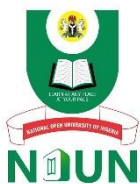**COURSE
GUIDE**

**POL 884
HUMAN SECURITY AND COUNTER-INSURGENCY**

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NOUN

NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

POL 884   Human Security and Counter-Insurgency
This course *examines the security challenges of human security, terrorism and insurgency; strengths, weaknesses, potential offsetting effects of modern counterterrorism and counterinsurgency strategies; the concept of intelligence and counter-insurgency; evolution of counter-terrorism; Hard and soft power in counterterrorism; Counterinsurgency theory; counterterrorism and counterinsurgency;* Counterinsurgency intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance operations; the role of intelligence in counterinsurgency. Capacity building and equipment.

INTRODUCTION

Many people feel that the modern world is unsafe and full of threats from all sides. Natural disasters, armed wars, extreme poverty, ongoing pandemics, international terrorism, and abrupt economic and financial downturns cause severe suffering and jeopardize possibilities for peace, stability, and sustainable development. Such crises are intricate and include various facets of human insecurity. When anxieties combine, they have the potential to spread quickly, ruining entire communities and across international boundaries.

The human security approach to security offers a fresh perspective on the various problems the world confronts in the twenty-first century and how the international community handles them. It is a multidimensional analytical framework that can help the members of the international community to evaluate, create, and put into practice integrated approaches to a wide range of conflicts.

Two major threats to human security faced by the world today are insurgency and terrorism. Complex political-military conflicts like insurgencies and terrorism, which is one of the tactics of insurgency, necessitate thorough study in order to be clearly understood and effectively dealt with. Throughout history, insurgencies have persisted but their strategic importance has altered. The world has once again entered a time when insurgency is widespread and strategically important.

An insurgency persists as long as both parties believe they will ultimately win or that halting the fight would be more expensive than continuing. As a result of long-lasting insurgencies, generations that have only ever experienced war often have a greater fear of peace since it is unknown and hence anxiety-inducing than they do of war. When one side (or, less frequently, both) recognizes that they cannot win the battle no matter how long they fight it, or when the costs of stopping the conflict are lower than the costs of continuing, that is when an insurgency may come to an end.

This course is designed to teach students about human security and

counterinsurgency, and by extension, terrorism and counterterrorism.It is intended to equip you with knowledge and understanding of human security, insurgency and counterinsurgency, terrorism and counterterrorism.

The course shall interrogate the concept of human security, its nature, elements and importance. It shall look at the concept of insurgency, the dynamics of an insurgency, the strategic goals and tactics employed by the insurgents, the political, ideological, social, and military tools used to achieve those goals, and potential vulnerabilities/weaknesses to be used by those attempting to quell the insurgency.

The course will also examine terrorism, its nature, features, as well as how it is funded. In addition, we will examine counterterrorism measures by various actors in the international community. The course shall also critically examine the history and evolution of insurgency and terrorism, and how the tactics employed have evolved over time.

By creating this background, the course will set your mind on the importance of the human security approach in bringing about peace, and ending insurgency and terrorism in the international community. Since the primary duty of the state is to provide security and welfare for its people, a course of this nature would provide students with the appropriate avenues to evaluate how countries in the world, as well as international organizations, are striving to counter terrorism and insurgency in order for the people to live in a secure world. In the long run, it is anticipated that students who successfully completeit would develop the capacity to analyze the driving forces of insurgencies as well as terrorism.

In addition, such capacity that the individuals must have acquired in the course of the lectures should be able to guide them in policy making on countering terrorism and insurgencies in the state, its agencies, public, private organizations, and international organizations. It will also serve as anintellectual guide for individuals who are going into the academia, and are desirous of teaching about human security and its threats in a tertiary institution.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

1. The course is designed to discuss the concept of human security and its relations to national security.

2. The course shall also examine threats to human security and efforts being made to eradicate these threats.

3.   The course will examine the concept of terrorism, its history, evolution, nature, and elements.

4.   The course will critically appraise efforts at counterterrorism by various actors.

5.   The course will examine insurgency as a threat to human security, its history, forms and characteristics.

6.   The course will evaluate various counterinsurgency efforts by various actors over time.

WORKING THROUGH THIS COURSE

To complete this Course, students are advised to check the study units, read the recommended books as well as other course materials provided by the NOUN. Each unit contains Self-Assessment Exercise (SAE) and End of the Module Questions for assessment purposes. There will be a written examination at the end of the course. The course should take students about 14 weeks to complete. You will find all the components of the course listed below. Students need to allocate time to each unit to finish the course successfully.

STUDY UNITS: 20

Presentation Schedule

Module	Title of Work	Weeks Activity	Assessment End of Unit
Module 1	Security, Traditional Security and Human Security		
Unit 1		Week 1	
Unit 2		Week 2	
Unit 3		Week 3	
Unit 4		Week 4	
Module 2	Understanding Terrorism		
Unit 1		Week 5	
Unit 2		Week 6	
Unit 3		Week 7	
Unit 4		Week 8	

Module 3	Principles and Strategies of Counterterrorism		

Unit 1		Week 9	
Unit 2		Week 10	
Unit 3		Week 11	
Unit 4		Week 12	
Module 4	Fundamentals of Insurgency		
Unit 1		Week 13	
Unit 2		Week 14	
Unit 3		Week 15	
Unit 4		Week 16	
Module 5	Essentials of Counterinsurgency		
Unit 1		Week 17	
Unit 2		Week 18	
Unit 3		Week 19	
Unit 4		Week 20	

FACILITATION

The Course POL 884: Human Security and Counterinsurgency, is designed to provide all categories of people; academics, policymakers, security practitioners, business organizations, jurists and diplomats with a thorough understanding of human security, terrorism and insurgency. The course is important since students that undertake the course will have the knowledge of insurgency and terrorism as well as global best practices for countering the two phenomena.

Given the prevalence of insurgency and terrorism in our world, the Course POL 884 is urgently needed to reshape our understanding of human security, dynamics of insurgency and terrorism as well as measures for combating them. It is on the basis of this that I encourage you to go through this Course carefully and diligently.

LEARNER SUPPORT (TECHNICAL AND OTHERS)

The NOUN will provide technical support and students can liaise with their departments for assistance as the case may be.

Module 1 Security, Traditional Security and Human Security
Unit 1 An Overview of Security
Unit 2 Conceptualizing Human Security
Unit 3 The Human Security Approach
Unit 4 National Security versus Human Security
Module 2 Understanding Terrorism
Unit 1 Terrorism in Perspective
Unit 2 History and Evolution of Terrorism
Unit 3 Financing Terrorism
Unit 4 Terrorism and Gender
Module 3 Principles and Strategies of Counterterrorism
Unit 1 Counterterrorism in Perspective
Unit 2 Counterterrorism Strategies
Unit 3 Regional Counterterrorism Efforts (I)
Unit 4 Regional Counterterrorism Efforts (II)
Module 4 Fundamentals of Insurgency
Unit 1 Understanding Insurgency
Unit 2 History and Evolution of Insurgency
Unit 3 Insurgency and Information Technologies
Unit 4 Case Studies of Insurgencies
Module 5 Essentials of Counterinsurgency
Unit 1 Understanding Counterinsurgency
Unit 2 Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance (ISR)
           Operations
Unit 3 Roles of Actors in Counterinsurgency
Unit 4 Case Studies of Counterinsurgencies

**MODULE 1   SECURITY, TRADITIONAL SECURITY
                 AND HUMAN SECURITY**

Unit 1:   An Overview of Security
Unit 2:   Conceptualizing Human Security
Unit 3:   The Human Security Approach
Unit 4:   National Security versus Human Security
             Glossary End of the Module Questions

UNIT 1: AN OVERVIEW OF SECURITY

Unit Structure

1.1   Introduction
1.2   Learning Outcomes
1.3   Understanding Security
        1.3.1 What is Security?
        1.3.2 Traditional Notion of Security
        1.4   Nature of National Security
        1.4.1 Defining National Security
        1.4.2 Elements of National Security
        1.5   Relevance of Traditional Security
        1.5.1 Deterrence
        1.5.2 Defence
1.6   Summary
1.7   References/Further Readings
1.8   Possible Answer to Self-Assessment Exercises

 1.1   Introduction

I am sure you will agree with me that security is fundamental to human existence. Peace and security are crucial to human life. Living in a peaceful and secure environment is important to every society since it affects all aspects of economic and social development in a country. We can identify two conceptions of security. These are the traditional and non-traditional notions of security. The traditional notion, which is a realist construct, has the state as the object of security. In other words, traditionally, security meant protection of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states from external military threats. Traditional security relied on the anarchistic balance of power, a military build-up between the United States and the Soviet Union (the two superpowers), and the absolute sovereignty of the nation-state. However, the concept of security has moved beyond the traditional notion of security to the non-traditional,

which focuses on human security. Broadly, human security is concerned with the security of individuals as against the security of the state. In this unit, we will discuss the traditional notion of security, which has its origin in the 1648 Peace of Westphalia. You will have a better understanding that in the traditional sense, security was seen as protection of the state from invasion.

1.2   Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the essence of security.
- Analyse the traditional notion of security.
- Demonstrate an understanding of the nature of national security
- Evaluate the importance of security in the society

1.3   Understanding Security

1.3.1 What is Security?

There is no universally agreed definition of security as a concept. In its simplest and broadest term, security means the absence of danger or threat of danger. It is the safe and secure condition for an individual, group, organization, institution, system, entity or phenomenon from harm or hostile acts. Henry Shue describes the right to security as the first of our basic rights. Scholars and practitioners have long debated over the ambiguity of the concept of security. They have sought answers to questions such as: Who is the security for? By what values should it be measured? What are the threats? By what means should the object(s) of security be secured? The answers lie in the various notions and definitions of security.

1.3.2 Traditional Notion of Security

We can say that most of the time when we read and hear about security, we are talking about the traditional notion of security or what is called national security. Traditionally, security implies that a state is free from the threat of war and that it feels safe from potential invaders; the state pursues its national interests and preserves its core values without fear. It is believed that war and violent conflicts impact on national security, which creates problems for political leaders. In essence, emphasis is placed on increasing military powers and the maintenance of peace in the international system

Realists and Neo-Realists, including Hobbes, Waltz and Kissinger, aver that security should be about the state, noting that, in the anarchical world that we are in, the means to achieve maximum security lie with the state as well as the military.

Similarly, Bajpai argues that states are often the main actors in international politics and give priority to protection (Bajpai 2002). This is a state-centric theory of international relations, whereby it is believed that the international system is anarchic. Proponents of Realist theory claim to rely on the ancient thought of classical writers like Thucydides, Machiavelli and Rousseau.

To classical Realists such as Arnold Wolfers, Klaus Knorr and Henry Kissinger, world politics is about struggle for power among states. They, thus, argue that upcoming states will do all they can to increase their roles and influence, but as their capabilities increase, they will become less threatening.

One of the basic functions of the state is survival. The state has the obligation to enhance its power by developing its military and other capabilities to be able to survive in the international system, which is anarchical and full of conflicts. As highlighted by Bajpai (2002), Neo-Realists argue that in a Hobbesian world, the state is the primary provider of security: if the state is secure, then those who live within it are also secure. He identifies two key characteristics of the state, which are territorial integrity and sovereignty.

Under the traditional notion of security, the role of citizens is to support the system. It is assumed that once the state is secured, the security of the citizens is assured. In this situation, national security translates to the ability of the states to prevent external incursion or threats, which may be in the form of invasion, occupation, or other forms of attack from other states or terrorists. Thus, the concept of security has come to be identical with national security, which dominated security analysis and policymaking during the cold war period.

Self-Assessment Exercises 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 2 minutes:

1. Security is the first basic right of an individual. True or False.
2. With traditional security, the state is the primary provider of security. True or False.

1.4   Nature of National Security

1.4.1 Defining National Security

So, what do we mean by national security? Holmes (2015) defines national security as the safekeeping of the nation as a whole. It means the duty of a state in preventing an attack by keeping and maintaining its armed forces and other things needed to achieve this. Lippmann (1994) asserts that a nation is secured when it does not have to resort to war or threat of war to preserve its legitimate interest. In the same vein, Maniruzzaman (1982) sees national security as the protection and preservation of the minimum core values of any nation's political independence and territorial integrity. Orwa (1984) also defines national security as comprising the protection of the national interest, including national values, political and economic ways of life against internal threats and challenges.

Thus, to secure the state, a huge amount of state resources is directed towards maintaining effective police and armed forces, ensuring civil and emergency defences, with the aid of intelligence to detect and prevent external incursion as well as internal subversion, as the case may be. The state also employs diplomatic means to form alliances and foster cooperation in the international system.

1.4.2 Elements of National Security

National security incorporates several elements. These include power, military strength, force and national defence (Holmes, 2015).

The first is the concept of **power**. This is when a state has control over its sovereignty and everything within its boundary. It also implies the ability to prevent outside forces from penetrating its defences. The power wielded by the state can be in two forms: hard or soft. Hard power involves the use of military tools including the country's armed forces, law enforcement agencies, intelligence agencies and so on. Unlike hard power, which is about control, soft power is more about influence, persuasion and mostly avoidance of war.

Another element of national security is **military strength**. This is in terms of the military might of a country. The ability to have a standing army that can defend the country in case of invasion, the military wherewithal and equipment to execute a war, defence budget and so on constitute the military strength of a country.

Apart from military strength, **force** is also a very crucial element of national security. This refers to the capacity of a country to utilise its military power when the need arises. It is the use of a military or law enforcement capacity to achieve some objective.

Finally, there is **national defence**. This refers to the summation of all the previously discussed elements culminating in the ability of a country's armed forces to secure its territory and protect the lives and property of its citizens.

Self-Assessment Exercises 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

1. Define national security.
2. Mention 4 elements of national security.

1.5
Relevance of Traditional Security

1.5.1 Deterrence

As we have seen so far, traditional security is concerned with the state's ability to protect its territorial integrity and sovereignty. One of the ways this is done is by what is by preventing war, which is called deterrence.

Deterrence is a military strategy proposed to prevent an adversary from taking an illegal step not yet started, or to stop them from doing something that another state desires. The concept of deterrence security is quite simple. What needs to be done is to persuade the oncoming enemy that the risks and costs of his expected actions far outweigh the benefits he wants to derive from the attack.

Possession of nuclear weapons can be a form of deterrence. For instance, to deter its enemies, the United States of America built up significant strategic and deliberate nuclear forces that could easily threaten any suspected aggressor with the terrible risks and costs of a nuclear retaliatory strike against a sovereign state. Nuclear weapons have been used only twice in war since their development in 1945, countries, however, use the spectre of nuclear weapons much more often to improve security. The Cold War remained largely a 'cold' one due to the deterrent effect of nuclear weapons. While the Soviet Union accumulated 45,000 nuclear warheads, the United States accumulated 31,000 nuclear warheads.

1.5.2 Defence

States often try to ensure the protection of their territories by avoiding or preventing wars. However, sometimes war becomes inevitable, especially when deterrence fails. In this situation, the affected state resort to defence, which refers to the use of force to repel an attack or imminent threat of attack directed against oneself or others or a legally protected interest.

To this end, it is the role of the armed forces to defend the sovereignty of the state. The ability of a state to successfully deploy troops for it defence makes traditional security very crucial. The Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, which is still ongoing, represents a signal for national security. It has resulted in a horrific loss of life, millions of refugees and displaced people, and global economic shockwaves. It shows, in a shocking way, how fragile peace could be.

Self-Assessment Exercises 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

1. A standing army is not crucial to a country's defence. True or False.
2. Define deterrence.

1.6   Summary

This unit discussed the meaning of security as well as the traditional notion of security. The traditional notion of security defines the state as the entity experiencing security. Security in this wise meant protection of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states from external military threats. We have also been able to see why traditional security is still relevant in contemporary times.

1.7   References/Further Readings

Bajpai K. (2002). Beyond Comprehensive Security: Human Security. In Bajpai K. (ed.) *Comprehensive Security: Perspectives from India's Regions*. New Delhi: New India Foundation.

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Orwa, D. (1984). National Security: An African Perspective. In
        Arlinghaus, B. (ed.) *African Security Issues: Sovereignty, Stability
        and Solidarity.* Colorado: West View Press.

Shue, H. (1980) (1996) *Basic Rights: Subsistence, Affluence, and US
        Foreign Policy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

1.8   Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 1

1.   True
2.   True

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 2

1.   National security can be defined as the protection and preservation of the territorial integrity of a state.
2.   Power, Military strength, Force, National defence.

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 3

1.   False
2.   Deterrence is a military strategy proposed to prevent an adversary from taking an illegal step not yet started, or to stop them from doing something that another state desires.

UNIT 2: CONCEPTUALIZING HUMAN SECURITY

Unit Structure

2.1   Introduction

In the 1990s, there was a significant change in the international system and its security environment when the Cold War ended and the Soviet Union collapsed. This development translates to a reduction in military and political tension, which resulted in cooperation and more stability. Since then, the conception of security has gone beyond the traditional understanding of military ways of protecting the state against internal and external aggression. Lloyd Axworthy notes that with the increasing porosity of borders as well as the end of the Cold war, issues that directly affect individuals like pollution, crime, terrorism, drugs, epidemics, human rights abuses and so on, have become the main focus of foreign policy practitioners. In the last unit, we discussed the meaning of security and the traditional notion of security. This unit focuses on the non-traditional notion of security. In this wise, we will be discussing the concept of human security.

2.2   Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

•   Discuss the concept of human security
•   Analyse the nature of human security

- Demonstrate an understanding of the need for human security
- Evaluate the emergence of human security as an approach

2.3   Development of the concept of Human Security

2.3.1 Emergence of Human Security

Although most understandings of human security trace it to the end of the Cold War, the origin of the concept is rooted in debates about the meaning of security that predated the end of the Cold War. The debate about the nexus between disarmament and development which took place in several United Nations fora to respond to the arms race of the Cold War is a very important source of human security. In fact, a study by Inga Thorsson and others arrived at the conclusion that there was a competition between arms race and development.

Several international commissions contributed to the drive for human security. They provided a broader view of security beyond the Cold War's focus on the East-West arms race. For instance, the 1982 Palme Commission report advocates for the doctrine of common security, while the 1987 Brundtland Commission linked conflict to environmental degradation. It noted that unsustainable development is the real source of insecurity.

2.3.2 The Individual as the Object of Security
The attempts to expand the notion of security to include non-military threats were accompanied by an increasing emphasis on making the individual the object of security. The notion of common security recommended by the 1982 Palme Commission served as the foundation for the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to deliberate on the subject. After this was an increased awareness of non-military threats in the global security debate.

So, we can see that the international community began to place emphasis on security matters in relation to development issues before the end of the cold war. However, during the early 1990s, a consensus was reached on the need to broaden and deepen the concept of security, taking account of the political context at the end of the Cold War and the need to move beyond securing the state to securing the individuals in the state. The argument was that it is not only the armed attack of one nation-state upon another, using organized military forces, that can cause physical and psychological insecurity for human beings and undermine states. This is because threats come from a diverse range of sources and actors, that there is a wide variety of possible responses by many different actors to those

threats, and the basic purpose of these responses is to protect people, not the country. This gave birth to the human security approach.

Self-Assessment Exercises 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 3 minutes:

    1. Which Commission proposed the doctrine of 'common security'?
    (a) The Brundtland Commission
    (b) The Palme Commission
    2. The North–South Roundtable on the 'Economics of Peace' was held in London. True or False.

2.4 Nature of Human Security

2.4.1 What is Human Security?

Like many concepts you will find in the social sciences, there is no universally agreed definition of human security. It has been defined in various ways. The concept of human security was first advanced by former Pakistani Finance Minister Mahbul ul Haq, with the support of Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen, with the launching of the UNDP's 1994 *Human Development Report*. It was the first published major discussion of this concept and was extended by the Commission on Human Security (2003) and others. The Commission on Human Security (2003) notes that although the state is a critical custodian of security, it sometimes fails in its duty. This, thus, necessitate shifting attention from the security of the state to people's security. In other words, to human security.

According to the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) 1994 *Human Development Report*, there are two main aspects of human security. This first aspect is about safety from threats like hunger, repression and disease. The second aspect has to do with protecting the individuals from unexpected incidences that will disrupt their daily activities at home, on their jobs or even in their communities.
The definition of human security by the UNDP has been narrowed down to mean "freedom from fear and freedom from want".

In addition, former Secretary-General of the UN, Kofi Annan, in his 2000 report gave a broad definition of human security. According to him, human security, in its broadest sense, embraces much more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good

governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that every individual has opportunities and choices to meet his or her potential. This will in the long run help in reducing poverty, encourage economic growth and prevent conflicts. Freedom from want, freedom from fear, and therefore the freedom of future generations to inherit a healthy natural environment are the interrelated building blocks of human – and by extension, national – security.

Mahbub ul Haq (1995) also states that the concern of human security is not weapons but human dignity. The main concerns of human security include ensuring that children do not die, a disease is prevented from spreading, an ethnic tension is contained, and a human spirit is uplifted.

2.4.2 Objective of Human Security

According to the Commission on Human Security (2003), the objective of human security is to safeguard the "vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment".

In a nutshell, by human security, it is meant that apart from the provision of national protection, all threats to the well-being of individuals should be eliminated through cooperation by states, international organizations, governmental and nongovernmental organizations and providing the enabling environment for people to have the capacity to live a meaningful life.

Self-Assessment Exercises 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

1. Define Human Security
2. Who is the object of focus of human security?

2.5 The Need for a New Approach to Security

2.5.1 Reasons for a New Security Approach

As we saw in the last unit, states fight wars to secure their territories, but what about the well-being of the individuals living in these states? According to the Commission on Human Security (CHS), there are two main reasons for a new security approach:

First, the notion of human security is important in order to respond to old and new security threats which are complex but related. These include

threats such as poverty, ethnic violence, climate change, human trafficking, health pandemics, international terrorism and so on. These threats are beyond the scope of traditional security.

Secondly, a comprehensive approach is required to tackle the old and new threats in an integrated manner. This is because threats related to human security cannot be tackled only by conventional mechanisms. What is required is a new approach recognizes the linkages and the interdependencies between development, human rights and national security.

2.5.2 Transition to Human Security Approach

The concept of 'human security' emerged as a new paradigm for understanding global vulnerabilities. The concept is based on the premise that the traditional notion of national security falls short in addressing the wide range of dimensions of security in the life of the individual human being. It holds that the proper reference for security should be the individual rather than the state.

There is, thus a view of security that is people-centred. This will bring about national, regional and global stability. The major concern of human security is safeguarding people from both violent and non-violent threats. Human security entails taking preventive measure to reduce vulnerability and minimize risk and taking remedial action where prevention fails. According to the UNDP report, to ensure human security, exclusive focus on territories must be replaced by greater attention on people and security through armaments replaced by security through human development. However, moving the security agenda beyond state security does not mean replacing it, but rather involves complementing and building on it.

In essence, the UNDP calls for a transition from a narrow concept of national security to the all-encompassing concept of human security. The emphasis of the 1994 UNDP report is that these threats pervade both rich and poor countries. While the rich countries are bedevilled with crime and drug wars, diseases and various other threats, poor countries are confronted with threats such as hunger, poverty, diseases, pollutions and so. The UNDP report listed 7 dimensions of threats to individuals, which we shall examine in the next unit.

Self-Assessment Exercises 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 2 minutes:

> 1. Human security means safety for people from violent and non-violent threats. True or False
> 2. There is no justification for a new security approach. True or False

2.6 Summary

In this unit, we have discussed how the human security approach emerged as well as the reason for a shift from the traditional approach to security to the human security approach. We have seen that the human security approach focuses on root causes of insecurities and advances people-centered solutions that are locally driven, comprehensive and sustainable. In the next unit, we will examine the human security approach in greater details.

2.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources

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2.8   Possible Answers to self assessment Exercises

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 1

1.   B
2.   False

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 2

1.   The United Nations Commission on Human Security defines human security as the protection of "the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and fulfilment".
2.   Individuals

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 3

1.   True
2.   False

UNIT 3: THE HUMAN SECURITY APPROACH

Unit Structure

 3.1 Introduction

The 1994 UNDP Human Development Report was probably the first attempt to define the concept of human security in a holistic way. The report describes security in relation to seven dimensions reflecting almost all of the key components of human development. In the last unit, we discussed the meaning of human security and how the concept developed. This unit focuses on the features or characteristics of human security. It also examines seven dimensions (economic, food and health, environmental, personal, community and political) highlighted in the UNDP report and points to indicative threats that can be identified in each dimension. This will give you a better understanding of the significance of the human security approach.

 3.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the features of human security
- Analyse the various dimensions of human security
- Demonstrate an understanding of the relevance of the human security approach

• Evaluate the importance of non-traditional threats to Security

3.3   Features of Human Security

3.3.1 Characteristics of Human Security Approach (I)

The 1994 UNDP Human Development Report points out some features of human security, which we will examine here. When we talk about human security, it encompasses security, rights and development. Human security has five essential characteristics. It is:

•   People-centred
•   Comprehensive
•   Context-specific
•   Prevention-oriented
•   Protection and empowerment

The first characteristic is that it is **people-centred.** In other words, it is concerned with threats to the survival, dignity and livelihood of the citizens of a country and their communities, especially the helpless.

The second is that it is **comprehensive.** That is, considering that everyone would like to live a life free from want, fear and indignity, the human security approach brings together all the actors that is required to address challenges in a way that would benefit the people and their communities. Thirdly, the human security approach is **context-specific.** Bearing in mind that the threats faced by individuals in any society or country may not be the same, the approach takes this into consideration when addressing specific threats. Thus, solutions that we be relevant to the specific threats are proffered.

3.3.2 Characteristics of Human Security Approach (II)

We have seen that the human security approach is people-centred and comprehensive. We also need to know that the human security approach goes beyond quick responses, so it is **prevention-oriented**. By establishing the real causes of threats and by coming up with solutions that are sustainable and resilient, human security is concerned about developing early warning mechanisms that will help to alleviate the impact of threats as well as preventing their occurrences in the future.

Furthermore, the human security approach recognizes that there are inherent responsibilities within each and every society. **Empowering people** and their communities to articulate and respond to their needs and

those of others is crucial. Equally, norms, processes and institutions, which include developing early warning mechanisms, rule of law, good governance, and social protection tools are crucial features of the human security approach.

Self-Assessment Exercises 1

> Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:
>
> 1. Mention 3 characteristics of human security approach
> 2. Human security promotes the development of early warning mechanisms. True or False.

3.4 The Dimensions of Human Security

3.4.1 Economic, Food and Health Dimensions

Economic Security: It is expected that everyone should have an assured income, that is, to be employed in such a way that the individual should be able to afford at least a minimum standard of living. Loss of employment or underemployment can be a major threat to human security. Provision should be made for a publicly financed safety net to help the citizens in this kind of situation. This could be funded by the government or by private actors. To ensure economic security, there should be provision for equal access to whatever is being provided regardless of gender, ethnicity and religion.

