



EDO UNIVERSITY IYAMHO



DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

HIS 413 INSURGENCY AND COUNTER INSURGENCY

Instructor: Dr Emmanuel S. Okla

Email: okla.emmanuel@edouniversity.edu.ng

Lectures: Thursday , 8am-10am, LC 5

Phone (+234)8066845195

Office hours: Thursday, 1pm-3pm Office: Admin Block Floor 1 Rm 115

General overview of lecture: This course is an exploratory study of the nature ,character and manifestations of insurgencies in history and the methods that were adopted to counter them .The aim is to acquaint the students with the prevalence of rebellious uprisings in various ramifications ,and the evolution of strategies to tackle them .Issues that would be discussed include ;the British Civil War, the Spanish Civil War and the American War of Independence, various rebellious uprisings in colonial Africa and Post- colonial Africa .There are no compulsory prerequisites for this course.

Learning outcomes: On successful completion of this course, students are expected to

1. Explain and define Insurgency and Counter Insurgency
2. Identify the features of insurgency
3. Understand the factors responsible for Insurgency
4. Be conversant with the tactics of Counter Insurgency
5. Be familiar with selected case studies in insurgencies

Assignments: We expect to have two (2) homework assignments throughout the course in addition to quiz and a mid- semester test and a final exam. Home works in the form of individual and group

assignments in addition to a quiz test are organised and structured as preparation for the mid semester and final exam.

Grading :Individual homework will be assigned 5%,group homework will attract 10% and class quiz 5%,10% will be allotted for the mid semester test and 70% for the final exam.

Textbook: The recommended textbooks for this course are as stated;

Title: Insurgency and Terrorism

Author: O'Neill B.

Publisher: Basseys , Virginia

Year: 1990

Title: The Art of Insurgency: American Military Policy and the Failure of the Strategy in Southeast Asia

Author: Hamilton Donald W

Publisher: Greenwood Publishing Group

Year: 1998

Title: The Insurgent Archipelago

Author: John Macinlay

Publisher: Hurst, London

Year: 2009

Title: Pirates, Terrorists, and Warlords

Author: Jeffery H. Norwitz

Publisher: Skyhorse Publishing, New York

Year: 2009

Title: Counter-Insurgency in Nigeria: The Military and Operations against Boko Haram

Author: Omeni Akahi

Publisher: Routledge, Abingdon Oxon

Year: 2017

Courseware: HIS 413 INSURGENCY AND COUNTER-INSURGENCY. The following documents outline the courseware for the course HIS 413 INSURGENCY AND COUNTER-INSURGENCY. Much of this material is taken from recommended textbooks

INTRODUCTION

1. Definition
2. Features of Insurgency
3. Causative Factors of Insurgency

COUNTER-INSURGENCY

4. Definition and description
5. Counter-Insurgency theorists and their approaches
6. Tactics of Counter-Insurgency

SELECTED CASE STUDIES IN INSURGENCIES

7. The British Civil War 1642-1651
8. The American War of Independence 1775-1783
9. The Spanish Civil War 1936-1939
10. The Mau Mau Rebellion 1952-1963
11. The Boko Haram Rebellion 2009-present

CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

Our contemporary world has been inundated with conflicts and violent agitations mostly championed by non state actors desirous of effecting a change of status quo or regime. The overriding purpose of this course is to acquaint students and learners with the reasons/factors that precipitate insurgent activities, then to understand the nature and character of the phenomenon and also to establish the steps or approaches to nip this ugly trend in the bud and how to counter it.

1. Definition

According to O'Neill insurgency is "A struggle between non-ruling groups and ruling authorities in which the non-ruling group consciously uses political resources (e.g organizational expertise, propaganda, and demonstrations) and violence to destroy, reformulate, or sustain the basis of legitimacy of one or more aspects of politics".

An insurgency is an organized violent rebellion or assault that is aimed at toppling an existing government or regime. At the onset of insurgency, most often the few ring leaders or activists in their attempt to overthrow the government will try to recruit a limited number of people for direct participation in their movement and to mobilise a large part of the total population as supporters and occasional helper. The instrument of propaganda is a major weapon in the hands of leaders of insurgency who use it as a tool to solicit both domestic and international support for their cause.

