INSURGENCY: DEFINING CHARACTERISTICS OF INSURGENCY FROM PREHISTORY TO CA. 1975

BATURAY YURTBAY

Research Assist. in the Department of Sociology and PhD Candidate in the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Yeditepe University
E-mail: baturay.yurtbay@yeditepe.edu.tr

Abstract - Insurgencies are seen from prehistory periods to up to date. Even though many of them have some common characteristics, every insurgency has some unique features at the same time. This research will evaluate the concept of insurgency from historical perspective by emphasizing developments in the concept of insurgency. It states common characteristics of insurgent movements took place from prehistory to 1975. The concept of state will be evaluated carefully by taking a leading and problematic factor of emerging insurgencies and important insurgency tactics such as Maoist insurgency will be examined carefully by implying changing structure of insurgencies through the history.

Key words - Insurgency, Maoist insurgency, characteristics of insurgency, media and insurgency

I. INTRODUCTION

The concept of insurgency integrates many dynamic fields, including the economy, politics, sociology, and military disciplines. To evaluate all insurgents effectively, by classifying them as a single group is an irrational approach; however, from the historical record it is apparent that some of the insurgent groups that co-existed in the same period shared some basic characteristics. Furthermore, a number of distinctive constructions inform these basic characteristics, revealing much about the emergent processes of insurgencies throughout history. While this essay will demonstrate a variety of formations peculiar to different insurgent movements, it will also highlight some shared defining characteristics. The essay will be structured in four parts. The first will consider the factors that provoke the emergence of insurgency, and evaluate the general strategies and tactics of emergent by offering different examples from different periods to clarify some defining characteristics. Secondly, different media tools and their effects on insurgencies in different historical periods will provide a comparative perspective, emphasizing the changes in various types of communication and the different information systems that led to their emergence, especially in terms of the Enlightenment, Renaissance, and the Reformation. Thirdly, the concept of 'state' will be evaluated to apprehend the motivations for insurgency, and to illuminate a variety of characteristics, comprising different political orders and their comparative effects. Fourthly, another important phase of insurgency, Maoist (Classical) Insurgency will be elaborated separately, depicting its unique characteristics, shaped by strong mobilization and guerrilla warfare.

1) Triggers for insurgency

Different factors act as triggers for all insurgencies; however, typically insurgent groups emerge as a reaction to the status quo. Certain aspects of the status quo might invite such a reaction; for example, acts of repression, oppression, disenfranchisement or alienation. Examples of insurgencies that arose in response to repression ingrained in the status quo are those that took place in Northern Ireland or in South Africa in response to Apartheid. When repression is detected, groups might organise to challenge that oppression with the aim of altering the dominant power structure. The Algeria Civil War, which took place against a backdrop of French Colonialism and today's Israel-Palestine conflict are also good examples of this category. However, most insurgencies also seek to bring about change based on multiple different ideologies or demands, sometimes resulting in different insurgents being active simultaneously within a society. For example, some groups may feel alienated from society because they lack economic resources, or because they belong to religious or ethnic groups that differ from the mainstream. This applies to the sense of alienation felt by Muslim's in many European countries. In addition, other groups arise due to disenfranchisement, and refusal to grant their civil rights; for example the Suffrage movement in the UK, which sought to change the status quo by extending the right to vote to women, or the American Revolution, which witnessed struggles between the colonies in America and the major powers of that period. Insurgents are considered beyond the law, and frequently try to effect change by forcibly altering the status quo. In some instances, this requires insurgent groups to go to war with their own governments or other interested parties. For example, according to Boylan (1996, 247), during the era of American Suffragism (1868-1920), many women opposed Suffragism, organizing anti-Suffragism.

When insurgent groups go beyond the law, they use various tactics, such as civil disobedience, general strike, sabotage, and violence, which might include a massive indiscriminate attack, widespread terrorism, or terrorism against a specific symbolic place or

target. Therefore, if we consider terrorism as it has occurred throughout history, it can be portrayed as a tactic of insurgency. Insurgent groups frequently attempt to delegitimise the status quo to prompt revolution from driven by the wider population acting on the belief that the status quo should be changed.