Food Security: It is required that people should have both physical and economic access to food. In other words, food should be available for all as well having the purchasing power to access food. This would eradicate the threat of malnutrition or hunger.

Health Security: As the saying goes that "health is wealth", the state is required to make adequate provisions in providing quality health care for the people. There should be access to health care facilities as well as the provision of adequate health infrastructure. In addition, efforts should be geared towards encouraging a healthy lifestyle to prevent diseases and epidemics so as to reduce the threat to human security. In some African countries, access to good medical facilities is a major problem, which is even worse in rural areas. This could be as a result of corruption and bad governance. The political elite is often non-challant when it comes to providing such facilities for the use of the people since they prefer to go to foreign countries for medical treatment.

3.4.2 Environmental, Personal, Community and Political Dimensions

Environmental Security: This has to do with safety from threats related to environmental issues including degradation, natural disasters, resource scarcity and climate crisis including global warming.

Personal Security: This could be described as security from threats from physical violence. These threats may come from the state (physical torture), from other states (war), from other groups of individuals (ethnic conflicts), from individuals (crime or street violence, or they could be directed against women (rape or domestic violence) and threat to self like drug abuse or suicide.

Community security is about ensuring that people do not lose their traditional practices and values, and that they are affiliated with the group to which they belong or identify with. There are several ways in which the security of your community can be compromised. These include modernization, globalization and conflict. A good example of people affected by this threat are internally displaced persons (IDPs). They lack basic equipment, suffer in many ways, and are usually vulnerable.

Political security: This is concerned with protecting the fundamental human rights of the people and ensuring the well-being of all. This includes protecting people from repression by the state and promoting freedom of the press, freedom of opinion, freedom of choice and so on. Political security also includes the abolition of political detention, detention, systematic abuse and enforced disappearances.

Self-Assessment Exercises 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

1. List the seven dimension of human security
2. _____ is the object of focus of human security.

3.5 Relevance of the Human Security Approach

3.5.1 Rationale for human security

Advocates of the human security approach aver that threats to human security are from different sources as well as different actors, and the responses to these threats also vary. They point out that the ultimate aim of these responses is the security of the individuals and not the state. The advocates put forward a number of claims to just the approach.

The first is that internal sources of insecurity for people and states are as important as external ones.

Secondly, it is argued that insecurities are dynamic and interactive (for example, political repression may increase the likelihood of famine; economic insecurity can undermine health; global warming can induce climate change refugees; and so on).

Thirdly, though the state can enhance security (for example, by national defence, provision of public goods, legal regulation, opportunities for political participation), it can also be a major threat to it (for instance, by killing, torturing and imprisoning people, by coercive programs of economic modernization, by provoking war with other states, and by corrupt administration).

Fourthly, it is believed that even states with the best of intentions have limited capacities to provide security for their citizens, other human beings or even their state (for example, structural adjustment conditions might reduce the capacity of a state to provide for healthcare; a state might be unable to combat a regional or global financial crisis).

3.5.2 Non-traditional threats to Security

From what we have discussed so far, we can infer that non-traditional threats are equally important to securing a state. Also, as the Cold War ended, threats to national security are now more non-military. Issues such as climate change, resource scarcity, infectious diseases, natural disasters, irregular migration, drug trafficking, information security and transnational crime have come to the centre stage.

The earthquakes in Haiti, Chile and New Zealand, mudslides in Brazil, a catastrophic oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico, the fallout from the fiscal crisis in Greece, refugee flows out of Libya, climate change crisis have highlighted the continued relevance of non-traditional threats to state and non-state security, and of human security as a lens through which to understand them better.

Self-Assessment Exercises 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 2 minutes:

1. Threats come from a diverse range of sources and actors. True or False
2. Mention five non-traditional threats to security.

3.6 Summary

In this unit, we discussed the seven dimensions of human security. We can conclude that human security means safety for people from both violent and non-violent threats. It means being able to have a good night's rest without feeling insecure and being able to live a quality life as an individual. Human security also involves taking measures that will reduce risks and vulnerability as well as taking necessary action where prevention fails.

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3.8   Possible Answer to Self-Assessment Exercises

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 1

1.   People-centred; Comprehensive; Context-specific
2.   True

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 2

1.   Economic, food and health, environmental, personal, community and political dimensions
2.   The Individual

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 3

1.   True
2.   Climate change, resource scarcity, infectious diseases, natural disasters, irregular migration

UNIT 4:   NATIONAL SECURITY VERSUS HUMAN SECURITY

Unit Structure

4.1 Introduction

Many states are moving towards a human security approach. National security and human security approaches sometimes overlap, but they are often not the same. In some countries, little attention is paid to human security. Attention is often placed on national security, with emphasis on the economic or geopolitical interests of the elite. In the last unit, we discussed the features and the seven dimensions of human security. In this unit, we will be contrasting the traditional notion of security with the human security approach. We will start with the views of the proponents and critics of the approach.

4.2 Lesson Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

• Discuss the debate surrounding the human security approach.
• Analyse the differences between traditional and human security.
• Demonstrate a good understanding of the challenges facing human security.
• Evaluate the Interface between national security and human security.

4.3 Debates about Human Security

4.3.1 Advocates of the Human Security Approach

From the early 1990s, the concept of human security has received considerable attention from both proponents and critics. Both sides argue about the definition, viability and usefulness of the concept.

Let us first examine the views expressed by some of the advocates of human security. Caroline Thomas is of the view that human security, as a concept, provides the nexus between the individual and sector-specific threats in the international system. Thomas (2004) sees human security as the provision of basic material needs and achieving human dignity, including liberation from oppressive power structures.

On his part, Amitav Acharya is of the view that there is a need to stop discussing the human security debate within the existing paradigms of international relations. This is because, by itself, human security is a holistic paradigm. To Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy (2007), governments need to move beyond protecting the state from external military threats if they want to survive and maintain legitimacy. Democratisation empowers new actors, such as civil society, that must be accounted for in the security framework.

Keith Krause (2004) is of the view that emphasis should be placed on freedom from fear instead of having a broad definition of human security. To him, if the definition of human security is narrow, then the formulation of clear policy goals and actions to protect individuals from direct threats would be easier. Another advocate of human security, Ramesh Thakur, states that human security is improved when the 'quality of life' of people in a society can be upgraded; that is, the enhancement of what he calls 'human welfare'. However, factors including unchecked demographic growth, diminished resources and scarcity, or access issues among others can be a threat to the quality of life. In essence, with the traditional notion of security, resource allocation is in favour of the military, whereas, non-traditional threats deserve adequate attention (Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy 2007).

4.3.2 Critics of the Human Security Approach

Let us also see the views of the critics of the human security approach. Prominent academics such as Khong (2001), Ayoob (2004), Paris (2001), Mac Farlane (2004) and Krause (2004) have extensively criticised the concept of human security. To human security critics, the concept is too

broad, which makes it difficult for it to be meaningful and useful for policy making. They are of the view that attempts by advocates of human security to link socioeconomic issues to political outcomes is dangerous. Ayoob (2004) for instance, questions what is gained by combining these issues under a new label.

In the same vein, Paris (2001) Paris avers that human security has no specific parameters, thus, anything can be considered a security threat.

Another critic, Buzan (1998) avers that, in the process of trying to explain everything, human security as a concept, ends up not explaining anything.

Paris (2001) is also of the opinion that the concept is academically confusing as it appears to support all hypotheses and their opposites all at once.

In addition, critics aver that human security challenges the role of sovereign states as the sole provider of security. The concept will make it possible for government agencies to repress the civilian population. Thus, expanding the definition of security to focus on the individual rather than the state, will give room to an increase in the use of force, which the international community will justify. However, since everyone is a citizen of a particular state, it is still the responsibility of that state to secure the individual.

Thus, this is why Buzan (1998) avers that despite its international dimension and outlook, human security remains state-centric reinforcing the prominent role of the state in the provision of individual security.

Self-Assessment Exercises 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

     1. Caroline Thomas is a critic of the human security approach.
True or False
     2. Who argues that human security as a concept aspires to explain almost everything but, in reality explains nothing?

4.4. Contrasting the Traditional and Human Security Approaches

4.4.1 Differences between Traditional and Human Security

One thing that should be taken into consideration here is that what constitutes security in regards to the state is different from the security for an individual. It has been the duty assigned to the state since the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia to protect and secure the people within its territory. However, you will notice that a lot of states are unable to carry out this responsibility. In fact, some states are sources of threats to their citizens through acts of repression, massacre or even genocide. According to Mack (2004), in the last one hundred years, the number of people killed through the acts of their government is much more than the number killed by foreign soldiers. As Thakur (2000) further claims, over the last century thirty million people were killed in international wars, seven million in civil wars and 170 million people were killed by their own governments. From what we have said so far, we can contrast traditional security with human security in four major ways.

In the first instance, while traditional security is concerned with the protection of a state's boundaries, human security is people-centered. Its focus shifts to protecting individuals. What is important is ensuring the well-being of individuals and responding to the needs of the people, especially to tackle sources of threats.

In another way, while traditional security makes use of deterrence strategies to maintain the integrity of the state and protect the territory from external threats, human security is concerned with increasing the scope of protection by adding a wider range of threats.

Furthermore, whereas with traditional security, the state is the sole actor and decision making power is centralized in the government, human security involves not only governments, but other non-governmental actors and local communities.

Lastly, while traditional security relies upon building up national power and military defence, human security empowers people and societies as a means of security.

4.4.2 Interface between National Security and Human Security

Despite the above differences, we can still argue that human security and national security are complementary concepts and need not necessarily contradict each other. Both seek protection against harm. For instance, as we see in the argument of Barry Buzan above, human security still remains state-centric. This is because, to organize and ensure human security, armed forces are necessary. To provide for national security, the removal of threats, at home and abroad, is essential.

Furthermore, human security threats have no particular geographical focus. The threat could be present in any country regardless of location. Due to the fact that the issues involve humans as against the state as well as the fact that the challenges involved can be identified as non-traditional, there is a need to for concerted efforts to deal with the challenges.

Self-Assesment Exercises 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

      1. _____ uses deterrence strategies to maintain the integrity of the state
      2. Human security and national security are complementary concepts. True or False

4.5 Challenges to Human Security

4.5.1 Terrorism

As we see in unit 3, the world is facing a lot of challenges today which affect human security, and essentially these problems cut across a variety of issues. For the purpose of this course, we will focus on two of these challenges: terrorism and insurgency. Though often used interchangeably, terrorism and insurgency are distinct from one another as they utilize different strategies.

Terrorism is one of the major challenges of human security. As we shall see in Module 2, there is no universally agreed definition, but terrorism can be broadly understood as a method of coercion whereby the perpetrator utilizes or threaten to utilize fear in order to achieve a goal, which may be political, religious, ideological, and so on. Terrorism targets common, innocent people. The objective is to create fear in the mind of innocent citizens and promote insecurity. Therefore, combating terrorism is crucial to safeguarding human security.

4.5.2 Insurgency

Another major challenge to human security, which is related to terrorism, is insurgency. While some scholars see terrorism as a strategy of insurgency, some try to distinguish between the two. For the purpose of this course, we will examine the concepts separately.

Insurgency is a strategy that groups and individuals that are unable to achieve their objectives by conventional means retort to. These groups

and individuals often do not possess the political might to attain their goals and in getting their grievances across to the government, they target innocent citizens. We will examine the concept in greater details in Module 4.

Self-Assessment Exercises 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 2 minutes:

1. Define insurgency
2. Terrorism mainly targets the armed forces of a country. True or False

4.6 Summary

The traditional notion of security, originating from the 1648 Peace of Westphalia, also seen as the birth of the modern state, defines the state as the entity experiencing security.

4.7　References/Further Readings

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4.8 Possible Answer to Self-Assessment Exercises

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 1

1. False
2. Barry Buzan

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 2

1. Traditional security
2. False

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 3

1. Insurgency is a strategy adopted by groups which cannot attain their political objectives through conventional means or by a quick seizure of power.
2. False

4.9 Glossary

Threats: This means the possibility that something unwanted will happen.

Approach: A way of considering, perceiving or doing something.

End of the Module Questions

1. What is human security?
2. How is it different from the concept of national security?
3. Discuss the seven dimensions of human security.

MODULE 2   UNDERSTANDING TERRORISM

Module Structure

Unit 1:   Terrorism in Perspective
Unit 2:   History and Evolution of Terrorism
Unit 3:   Financing Terrorism
Unit 4:   Terrorism and Gender Glossary End of the Module
              Questions

UNIT 1: TERRORISM IN PERSPECTIVE

Unit Structure

1.1   Introduction
1.2   Learning Outcomes
1.3   Terrorism in Perspective
        1.3.1 Origin of Terrorism
        1.3.2 What is Terrorism?
        1.4   Nature of Terrorism
        1.4.1 Distinguishing Terrorism from other Forms of Political Violence
        1.4.2 Features of Terrorism
        1.5   Types and Methods of Terrorism
        1.5.1 Typologies of Terrorism
        1.5.2 Methods and Tactics used by Terrorists
1.6   Summary
1.7   References/Further Readings
1.8   Possible Answer to Self-Assessment Exercises

1.1 Introduction

Terrorism is not a recent phenomenon. Violence has been used throughout human history by those that chose to oppose states, kings, and princes.

This sort of violence can be differentiated from what is termed terrorism. Violence in opposition to a government is often targeted at soldiers and those who govern. However, terrorism is characterized by the use of violence against civilians, with the expressed desire of causing terror or panic in the population. To be able to effectively counter terrorism, there is the need to understand the nature of the threat. In this unit, we will discuss some of the definitions of terrorism given by scholars and

institutions. You will also learn about how to distinguish terrorism from other forms of violence.

1.2   Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the meaning of terrorism
- Analyse the features of terrorism
- Demonstrate an understanding of the tactics used by terrorists
- Evaluate the various forms that terrorism can take

1.3 Terrorism in Perspective

1.3.1 Origin of Terrorism

Before we venture into looking at definitions of terrorism, let us first examine the root word, 'terror'. Terror comes from the Latin word terrere, which implies "frighten" or "tremble." By adding the French suffix isme (referencing "to practice"), it translates to "practicing the trembling" or "causing the frightening." These are synonyms for panic, fear, anxiety, or terror.

The term "terrorism" was originally coined to describe the Reign of Terror, the era of the French Revolution from 5 September 1793 to 27 July 1794, when the Revolutionary Government brutally repressed citizens considered as enemies. During the Reign of Terror (Le Gouvernement de la Terreur), some rebels called the Jacobins, used the term when explaining their role in the Revolution. The Reign of Terror was a campaign of large-scale violence by the French state; between 16,000 and 40,000 people were killed within a year.

Although the Reign of Terror was imposed by the French government, in recent times, "terrorism" usually refers to the killing of individuals by non-governmental actors for political reasons, often as a public statement. Myra Williamson (2009) notes that the concept of terrorism has undergone a change. During the reign of terror, terrorism was used as an instrument of governance. Now "terrorism" is used to describe terrorist acts committed by non-state or subnational entities targeting individuals in the state.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, before World War I, terrorism was linked to the activities of anarchists and left-wing social

revolutionaries. After World War II and the waning of the European empires, terrorism began to be used to refer to violent methods used by various anti-colonialist groups against colonial governments.

We will still learn about the history of terrorism in this Module, but let us first see how terrorism is defined.

1.3.2 What is Terrorism?

You may think that because terrorism is a global phenomenon, it will be easy to define. Over the years, scholars have tried to define terrorism. Yet, the term is so burdened by a definitional problem that till now there is no universally agreed definition of terrorism.

Some studies that examined the myriad of definitions that exist come up with as many as 200 definitions of terrorism. For instance, as far back as 1994, Simon (1994) identified 212 definitions of terrorism by scholars. What you will find out is that socio-economic and political conditions often determine the description or definition of terrorism by scholars and relevant institutions. For some, it is conceptualized in terms of conflicts in the society, or it may be conceived as a political phenomenon.

Evidently, the word "terrorism" is understood in terms of different interests. There are countless definitions of terrorism and each definition, while seemingly correct in its own right, lacks some important aspects of terrorism. In other words, these definitions are not representative of all components of terrorism.

However, for the purpose of this course, let us look at some of the definitions of terrorism put forward by some distinguished scholars and institutions:

- League of Nations Convention Definition of Terrorism: Terrorist acts are all criminal acts against a State and are planned or intended to create a state of terror in the minds of some person or group of people or the public.
- Walter Laqueur: The use or the threat of the use of violence, a method of combat, or a strategy to achieve certain targets… it aims to induce the victim into a state of ruthless fear that does not conform to humanitarian norms… Publicity is an essential element of a terrorist strategy.
- Yonah Alexander: Terrorism is the use of violence on unintentional civilian targets in an effort to frighten or instil widespread and persistent terror in order to further political objectives.

- U.S. Department of Defence Definition of Terrorism: terrorism refers to "the calculated illegal use of violence or the unlawful threat of violence to induce fear; to coerce or intimidate governments into pursuing generally political, religious or ideological ends".

As one can see, there are problems about achieving an all-embracing definition. As the late Chairman of the PLO (the Palestine Liberation Organization), Yasser Arafat, was quoted to have said in a 1974 speech before the United Nations, "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter". This statement shows that a politician's prejudice is likely to influence the definition of terrorism.

Examples of terrorist organizations or groups include Islamic State in Syria or Levant (known by the acronyms ISIS and ISIL), Boko Haram in Nigeria, Islamic States in West African Province (ISWAP), Al-Shabaab of Somalia and Jamaat Nusrat Al-Islam wal Muslimeen (JNIM).

Self-Assessment Exercises 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 3 minutes:

1. The Reign of Terror was imposed by the American government. True or False.
2. Yasser Arafat said "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter." True or False.

1.4 Nature of Terrorism

1.4.1 Distinguishing Terrorism from other Forms of Political Violence

Terrorism is a violent act that is different from other political violent acts such as genocide, war, war crimes, and political assassinations, and is a display intended for a wider audience than direct victims, and it is also with the intention to destroy a place.

Terrorism can also be differentiated from conventional warfare it is adopted as a "weapon of the weak", or those who do not have the realistic ability to assert themselves against their enemies in traditional armed struggles. Due to their lack of organizational or destructive capacity to engage in open conflicts, terrorists rely on provocation and polarization strategies. They carry out this act in such a way that the victims are caught by surprise and unable to defend themselves.

Although terrorism has much in common with guerrilla warfare, as both are examples of asymmetric warfare, it can also be distinguished from guerrilla warfare. First, terrorism is characterized by the disproportionate weight it places on high-level atrocities as a mechanism for shaping the consciousness and behaviour of its target audience. This reflects the extent to which terrorists rely on "propaganda in action", high visibility, and acts of conscience-shattering violence for the purpose of dramatizing government incompetence, to intimidate rival ethnic or religious communities or the public, or, in its classical form, to mobilize mass support and stimulate political activism. Second, the essentially covert nature of terrorist activity often limits the extent to which terrorists can engage in grassroots operations, unlike guerrilla armies that often rely heavily on large support from the masses.

The 1993 bombings of the World Trade Centre, 1995 bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma, and other American military and diplomatic facilities abroad, brought a new awareness to Americans about the reality of terrorism. Concerns about terrorism on American soil was tragically confirmed by the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon, followed by letters infected with anthrax spores sent to two US senators and several media outlets.

In recent decades, many countries around the world have experienced terrorist attacks. These include: the use of explosives in aircraft, such as the 1985 bombing of Air India's 747 over the Atlantic Ocean, which killed all 329 people on board; numerous attacks on embassies, with kidnappings and assassinations of diplomats. Major terrorist attacks include the 2004 Madrid train bombing which left 191 dead and 1,700 injured, and on local London public transport in 2005 which left 56 dead, including 4 perpetrators and 700 injured; Chechen guerrillas occupied a Moscow theatre in 2002, in which 170 people were killed, including 41 guerrillas; and the seizure of a public school by a group of Chechens in Beslan, southern Russia in 2004, resulting in the deaths of 332 people, mainly students, teachers and parents.

According to the African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism (ACSRT), from 2012 to 2020, terrorist attacks on the continent have quadrupled. In 2012 alone, there were 508 terrorist attacks on the continent, resulting in 2,563 victims. The attacks increased to 2,034 in 2020, leading to 8,631 deaths, representing a 400% and 237% increase in attacks and deaths respectively.

1.4.2 Features of Terrorism

A significant feature of terrorism is that it is a form of political violence that seeks to achieve its goals by creating a climate of fear and apprehension.

Secondly, is that it is clandestine in nature and contains an element of surprise, with the intention of creating growing uncertainty and dread.
Another feature is that terrorism often takes the form of seemingly indiscriminate attacks on civilian targets, as well as symbols of power and prestige, kidnapping or killing of important personalities, businessmen, high-ranking officials and political leaders.

Communication is another important feature. There are three major audiences that terrorists try to communicate their goals to. The first primary audience consists of the state leaders and decision makers, who they want to change their policies. The second audience is the general public and the non-combatants, the medium by which violence is used. Lastly, in order for the organization to gain power and influence, terrorist groups use the opportunity to advertise their cause to potential supporters.

Self-Assessment Exercises 2

> Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:
>
> 1. Terrorism is an example of asymmetrical warfare. True or False
> 2. Mention 2 features of terrorism.

1.5 Types and Methods of Terrorism

1.5.1 Typologies of Terrorism

Terrorism can be of many types. Like its definition, different scholars have proposed different types of terrorism. Let us take a look at Gus Martin's typologies. Martins (2017) identified eight types of terrorism: new terrorism, state terrorism, dissident terrorism, religious terrorism, ideological terrorism, and international terrorism.

- **The New Terrorism**: The modern terrorist environment that arose during the end of the 20th century, culminated in the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in New York. The New Terrorism is characterized by the threat of mass casualty attacks from dissident terrorist organizations, new and creative organizational configurations, and transnational religious solidarity.

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- **State Terrorism**: This is a violent act committed by governments against perceived enemies. This act of terrorism can be launched from within the state against an enemy in the international community, or against enemies within the country. Authoritarian regimes have demonstrated, to varying degrees, the characteristics of state terrorism. For example, Saddam Hussein used terrorist methods against the Kurds in northern Iraq, including torture, murder, rape, forced displacement, and the use of poison gas. Another example is the use of lethal force leading to many deaths of Palestinians who stood against the illegal occupation of their land (Palestine) by the Israeli forces etc.

- **Dissident Terrorism**: This is an act of terrorism carried out by non-state actors and groups against the state, ethno-national groups, religious groups, and other perceived enemies. An example is the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).

- **Religious Terrorism**: This is motivated by the absolute belief that a supreme power has sanctioned - and ordered - the application of terrorist violence to achieve the greater glory of the faith. This act of terrorism is often carried out to protect what believers consider to be the only true faith.

- **Ideological Terrorism**: Here, the act is fuelled by ideology or political systems of belief of a particular group or interest in opposition to another group or interest. It is the belief of such a group that it is justified to utilize force to assert the group's rights or to defend its interests.

- **International Terrorism**: This is an act of terrorism that has spread into the international community. Targets are chosen for their value as symbols of international interest, either in the country of origin or outside of the national borders.

- **Criminal Dissident Terrorism**: This type of terrorism is motivated solely by profit and can be a combination of profit and politics. For example, traditional organized criminals accumulate profits to finance their criminal activities and for their personal gain, while criminal political enterprises accrue profits to maintain their organization.

- **Gender-Selective Terrorism**: Terrorists may target men or women in a state based on gender consideration. The males may be targeted because they are perceived as a source of threat as potential soldiers. And the women may be targeted on the basis of

destroying an enemy's group identity or to make the state submit to their demands.

1.5.2 Methods and Tactics used by Terrorists

Terrorists use many different methods of attack. These include hijackings, kidnappings, bombings, assassinations, armed assaults, hostage taking, use of explosive devices, Chemical, biological and radiological (CBR) devices.

A group's goals, objectives and organizational capabilities determine which tactics it uses. The political goals that terrorists seek may be to change policy, change leadership, change government structure, or even change the territorial extent of the state. Let us examine some of the tactics used.

Bombing
Bombs carried in backpacks or in the form of suicide vests have become an extremely popular and effective means of striking desired targets. Improvised explosive devices (IEDs) that use harmless commercial products, such as fertilizers or hydrogen peroxide, have been exploited by terrorists for decades. In October 2015, a Metrojet flight from Sharm el-Sheikh to Saint Petersburg split mid-air, killing 224 people. ISIL's Sinai branch claimed responsibility for the incident, and ISIL later released photos of the bomb it claimed was used.

Suicide Bombing
Suicide bombing tends to attract more media attention, so you find terrorists using it to draw attention to their cause. Suicide bombers usually carry explosive devices near a targeted individual or location. In Ankara, in October 2015, 110 people were killed and over 00 were wounded when two suicide bombers struck. Also, one of the deadliest suicide bomb attacks of 2021 was carried out by Islamic State at Afghanistan's Kabul International Airport, where 170 people died and more than 250 others were injured. You also find a lot of suicide bombers in the Israeli-Palestinian crisis. You may wonder why anyone will want to kill himself along with the targets. Promised rewards for suicide bombers are many and varied, including the promise of eternal life after death or the availability of seven virgins for them in paradise; financial support for the family; posthumous status of prestige and honour in their community; a sense of righteousness and belief that they are avenging for God.

Kidnapping
In conflict zones around the world, some militant groups try to kidnap Western citizens for financial and propaganda purposes. In the second half of 2014, ISIL released videos purporting to show the murders of,

among others, British citizens David Haines and Alan Henning. Through it, ISIL hopes to instil fear and try to show its strength to the West. Besides Syria and Iraq, the risk of kidnapping persists in Yemen and the regions of West, North and East Africa where Islamist groups are active.

Assassination
When used as a terrorist tactic, assassination is the intentional killing of important officials or individuals of a state who are symbolic in many fronts. Terrorists have resorted to assassination throughout history. The Sicarii, who wielded sicas (daggers) killed other Jews who supported the Roman occupation in 70 C.E. The assassination of Archduke Ferdinand by a Serbian terrorist in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914 led to World War I. Assassination is often used against symbolic objects or the leadership of a state. PIRA's assassination of Lord Mountbatten in 1979 and the attempt to assassinate Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in Brighton in 1984 are good examples. Likewise the assassinations of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1989 and former Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in 2007. Assassinating senior leaders like this not only attracted strong international media attention, but also demonstrated the group's strength and ability to successfully attack the highest-ranking and best-protected members of the government.

Hostage Taking
Another opportunity that terrorists use to gain attention and cause terror is hostage taking. The capture of Israeli athletes by Palestinian freedom fighters at the 1972 Olympics, was both a turning point in modern terrorism as well as bringing the political agenda of the PLO to the forefront of the world's attention. Hostage spectacles can go on for days, weeks, or even months, increasing their political impact. These kind of happenings present a major dilemma. In 1997, the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) captured the Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima, Peru, and held dozens of highly placed people as hostages for four months. This brought global media attention to what was previously an obscure group. However, it also led to the total destruction of the MRTA as all the hostage takers were killed when commandos stormed the embassy.

