>

Historically, the current struggle finds its roots dating back to 1170 when the English kings continuously sought to conquer and subjugate Ireland.<sup>79</sup> In 1609, English kings finally brought Ireland under English control and many English and Scottish settlers moved into the northeastern part of the island. These settlers had a different ethnicity, language, society, political structure, and religion than the native Irishmen--factors, which started a conflict that would last for over 400 years.

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<sup>75</sup>James A. Haught, *Holy Hatred: Religious Conflicts in the '90s* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1995), 64.

<sup>76</sup>Roger MacGinty and John Darby, *Guns and Government: The Management of the Northern Ireland Peace Process* (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2002), 12. This data comes from a 1999/2000 survey.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid.

<sup>78</sup>Haught, 61-63. Haught claims that "'Irish Amnesia' is a condition of people 'who have forgotten everything but their grudges.'"

<sup>79</sup>See Appendix F for a timeline of Northern Ireland.

In 1916, the Irish started an open rebellion against the United Kingdom and won independence in 1922. The southern twenty-six provinces formed the independent Republic of Ireland; however, the northern six provinces remained part of the United Kingdom and formed Northern Ireland. The entire island of Ireland consisted mainly of native Catholic Irishmen, but the majority of people in Northern Ireland were Protestant descendants of the settlers from the seventeenth century. Northern Ireland was given home rule by the government of the United Kingdom.

From 1916 to the late 1960s, civil turmoil began to brew within the country. The Catholics were segregated from the Protestants and often treated as second-class citizens. An insurgent organization, the Irish Republican Army, named after its predecessor from the Irish War of Independence from 1919 to 1922, waged an insurgent campaign against the Northern Ireland government; however, their scope and reach were very limited. This all changed in the late 1960s.

The Civil Rights Movement that had taken hold of the American public spread throughout the world and in 1969, it reached Northern Ireland. Catholic Irishmen conducted peaceful protests and marches throughout the country. These demonstrations were met with violence by both the citizens of Northern Ireland and the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), the official home security forces of the country. With international media coverage and condemnation from world governments for human rights violations, the government of the United Kingdom was forced to act.

British military forces arrived in the country in 1970. Their official duty was to stabilize the area and many Catholic Irishmen welcomed their presence, hoping they would end the violence. Unfortunately, the British military proved to be biased towards the Unionists (those

loyal to the United Kingdom) and committed atrocities themselves against the Catholics.<sup>80</sup> At this time, the Provisional Irish Republican Army was born (PIRA, or Óglaigh na hÉireann in Gaelic).<sup>81</sup>

The Irish Republican Army had been active in Northern Ireland until the late 1960s. At that time, a group called the Official Irish Republican Army (OIRA) formed and advocated mainly political opposition against the Stormont government.<sup>82</sup> The OIRA had a Marxist ideology and promoted guerrilla tactics to support its political actions. Some members of the IRA, believing that more violence and military action were necessary, split from the OIRA to form the PIRA. For the PIRA, military action was paramount.<sup>83</sup> To them, political action, at least at this time, was not important. Military action would transform the politics of the country. Both groups continued to operate simultaneously for a few years until the OIRA phased out operations in the mid-1970s.

During the decade of the 1970s, the PIRA continued guerrilla operations in Northern Ireland, but dramatically changed its internal structure from conventional command and control hierarchies to a more cellular one. They also began to target specific individuals and groups for assassinations and terrorist activities, which included many targets in Great Britain itself. During the decade, the United Kingdom tried various counterinsurgent tactics to defeat the IRA, including internment activities and security operations. Although the security operations were somewhat successful in defeating the PIRA's guerrilla groups in the countryside, the internment

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<sup>80</sup>John Newsinger, *British Counterinsurgency: From Palestine to Northern Ireland* (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2002), 158.

<sup>81</sup>Heiberg et al., 190. Óglaigh na hÉireann literally translates as “Volunteers of Ireland.”

<sup>82</sup>David McKittrick and David McVea, *Making Sense of the Troubles: The Story of the Conflict in Northern Ireland* (Chicago, IL: New Amsterdam Books, 2002), 128. Stormont is the building housing the Northern Ireland government and is used in this context to refer to the Unionist government from 1921-72.