2. Features of Insurgency

For an insurgency to thrive it must have popular support of the people. To this extent, insurgency goes beyond elitism, since it is best sustained by the participation of the masses it is people oriented. A good example of an insurgent organization is Boko Haram. In an insurgency the leaders counts on wearing out the government in a protracted struggle with the support of the population. Insurgents mostly use terror tactics primarily and other guerrilla operations such as sabotage, ambushes, and raids since their resources do not permit an immediate attempt to seize the government's centre of power.

Modern insurgency always tries to create conditions that will destroy the existing government and make an alternative revolutionary government acceptable to the population. Acts of terrorism are employed by insurgents who also spread rumours to discredit governments and

their supporters in order to escalate an already existing social discontent among the populace, either along religious or ethnic lines. Major economic bases (oil, mines and ports) and economic centres are mostly target off attacks by insurgents – these they do in order to have access to resources and to demoralise the government.

Unlike military conspirators plotting coups against the vital centre or seat of government, insurgents operate initially from remote areas and periphery of the governmental system, in the hope that they will destroy slowly the governments will to resist. Insurgencies rarely engulf the whole country in armed clashes. Their leaders are always in search of soft spots to attack where they can inflict maximum damage at lowest cost to themselves. This is the strategy deploy by Boko Haram through suicide bombing.

By their goals, insurgencies are some time difficult to be distinguished from revolutions, hence the usage of the term revolutionary warfare to qualify their activities. However it must be noted that in an insurgency a few active leaders tries to mobilize the population in support of their goals, while in a genuine revolution the population at large are mobilized spontaneously by their dissatisfaction with the old order and only waiting and ready to respond to the appeal of revolutionary leaders just as were the cases in French, Russian and Iranian revolutions. Genuine revolutions spread faster and generate social waves of greater acceptability than insurgencies. They are also likely to achieve broader social transformations because they respond to more widely shared popular demands than insurgencies which represent at first a minority point of view. For instance while the insurgencies led by **Museveni**, **Kabila** and **Taylor** in Uganda, Congo and Liberia respectively succeeded in effecting a regime change, a gulf of division and acrimony still persists amongst the various groups in these countries.

Without a broad popular based support, insurgency cannot attain the broad scope that revolution or civil war can attain, but it can continue to operate for extended periods of time, especially if it receives assistance from foreign powers to supplement a relative scarcity of domestic resources. Most insurgent groups across the world during the cold were actually kept alive by the inflow of funds and support from either United State of America (U.S.A) or Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (U.S.S.R.) while it is true that no insurgency can attain significant progress without popular domestic support, the important role of external aid and support is also very crucial. Without external support insurgencies can not survive for long. It takes an assure flow of foreign supplies, especially a sanctuary beyond national borders for an insurgent group to

train effectively without fear of attack by their government. Such sanctuaries are also used for regrouping and recuperation especially for insurgents with limited popular domestic support. In the American War of independence, the colonies adopted insurgency as a strategy and prevailed owing to the support of France in terms of military hardware and personnels. In contemporary time, it took the backing of Cote D'Ivoire for **Charles Taylor's** rebel group to prevail over the Liberian army. It is in this guise that O'Neill B. observed that "unless governments are utterly incompetent, devoid of political will, and lacking resources, insurgent organisations normally must obtain outside assistance if they are to succeed."

Insurgents in the eye of international law are not recognised as belligerents (lawful combatants). However a long protracted and sustained insurgency could assume a status of civil war, at which point the combatants are conferred with belligerent status.

3. Causative Factors of Insurgency

The factors that precipitate insurgency in our contemporary world are plethora and diverse in nature. The root causes of insurgency which are economic and socio-political in dimension broadly speaking are as follows.