Explosive devices.
Terrorists also use improvised explosive devices (IEDs) to carry out attacks. For example, in December 2001, Richard Reid's attempt to bomb a plane was thwarted. He had hidden a small improvised explosive device in his shoe.

Terrorist organizations often use hijackings, kidnappings, and hostage-taking when they want to force a target company or state to negotiate. These, however, increase the level of risk for a terrorist organization and

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also require proficient planning, operations, logistics, and intelligence capabilities to complete a successful operation. Bombing, assassination, and armed attack are usually less risky and often require less organizational capacity. International terrorist groups such as Al-Qaeda, the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) often use suicide bombers in vehicles to be able to get the right targets.

Self-Assessment Exercises 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

1. Mention two types of terrorism.
2. One of the tactics of terrorism is assassination. True or False.

1.6   Summary

In this unit, we have discussed the meaning of terrorism, its nature and tactics used by terrorists. We have seen that terrorism may be easy to recognise but it difficult to define. Terrorism is a complex phenomenon and an alarming kind of violence. It indulges killing of the innocent and causes wanton destruction of lives and property. In the next unit, we will discuss the history of terrorism.

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1.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 1
1.   False
2.   True

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 2
1.   True.
2.   it is a form of political violence; it is clandestine in nature

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 3
1.   State terrorism; Religious terrorism
2.   True.

Unit 2: History and Evolution of Terrorism

Unit Structure

2.1   Introduction
2.2   Learning Outcomes
2.3   History of Terrorism
         2.3.1 Terror in the Ancient World
         2.3.2 Terror in the Middle Ages:
         2.4 Emergence of Modern Terrorism
         2.4.1 Terrorism in the 18th and 19th Centuries
         2.4.2 Terrorism in the 20th and 21st Centuries
         2.5 Terrorism in Africa
         2.5.1 Origin of Terrorism in Africa
         2.5.2 Growing Threat of Terrorism in Africa
2.6   Summary
2.7   References/Further Readings/Web Sources
2.8   Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercises

 2.1   Introduction

The history of terrorism in the world is a long one. Some even trace it to the Old Testament in the Bible. Although the term "terrorism" was originally used to describe the Reign of Terror experienced during the era of the French Revolution, what can be considered as acts of terror dates to ancient Rome. In the last unit, we discussed the meaning and nature of terrorism. This unit focuses on the history. We will trace the history of terrorism.

 2.2   Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the history of terrorism.
- Analyse how terrorism has evolved over the centuries.
- Demonstrate an understanding of terrorism in different periods in history.
- Evaluate the differences in tactics of terrorists over the years.

2.3   History of Terrorism

2.3.1 Terror in the Ancient World

The earliest known group to exhibit what can be considered as a terrorist organization was a group of Jewish nationalists known as the Zealots. The movement was founded by a man called Judas, from Galilea. It began as a political movement in the early 1st century, and they quickly turned into a rebel army by imposing their ideology on the Jews in the area.

The movement was formed in response to Roman rule. In 6 C.E., Rome officially joined the regions of Judea, Idumea, and Samaria into the Roman province of Judea, and then decided to further strengthen its authority by carrying out a tax census, which did not go down well with many Jews. Initially, the main aim of the group was to rebel against Roman rule by terrorizing the Roman people and destroying everything they had in their name. To them, the Roman Empire had taken over their Holy Land and they were ready to resist that. At the time, the Roman Empire was the most feared country in the world, not only because of its impressive rapid expansion but also because of its formidable military power. Thus, the Zealots wanted to utilize terror to show the world the Roman Empire, and the world at large, that they were facing a new kind of enemy.

They were known to the Romans as Sicarii, or dagger-men. That is, their main weapon of terror were daggers. They carried on an underground campaign to root out the Roman occupation forces, as well as some Jews they believe were collaborating with the Romans.

The Zealots eventually employed the ideology of religious extremism. To the group, any Jew that did not embrace Judaism was a threat and should be punished. Thus, the Zealots were not just fighting the Romans, they were also fighting a religious war against Christianity. Like modern terrorist groups, they tried to indoctrinate the Christians by force to accept their own religious ideology, and if this ideology was not accepted, they were all out to impose terror.

The Sicarii used to kill people in crowds by beheading or slitting their throats. This was used as a tactic to instil fear in the Roman public. They were also responsible for the assassination of many Roman politicians as well as religious figures in the Roman Empire.
When the Zealots became a more formidable organization by 66 CE, they began to carry out major attacks on Roman cities. However, the group members were exterminated in 70 CE by the Romans.

2.3.2 Terror in the Middle Ages:

During the Middle Ages, terror and barbarism were widely used in wars and conflicts. One of the groups that can be described as a terrorist group at the time was called the Assassins. In 11th century Persia, the Assassins was a religious sect that terrorized the empire of Saladin and opposed the armies of the Ottoman Empire.

The group murdered so many people killed many people, including Sunni Muslims like themselves, as well as Christians. The Assassins was also responsible for the assassination of Nizam al-Mulk, the Persian grand vizier of the dominant Turkish Seljuq sultans. During this time, suicide missions were common, and some leaders of the Crusades were so terrified of the Assassins that they paid tribute to them so that the Assassins will not attack them. Members of this group were very good with disguising and carrying out surprise killing.

The Assassins justified their actions based on their belief that to kill or to be killed on religious grounds was a positive thing if it was done in the name of Allah and the person is guaranteed a place in paradise after death. This belief is embraced by many contemporary Muslim terrorists. Thus, the Assassins had a profound impact on terrorism in the modern era.

Apart from, the Assassins, a group called the Thugs of India was another major terrorist group of the Middle Ages. From the 13th to the 19th century, the Thugs of India also called Thuggees or the Thuggee cult. They operated for about 600 years. They were known as ritual stranglers. The members of the group moved together in a band of 10 or more and target travellers along the highways in India. At secluded spots, they strangle their victims with handkerchiefs or ropes around the victim's neck. They were said to have murdered over one million people before the group was eliminated in the 19th century.

Self-Assessment Exercises 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 3 minutes:

1. What other name were the Zealots called?
2. The terrorist group, Assassins were also called Thuggees. True or False.

2.4 Emergence of Modern Terrorism

2.4.1 Terrorism in the 18th and 19th Centuries

As we discussed in the last unit, modern day terrorism can be traced to the French Revolution. The concept of terrorism was introduced at this period. In order to establish law and order in France, the state agents, the Committee of Public Safety, killed more than 17,000 people. The state measures are known as the "Reign of Terror" (1793-1794). Massacres and pubic execution were the order of the day during this period. The state agents were regarded as "Terrorists".

During the second half of the 19th century, supporters of anarchism adopted terrorist strategies in Western Europe, Russia, and the United States. These adherents of anarchism, believed that the best way to bring about political and social change was by assassinating high ranking members of society. Between 1865 and 1905, a number of kings, presidents, prime ministers and other government officials were killed by the anarchists by guns or bombs. For instance, on November 24, 1917, a bomb believed to have been planted by anarchists killed nine policemen in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. On June 2, 1919, suspected anarchists planted a series of bombs in eight cities, including Washington, D.C., where one bomb partially destroyed the house of Attorney General, Mitchell Palmer. On September 16, 1920, a wagon loaded with explosives exploded on Wall Street, across from the headquarters of J.P. Morgan & Company, killing 40 people and injuring 300.

Technological developments in the mid to late 19th century also played a central role in the rise of terrorism. Explosives became easily available, thereby making it easier for terrorists to perpetrate their acts. They were also able to widely disseminate their murderous acts as an act of propaganda. The development of mass communication technology allows news, learning, ideas and events to be communicated rapidly over long distances, ushering in an era of mass communication and migration, providing information to aspiring groups in other places. Also, the invention of the telegraph and the steam-powered rotary press allowed newspapers to receive messages almost immediately after they were transmitted from all over the world thereby enable millions of people to access the news promptly.

2.4.2 Terrorism in the 20th and 21st Centuries

In the late 20th and early 21st centuries, there was an increase in the number of terrorist organizations with a fundamentalist religious ideology (for example Al-Qaeda). Some groups adopted tactics like bombings, arson, suicide attacks, and hijackings.

During the second half of the 20th century, the most important groups using terrorist tactics were the Japanese Red Army, the Puerto Rican FALN, the Fatah, the Red Brigades, and other groups affiliated with Shining Path and Liberation Tigers.

In the 21st century, organizations like Al-Qaeda, ISIL and Boko Haram are the most prominent. The Al-Qaeda was allegedly responsible for the deadly terrorist attacks in New York and some other American cities on September 11, 2001 and a series of attacks in London on July 7, 2005. According to the International Observatory for the Study of Terrorism (OIET) 2,350 terrorist attacks were perpetuated worldwide in 39 countries in 2020, with 9,747 deaths recorded.

Self-Assessment Exercises 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

1. Al-Qaeda operated in the 12th century. True or False
2. Anarchism was linked to terrorism. True or False

2.5   Terrorism in Africa

2.5.1 Origin of Terrorism in Africa

In Africa, terrorism can be traced to the colonial period. The colonialists tagged independence movements as terrorists in order to maintain power, bring down opponents, and justify the use of extreme retaliatory measures. This was the case with the French government in Algeria, the British in Kenya in the 1950s, the Rhodesian government in the 1970s, and the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Kikuyus in Kenya who resisted the British occupation faced atrocities from the British army. In fact, the Mau Mau, who openly clashed with the British, was identified as a terrorist group and its leaders, including Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel Arab Moi, were imprisoned in Lodwar in the late 1950s. The two would later become the presidents of Kenya.

In South Africa, terrorism developed during the apartheid era, both through state activism and through liberation movements that continued until the first democratic elections in 1994, which saw South Africa develop into a fully representative democracy with equal rights for all.

2.5.2 Growing Threat of Terrorism in Africa

In Africa, terrorism has been on the increase in the past decade. Non-state organizations (terrorist groups, militias, insurgent groups, etc.) are increasingly targeting civilians in their violent campaigns. From Somalia to Mali and from Nigeria to Mozambique, the continent has repeatedly seen horrible acts of violence against civilians.

Nigeria and Somalia are the countries most affected by terrorism in Africa in terms of attacks and loss of life. Between 2007 and 2019, Nigeria recorded 4,383 terrorist attacks, while Somalia had 1,923. Several militant groups are active in Nigeria, of which Boko Haram is the deadliest terrorist group, with links to the Islamic State.

Since 2011, Boko Haram, one of Africa's largest Islamist militant groups, has carried out terrorist attacks against religious and political groups, local police and the military, as well as indiscriminate attacks on civilians in busy markets and villages. The abduction of more than two hundred schoolgirls from their school in Chibok in April 2014 drew international attention to the continued threat from Boko Haram and the government's inability to stop it.

In Somalia, the militant group, Al-Shabaab, is responsible for a very large proportion of terrorist attacks in the country. The country has experienced constant instability since 1991, due to clan-based lords and lack of a functioning central government. The creation of unmanaged voids has allowed Al-Qaeda to gain a foothold in the region. Ethiopia's intervention in 2006 made matters worse after the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) was formed in the early 2000s.

In 2005, Al-Shabaab was established as a branch of the 'ICU' to become the most relevant organization in Somalia. Since then, it has carried out attacks outside its operational area in Uganda, Djibouti and Kenya. The group has retained control of more than 20% of Somalia.

Self-Assessment Exercises 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 2 minutes:

      1. In Africa, terrorism began in the 21st century. True or False
      2. Which terrorist organization is prominent in Nigeria?

2.6   Summary

In this unit, we have discussed the history of terrorism and how it has evolved over time. We also looked at terrorism in Africa. In the next unit, we will examine various ways by which terrorism is funded.

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2.8   Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercises

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 1
1. Sicarii
2. False

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 2
1. False
2. True

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 3
1. False
2. Boko Haram

UNIT 3: FINANCING TERRORISM

Unit Structure

3.1   Introduction

You may be curious to know how and where terrorists raise funds and are able to move funds and other assets without the knowledge of the state. This unit focuses on terrorism financing methods, techniques and practices. We will examine different ways terrorism is financed and how they get past the state. We also look at some terrorist groups and their financial activities.

3.2   Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

•   Discuss what is meant by terrorism financing.
•   Analyse the various stages of terrorist funding.
•   Demonstrate an understanding of how terrorists raise funds to finance their activities.
•   Evaluate the concept of terrorism financing.

3.3 Financing Terror

3.3.1 What is Terrorism Financing?

Since money is the driving force behind terrorist attacks, it is not unexpected that people tasked with identifying and preventing terrorist acts are concerned about how terrorism is funded. It would have been impossible without significant resources if you consider the laborious planning, preparation, and execution that went into the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 in America.

The act of giving money to terrorists or terrorist organizations so they can commit terrorist activities or for the benefit of any terrorist or terrorist organization is known as terrorism financing. Terrorism financing, according to the Financial Action Task Force (FATF), is the act of funding terrorist activities, terrorists, and terrorist groups or organizations. It entails the gathering and transfer of money with the express intent of committing terrorist activities or aiding a terrorist network or group.

Even though money might come from illegal actions, it can also come from respectable sources like salaries, profits from respectable businesses, or donations, even those made through non-profit organizations. According to the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, someone commits the crime of financing terrorism if they provide or collect money through any means, directly or indirectly, illegally and wilfully, with the knowledge that it will be used, in whole or in part, to carry out the act.

Funds are typically raised through;

- legitimate sources, such as from charities or legitimate businesses such as private companies and crypto currency exchanges;
- through microfinance, money transfers, trade-based money laundering;
- donation from those who sympathize with the terrorists' cause;
- criminal activities, such as drugs, human trafficking, kidnapping, fraud, cybercrime, market abuse, credit card fraud, forgery, embezzlement, identity theft, Ponzi scheme, etc.;
- Funding from the state

The primary goal of individuals or organizations involved in the financing of terrorism is not necessarily to conceal the source of the funds but rather

to conceal both the source of the financing and the nature of the activity being funded.

The changing nature of terrorist groups and the threat they pose over the past decade underlies the diversification of terrorist financing. Tighter border security, immigration controls, and increased scrutiny of financial transactions have forced groups like Al-Qaeda to decentralize their operations and rely on affiliated groups around the world to conduct.

Levitt and Jacobson (2008) also attribute the changing funding sources to rapid globalization and sustained technological advances, which have enabled terrorist groups to easily collect, store, transfer, and distribute money for their operations. In particular, the advent of new technologies has led to changes in the way money is transferred, with online and mobile money transfers becoming increasingly popular.

3.3.2 Stages of Terrorism Funding

Terrorist financing typically involves three stages: collecting, transmitting, and distributing funds

The first stage is fundraising, through donations, self-funding, and micro-lending or criminal activities.

The second stage involves transmitting money to a terrorist or terrorist network, organization or cell.

The third stage is the use of funds, for example, to purchase weapons or bombs, pay terrorists or insurgents, or finance the expenses of a terrorist network.

Self-Assessment Exercises 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

      1. Define terrorism financing.
      2. The first stage of terrorism financing is the use of fund True or False.

3.4 Funds Transfer

3.4.1 Methods of Moving Funds to Finance Terrorism

There are three main methods by which terrorists transfer money or transfer value: through the use of the financial system, the physical movement of money (for example, through the use of cash courier) and the international trading system.

o **Financial System**: Financial institutions and other regulated financial service providers often serve as the main gateway through which commercial transactions are made by the terrorists. Often, these groups utilize the services and products available through the formal financial sector usually undetected. The monies could be transacted through the banking sector, or the remittance sector.

o **Physical Movement of Money:** Terrorists can also move funds without detection. Some groups have converted cash into high-value and hard-to-track wares such as gold or gems in order to transfer their assets outside of the financial system.

o **Trade System:** The international trading system has many security risks and vulnerabilities, thereby providing terrorist organizations with the ability to transfer value and assets through seemingly legitimate commercial paths.

3.4.2 Terrorism Financing Indicators

Some of the ways to know if terrorism is being financed include:

- Structured cash deposits and withdrawals, and international funds transfer to volatile areas. These transactions could be carried out at several branches of the same financial outlet.
- Multiple people making international money transfers to the same beneficiary in volatile areas.
- A client conducting funds transfers to multiple beneficiaries located in the same volatile area.
- Transferring funds between corporate and personal accounts of corporate office holders that do not match the type of account held and/or the expected transaction volume for the business;
- Depositing and withdrawing huge sums of money;
- Sudden increase in account activity that does not match the customer profile; and

- Suspected terrorists using third-party accounts (for example, a child's account or a family member's account) to make a transfer, send money or withdraw money.

The indicators themselves may not always immediately indicate suspicious financial or criminal activity, but together with other indicators and other factors, they can confirm suspicions of terrorist financing, or lead to additional monitoring and verification.

Self-Assessment Exercises 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

     1. Mention three ways terrorist funds could be transferred.
     2. Terrorists may use proxies to transfer funds. True or False.

3.5   Terrorist Financing: Case Studies

3.5.1 Boko Haram

Like most terrorist and extremist groups, Boko Haram funds its activities through both legal and illegal means. These could be by tacit state funding, legal activities, illegal activities, donations and support from the masses (McCoy, 2014).

Interestingly, the group utilizes legal funding strategy to raise money for its activities. For instance, from 2002 to 2009, the relatively obscure group of Boko Haram financed its activities by relying on microfinance contributions from its members, as well as a loan programme initiated by the group. This programme was established to allow members to access loans to start small businesses and to provide members with financial assistance to support their businesses. Through this process, members can access loans ranging from $32 to $10,000 (Comolli, 2015).

This programme attracts members because the need to access loans is not too strict compared to loans provided by banks and other financial institutions. This lending system has zero interest and only requires the personal loyalty of its members. This, therefore, encourages struggling entrepreneurs and others who are ready to start a business to not only contribute but also take advantage of the benefits of this financing programme.

In addition, it is dependent on the daily contribution (Adashe) of the members. The members make a daily contribution of $0.80 (Zenn, 2020).

These daily contributions funded the organization's operations in its infancy and even continued after the founder's death.

According to a report by the Financial Action Task Force, Boko Haram engages in the purchase of goods and investments in 'for-profit' business ventures. These ventures included the purchase of motorbikes (achaba) for commercial transportation and the opening of telephone business centres. Proceeds from these commercial activities are used to finance the operations of the group.

Boko Haram also relies on popular support to fund its activities. This includes support and donations from charities as well as national and international supporters.

The group also gets its funding from illegal activities including a diverse network of black market activities such as trafficking in persons, drugs, armed robbery, kidnapping for ransom, domestic and international sympathizers support, and participation in such activities like microfinance, business registration and tax collection across the lake Chad Region. According to a report, between 2010 and 2013, the group made more than $6,000,000 from bank robberies (Terrorism Research and Analysis Consortium, 2016).

3.5.2 The Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL)

ISIL, also known as the Islamic State of Iraq and Al-Sham (ISIS), or the Islamic State (IS), or Daesh, is rooted in Salafi jihadist ideology. Two main criteria define this ideology:

(1) a return to the "pure" form of Islam; rejecting modern influences on the Muslim community and returning to a state of piousness similar to that of first-century Muslims after the death of the Prophet Muhammad; (2) the belief that violent jihad is the personal and religious responsibility of every Muslim.

ISIL has a refined, well-developed and multifaceted financial structure. At least four boards in its governance structure have a direct impact on revenue and expenditure. The most influential unit in the structure is the Finance Council, which manages all revenue and expenditure streams.

The council establishes and approves the annual budget and uses a chief financial officer (CFO) to manage its accounts. The Media Council, which regulates the media and social networks, may also engage in revenue-generating from cyber activities.

The organization has five primary sources of funding:

1.   Illegal proceeds from the occupation of territory

▪   Control of oil fields and refineries
▪   Bank robbery and extortion
▪   Theft of economic property
▪   Illegal taxation of goods and money passing through the territory where ISIL operates

2.   Kidnapping for ransom
3.   Foreign sponsors
4.   Theft and smuggling of antiquities
5.   Human Trafficking

One of the main sources of financing for the Islamic State is oil. The terrorist organization controls dozens of oil fields in Iraq and Syria. According to the US Department of Treasury, ISIL generated about $1 billion in 2015, with about half from illegal oil transactions.

ISIS smuggles oil (and fuel from the energy facilities of occupied cities) into neighbouring countries such as Saudi Arabia, Iran, Jordan, Kuwait and Turkey. In particular, southern Turkey, where oil prices are expensive, has a large market for the group's low price-per-barrel fuel (Bronstein and Griffin, 2014).

Self-Assessment Exercises 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 2 minutes:

1. ISIL has two primary sources of funding. True or False
2. Provision of loans is a source of Boko Haram's funding. True or False.

3.6   Summary

In this unit, we discussed how terrorists fund their activities. You can see that terrorists need a lot of funding to be able to carry out their operations. They use both legal and illegal means to get the funding they require.

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3.8 Possible Answer to Self-Assessment Exercises

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 1
1.   Terrorism financing is the act of providing financial support to terrorists or terrorist organizations to carry out terrorist acts
2.   False

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 2
1.   Financial system, the physical movement of money and the international trading system
2.   True

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 3
1.   False
2.   True

UNIT 4: TERRORISM AND GENDER

Unit Structure

4.1 Introduction

I am sure it will not be out of place to think that only men participate in terrorist activities or that women are not terrorists. However, research has shown that over the years, women have also been active in violent groups just like men. Let us examine the involvement of women in terrorism. In the last unit, we discussed how terrorist activities are funded. In this unit, we will examine why women join these groups and what kind of roles they play; why terrorist organizations recruit women and how this process plays out in societies that generally limit the public role of women.

4.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

* Discuss the role gender play in terrorism
* Analyse the gender aspect of radicalization
* Demonstrate an understanding of the role of women in terrorist organizations
* Evaluate the gender dimension in terrorism

4.3 Gender Aspects of Radicalization

4.3.1 Radicalization

Radicalization is defined as the process by which people support terrorism and extremism, and in some cases, later join terrorist groups. It is a process in which people cultivate extremist ideologies and beliefs (Borum, 2011)

Radicalization, which leads to acts of terrorism, is context-specific. It develops in an environment characterized by feelings of injustice, exclusion, and real or perceived humiliation. In general, all forms of radicalization have the following characteristics:

- Those who feel behind in the progress of humanity and resent injustice are more inclined to radicalize
- Kinship, friendship, group dynamics, and socialization all trigger an individual's association with radicalization.
- Terrorists come from many different walks of life
- The use of violence involves a limited number of individuals taking various extreme paths
- Profiling to identify terrorists may not be effective, as there is no one measure of profiling that fits all of the variables at hand.
- Several positions can be identified where individuals can move toward or away from radicalization or de-radicalization.
- The steady use of ideology reinforces violent ideas and attitudes, while reducing potential moral inhibitors to create a violent subculture.
- .Propaganda is essential, as it provides doctrinal arguments to legitimize extreme positions. Radical/terrorist propaganda often revolves around ideological, pragmatic, emotional, and identity considerations.

4.3.2 Radicalization and Recruitment

Like any organization, terrorist groups must recruit to maintain their numbers. Recruitment can be achieved through a number of different techniques, including force, solicitation, familial ties, networking and online engagement.

You will be surprised that people actually join terrorist groups. For instance, as parts of the Middle East imploded following the euphoria of the Arab Spring, some Americans shocked friends, family, policymakers, and the authorities by leaving the U.S to join ISIL and some other terrorist

organizations operating in Iraq, Syria, and Libya. By May 2015, a large number of American citizens had joined the fight on the side of the extremists, and many had been captured. Another large numbers of recruits left Europe, making their way across the Mediterranean, or overland through Turkey, to join the self-declared caliphate in its latest call to jihad.

The way terrorist organizations radicalize and recruit new members continues to change and evolve, especially with the use of social media and encrypted messaging apps. Terrorist recruitment patterns include:

1. **Online:** In their radicalization and recruitment efforts, terrorists, militias and other illegal organizations have used the internet and social media in a calculated strategy that has confounded many. They usually broadcast non-discriminatory propaganda, such as video clips or messages, to a target audience that is perceived as homogeneous and receptive to propaganda. As a recent CNN article concluded, "Violent extremists such as the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, or ISIS, have become increasingly sophisticated in forging networks of support, online, global networks that help these groups manage virtual circles around governments and communities".

Contrary to popular belief, many people who become radicalized online are not devout Muslims. On the contrary, some do not consider themselves very religious at all. Demographic-wise, the recruits can be poorly or highly educated, young or old, male or female. Even financial situation is not an indicator. Online radicalization occurs across all economic classes. It reaches those with the weakest economic conditions and those who are financially stable.

2. **The Funnel**: This involves a phased approach, to target specific individuals deemed ready for recruitment, using psychological techniques to enhance attachment and dedication. Even the youth and women who are not inclined towards complete recruitment can develop a positive view of the group's activities.

3. **Infection**: When it is difficult to reach the target audience, an "agent" can be implanted to pursue recruitment from within, using direct and personal calls. The social relationship between the agent and the target can be strengthened by bringing up grievances, such as marginalization or social disappointment.

Radicalization and recruitment are most common when conditions of inequality and political frustration prevail. It often takes root in people who empathize with the plight of the oppressed and wish to show their solidarity. These men and women often feel despair, humiliation, and

resentment in the face of injustice and see few options for influencing change. A brief moment of intense emotion aroused in them while watching YouTube videos of innocent victims in Africa or the Middle East can be enough to trigger their interest.

Self-Assessment Exercises 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

1. What is radicalization?
2. Radicalization is context-specific. True or False

4.4.   Gender and Recruitment

4.4.1 Women as Targets

Since violent extremism and terrorist radicalization are still often seen as issues that concern men, the radicalization of women is often overlooked. In situations of conflict and violence, women are often seen as passive, victimized, helpless, submissive, and motherly rather than perpetrators.

As a result, women are neither considered potential terrorists nor as dangerous as their male counterparts if they engage in terrorism.

On the contrary, terrorist groups are experts at recruiting women, enticing them with optimism, hope, and belonging, despite their practice of brutal violence, subjugation, exclusion, and aggression. They appeal to women's sense of self-esteem and respond on a very personal level, spending hundreds of hours with sensitive people, making them believe they are seen, heard, and loved.

A study published by the Institute for Strategic Dialogue (ISD) in 2016 found that there are around 550 Western women in ISIL/Daesh-occupied territory. Also, Europol notes that about 26% of people arrested in the EU for terrorist activities in 2016 were women, a significant increase from 18% of 2015, and an indication that women are on the rise taking on more and more roles in jihadist terrorist activities.

Scholars suggest that women join terrorist movements for practically the same reasons that men do, including psychological, personal, social, economic and political reasons. These may include rebellion and a desire to act; a search for strength and promise of adventure; an appeal of politics; and obligation to a particular cause, religion or ideology.

