CHAPTER 14

THE BRITISH APPROACH TO COUNTERINSURGENCY: MYTHS, REALITIES, AND STRATEGIC CHALLENGES

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> The British have succeeded in counter-insurgency where others have failed because history has given them the kind of military establishment and colonial administrative experience necessary to defeat revolutionary movements.
>
> Thomas R. Mockaitis[1]

The British Military possesses a well-earned reputation for success in counterinsurgency operations gained through hard won experience following World War II. Experience has not been an easy path, and there have been successes and failures, some of which are not well recorded or remembered. Since 1945 the British armed forces have taken part in 72 military campaigns. Of these campaigns, 17 can be classified as counterinsurgency campaigns (including Afghanistan and Iraq).[2] Breaking these 17 down even further, seven can claim to be successes, one is generally regarded as a draw, five are acknowledged failures, three are limited campaigns and difficult to quantify, and two are still in progress.[3] The fact is that a counterinsurgency campaign is one of the most difficult military operations to conduct and inevitably involves a long and painful commitment.

In the numerous counterinsurgency campaigns that have been conducted by other nations since the end of World War II, very few qualify as complete successes. Measuring success in itself highlights one of the key problems in trying to assess counterinsurgency campaigns objectively. That the British can point to seven clear successes that are measurable suggests that the British approach to counterinsurgency is worthy of study. The British approach evolved through their experience of trial and error with over 200 years of Imperial policing, revolutionary warfare, and modern insurgencies around the globe. Nevertheless, the development of counterinsurgency techniques and doctrine has not always followed a coherent or considered path. It is only since 1945 that the British military have started to capture their experience effectively in doctrine, and this means that much has been ignored from the 150 years prior to this date.

Unfortunately, a number of popular myths and mind-sets have developed around British counterinsurgency based largely on what many consider to be the exemplar of the Malayan Campaign. As a result, a questionable advocacy in some quarters proposes that British doctrine is the best model, and that the British military is inherently better able to conduct counterinsurgency. Let there be no ambiguity in regard to where this author stands. The current British counterinsurgency doctrine does provide a very sound basis from which to develop a counterinsurgency campaign, but it is, as the document states, only a guideline. It is also true that the British armed forces are well-placed to

fight a counterinsurgency campaign based on collective experience and mentality, but there is a danger of complacency in accepting that as the "experts" and the ones with the highest success rate, the British doctrine is complete and needs little or no modification—or that British armed forces have nothing to learn. These would indeed be dangerous assumptions in a rapidly changing world.[4] The aim of this chapter is to produce a balanced and fair assessment of the total British experience in counterinsurgency and to distill a theory that may help counter the strategic challenges of insurgency in the 21st century. Consequently, this chapter outlines the future strategic environment and answers three fundamental questions: What is the British counterinsurgency approach and how did it develop? What are the myths and realities about the development of this approach? Can a coherent theory be developed from the total British experience that can overcome the insurgency challenges of the future?

THE FUTURE

The key strategic challenge of the future is the nature of the threat. At the start of the 21st century, the physical nature of war—violence, destruction, and chaos—has changed little, but the international system has changed significantly. Communications and technology have changed the face, pace, and destructive power of war. States are still the key players within the international system, but the number and nature of nonstate actors has increased, including more rogue elements. As modern civilization rises to the next level of its evolution, there is more discontent within and among existing and emerging political structures. Strong ideologies are taking hold in some areas of the world, particularly in the Islamic world which is facing both an identity crisis and an internal ideological struggle to define its position within 21st century civilization. General Sir Rupert Smith argues that future wars will be about war among the people where the battlefield will not easily be defined, and we will see less state on state war and more internal to the state (intrastate) conflict and terrorism.[5] The current world situation gives considerable credence to this viewpoint but, as Colin Gray contends, this does not rule out state on state war, and there is every likelihood that it will continue.[6] In addition, the events of September 11, 2001 (9/11) suggest that modern insurgents have no qualms about exporting their forms of violence to a global battlefield. Hence, the magnitude and multitude of the challenges confronting state militaries makes understanding the challenge from insurgency critical.

In spite of changing power relationships among states and other intergovernmental and nongovernmental actors, international world order will still be based on some form of state-centric system in the first half of the century. The role of insurgency as a vehicle for political change is likely to remain and grow as globalization makes unequal progress in a number of realms more apparent, and challenges traditional societies. Classic intrastate insurgency will be a common feature within weak and failing states, and external interventions will ebb and flow depending on the threat to international stability and to economic prosperity as perceived at the time by the world community or key state actors. As a consequence of the ability of outside powers to intervene, more or less at will, based on their interests and willingness to expend resources and other perceived advantages, insurgencies will morph on occasion into global threats. As such, they will

pose asymmetrical challenges and exploit the common advantages and disadvantages associated with the globalized world—technology, transportation, communications, economic competition, crime, and a rising civic society.

Britain's experience in counterinsurgency prior to 1998 was very much defined by the fact that Britain was the legitimate power in its former colonies or was asked to intervene through a formal treaty, friendship, or informal alliance. In most cases, the enemy was easily identifiable, and there was often only one major enemy combatant (i.e., the communist terrorists in Malaya and the Mau Mau in Kenya, Africa). In the environment of the 21st century, intrastate insurgents will be less obvious and Britain's former bonds less strong. Insurgent groups may foment global insurgency wherein insurgencies in different parts of the globe mutually support each other to change the world order or to achieve their own independent goals through collaborative actions and support. The idea of a global insurgency has not been adequately defined as of yet. An attempt to do so is offered here:

> Coordinated simultaneous conflicts involving state and non-state actors, using both regular and irregular methods at multiple locations worldwide, based on either a single coherent vision for a new world order or mutually supporting objectives that assist the participating groups towards their own goals, usually with little regard for national boundaries or international law.

The existence of a global insurgency implies a certain unity of purpose among the different groups, common campaign enablers (such as information technology, logistics, safe havens and military resources) and the possibility of achieving mass popular support. This is much more difficult to achieve than it sounds on paper. For example, al-Qaeda , as a forerunner of this form of insurgency, is trying to initiate a global Islamic insurgency to reinstate the Islamic Caliphate, using a network of Islamic terror and insurgent groups. A hybrid global insurgency is even more complex with the possibility of a marriage of convenience taking place between groups with differing ideologies or conflicting interests. This is not entirely new. For example, the strong links forged between the Irish Republican Army (IRA), the Basque Separatist Movement (ETA), and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in the 1970s created an international terrorist cabal, but the scope of cooperation and the ease of communications have changed the scale of the dynamics of such a relationship today. It has also been facilitated by criminal actors and activities. These changes in the future operating environment are the menace against which the current British approach to counterinsurgency must be measured to determine its continued applicability.