Land alimentation:- Land as a cardinal factor of production has been at the root of several insurgencies across the globe. The denial of right and access to ancestral land and its resources such as minerals and water bodies has over the years triggered violent agitations by indigenous communities during the colonial and post colonial eras. The Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya was a protest by the Kenyans against British colonial government policies of land alienation which ceded arable land to white coffee planters at the expense of the indigenous farmers who were made to forfeit their sources of food and reduced to labourers in coffee plantations. The rebellion spearheaded by **Isaac Adaka Boro** and members of his Ijaw ethnics group after the discovery and exploration of oil in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria during the civil war was intended to assert the ownership of the indigenous population of the area over their God given natural resources. The civil war that ensued between North and South Sudan was sparked off by the desire of the largely black and Christian dominated South Sudanese to control the oil resources in their domain. The violent crisis in the Katanga region of Congo in the early 1960s bore semblance with the situation in Sudan as the people of Katanga took to rebellion with the aim to assert authority over their land

and resources. It is important to note that the insurgent activities in both Sudan and Congo were greatly fueled and sustained by external forces.

Growth of social class awareness and discrimination has given rise to social discontent in most developing countries, often spiraling into insurgencies. The squeezing of the middle class were majority of citizens of developing countries are supposed to belong has led to an unsavory sharp gap between the rich and the poor. This scenario coupled with socio-political and economic discriminations contribute to exacerbate inequality. The resultant outcome of this development in some climes is the outbreak of insurgent activities. The late Laurent Kabila of Congo organised his socialist revolutionary insurgency with the aim of creating an egalitarian society based on socialist philosophy of equality of men. The Cuban and Venezuelan revolutions were both executed for the sole purpose of eliminating social and class barriers in the respective countries as a fall out of insurgent activities.

Poverty and unemployment are also factors that has given rise to insurgency. Poverty breeds anger, hatred, envy and conflicts. The twin evil of poverty and unemployment has made people vulnerable and susceptible to recruitment by insurgents and terrorists organisation. In contemporary time, the poorest parts of the world and the region with high rate of unemployment are more prone to insurgency. The armies of the unemployed youths are like “Sack of potatoes” and ingredient for change or revolution in the view of **Karl Marx**. Insurgency has become a source of livelihood for most youths in Africa, Latin America and the Middle East due to the prevalent rate of unemployment – those seeking for enlistment are absolved without certificates, since all that matters is gut and courage.

Religious and ideological discontent is another fundamental reason behind the upsurge in the incidence of insurgencies in the world today. With the advent of the information super Highway INTERNET in the 21st century, a new wave of pseudo-religious doctrines and philosophies that thrive on violence are being propagated by extremist groups. These extremists group who focuses on the youth and young adult population deploy the instrument of brain washing in order to inculcate the ideology of resistance and hatred for constituted authority. Book Haram, Alshabab Daesh, ISIS, Alquaeda, Egbesu and the Luo-Resistance Army in Uganda are among several extremist groups using religion as a platform for insurgent activities.

Arms proliferation and poor boarder supervision in most developing countries of the world has created a fertile ground for insurgency to thrive. For instance the largest desert in the world,

Sahara desert is also one of the largest market for illicit arms and ammunition. The implication of this for the countries bordering the deserts is the prevalence in the activities of insurgent organisations in Nigeria, Chad, Cameroun, Niger, Mali and Central African Republic.

Despotism and human right abuses has precipitated several insurgency across the globe. Authoritarian and tyrannical leaders has over the years pushed hitherto law abiding citizens to take up arms for self defence and preservation. Records of such leadership abounds in Africa. For instance, it was the extreme tyranny of Idi Amin of Uganda that made Tanzania to support Milton Obote to overthrow him from power, same to Sgt. Samuel Doe of Liberia that was ousted through the arm rebellion orchestrated by Charles Taylor and Laurent Gbagbo of Cote d'Ivoire who was removed from the office by Alhasan Quattara and his force with the support of France.

Political alienation is another factor that has also fuel insurgency in most part of the world. When people are denied their rights of political participation in their country, there are bound to be conflicts. Sometimes these conflicts are expressed through violent actions in the form of insurgency. The ongoing violent contestation between the Kurds and Turkish/ Iraqi authorities are fallout of political alienation. The crisis that snowballed into the Rwanda Tutsi massacre by the Hutu was also a product of political alienation. The Blacks in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Angola took to insurgent activities in the course of agitating for equality in political participation of their lands and also in the quest for independence.