Women recruited by force are at risk of sexual and gender-based violence as well as other forms of exploitation, such as forced and early marriage, sex slavery, rape or forced domestic work. However, they may also be forced to perform tasks such as transporting ammunition or participating in military operations, thus becoming suspected terrorists.

4.4.2 Reasons Terrorists Recruit Women

Terrorist organizations recruit women for various reasons. As women are not seen as likely perpetrators of terrorist violence, it is easier for them to carry out attacks and help these organizations. Women can use their gender to avoid detection in many ways:

First, their "non-threatening" nature may prevent surveillance at the most basic level because they are simply not considered important enough to warrant an investigation;

Second, the feelings associated with more in-depth searches, particularly on women's bodies, may impede closer scrutiny.

Third, a woman's ability to become pregnant and the consequent changes to her body make it easier to conceal weapons and bombs with using maternity clothing, thus hindering inspection owing to immodesty issues.

Self-Assessment Exercises 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

1. Only men carry out terrorist acts. True or False
2. Radicalization of women is often overlooked. True or False

4.5   Women's Role in Terrorist Organisations

4.5.1 Recruiters and Protectors

Recruiters solicit and gather more members to support the terrorist organization's cause. Women have played a central role in recruiting other women and spreading propaganda online. For example, Asqa Mahmood and Sally Jones, both from the UK, are active ISIS recruiters and propagandists. Mahmood was 19 years old when she left her home in Glasgow, Scotland to settle in Syria. Since then, she has been an active propagandist for the Islamic State online, through various social media platforms. Mahmood is also said to have used social media to radicalize

Amira Abase, Shamima Begum and Khadiza Sultana, three British teenage girls who immigrated to Syria. Sally Jones is also a prominent recruiter and is in charge of a battalion of women for the Islamic State. There, she trained female recruits from Europe to become martyrs by carrying out suicide bombings in the West.

In many terrorist organizations, many women play the role of 'protectors' or 'logisticians'. Their roles may include fundraising and gathering food and goods for members of the organizations. They facilitate supplies and oversee the logistics aspects of the terrorist activities. Part of their protector role is also to serve as distraction at terror scenes.

4.5.2 Combatants and Operational Leaders

However, apart from playing the role of protectors, some women actually carry out terrorist missions, especially suicide bombings. There is usually a lot of media coverage of female suicide bombers. Suicide attacks not only cause fear and harm to a group of people, but also draw attention to a specific legitimate cause.

In the 1980s, Hezbollah and the Tamil Tigers began to recruit, and utilize female suicide bombers. In January 2002, Wafa Idris became the first female Palestinian suicide bomber, and in 2004 Hamas dispatched its first female suicide bomber, Reem el Riyashi. (Naaman, 2007). The success of the LTTE in assassinating prominent military and political figures using female suicide bombers has clearly influenced the thinking of many terrorist groups around the world.

Women also served as terrorists in the group Shining Path in Peru, Northern Ireland, through the Kurdistan Workers Party in Turkey, through Abu Sayyaf in the Philippines, and in the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (Agara, 2015).

Women may also serve as operational leaders. Although, women rarely play leadership roles in terrorist organizations, there are a few organizations where women fill these roles. There are even terrorist organizations founded by women. The Red Army Faction (RAF), also known as the Baader-Meinhof Gang, is a West German terrorist organization founded in the late 1960s. This terrorist group was founded in part by women and has connections with the German youth movement.

Another female-led organization is the Italian Red Brigade (RB); a leftist revolutionary group of the 1970s.

A woman, Fusakao Shigenobu, founded and led the Japanese Red Army, and several women have held leadership positions in the Euskadi Ta

Askatasuna (ETA) (Basque Fatherland and freedom). Iratxe Sorzabal Diaz, a female, was also made its leader in 2009.

Self-Assessment Exercises 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 2 minutes:

      1. Hezbollah was founded by a woman. True or False
      2. Suicide bombers are seen as martyrs. True or False

4.6   Summary

In this unit, we have seen that apart from being victims of terrorist violence, women can also be a part of terrorist activities. They could act as recruiters or even be involved in leadership roles. In the next module, we will learn about how governments and relevant institutions respond to terrorism.

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4.8   Possible Answer to Self-Assessment Exercises

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 1
1.   Radicalization is a process in which people cultivate extremist ideologies and beliefs.
2.   True

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 2
1.   False
2.   True

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 3
1.   False.
2.   True

4.9   Glossary

- **Gender**: The condition of being a member of a group of people in a society who share particular qualities or ways of behaving which that society associates with being male, female, or another identity.
- **Guerrilla:** Engagement in or the activities involved in a war fought by small groups of irregular soldiers against typically larger regular forces.
- **Recruitment**: The process of finding people to work for a company or become a new member of an organization.
- **End of the Module Questions**
- Describe three stages of terrorism funding.
- Examine the roles of women in terrorist organizations.
- Analyse the reasons why terrorist organizations recruit women.

Module 3   PRINCIPLES AND STRATEGIES OF COUNTERTERRORISM

Module Structure

Unit 1:   Counterterrorism in Perspective
Unit 2:   Counterterrorism Strategies
Unit 3:   Regional Counterterrorism Efforts (I)
Unit 4:   Regional Counterterrorism Efforts (II)
                 Glossary End of the Module Questions

UNIT 1   COUNTERTERRORISM IN PERSPECTIVE

Unit Structure

1.1   Introduction
1.2   Learning Outcomes
1.3   Conceptualizing Counterterrorism
      1.3.1 Defining Counterterrorism
      1.3.2 Objectives of Counterterrorism
      1.4   Approaches to Counterterrorism
      1.4.1 Hard or Direct-action Approach
      1.4.2 Soft or Defensive/Preventive Approach
      1.5   History of Counterterrorism
      1.5.1 Counterterrorism before 2001
      1.5.2 Counterterrorism after 2001
1.6   Summary
1.7   References/Further Readings
1.8   Possible Answer to Self-Assessment Exercises

 1.1 Introduction

Terrorism poses particularly difficult challenges to established societies. In contrast to other military threats, terrorists often have no usual base or location and they can be especially hard to distinguish from the general public. States, through their security agencies, are obligated to implement all necessary measures to provide human security to all individuals by fighting terrorism. Various organizations also look for ways of combating terrorism. In this unit, we will examine what counterterrorism is and also discuss the responses of various states and international organizations to terrorism.

1.2   Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the meaning of counterterrorism.
- Analyse the various approaches to the concept.
- Demonstrate an understanding of the history of counterterrorism.
- Evaluate counterterrorism as a concept.

1.3   Conceptualizing Counterterrorism

1.3.1 Defining Counterterrorism

Due to sophisticated funding and operating models, terrorist organizations today have access to a wider range of recruits, weapons and equipment, thereby increasing the scale of attacks against civilians and critical infrastructure, including the use of chemical, biological, radioactive, nuclear and explosive materials (CBRNE) and improvised explosive devices.

In a bid to combat terrorism, the states, as well as international organizations, put in place various measures referred to as counterterrorism. But before we move on, let us examine what counter-terrorism is.

Baylis et al. (2010) define counterterrorism as the policies, strategies and tactics that countries use to fight terrorism and deal with its consequences. Kushner (2003) views counterterrorism as the use of personnel and resources to prevent terrorism and its support networks. Wilkinson (2006) defines counterterrorism as the methods, tactics, techniques, and strategies adopted by governments, militaries, and other groups to fight terrorism.

Counterterrorism is made up of complex and diverse strategies and tactics aimed at developing an overall response to the terrorist threat, including the passage of anti-terrorism legislation, the use of intelligence and other counter-terrorism measures against terrorism, as well as cooperation with other countries. Hoffman (2009) proposes four interconnected elements necessary to successfully fight and defeat terrorism. First, there must be a clear strategy. Second, decision makers must have a defined structure for implementing solutions. Third, there is a need for intergovernmental cooperation. And fourth, there needs to be a unified effort to implement solutions.

1.3.2 Objectives of Counterterrorism

Counterterrorism measures often contain several objectives. These objectives can be broadly categorized as:

- Prevent men and women from becoming terrorists;
- Provide opportunities and support for people who are on the path or involved in violent extremism and radicalization leading to terrorism to be able to disengage;
- Deny suspects of terrorism the support, resources and means to organize or plan and carry out attacks;
- Prepare for and protect against terrorist attacks, to reduce the vulnerability of potential targets, especially critical infrastructure;
- Pursue terrorist suspects to arrest them and bring them to justice; and
- Respond to terrorist attacks with commensurate measures to minimize the impact of such attacks and assist victims.

Self-Assessment Exercises 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 3 minutes:

1. Counterterrorism measures are only carried out by states. True or False.

2. Preventing people from becoming terrorists is a counterterrorism measure. True or False.

1.4 Approaches to Counterterrorism

1.4.1 Hard or Direct-action Approach

One of the approaches used by countries and international organizations in the fight against terrorism is the hard-line or direct action approach. It is about the use of lethal and non-lethal force in fighting terrorism. Through the legislative, judicial and executive arms, the state uses a variety of means to cripple the activities of terrorists. These may include freezing the assets of suspects, mass arrests, destruction of training camps, intelligence gathering and retaliation against a sponsoring state.

This approach often involves military action. Military action can be classified into two: repressive or overt (war) operations and covert operations.

(a) Repressive or overt campaigns that involve targeted military attacks against terrorist-related areas to destroy the terrorists and destroy their infrastructure. Furthermore, it involves the use of "military or paramilitary means to punish, destabilize or destroy terrorists and their supporters". Military assets are officially recognized as enlisted armed forces members, while paramilitary assets are informal individuals or units organized by the government and trained in the arts of war.

An example of repressive campaigns is Operation Shield, organized by Israel in 2002-2003 to undermine Hamas efforts. In Gaza, the arrest of a founding leader of Hamas, Mohammed Taha, in one of the operations resulted in the deaths of eight Palestinians. Another example is the US "war on terror" campaign launched in response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. This is a multi-dimensional operation that is wide in scope. Its military scale involves major wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, covert operations in Yemen and elsewhere, large-scale military support programs for cooperative regimes, and an increase in large in military spending. Its intelligence aspects include an institutional reorganization and significant increases in funding for US intelligence-gathering capabilities. Its diplomatic dimension includes ongoing efforts to build and maintain a global coalition of partner countries and organizations and an extensive public diplomatic campaign against anti-Americanism in the United States going on in the Middle East.

(b) Covert operations involve clandestine operations, including destabilizing and damaging infrastructure suspected of being by terrorists, as well as kidnapping and assassination of individual terrorists, terrorist groups and the destruction of their support vehicles. For example, in March 2004, as a result of Israel's war against Hamas, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, the initiator and main leader of Hamas, was assassinated by a rocket from an Israeli aircraft. The assassination was justified on the ground that Hamas claimed responsibility for two suicide bombings that killed 10 Israelis about eight days before the assassination.

1.4.2 Soft or Defensive/Preventive Approach

Some argue that the hard-line against terrorism has been unsuccessful and does more harm than good. For example, Kuipers (2004) argues that the use of military force in the fight against terrorism erodes people's trust in the government.

States and international organizations have sought soft, often preventive, measures to combat violent extremism, many of which have proven to be more effective than harsh military measures and less likely to create a new generation of violent extremists.

This approach is usually called "Preventing or Countering Violent Extremism" (PVE/CVE). This involves the use of non-coercive means to prevent individuals or groups from mobilizing in the direction of violence and to reduce the recruitment, support, facilitation or participation in terrorist activity that has ideological motives by non-state organizations to pursue political goals" (Khan, 2015).

Peter Neumann (2011) notes that the scope of CVE and its related activities is "potentially limitless". These activities may include pursuing widespread activities by governments and other organizations to prevent radicalization, often including messaging through various channels including social media platforms, community participation and outreach through all available means, such as roundtables or advisory panel discussions; capacity building, particularly for youth and women, as well as other community development, security and protection initiatives; educating and training a wide range of stakeholders, including community leaders and law enforcement officials, as well as possibly, de-radicalization.

Governments can also undertake precautions to prevent terrorist acts. This may include establishing barriers to block attacks and developing security protocols to protect buildings, facilities or other infrastructure from attack. The "National Response Plan" outlines the roles of various government agencies and establishes a command-and-control hierarchy for use in times of crisis.

Police, fire-fighters and emergency medical response organizations can prepare through training and role-playing to mitigate the impact of terrorist attacks. The military, police and intelligence agencies can also form special tactical units in preparation for a terrorist attack. Some countries lay emphasis on law enforcement and "intelligence-led policing"; and also use the criminal justice system to combat terrorism.

Self-Assessment Exercises 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

1. Freezing of a suspected terrorist account is a soft or defensive approach. True or False

2. Mention 2 counterterrorism measures that are of the hard approach.

1.5   History of Counterterrorism

1.5.1 Counterterrorism before 2001

In the early days of terrorism, counterterrorism measures included treaties, alliances, and surveillance. The period from 1880 to 1914 was famous for anarchist terrorism, and it was the dominant form of terrorism till the 1930s. At that time, almost every country experienced acts of terrorism perpetrated by real and suspected anarchists. Even countries that did not experience it were apprehensive.

Anarchist assassinations and bombings took place in 16 countries in Europe, Australia, North and South America. Among other places, significant anarchist groups developed in Egypt, China and Japan. In 1898, Kaiser Wilhelm did not visit Egypt because he feared an attack by resident Italian anarchists. In 1910, before their arrest and trial, Japanese anarchists appeared to be plotting to assassinate the Emperor. In Russia, anarchists began use of letter-bombs and automobiles for terrorist purposes and some were suicide bombers.

One of the counterterrorism efforts at the period was the 1898 International Conference of Rome for the Social Defence against Anarchists. The Rome International Conference was held from 24 November to 21 December 1898 following the assassination of Empress Elisabeth of Austria by Luigi Lucheni on the promenade of Lake Geneva on September 10, 1898. 54 delegates from 21 countries attended. Each participating government agreed to establish special organizations to monitor suspected anarchists, defined as "any act that used violent means to destroy the organization of society".

Other resolutions drafted in the final protocol included the enactment of legislation for participating governments to prohibit the illegal possession and use of explosives, membership in anarchist organizations, spreading anarchist propaganda and supporting anarchists. It is also agreed that governments should try to limit media coverage of anarchist activities and that the death penalty should be mandatory punishment for all assassinations.

Another counterterrorism measure of the era was the 1904 St. Petersburg Anti-Anarchist Protocol, in which the signatories agreed to oppose the anarchist movement through international cooperation. The negotiation of the St. Petersburg Protocol represents the peak of international cooperation against anarchism, but in many countries, it was followed by a new series of terrorist attacks.

The protocol served as the beginning of many more protocols and agreement in the international community to combat terrorism before the September 11, 2001 attack in the United States of America.

1.5.2 Counterterrorism after 2001

The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States changed the world's view of terrorism. President George W. Bush announced a comprehensive plan to track down and arrest terrorists around the world. The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq are part of the global war on terror, but the term is also used to describe diplomatic, financial, and other actions taken to deny funding aid or safe haven for terrorists.

Many countries have also changed their domestic and international counterterrorism strategies to protect their citizens. They have adopted both hard and soft measures to prevent terrorism individually and in cooperation with other countries, as well as building global alliances.

The 2001 attacks also changed the role of the United Nations in the fight against terrorism. Initially, the United Nations considered the common theme of terrorism to be a matter for the General Assembly. In particular, the matter is mainly within the jurisdiction of the Sixth (Legal) Committee of the General Assembly. Through the Sixth Committee and other UN agencies, the United Nations has played a role in developing conventions that address specific crimes committed by terrorists, although most conventions do not use the word "terrorism".

However, in 2001, using its legislative power, the Security Council passed resolutions 1368 and 1373, establishing the three pillars of today's global counterterrorism system.

The first pillar is based on the principle of resolution 1368 that states have the right to defend themselves when attacked or threatened by terrorist groups or by states that support terrorism.

The second pillar is the establishment of a common legal framework for the fight against terrorism. Under Resolution 1373, the Security Council obliges all states to criminalize terrorism, ratify 12 international conventions, and revise their anti-terrorism laws in line with good international best practices. In other words, the Security Council calls on all States to strengthen their capacity to fight terrorism at the national level in order to limit the ability of terrorist groups to operate globally. Furthermore, the Security Council argues that if all states align their legal infrastructures with international law and emerging best practices, this would improve interstate cooperation in counterterrorism efforts.

The last pillar is the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC), which was established following the adoption of Security Council Resolution 1373 and the Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate (CTED), established by the Security Council in 2004.

Additionally, in 2017, United Nations Secretary-General Antonio Guterres streamlined and strengthened the UN's counterterrorism structure by establishing the United Nations Office on Counterterrorism. This office aims to provide leadership for UNGA-led counterterrorism missions, increase coordination and cohesion among the 43 entities of the Global Coordinating Treaty, and mobilize resources for this effort.

Self-Assessment Exercises 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

1. What was the most prominent form of terrorism in the 1920s?

2. Which attacks change counterterrorism across the world?

1.6   Summary

In this unit, we have examined the meaning, nature and the history of counterterrorism. We have also seen that counterterrorism measures changed drastically after the September 11, 2001 attacks in the United States of America. In the next unit, we will discuss the responses of some countries to terrorism.

1.7   References/Further Readings

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1.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 1
1.   False
2.   True

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 2
1.   False.
2.   Overt campaigns; Covert operations

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 3
1.   Anarchist terrorism
2.   The September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks in America.

UNIT 2:   COUNTERTERRORISM STRATEGIES

Unit Structure

2.1   Introduction

In the war on terror, the responsibility for surveillance, engagement, containment or punishment rests primarily with sovereign states. This unit focuses on the efforts of states in combating terrorism. We will examine some states as case studies.

2.2   Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the counterterrorism efforts of different countries.
- Analyse the various means of countering terrorism.
- Demonstrate an understanding of differing legislations on terrorism.
- Evaluate counterterrorism strategies.

2.3   United Kingdom's Response to Terrorism

2.3.1 UK's Legislation on Terrorism

The United Kingdom's anti-terror legislation has been in development for a considerable amount of time, largely due to the ongoing political

conflict in Northern Ireland. Initially, there were specific laws relating only to this part of the United Kingdom, such as the Northern Ireland Emergency Provisions Act 1973 and others covering the whole of the United Kingdom to protect against terrorism occurring in mainland Britain (basically attacks by the Irish Republican Army). The legislation has been updated several times, partly as a result of legal challenges by the European Court of Human Rights.

The main anti-terrorism law in the UK is the Terrorism Act (2000). It is the first legislation to recognize the changing landscape of terrorism, in particular the rise of Islamic terrorism in the UK and around the world. Other laws and updates are written in conjunction with this law. It solves many problems including outlaw organizations being illegal, creating crime (e.g. gathering information that could be useful to terrorists) and it also creating powers for the police.

Another significant UK-wide piece of legislation is the Counterterrorism Act (2008), which introduces new offenses and policing powers, mainly dealing with the support and financing of terrorism. There is another set of laws still in place for Northern Ireland: the Security and Justice (NI) Act (2007). Despite the major improvements in the situation in Northern Ireland brought about by the peace process, there are still illegal organizations that threaten to resort to violence. This Northern Ireland-specific law therefore responds to the specificity of this context.

2.3.2 The United Kingdom's Strategy for Countering Terrorism

The UK has a long history of fighting terrorism, particularly nationalist terrorism that came from Northern Ireland and the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in the 1970s. The pressing need to look into challenges of al-Qaeda in the wake of the September 11, 2001 attacks brought about a succession of counter-terrorism legislation in the UK in the following years. In 2003, Sir David Omand was given the responsibility of developing a counterterrorism strategy to meet these challenges. He came up with was called CONTEST. There were policy updates to the strategy in 2006, 2009, 2011 and 2018. According to the UK government, the objective of CONTEST is to reduce the risk of terrorism to the UK and its interests overseas.

CONTEST is divided into four work streams that the counterterrorism community calls the "four P's": Prevent, Pursue, Protect, and Prepare.

Prevent: This is to prevent people from being drawn into or to support terrorism. This includes fighting the ideology of terrorism and challenging those who promote it; to support those who are particularly

vulnerable to radicalization; and work with areas and institutions where there is a high risk of radicalization.

Pursue: It is about preventing terrorist attacks by detecting, prosecuting and disrupting those conspiring to carry out attacks against the UK or its overseas interests.

Protect: This is to strengthen protection against a terrorist attack in the UK or against its interests abroad and thereby reduce their vulnerability. It focuses on border security, transportation systems, national infrastructure and public places.

Prepare: It is about mitigating the impact of a terrorist attack when it cannot be stopped. This includes working to prevent a terrorist attack and to strengthen the UK's resilience so it can recover from its aftermath.

Self-Assessment Exercises 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 3 minutes:

      1. The United Kingdom's counterterrorism strategy is known as_____
      2. The "four P's" of the UK's strategy stands for

      _____

2.4 USA's Response to Terrorism

2.4.1 U. S. Legislation on Terrorism

The main legislative instrument in the fight against terrorism in the United States is the Patriot Act (2001). The Patriot Act is an act of the United States passed in the wake of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. The purpose of the act is to strengthen homeland security and expand the powers of law enforcement to identify and arrest terrorists.

The passage and renewal of the Patriot Act was extremely controversial. Supporters say it was instrumental in several terrorist investigations and arrests, while critics accuse the act of giving the government too much power, threatening civil liberties and undermining the democracy, which it was meant to defend.

Patriot Act addresses issues such as intrusive surveillance and gives law enforcement powers, and adds a number of crimes to the list of acts that are considered acts of terrorism, including hacking public transportation

systems, use of biological weapons, support for terrorism, and computer hacking. It also increases penalties for terrorist crimes.
 The Patriot Act is divided into ten chapters, which looks at:

- Strengthening National Security Against Terrorism
- Enhanced Monitoring Procedures
- Anti-Money Laundering and Countering Terrorism Financing Act 2001
- Border Protection
- Removing Obstacles for terrorism investigations
- Supporting victims of terrorism, public safety officers and their families
- Strengthening information sharing to protect critical infrastructure
- Strengthening Criminal Law Against Terrorism
- Improving Information
- Other items

2.4.2 U.S. National Strategy for Counterterrorism

The United States of America released its "National Counterterrorism Strategy" in 2018. This is the first strong and clear counterterrorism strategy since 2011. The strategy took into account the whole of the threats of terrorism that the United States faces inside and outside of its territory and emphasizes the use of all elements of national power to fight terrorism and terrorist ideologies.

The National Counterterrorism Strategy focuses on:

- Pursuing terrorists to their source;
- Removing terrorists from their sources of support;
- Modernizing and integrating US counterterrorism tools;
- Protecting U.S. infrastructure and improving their resilience;
- Fighting radicalization and terrorist recruitment; and
- Strengthening the counterterrorism capabilities of US international partners.

Self-Assessment Exercises 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

1. America's major counterterrorism instrument is the _____

2. Computer hacking is considered a terrorist act in America. True or False

2.5   Nigeria's Response to Terrorism

2.5.1 Nigeria's Legislation on Terrorism

Due to the terrorist challenges facing Nigeria, the Counter-Terrorism Act 2011 as amended in 2013 was enacted. The law designates the Office of the National Security Advisor (ONSA) as the office that coordinates Nigeria's counter-terrorism efforts. The law also requires ONSA to ensure the development and implementation of a comprehensive counterterrorism strategy and capacity building to effectively carry out security, intelligence, law enforcement, and related military personnel work. In addition, the Counterterrorism Centre (CTC) was established in 2012.

Since 2012, the CTC, led by a coordinator, has launched several crucial initiatives. These include providing leadership, coordination and strategic advice to relevant security, law enforcement and intelligence agencies. Its relationships with relevant partners extends beyond government agencies, to include donor agencies, counterterrorism platforms such as the Global Counterterrorism Forum, Hedayah (based in Abu Dhabi) and the United Nations.

The CTC is comprised of officers from government ministries, departments and agencies. It has with it the Joint Terrorism Analysis Branch, the National Counterterrorism Strategy, the Office of Explosives Analysis and the Violent Extremism Unit, which coordinates the implementation of the Action Plan framework and Nigeria's National Policy on Prevention and Combating Violent Extremism.

2.5.2 Nigeria's Counterterrorism Strategy

Nigeria has a National Strategy against Terrorism called NACTEST. The strategy combines the military's hard-line approach, intelligence gathering, and the use of force, with a soft approach, to win hearts and address the root causes of radicalization in Nigerian communities.
NACTEST is built on five pillars:

- **Forestall**: This means prevention by engaging the public through constant sensitization campaigns and de-radicalization packages.

- **Secure:** This is to ensure the protection of life and property, critical national infrastructure and services including national interests worldwide.

- **Identify:** This is to investigate violent extremists and bring them to justice.

- **Prepare:** This involves adequately preparing the people so as to reduce the impact of terrorist attacks.

- **Implement:** This means to create a framework to effectively mobilize and support a coordinated effort involving both the government and the people.

Self-Assessment Exercises 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 2 minutes:

1. Nigeria's counterterrorism strategy is referred to as _____
2. How many pillars does Nigeria's counterterrorism strategy have?

2.6   Summary

In this unit, we have discussed the counterterrorism legislation and strategies of the United Kingdom, United States of America and Nigeria. These are just examples of efforts by states to combat terrorism in their territories. In the next unit, we will examine counterterrorism efforts of some regional organizations.

2.7   References/Further Readings/Web Sources

Office of the National Security Adviser (ONSA).(2022) Counterterrorism Centre. Available at: https://ctc.gov.ng/about-ctc/

White House (2018) National Strategy for Counterterrorism. Available at: https://www.dni.gov/files/NCTC/documents/news_documents/NSCT.pdf

2.8 Possible Answers to self assessment Exercises

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 1
1.   CONTEST
2.   Prevent, Pursue, Protect, and Prepare

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 2
1.   Patriot Act (2001).
2.   True

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 3
1.   The National Counter Terrorism Strategy (NACTEST)
2.   Five pillars

UNIT 3   REGIONAL COUNTERTERRORISM EFFORTS (I)

Unit Structure

3.1   Introduction

One thing to note is that it is not only states that look for means of countering terrorism in the international community. Considering that terrorism knows no borders, organizations also put in their efforts in combating terrorism. In this unit, we will examine the counterterrorism efforts of some regional organizations.

3.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the efforts of some regional organizations in counterterrorism.
- Analyse the role of regional organization in countering terrorism.
- Demonstrate an understanding of regional measures of counterterrorism.
- Evaluate regional counterterrorism strategies.

3.3 The Inter-American region

3.3.1 Organization of American States (OAS)

The 35 member states of the Organization of American States (OAS) have faced various forms of terrorist threats for decades. Despite this, it was only in 2001 that the region looked into actively fighting terrorism, which was, however, not matched by efforts to strengthen legal frameworks.