<sup>83</sup>Heiberg et al., 200.

camps and events of Bloody Sunday in 1972, proved to be an ultimate failure and only helped to strengthen the backing of the PIRA by the Catholic community.<sup>84</sup> That same year, the United Kingdom decided to impose direct rule on Northern Ireland.<sup>85</sup>

The decade of the 1980s started with ten PIRA members conducting hunger strikes while in prison, which ultimately claimed their lives. The hard line stance of the government of the United Kingdom and the sacrifices of the hunger strikers proved an information operation and psychological victory for the PIRA.<sup>86</sup> The leadership of the PIRA also started a fundamental shift at this time. The Provisional Sinn Féin, named after the political group during the Irish War of Independence of 1919 to 1922, became the political wing of the PIRA. Now, instead of just focusing on violence and terrorism, political action was growing in importance as well. Terrorism did persist throughout the 1980s, with even an attempt, though unsuccessful, on the life of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

PIRA violence and terrorism continued into the 1990s; however, so did the rising prominence of Sinn Féin and political action. The Peace Process, which actually started in the 1980s with the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985, also continued, culminating in the Good Friday Agreement of 1998. Both of these negotiated settlements eventually led to the disbandment of the military faction of the PIRA in 2005, and full participation in the Northern Ireland government by Sinn Féin. Once mortal enemies, Ian Paisley and Gerry Adams, now sit across the table, negotiating and cooperating with each other. The United Kingdom reestablished home rule for Northern Ireland in 2007.

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<sup>84</sup>Newsinger, 164-166. Bloody Sunday occurred on 30 January 1972, where British troops fired into a crowd of unarmed Catholic marchers, who were protesting the internment camps. Overall, 42 Catholics were shot and 14 died. Others were beaten with batons and rifle butts.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., 170-171.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid., 182-183.

The PIRA's insurgency is secessionist in nature. They want Northern Ireland to secede from the United Kingdom and join the Republic of Ireland as a united Ireland. Of course, this is not their only objective. They also want fair and equal treatment of Catholics in Northern Ireland, and they want the Irish language (Gaelic) to be the official language of the state. Like many secessionist type insurgencies, the PIRA consider themselves extremely nationalistic. They do not want retribution or revenge against the Protestants, nor do they want them removed from the island.<sup>87</sup> What they do want is for the British military to leave the island and for the government of Northern Ireland to join the Republic of Ireland.

As already described, there is very little in the way of remote areas in Northern Ireland. This fact definitely shaped the development, strategy, and tactics of the PIRA. There were some areas, especially in the Catholic urban ghettos that provided sanctuary and safe haven for the PIRA. This was especially true after the majority of the PIRA changed to a cellular structure. Additionally, many leaders of the PIRA were suspected to be hiding in the Republic of Ireland, without compliance from the Republic's government. In summary, the environment of Northern Ireland was not extremely conducive to a peasant revolt or to hiding large amounts of guerrilla or conventional forces. What it could accommodate was clandestine, cellular terrorist cells that hid amongst the people and used an international border with another state (Republic of Ireland) to provide it sanctuary.

## **Structure**

The Irish Republican Army was a guerrilla force structured much like a regular conventional force until the mid-1970s. One of their primary formations was the flying column, which consisted of thirty guerrillas. The flying column could subdivide into battle teams (two to

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<sup>87</sup>Igor Primoratz, ed., *Terrorism: The Philosophical Issues* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 165.



five men) and sections (two battle teams and a section commander).<sup>88</sup> It was very mobile and capable of aggressive action against the RUC and other Northern Ireland security forces. What it was not capable of was fighting against British regular military forces. When the PIRA came into existence in the early 1970s, they retained much of this guerrilla structure. However, they soon realized that it was not conducive to fighting the British and restructured to a more cellular model.<sup>89</sup>

Gerry Adams, a leading member in the PIRA, was the one to advocate a change to a smaller, more effective, and more cellular organization. He termed these units active service units (ASUs).<sup>90</sup> The ASUs consisted of four to ten men and were very capable of independent operation.<sup>91</sup> They mainly conducted activities that targeted specific security forces or other targets the PIRA considered valuable. Adams also believed that there should be a permanent leadership organization within the PIRA. He believed that too many disruptions occurred with temporary leader changeover and a permanent group could better lead and focus the insurgency.<sup>92</sup>

In the end, the PIRA developed a rather complex and enduring hierarchy. At the top, is the General Army Convention composed of the PIRA rank and file. The Convention is supposed to meet once every two years, but, in reality, they rarely meet because of the security situation.

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<sup>88</sup>Irish Republican Army General Headquarters, *Handbook for Volunteers of the Irish Republican Army: Notes on Guerrilla Warfare* (1956; repr., Boulder, CO: Paladin Press, 1985), 15-16. This handbook details the guerrilla tactics used by the IRA until the mid-1970s.

<sup>89</sup>Heiberg et al., 203.