Terror contagion effects is also at the root of many violent agitations and insurgencies in contemporary time. Over the years, communities or non-state actors harbouring grievances against their government has emulated or taken cue from the actions or activities of near proximate entities. In the West African sub region for instance, the conflict that started in Liberia at the eve of 1990 had a contagious effect across the neighbouring states of Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Guinea Bissau, Gambia and Mali.

COUNTER-INSURGENCY

4. Definition and Description

The term counter-insurgency refers to a military or political action taken against the activities of violent non state actors. It is a comprehensive civilian and military effort taken to simultaneously defeat and contain insurgency and address its root causes.

For any counter-insurgency campaign to be effective, it must “integrate and synchronize political, security, economic and informational component that reinforce governmental legitimacy and effectiveness while reducing insurgent influence over the population. COIN strategies should be designed to simultaneously protect the population from insurgent violence; strengthen the legitimacy and capacity of government institutions to govern responsively and marginalize insurgent politically, socially and economically.” An effective counter insurgency measure must therefore aim at achieving the support of local population and should not be solely concerned with killing and capturing of insurgents. The government is expected to improve the living conditions of the people in the domains of insurgency in order to win their confidence and eliminate any support they may have for insurgency. COIN is conducted as a combination of conventional military operations, propaganda and assassinations. It should be noted that insurgents usually capitalise on social problems such as government neglects in provisions of basic necessities and services; it behooves on counter insurgency to address such neglects so as to deny insurgents the opportunity to capitalize on government failures.

5. Counter-Insurgency Theorists and their Approaches

1. **Santa Cruz de Marcenado** (1684-1732) in his book *Reflexiones Militares* discussed how to spot an early signs of insurgency, prevent and counter them. He advocated clemency and good governance as the solution to people grievances.
2. **B. H. Liddell Hart** in his book *Strategy: The Indirect Approach* argued that a popular insurgency is difficult to crush, hence the way out is to either saturate the domains of insurgency with troops or win over the occupied territory’s population through show of respect and by meeting their basic needs – unless the hearts and minds of the public can be separated from the insurgency, the occupation is doomed to fail.
3. **David Galula**, a veteran of the Algerian war advocated for a combination of military, political and social actions under the strong control of a single authority. According to **Galula** “A Victory (in counter insurgency) is not the destruction in a given area of the insurgent’s forces and his political organization... A victory is that plus the permanent isolation of the insurgent from the population, isolation not enforced upon the population, but maintained by and with the population... In revolutionary warfare, strength must be assessed by the extent of support from the population as measured in terms of political

organization at the grass roots. The counter-insurgent reaches a position of strength when his power is embedded in a political organization issuing from, and firmly supported by the population.

4. **David Kilcullen's** model is situated upon 3 pillars, Security, Political and Economic, with all of these resting on effective information dissemination domestically, regionally and globally. **Kilcullen** contends that “perception is crucial in developing control and influence over population groups. Substantive security, political and economic measures are critical but to be effective they must rest upon and integrate with a broader information strategy every action in counter-insurgency sends a message: the purpose of the information campaign is to consolidate and unify this message... Importantly the information campaign has to be conducted at a global, regional and local level – because modern insurgents draw upon global networks of sympathy, support, funding and recruitment.”

6. Tactics of Counter Insurgency

There are several tactics and measures deployed by government and supranational bodies to checkmate insurgencies – some of those tactics are discussed below.

Population Control: This approach also refers to in military parlance as “drain the water” or “drain the swamp” involves forceful evacuation of civilian population to a different areas in order to expose the rebels who are likened to “fish” and the “water”, non-combatant. This is done to deprive the rebels of support, cover and resources of the people. The population control approach was applied by the British during the Second Boer War to separate Boer supporters from their commandos. The British army employed the scorched earth tactics to destroy Boers farmland, following which the local peasant population were moved into concentration camps. The United State also used similar strategy in South Vietnam where the local population were forced to stay in an enclosure known as strategic hamlets. To achieve this the Americans made use of Agent orange to destroy farm crops by spraying farmland from their aero planes. With the destruction of their farmland, the indigenous population had no choice than to move into the hamlets to stay under the watchful eyes of American troops.