Most insurgencies are usually materially weak at the outset and such movements are always political in its nature. In addition, another way to approach insurgencies is as social movements. Broadly speaking, they share the generic aim to act to change a particular political order. Insurgent groups use tactics that include substitution, which involves acting on a strong passion to achieve changes without weapons; delegitimisation, which aims to establish challenge the legal authority of the existing government and establish a parallel government instead; or guerrilla warfare. Most examples of insurgencies include some use of violence to achieve aims, although they still function as social movements. However, there are also examples of non-violent insurgent movements in history, such as that of Gandhi. Some political scientists believe that in some situations violence cannot deliver aims efficiently. Writing of Arendt, Owens (2007, 2) mentions:

She never referred to methods of non violent protest in the language of "passive resistance", which may be taken to imply inactivity. What can emerge, she wrote, is "an almost irresistible power" and "one of the most active and efficient ways of action ever devised, because it cannot be countered by fighting".

2) Media and its effects on insurgencies

To understand the mechanisms of insurgency it is crucial to evaluate the role of communication. According to Thompson (1995, 63), prior to the invention of the printing press in Europe, the Catholic Church dominated the communication of messages. However, establishment of a regular postal service made it easier for people to communicate without the intervention of the church. When communication is considered across time, the major differences in terms of the speed, range, volume, and malleability of communicated data attract attention. In terms of speed, when communications whereas once messages were delivered on foot or on horseback, forms of electronic communication, such as the radio, TV, or telegraph are used now. In terms of range, it is evident that the TV or Internet can influence much larger audiences than communication by voice or letter. In terms of malleability, modern communication enables people to access resources more easily than ever before, allowing quick referencing, or self-production. Lawrence (1929) states: "The printing press is the greatest weapon in the army of the modern commander".

When referring to the media, it is important to stress that insurgency has a psychological dimension, that can be shaped by propaganda. Propaganda plays a crucial role in insurgencies. According to Taylor (2006, 6), communication tools are vital, to persuade or direct specific thoughts among people. As touched on above, the invention of the printing press had important effects on the dissemination of information, because it allowed multiple copies of manuscripts to be reproduced and transported. Before this development, a crucial aim of the elite was to control and manage access to knowledge. Therefore, the number of insurgencies prior to the Renaissance was few, because people were less aware of how their lives fitted into the social, cultural, and political fabric of society. They had insufficient information about how to deliver possible changes to the system, and were unaware of how they might achieve a better life. However, as copies of texts and pamphlets began to emerge, people began to learn how they could collectively criticise the state and church and utilize the information they could now access. Because of this realization the latter part of the eighteenth century witnessed major revolutions. By 1789, many political essays pertaining to constitution making, and declarations of rights had begun to influence the thinking of a significant proportion of the population. According to Briggs and Burke (2009, 85), the media played an important role in people's involvement in the French Revolution (which began in 1789) and the American Revolution (which began in 1776). Not only were incendiary pamphlets being spread, but newspapers were also altering people's assessment of their lives. Briggs and Burke (2009, 89) state: 'Technology could never be separated from economics, and the concept of an industrial revolution preceded that of communications revolution, long, continuing and unfinishing'. Revolutions are realised through communication. The types of communication tools might change throughout the ages, however the reasons motivating them are the same. Digital technology is more effective than analogue technology, and most post-modernists have defined new stages of insurgency, attributable to the availability of TV, web and mobile forms of media.

With the invention of electricity, communication also started to change. At the beginning of the 19th century, telegraphs began to be used, and local newspapers benefitted from these considerably in terms of the accessibility of information. While the Industrial Revolution and the steam revolution brought about many positive effects, they also had a negative side, such as migration from rural areas to cities, and difficult conditions for labourers. Briggs and Burke (2009, 93), also mention that: 'Many inventions were arrived at independently and more or less simultaneously in different places'. So, when understanding the development of insurgency in specific locations and eras it is important to remember such changes did not emerge uniformly, taking effect at the same time everywhere.The people who could have informed by developed technology

especially and invention of the printing press began to be mobilised more easily and influentially. This caused to emerge strong rebellions and insurgencies in some parts of the world, firstly in European continent. They began to question the functions of the state and try to have a solution to their exploitation by the upper class or state mechanism itself.

In relation to the emergence of insurgency and its fuelling by the media, another important concept is to understand is the 'public sphere', as characterized mainly by Arendt and Habermas. This link to the media can result in controversy. According to Habermas, it is not possible to determine the confines of the public sphere. Hannah Arendt states that the public sphere is very beneficial for citizens, claiming that while people may have different opinions in the public sphere this differentiation between ideas, beliefs, and norms begins to be lost. The media itself plays a crucial role in determining the borders of the public sphere. It can help to establish common belief systems, or separate them by perplexing people. Moreover, the media plays a crucial role in delimiting the public sphere and democracy. Thus, when monopolisation of media is permitted, people are informed of one side only, with the result that they might be tricked. Thus, when people try to access different resources, an awakening period occurs, and it the knowledge they gain causes them to feel anger toward the status quo they may begin to react by opposing the existing system. The possibility of insurgency when uncontrolled media and messages reach the people prompts totalitarian regimes to regulate and silence the media to protect the state.