THE BRITISH APPROACH TO COUNTERINSURGENCY

The current British national approach is foremost a multiagency approach, starting with clear national interests and political direction before campaign analysis and preparation begin. It is also fair to say that, although the British military is inherently joint in its focus, the expertise associated with British counterinsurgency is largely Army-

centric. This is not surprising as counterinsurgency is about interaction between people and is generally territorially focused, although this latter point is being challenged with the possible advent of a global insurgency facilitated through cyberspace.

The national level approach recognizes that the military is only one part of the overall solution, and it acknowledges that a wide range of instruments of power and methods need to be applied in order to conduct an effective campaign. The baseline doctrine publication is the British Army counterinsurgency manual, *Army Field Manual (AFM) Volume 1, Combined Part 10*.[7] The manual is organized in two distinct but interrelated parts: The first part defines insurgency and gives an excellent overview of insurgency from a limited historical and theoretical perspective. Part 2 concerns the methodology for conducting a counterinsurgency campaign. The manual is purposely laid out in this way to highlight the two protagonists' opposing viewpoints of insurgency.

British doctrine focuses on understanding both the mind of the enemy and Britain's own strengths and weaknesses so as to effectively use the latter against the insurgent. The manual defines insurgency as:

> The actions of a minority group within a state, who are intent on forcing political change by a means of a mixture of subversion, propaganda and military pressure, aiming to persuade or intimidate the broad mass of the people to accept such a change. It is an organised, armed political struggle, the goals of which might be diverse.[8]

The key ideas from this definition are that the insurgents are dissatisfied with the state or ruling power, and they want ideological change and political reform. Thus insurgencies are inherently political, and their objectives are to delegitimize the existing government and seize political power. Insurgents aim to target the broad mass of the people to make them agree with their point of view, pushing for change by persuasion, coercion, intimidation, or the application force. They use propaganda, subversion, sabotage, and direct military action in an organized way, and it is this dedication to clear objectives and organization that differentiates insurgents from terrorists, even though insurgents often use terrorism themselves at the tactical level.[9] The AFM argues that because of the insurgents' focus on the population as the centre of gravity, both the insurgent and counterinsurgency forces are in a struggle to win the "hearts and minds" of the target population.[10]

In British Army doctrine the role of counterinsurgency operations is to alter the views of those who insurgency appeals to, protect those that it targets for change, and reinforce the legitimacy of the supported government. The AFM definition of counterinsurgency is: "Those military, paramilitary, political, economic, psychological, and civic actions taken to defeat insurgency."[11] It is a simple definition, but one which recognizes the multiagency nature of counterinsurgency and the requirement to consider the use all of the elements of national power.

Current British armed forces counterinsurgency doctrine is largely an expansion of the ideas of Sir Robert Thompson and General Sir Frank Kitson based on their extensive experience in British counterinsurgency campaigns post-1945.[12] Sir Robert Thompson's ideas are really focused at the strategic and operational level, whereas General Kitson's ideas are generally seen as a practitioner's viewpoint at the operational and, more

specifically, tactical level.[13] Sir Robert Thompson outlined five broad principles: (1) A clear political aim, (2) Work within the law, (3) The development of an overall plan, (4) Defeat political subversion, and (5) Secure base areas.[14] General Kitson outlined four principles: (1) Good coordinating machinery,(2) The propaganda war, (3) Effective intelligence, and (4) Operating within the law. The British counterinsurgency field manual recognizes six principles which are effectively an amalgam of Thompson's and Kitson's ideas: (1) Political primacy and political aim, (2) Coordinated government machinery, (3) Intelligence and information, (4) Separating the insurgent from his support, (5) Neutralizing the insurgent, and (6) Longer-term post-insurgency planning. These principles are supported by several key supporting concepts: namely civilian political control, working in support of the police, the rule of law, minimum force, the use of indigenous forces and "Hearts and Minds."[15] Both the principles and concepts highlight an important aspect of British doctrine. The British have traditionally used guiding principles in their doctrine rather than being overly prescriptive. Indeed, the subtitle of the British counterinsurgency manual is "Strategic and Operational Guidelines." Principles, as guidelines, allow latitude for commanders to think creatively about the task at hand while providing a clear framework to work within.

There are, however, a number of valid criticisms of British counterinsurgency doctrine. The first is that it is focused primarily on the operational and tactical levels, with only brief chapters on strategic considerations. The second is that it is too Malaya and Northern Ireland focused in its distillation of lessons learned. The third, and perhaps most relevant criticism, was raised by Dr. Ashley Jackson in a recent article in the *British Army Review*: ". . . the commendable use of British counter-insurgency experience in developing military doctrine and education needs to be more firmly tethered to broader historical context if it is to form valuable guidance for future operations."[16] His point is compelling. The British have excellent doctrine, but it tends to ignore some of the historical realities of British campaigns that are essential to understanding the pitfalls of conducting counterinsurgency operations. Inevitably, there are also a number of myths that have arisen about the British approach that have developed both within and outside the British military which need to be dispelled if the British experience is to be looked at objectively and extrapolated into useful theory.

As Thomas Mockaitis correctly points out, a coherent British approach only really came into being as a result of the lessons of the Malayan Emergency.[17] Even then it was not until 1966 (Thompson) and 1971 (Kitson) that the two most experienced and best known practitioners were able to commit the lessons of their experiences to paper. Consequently, current British doctrine is founded in only a near-term evaluation of British experience and, to some degree, its reputation is founded more on myth than the true facts behind the actual historical experience. In effect, lessons have been cherry-picked from the near-past without understanding the true context or the larger historical experience.

MYTHS

What are the myths that are inherent to the current British approach? The first myth is that the British approach to counterinsurgency is a result of a correct interpretation of experience to doctrine over time. The implication from this is that the British have become

better at counterinsurgency with each campaign. This is clearly a fallacy as the passage of this knowledge was not always seamless even in modern times, and the results have been correspondingly variable throughout Britain's history. As an example, the Malayan (1948-60) and Kenyan (1952-56) campaigns are regarded as successful, but the later campaigns in Aden (1962-67), with the exception of the Radfan campaign, were a failure. Indeed, miscalculations in the early stages of the Northern Ireland campaign (1969-2007) undoubtedly set the conditions that led to a prolonged struggle.[18] This was equally true in the Imperial era where mistakes in dealing with the Mahdi in the Sudan between 1881 and 1885 and the Boers in the 2nd Anglo Boer War (1899-1902) led to the loss of the Sudan from 1885-98 and a costly 2-year guerrilla campaign in South Africa.[19] The fact is that each campaign must be planned and conducted differently to match unique conditions on the ground and in the broader strategic context.