The oil spot approach made popular by Marshal Habert Lyauteg, a theoretician of French colonial warfare and counter insurgency strategy emphasized so much on the concentration of counter-insurgent forces in a large secured territory.

Cordon and search is another military tactic often use in counter insurgency. It entails cordoning off an area or premises and subjecting them to thorough searches for insurgents, weapons and other war implements.

Another vital counter insurgency tactics is air operations. Planes can be used for intelligence gathering surveillance and reconnaissance. Planes can also be used for psychological operations involving dropping of leaflets, loudspeakers and radio broadcasts; and for attack and evacuation of casualties.

Public diplomacy is also a portent tactic that can help in achieving success in counter insurgency warfare. It involves the use of diplomacy to render the insurgents ineffective and non influential by having strong and secure relationship with the local population. To achieve this there has to be an informed knowledge and understanding of the environment and culture of the host communities. As part of public diplomacy much effort should be taken to treat culprits or insurgents that are caught with some level of dignity so as to earn the confidence of the people to support COIN. Public diplomacy also entails effective use of the tools of information and communication. The governments and forces involve in COIN should be able to explain their actions and decisions in clear terms to both the host and international communities and this should be done timely too. Broadly speaking, socio-political and economic incentives are integral aspects of effective public diplomacy in COIN and this should be pursued by all those countering insurgency in order to diminish peoples support and sympathy for insurgents.

SELECTED CASE STUDIES IN INSURGENCIES

7. The British Civil War 1642-1651

The British Civil War was a combination of 3 wars fought in the British Isles between 1642 and 1651. These series of conflicts which came to be known as the British Civil War were fought within England and between England and the kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland. Prince Charles 1 of England by his several actions set the stage for the outbreak of the Civil War. Prince Charles 1 took draconic step by suspending the parliament for a period of 11 years, a period known in British history as “personal Rule of Charles 1”. The parliamentarians only requested to be accorded more right of representation in the running of government. The suspension of the parliament however turned out to be counter productive for Prince Charles 1 as the gentry who were the major sponsors

of the parliamentarians declined to collect and submit taxes to the monarch. With the glut in the economy, Prince Charles 1 lacked sufficient fund to meet up with basic state obligations.

Charles attempt to invade Scotland and imposition of the Anglican creed and doctrine on the Scots was stoutly resisted as his troops were repelled back .At this point Prince Charles 1 hurriedly recalled the Parliament with the hope of getting their support for his war efforts. The parliamentarians upon reconvening however resumed their agitation for an enhanced right of representation in governance, the monarch did not hesitate to suspend the parliament after a few week in what came to known as the *short parliament*. Prince Charles 1 who was roundly condemned for his marriage to a French catholic Princess Henrietta Maria unilaterally declared war on Scotland. Not long after Prince Charles 1 began to vent his anger on the parliament by hounding their key leaders. It was at this point that the parliamentarians decided to openly challenge the excesses of the king .As Prince Charles 1 unleashed terror on the parliament ,the parliament with the support of the gentry and the masses raised their own troops to confront the royal troops of Prince Charles 1.

Prince Charles by dabbling with the affairs of the Church of England and the Presbyterians Church of Scotland further incurred the wrath of religious adherents who accused him of imposition of Anglicanism in Scotland and of blending Roman Catholicism with the Anglican faith in England. The harsh treatment meted out to the Puritans by Anglican clergies who were closed to the monarch also served as a reason for most Puritans to join forces with the parliamentary armies. At the end series of violent clashes in Ireland ,Scotland and the united military force forged by the parliamentarian who coalesced their various troops into a standing army(New Model Army)proved too difficult for Prince Charles to contain .The Prince was overwhelmed ,caught and tried by the Rump parliament and subsequently executed after he was found guilty of treason on 30th January 1649.Before Charles trial and eventual execution the leadership of the New *Model Army* ,Sir Thomas Fairfax was not disposed to the monarch trial ,hence he was forced to step down for Oliver Cromwell his second in command. Prince Charles 1 son, Prince Charles 11 was pronounced king after his fathers death by the royalist in Edinburg Scotland and commenced the third phase of the Civil War in 1649.The war persisted until the eventual defeat of Prince Charles 11 and his troops on 3rd September1651 by Oliver Cromwells force.