Today, the modern understanding of revolution is an event that is decisive from which there is no turning back. The periods of the Renaissance and Reformation period led to the emergence of different forms of insurgency. In the Renaissance period (15^{th}-16^{th} centuries), the revolutionary focus was directed inward, towards the legitimacy of nation states. During this period, authors, scientists, and philosophers began to claim that they were subject to serious threat. While Copernicus and Galileo were seen as threatening the traditional teachings of the church, additional voices began to rise up countering their opinions. Key figures of the Enlightenment period were Thomas Paine, Jean Jacques Rousseasu, John Locke, and Descartes, all of whom published important studies in a variety of fields. They also produced important studies about the concept of state and the insurgencies that emerged as a reaction against government, both violent and non-violent. The fact that the French Revolution is seen as a product of this period has received much critique even in the literature word. Many authors of that period began to criticize insufficient political, economic and social conditions of people and reflected their thoughts into their books, paintings, or shortly arts. Writing in the nineteenth century, Charles Dickens, author of 'A tale of Two Cities' (1998, 288) criticized the tyranny and characterization of the French Revolution as a product of Enlightenment, saying:

Along the Paris streets, the death-carts rumble, hollow and harsh. Six tumbrels carry the day's wine to La Guillotine. All the devouring and insatiate Monsters imagined since imagination could record itself, are fused in one realization, Guillotine. And yet there is not in France, with its rich variety of soil and climate, a blade, a leaf, a root, a sprig, a peppercorn, which will grow to maturity under conditions more certain than those that have produced this horror.

3) Why is the concept of state important for emerging insurgencies?

To understand the characteristics of insurgency, the concept of state must be evaluated. When determining a right and reason to revolt, the role of the established state is typically in question, albeit from different perspectives. Social contract theorists, such as Hobbes and Rousseau argue that the state is accepted and negotiated according to a social contract. According to Rousseau (Griffith 2013, 61), the social contract is an agreement that includes all members, not in the sense of superiority and inferiority, to provide equality among members by establishing certain legal systems.

The strains of thought that emerged during the Enlightenment regarding this issue differed from one another. For example, Paine's views contradicted those of political scientists, such as Locke. Paine offered some clues to the emergence of insurgencies by referring his thoughts to the organizational structure of government. Paine calls into question the structure of the government, asserting that the government is the main inhibitor of individuals' rights. He argued, that where there is strong domination from a government over its citizens, the overthrow of that government may become the duty or right of those citizens. Paine (1797, 20), also states:

Man is not the enemy of man, but through the medium of a false system of Government. Instead, therefore, of exclaiming against the ambition of kings, the exclamation should be directed against the principle of such governments; and instead of seeking to reform the individual, the wisdom of a nation should apply itself to reform the system.

If governments consider the rights of citizens, good conditions can emerge from rebellion and insurgency. Also considering the rights of citizens, Mill wrote about the need to protect individual and collective rights by espousing the ideal of liberty. Mill especially sought to understand where the liberty of the individual ends and where the liberty of society begins to emerge, and the scale of the authority of society over individuals in his books 'On Liberty' (2009, 95). According to Hobbes, regardless of their character, all states have emerged with the consent of

the people, because of the social contract, referred to in Leviathan (2012, 112) as 'the mutual transferring of rights'. Rousseau believes that people require secure conditions, and so exchange their rights for protection. However, some arguments surround this, especially in reference to the establishment of states on a foundation of violence. For instance, Trotsky (ed. Turner and Bryne 2009, 78) argues: 'Every state is founded on force'. Moreover according to Weber (2009, 78), a state has 'legitimate violence' in its nature, by having as its only power the right to use force over its people. Foucault (2000a, 340-342) frequently references this when explicating human wills and motivations when constructing states, implying the differences between 'governing the self' or 'governing others' as a means to remake the problematic nature of government. Locke also emphasizes the differences between a contract of society and contract of government, focusing on the process of government as governed in his works (ed. Laslett 1960, 114). According to Locke (2006, 35), consent is also a very important idea affecting the emergence of the state. The state arranges itself to meet obligations that everyone has to obey. Wolff (1960, 61) says: 'But of course no state would accept that people living within its territories can escape political obligations altogether'. Therefore, it can be concluded that these thinkers perceived some characteristics of insurgency as originating directly from problematic structures in the state process or its complex governing mechanisms. In the thoughts of many philosophers and social scientists the concept of insurgency and its process to emerge began to be questioned in the context of state, government and its functions.