The second myth is that the British approach is best. The British have developed a very effective approach that is worthy of study, but there are other approaches that have equally valid lessons. The French, in particular, fought colonial campaigns during the same period as the British withdrawal from empire. While they enjoyed fewer political and military successes, they produced some of the earliest and most influential counterinsurgency theory, proving somewhat the adage that defeated armies learn, while the victors continue to prepare for the last war. The works of Roger Trinquier and David Galula are of particular note. Hence, it is important to keep an open mind when considering how to deal with an insurgency.[20] In developing theory and subsequent doctrine, it is essential to study the theory and doctrine of others in order to identify principles that may be applicable to all counterinsurgency campaigns. The real lessons are that doctrine should be an application of valid theory to contemporary circumstances, and theory and doctrine are valid only as long as they account for the phenomenon of the insurgency.

The third myth is that the Malayan Emergency is the counterinsurgency exemplar. The Malayan Campaign (1948-60) was a significant success, but it was a unique event. There are some very relevant and enduring lessons in terms of understanding the nature of insurgency, the application of the multiagency approach and specific tactical techniques and procedures, but to be relevant it must be understood in context. Malaya was successful in large part because of its geo-strategic position, sharing only one border with other states (Thailand) and with easy access to a secure base in Singapore from which British forces could operate. It could be isolated, and sanctuaries more easily addressed. The jungle environment, although difficult, was mastered by the British Army, particularly the Gurkha Battalions. Some of these units had recent experience operating in the jungle from the Burma Campaign in World War II and were able to leverage their experience.[21] Separating the insurgents from the population was a long process, but the British had a significant advantage in that the insurgents were nonindigenous and had minimal internal and external support.[22] In addition, the British forces had recently learned valuable lessons from their mistakes in Palestine, particularly in terms of the requirement for an effective police force and the importance of a coordinated "hearts and minds" campaign, which enabled them to interact with the general population effectively. Internationally, the Malayan campaign was largely over-shadowed by other world events. The Chinese

Communists under Mao Tse Tung were still consolidating internally after victory over the Nationalist Chinese and provided no support to the Malayan Communists.

Perhaps of greater importance, the British recognized that Malaya was on an unstoppable path to independence, and it made no sense to hinder this process. Britain effectively undermined the Malaysian Communist Party by setting a clear political objective to grant Malaya independence by 1957.[23] In terms of direction, the Briggs Plan for Malaya was a masterpiece, but it took the personality of Field Marshal Sir Gerald Templer to turn it into reality. Furthermore, Templer had the benefit of plenipotentiary powers to execute his mission.[24] He was both High Commissioner of Malaya and Commander in Chief. Finally, the usual British problem of lack of resources was offset by the fact that the Malayan economy was growing in prosperity, and Malaya paid most of the bills. It should also be remembered that, until the Aden campaign, there was very little media coverage of British operations, and this allowed a degree of operational freedom that does not exist today. Thus, Malaya was a unique and fortuitous set of circumstances which will not likely be repeated. The concern, unfortunately, is that these unique circumstances have been used to drive how theory is derived and suggest particular doctrines that may or may not be generally applicable. Many of the lessons from Malaya are still useful, but not all of them—and the context of how they were extracted needs to be reconsidered.

The fourth myth is what is meant by the term "hearts and minds." The British have gained an excellent reputation for "hearts and minds," but this phrase is over-used and often misunderstood. "Hearts and minds" is often mistaken to mean taking a soft approach when dealing with the civilian population, but this is a misnomer. The key is changing the mindset of the target audience and, sometimes, this requires tough measures and a hard approach, i.e., mass movement of the population, curfews, and direct military action (riot control). As the mindset is being changed, small acts of support (i.e., medical and veterinary support) and the way in which government security forces interact with the population, combined with an effective information operations campaign, wins over their hearts. As Thomas Mockaitis implies, the phrase really should be "minds and hearts."[25]

The fifth myth is the use of minimum force. Minimum force is what is appropriate for the situation and can range from martial law to conventional warfighting in a counterinsurgency context. Jackson and Mockaitis point out some fairly brutal acts, by today's standards, committed by British forces which enabled them to achieve certain objectives.[26] Particular examples include rough interrogations, internment without trial, and different rules of engagement for different ethnic populations.[27] Such methodologies cannot be condoned today, but they were a significant factor in the conduct of past British campaigns. Generally, however, Jackson and Mockaitis accede that the British have consciously tried to work within the law and used the minimum amount of force necessary since the late Victorian period. What constitutes minimal force is determined by tactical circumstances and the strategic objectives, and will not necessarily be the lowest force option.

The sixth myth is that the British Army has won Britain's counterinsurgency campaigns. The British Army has been a significant factor in Britain's success but, as Jackson and Mockaitis amply illustrate, the British Army is only one of a number of security force organizations that have been responsible for the collective British success.[28]

In terms of the Army, Jackson illustrates this by describing the military forces used in colonial campaigns as the British regular army units, locally recruited colonial forces, and the indigenous population (i.e., the Iban Scouts in Malaya), all of whom were important in achieving success.[29] Jackson rightfully stresses the importance of the colonial police forces to British success. In British campaigns it has generally been the police forces that have been the primary arm of counterinsurgent actions in keeping with the modern British policy of police primacy.

THE GREATER HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE

Great Britain has far greater experience with counterinsurgency than the Malayan and Northern Ireland experiences would suggest. In two seminal books on British counterinsurgency, Thomas Mockaitis argues that the British success in counterinsurgency operations is founded in the historical legacy of Imperial policing, particularly from British experiences in the early 20th century, in Ireland (1920-22) and in British India (1919-47).[30] John Nagl partly supports this view but correctly surmises that the real roots of the development of the current approach started well before this in the 19th century.[31] Indeed, the evidence clearly shows that it is the rich experience found in the combination of the need to police the empire and the varied challenges that this involved which gave the British military a head start and a unique way to understanding how to deal with the problem of insurgency in the 20th century. It follows then that this broader history of imperial politics and limited military operations offers key insights.

Historically, as the British Empire, Great Britain's national interests can be defined as:

- Security of free trade.
- Credibility as a great world power.
- The cohesion and security of the Empire (and particularly British India).
- Security of the British Homeland.
- Enlargement of civilization and Christianity.

British strategy was therefore about physical and economic security through global leadership, a preferred trading posture, a strong navy and a minimal army, all of which enabled Britain to maintain its leadership position in the world. The British Empire was about ideas and values too; but not at the expense of the other interests. It sought to avoid major wars unless the homeland was directly threatened, or a significant threat arose to Britain's imperial possessions. As a sovereign and imperial power, Britain required armed forces that were capable of defending the homeland and of conducting expeditionary operations to protect the empire.

During the Victorian era (1837-1901), with the imperial responsibility for over 700 million people around the world, it was impossible for the people of such a small country as Great Britain to defend their global interests without the cooperation of the territories that she occupied.[32] British imperial policy thus became one of control through the indigenous populations with small operating teams in the individual countries. It was a pragmatic and sometimes naïve approach which balanced the initiative of the local commander, political and military alliances with local figures of importance, and limited resources to maintain control, stability, and the legitimacy of the Empire.