Following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the OAS Foreign Ministers adopted a Resolution on Strengthening Hemispheric Cooperation to Prevent, Combat, and Eliminate Terrorism (RC.23 / RES.1/01 (2001)). This includes a call on all Member States and the entire international community to take effective measures to prevent terrorist groups from operating on their territory. A central element of this goal is to strengthen regional and international cooperation against terrorism, while fully respecting the rule of law, human rights and democratic values. This resolution was immediately followed by another resolution (RC.24/RES.1/01 (2001)), declaring the attacks on America as attacks on all countries of the world.

The only the regional counterterrorism treaty of the OAS is the Inter-American Convention against Terrorism (AG/RES. 1840 (XXXII-O/02)), negotiated and adopted in the wake of the September 11 2001 terrorist attacks (adopted on 3 June 2002, entered into force on 6 July 2003). As of June 26, 2018, 24 of the 35 member states have ratified the convention. Key elements of the Convention include seeking to strengthen regional cooperation in the fight against terrorism, thereby enhancing hemispheric security; urging Member States to sign and ratify the relevant United Nations instruments against terrorism (in accordance with Security Council Resolution 1373 (2001)); deny asylum to suspected terrorists, whether refugees or asylum seekers; strengthening border control and law enforcement cooperation; offering technical and legal support; and exchange of experience and training.

Occasionally, the OAS also adopts non-binding resolutions on security-related issues, including terrorism and counterterrorism, like the Declaration of San Salvador on Citizen Security in the Americas (adopted at the 41st OAS General Assembly on June 7, 2011).

3.3.2 The Inter-American Committee against Terrorism (CICTE)

In 1999, the OAS established the Inter-American Committee against Terrorism (CICTE) in respect to the resolution on Hemispheric Cooperation to Prevent, Combat, and Eliminate Terrorism (AG/RES.

1650 (XXIX-O/99)). Its main objectives are to promote and develop cooperation among the Member States to prevent, combat and eliminate terrorism, in accordance with the principles of the OAS Charter and CICTE, while recognizing full respect for State sovereignty, the rule of law, and international law.

CICTE played a central role in the drafting of the 2002 Inter-American Convention against Terrorism. It includes representatives of all members and holds an annual forum for discussion and decision-making on counterterrorism issues, measures and cooperation. Its role is more facilitating than substantive, like providing technical assistance and capacity building to Member States.

Self-Assessment Exercises 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

    1. The Organization of American States (OAS) has ------- members.
    2. The OAS strategy for combating terrorism is called _____

3.4   European Region

3.4.1 European Union

The European Union consists of 28 Member States. It has several institutions, however, the institutions which play the most important roles in formulating legislation and policy related to terrorism and the fight against terrorism are the European Parliament, the European Council and the European Commission. The European Parliament is the EU's legislative body, which, together with the European Council, passes legislation on the basis of a proposal from the European Commission. It also plays an important supervisory role, including democratic control over all EU institutions, and can also review citizen petitions and set up investigations.

The EU is very active in matters relating to the fight against terrorism as terrorism continues to be a significant threat across Europe. In 2016 alone, 142 terrorist attacks, with some of them successful, resulting in the arrest of 1,002 people for terrorism offenses in the EU geographical area.

3.4.2 The EU Counterterrorism Strategy

The EU counter-terrorism response is built on the 2005 EU Counter-Terrorism Strategy, adopted by the European Council. It is committed to fighting terrorism worldwide, and still respecting human rights and allowing the citizens to live in freedom, security and justice. It is has four pillars:

PREVENT people from turning to terrorism and prevent future generations of terrorists from appearing;

PROTECT citizens and critical infrastructure by minimizing vulnerabilities to attack;

PROSECUTE and investigate terrorists, impede planning, travel and communications, cut off access to funding and materials, and bring terrorists to justice;

RESPOND in a coordinated manner by preparing to manage and mitigate the consequences of a terrorist attack, building capacity to deal with the consequences, and taking into account the needs of victims.

The Strategy is reviewed regularly. For example, as part of the prevent pillar, the EU strategy for the prevention of radicalization and terrorism recruitment was adopted in 2008. It was revised in 2014 due to the challenge of foreign fighters that were to travel to Iraq and Syria, which became a security threat to EU Member States. The EU Strategy for Combating Radicalisation and Recruitment to Terrorism of 2014 was then adopted. Other instruments adopted include the Framework Decision 2002/475/JHA, amended in 2008, which offers a mutual definition of terrorists and terrorist related offences to forster international cooperation, especially among EU Member States since there is no universally agreed definition of terrorism.

Self-Assessment Exercises 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

     1. The EU's counterterrorism strategy has _____ pillars.
     2. Europe has not experienced terrorist attack. True or False.

3.5 Continental - Europe and North America

3.5.1 The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), also known as the North Atlantic Alliance, is an intergovernmental military alliance between 30 member states from Europe and North America (28 from Europe and 2 from North America). NATO forms a unique link between these two continents, allowing them to consult and collaborate in the area of defence and security, and to carry out multinational crisis management activities jointly.

Established in 1949, the fundamental objective of NATO is to protect the freedom and security of the Allies by political and military means. Article five of the NATO alliance stipulates that if an armed attack occurs against any member state, it must be considered an attack against all members and other members shall assist the attacked member with armed force if required.

3.5.2 NATO's Counterterrorism Operations

NATO sees any form of terrorism as a security threat to citizens of its Member States, as well as affecting international stability and prosperity.

It is a persistent global threat that knows no borders, nations or religions, and it is a challenge that needs international cooperation to combat it. The counterterrorism activities of the organization are directed by its 2012 Policy Guidelines on Counter-Terrorism, endorsed by its Heads of State and Government. As an international organisation, NATO has exceptional assets and capabilities able to support Allied and international efforts in combating terrorism. The Alliance coordinates and consolidates its counterterrorism efforts in three main areas: Threat Awareness, Capability to Respond to It, and Commitment to International Partners and Organizations.

Some of the organization's counterterrorism efforts include:

- NATO utilized its collective defence clause (Article 5) for the first and only time in response to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on America;
- NATO's Counter-Terrorism Policy Guidelines focus on three major areas: awareness, capabilities and commitment;
- It has a Terrorism Intelligence Cell at its Headquarters and there is a Coordinator who manages NATO's counterterrorism efforts;

- It has a regional Hub for the South, located at NATO's Joint Force Command in Naples, which helps the Alliance expect and react to crises in the southern area;
- NATO is a member of the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS, which it supports through AWACS intelligence flights;
- NATO develops new capabilities and technologies to confront terrorist threat and to mitigate the consequences of a terrorist attack;
- NATO collaborates with partners and international organizations to leverage the full potential of each of the stakeholders involved in global counterterrorism effort.

Self-Assessment Exercises 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

1. NATO was formed in _____.
2. The three main areas of that NATO's counterterrorism efforts are focused on are _____, _____ and _____.

3.6 Summary

In this unit, we discussed the counterterrorism efforts of some regional organizations. These are: the Organization of American States (OAS), the European Union (EU) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). These organizations are concerned with the spate of terrorist attacks in their regions and they contribute their own quota in combating terrorism. In the next unit, we will examine some more organizations from other regions.

3.7   References/Further Readings

NATO (2014). NATO countering terrorism. Available at:
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European Council (2022) The EU's response to terrorism. Available at:
https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/fight-against-terrorism/

OAS. (2022). Actions Against Terrorism. Available at:

https://www.oas.org/en/topics/terrorism.asp

3.8 Possible Answer to Self Assessment Exercises

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 1
1. 35
2. The Inter-American Committee against Terrorism (CICTE)

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 2
1. Four
2. False

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 3
1. 1949
2. Awareness of the threat, Capabilities to address it and Engagement with partners and international organisations

UNIT 4   REGIONAL COUNTERTERRORISM EFFORTS (II)

Unit Structure

4.1   Introduction

Counterterrorism measures are taken to reduce the vulnerability of individuals, property and assets of the state to terrorist attacks. In the last unit, we discussed the counterterrorism efforts of some regional organizations. We shall continue the discussion in this unit by looking at some other regions.

4.2   Lesson Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the efforts of some other regional organization in countering terrorism.
- Analyse the instruments used for counterterrorism by some regional organizations.
- Demonstrate an understanding of means of combating terrorism by some organizations
- Evaluate strategies of counterterrorism

4.3   The Asian region

4.3.1 The Association of Southeast Asian Nations

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was established in 1967 and has 10 member countries. Its main goals include promoting regional peace and stability and enhancing internal and external cooperation on issues of mutual interest. Initially established as a free association of nations, since the entry into force of the ASEAN Charter (adopted November 20, 2007, entered into force on December 15, 2008), it became an organization with legal status which allows for more effective cooperation in the region and elsewhere.

The importance of cooperation in the area of counterterrorism was first identified in the ASEAN Declaration on Transnational Crime (adopted 20 December 1997), in which the Organization decided to expand the scope of efforts of member countries to include combating "transnational crimes like terrorism".

After the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, it came up with the ASEAN Declaration on Joint Action to Counter Terrorism (adopted November 5, 2001). This was due to the increase of terrorist activities in the region. Since 2001, the terrorist situation in Southeast Asia has changed profoundly. After the US invasions of Afghanistan in October 2001 and Iraq in 2003, the structure of al-Qaeda was greatly fragmented and as a result, the weakened organization began to influence its international partners, including Southeast Asian countries, to continue its international terrorist campaign.

In these efforts, Al-Qaeda has provided ideological, financial and operational support to groups such as the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) in the Philippines, Lashkar Jundullah in Indonesia, Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia (KMM) in Malaysia, Jemmah Salafiyah (JS) in Thailand, the Arakan Rohingya Nationalist Organization (ARNO) and the Rohingya Solidarity Organization (RSO) in Myanmar and Bangladesh, and Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), a Southeast Asian organization that is also in Australia.

Therefore, one of ASEAN's main goals is to strengthen regional cooperation, including sharing of best practices and information/intelligence, and increasing efforts to strengthen counterterrorism capacity in the region. This was followed by the ASEAN Work Programme to Combat Transnational Crime (adopted May 17, 2002), which provides operational guidelines for regional collaboration. The importance of pursuing the goals and actions identified in the 2001

Joint Declaration of Action was repeated in 2002 after the terrorist attacks in Bali, Indonesia and the Philippines, which claimed the lives of 216 civilians, with 419 others injured.

4.3.2 Principal instrument for Counterterrorism

In terms of binding instruments, a regional instrument for combating terrorism, the ASEAN Convention on Counter Terrorism, was adopted on January 13, 2007 (entered into force May 27, 2011). Before its adoption, there was a disagreement on whether or not a dedicated regional convention was necessary considering the fact that there are universal instruments against terrorism already, most especially the UN Security

Council Resolution 1373 with binding obligations. However, after much pressure, the Convention was ultimately negotiated and adopted.

The Convention has several notable features. The first is that it does not add a regional definition of terrorism or offences of terrorism, as it relied on the meaning of 'offence' as in the universal instruments. Secondly, it has broadly drafted provisions. Furthermore, article VIII, which guarantees the right of 'fair treatment' to terrorist suspects, emphasizes the role of domestic law over international law. This is in reflection of the fact that it is not all the ASEAN Member States that are parties to international or regional human rights law treaties, like the ICCPR.

Such focus on national frameworks reflects the broader challenges ASEAN faces in enhancing regional cooperation as some member states view terrorism as primarily a national problem. Other important differences also exist, including on national counterterrorism doctrine: while some member states take a more military approach to counterterrorism, others generally respond through the criminal justice system. Even when law enforcement measures have been adopted, differences between countries in regards to how they are interpreted and implemented can hinder more effective regional cooperation.

Self-Assessment Exercises 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

1. ASEAN's principal instrument for counterterrorism is the

   _____

2. Al Qaeda is a major terrorism threat in Southeast Asia. True or

4.4.   The Middle East and Gulf region

4.4.1 League of Arab States

The League of Arab States (LAS) was founded on 22 March 1945 as an intergovernmental organization and consists of 22 Arab countries. Its founding instrument was the Charter of the Arab League (adopted on 22 March 1945) which provided that the main objectives of the Organization included strengthening relations between Member States, coordinating and integrating their policies to enhance cooperation and protection of their independence and sovereignty. Its main bodies are the General Assembly, the Office of the Secretary-General, and permanent councils.

The LAS is involve in the counterterrorism efforts in the Middle East, Gulf and North Africa. For instance, in 2019, the LAS Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on counter-terrorism efforts, emphasizing the importance of Member States implementing the United Nations counterterrorism strategy as well as strengthening joint Arab actions to combat the phenomenon of terrorist fighters returning from conflict zones and their families.

The Resolution also calls on Member States to develop appropriate national legislation to prosecute and punish the use of fake identification documents and passports to travel to conflict zones in accordance with national law.

The Arab League also actively forge collaborations with regional and international organizations to combat terrorism, for instance with the United Nations and the European Union.

4.4.2 Major Instrument for Counterterrorism

The phenomenon of terrorism is not new in the geographical areas represented by members of the Organization (Middle East, Gulf and North Africa), although the forms and origins of these activities vary widely. In response to the accompanying threats and the need to strengthen regional cooperation, agreement was reached on the Arab Strategy to Combat terrorism (1997). In 1998, the LAS adopted its main binding instrument against terrorism, the Arab Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism (adopted April 22, 1998, entered into force May 7, 1999).

 However, while Arab governments see the convention as a significant achievement in cracking down on terrorism at the regional level, civil society groups, particularly human rights organisations, are of the opinion

that the convention is flawed because of its restriction on individual liberties and the increase in the power of governments.

Self-Assessment Exercises 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

1. The League of Arab States was established in _____.
2. The major counterterrorism instrument in the Middle East and Gulf region is the _____.

4.5   The African Region

4.5.1 African Union

The African continent has faced many forms of terrorism and terrorist actors, including Al-Qaeda, Al Shabaab, Boko Haram, and the Lord's Resistance Army. As a result, the African Union (55 member states) and its predecessor, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), have been actively involved in Africa's counter-terrorism and prevention efforts for over four decades. A significant unique feature between their respective approaches to regional peace and security issues is that, while the OAU was founded on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of member states, the mandate of the African Union is to engage more actively in issues of concern in the hemisphere, including terrorism and international crime.

The first relevant instrument was the 1977 OAU Convention for the Elimination of Mercenarism in Africa (adopted July 3, 1977, entered into force April 22, 1985) (CM/ 817 (XXIX) Appendix II Rev.1.) that criminalizes mercenarism. The Convention is also important in terms of raising the profile and importance of non-state actors, most especially their likely impact on regional peace and security.

The next important landmark for counterterrorism measures in the region was in 1992 when the OAU adopted Resolution on the Strengthening of Cooperation and Coordination among African States (AHG/Res.213 (XXVIII)), which commit the Union to combat extremism and terrorism.

Later, the Declaration on a Code of Conduct for Inter-African Relations (AHG/Del.2 (XXX)) was adopted, which rejected all forms of extremism and terrorism, whether due to sectarianism, tribalism, ethnicity, or religion. In addition, the Declaration condemns all acts, methods and

practices of terrorism as criminal, and expresses its determination to strengthen cooperation to combat these acts.

4.5.2 AU's Major Counterterrorism Instruments

The main counterterrorism instrument is the OAU Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism (adopted July 1, 1999, entered into force on December 6 2002). The Convention requires member states to criminalize acts of terrorism under their national laws as defined in the Convention. It identifies areas of cooperation between States, establishes State jurisdiction over acts of terrorism, and provides the legal framework for extradition as well as extraterritorial investigations and joint legal assistance. Following the 2001 Dakar Declaration against Terrorism, which recognized the urgent need to strengthen cooperation among nations across the continent, a Protocol to the 1999 Convention was adopted in 2004 (adopted July 1, 2004). It recognizes the growing threat of terrorism on the continent and the growing links between terrorism, drug trafficking, transnational organized crime and money laundering.

The 2004 Protocol was in line with Article 3(d) of the 2002 Protocol concerning the establishment of the African Union Peace and Security Council (adopted July 9, 2002, entered into force on December 26, 2003), specifically to promote the goal of "coordinating and harmonizing continental efforts in the prevention and fighting international terrorism in all its dimensions". Article 7 of the Protocol is remarkable because it requires member states to implement major conventions and other counterterrorism instruments in accordance with the rule of law and consistent with the other obligations of each Member State in accordance to international law.

Since then, the African Union has adopted several other important instruments related to terrorism, like the 2002 African Union Plan of Action on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism, which aims to strengthen the existing commitments and obligations of Member States, including the implementation and application of the 1999 Convention, like the border surveillance and control, legislative and judicial measures, terrorist financing and information exchange. Also, in order to strengthen hemispheric cooperation and address some of today's challenges, in 2010, a resolution on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism, which makes provision for the appointment of an African Union Special Representative for Counter-Terrorism Cooperation.

Self-Assessment Exercises 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 2 minutes:

1. The Lord's Resistance Army is a terrorist group in Africa. True or False
2. The AU is made up of _____ Member States.

4.6   Summary

In this unit, we have discussed some of the measures and instruments put in place by some regional organizations in the global counterterrorism efforts. In the next module, we will learn another threat to human security closely related to terrorism, that is, insurgency.

4.7   References/Further Readings

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http://agreement.asean.org/media/download/20131229172152.pdf

4.8   Possible Answer to Self Assessment Exercises

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 1
1.   The ASEAN Convention on Counter Terrorism
2.   True

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 2
1.   1945
2.   The Arab Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 3
1.   True.
2.   55

4.9   Glossary

Mercenary: A professional soldier hired to serve in a foreign army.

Protocol: The original draft of a diplomatic document, especially of the terms of a treaty agreed to in conference and signed by the parties.

End of the Module Questions

1.   Compare and contrast the counter-terrorism approaches and accompanying frameworks of two regional organizations.
2.   Examine the efforts of the ASEAN in counterterrorism.
3.   Analyse the two main approaches to counterterrorism.

Module 4   FUNDAMENTALS OF INSURGENCY

Module Structure

UNIT 1   UNDERSTANDING INSURGENCY

Unit Structure

1.1   Introduction

In Module 1, we discussed briefly about insurgency as a major challenge to human security. We also tried to differentiate the concept from terrorism. In this unit, we will examine some definitions of insurgency by scholars. We will also examine the nature of insurgency.

1.2   Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the meaning of insurgency.
- Analyse the nature of insurgency.
- Demonstrate an understanding of the dynamics of insurgency.
- Evaluate the concept of insurgency.

1.3 Conceptualizing Insurgency

1.3.1 Defining Insurgency

You may have noticed that terrorism and insurgency are sometimes used interchangeably. However, there are many differences between the two. In module two, we discussed terrorism extensively and saw that there is no universally accepted definition of the concept. This is also the same with insurgency. However, there are certain elements that must be in place before an act of violence can be labelled insurgency. Let us first examine some of the definitions of and perceptions about insurgency.

According to Metz and Millen (2004), insurgency is a strategy adopted by groups that are unable to achieve their political goals by conventional means or by quickly seizing power. It is used by people who are too weak to do otherwise. Insurgency is characterized by prolonged and asymmetric violence, ambiguity, use of complex terrain (jungles, mountains, urban areas), psychological warfare, and political mobilization, all of which is geared toward protecting the insurgents and ultimately shifting the balance of power in their favour.

Haviland (2012) defines insurgency as an organized movement to overthrow an established government through the use of subversive activities and armed conflict, while the Counter-Insurgency Initiative (2009) defines insurgency as the organized use of subversive and violent activities to appropriate, neutralize, or challenge political control of an area. Insurgents seek to overthrow or replace the government and control all or part of the resources and population of a given territory. They do this by using force (including guerrilla warfare, terrorism, coercion or intimidation, propaganda, subversion, and political lobbying).

The NATO COIN doctrine defines insurgency as the act of an organized group or movement, often driven by ideology, which seeks to effect or prevent political change by the government in a region. In addition, insurgencies revolve around persuading and/or coercing the population through the use of violence and subversion.

To the U. S. Department of the Army, insurgency is an organized and protracted political-military struggle designed to undermine the control

and legitimacy of an established government, seize power or other political power while increasing the control of the insurgent group. Insurgents use all sorts of tools - including political, information, religious, ethnic or ideological beliefs, military and economic - to overthrow the existing government.

Another comprehensive definition is offered by Moore (2007). According to him, an insurgency is a protracted violent conflict in which one or more groups intend to overthrow or fundamentally change the political or social order in a state or region by continual violence, subversion, social disruption and political action.

In all of these definitions, what is consistent is that an uprising is generally an internal struggle within a state, not between states. This is often a protracted political and military struggle intended to undermine the power, control, and legitimacy of the incumbent government, while increasing power, control, and legitimacy of the insurgent forces.

Insurgents seek radical change in the existing political or social order through the prolonged use of violence and political disruption. Insurgency is a long-term form of war in which military actions are carried out by guerrilla cells and terrorists, often targeting civilians and infrastructure. Insurgents seek to overthrow or replace the government and control all or part of the resources and population of a given territory. They do this through the use of force (including guerrilla warfare, terrorism, and coercion/intimidation), propaganda, subversion, and political lobbying.

The term insurgency is often used interchangeably and loosely with irregular warfare, unconventional warfare, revolutionary war, guerrilla warfare, and even terrorism. Likewise, insurgents are seen as guerrillas, terrorists, revolutionaries, extremists, and irregulars.

1.3.2 Elements of Insurgency

Several elements of insurgency have remained constant in different regions for centuries and will likely continue to shape it in many years to come. These basic elements include:

- Insurgency is primarily a political struggle. It is doubtful if it can be waged or conquered by military means alone.
- Insurgents begin their struggle weaker militarily than the government and seek to avoid large-scale, direct, protracted confrontations with the military. Equally, they attempt to make their existence known while keeping their structure, leaders, and fighters concealed.

- Insurgents depend on the populace for support, which is not likely to be gained from true sympathizers. They therefore intimidate most of the populace into acceptance.
- Insurgents coerce the populace to choose sides and try to aggravate the counterinsurgents into committing abuses that will likely drive the populace toward the insurgents and thereby gaining supporters.
- The insurgents only need to destroy the intervening country's political will, and not defeat it militarily to be able to defeat an external counterinsurgent.

Self-Assessment Exercises 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 3 minutes:

1. What is insurgency?

2. Insurgency is a political struggle. True or False.

1.4 The Nature of Insurgency

1.4.1 Forms of Insurgency

Generally, there are three main forms of insurgencies: Proto-State, National and Liberation insurgencies (Metz, 2012; Metz and Millen, 2004).

Proto-State Insurgencies: This stems from the twentieth century Maoist movements, and is often considered the gold standard for any insurgency. In this type, an insurgent group weakens the state through guerrilla attacks, terrorism, subversion, and psychological operations while serving state functions in the areas it controls. By proving that it can provide better services than the incumbent government, it hopes to gain support and eventually displace the incumbent government. This type of insurgency was principally effective in peasant societies, where the insurgents and the state competed for the support of the peasants. In the classic Maoist method, final victory is achieved when the insurgent is the equal of the state politically, militarily, and economically. The insurgent groups created by Mao and his student—Ho Chi Minh—won conventional military victories over the Chinese and Vietnamese.

National Insurgencies: In this form of insurgencies, the main contenders are the insurgents and a national government with at least some degree of legitimacy and support. The difference between the insurgents and incumbent government is based on economic class, ideology, identity

(ethnicity, race, religion) or any other political factor. The government may have external supporters, but the conflict is between the insurgents and the state. National insurgencies are three-sided, involving the two warring factions — as well as a range of other actors. The most vital of these other actors is the people of the country.

Liberation Insurgencies: In this form of insurgency, the insurgents are warring with a dominant group that is seen as an outside occupier due to their race, ethnicity, or culture. The aim of the insurgents is to "liberate" their people from foreign occupation. Examples of this kind of insurgency include the insurgency in Rhodesia against the white minority government in South Africa, the Palestinian insurgency, Chechnya, Vietnam, Taliban insurgency in Afghanistan and the Iraqi insurgency.
The difference between a national and liberation insurgency is not very clear. This is because an insurgency can contain the elements of both, and the emphasis may shift over time. For example, the Chinese communist insurgency started as a national insurgency, moved to a mixture of liberation and national during the Japanese occupation, and then moved back to a national one. Likewise, the Viet Cong/North Vietnamese insurgency in South Vietnam started as a liberation one, became more national in focus before widespread American involvement in the conflict, again shifted to the liberation element from 1965 to the early 1970s, and then moved back again.

1.4.2 Categories of Insurgency

Apart from the three types of insurgency described above, insurgencies can be classified in a number of ways. Two of the most common ways to distinguish them are by their goals or by the primary method they use. However, it worthy of note that most insurgencies display characteristics that combine multiple types, or their goals may change in the course of the conflict.

Broadly, the goals of insurgencies often fall into one of five categories. These are:

o   **Revolutionary** insurgencies: The insurgents aim to replace the existing political order with an entirely different system, often involving the transformation of the economic and social structures.

o   **Reformist** insurgencies: The insurgents are not interested in changing the existing political order but want to force the government to adjust its policies or carry out political, economic, or social reforms.

o   **Separatist** insurgencies: The insurgents aim for independence for a specific region. The region, sometimes, may span existing national boundaries.

o   **Resistance** insurgencies: Here, the insurgents want to force an occupying power to withdraw from a particular territory.

o   **Commercialist** insurgencies: The insurgents are driven by the acquisition of wealth or material resources; the aim is simply to have access to the wealth of the country.

•   Another way to categorize insurgent forces is to focus on their organizational structure and whether the insurgents emphasize political or military aspects of their struggle. The categories are:

o   **Politically organized** insurgencies develop a complex political structure before or at the same time as they begin to conduct military operations against the government. Instead of military might, these insurgency groups prefer to control the territory through the use of shadow governments. The military composition of politically organized insurgencies depends on the political structure.

▪   **Militarily organized** insurgencies emphasize military action against the government rather than political mobilization of the populace. The insurgents calculate that military success and the resulting weakening of the government would cause the populace to support the insurgents' cause. Militarily organized insurgencies start with small, weak, and poorly-defined political structures, often dominated by military leaders.

o   **Traditionally organized** insurgencies are built on existing tribes, clans, ethnicities or religious links. Established social hierarchies - such as a system of chiefs and lieutenants - often replace political and military structures in such insurgencies.

o   **Urban-cellular** insurgencies are based and concentrated in urban areas. They lack the hierarchical structure of political and military leadership, and are usually organized around small semi-autonomous cells Urban-cellular insurgencies are more reliant on terrorism than other types of insurgency. Their cellular structure and reliance on terrorism may limit their ability to mobilize the populace for support.

Self-Assessment Exercises 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

1. What are three major forms of insurgencies?

2. Mention 2 types of Insurgencies.

1.5 Dynamics of Insurgency

1.5.1 Components of Insurgency

There are seven components considered crucial to insurgency groups. These are:

(a) Leadership: This is a very crucial component of an insurgency. Leadership is vital to provide direction and focus needed in achieving a goal or objective. Leaders is expected to be an effective communicators so as to be able to mobilize popular support for the cause of the insurgents as they try to break the ties of the populace to the government. It could be a centralized or decentralized leadership, which will affect the nature of the insurgency in diverse ways.