After the death of Prince Charles 1 ,Oliver Cromwell presided over England as the sole ruler until after his demise.His son Richard was made to govern in his stead but he lacked the charisma to effectively galvanized the structure of government, hence he was deposed after 6 months and Prince Charles 11 who fled to France on exile was requested to return to England and rule as a constitutional monarch at the behest of the Parliament

8. The American War of Independence 1775-1783

British war expenditure at the end of the 7 year War was put at a staggering sum of 75 million pound .In the bid to beef up her treasury, the British Parliament enacted legislation to increase taxes in her American colonies followed by series of mercantilist policies in favour of the home government in England. This development triggered severe agitations in the colonies where the people had all along been clamouring for representation in the parliament. The colonists argued that having supported the British against her European rivals during the 7 Year War, they should not be made to bear the cost of the war. The British government refused to heed to the complaints of the colonists and proceeded to enforce both the implementation of the taxes and mercantilist policies which also included trade restriction between the colonies and Britain .Consequently attempts were made to compel the colonists to purchase goods on which duties were imposed such as glass, paper, lead, painters colour and tea. The response from all the American colonies was spontaneous as the people vehemently resisted this unfavourable trade policy through outright rejection of British goods and other acts of sabotage. The British government was quick to repeal the duties on all the other goods with the exception of the duties on tea.

As the colonists resolved not to patronize British tea, a British ship loaded with tea at Boston port was infiltrated by colonists led by John Adam in December 1773 who threw overboard all the tea into the Sea in an event that came to be known as the *Boston Tea Party*. The British colonial government which through her soldiers had earlier in 1770 gunned down 5 persons out of a mob of protesters in what was referred to as *Boston Massacre* responded by enacting the *Intolerable Acts*. The Acts denied colonists in Massachusetts of representation in council and brought about the establishment of a military council in the colony. In response to this, a group of colonists from several colonies met in Philadelphia in September 1774 in a gathering known as the *First Continental Congress*. In attendance at the congress were George Washington and Patrick Henry from Virginia, John and Samuel Adam from Massachusetts and John Jay from New York. The congress members expressed their grievances against taxation, lack of representation, abuse of power by colonial soldiers and lack of basic fundamental human rights .The next Continental Congress was fixed for May 1775.However before that date things came to a head as local militiamen clashed with British soldiers in Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts ,marking the first shots of the American War of Independence.

At the Second Continental Congress in May 1775 joined by new delegates such as Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson it was unanimously agreed upon that a Continental Army be established under the leadership of George Washington .By July 4th 1776 with the war already in full swing, the Continental Congress voted to adopt the Declaration of Independence. A committee of 5 headed by Thomas Jefferson drafted the American Declaration of Independence. Britain responded in full force to crush the American dream by deploying tens of thousands of soldiers .The war was fought at various fronts, both on the land and in the Sea with the British Army having the upper hand from the onset because of their highly trained army and better weapons .However the American Continental Army experienced a turning point at the battle of Saratoga between 1777-1778 when they achieved great victory over the British Army under Burgoyne. The American victory at Saratoga served as a tonic for France which had been secretly aiding the colonies to fully join the war against Britain by providing the much needed naval support which greatly enhanced the American war effort. Spain an ally of France also declared war against Britain in 1779. The combined participation of Holland which was supplying weapons to the colonies from the start of the war and that of France and Spain altered the dimension of the conflicts from civil war to an international war. Britain surrendered in 1781 and subsequently signed the treaty of Paris in France in 1783 recognising the independence of America.