The power of the British Empire was largely the power of diplomacy and the threat of the Royal Navy, with the Army being left to sustain the status quo, a role for which they were often under-resourced. Such a policy called for a repertoire of methods for gaining local consent including: (1) Persuasion, (2) Deterrence, (3) Coercion, (4) Appeasement, and (5) Negotiation. Overall, the aim was simply to "divide and rule" the locals, thereby creating general compliance. Where this failed, military force was used, but force was always in short supply. In addition, the British policymakers and military instinctively understood that, on cessation of hostilities, both sides had to live together again which made them wish to use military action sparingly, even though sometimes military action was severe. For example, in 1901 Lord Kitchener ordered the creation of the concentration "laagers" in South Africa to cut off the Boer Commandos from their support.[33] This measure backfired when cholera struck the camps and over 20,000 men, women, and children died. Despite this, a highly effective treaty was eventually made with the Boers at Vereeniging in May 1902, which included the British paying significant reparations.[34] Within 12 years, at the outbreak of World War I, the former protagonists were fighting as allies in German East Africa and on the Western Front. That the empire survived until the second half of the 20th century and through and after the two World Wars, albeit shakily, is testimony to the success of this imperial approach.

The British Army fought over 230 campaigns in the Victorian era alone.[35] Some of these were limited wars in terms of objectives and the use of force. Others were unlimited, particularly those aiming to end a nationalist uprising. Guerrilla warfare was a fact of life in many areas such as the North West frontier of India. Insurgency is a 20th century term, but many of these earlier campaigns would now be labeled insurgencies.

It was the imperial era which gave the British Army its unique character, and this heyday of Empire produced some valuable lessons which have since evolved into modern counterinsurgency principles and doctrine. The first and foremost lesson is the principle of civilian control of the military. The primacy of civilian control was generally maintained throughout the imperial period and remains a very important factor in the conduct of British counterinsurgency campaigns. Even at the height of empire when British military commanders had almost regional/colonial plenipotentiary powers, they always served subordinate to the local civilian authority and acted on his behalf unless a state of emergency existed. In cases where the military took charge ". . . the imperial general was also a proconsul, forced to rely on his political skills as much as his operational expertise to prevail."[36] He had to look at all the problems from the point of view of his political masters, not just apply a military perspective.

The second lesson that emerges from this era is the need for operational and political pragmatism founded in cultural awareness. Spread over long lines of communication with limited manpower and resources, the British military has always had to rely on local support—indigenous political actors, forces, and logistics. Limitations in British forces and the idiosyncrasies of local leaders, forces, and culture fostered practical solutions to the problems encountered founded in an appreciation of the particular situation. The British military had to be culturally aware and often failed where it was not. Hence, British commanders had no other option than to be pragmatic when analyzing and addressing military and political issues around the world, leading to realistic points of view and, generally, cultural astuteness.

The third lesson from the Imperial experience is the value of the organizational knowledge inherent in a regimental system. The strength of the system is that lessons learned on campaign are generally carried on in regimental tradition. British regiments have long been the repository of tactical knowledge. Where the British Army (and wider military) has failed in the past is to collectively capture and retain this wisdom as an institution. Nevertheless, when faced with a task, British regiments have normally adapted well to dealing with the problem due to a historical collective memory and pragmatism born of a history of too few and too little for the task at hand. What has further facilitated this adaptation in regiments is the historical practice of delegating significant authority and responsibility to subordinate levels within the regimental organization, and particularly the empowerment of junior commanders. This imperial tradition continued in Northern Ireland where junior commanders shouldered heavy responsibility in counterinsurgency operations. Hence, one of the key points of success in British counterinsurgency is the adaptability and flexibility of its officers and soldiers, a capability born largely of the effectiveness of the regimental system.

The fourth lesson emerging from the imperial experience is founded in the historical requirement to restore an acceptable stability with minimal disruption to national interests and at low cost—a need for innovation and adaptability. Instability in any part of the empire threatened free trade and the credibility and legitimacy of British rule. With limited British manpower, constrained finances and threats from across the empire, any military action taken needed to be short, low cost in "blood and treasure," effective and long-lasting. Overstretched around the globe, the empire demanded military success at low cost, which is little different from the dilemma British armed forces find themselves in today. Modern counterinsurgencies, as in the past, require a long-term view, and the resulting campaigns are potentially expensive in "blood and treasure." Yet the lesson is clear. Even today, military forces still conduct their campaigns with insufficient forces and must rely on innovation and adaptability in leadership, planning, and tactics to succeed. As costly as fighting a modern insurgency may be, without this innovation and adaptability, the demands in blood and treasure would be greater.

THE REALITIES AND THEIR APPLICABILITY AS THE BASIS FOR COHERENT THEORY

Modern British doctrine is founded largely on post-World War II experiences, with their accompanying myths, and a historical collective regimental experience. Considered in the broader context of the total imperial experience a more comprehensive appreciation of British counterinsurgency emerges. The realities of the total British experience therefore provide a better basis for understanding the uniqueness of the British approach. A study of the existing counterinsurgency literature combined with the insights of the broader British experience suggests a more general and inclusive list of realties that better define the basis for a comprehensive theory for the 21st century. Such research reveals 17 overarching premises that validate the current British principles and reveal considerations not currently addressed in the AFM. Taken together, these 17 premises constitute a comprehensive British theory of counterinsurgency.

The 1st premise is that insurgency is war. War is a political act that requires an active decision to initiate it and a clear declaration of intent.[37] It is generally regarded as being between one or more actors within the international system which includes state actors or actors within a state. Therefore, by inference, war can be both external (among states) and internal (civil war and insurgency), or a mix of both. Hence, war is a political act, uses violence, is both offensive and defensive in nature, and can be internal or external to the state. An insurgency is internal to the state or governmental system even though the key players may be prosecuting their campaign from a safe haven outside the legal boundaries, using external support or exporting their violence against other actors within the international system. There should be no confusion: an insurgency is a war.[38] Knowing who the belligerents are and the political objectives of all relative to your own is essential to successful policy, strategy, and campaign plans.

The 2nd premise is that every insurgency is unique. The nature and context of the conflict must be thoroughly explored and understood. It takes time to fully understand the nature of the problem and to develop the lines of operation to deal with it. While broad general counterinsurgency principles may translate well across campaigns, one size does not fit all. The unique geography, history, culture, ideology, and ethnicity of a country will all affect how a campaign should be conducted. As Clausewitz so brilliantly explains: "The first, the supreme, the most far-reaching act of judgement that the statesman and commander have to make is to establish by that test the kind of war on which they are embarking; neither mistaking it for, nor trying to turn it into, something that is alien to its nature."[39] This is difficult to do in any war but in the case of an insurgency it is far more problematic. What is the true nature of the situation? Is the insurgency founded in legitimate grievances? Does it enjoy popular support? Is the existing government supportable? Is the insurgency multi-factional or unified? Is there widespread international support for the insurgency or for the counterinsurgent? The uniqueness of an insurgency is in its nature, and it takes time to assess this and develop an appropriate counterinsurgency campaign. In the absence of personal knowledge, expert advice on the region must be sought and considered before deciding on the appropriate course.