<sup>90</sup>Ed Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 2002), 156. Moloney obtained unprecedented access to IRA leadership and documents while writing this book.

<sup>91</sup>United Kingdom, *Operation Banner*, para. 232, 2-12.

<sup>92</sup>Moloney, 156-157.

The primary duty of the Convention is to elect a twelve member Executive. The Executive in turn, chooses seven members, usually from within its own ranks, to fill the Army Council.<sup>93</sup>

The Army Council has several authorities and responsibilities, three of which are of primary importance. First, it designates whether the PIRA is at peace or war. It also designates an Army Chief of Staff. Thirdly, it creates regulations and orders for the PIRA.<sup>94</sup>

The Army Chief of Staff handles all of the operational command and control for the PIRA. To help him, he has a staff (General Headquarters--GHQ) composed of the following sections: Operations (domestic, England, and Europe), Quartermaster General, Engineering, Intelligence, Finance, Training, Security, Publicity, and Political Education.<sup>95</sup> Subordinate to the Army Chief of Staff are two commands: Northern Command and Southern Command. Northern Command's geographic area of responsibility is Northern Ireland and the border provinces in the Republic of Ireland. Northern Command contains six ASUs and two battalions. Southern Command, consisting of only one brigade ASU, is responsible for activities in the Republic of Ireland.<sup>96</sup> This organization, especially the concept of ASUs, makes the PIRA a cellular organization. Even if one of the ASUs are captured or infiltrated by Northern Ireland security forces, it is still extremely difficult to link it to the remainder of the organization.<sup>97</sup> In fact, if an ASU is captured or caught in the act of criminal or terrorist activity, the PIRA is very quick to

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<sup>93</sup>Ibid., 378-379.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid., 378.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., 573.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., 377-378. The two battalions are in the South Armagh Brigade, which never converted to the ASU cell structure.

<sup>97</sup>Lieutenant Colonel John Rochelle, Interview by author, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 8 November 2007, Recording with author.

claim that the ASU was a “rogue element” and was not sanctioned by the PIRA’s higher headquarters.<sup>98</sup>

From the beginning, the PIRA was more focused on violent action and its military arm than political action. In the 1980s, this changed. Gerry Adams, once again the initiator, convinced many in the PIRA structure that they could not make progress towards their objectives without simultaneous political participation. When the Provisional Sinn Féin was first formed, it was primarily a backup to the PIRA’s military wing. Over time, the leaders of the PIRA determined that political action was the primary way to obtain their goals. By the mid-1990s, Sinn Féin was the main effort, with the military wing of the PIRA in support.<sup>99</sup>

## **Insurgent Strategy**

The PIRA has adopted a strategy of urban terrorism. This, they believe, was the best method to engage both the security officials of Northern Ireland and British military forces. After flying columns and regular guerrilla engagements failed them in the mid-1970s, the PIRA changed to a cellular structure that enabled them to conduct select terrorist activity with less risk of engagement or capture. They could also hide better amongst the populace in urban areas than in remote base camps in the countryside. Terrorism was not limited to Northern Ireland, as terrorist activities targeted individuals in England, the Republic of Ireland, and other parts of the world. The PIRA believed that the United Kingdom would eventually grow tired of the “political stalemate, continued violence, occasional attacks in Britain, international pressure, the enormous cost, and the apparent insolubility of the problem”<sup>100</sup> and come to the negotiating table. However,

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<sup>98</sup>Commandant John McCrann, Interview by author, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 10 December 2007, Recording with author.

<sup>99</sup>Heiberg et al., 219-220; and Sinn Féin means “Ourselves alone” in Gaelic, Heiberg et al., 210.

<sup>100</sup>McKittrick, 128.

the PIRA did not deceive themselves with false pretenses; they knew this would be a protracted conflict of annihilation, thus they named their solution the “long war” strategy.<sup>101</sup>

Once the PIRA added Sinn Féin into the equation, politics became more and more of a focus in the insurgency. Prior to the 1980s, politicians aligned with the PIRA conducted an activity called “abstentionism,” which meant that they participated in elections to prove the population supported their ideas, but once elected, they would not fill their seats in parliament.<sup>102</sup> In the 1980s, with more and more focus shifting to politics and the Provisional Sinn Féin, the PIRA developed the strategy of the “Armalite and the Ballot Box.” This statement encapsulated their approach of now using both violence and politics to obtain their goals.<sup>103</sup>

In 1996, the PIRA concluded a General Army Convention and published a new constitution in which they listed the following as their strategic objectives:

1. To guard the honour and uphold the sovereignty and unity of the Irish Republic (of Ireland) as declared by the First Dail.
2. To support the establishment of an Irish Socialist Republic based on the 1916 Proclamation.
3. To support the establishment of, and uphold, a lawful government in sole and absolute control of the 32 *County Irish Republic as constituted by the First Dail*.
4. To secure and defend civil and religious liberties and equal rights for all citizens.
5. To promote the revival of the Irish language as the everyday language of the people.<sup>104</sup>

Additionally, the constitution declared the means to reach these objectives:

1. To organize Oglagh na hEireann for victory.
2. To build on a spirit of comradeship.
3. To wage revolutionary armed struggle.
4. To encourage popular resistance, political mobilization and political action in support of these

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<sup>101</sup>Graham Ellison and Jim Smyth, *The Crowned Harp: Policing Northern Ireland* (Sterling, VA: Pluto Press, 2000), 94.

<sup>102</sup>Thomas G. Mitchell, *Native vs. Settler: Ethnic Conflict in Israel/Palestine, Northern Ireland, and South Africa* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), 44.

<sup>103</sup>Moloney, 151. Armalite refers to an American made assault rifle.

<sup>104</sup>*Ibid.*, 502-503.

objectives. 5. To assist, as directed by the Army Authority, all organizations working for the same objectives.<sup>105</sup>

Financially, the PIRA, like many underground insurgent organizations, have relied on external support to obtain funds. They have also conducted illegal criminal activities, including almost any illicit activity that obtains money, except for dealing in drugs. They have international sponsorship from their diaspora, a large majority of which live in the United States. The Irish Northern Aid Committee (NORCID) is a fund raising organization that works inside of the United States for the PIRA.<sup>106</sup>

## **Operational Focus**

Operationally, the PIRA conducts a two-prong approach mixing violence with politics, as already mentioned. Their ASUs conduct terrorist activities within Northern Ireland and abroad, often with little command and control from the Army Council and Northern and Southern Commands. However, the Commands and the Army Council always tie in the operations, sometimes after the fact, into their overarching strategy.<sup>107</sup>

The leadership of the PIRA has two distinguishing characteristics: working class background and rising from the ranks. Thus, the PIRA leadership holds a large amount of respect and compassion from their rank and file, as they use to be one of them. It is not uncommon for PIRA members to work their way up the military ranks and then transfer over to the Sinn Féin political branch. Education, other than the education by experience, is not very important to the

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<sup>105</sup>Ibid.

<sup>106</sup>J. Bowyer Bell, *The IRA, 1968-2000: An Analysis of a Secret Army* (Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2000), 187, 189.

<sup>107</sup>J. Bowyer Bell, *IRA Tactics and Targets* (1990; repr., Dublin: Poolbeg, 1997), 27.

leadership of the PIRA either, as none of the Army Chiefs of Staff have had a university education.<sup>108</sup>

Two of the most influential leaders in the PIRA are Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness. Both have held every rank within the senior leadership of the PIRA, to include Army Chief of Staff. They both embraced the Provisional Sinn Féin and the emergence of political action within the movement. However, Gerry Adams was first and foremost in effecting change within the PIRA.<sup>109</sup>

As already described, Gerry Adams was instrumental in transforming the PIRA into a cellular organization and also injecting political action into the movement. Since the mid-1980s, Gerry Adams has focused most of his efforts on Sinn Féin, while Martin McGuinness continued with the PIRA.

An interesting aspect of the PIRA is their recruitment technique. They use self-recruitment as their method. They do not entice or coerce people to join--people join of their own free will and own volition.<sup>110</sup> Although this method does not bring in a high number of volunteers, the recruits are usually motivated and loyal. Since the transformation to the cellular structure and ASUs, quality is preferred over quantity anyway. Members of the PIRA are also free to leave the organization anytime they want. The organization is a very democratic group and allows for many freedoms, although what they will not tolerate are informants and traitors. The group is notoriously brutal when policing its own ranks.

Logistical support has always been an issue for the PIRA. In the early days, the PIRA had to scramble to find weapons and equipment. Most of it was purchased using funds obtained from criminal activity and donated money from abroad. The PIRA did try to align with, and get aid

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<sup>108</sup>Bell, *The IRA, 1968-2000*, 97.

<sup>109</sup>*Ibid.*, 122.