Another issue that arises in association with the concept of insurgency is 'political order'. It is important to mention that the political order has dynamic dimensions and has shifted historically. Different political systems have had different effects on surrounding historical process and the development of insurgency. When considering monarchy, it is apparent that monarchs typically exert a strong influence as guardians of both the earth and the cosmos, through the proposition that they have earthly legitimacy but are divinely appointed. Over time, in states where monarchs ceased to hold sway, democracy arose, although this was largely restricted to a very small elite minority in city-states. According to Aristotle, while monarchy could lead to tyranny, aristocracy can lead to oligarchy, and democracy to anarchy (Stein 2011, 31). Many researchers have explained the different approaches political orders take to governing their people. Boylan (1996, 249) offers an example from the American anti-suffragism movement, stating:

Mink also shows how different women came to be treated differently by the welfare system. One significant step along that road came with the 1939 amendments to the Social Security Act in which Congress granted survivors' benefits to the wives and children of insured men. This move siphoned off from Aid to Dependent Children-successor of mothers' pensions-those widows who had been married to men in insured occupation. At the time, agriculture and domestic service, the two biggest fields of employment for black workers, were not insured.

Conflicts create diversified aims in relation to the same idea within a society, possibly providing a basis for future insurgencies.

Dunn, (1972, 3) implies: ' Revolutions are facts of nature, analogous to physical processes, the release of enormous forces, moving vast masses through space'. Elsewhere, Durkheim (2002) proposes that social issues should be studied to be as 'fact'. Society as a concept does not comprise all the individuals within it, being an organism above the individual. For example, Durkheim cites the many social norms associated with suicide, despite the fact that it seems to be a very personal and moral issue. Social norms, beliefs, rules can cause a sense of vulnerability that may lead to suicide of individuals. For instance, according to Durkheim (2002, 53) individual characteristics can become more powerful when combined with external factors in relation to suicide. Therefore, if we evaluate social revolutions from the perspective of Durkheim, it should be accepted that there is no isolated effect from media, individuals or political structures; rather, these elements combine to create reasons or tactics that inform the process of insurgency. Every factor in the social life should be thought as small pieces of the big issue which will emerge the facts by having a interaction with each other.

In politics, competition between ideas often suggests a better way of managing different processes within organizations. However, misleading or miscalculated thoughts can lead to an unequal distribution of power or inequality. Confusions might emerge from a society, following different paths that include persuasion or coercion or both. Insurgencies also include counterinsurgencies, which emerged as government responses to insurgency. In different political orders, different economical, political and social structures are seen that might cause to possible insurgencies. Huntington (1968, 36) stated that: 'More than by anything else, the modern state is distinguished from the traditional state by the broadened extent to which people participate in politics and are affected by politics in large-scale political units.' Therefore, when history is efficiently evaluated, it is apparent that political orders transform one model to the next in the form of a cycle.

Between the years 1789 and 1917, many revolutions occurred, with far reaching consequences, including the French Revolution (1789-99), the Young Revolution (1830), the Russian Revolution in 1905, and the Bolsheviks Revolution in 1917. Whilst these all had individualistic triggers and consequences, the

pluralist media and the speedier dissemination of information affected them all. These revolutions had different effects but were all important indicators of a new mechanism for change, based on the recognition of the importance and power of thought. Dunn (1972, 11) draws attention to the importance of thought in effecting change, saying: 'The future is the slave of thought'.

When the question of 'Why care about the Bolshevik Revolution?' was raised, Schwarzmantel (2015, 11) explained that:

The impact of these two events, Bolshevik Revolution and the bienniorosso of 1919-20, changed Gramsci's perspective on liberalism, democracy and Jacobinism. Liberalism was now seen as irrelevant and outmoded rather than a factor of capitalist development. Democracy was no longer seen as the worst enemy, but as something which could be realized (...).

The changing political structure of Russia was important to the Bolshevik Revolution; however, its most important consequences related to the distinction between facts and ideologies. When Marx made assumptions about future political systems and possible socialist revolutions as part of his study of historical materialism, he could not have foreseen a revolution might happen in Russia. However, the Bolshevik Revolution rewrote the concept of ideology applying its own facts and developing a new revolutionary ideology, which considered social, economic and political conditions.