A 3rd premise is the essentiality of envisioning the long-term post-conflict end-state. As Sir Basil Liddell Hart wrote: "The object in [counterinsurgency] war is to attain a better peace—even if only from your point of view. Hence it is essential to conduct war with constant regard to the peace you desire."[40] In what is a struggle over who has the best and most achievable vision for the future, the object of the war is to achieve a better peace by compelling others to willingly accede to new conditions that define peace on terms acceptable to you. The quality of the peace will only be decided by the perception of the legitimacy of the strategy followed by engaging sufficient resources to achieve the goals and by the perception of the population of better conditions equating to peace. All planning must be done with the long term in view. Having a long-term view is one of the existing British principles of counterinsurgency.

The 4th premise is that geography matters. Geography is one of the most important factors when trying to understand the nature of an insurgency and how to conduct a counterinsurgency. Geography dictates to all belligerents and populations, affecting the mindset of each and physically defining operations. For example, land-locked countries

are more likely to rely on alliances for their security and to obtain their resources from them. This also means that there are potentially more borders along which insurgents can find safe havens to prosecute their campaigns. Island countries, and countries with extensive coastlines, are more likely to depend less on their immediate neighbours and potentially become more economically powerful through trade. Insurgents may have a more restricted area in which to operate and can be more easily isolated. For counterinsurgent partners, this may also imply a significant problem in terms of logistics with limited access routes and the heavy reliance on specific ports and airfields. In the wider context of a global insurgency, the implications of geography are even more significant. Working on a broad worldwide canvas and trying to combat more than one insurgency concurrently in differing terrain adds to the complexity of developing coherent strategy and planning.

A 5th premise of a counterinsurgency theory is to not engage in a war or campaign that cannot be won at a price consistent with the political and military objectives. In the consideration or conduct of any war or campaign there may come a decision point at which the astute leader concludes the cost of success far outweighs the benefits, or success is not even possible? If a client state is on the verge of collapse and enjoys little popular support, it may be too late or too expensive to support counterinsurgency. Likewise, if there is a long-standing stalemate with equal claims to legitimacy, there is little chance of easy resolution and the costs of conducting or supporting a counterinsurgency strategy go up. No amount of military action or information operations will successfully win all the people over if the nation is truly divided. It may be that the situation must be left to resolve itself. The British experience in Palestine and Aden are clear examples of campaigns which were unwinnable and resulted ultimately in British withdrawal. Determining this decision point in the actual conduct of war is extremely difficult. Recognizing its inevitability while still in the strategy formulation or campaign planning stage is genius; acting on it is the essence of moral courage.

The 6th premise is the requirement for a clear plan. This is one of Sir Robert Thompson's five principles and is based on his experience in helping to formulate the Briggs Plan.[41] It is an essential factor for success. The plan must, however, be tailored to the peculiar and unique circumstances of the insurgency. Plans should provide a focus for all of the involved agencies, and the plans should be universally understood and accepted. Plans must clearly link to the long-term objective of an enduring peace. An excellent example of an effective plan is the British Five Front Plan for the Dhofar campaign.[42] The particular situation of Dhofar as an underdeveloped region of Oman meant that it needed economic development. The campaign end state was therefore to secure Dhofar for development and the five fronts to achieve this were :

1. To clearly identify the enemy and friendly forces by establishing an effective intelligence collection and collation system.

2. To communicate clear intent to the insurgents, the population, and the government agencies and forces.

3. To provide security by helping the Dhofaris to protect their own province by involving them in the overall provision of security.

4. To provide medical aid to the people of Dhofar in a region that had none.

5. To provide veterinary services for the cattle in the Dhofar region which are the main source of wealth.

This plan indicates an excellent understanding of the needs of the people of Dhofar set against the context of the campaign and the need to win "hearts and minds" to ensure an enduring peace. It can be easily followed and provides latitude to individual commanders as well as guidelines on how to operate. Finally, in terms of communication, it is accessible and applicable to all agencies and simple to understand. The message is also unambiguous to all audiences—local, international, and domestic.

A 7th premise of a counterinsurgency theory is that rapid adaption is inherent to success. There is always a learning stage at the beginning of each campaign that must be accounted for by organizing to learn quickly from both successes and mistakes. The belligerent who learns and adapts most quickly enjoys strategic, operational, and tactical advantages. It takes time to understand the nature of each campaign and, in the process of doing so, it is inevitable that some mistakes will be made. It is important that the potential for mistakes is minimized by a thorough assessment of the situation before deployment and a willingness to learn quickly and then adapt to the new circumstances. Once the campaign has started, the effectiveness of the method of operating must be constantly reassessed to enable the government and security forces to be proactive in regard to the population and conditions over time; and remain one step ahead of the insurgents, keeping them on the defensive. The Boyd "OODA loop" of *observe*, *orientate*, *decide*, and *act* remains the best model for describing this process.[43]

Every British campaign has a litany of mistakes made in the early stages of operations. What delineates a successful campaign is how quickly the security forces learn from their mistakes or exploit their successes before the adversary can adapt. Adaptability is an essential component of success. In the Irish Civil War of 1920-22, Mockaitis concludes that the British learned valuable lessons but too late to affect the outcome of the campaign—a victory for the Irish Republicans.[44] It is often forgotten that the Malayan Emergency did not start well. The initial approach to the insurgency was not dynamic, and a number of mistakes were made before the British realized the seriousness of the threat.[45] It was really only after the assassination of High Commissioner Sir Henry Gurney, on October 6, 1951, that Britain started to react to the situation effectively and activated the Briggs Plan.[46]

In Kenya, Africa, the first year of the campaign was the bloodiest when the British let the indigenous kikuyu-led Police conduct many of the operations without appropriate supervision.[47] The campaign was very nearly lost, but the British forces learned quickly enough to reverse the process and achieve eventual success. The learning stage suggests that it may be better to start with small measured steps until the full nature of the situation is apparent, and then make use of what has been learned to gain the advantage.

The 8th premise is that politics is the focal point. Politics and war are social phenomena. One key to countering insurgency is therefore to understand the context and nature of the social environment. It is essential to understand what the people's issues are and what can make them better. What is it that attracts people to the insurgents and how can this be ameliorated or discredited? As Sun Tzu describes it, it is not enough just to know ourselves; we must also know our adversary and what it is that has shaped them.[48]

A key element in all wars is the people, and this has been the root of British success, and sometimes failure, in counterinsurgency. People seek conditions that ensure their

safety and prosperity for essentially a better life. People populate the government, man the military, and ultimately determine national will. In Western liberal society, the people empower their governments to provide for them their security and their basic needs through the democratic process. This is effectively collective survival where the people surrender some of their personal choices for the collective good.[49] In emerging or failed states, such a system may not exist or function effectively, and the people are likely to be more concerned with their simple survival.