<sup>110</sup>*Ibid.*, 179.

from, other governments. Most turned them down, except for Libya, where Muammar Kaddafi was sympathetic to their cause against “imperialism,” and sent large amounts of aid, weapons, and equipment to the PIRA during the 1970s and 1980s.<sup>111</sup> Additionally, the PIRA have proven extremely resourceful adapting and creating terrorist devices and improvised explosive devices (IEDs) from common materials.<sup>112</sup>

One note of interest is that the Northern Ireland government security forces and the British military were not the only opposition forces of the PIRA. They also had other “insurgent” operational and tactical opponents--Unionist paramilitary and terrorist organizations. These organizations, such as the Ulster Defence Association/Ulster Freedom Fighters (UDA/UFF) and the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) waged anti-Catholic and anti-PIRA campaigns of their own. In fact, in some years in the 1970s, these groups were responsible for more violence and deaths than the PIRA.<sup>113</sup>

## **Tactical Discipline**

Since the PIRA changed to a cell structure in the 1970s, their primary tactics have involved terrorist activities focused on select targets. The PIRA considers British soldiers, Northern Ireland security forces, police, prison service personnel, politicians of any opposing political parties (including British), members of the British royal family, suspected informants, and the family members of all of the aforementioned as legitimate targets.<sup>114</sup> Terrorism is not limited to Northern Ireland. The PIRA has conducted some very high profile activities in Great Britain, infiltrating in amongst the Irish diaspora living in England and elsewhere. They will also

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<sup>111</sup>Mitchell, 64-65.

<sup>112</sup>Bell, *The IRA, 1968-2000*, 184.

<sup>113</sup>MacGinty, 17.

<sup>114</sup>*Ibid.*, 55.

conduct hit and run attacks against British military troops in Northern Ireland. The PIRA are masters at IED creation and emplacement.<sup>115</sup>

Women have been used extensively within the PIRA organization. Two of their best practices have been in the realm of intelligence and sniping. Many women have been able to obtain intelligence information by acting as prostitutes. Additionally, women have become renowned snipers and one even earned the nickname the “Armalite Widow.”<sup>116</sup> There is also a separate women’s organization (Cumann na mBan).<sup>117</sup>

Training for the PIRA is extremely covert and focuses as much on ideology as on military training. There is some time, however, at the end of the training period, dedicated to weapons, communications, and explosives. As in many insurgent organizations, much of the training is on the job.<sup>118</sup>

## Conclusion

In the preceding chapters this monograph analyzed the two insurgencies with the categories of structure, insurgent strategy, operational focus, and tactical doctrine. This chapter will compare the two, using these variables, in order to make judgments and decisions on the insurgencies and on the main thesis of this paper. The comparison will be conducted qualitatively, considering there were no quantitative measurements analyzed in the monograph.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>115</sup>United Kingdom, *Operation Banner*, para. 526, 5-9. The various types of IEDs employed by the PIRA were: Radio Controlled IEDs (RCIED), Command Wire IEDs (CWIED), and Victim Operated IEDs (VOIED).

<sup>116</sup>Frank G. McGuire, ed., *Security Intelligence Sourcebook*, 2nd ed. (Silver Spring, MD: Interests, Ltd., 1993), 66-67.

<sup>117</sup>Moloney, 564.

<sup>118</sup>Bell, *The IRA, 1968-2000*, 180-181.

<sup>119</sup>See Appendix G for a Comparative Analysis Chart for the two insurgencies.



The first category, structure, is extremely important in the success or failure of an insurgency. Without an efficient structure, insurgencies would never be able to accomplish their objectives. The structure of the insurgency is the architecture that enables the nesting of the insurgent's strategy, operations, and tactics.

The insurgency in Nepal has a structure based around the political entity, the CPN(M). All elements--both the Army and the United Front--receive direction, guidance, and command and control from the CPN(M). In contrast, the PIRA started with a very complex military structure, but very little political organization. It has, however, developed its political structure to the point that it is now the dominant force in the PIRA. Between the two, the CPN(M) has a better structure. It is capable of working on multiple lines of operation, both military and political, and has been capable of this from its beginning. The PIRA, however, has only developed multiple lines of operation in the later half of its existence. What is noteworthy for the PIRA is the complexity in their military structure and their resiliency to last for almost forty years against one of the world's main powers--the UK.

The strategies used by the two insurgencies are very different. The CPN(M) started a "people's war" and focused on Mao's strategy of Protracted Warfare. They could do this, in essence, because of the large rural population, high poverty level among the Nepalese, and remote rural areas where they could establish base camps. Unlike the CPN(M), the PIRA base was working class citizens, not peasants. They did not have remote areas within Northern Ireland to hide, nor could they ever hope to recruit, train, and employ guerrillas that could eventually transform into conventional forces that would challenge Northern Ireland's security forces or the British military. What the PIRA could do was work in urban areas and use terrorism to achieve their goals.