4) Maoist (Classical Insurgency) as a corner stone of modern revolutions

It should be mentioned that guerrilla action and insurgency are unequal. A revolutionary war demands political action that includes collective, organised social movements and cultural ideas that can change the structure of society, in addition to guerrilla warfare. There is some information in the books of Herodotus about the use of guerrilla tactics in the past in some contexts; however, this is insufficient to support the concept of today's insurgency, which only depends on guerrilla tactics. According to Beckett (2001, viii), guerrilla warfare began to play a revolutionary role only from the beginning of the mid-twentieth century onwards, in association with economic, psychological, social and political dimensions.

History is an important and helpful field by which to understand insurgencies taking place today. Even though the concept of insurgency has a long history, the classic characteristics of insurgency first began to emerge with the leadership of Mao. In the 1920s, China was in a state of political slow down after thousands of years of stability. It was against this backdrop that Mao Tse Dong emerged to become one of the most successful revolutionists of modern times. Although Mao was later known as a despot and was an authoritarian figure, the scale and success of his revolution cannot be underestimated. Mao's successful tactics, game changing technological developments, and industrialisation played an important role in his success. Mao developed a formula and distributed it in a very accessible way. Maoist insurgency was driven by industrialization and technology, as Mao believed that the peasantry should play a crucial role in any uprising. The stages of revolution were then divided into three phases (Zarrow, 2005). First, a long preparation process established certain embryonic structures to overcome physical threats. Then a transition period, involving a campaign leading to a spread of both visible and clandestine insurgent organisations. To achieve this, Mao sought to engage the rural population, who were disaffected by the geographical conditions they had experienced, urging them to resist the basic instruments of state rule, such as taxation. Finally, a mobilization phase, in which villages and insurgent groups could be connected to center took place. As Zarrow (2005, 48) implies: 'Through 1890s, telegraph wires, postal services and printed press began to spread and play a crucial role in China. So technology began to developed at that time and Mao benefited from this issue by supporting and as well as using it to reach his aims in revolutionary war'.Thus, according to Powell (1968), Mao modified and modernized military doctrine, adding technological developments and different approaches to it in terms of politico-military strategy.

The success of Mao Zedong relied on his ability to control the political components of the insurgency, by initiating mass subversion and mobilisation. According to Edward et al. (1955, 324), Mao created a new system based on a politico-revolutionary model resulting from military action. In this way Mao did not distinguish political mobilisation from military tactics entirely, hence mobilisation here depended on military tactics (Edward et al. 1955, 329). Edward et al. (1955, 323) explained:

Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin agreed on the historical necessity of war as a concomitant of revolution […]. Their studies, however were not systematized within and ideological framework, as are those of Mao. Mao claims to have applied to warfare the 'immutable laws' that follow Communists have detected in socio economic behaviour. Essentially he discovered these for himself.

Mao Zedong relied on, 'Guerrilla warfare basically derives from the masses and is supported by them, it can neither exist nor flourish if it separates itself from their sympathies and co-operation' (Betz, 2015).

Different characteristics might arise from different insurgencies although they share some basic elements. Nevertheless, Maoist insurgency provided something of a role model which was followed by future insurgencies, such as in the case of Vietnam. Marks (1996, 2) validated this, saying: 'For all the uniqueness of the Vietnamese approach, it is not possible to separate it from its Chinese

predecessors—the debt owed both strategic and tactical particulars is substantial.'

CONCLUSION

To understand and reveal the defining characteristics of insurgency, there is a pressing need to also examine the multiple different concepts that it contains, such as the emerging process of the idea of the state, and the relationship between insurgency and other elements of conflict that might be perceived variously as motivators for violence, such as to establish freedom and equality. Alongside the concepts that inform the formulation of insurgencies, the importance of the media should also be considered, as both a propaganda tool and a reflection of insurgent's aims. The media has played a role that should not be underestimated since insurgencies first began; however, today's digital media, the radio, television, and the Internet all suggest game-changing technological developments. Communication is an important aspect of insurgencies and one that also effects the media. In addition, some structural changes can be made to alter the character of insurgencies, as Mao Ze Dong did, what fueling what is now called 'Maoist (Classical) Insurgency'. He employed political and military action simultaneously, working to ensure strong mobilization of the population. Moreover, an important corner stone when seeking to comprehend insurgencies might be considered to be the understanding present in a society and a specific period's social dynamics, as combined with various disciplines such as politics, economy and sociology, without ignoring historical facts and taking lessons from the history. It should be emphasized also, that insurgencies emerge as social movements that are never completely independent of society itself; thus, they are neither transparent from the outside completely nor discoverable from the inside easily.

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