The people, the insurgents, and the government are products of their environment and have been shaped by their unique geography, history, culture, ethnicity, and ideology, and this, in turn, shapes the unique way that they understand, conduct, and accept or respond to war. This context will determine whether they are aggressive, passive, neutral, or major or peripheral players on the stage of war. In an insurgency Clausewitz's famous trinity might be better represented diagrammatically as being placed within the overall environment and shaped by five main factors—geography, history, culture, ethnicity, and ideology (See Figure 1).

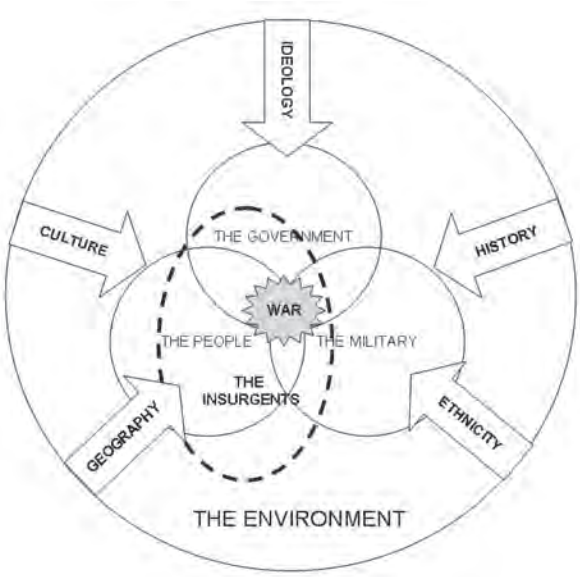


Figure 1. The Modified Clausewitzian Trinity.[50]

In this environment, insurgents represent a separate shadow state within the state. Insurgents come from the people, and yet they are distinct because they seek to sway the general population to the legitimacy of their opposition ideology. An insurgency constructs its own alternative ideology, government, military, popular support (constituency), and administrative bureaucracy concurrently with the destructive actions (subversion, terrorism, guerrilla action) that it uses to discredit the existing government structures. The only way to combat this is to fully understand the insurgents as a political organization and use this information to target their weaknesses. The key to separating the insurgents from their popular support is ultimately political; co-opt their issues and discredit their political objectives and abilities.

A 9th premise of a British counterinsurgency theory is that hearts follow minds in counterinsurgency. In Hanoi in 1956, paraphrasing Mao Tse Tung, Ho Chi Minh stated that "The people are like the fish in the sea, they swim with the current."[51] In order to make the people swim in the right direction, the current of the friendly authority is the key to winning in counterinsurgency. It is essential to alter their minds to reject the insurgents' interpretation of social issues and accept the counterinsurgent government as the legitimate authority for ensuring security and social justice. When the population believes in their minds that the government best serves their interests, their hearts will follow and support the government's politics. How is this achieved?

If disputed authority is envisaged as the football at a football match, the two opposing teams are the insurgents and the indigenous government with its security forces. The observers on the sidelines are the people, other countries from the region, international agencies, and potential allies, and they can also be recruited as team members. The two teams must keep the maximum possession of the ball if they are to win the game—and preclude the other team from scoring. Each goal that is scored against the opposing team reinforces the political position and possession advantages of the ball by the scorer. Even though the opposing team starts again with possession of the ball after a goal is scored against them, they start their counteroffensive from a weaker position. A clear strategy and careful preparation are essential. Teams must understand the importance of winning and train to execute their prepared plays. Critically, winning must be achieved by learning and then adhering to the rules of the game, although the risk of using innovation and originality in interpreting these is acceptable as long as they keep to the spirit of the game—legitimacy. The team that maintains possession of the ball and uses it with the greatest amount of skill impresses not only its faithful followers but also the neutral observers. When sufficient observers—internal and external—agree a team has outscored its opponent and retained the ball sufficiently, no further observers join the losing team and the winner is affirmed. Of course, in the long run everyone loves a winner, particularly when you finally perceive them as your home team—insurgency and counterinsurgency is about affirming who is the home team.

The modified Clausewitzian model and football analogy explain classic insurgency and counterinsurgency which has two clear sides, but what about the global security environment? Do the model and analogy apply to global insurgency? The answer is yes! A global insurgency is simply a tournament, where the teams, rules, and audiences are much the same, but there are multiple and often concurrent games. Rather than tackle all of the games at once, the counterinsurgent has to play them in the appropriate sequence, and never too many at one time. The insights and experience of a winning counterinsurgent team are still valid, but they must be applied intelligently to each distinct game and field.

The 10th premise is that the requirement for a coordinated multiagency government approach is paramount to success. This is true for governments externally intervening and for existing internal governments. The overall strategy and ensuing plans must be collaborative and involve multiagencies and actors using all of the elements of national power of both the supported and supporting governments. In doing this, the activities have to be coordinated and synchronized so that they work together and not against one another. For example, security and economic development must go hand-in-hand so that security yields an economic dividend, and development is not just providing another

opportunity for a target. This has been one of the key enduring tenets of the British approach and a cornerstone of every successful campaign. The best known examples are in Malaya and Northern Ireland.

The 11th premise is that it is essential to work within the rule of law. Rule of law is the visible symbol of moral justification. The aim must be to restore the civilian authority and police primacy if it does not already exist. Where it does not exist, the military must shoulder the burden until such time as the relevant civilian and police capabilities can be trained to fulfil their role. Regardless of who has the lead at a particular time, the rule of law must be both understood and demonstrated in the existing circumstances to be meaningful and fair to the local population in order to reinforce the legitimacy of the counterinsurgents. This is an existing principle of Sir Robert Thompson's theory.[52]

A 12th premise of a counterinsurgency theory is that counterinsurgents must only use the appropriate force necessary for the situation faced. The appropriate use of force is the minimum amount of force required to achieve a particular justifiable objective. This can range from full scale warfighting against an insurgent base deep in the jungle to the arrest of a single insurgent in an urban area. The British military has relied heavily on flexible Rules of Engagement (ROE) to ensure that only the minimum force necessary is used for each situation. Force must be proportionate and justified and the intent to use force clearly understood. In the British Army, operations in Northern Ireland proved this premise time and again, demonstrating that junior commanders can be empowered to make tough decisions when needed.