9. The Spanish Civil War 1936-1939

By the beginning of the Great Depression in Europe, the influence and popularity of the Spanish monarch had declined. In 1931 the king of Spain Afonso XIII summoned the Peoples Assembly to deliberate on the system of government acceptable to the people. The Assembly unanimously voted in favour of democratic system of government and called for the abrogation of monarchy. In the election conducted in 1932 to install a representative democracy, the Republican party and the Socialist party emerged as the dominant parties with the majority seats in the national assembly. However by 1934 the Nationalist Party displaced the Republican Party as the dominant party in parliament. By 1936, the coalition of Republican, Socialist and anarchist took over the government under Manuel Azana. The political atmosphere in Spain at this time was so tensed as fascism an extreme political ideology already flourishing in Italy was already gaining so much ground in Spain .The fascist in alliance with the *Falanges*, Roman Catholic and the Nationalist were vehemently in opposition to the Republican Party and employed series of measures to

sabotage the Republican led government. They embarked on campaign of terror and assassination. The Republican government in its response carried out a massive crackdown on the oppositions with the maximum deployment of state security apparatus. Members of the oppositions and their sympathizers were hunted down, churches burnt and schools owned by the Catholic were closed down.

It was only a matter of time before General Francisco Franco an influential army officer who presided over the quelling of the Asturian Miners Strike of 1934 began to shift his allegiance from the central government. Even though the Republican government could no longer trust General Franco, he was still retained in the service but redeployed from the capital in Madrid to the Canary Island. The Republican will have to pay dearly for this decision as Franco who was far away from the watchful eyes of the authority in Madrid with the aid of some foreign countries such as Italy, Germany and Portugal was able to mobilise troops from Spanish Morocco for an insurgent assault against Spain in 1936. General Franco eventually became the rallying point for the Nationalist as a civil war broke out in Spain. The Nationalist under Franco enjoyed overwhelming support from the country side while the Republicans were more entrenched in the major cities. At the onset Franco's troops consolidated their foothold in the rural areas before taking the battles to the urban centres. The Republican fought along side their allies such as the Socialist and anarchist, while the Nationalist fought along side with their allies such as the fascist, Falanges and Catholics.

As the Spanish Civil War progressed it assumed the dimension of an international war due to the vested interests of some foreign nations. Though at the onset of the war European nations including the United States signed a pact of non-interference, this agreement was not honoured by Germany, Italy, Portugal, USSR and Mexico. While Germany, Italy and Portugal contributed planes, tanks, guns and jet fighters to the Nationalist war efforts, the Soviet Union and Mexico did same for the Republicans. Besides the support from Soviet Union and Mexico volunteers from several European countries and United States contributed towards the war efforts of the Republican and also fought on their side. At the end because of the massive supports rendered by Germany, Italy and Portugal to the Nationalist coupled with the high quality of weapons supplied by the trio they emerged victorious, thereby setting the stage for General Francisco Franco to rule Spain with an iron grip between 1939-1975 when he died. Following the Nationalist victory members of the

Republican Party and their sympathizers were purged and many others fled to exile. General Franco later reestablished the throne of the king of Spain, though as a constitutional monarch.

10. **The Mau Mau Rebellion 1952-1963**

The British occupation of Kenya which effectively began in 1895 led to the establishment of settler colony in the country by 1903. The arrival of white farmers in Kenya from Britain and South Africa led to a gradual displacement of indigenous Kenyans from the ancestral land especially in Kikuyu land. At the end of the First World War in 1918, most of the English soldiers who participated in the war were encouraged to settle in Kenya, thereby swelling the population of white settlers in the country. The system of land holding was altered by the British colonial government in favour of the white settlers. The British pursued a policy of land alienation and reallocation pushing Africans especially the Kikuyu, Meru, Beru and Masai away from the most fertile land in preference to white farmers. The Crown Land Ordinance Acts of 1915 removed the land rights of the native population, completing a process that essentially transformed them into an agricultural labour pools and squatters in their own land.