In the future, Mao's strategy of Protracted People's War will be harder to emulate. Conditions in China cannot always be replicated and oftentimes those using this strategy must modify it to be successful. As the world becomes less rural and more urban, and remote areas

become less and less, it will be increasingly more difficult for this strategy to work. The Nepalese even recognized this when they developed a divergent strategy, the Prachanda Path, to deal with this reality. On the other hand, as technology increases, and more people are packed into urban areas, the urban terrorist strategy used by the PIRA will become more prevalent and successful. Of note is that the Protracted People's War advocates using a shadow government throughout all of its phases. The urban strategy does not recognize this, nor did the PIRA originally. They eventually created a political entity, Sinn Féin, which would become the focus of its actions. Financially, both groups rely on external support from their diaspora and criminal activities for funds. Based on these factors, the assessment for insurgent strategies between the two groups is a draw.

Operational focus is the link between strategy and tactics that will make the insurgency successful. It also includes the assessment of the leadership, recruitment techniques, and logistic capabilities. The CPN(M) has done an excellent job coordinating its political and military activities. It has incorporated the technique of acquiring base areas where it can set up a "people's government" and operate with impunity. The Maoists will often use heavy-handed recruitment techniques and coercion. Logistically, they are basically a self-help organization, obtaining much of their supplies from captured government equipment. The leaders of the CPN(M) are all well-educated, political activists.

The PIRA's operational focus has also been enduring throughout the years. They have been able to, with their cellular structure, allow their subordinate formations to make decisions and perform independent action and were still able to tie it into their overall plan. Their leadership is not well educated, but well experienced having grown through the ranks. They rely on self-recruitment, allowing members to come and go as they please. Logistically, they received much of their supplies from Libya in the past and have purchased many others through the black market. They are excellent at adapting and creating terrorist devices from common materials.

Comparing the operational focus between the two groups is difficult. Because of the different strategies and structures of the two, they both had to develop different operational level paths. It would be better to compare their operational focus against themselves, admitting that both did an excellent job in this area. This category will rate as a “no contest” between the two.

Tactical discipline is the last category of comparison between the insurgencies in Nepal and Northern Ireland. Tactical discipline consists of the day-to-day activities and tactical execution of the groups. It also includes how they use terror, training facilities and programs, and the use of women in these groups.

The CPN(M) conducts full spectrum operations. They have been able to conduct offensive operations against Nepalese military and security forces, blockade major urban areas in Nepal, conduct defensive operations with the militias, and stability operations inside their base areas. They have usually limited the tactic of terrorism to specific situations and do not focus their efforts in this area. They have some training bases, but most of the training is on the job. Women are used extensively throughout the organization, to include in the combat forces.

The PIRA, on the other hand, focuses exclusively on terror activities. They are capable of attacking not only the security and military forces within Northern Ireland, but also in Britain and abroad. They occasionally use guerrilla hit and run tactics, but terrorism is their mainstay. Training areas are very limited, and mainly focus on their ideology. Women are used mostly as snipers and intelligence gatherers.

Both groups have tactics that are effective and link to their operational focus and strategy. However, the CPN(M) is capable of conducting full spectrum operations, to include terrorism, while the PIRA is not. At the base tactical level, the CPN(M) is also more effective running its own political party and people’s government. This gives the CPN(M) an advantage in this category.

Based on a quantitative, and rather subjective analysis, the CPN(M) ends up with an advantage over the PIRA. However, this is not a contest, and conditions are not the same in all

parts of the world. Where one type of insurgency might be successful in one part of the world, it may not be in another. Nevertheless, when extrapolating this analysis and comparison, it confirms that leftist, Maoist style insurgencies are better structured, disciplined, and equipped to achieve their goals than right-wing, nationalist/religious style insurgencies.

Are the problems in these areas completely solved? Will the CPN(M) adhere to the new constitution in Nepal and the “new” democratic government there? Will the PIRA stay in retirement and will Sinn Féin continue to work peacefully within the government of Northern Ireland? It is outside the parameters of this monograph to answer these questions. Only time will tell if the negotiated settlements and reconciliations in these countries have effectively ended the insurgencies.<sup>120</sup> What is important from this monograph’s perspective is what the United States and its allies can learn to help counter and defeat insurgencies of these types.

One of the key overall points brought out by this monograph is that, when dealing with an insurgency, analysis matters. Different insurgencies have varying factors that will ultimately shape their success or failure. This monograph analyzed four factors: structure, insurgent strategy, operational focus, and tactical discipline. Many other factors and variables could have been considered. The insurgencies were definitely shaped by terrain, ethnicity, economics, culture, societal norms, and others. If a nation wants to conduct a successful counterinsurgency campaign, it must analyze and recognize these factors. Without careful analysis, a counterinsurgent will never be able to determine which factors to affect in order to defeat the insurgency.