The 13th premise is that campaigns must be suitably resourced to be truly effective. Like all conflicts where fighting is likely, counterinsurgency campaigns are expensive in term of "blood and treasure." It is, however, the "treasure" element of this equation that is often the most lacking in counterinsurgency campaigns. Such campaigns are often the most expensive to conduct because they take longer to conclude and involve the broader costs of reconstruction and development. There is, however, a balance to be struck between resources and ingenuity. Too many physical resources can be problematic and worsen the situation by limiting innovation and confusing peripheral concerns with the real issue of minds and hearts. Counterinsurgency is manpower intensive over a potentially long period of time, and this reality needs to be considered during the early analysis of the problem.[53] However, actual resource issues are nearly always concerned with a lack of funds for the nonmilitary support to the campaign which is a critical factor in winning minds and hearts. The appropriate and realistic level of resources must be envisioned and allocated before the counterinsurgency campaign starts.

The 14th premise is that accurate and timely information and intelligence are essential to success. Insurgency and counterinsurgency both work in the same strategic environment, and the currency is information that can be used as intelligence. Conventional military campaigns also require intelligence, but the level and detail of intelligence required is much greater in counterinsurgency. A counterinsurgency campaign must win the battle for information. This is a key element in General Sir Frank Kitson's theory. [54]

A 15th premise is that the use of indigenous forces is essential to building an enduring peace for the country concerned. In all British campaigns, local indigenous forces have played an important role. They have acted as the backbone of intelligence gathering, police forces, and the local military. The importance of their use is three-fold: first, it

involves them in the long-term solution in that they represent the population and therefore provide some censure over and learn to work under civil control; second, it enables the security forces to understand the nature of the conflict that they are involved in; and third, once trained and well-led, they are generally more effective in the context of the counterinsurgency environment. The long-term aim of using indigenous forces is to build up sufficient capacity for them to replace any external counterinsurgency forces. This is achieved through the process of leading, mentoring, and advising. Initially, there may be a requirement for direct leadership roles by external military professionals for the indigenous military until such time as a strong cadre of indigenous leadership has been trained to replace them. Once this has been achieved, indigenous cadre may only require oversight and the external force personnel can then switch to a mentoring role. The stage when indigenous forces are capable of standing on their own is normally synonymous with the general withdrawal of external forces and a significant improvement in the overall security situation. The British approach has then been to leave training and advisory teams in the key military and police institutions as part of the long-term commitment. This process can be represented diagrammatically (Figures 2 and 3):

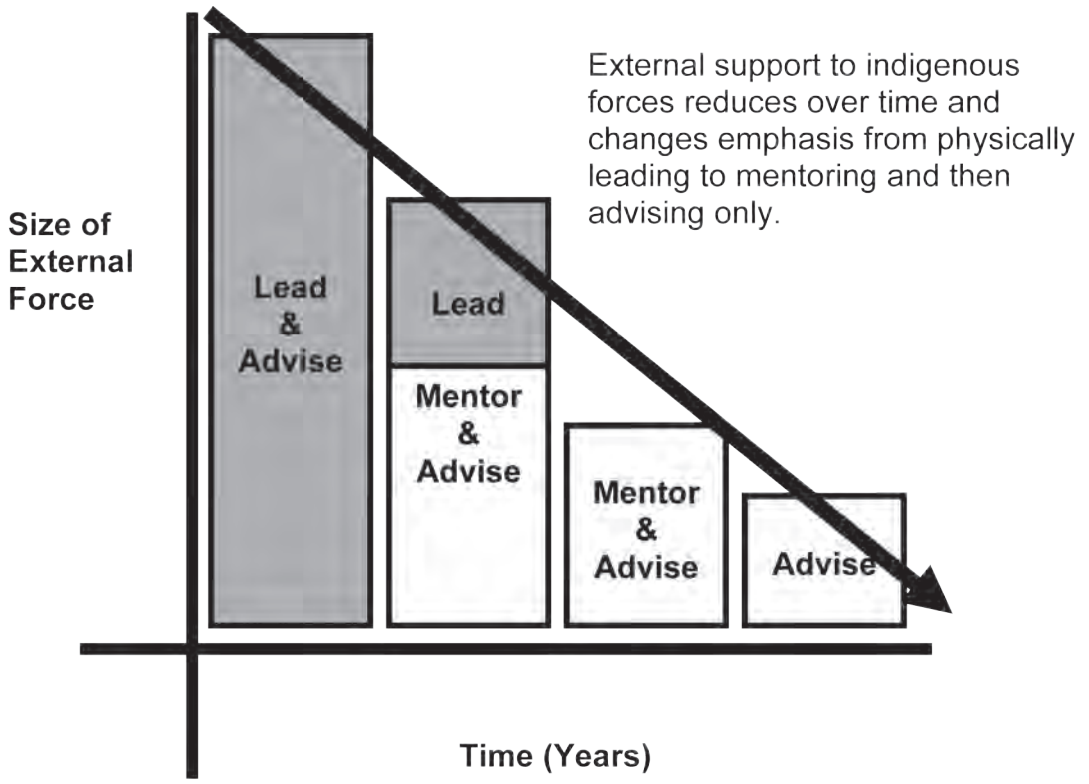
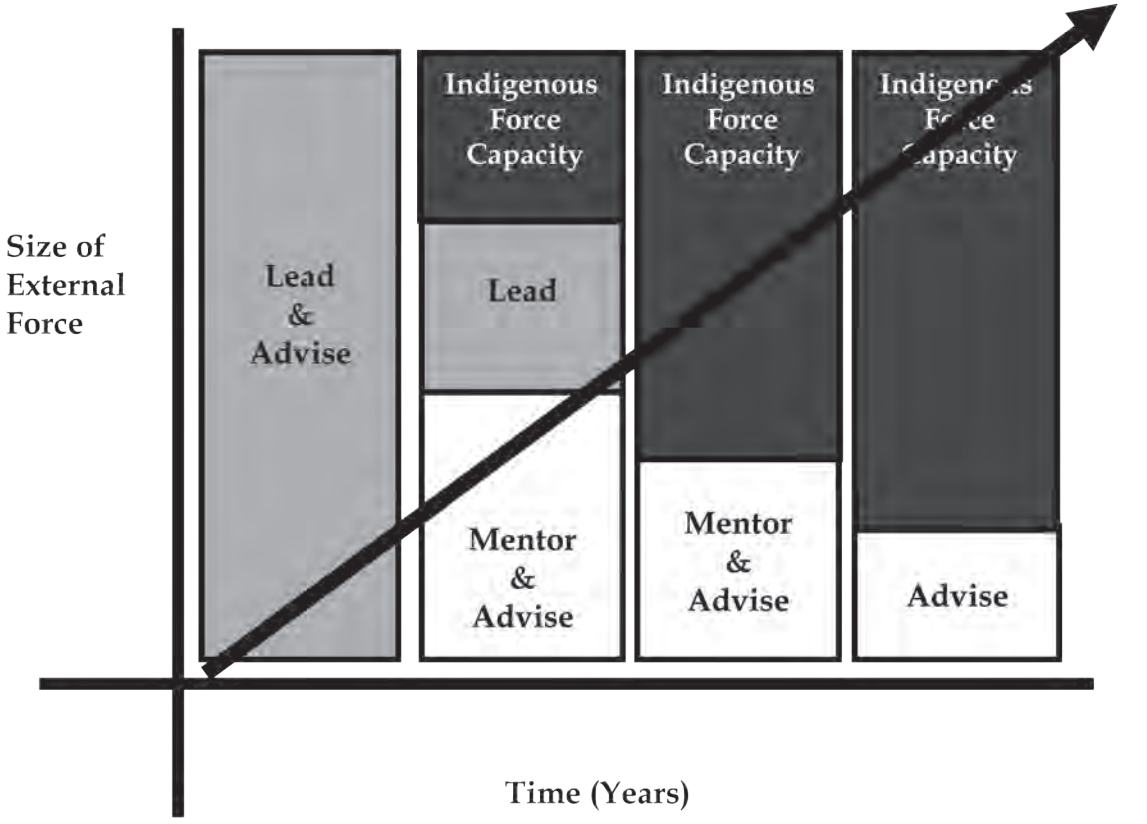


Figure 2. External Support to Indigenous Forces.