(b) Ideology: An ideology offers a vision of the improvement of the society after the incumbent government is removed. The ideology of an insurgency determines the perception of the insurgents in relations to how dissatisfied they are with the status quo and dictates their specific objectives and the types of tactics to use. Examples of such ideologies are communism, socialism, capitalism, religious government, ethnic nationalism, or democracy.

(c) Objectives: This is the strategic end of an insurgency which will indicate how the insurgent will use power once he has achieved it. The initial focus of the insurgents is to overthrow the incumbent government, which may be the only clearly defined objective identifiable in the insurgency. To achieve this strategic objective, the insurgents will have several tactical and operational objectives. Tactical objectives including terrorist attacks, ambushes of government security forces, would lead to an operational objective, including destroying how the government is perceived in terms of legitimacy.

(d) Environment and geography: These are very important to the nature of the insurgency. The terrain and the weather will largely affect the conduct of guerrilla operations as they provide escape routes and safe

havens. Since the insurgent groups are familiar with the area, climate can serve as an advantage to them. However, since the government forces are most likely familiar with the area also, the advantage may be minimal.

(e) External support: External support in an insurgency can accelerate the event and also determine the outcome. The support can be moral, political, resource, or sanctuary supports. If an insurgency group accepts external support, then the legitimacy of the insurgency may be affected. This can be interpreted to mean that the insurgency is not sustainable, it may, however, also mean the insurgents have sympathizers outside of the state and their cause is recognized.

(f) Phasing and Timing: Historically, insurgencies have been known to follow certain phases in their development. Five major phases have been identified.

Phase I: **Pre-insurgency**: This is the phase when there is an indication that insurgency is about to commence. A leader reveals his grievance, serving as a catalyst to trigger the insurgency.

Phase II: **Organization**: The insurgency forms and expands its organization and ideology. At this phase, the group can begin to engage in small-scale guerrilla and terrorist activities.

Phase III: **Guerrilla Warfare**: This is a phase that is characterized by an increase in the scale of guerrilla attacks, and an increase in the use of sabotage and terrorism.

Phase IV: **Conventional Warfare**: By this phase, the insurgents are likely to have developed militarily and is able to dare the counterinsurgency forces. This phase is also characterized by political activity as well as an increase in the area controlled by the insurgents.

Phase V: **Post-insurgency:** This phase marks the end of an insurgency. It usually means success to either of the sides or a truce has been reached. On the side of the insurgent, victory means that the incumbent government has been overthrown, or as acceded to the demands of the insurgents. On the side of the government, victory means the insurgency has been countered successfully.

(g) **Organizational and operational patterns:** There are certain organizational and operational patterns which an insurgency group may develop into. The organization could be triangular, dual, cellular, political, military, or ethnic. A triangular organization is made up of three elements, the political element, the popular control mechanism, and the military organization. The leadership in each is different with the political

element being the overall authority. A dual organization is made up of only the political and military elements with the political element having overall control. A cellular organization is composed of small, decentralized groups operating separately. Political organization exists when a complex political structure is established before a military arm is developed. Military organization exists when armed insurgents serve as the facilitator for mobilizing the opposition against the regime. Finally, an ethnic organization is ordered along tribal, ethnic or religious lines.

1.5.2 Recruitment and Mobilizing Support

There are five common methods, used individually or in various combinations, to recruit and mobilize popular support. These are:

Persuasion:

This usually involves promoting the insurgent's ideology, but it can also involve the provision of money, basic social services, and control of land or positions of power. Insurgents can attract the populace through alliances with political parties, local leaders, ethnic or religious groups, warlords, organized crime networks, and local gangs. To achieve this, they may exploit social trends and popular grievances or various needs, through the manipulation of elements of religion, tribe, ethnicity, or local identity that reverberate with a small group of people.

Propaganda is a vital element of persuasion and is utilized locally, nationally and internationally to influence the perception of potential followers, sympathizers, opinion leaders, as well as the opposition in the favour of the insurgents; to promote the insurgent's cause and decrease the power of the government. In particular, propaganda can be used to control community action, discredit the actions of the government, and make security forces overreact or heighten sectarian tensions.

Coercion: This can enhance or replace persuasion as a means of mobilizing support, depending on the ability of government forces to protect the people. Insurgents strive to intimidate government supporters or collaborators and force leaders in the community to take sides in the conflict. This typically involves the following use of violence:

- Insurgents may use violence to intimidate or eliminate those who oppose their goals. In particular, insurgent attacks on government infrastructure and personnel will undermine the government's morale, confidence, and capacity, weakening its power and control in the areas affected;

- This effect is amplified by such depiction of violence in propaganda, depicting the government as weak while portraying the insurgents as

strong, and aggravating local grievances. At times, propaganda is the primary goal of violent insurgency;

- By targeting members of different ethnic or sectarian groups, a sense of social identity, solidarity and isolation from the government can be created;

- By creating violent unrest, insurgents can encourage people to look to them rather than the government to "restore" public order.

Subversion: This is an act used by insurgents to infiltrate, manipulate, sabotage or disrupt government agencies and organizations. In addition, insurgents can exploit competing power structures in the country, like tribal hierarchies, authorities or criminal links that challenge the central government's power and sphere of control. By doing so, the insurgents' aim is to 'out administer' the government. Obviously, these techniques will be especially effective in areas where government services have been weak or literarily absent.

Apolitical Motivations: Insurgencies look for means to attract foreign volunteers, supporters, criminals, and mercenaries who are often driven by money or extremism.

Self-Assessment Exercises 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

1. Mention three components of insurgency.

2. List three ways insurgents recruit and mobilize support.

1.6   Summary

In this unit, we have examined the meaning insurgency. We have also discussed various forms and types of insurgencies. In the next unit, we will discuss the history of insurgency and how it has evolved into what we have today.

1.7 References/Further Readings

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1.8   Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 1
1.   Insurgency is the actions of an organised, often ideologically motivated group or movement that seeks to effect or prevent political change of a governing authority within a region.
2.   True

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 2
1.   Proto-State, National Insurgencies and Liberation insurgencies.
2.   Politically organized; militarily organized

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 3
1. Leadership, ideology, objectives
2. Persuasion, Coercion and Subversion.

UNIT 2: HISTORY AND EVOLUTION OF INSURGENCY

Unit Structure

2.1 Introduction

Insurgency dates back to ancient times. During these times, individuals or groups arose in opposition to higher authorities. In this unit, we will examine the history of insurgency. We will also examine its evolution from ancient times to the 21st century.

2.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the history of insurgency.
- Analyse the evolution of insurgency over time.
- Demonstrate and understanding of various forms of insurgencies over time.
- Evaluate the history and evolution of insurgency.

2.3   Classical Insurgency

2.3.1 Insurgency in Ancient Times

Given the recent level of media attention, it is easy to think of insurgency as a new phenomenon. However, the history of insurgency dates back to the ancient world consisting of pre-modern societies without states. It is a world without modern communications, where transport and speed were not as fast as we have now, and combat takes place without guns. The first use of the term "insurgency" in its modern sense dates back to the 19th century, so common terms used to describe conflicts at those times included civil war, revolt, resistance, uprising or rebellion.

Indigenous groups fought their mighty occupiers, and even when they lost, they always dreamt of liberation. The Roman sources themselves also speak of the idea of freedom, the threat to ancestral values and ways of life, and the corruption of the original rulers when describing the motives for uprisings against the Roman government.

Throughout military history, there are numerous examples of insurgencies against powerful occupying armies: some were successful, while several were not. The nature and causes of a particular insurgency usually determine the success or failure of the insurgents in achieving their goals. Ancient Jewish history offers excellent examples of a successful insurgency and a failed one. The Jewish uprising against the Seleucid Empire (Maccabean Revolt of 166-164 BC) was a successful one, achieving the right to free religious practice for the Jewish people and eventually resulting in an independent Jewish state. This independence lasted for a hundred years until 63 BC when Judea was occupied by the Roman Empire. The Jews then revolted again in AD 66 against Roman rule, but this time, the insurgency was a disastrous failure for the Jews.

Another example is the Revolt of Babylon in 626 BC, referring to the revolt of general Nabopolassar and his war of independence until he successfully consolidated control of Babylonia in 620 BC. The Neo-Assyrian Empire, which had ruled Babylonia for more than a century, was defeated. The insurgency brought about the formation of the Neo-Babylonian Empire and was one of the main factors that contributed to the fall of Assyria Twenty years after the revolt commenced, Nabopolassar's army and that of his ally, Cyaxares of the Medes, had conquered the Neo-Assyrian Empire.

2.3.2 War of National Liberation

National liberation war or national liberation revolution is a war waged by nations to gain independence. This conflict is often referred to as insurgency, uprising, rebellion or war of independence.
These wars are often waged by guerrilla warfare tactics. The main aim of these tactics is to escalate the costs of anti-guerrilla forces beyond what they are able to bear. Wars of national liberation often depend on broad public support. The support of the average citizens is considered very important

The Haitian Revolution (1791-1804) is usually referred to as one of the first wars of national liberation. It was a war between self-liberated slaves and Imperial France, which came at a time in history when the American and French Revolutions had initiated a rise of national consciousness in the Atlantic world. About this time also, during the Spanish American wars of independence (1808-1833), the patriots launched several complex wars of independence against the royalists, resulting in the formation of new Latin American states. The Siege of Patras (1821) resulted in the Greek War of Independence, ending Ottoman domination and the establishment of the Kingdom of Greece.

Furthermore, after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish National Movement carried out a series of campaigns during the War of Independence (1919-1922), which brought about the subsequent withdrawal of Allied forces and the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. There were other liberation wars like the Indonesian War of Independence (1945–1949), the liberation of Irian Jaya (1960–1962), the First Indochina War (1946–54), the Vietnam War (1959–75), the liberation of Bangladesh (1971) and the Algerian War (1954-1962).

Self-Assessment Exercises 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 3 minutes:

1. Two of the terms used to describe insurgency before the 19th century are _____ and _____.
2. The Haitian Revolution (1791-1804) was a war of liberation. True or False.

2.4   Modern Insurgencies

2.4.1 Anti-Communist Insurgencies

After World War II officially ended, there were several anti-Communist insurgencies in Central and Eastern Europe from the 1940s into the 1960s against the Soviet Union and the communist states formed under Soviet occupation and support.

So many groups and movements arose at the time. Some of the prominent movements include: The Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the Baltic partisans known as the "Forest Brothers", the Polish partisans known as the "Cursed soldiers", the Bulgarian partisans known as "Goryani", the Croatian partisans known as "Crusaders", and the Serbian partisans known as "Chetniks".

Most of the activities of these groups have been considered as acts of terrorism. For instance, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and groups associated with the "cursed soldiers", were involved in ethnic cleansing and mass murder.

2.4.2 Colonial insurgency

Several countries under colonial rule went through a lot of bloody struggle to attain independence. Some of these were the Dutch East Indies, French Vietnam, and French Algeria. There was also the bloody struggle for independence in the Portuguese colonies: Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau.

In Angola, guerrilla fighters seeking independence engaged Portugal from 1961. The three major militant movements were the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA).

Also in Mozambique, the guerrilla forces of the Mozambique Liberation Front or FRELIMO (Frente de Libertaçao de Mocambique) waged an insurgency against Portugal. The war of independence which officially started on September 25, 1964, ended with a ceasefire on September 8, 1974, bring about a negotiated independence in 1975.

Likewise, the Guinea-Bissau War or the Bissau-Guinean War of Independence, was waged in Portuguese Guinea between 1963 and 1974. It was fought between Portugal and the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde, founded in 1956 and headed by Amílcar Cabral. The party took to insurgency and was backed by Cuba,

the Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia. Eventually, after the Carnation Revolution of 1974, Portugal granted independence to Guinea-Bissau, ending the war. Cape Verde was granted independence a year later.

Self-Assessment Exercises 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

  1. The "Cursed soldiers" were _____.
  2. Angola and Mozambique were French colonies. True or False.

2.5   Insurgency in the Contemporary World

2.5.1 20th Century Insurgency

During the second half of the 20th century, many countries in Latin America, Asia, Africa and even the periphery of Europe were ruled by weak and corrupt regimes, unpopular dictators, new and fragile governments, or colonial occupiers. Socialist radicalism and nationalism inspired revolutionaries all over the world and provided a moral justification for political violence. Enhanced literacy and improved communication helped in mobilizing the excluded and the oppressed. The Soviet Union, unable to conduct direct expansion, adopted an indirect strategy in which they supported the uprising to weaken the West. They were followed by China and Cuba.

In the late 20th century, indirect aggression through state support for insurgents was used in countries like Mozambique, Angola, Chad, Western Sahara, Uganda, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Kashmir and several other places. More importantly, insurgent movements flourished in the 20th century due to the invention of a powerful and effective insurgency strategy: the Maoist "people's war". The People's War begins when a highly motivated cadre, the support of the rural peasantry is mobilized using local nationalism and grievances, which often include corruption, repression, taxation, overcrowding and land ownership problems.

This was very powerful, especially when it can become a liberation insurgency. For example, the Chinese insurgents gained strength when their movement was projected as anti-Japanese, despite hardly fighting the Japanese. The People's War starts with an underground political organization before guerrilla warfare. The ultimate goal was to seize power and establish a communist state. As the insurgents prepared for a long struggle involving frequent military defeat, they sought to launch increasingly larger military campaigns.

The final stage of the Maoist People's War was often conventional manoeuvre warfare when the regime had been weakened by protracted guerrilla operations. Many of the great successes of the Maoist approach were conventional military victories. During the People's War, psychological actions, political mobilization and military operations went hand in hand. Actually, violence was considered "armed propaganda" designed to achieve the maximum psychological effect, such as showing the regime's weakness or incompetence or inciting the regime to overreact so as to erode the regime's support. Military actions that had the most direct effect on insurgents usually alienated the public, including the international community.

Violence also discouraged government supporters, while inspiring the potential supporters of the insurgents. For instance, The Algerian National Liberation Front, Viet Minh and Viet Cong, for instance, assassinated several unpopular local officials and landowners. Yet, the regime were often blamed for highhandedness, while many of the populace sympathized with the insurgents.

In addition, part of the People's War strategy was the development of "liberated areas" which the insurgents appeared to administer better than government-controlled areas. This was also a form of psychological warfare and propaganda aimed at winning those who were still doubtful to the insurgents' side.

2.5.2 Insurgency in the 21st Century

Most of the 21st century insurgencies are linked with religion, especially the many groups that has jihadist agendas. Jihadism has grown intensely and traumatically since the September 11, 2001 attacks in America. There has been an unimaginable proliferation of movements, leaders, targets, tactics, and arenas of operation since 2001. Concerted efforts by the international community toward countering the various groups of jihadis have yielded mixed results. America alone has expended trillions of dollar on military campaigns, intelligence, law enforcement, homeland security, and diplomacy to counter jihadism.

Jihadism has been greatly transformed by the advent of the Islamic State (also known as ISIS, ISIL, or Daesh). After capturing a large parts of Iraq and Syria in 2014, the group attracted thousands of foreign sympathizers who aim to build a new Islamic society in a modern caliphate. In fact, a large number of these sympathizers are educated and are professionals. They bolstered existing jihadist movements and generally mustered a new wave of support for jihadism. In 2014, ISIS appeared to over shadow al-Qaeda.

Initially, jihadism focused on overthrowing incumbent governments, its agendas progressively expanded to transnational or transcontinental ones. A lot of local jihadist groups have been formed, making jihadism to have several models. However, ISIS and al-Qaeda continue to be the two main global brands. Since 2013, there is only a little variation in the core ideology of the two groups, but there strategies and tactics are divergent. Al-Qaeda sometimes capitalize the tactics of ISIS tactics, and have often gained in surprising ways.

Several regions in Africa have experienced an increase in jihadist insurgency in recent years, especially Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) in the Sahel-Saharan region, Boko Haram in the Lake Chad region, Ahlu-Sunna Wa-Jama'a (or al-Shabaab) in the Horn of Africa, and Ansari al-Sharia and the Islamic State in the West African Province (ISWAP). The groups have carried out several attacks that resulting in thousands of casualties, with many displaced.

About sixteen African countries have experienced Jihadist attacks between 2002 and 2017. The attacks have been in the form of kidnapping and abduction of civilians, periodic assaults on military barracks, suicide bombings in mosques, churches, schools and markets. They have even made attempts to occupy and set up jihadist administration in some areas. A large number of young Africans from different social and economic backgrounds have been lured by the jihadist cause. A lot of them have been radicalized and have been drafted to fight on the side of ISIS in Syria and Iraq.

It is also important to note that 21st insurgencies are being transformed by globalization, the Internet, and the explosion of global media. The insurgencies are often referred to as "fourth generation warfare," or evolved insurgencies.

Self-Assessment Exercises 3

> Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 2 minutes:
>
>   1. The People's War strategy was used in Vietnam. True or False.
>   2. Daesh is a Jihadist group. True or False.

2.6   Summary

In this unit, we have discussed the history and evolution of insurgency from ancient times to the present day world. In the next unit, we will be able to see how insurgents make use of information and communications technologies.

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2.8   Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercises

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 1
1. Resistance and rebellion
2. True

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 2
1. Polish partisans
2. False

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 3
1. True
2. True

UNIT 3: INSURGENCY AND INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES

Unit Structure

3.1 Introduction
3.2 Learning Outcomes
3.3 Leveraging Information and Communications Technologies (ICT)
    3.3.1 The Internet
    3.3.2 Internet Use by Insurgents
    3.4 Social Media Platforms
    3.4.1 Twitter
    3.4.2 Facebook
    3.5 Other Information Technologies
    3.5.1 YouTube
    3.5.2 Google Earth
3.6 Summary
3.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
3.8. Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercises

3.1 Introduction

You will agree with me that information technologies have generally increased the efficiency with which we are able to receive, process, and act upon information. Technology in today's world has the capacity to support information flow, which is ever expanding. Technology has also reduced transmission times and cost, thereby allowing dispersed units or organizations to communicate, coordinate, and receive information back in real time. Information technologies are also being used by insurgent groups in their activities. This unit focuses on the various ways the insurgents groups navigate through various means of information and communications technologies.

3.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the role of Information and Communications Technologies (ICT) in insurgency
- Analyse the various ways insurgents utilize ICT
- Demonstrate an understanding of the importance of ICT to insurgency

- Evaluate the various ICT means available to insurgents

3.3 Leveraging Information and Communications Technologies (ICT)

3.3.1 The Internet

Since the late 1980s, the Internet, and its many platforms, have proven to be a very dynamic means of communication, reaching an increasingly wide audience globally. The increasing sophistication of technologies has produced a network with a global reach.

Internet technology affords easy communication with relative anonymity. It is quick and effective and its audience is almost limitless. Internet technology comes with numerous benefits, beginning with its unique provision of sharing information and ideas. However, the same technology that enables easier and faster communication is been utilized by insurgents. The Internet has become a significant part of the weapons used by insurgents in fighting their course.

A lot of these groups have functional websites where they post their activities and propaganda. For instance, most Al Qaeda-produced ideological material reflects Al Qaeda supporters' shared view of jihad as a duty to fight on behalf of Islam and Muslims, and, in many cases, they attack anyone, whether a Muslim or non-Muslim who are considered not pious enough or who is not in support of the enforcement of Islamic principles and religious laws.

3.3.2 Internet Use by Insurgents

The Internet is proving to be a useful tool to insurgents in many ways. These include propaganda (including recruitment, radicalization and incitement); fundraising; training; and planning (including through secret communication and open-source information). Let us examine each of them.

Propaganda: One of the main uses of the Internet by terrorists is for the dissemination of propaganda. It generally takes the form of providing ideological or practical instruction, explanations, justifications or promotion of terrorist activities through multimedia. These can include virtual messages, magazines, presentations, audio and video collections and video games produced by the insurgents or their sympathizers. One of the major themes in such propaganda is the promotion of violence. Since the content distributed through the Internet have broad reach, the

audience to be affected is likely to be very huge. It can also be used for the purpose of recruitment and radicalization.

Fundraising: The Internet can also serve as avenue for fund raising and collection of various forms of resources. This can take the form of soliciting donations from sympathizers or from the diaspora, participation in online crimes like credit card fraud, identity theft, and other types of scams.

Training: The Internet can also serve as alternative training ground for the insurgency groups. In recent times, there has been a proliferation of media that provide platforms which makes the dissemination of practical guides in the form of online manuals, audio and video clips, information and advice easy. These Internet platforms also provide detailed instructions, usually in accessible multimedia format and multiple languages, where the interested audience can find topics like how to join terrorist groups; how to build explosives, procure firearms or other weapons or hazardous materials; and how to plan and carry out terrorist attacks. The online training can be made anonymous, and can come cheap, and be easy. The insurgents will require little effort to radicalize these individuals they have not met physically and send them on suicide missions.

Planning: The internet's ability to bridge distances and borders, along with the vast amount of information publicly available in cyberspace, makes the internet a key tool for insurgents to use. For example, Iraqi insurgents use Google Earth to identify targets and infiltration routes. Other violent groups have found maps, diagrams and images of their targets online.

Self-Assessment Exercises 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

1. Mention three ways insurgents utilize the Internet.
2. Some insurgency groups have functional websites. True or False.

3.4   Social Media Platforms

3.4.1 Twitter

Social media platforms have played a critical role in the operational strategies of several insurgency groups. However, Twitter in particular

has been used for communications more than other social media platforms. The jihadist insurgents in Syria and Iraq are examples of groups that use the platform significantly.

For example, in April 2014, "Abu Daighum al-Britani", a British ISIL fighter, took to Twitter to post a screenshot of him holding a severed head. In August, Twitter posted stills from videos of beheadings, heads already cut off tied to posts of fences, several rows of men crucified, as well as a photograph of a seven-year-old Australian boy with a head given to him by his father. Violent images have shown the impact of social media in contemporary insurgencies.

A survey by Berger and Morgan (2015) gave an estimated figure of 46,000 Twitter accounts being used by ISIS supporters, from September to December 2014, though it was not all of them that were active at the same time. Additionally, accounts that support ISIS on average have around 1,000 followers and are also significantly more active than non-supporting users.

Additionally, starting in 2011, al-Shabaab took to Twitter, using the service to report the 2013 attack on the Westgate Shopping Centre in Nairobi, Kenya, in real time. This represents a concerted effort to be the main storyteller of the event, while diverting attention away from the report by the Kenyan government, so as to attract international media attention. It is worthy of note that 541 out of the 556 tweets from al Shabaab's Twitter account (97.3%) at the time were in English.

In late January 2015, Boko Haram created four separate Twitter accounts with the name "al-Urwah al-Wuthqa", which gained 4,000 followers within a few days. Although all of them were suspended due to policy violations in March 2015, while active, the group shared military training photos of "small" soldiers wearing dark robes and wielding AK-47 rifles. The caption described child soldiers as the "generation of conquest and victory".

3.4.2 Facebook

Like Twitter, Facebook is also used by insurgency groups and their supporters to promote violent extremist messages and propaganda. For example, Abu Mohammed al-Golani, the leader of a branch of al-Qaeda operating in Syria called al-Nusra Front, uses Facebook extensively. In August 2013, al-Golani vowed that there would be unrestrained missile attacks on Alawite communities, as well as attacks on the government of President Bashar Assad in retaliation for an alleged chemical strike. The message was posted on both Facebook and Twitter.

In addition, Al-Nusra Front has a dedicated Facebook page (facebook.com/jalnosra), which comprises of press releases, photographs, and videos from the fighting in Syria. It also hosts eulogies for the shaheeds (martyrs for Islam) of the organization, as well as news on the fighting going on in various places.

The eulogies posted on Facebook for killed ("martyred") jihadis by insurgent groups are meant to depict the fighters as role models for Muslims and to immortalize them. This is supposed to be another way of enticing radical Muslims who are feeling marginalized in their respective societies so as to radicalize them.

Facebook is also popular with insurgents in the Philippines. On May 30, 2017, at the height of the fighting between government forces and the Maute group in Marawi, the kidnappers of Marawi priest Father Teresito Soganub posted a video of him on Facebook. In the video, Soganub repeated the demands of his captors that Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte should withdraw government troops from the town of Marawi. The video attempts to connect the Maute group's attacks to the deep grievances of young Filipino Muslims. Insurgents in the Philippines also actively use Facebook for recruitment and radicalization.
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Self-Assessment Exercises 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

> 1. The most commonly used social media platform by insurgents is Twitter. True or False
> 2. Insurgents post eulogies on Facebook for radicalization. True or False.

3.5   Other Information Technologies

3.5.1 YouTube

A number of insurgency groups utilize online video sharing sites, especially YouTube, for their activities. YouTube was launched in 2005, and since then insurgents have continued to use it to posts various video clips where millions of people will be able to view them. For example, in the run-up to the 2008 Summer Olympics, the Turkistan Islamic Party (TIP) to YouTube to spread propaganda online and threatened to strike during the sports event. Some notable insurgency groups that make use of the platform include The Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, the Afghan Taliban, and al-Qaeda. In fact, al-Qaeda has a media distribution organization called As-Sahab, which posts a lot of videos on YouTube.

The Boko Haram group and the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIS) are also not left out. These organizations use videos posted on YouTube for recruitment. For instance, ISIS posted a recruitment video titled, "There's No Life Without Jihad", featuring three British fighters directly appealing for other westerners to join them in fighting jihad and they said they want to join the war in Iraq. Also, in December 2009, five young Americans from the Virginia area in America who travelled to Pakistan to join a terrorist group were arrested in the country. It was reported that one of them, Ahmed Minni, met a contact through YouTube who recruited them.

Several videos posted on YouTube portray ISIS members as fighters with a "moral conscience" and with many videos of them protecting civilians. Some videos also show members of the group visiting wounded fighters in hospitals and handing out sweets to children. Some showed scenes of terrorist attacks, including close-ups of children with severe burns. Others showed pictures of military vehicles being blown up as well as American soldiers being killed, while Arab victory songs played in the background.

3.5.2 Google Earth

Insurgents also use Google Earth for their operations. Google Earth is a valuable interactive mapping tool which allows users to control oblique perspective views of the Earth. Users are able to view cities and landscapes from many different angles. Google Earth imagery makes it possible to collect distance, altitude, and identify targets.

Insurgents particularly utilize Google Earth for the location of areas and targets. In 2007, for instance, during a raid on insurgent hideouts in southern Iraq, British troops came across printouts from Google Earth which showed their military bases during raids. Google Earth is also being used by Palestinian insurgents to plan attacks on the Israeli military and other targets.

Furthermore, members of the al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade, a group affiliated with the Fatah political party, mentioned the usefulness of Google Earth, which they claim help them in locating targets for rocket attacks.