By 1921 the emerging African elites formed the East African Association (EAA) as a platform to campaign for greater land rights for the indigenous population. The life span of EAA was short lived as it was banned the following year. However by 1942, another platform, the Kenyan African Union (KAU) was inaugurated to champion the peoples cause for enhanced welfare and political right. The policy of land alienation by the colonial government forced most of the African young men who had been robbed of their lands to migrate to the capital city of Nairobi where they lived in slums with little chance of employment or basic social justice. In the rural areas, indigenous Africans were groaning under heavy taxation. Three thousand European families owned more land than the one million Kikuyu who were driven into reserves and also forbidden from cultivating cash crop especially coffee. As the mistreatment and oppression of the indigenous people continued after the Second World War, African nationalist and veterans of the war became more vocal in their opposition the British colonial government. The leaders of KAU in the early 1950s were viewed by the younger elements within the organization as conservative in their approach to constitutional and political reforms. By 1952 some of the radical elements in the group led by Dedan Kimathi and Waruhui Itote launched a campaign of terror by attacking European farms and African collaborators. Using a campaign of oath taking to commit others to

the anti-colonial cause the Mau Mau were able to recruit fighters from among the ethnic groups in the Kenyan highland. By mid-1952 due to the indiscriminate crack down by the colonial force on people of Kikuyu ethnic group more than 90% of their adult population submitted themselves to Mau Mau oath.

The British colonial government further responded to the Mau Mau uprising by declaring a state of emergency. This development escalated the violence as the Mau Mau intensified their attacks against the whites and their African collaborators. The rebel organization eventually shifted their base into the forest and highland from where they engaged on guerilla warfare, attacking their targets usually at night. The colonial government at this point handed over operation against the rebels to the army who embarked on a military strategy of isolation and confinement. Following the introduction of this strategy, Kikuyu squatters in the country side and those in the urban centres were arrested and kept in *gulag* or concentration camps. Collective punishment was also meted out to any village that allowed their indigenes to enlist or harbour Mau Mau activists. This punishment entails outright evacuation of the village members to the Kikuyu reserves. Those in the camps and reserves were often sexually abused, tortured and executed. This approach was however counterproductive as most moderate Kikuyus were made to flee into the embrace of Mau Mau fighters in the forest. Though the Mau Mau were able to establish military units in the forest, they were limited by a lack of weapon, training and basic supplies.

The initial British troops deployed against the Mau Mau lacked basic skills of forest battles; hence the Royal Airforce (RAF) was drafted into the war to support the Army by carrying out aerial reconnaissance and bombardment of rebel hideout and camps .The involvement of the airforce led to the death of 3000 and the capture of 1000 Mau Mau fighters including Warahui Itote towards the end of 1953.

By 1954 through a policy known as Operation Anvil Mau Mau supporters and those sympathetic to their cause in Nairobi numbering about 100,000 were rounded up The colonial army was able to achieve this feat with the collaboration of some indigenous Africans of other ethnic background and some trusted Kikuyus. With the rounding up of Urban Kikuyu and the forceful relocation of over 1 million Kikuyu villagers, Mau Mau fighters in the forest became stranded and could no longer have access to basic needs or supplies and vital information or intelligence report. By the end of 1955, there were only about 1500 Mau Mau fighters left in the forests. Their morale were already at the lowest ebb and by 1956 Dedan Kimathi the group leader

was arrested and put on trial ,thus effectively bringing to an end the resistance by the Mau Mau. At the end of the war the official death tolls released by the British colonial authority put the death rate for Mau Mau fighters at 11,503 and that of white settlers at 32. The Mau Mau though were defeated militarily in 1956 and the emergency rule extended up to 1960, the issues raised by the group were given attention by the colonial government through the implementation of various socio-political reforms which eventually culminated in the granting of independence in 1963.

11. Boko Haram Rebellion 2009-present

Conclusion

The course in its treatment of the subject matter of insurgency and counter insurgency has established that long before our contemporary time and now, constituted authorities or power that be in several part of the world has had to contend with violent agitations. While some of the agitations succeeded in altering the existing status-quo and gave birth to a new order, others were however suppressed. Most often government inability to satisfy the interests and aspirations of the citizenry could lead to discontentment. It is usually the failure of governments and the aggrieved non state actors to find common ground that results in insurgency. From our study so far the most effective measure to arrest or counter insurgency lies in addressing the root causes of discontentment and the ability of the government to disconnect the ring leaders of insurgencies from the populace by winning their confidence through appeasement, deliberate policy of isolation and propaganda.