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<sup>120</sup> Major Nabin Silwal, Interview by author, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 17 January 2008, Recording with author. Major Nabin Silwal believes that there could still be more violence and a resurgence of the insurgency in Nepal, based on the CPN(M)’s response to the new constitution, which will be created in April 2008. Commandant John McCrann, Interview by author, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 10 December 2007, Recording with author. Likewise, Commandant McCrann believes that the insurgency could regain momentum closer to 2016, the 100th year anniversary of the Easter Rebellion, as nationalist fervor sweeps Ireland and the idea of a united Ireland is rekindled.

The second conclusion is that, if one extrapolates from the results of this analysis, one can conclude that, even in the twenty-first century, leftist, Maoist style insurgencies are better structured, disciplined, and equipped to achieve their goals than right-wing, nationalist/religious style insurgencies. Despite the fact that the appeal of communism is fading, one can argue that the Protracted People's War structure is well designed to run simultaneous political and military lines of operation. Even though it is not a "cookie-cutter" solution for every insurgent, with modifications it still offers the best chance of success.

One caveat is that of the importance of the political process used by both insurgencies. To quote the most over-used military theorist, "war is merely the continuation of policy by other means."<sup>121</sup> Both groups used politics at varying times and focused on their political lines of operations simultaneous with their military lines. The CPN(M) had a political structure from the beginning, whereas, the PIRA developed one over time. Both of these insurgencies recognized that they had to come to a "middle ground" with their respective governments in order to achieve their goals. Although political analysis was beyond the scope of this monograph, it is nevertheless an important factor in both insurgencies and warrants further research.

Based on the research in this paper, the United States and other governments can use the conclusions drawn here to help them better analyze and understand insurgencies and determine how to more effectively defeat them. The analysis of an insurgent organization is important, as well as the understanding of the political parties of the insurgency. With the complexity, structure, and discipline of the leftist, Maoist style insurgencies comes the understanding that, even though they are better structured for success, they will probably morph and merge with the right-wing, nationalist/religious style insurgency to have greater impact on the wider world and an overall greater chance of ultimate victory for the insurgents.

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<sup>121</sup>Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. and ed., Michael Howard and Peter Paret (New York, NY: Everyman's Library, 1993), 99.

## APPENDIX A Nepal Country Data

1. Population: 28,901,790

2. Life Expectancy: 60.56 years

3. Ethnic Groups

- Chhettri 15.5%
- Brahman-Hill 12.5%
- Magar 7%
- Tharu 6.6%
- Tamang 5.5%
- Newar 5.4%
- Kami 3.9%
- Yadav 3.9%
- Other 32.7%
- Unspecified 2.8%

4. Religions

- Hindu 80.6%
- Buddhist 10.7%
- Muslim 4.2%
- Kirant 3.6%
- Other 0.9%

5. Languages

- Nepali 47.8%
- Maithali 12.1%
- Bhojpuri 7.4%

• Tharu (Dagaura/Rana)	5.8%
• Tamang	5.1%
• Newar	3.6%
• Magar	3.3%
• Awadhi	2.4%
• Other	10%
• Unspecified	2.5%
6. Literacy Rate	48.6%
7. Land Area	147,181 square kilometers
8. GDP (Purchasing Power Parity)	\$30.66 Billion
9. GDP-Per Capita	\$1,100
10. Unemployment Rate	42%
11. Population Below Poverty Line	30.9%

*Source:* CIA World Fact Book, *Nepal*, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/np.html> (accessed 4 March 2008). All Country Data taken from the CIA World Fact Book.

## APPENDIX B Map of Nepal



Source: World Atlas.com, <http://worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/asia/lcolor/npcolor.htm> (accessed 4 March 2008).



## **APPENDIX C**

### **Timeline for Nepal**

- 1996: CPN(M) declares the start of the “People’s War.”
- 1998: Operation KILO SERA 2 (police operation) against insurgents.
- 2001: Royal Palace Massacre; Gyanendra becomes new Shah.  
Adoption of Prachanda Path as strategy for CPN(M).  
Full mobilization of Nepalese army against insurgents.
- 2002: CPN(M) launches attacks in 24 districts.  
Shah Gyanendra dismisses Government and takes full executive power.
- 2004: Katmandu isolated by CPN(M) forces.
- 2005: Shah Gyanendra dismisses Government again and takes full executive power.
- 2006: New parliament established. Nepal declared a secular state.
- 2007: Vote to end monarchy in 2008. New constitution to be established in 2008.  
CPN(M) agrees to participate in democratic government.