Self-Assessment Exercises 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should
not take you more than 3 minutes:

1. "There's No Life Without Jihad" is a recruitment video by Boko
Haram. True or False
2. Insurgents use Google Earth to share videos. True or False

3.6   Summary

In this unit, we have been able to see that the internet and most social
media platforms are used by a large number of people in the world.
Insurgency groups are not left out in the bid to harness these technologies
to gain followers and sympathizers as well as showcase their activities to
all. Thus, we discussed the importance of information and
communications technologies to insurgent groups. We were able to see
the various platforms of the internet that they use in carrying out their
activities. In the next unit, we will examine some case studies of
insurgencies.

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3.8   Possible Answer to Self-Assessment Exercises

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 1
1. Propaganda, fundraising, training
2. True

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 2
1. True
2. True

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 3
1. False
2. False

UNIT 4   CASE STUDIES OF INSURGENCIES

Unit Structure

4.1   Introduction

In the last unit, we examined the use of information technologies by insurgency groups. We see that social media continue to serve as a breeding ground for insurgents. In this unit, we will examine some case studies of insurgencies over time.

4.2   Lesson Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the activities of some insurgency groups over time.
- Analyse the tactics used by some insurgency groups.
- Demonstrate an understanding of how some insurgency groups operated.
- Evaluate the effect of insurgencies on the affected countries.

4.3   Asia

4.3.1 Philippines (Huk Rebellion) (1946–1956)

One of the several guerrilla groups formed in the Philippines during the Japanese occupation in WWII was the Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon mostly known by the acronym Hukbalahap, or "Huks", roughly translated in English as the "People's Army Against Japan" . Approximately 10,000 Huks fought against the Japanese by 1943. By the time the country was liberated from Japanese occupation, the Huks were fully armed with weapons obtained from Japan or shipped from the United States.

The Philippines gained independence from America on July 4, 1946, and its first national elections were held in November 1946. The Huks took part in the elections as part of a group of leftist organizations called the Democratic Alliance, won six seats into the Philippine Congress. One of the winners was Luis Taruc, leader of the wartime Huk movement. But Manuel Roxas, the newly elected President refused to allow the members of the Democratic Alliance to be part of the Congress, prompting many Filipino farmers to join the Huk movement.

Fighting erupted between the Huks and the forces of the newly independent Philippines Republic by late 1946. The insurgency was principally a peasant movement. Its impetus was the breaking of the traditional relationship between landowners (landlords) and tau (farmers) as Philippine society shifted from a domestic consumption-based economy to an export-oriented capitalist economy. During this transition, the country experienced great economic inequality. The lower classes made up 90% of the population and poverty was widespread.

The Huks' main tactics during this period included robbing banks, trains and payroll, offices, and also small-scale raids and ambushes, which enabled them to escape large government armies. They did not try to gain control of any territory and or consider having liberated areas. In the early years, the Huks had about 5,000 active insurgents, 10,000 reserves who were lightly armed, and about 35,000 other supporters. The group also received incredible support internally, transforming the Barrio United Defence Corps to the People's Home Defence Force, made up of locally recruited villagers who provided intelligence, food supplies and various kinds of support to the insurgents. A large number of farmers were also in support of the insurgency.

4.3.2 Insurgency in Southern Thailand (1960 - till date)

From 1960 to 1998, different types of militant separatist movements were active in the southern Thai provinces. Although they have different ideologies and tactics, what was common to them was a common objective of having an independent Muslim state and Pattani should be the capital. Violent action in pursuit of this goal often follows the classical pattern of conflict of low-intensity, most especially kidnapping, ambushes, extortions, assassination, bombings and sabotage. The major objectives were to portray the southern provinces as being beyond the control of Bangkok, make Thais in the area feel insecure and pressurize the government to accede to their demand of Malay-Muslim separatism. The main groups are Barisan Revolusi Nasional (BRN), Patani United Liberation Organization (PULO) and New PUL.

The scale of unrest in the southern provinces decreased markedly in the late 1990s as the Thai government seemed to become more sensitive to the lack of economic and administrative development in Yala, Pattani and Narathiwat. The government did not only promise promote the natural resources of the area and to invest greater amounts in vocational training for local Malays, but also took steps to improve the understanding of the unique way of life of the Malay Muslims by the police and other agencies. The respite from the violence, however, was only temporary, largely because the Thai government was unable to capitalize on the respite by quickly rallying the local population through a sincere hearts and minds campaign. The promise of reducing unemployment was not fulfilled and nothing was done toward increasing the participation of the Malay-Muslim in local administration and in business.

From 2004 to date, the violence has been massive and bloody. The civilians have been at the receiving end. The current unrest in the south is marked by explicit rhetoric of religion and jihad of a kind that has not been apparent in recent years. This is evidenced by frequent attacks on dining venues, gambling venues, karaoke bars and other establishments associated with Western decadence and secularism; the distribution of leaflets (supposedly printed in Malaysia) specifically warning people of retaliation if they do not wear traditional Muslim clothing and do not fully observe the Friday holiday; and the increasing targeting of monks and other Buddhist civilians - often by very brutal means such as burning and beheading.

Self-Assessment Exercises 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

      1. The Hukbalahap is an insurgent group in India. True or False.
      2. The South Thailand insurgency can be traced to 1970. True or False

4.4. Africa

4.4.1 Insurgency in Mozambique

The current insurgency in Mozambique began on October 5, 2017, when 20 armed members of Ansar al-Sunna (Helpers of Sunnah) attacked three police stations in Mocímboa da Praia, a coastal district in the province of Cabo Delgado. The insurgents were speaking Portuguese, Kiswahili and Kiwiani. Two policemen were killed during the raid.

The group is commonly known as Ahlu Sunna Waljama`a (ASWJ) and is driven by Islamic fundamentalism. It is associated with a Somalia-based Al- Shabaab and the "Islamic State of the Central African Province" (IS-CAP). Ansar al-Sunna in Mozambique is made up of Mozambican fundamentalists from Mocímboa da Praia, Palma and Macomia districts, as well as foreign nationals from Somalia and Tanzania. The group also recruits militia from the local populace.

There are several attempts to understand the insurgency's root cause and origin. Like many terrorist groups, the insurgents do not have a public presence. The prevailing argument is that the revolt in Mozambique is driven by poverty, lack of socioeconomic opportunities, marginalization, discrimination, inequality, and youth frustrations caused by protracted conflict in the country.

However, some people have said that the insurgency in Mozambique was caused by radicalized Muslims who listen to clerics from Kenya and Tanzania, some believe that Mozambican students who studied in places like Saudi Arabia Egypt and Sudan are responsible for the insurgency.

The insurgents have invaded many homes, communities and villages in the province of Cabo Delgado, forcing members of the communities to flee. A large number of people have had to seek refuge in some areas in Mocimboa da Praia and some other provinces like Nampula, Niassa and Zambezia, which are considered safer. As of December 8, 2020, by the estimate of the Armed Conflict Locations and Events Data (ACLED) Project about 711 violent insurgent attacks have been carried out. It is

possible that the number may be higher than that, most likely, due to many unreported attacks in the area.

The insurgents also attack public facilities and infrastructure, as well as business premises. For instance, February 21, 2019, Anadarko Petroleum Corporation in the town of Palma, Cabo Delgado, was attacked twice, and casualties were recorded.

The insurgency in Mozambique have greatly affected the country in all ramifications. It is glaring that the government has not been successful in its counterinsurgency efforts, since the insurgents appear to have great resources in terms of training, intelligence, among many other things.

4.4.2 Boko Haram Insurgency (2009 - till date)

Boko Haram ("Western education is a sin") - one of Africa's largest Islamist militant groups - was founded in Maiduguri around 2002, the capital of Borno State and the largest city in northeast Nigeria by Mohammed Yusuf. Initially, the aim of the group was in the line of regime change in Nigeria as they believe that Sharia does not support democracy or secularism. However, along the line, the objective of the group has changed and now it is trying to establish an Islamic Caliphate in West Africa modelled after ISIS' operation in Syria and Iraq.

In July 2009, it was alleged that the police uses excessive force against members of the group, and the members retaliated by attacking police stations and public facilities. When the situation was beyond the control of the police, the military was brought in and over 700 hundred Boko Haram reportedly died in the attack. Yusuf and some other leaders of the group were arrested and handed over to the police. However, their corpse surfaced later. This made the other members take up arms against the state and the insurgency has continued since then.

This insurgency has gone beyond Nigeria's borders to reach Niger, Chad and Cameroon. Boko Haram has carried out terrorist attacks against religious and political groups, local police and the military, as well as indiscriminate attacks on civilians in busy markets and villages. The abduction of more than two hundred girls from their school in April 2014 drew international attention to the continued threat from Boko Haram and the government's inability to stop it. After negotiations between Boko Haram and the Nigerian government, brokered by the International Committee of the Red Cross, 103 of the girls were released.

In March 2015, the insurgents pledged allegiance to ISIS, which prompted the United States to increase its support to the Nigerian government in its counterinsurgency efforts.

Self-Assessment Exercises 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

1. Ansar al-Sunna is an insurgency group in _____.
2. The Boko Haram group was founded in 2010. True or False.

4.5 The Middle East

4.5.1 Iraq's Sunni Insurgency (2003-2013)

The Sunni insurgency in Iraq, which started after the overthrow of Saddam Hussein in April 2003, first took the form of protest against the occupation of the country by international (but mainly American) coalition forces. It quickly took a sectarian dimension. On one side were various Sunni insurgent groups, while on the other side were the Shia militias and the Iraqi government.

The nature of the insurgency then changed in 2004 with the arrival of Al-Qaeda in Iraq. While it failed to rally all the Sunni insurgent groups to its cause, it became the most effective element of the insurgency. Its targets include U.S. forces, the government, which was dominated by the Shia, and the Shia in general since they are all perceived as heretics by Al-Qaeda.

The insurgents have demonstrated the ability to strike anytime as well as any location. For instance, the acting head of Iraq's Governing Council was assassinated in July 2004. There were also attempts to eliminate several U.S. and Iraqi officials. Even, the Governor of Baghdad province was assassinated on January 5, 2005.

In 2013, armed violence increased tremendously in Iraq resulting in heavy casualty. The government of Iraq has been fighting ISIL since then with the support of the Peshmerga forces, a number of militia organizations, and the America led international coalition forces.

4.5.2 The Houthi Insurgency in Yemen (2004 - till date)

The insurgency in Yemen is largely between the government and the Houthi movement, officially called Ansar Allah (Partisans of God or Supporters of God). The group is an Islamist political and armed movement which was formed in the 1990s from Saada in North Yemen.

The group is a predominately Zaidi Shia force, and most of its leaders are from the Houthi tribe.

The insurgency began in June 2004 when the group's leader, Hussein Badreddin al-Houthi, launched a revolt against Ali Abdullah Saleh, the President of Yemen. The group accused Saleh of massive corruption and supporting Saudi Arabia and America over Yemen's sovereignty. Hussein gave a sermon on January 17, 2002, and came up with the slogan "God is greater, death to America, death to Israel, curse on the Jews, victory to Islam", which became the group's slogan. In September, 2004, Hussein and several of his guards were killed by the Yemeni army, and the insurgency commenced in earnest.

His brother, Abdul-Malik al-Houthi, took over the leadership of the group and fighting intensified between the group and the government. The main objective of the group is the eradication of economic underdevelopment and political marginalization and also to fight for greater autonomy for the Houthi-majority regions of the country. The group also claims that it supports a more democratic non-sectarian Yemen Republic

The group seized the opportunity provided by the Arab Spring in Yemen in 2011 to intensify its struggles. On August 18, 2014, the Houthis launched a series of protests in Sanaʿa against increasing fuel prices.

Protests and subsequent crackdown by government security forces led to violent clashes between the Houthis and the government from September 16. On September 21, the Houthis took control of Sanaʿa, then Prime Minister Mohammed Basindawa resigned and the Houthis signed an agreement on a new unity government with other political parties.

The insurgency intensified as Saudi led intervention had the mandate to restore the president that was deposed.

Self-Assessment Exercises 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 2 minutes:

   1. The insurgency in Iraq began in 2003. True or False
   2. The Houthi movement is also called _____.

4.6   Summary

In this unit, we have seen the activities of some insurgency groups over the decades. Insurgency constitutes a major problem to the countries where it is occurring and also to the international community. In the next module, we will learn about how governments and relevant institutions try to fight insurgency.

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4.8 Possible Answer to Self-Assessment Exercises

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 1
1. False
2. False

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 2
1. Mozambique
2. False

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 3
1. True
2. Ansar Allah

4.9   Glossary

Diaspora: People settled far from their ancestral homelands**.**

Eulogy: A speech or piece of writing that praises someone or something highly, especially a tribute to someone who has just died.

- **End of the Module Questions**

1. Examine the role of social media as a weapon of insurgency.
2. Discuss two cases of insurgencies in Africa
3. Analyse the activities of the Houthi movement.

MODULE 5   ESSENTIALS OF COUNTERINSURGENCY

Module Structure

Unit 1:   Understanding Counterinsurgency
Unit 2:   Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance (ISR) Operations
Unit 3:   Roles of Actors in Counterinsurgency
Unit 4:   Case Studies of Counterinsurgencies
                Glossary End of the Module Questions

UNIT 1: UNDERSTANDING COUNTERINSURGENCY

Unit Structure

1.1   Introduction
1.2   Learning Outcomes
1.3   Conceptualizing Counterinsurgency
      1.3.1 What is Counterinsurgency?
      1.3.2 Theories of Counterinsurgency
      1.4   The Nature of Counterinsurgency
      1.4.1 Counterinsurgency Approaches
      1.4.2 Hard power, Soft power and Smart power Measures
      1.5   Intelligence in Counterinsurgency
      1.5.1 Importance of Intelligence
      1.5.2 Principles of Intelligence
1.6   Summary
1.7   References/Further Readings
1.8   Possible Answer to Self-Assessment Exercises

1.1 Introduction

In Module 4, we discussed about insurgency and its various aspects. From our discussion, I am sure you will agree with me that it is a major threat to human security and that it needs to be combatted. This is referred to as counterinsurgency. In this unit, we will examine the meaning and nature of counterinsurgency. We will also examine some theories of counterinsurgency.

1.2   Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the meaning of counterinsurgency.
- Analyse the nature of counterinsurgency.
- Demonstrate an understanding of counterinsurgency theories.
- Evaluate the counterinsurgency measures.

1.3   Conceptualizing Counterinsurgency

1.3.1 What is Counterinsurgency?

Counterinsurgency, frequently referred to by the acronym COIN, has been defined in various ways by scholars and institutions. Let us look at some of the definitions. According to Moore (2007), counterinsurgency is an integrated set of political, economic, social and security measures intended to end and prevent the recurrence of armed violence, create and maintain stable structures, and find a lasting solution to the sources of the insurgency so as to have conditions for lasting stability. To Kilcullen (2010), Counterinsurgency is an umbrella word that describes the whole range of measures which governments undertake to defeat insurgencies. NATO doctrine (2016) defines counterinsurgency as comprehensive efforts made by civilians and military to defeat an insurgency and to address any major grievances. According to the U.S. Government Counterinsurgency Guide (2009), Counterinsurgency (COIN) is the combination of comprehensive efforts by the civilian and military designed to concurrently contain insurgency and address its root causes. From all these definitions, we can infer that counterinsurgency can be described as all measures used or put in place by the government and external partners in defeating or combating insurgency. Establishing or maintaining the rule of law is the goal of counterinsurgency.

The U.S. Government Counterinsurgency Guide (2009) notes that the best practice counterinsurgency integrates and synchronizes political, security, economic, and informational components that reinforce governmental legitimacy and effectiveness while reducing insurgent influence over the population.

1.3.2 Theories of Counter insurgency

We can categorize counterinsurgency theories into two broad categories: classical counterinsurgency and contemporary counterinsurgency theories.

1. Classical Counterinsurgency Theories
Classic counterinsurgency theory is about the strategic thinking of the 1950s and 1960s. It was shaped by the Cold War and the rise of nationalist and anticolonial movements. Key theorists included David Galula, Robert Thompson, Frank Kitson, Bernard Fall, Mao Zedong, Che Guevara and Vo Nguyen Giap.

Classic counterinsurgency is usually divided into the British and French schools of thought. The British approach sees counterinsurgency as policing matter while the French perspective sees insurgency as a matter of war. These two different approaches bring about differences in tactics and methods for countering insurgencies.

The classical French approach sees insurgency as a new form of war consisting of an interlocking system of actions - political, economic, psychological and military - aimed at overthrowing the established government in one country and replacing it with a new one. French thinking on counter-insurgency favours pacification; this is based on the idea that certain populations can be pacified through political support gained from administrative work at the local level, thus ensuring success at the military level. According to the French school of thought, victory is not seen as dependent on the outcome of a battle in a particular terrain. The French emphasized the need for a holistic approach that incorporates a combination of social, political and military strategies to combat the insurgents.

On the other hand, Britain's approach to counterinsurgency closely resembles the policing of the colonial times and thus emphasizes the synthesis of police and military efforts. The British methods were based on the use of the idea of minimum force and as much as possible, the use of conventional police and civilian structures. The British approach generally avoids overreliance on military means and the use of force and tends to place its focus on responding to legitimate grievances raised by the insurgents.

The classic British COIN is best summed up by Robert Thompson's Five Principles of Counterinsurgency:

1. Government must have clear political goals;
2. The government must act according to the law;

3.   The government must have a comprehensive plan that includes more than just security measures and military operations;
4.   The government must prioritize defeating political subversion, not guerrilla warfare;
5.   During the guerrilla phase of an insurgency, the government must first secure its bases.

These five principles emphasize the importance of state control and political legitimacy; they work together to take power away from the insurgents by eradicating grievances and improving the legitimacy of the state while removing the legitimacy of the insurgents.

2.   Contemporary Counterinsurgency Theories:

There are two major modern theories of counterinsurgency: Hearts and Mind theory and Cost-Benefit Theory.

(a)   Hearts and Minds Theory

This theory, which came to be known as "winning peoples' hearts and minds" (abbreviated to "hearts and minds") is a term created in the 1950s by Sir Gerald Templer during the Malayan state of emergency. It emphasises popular support. According to the theory, considering that the insurgents employ terrorist or guerrilla tactics, a counterinsurgency can only be effective when there is information. In addition, since the counterinsurgents are not likely to know where attacks may happen, the civilians are more like to have such information. Winning the hearts and minds of the people will then mean that the populace will supply the necessary information to the counterinsurgents which will help in preventing attacks as well as apprehending the insurgents. When aid is used to build relationships between locals and the military by developing projects desired by locals, there likely to be an increase in the information made available to the government forces. Thus, aid can be a positive instrument for the fight against insurgencies.

(b)   Cost-Benefit Theory:

This theory, propounded by Charles Wolf, Jr. in 1965 is also known as coercion theory. According to the theory, the people do not care about both the insurgents and the counterinsurgents, therefore, any of the sides that provide the best incentives and disincentives will get their attention. Wolf countered the argument that improving the standard of living of the people by providing them with facilities would reduce insurgency.
In fact, providing these facilities in the form of development would provide more resources to the people, which the insurgents could then obtain from the masses through persuasion, coercion, or a combination of

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both. Ironically, programmes designed to reduce popular support for insurgents can actually reduce the cost of insurgent inputs such as food. As a result, the population would receive government resources in return for cooperating with government efforts to reduce the availability of those resources to the insurgents. In other words, the government should tie the people cooperation to their quest for development.

Self-Assessment Exercises 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 3 minutes:

     1. Which theory of counterinsurgency is based on popular support?

     2. The French perspective views insurgency as a matter of policing. True or False.

1.4 The Nature of Counterinsurgency

1.4.1 Counterinsurgency Approaches

The approach a government uses to deal with an insurgency can be broadly classified according to whether its primary goal is to attack the insurgents, keep the population safe, or punish the insurgents as well as their supporters. Practically, all the approaches involve one form of violence or another against the insurgents, even if their emphasis is different. Whichever approach a government decides to use will likely depend on various factors including the country's historical experience, its culture, its military capabilities and the type of government, as well as the outlook of the insurgency. The approach employed may continue to change based on the circumstances of the insurgency.
The three most popular approaches are:

1. **Enemy-centric Approach:** This approach perceives insurgency as similar to conventional warfare, therefore, the primary mission of the counterinsurgents is to defeat the enemy. So the main goal of the government is to destroy the enemy. After the insurgent forces have been eradicated, the government can then focus on economic development and better governance. This approach usually involves operations like search-and-destroy and cordon-and-search. Security forces are always in search of insurgents.

2. **Population-centric Approach:** The first priority of this approach is to win the support of the populace. This is based on the idea that if the government is able to control the populace and its environment sufficiently, the insurgents will not have the support needed and will

weaken, be uncovered, or even both, thereby ending the insurgency. Ideally, the government would provide security, good governance, and employment, find a lasting solution to the insurgents' grievances and thereby get the people's support. With these, the insurgents would not likely be able to recruit among the populace and the insurgency will die out. This kind of approach is one in which the security forces get rid of the insurgents in an area, patrol the area to prevent them from returning, carry out development projects which will endear the government to the people, and involve the people in securing the area.

3. **Authoritarian Approach:** The aim of this approach is to punish both the insurgents and their supporters among the populace. This method shuns basic counterinsurgency best practices—like marginal use of force, appropriate respect for fundamental human rights, and trying to win the support of the populace. Instead, the counterinsurgents seek to make the people realise that supporting the insurgents is costly. This method was employed by several colonial powers but it is not fashionable in today's counterinsurgency efforts.

1.4.2 Hard, Soft and Smart Measures

The approaches to counterinsurgency can be further divided into hard power (violent), soft power (nonviolent) and smart (combination) measures.

a. **Hard Power Measure:** This is the direct military and paramilitary strategy intended to kill or neutralize the insurgents on a physical level. Insurgent support networks can be dismantled, individual insurgents can be detained and killed, and insurgent organizations can be cut down. The hard power approach can be implemented by either indiscriminate or selective violence. Selective state violence targets just insurgents or people who supported revolt and punishes based on personal behaviour. Contrarily, indiscriminate state violence targets people based on their membership in a particular group, such as their village or ethnic group, regardless of whether they took up guns or otherwise supported the insurgents.

b. **Soft Power Measure:** A combination of political, economic, psychological, and civic initiatives may be used as an indirect strategy to enhance civilian wellbeing beyond security considerations. Instead of using coercion, soft power emphases attraction. Typically, this entails using financial incentives and rewards, building rapport with individuals or groups in order to gather intelligence, gaining those individuals' hearts and minds, and dissuading civilians from joining the insurgency.

c. **Smart Power Measure**: This combines both hard power and soft power. Smart power is the skilful blending of both hard power and soft power, according to the U.S. Centre for Strategic and International Studies Commission on Smart Power. In order to accomplish American goals, the Commission defined smart power as "creating an integrated strategy, resource base, and toolkit, drawing on both hard and soft power." Smart power's main tenet is to strengthen both hard and soft power while simultaneously minimizing their flaws. As an illustration, smart power might be the use of military force to execute airstrikes or other military operations to weaken, disrupt, or otherwise destroy a violent non-state actor in a failing or faltering state while also investing in infrastructure and assistance for that state. In essence, the state applying hard power is treating the symptoms (the violent non-state actor) as well as the ailment (circumstances providing an environment encouraging violent non-state actors).

Self-Assessment Exercises 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

1. The three counterinsurgency measures are _____, _____ and ____.

2. The enemy-centric approach is concerned with the support of the populace. True or False.

1.5 Intelligence in Counterinsurgency

1.5.1 Importance of Intelligence

Conducting counterinsurgency operations requires accurate, reliable, and timely intelligence since the effectiveness of the intelligence effort determines whether the mission will ultimately succeed or fail.

For external forces in particular, in order for commanders to address the reasons causing the insurgency, intelligence is needed to enable an understanding of the people, the incumbent government, the operating environment, and the insurgents. However, insurgencies are basically not east to evaluate. This is made more difficult by the structure of the regular military intelligence system, which was created for big theatre battle rather than for counterinsurgency.

Thus, for a successful counterinsurgency operation, the intelligence systems and personnel need to adapt to the challenges of the

counterinsurgency environment and use all available means to gather adequate and accurate intelligence for the commanders.

1.5.2 Principles of Intelligence

The foundation of an effective counterinsurgency is gathering intelligence to aid the counterinsurgents in carrying out a mission successfully, particularly to identify an opponent who frequently hides in plain sight. Here, we will focus on six key principles of counterinsurgency intelligence.

First, people matter in counterinsurgency intelligence. It is crucial for the counterinsurgents to have an understanding of the general people, the insurgents as well as the insurgents' complaints. They need to be aware of how the people and groups think and behave, as well as their perceptions, values, beliefs, and interests. These serve as the framework for intelligence gathering and analysis

Secondly, counterinsurgency is a war of intelligence. Effective intelligence capabilities are necessary for both insurgents and counterinsurgents to succeed. As a result, both sides make an effort to establish and sustain intelligence networks and engage in constant efforts to undermine one another's intelligence capabilities.

Third, there is a close feedback loop between intelligence and operations. This may be advantageous or detrimental. When intelligence is effective, the operation will be effective. On the other hand, inaccurate or ineffective intelligence will result in ineffective operations.
Fourth, all operations include the component of intelligence. Members of the counterinsurgent force can all be intelligence collectors when relating with the people. Thus, intelligence collection should be part of the requirements for all operations.

Fifth, in counterinsurgency, the flow of intelligence is from the bottom up, and all echelons both gather and utilize intelligence. This is because insurgencies are mostly local and differ significantly in time and space. The insurgency being faced by a particular battalion would likely be different from an adjacent battalion. Due to the fact that their organic intelligence structure is frequently insufficient to deal with these realities, tactical units at the brigade and lower level require a lot of support for intelligence gathering and analysis.

Finally, units at all ranks often operate in a joint, combined setting. Thus, intelligence collection and analysis must be properly and efficiently coordinated among the military of the host state, the intelligence services and the various intelligence organizations.

Self-Assessment Exercises 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

1. Effective, accurate, and timely intelligence is not crucial for counterinsurgency operations. True or False.

2. Intelligence flows from the top up in counterinsurgency. True or False.

1.6   Summary

In this unit, we have examined the meaning, nature and theories of counterinsurgency. We can conclude that the action taken by an established government, or by external forces on its behalf, against a group or groups fighting a revolutionary war or carrying out a localized armed rebellion against it, with the aim of put an end to such groups is called counterinsurgency. We also looked at the importance of intelligence in counterinsurgency operations. We will examine this extensively in the next unit.

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1.8   Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 1
1.   Hearts and Minds Theory
2.   False

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 2
1.   Hard power, Soft power, and Smart power measures.
2.   False

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 3
1.   False
2.   False.

UNIT 2: INTELLIGENCE, SURVEILLANCE, AND RECONNAISSANCE (ISR) OPERATIONS

Unit Structure

2.1   Introduction

In unit 1, we discussed the importance of intelligence to counterinsurgency. It drives operations and it is important to the success of the counterinsurgents. This unit focuses on Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance (ISR).

2.2   Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the meaning of Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance (ISR).
- Analyse the role of ISR in counterinsurgencies.
- Demonstrate an understanding of the functions of ISR.
- Evaluate the importance of ISR.

2.3   Understanding Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance (ISR)

2.3.1 What is Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance (ISR)?

Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance (ISR) is defined by the U.S. Army Intelligence (ADP 2-0) as an integrated operations and intelligence activity that coordinates and integrates the planning and operation of sensors, assets, and processing, exploitation, and dissemination systems in direct support of current and future operations. Also, ISR is similarly described by the U.S. Air Force Doctrine Document 2–5.2 as the integrated capabilities to gather, process, exploit, and communicate accurate and timely information that provides the battle space awareness required to successfully plan and carry out operations. According to Brown (2014), ISR is a military operation designed to assist decision-makers in anticipating change, reducing risk, and influencing outcomes. It includes planning and directing intelligence, tasking, human and technical collection, processing, exploitation, creation, and distribution.

In essence, ISR is basically a combined intelligence and operations function that entails the coordinated gathering, handling, and dissemination of precise, timely information and intelligence to aid a commander in making decisions. It is a continuous, optimized operation that focuses on gathering pertinent data that is then evaluated to produce intelligence to assist the situational awareness of the commander or leader and the operational cycle. To assure the success of operations, the majority of land, sea, air, and space components play crucial roles in ISR acquisition.

The ISR systems can gather data from a variety of sources, such as electronic signals, optical, infrared images, radar, and so on. Satellites, unmanned aircraft, aviation systems, specialized ground, sea, or space-based equipment, and human intelligence teams are some of the tools used to collect this data.

To improve the efficacy of military operations, quality intelligence regarding adversary threats depends on accurate ISR data. The continual advancement of technology in recent years has only raised the demand for ISR capabilities.

2.3.2 Components of ISR

Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance (ISR) offers the basis for all military operations, and its principles have been used in warfare for centuries. The individual elements of ISR are:

- Intelligence: This is the finished product that was created by fusing information from other sources with surveillance and reconnaissance. The data gathered from surveillance and reconnaissance, which is transformed into intelligence through fusion and analysis, is then utilized to create and implement campaigns, organize military operations, and build strategy.
- Surveillance: This is the persistent observation of a target. The key regions of surveillance are those where the enemy's activity has been detected. It is actively covering some regions of activity while passively viewing larger areas. Much sooner than reconnaissance, surveillance accurately shows the enemy's objectives. ; and
- Reconnaissance: This information-gathering was done to respond to a particular military query. The goal of reconnaissance is to gather precise information. It is usually concentrated and takes only a short amount of time to gather information about an adversary.

Surveillance and reconnaissance can both involve visual observation (for instance, soldiers can discreetly observe a target with on the ground or through unmanned aircraft systems (UAS) with cameras) in addition to observing electronically.

The difference between surveillance and reconnaissance has to do with timing and specificity; while reconnaissance missions are typically quick and targeted to gather specific information, surveillance is a more lengthy and methodical activity.

After gathering information through observation and reconnaissance, intelligence specialists can analyze it, combine it with data from other sources, and create the intelligence that is used to guide military and civilian decision-makers, notably for the planning and execution of operations.

Self-Assessment Exercises 1

> Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 3 minutes:
>
>   1. Reconnaissance is a prolonged mission. True or False.
>   2. _____ and _____ differentiate surveillance and reconnaissance.

2.4   Mechanism of ISR

2.4.1 Actors

There are a number of major actors involved in making information gathering possible, to ensure that information is analyzed, and to create intelligence for decision-makers. These include:

- **Surveillance and reconnaissance collection assets**
  They are responsible for gathering data. Examples are the Alliance Ground Surveillance (AGS) and Airborne Warning & Control System (AWACS) surveillance planes, which collect information using radar, observation satellites, electronic tools, and specialized ground reconnaissance soldiers.

- **Intelligence analysts**
  Their responsibility include utilizing and analyzing data from various sources. Examples are analysts who may be civilians or from the military working at strategic levels in intelligence organizations, imagery analysts at various levels as well as encryption experts.

- **Decision-makers**
  The responsibility of these actors is to utilize the processed intelligence for decision-making. Examples are head of governments and commanders of the military.

2.4.2 Functions of ISR

The ISR sensors gather information on a specific area of operations or battle space in order to assist a commander's information demands. These sensors have a wide range of capabilities that extend from above the earth's atmosphere to below the ocean's surface. These requirements could include knowing where hostile forces are located, how capable and motivated they are to wage a war.

After data is gathered from various sources, it is subjected to analysis, primarily by humans with assistance from artificial intelligence, and turned into information. This data constructs a story about the activities that has been seen in the battle space. After that, the analysts obtains meaning from the information, producing intelligence and a picture of enemy operations that meets the commander's information demands, which eventually influences decision-making.

Additionally, ISR provides both targeting information for weapon systems to engage enemy forces and threat information to protect forces

during the course of real-time combat operations, as directed by a commanding officer. The flow of crucial information will be facilitated by a close connection between the ISR process and the strategy, planning, and execution processes. The decision-making, planning, preparation, execution, and assessment processes are all based on the commander's consideration of both the strengths and weaknesses of ISR systems and organizations.

Self-Assessment Exercises 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

1. The actors that analyse information in ISR are the
   _____.
2. ISR sensors can be used to locate insurgents. True or False

2.5 ISR in Counterinsurgency

2.5. ISR Operations

During a COIN, the goal of intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) operations is to gather the information required to solve the issues fuelling the insurgency. In COIN situations, some factors are especially crucial for ISR operations. These include a concentration on the local population, collecting at all levels, and the local nature of insurgencies.
The information collected and processed by the ISR process can be used to provide near real-time threat warning directly to the forces involved (e.g. missile defence, terrorism). It also provides intelligence production centres with data to perform force composition assessments, estimation, and trend analysis (e.g. identification of unauthorized people and vehicles, identification of patterns, abnormal movement, medical monitoring, etc.).

2.5.2 The Future of ISR in Counterinsurgency

Intelligence will continue to be of prime importance to counterinsurgency operations. Technological innovation will allow counterinsurgency strategy to adapt to the intelligence landscape, in which connections within insurgent networks are mapped, attacked, and remapped as part of a joint offensive operation continuously, with purpose and at high speed. Data gathering capabilities and the need to process ever-increasing volumes of data will both expand as a result of the development of sensor technologies. Without the analytical infrastructure to handle and utilize the data, even the most sophisticated collection method is of little use. The

difficulty of the ISR work is increased by the introduction of big data, which are high-volume data sets made up of a variety of data types and sources that are collected and delivered at a rapid rate. New technologies and methodologies are therefore required to extract value from massive datasets.

In essence, therefore, the whole intelligence network, where analysts can quickly analyze, fuse, and interpret data from various sources, has to be more tightly integrated into ISR. Intelligence must be communicated to the appropriate users at the appropriate time after being thus processed. Armed forces must stop compartmentalizing their activities and better link their different national and international intelligence, operations, and command and control efforts if they are to achieve the required integration.

Better intelligence sharing between military branches and other partners will also continue to be important. Collaboration and improved counterinsurgency operations would be facilitated by shared institutional and technological frameworks.

Self-Assessment Exercises 3

> Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 3 minutes:
>
>   1. Big data makes ISR more complex. True or False
>   2. Two factors crucial to ISR operations in COIN environments are _____ and _____.

2.6   Summary

In this unit, we have examined Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance (ISR) and its importance in counterinsurgency operations. We have seen that the ISR systems are critical in providing valuable information on the enemy's disposition, troop strength, and composition in real-time. It is meant to save the lives of the counterinsurgents as well as the populace. In the next unit, we will examine actors and their roles in counterinsurgency.

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2.8 Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercises

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 1
1. False
2. Time and specificity

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 2
1. Intelligence analysts
2. True

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 3
1. True
2. A focus on the local populace; collection occurring at all echelons

UNIT 3:   ROLES OF ACTORS IN COUNTERINSURGENCY

Unit Structure

3.1   Introduction

From what we have learnt so far, we see that counterinsurgency is a comprehensive civilian and military effort. Therefore, there are several actors involved in counterinsurgency. These include both state and non-state actors. In this unit, we will examine the roles of these actors in countering insurgencies.

3.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the actors identified in counterinsurgency.
- Analyse the impact of actors in counterinsurgencies.
- Demonstrate an understanding of the role of the counterinsurgents.
- Evaluate the roles of military and non-military actors in counterinsurgency.

3.3 Military Counterinsurgency Participants

3.3.1 The Army

The military plays a significant part in COIN operations. The joint forces' wide range of skills are frequently utilised in COIN, one of the most demanding and sophisticated forms of combat. Armed forces carry out a unique combination of offensive, defensive, and stability operations. Insurgents must be cut off from and isolated from the populace they want to govern in order for operations to be successful. Air, land, and sea components all play a role in this effort.

However, the Army typically provides the majority of the military support during COIN. Due to their specialized talents in civil affairs, psychological operations, intelligence, language proficiency, and geographical expertise, special operations troops (SOF) within the land forces are particularly helpful to COIN. Additionally, they can offer very small, quick, and high-capability teams that can work covertly in local neighbourhoods.

Disciplined troops led by adaptable, self-aware, and smart leaders are the most crucial resources in COIN. Additionally, several military units have components that are particularly pertinent to typical COIN difficulties. For example, dismounted infantry, human intelligence, linguists, military police, engineers, medical units, logistical support, legal affairs, and contracting elements are frequently needed for COIN operations. The Army has every one of these components.

3.3.2 External Support

In addition to the "direct" kind of counterinsurgency warfare, in which the incumbent authority or government engages an insurgent organization directly, there are counterinsurgency tactics in which the incumbent government receives outside backing. Governments in power could get assistance from armed forces from other nations as well as those from military alliances like NATO or the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). The ongoing conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan, where weak incumbent governments are supported by Western countries, are contemporary examples of such external support.

A foreign government's or an international military force's help may take many different forms, including security assistance, advising, training, rebuilding teams, medical support, and actual combat forces. The intensity of outside assistance will depend on the type and stage of the

conflict as well as how well the current administration can handle the issue.

The primary goal of the supporting forces will first be to establish the secure surroundings required for the regular operation of the government in the worst scenarios, where the current government is weak and is unable to function independently. The scope of other non-military activities, such as infrastructure rebuilding and economic expansion, can more readily proceed once an area has attained a sufficient level of security. The goal is to establish the circumstances so that the current administration can function well and put an end to the insurgency without assistance from outside sources.

Self-Assessment Exercises 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

1. The Army usually provides the major military contributions to counterinsurgency operations. True or False
2. Counterinsurgency operations are carried out only by national governments. True or False

3.4 Law Enforcement Agents

3.4.1 State Police Force

The primary duty of the state police is law enforcement. However, they also take part in counterinsurgency activities. According to mission-specific elements such the mission mandate, threat environment, state of local security institutions, and accessibility of foreign personnel and experience, police forces' makeup and roles as well as the division of tasks between police and military forces vary. When participating in significant stabilization missions, police work side by side with armed forces, preferably developing a productive working relationship while keeping a distinct operational character.

During counterinsurgency operations, police play a crucial role in population control and protection. These activities, which might include public order management duties like riot control, checkpoint upkeep, and curfew enforcement, call for a high level of expertise and sturdiness.
The police are essential in acquiring intelligence. Information regarding insurgents and their support systems is just one aspect of intelligence's role in stability operations, which also includes knowledge of local issues with essential services, governance, and criminality.

In India, police engagement in counterinsurgencies has been successful. Groups clamouring for a separate state of Khalistan were successfully neutralized by the state police in Punjab with the aid of the central paramilitary forces. With the help of the effective Greyhounds model of security force operation, the state police of Andhra Pradesh played a crucial role in the counterinsurgency. Similar tactics were used in West Bengal, where the authorities forced the militants to disperse into the surrounding area, drastically reducing the amount of extremist violence in the state. Police forces in these states were able to enhance their capabilities, create dynamic leadership, and improve their structures and strategies to effectively fight insurgencies.

3.4.2 Community Policing

According to Riddle (2015), community policing is a proactive strategy to law enforcement that is focused on community engagement and promotes local problem-solving, resulting in a bottom-up approach to security advances and public safety concerns.

As actions are based on existing laws, a police force using a community-policing strategy establishes the legitimacy of the government. A police force using a community-policing strategy also receives power from local government officials and community leaders in addition to the authority received from the government.

When police use this strategy, they strike a balance between the interests of the government and the needs of the general public in terms of security. Community policing, according to Williams, "helps to legitimize police operations by presenting cops as problem-solvers," who "create police-driven partnerships that earn the cooperation of community leaders." Armed with a badge, a holstered pistol, and a variety of less-lethal instruments, uniformed police officers who represent the community they serve engage in community policing.

Self-Assessment Exercises 2

> Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:
>
>   1. Mentions three roles of the state police in counterinsurgency operations.
>   2. Community policy is important in counterinsurgency

3.5 Non-military Counterinsurgency Participants

3.5.1 Non-governmental Organizations

As part of the hearts and minds theory which we discussed in unit 1, Soft power and counterinsurgency strategies that try to win over the local populace without resorting to violence have received more attention in recent years. One way to employ soft power in counterinsurgency operations is through non-governmental organizations. International and local NGOs play a significant role in assisting with relief, reconstruction, development, and peace building in unstable regions where the military operations.

According to the U.S. Army Doctrine Reference Publication (ADRP) 3-0, an NGO is a private, self-governing, non-profit organization that is committed to eradicating human suffering, as well as advancing human rights, economic development, environmental protection, and conflict resolution. It is also encouraged to promote the establishment of democratic institutions and civil society.

These NGO employees are excellent sources of knowledge (if not intelligence) for the counterinsurgents since they are familiar with the local customs and "human domain," interact often with the general public, and are well-versed in local politics. The security manager or director is a crucial point of contact within an NGO organization as they keep abreast of the current security situation using sources and techniques that the intelligence analyst is not privy to.

The NGOs additionally offer a range of aid in crisis zones. For instance, numerous NGOs presently offer help in Afghanistan. Some are interfaith, while others are non-denominational. Although the majority of NGOs are from Afghanistan, well-established international relief and development NGOs carry out the greatest initiatives. Health care, disaster relief, school rehabilitation and instructional programming, community development, capacity building initiatives, and agricultural development activities are the main focuses of NGO programming. Some NGOs are engaged in peace building, mine action, governance programs, and some aspects of security sector reform.

3.5.2 International Organizations

Major players in counterinsurgency include international institutions like the United Nations (UN), especially its special agencies, and regional organizations like the European Union (EU) and African Union (AU).

These organizations have the capacity to forge coalitions and alliances among their member states, which frequently enables them to interfere directly and physically in a conflict.

Furthermore, these groups frequently take part in peacekeeping or peace support missions. For instance, look at the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). AMISOM's mission evolved far beyond typical peacekeeping to encompass war fighting, counterinsurgency operations, and humanitarian support, even though its primary objectives were to safeguard Somalia's frail transitional national government and maintain the security environment.

Additionally, through the use of UN and EU Special Representatives, Special Envoys, or other particular arbitration mechanisms, these institutions may assume the role of negotiator or mediator in a multi-level context. In this capacity, they may urge all actors in a conflict or crisis, including state actors and armed non-state actors, to support and uphold a peace process or political solution and to keep an eye on such settlements.

Self-Assessment Exercises 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes:

1. Mention two roles the United Nations can play in counterinsurgency.
2. NGOs role in counterinsurgency can be linked to hard power. True or False.

3.6 Summary

In this unit, we discussed the important roles of various actors in counterinsurgency. For a counterinsurgency operation to be successful, there is a need for concerted efforts. In the next unit, we will examine some cases of counterinsurgency operations and their outcomes.

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3.8 Possible Answer to Self Assessment Exercises

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 1
1.True
2. False

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 2
1. Population control, protection and intelligence gathering
2. True

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 3
1. Peacekeeper, negotiator
2. False

UNIT 4:   CASE STUDIES OF COUNTERINSURGENCIES

Unit Structure

4.1   Introduction

For as long as insurgent groups decide to engage governments or authorities over their grievances, there will always be counterinsurgency efforts and operations. Over decades, hundreds of counterinsurgency operations have been conducted all over the world. While some success stories have been recorded, there are several failed operations. In this unit, we will examine some successful and failed counterinsurgencies.

4.2   Lesson Outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the meaning of successful and failed counterinsurgencies.
- Analyse the effects of the various counterinsurgency approaches in the selected case studies.
- Demonstrate an understanding of selected counterinsurgency efforts.
- Evaluate selected counterinsurgency cases in order to review their nature and their outcomes

4.3   Successful Counterinsurgencies in Asia

4.3.1 Malaya, 1948–1960

British operations in Malaya, South East Asia, are frequently cited as an example of successful COIN strategy. Following World War II, the British had already started to hand back government control to the Malayan states, establishing a system in which the states maintained their independence under British protection. Chinese communists nevertheless started a Maoist guerrilla campaign to drive the British out of the nation after being horrified at the level of their disenfranchisement under the new administration. Following the murder of three rubber farmers by the Malayan Races' Liberation Army (MRLA), a guerrilla force advocating an independent Malaya, a state of emergency was proclaimed in Malaya in June 1948.

The British promptly established a sizeable special constabulary after entering the fight with an undersized military and police force, using conventional tactics and extensive jungle searches that were completely useless. The COIN force eventually adjusted to changes in insurgent tactics during the conflict, and the Briggs Plan's extensive resettlements in the second phase brought in a COIN strategy centered on population and spatial control.

The British high commissioner to Malaya, Sir Henry Gurney, was ambushed and killed in 1951, marking the peak of the MRLA's terrorist operations. However, tight collaboration between the civil and military powers started to lessen the threat posed by terrorism under his successor, General Sir Gerald Templer. The success of the COIN force was a result of Templer's emphasis on enhanced intelligence, a larger and more organized COIN force, as well as efforts to find a political solution to the war. These actions were taken in addition to attempts to win the "hearts and minds" of the populace.

By 1955, a significant number of the insurgents had been killed or caught, and much of the nation was free of terrorist activity. The remnants of the MRLA had been forced to seek sanctuary in Thailand by the time the emergency ended in 1960.

4.3.2 Guatemala, 1960–1996

Guatemala endured the impacts of a brutal insurgency for 36 years, from 1960 to 1996, during which time some 200,000 people were slain or "disappeared," and an additional 2 million were domestically displaced or

expelled as refugees. On November 13, 1960, a group of left-wing junior military officers attempted to overthrow General Ydigoras Fuentes' administration. The officers who survived founded the MR-13 rebel group.

The Guatemalan government and armed forces, the established elite, and landowners made up the COIN force, whilst the insurgents were a grouping of leftists, nationalistic socialist reformers, middle-class intellectuals, and peasants. The insurgents and those who supported them, notably the indigenous people of Guatemala, were subjected to extraordinarily cruel tactics throughout the COIN operation there. The funds and training provided by the United States during the initial stages of the conflict helped the Guatemalan forces crush the insurgency and drive its last remaining fighters into the hills.

While right-wing paramilitaries routinely raped, killed, and dismembered civilians at will, the Guatemalan government, which was not held to the same standards as its American allies, did nothing. As a result, the U.S. was forced to distance itself from any tacit affiliation for significant periods of the conflict. A battered administration and a people weary of conflict eventually agreed to negotiations with an umbrella group of insurgents, addressing a variety of concerns and striving to restore a nation whose infrastructure had been wrecked by persistent bloodshed and instability. Eventually in1996, a peace accord was signed.

Self-Assessment Exercises 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 2 minutes:

    1. The Malayan state of emergency was declared in 1960. True or False
    2. How long did the Guatemalan insurgency last?

4.4. Successful Counterinsurgencies in Africa

4.4.1 Sierra Leone, 1991–2002

On March 23, 1991, the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) led by Foday Sankoh attempted to topple the government of Sierra Leonean President Joseph Momah with the assistance of Charles Taylor and his party, the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NFPL). This marked the beginning of the Sierra Leone Civil War.

Multiple actors made up the COIN force in this fight, which lasted for more than ten years. Through theft, rape, mutilation, and murder, the insurgents terrorized the populace. The insurgents' main goal and the focal point of the fight was to take control of the diamond fields. The proceeds from the sale of diamonds were used to pay fighters and purchase high-tech weapons. Executive Outcomes, a South African mercenary company, was employed by the government of Valentine Strasser and the National Provisional Ruling Council to carry out COIN operations at one point in the conflict.

Five times during the conflict, the government's leadership was changed via military coups and elections. A West African intervention force (ECOMOG) commanded by Nigeria fought the RUF for control of Freetown at the start of 1998 and once more in January 1999. United Nations soldiers arrived after a peace accord in July 1999, in which rebel commanders were offered positions in the government, but the RUF kidnapped several hundred of them and forced their withdrawal from rebel-held area. The conflict persisted, and in May 2000 British forces intervened to protect the Freetown airport, seize Sankoh, and assist government forces.

Up until 2002, when the war was deemed concluded, British troops stayed in Sierra Leone. Over 45,000 rebels were disarmed with the help of the British. After the nation's successful elections in 2002, the UN decided to establish a war crimes tribunal for Sierra Leone. While he was awaiting trial, Sankoh passed away in prison in 2003 from natural causes. Ex-combatants' disarmament and rehabilitation were formally finished in 2004, and UN forces left the area in December 2005.

Finally, the Sierra Leone Army was able to defeat the RUF before they could seize control of Freetown with the aid of UN forces, British soldiers, and Guinean air support. The end of the Sierra Leone Civil War was declared on January 18, 2002, by newly elected President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah.

The COIN was seen as a success. The COIN force was able to establish regular communication for the first time between troop-contributing nations, the UN Security Council, and the secretariat through the UN's Department of Peacekeeping Operations in addition to acquiring helicopter gunships, deploying a full signals battalion, and using accurate maps and satellite imagery. Furthermore, the COIN force upheld its commitment to protect the populace during elections by providing the security required for Sierra Leoneans to cast their ballots without concern about attack.

4.4.2 Uganda (ADF), 1986–2002

In 1986, the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) seized control of the country's western area and waged a deadly insurgency against the Ugandan government. Despite claiming to be Muslim, the ADF lacked a distinct Islamic agenda. Its hazily claimed objectives were to overthrow the government and expel Rwandan Tutsis from Uganda. In 1998, ADF assaults on civilians and military installations increased thanks to assistance from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Sudan on the outside. The Ugandan government initially struggled to keep the area secure, but it was finally able to do so by striking the ADF's rear strongholds in the DRC and creating specialized COIN units with mountain combat training.

The ADF was severely destabilized by the government's counterinsurgency operation. By 2001, the ADF had been severely depleted, with only a few hundred remaining. It was found that they had several arm deposits. Additionally, the Amnesty Act, which granted a general amnesty, persuaded a significant number of people to turn themselves in. After being driven from Uganda, the rebel group fled to the neighbouring DRC, where it carried on its operations without attacking Uganda. Thus, by 2002, the Ugandan army had managed to achieve a military triumph.

Self-Assessment Exercises 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 3 minutes:

> 1. The primary motivation for the Sierra Leonean insurgents was oil. True or False
> 2. The Ugandan special COIN units were trained in mountain warfare. True or False

4.5 Failed Counterinsurgencies

4.5.1 South Africa, 1960–1990

For more than 30 years, activists such as Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress (ANC) battled against the apartheid system of white minority rule in South Africa. The ANC advocated for political change while also taking a road toward political violence, along with other anti-government organizations including the South African Communist Party and numerous Black Nationalist organizations.

The ANC engaged in a protracted campaign of sabotage, assassination, and bombing against the militarily stronger South African Defence Force. This was done through Umkhunto we Sizwe, also known as "Spear of the Nation," the ANC's armed wing. The insurgents operated from bases in other countries that were supportive to the ANC, such as Angola, Namibia, and Mozambique, at various points throughout the struggle because the ANC was unable to develop a strong presence within South Africa itself in the early phases of the fight.

While the ANC was skilled at building political support both inside and outside of South Africa, the COIN force was never genuinely in danger of being militarily defeated by the insurgents. The government's legitimacy was also damaged by the use of excessive COIN force. Mandela's rise to power and the overthrow of white rule in South Africa in 1994 were made possible by the fact that by 1990, the Pretoria government was facing a backlash from the international community.

4.5.2 Sudan (SPLA), 1984–2004

The Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), who stood in for Christians and animists in the rural, oil-rich south, engaged in a civil war with the established Arab Muslim government in the north. The southern rebels battled for independence from the northern administration, which aimed to impose Islamic law throughout the nation and profit from the oil resources of the south.

The Sudanese government's efforts to put an end to the insurgency were hindered by an inefficient COIN strategy driven by religious convictions and a "military-first" attitude. The insurgents were able to carry out attacks against government troops, Sudan's oil pipelines, and other infrastructure in the south despite divisions within the SPLA and shifts in its outside financial support.

Following two decades of fighting and widespread starvation, the government finally capitulated under intense international pressure and accepted a negotiated solution with the SPLA that included a power-sharing arrangement with the south and the promise of a secession referendum.

Self-Assessment Exercises 3

> Attempt these exercises to measure what you have done so far. This should not take you more than 2 minutes:
>
> > 1. The armed struggle in South Africa involving the ANC was a jihadist one. True or False
> > 2. The Sudanese government attempted to impose Islamic law on the country. True or False

4.6   Summary

In this unit, we have seen some examples of successful and failed counterinsurgency efforts. Counterinsurgency is often a long and costly venture. While the counterinsurgents could utilize the hearts and minds approach in some cases, a hard power approach may be necessary some times. This is because the insurgents definitely would do all they can to win and subdue the national government. We have come to the end of this course. Hope you enjoyed it. Ensure you attempt all the questions at the end of the modules.

4.7   References/Further Readings

Keen, D. (2005) Conflict and Collusion in Sierra Leone. Oxford: James Currey.

Lord, D. (2000) Paying the Price: The Sierra Leone Peace Process. London: Conciliation Resources.

Richards, P. (1996) Fighting for the Rain Forest: War, Youth, and Resources in Sierra Leone. Oxford: The International African Institute.

Titeca, K. and Vlassenroot, K. (2012): Rebels without borders in the Rwenzori borderland? A biography of the Allied Democratic Forces. Journal of Eastern African Studies, 6: 1, 154-176.

4.8   Possible Answer to Self-Assessment Exercises

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 1
1. False
2. 36 years

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 2
1. False
2. True

Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises 3
1. False
2. True

4.9   Glossary

Reconnaissance: Military observation of a region to locate an enemy or ascertain strategic features.

Surveillance: Close observation, especially of a suspected spy or criminal.

- **End of the Module Questions**

1. Differentiate between the two modern theories of counterinsurgency.
2. Analyse the role of intelligence in counterinsurgency.
3. Examine roles of three actors in counterinsurgency operations.