*Source:* John Whelpton, *A History of Nepal* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2005); and Country Watch, *Nepal, Political Conditions* [http://www.countrywatch.com/lumen.cgsccarl.com/cw\\_topic.aspx?type=text&vcountry=123&topic=POPCO](http://www.countrywatch.com/lumen.cgsccarl.com/cw_topic.aspx?type=text&vcountry=123&topic=POPCO) (accessed 18 March 2008).

## APPENDIX D

### Northern Ireland Country Data

1. Population:	1,700,000
2. Life Expectancy:	78.7 years (as part of the UK)
3. Religions	
• Protestant	53%
• Catholic	44%
• Other / None	3%
4. Literacy Rate	99% (as part of the UK)
5. Land Area	14,120 square kilometers
6. GDP (Purchasing Power Parity)	\$2.147 Trillion (as part of the UK)
7. GDP-Per Capita	\$35,300 (as part of the UK)
8. Unemployment Rate	5.4% (as part of the UK)
9. Population Below Poverty Line	14% (as part of the UK)

*Source:* CIA World Fact Book, *United Kingdom*, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/uk.html> (accessed 12 March 2008) and CAIN Web Service: Conflict Archive on the Internet, *Conflict and Politics in Northern Ireland (1968 to the Present): Population and Vital Statistics* <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/ni/popul.htm> (accessed 25 March 2008).

**APPENDIX E**  
**Map of Northern Ireland**



Source: World Atlas.com, <http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/europe/lcolor/uknicolor.htm> (accessed 12 March 2008).

## **APPENDIX F**

### **Timeline for Northern Ireland**

- 1170: First English invasion of Ireland.
- 1558-1603: Ulster (nine counties in Ireland) receives first settlers from England and Scotland.
- 1919-1921: Irish War of Independence. Irish Civil War.  
Republic of Ireland established.  
Northern Ireland established as part of United Kingdom. IRA established.
- 1969: IRA splits into OIRA and PIRA.
- 1972: Bloody Sunday.  
United Kingdom imposes direct rule on Northern Ireland.
- 1976: New British security policy: RUC in charge of security with assistance from British military. PIRA treated as criminals.
- 1977: Gerry Adams becomes PIRA Chief of Staff.  
PIRA restructures to cellular organization (ASUs).
- 1978: Martin McGuinness becomes PIRA Chief of Staff.
- 1981: PIRA Hunger Strikes.  
“Armalite and Ballot Box” strategy started.
- 1982: New Sinn Féin leadership dominated by Gerry Adams and associates.
- 1985: Anglo-Irish Agreement.
- 1998: Good Friday Agreement.
- 2005: PIRA declares an end to its campaign and decommissions its arsenal.
- 2007: Home Rule reestablished in Northern Ireland by United Kingdom.  
Sinn Féin participates in Northern Ireland government.

*Source:* Ed Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 2002); and Country Watch, *United Kingdom: Appendix: Northern Ireland*, [http://www.countrywatch.com.lumen.cgsccarl.com/cw\\_topic.aspx?type=text&vcountry=181&topic=APNIR](http://www.countrywatch.com.lumen.cgsccarl.com/cw_topic.aspx?type=text&vcountry=181&topic=APNIR) (accessed 18 March 2008).

## APPENDIX G

### Comparative Analysis Chart

#### Structure

Nepal - CPN(M)	Northern Ireland - PIRA
3-In-One Structure Political Party - CPN(M) Military - Guerrillas and Militias United Front	PIRA Army Council, Chief of Staff, GHQ Northern Command, Southern Command ASUs Political Party - Sinn Féin

#### Insurgent Strategy

Nepal - CPN(M)	Northern Ireland - PIRA
Protracted People's War Prachanda Path Finances - diaspora, criminal activity	Urban Terrorism Finances - diaspora, criminal activity

#### Operational Focus

Nepal - CPN(M)	Northern Ireland - PIRA
Base Areas Well Educated Leadership Prachanda and Dr. Baburam Bhattarai Recruitment -- Coerced and recruited Logistics -- poor, self-help	Covert, small group operations Experienced Leadership Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness Recruitment -- self-recruitment Logistics -- poor, some help from Libya

#### Tactical Discipline

Nepal - CPN(M)	Northern Ireland - PIRA
Full spectrum operations Limited Terror operations Some training areas and bases Extensive use of women	Primarily terrorist activities Very limited training areas Use of women for sniping and intelligence

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