The 16th premise of counterinsurgency is that increasing constraints and less freedom of action characterize modern campaigns. The world of the 21st century is very different from 50 years ago, and both local and international expectations have changed.

The Malayan campaign and Kenya were fought largely out of the glare of the media whereas Iraq and Afghanistan have 24-hour news coverage. Conflicts in the 19th century were reported weeks later. Factors such as progress in human rights, the evolution of international law, and the advent of immediate worldwide communications have combined to create an environment in which the nature of the choices and actions of the counterinsurgents pose significant threats to the state's claim on legitimacy: these factors, among others, significantly limit freedom of action. If history is any guide, this trend will worsen as peoples', other states', and nonstate actors' expectations expand in the future. It is made worst by the fact that expectations placed on state actors are not equally applied to nonstate actors. The lesson to take from this is not to uselessly fight the march of progress, but to formulate a clear strategy that works with and around the identified constraints—or better yet, exploits them in order to achieve operational freedom.



Indigenous Force Capacity grows exponentially over time commensurate with a planned reduction of external force support

Figure 3. Growth of Indigenous Forces.

The 17th, and final, premise is that negotiation is an inherent aspect of counterinsurgency. It cannot be ruled out if a long-term peace is sought. The British government and military have a long tradition of negotiating with insurgents, if it has

been in British interests to do so. There are, however, three very important caveats: first, negotiations must be conditional; second, the primary aim of all negotiation is to bring the insurgents into the political process and stop violence; and, third, patience is an essential factor. Recently declassified documents show that the British government started meetings with the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) as early as 1972.[55] These meetings were not initially successful because PIRA would not agree to the stated conditions, but they continued for over 20 years until the political arm of the PIRA, Sinn Fein, achieved ascendancy within the insurgency movement, leading to the key ceasefire in 1994. Thereafter, steady progress was made towards achieving a roadmap of conditions for a permanent renunciation of violence and participation in the political process. There are a number of other important examples of similar circumstances in British history. For example, negotiations were conducted with Boer leaders during the Boer War in 1901 and 1902 and with Chinese Communists during the Malayan Emergency in 1955.[56] Needless to say, negotiations among the supporting and supported governments, allies, and other state and nonstate actors are also inherent to successful counterinsurgency.

CONCLUSIONS

The British approach to counterinsurgency is one which is notable for its successes. Unfortunately, current British counterinsurgency doctrine has evolved largely from experience post-1945, creating some myths and ignoring lessons from earlier periods. As a result, the doctrine is good but incomplete. The study of the whole of Great Britain's colonial and post-colonial counterinsurgency experience reveals new insights that are relevant to modern counterinsurgency challenges. Such a comprehensive study of the British experience results in a clearer understanding of what counterinsurgency is and the demands it places on doctrine. In examining this broader history, this chapter indentifies 17 premises that, taken together, constitute a British military theory of counterinsurgency for the 21st century. The key to the application of these premises lies in understanding that counterinsurgency is, in fact, war and victory resides in a political solution.

ENDNOTES - CHAPTER 14

1. Thomas R. Mockaitis, *British Counter-Insurgency 1919-1960*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990, p. 180.

2. Army Staff College Camberley, *Counter-Revolutionary Warfare Handbook*, Camberley, UK: the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst, 1988, p. Annex H, p. H1-4. This excellent précis highlights the following as COIN Campaigns: Greece (1945-46), Palestine (1945-48), Egypt (1946-56), Malaya (1948-60), Eritrea (1949), Kenya (1952-56), Cyprus (1954-58), Aden (1955, 1956-58), Muscat and Oman (1957-59), Togoland (1957), Brunei (1962), Malaysia (limited war with elements of an insurgency, 1963-69), Radfan (1964), Aden (1965-67), Northern Ireland (1969-2007), and Dhofar, Oman (1970-76).

3. Successes: Malaya, Kenya, Brunei, Malaysia, Radfan, Dhofar, and Northern Ireland. Draw: Cyprus. Partial successes: Greece (1945-46), Eritrea (1949), and Togoland (1957). Failures: Palestine (1945-48), Egypt (1946-56), Aden (1955, 1956-58, 1965-67). Extant: Afghanistan (2001-to date) and Iraq (2003-to date) are still ongoing at the time of writing.

4. Dr. Ashley Jackson, "British Counterinsurgency in History: A Useful Precedent?" *British Army Review*, Vol. 139, Spring 2006, p. 12.

5. General Sir Rupert Smith, *The Utility of Force – The Art of War in the Modern World*, London, UK: Allen Lane, The Penguin Group, 2005, p. 372.

6. Colin S. Gray, *Another Bloody Century*, London, UK: Weidenfield & Nicolson, 2005, pp. 177-185. He contends that war remains unpredictable and lists 12 hypothetical future wars variations of which could feasibly arise in the 21st century: A Sino-Russian Axis versus the United States; China versus the United States, Russia versus China; Russia versus Ukraine; Russia versus Latvia and Estonia; India versus Pakistan; the United States and/or Israel versus Iran; Greece versus Turkey; North Korea versus South Korea and the United States; the United States versus rogue states; a superpower Europe, possibly in alliance with Russia or China, versus a strategically still hegemonic United States and its Allies; and Strategic Surprise (unknowns as a prudent catch all).

7. *Army Field Manual (AFM) Volume 1, Combined Arms Operations, Counter Insurgency Operations, Strategic and Operational Guidelines - Part 10*, Army Code 71749, July 2001, p. A-1-1. This manual will be superseded in late 2009.

8. *Ibid*.

9. Frank Kitson, *Low Intensity Operations – Subversion, Insurgency and Peacekeeping,* Harrisburg, PA : Stackpole Books, 1971, p. 2. Kitson explains that one of the difficulties of defining low intensity operations is the existing terminology. He lists the British Army's classifications for irregular methods and threats as civil disturbance, insurgency, guerrilla warfare, subversion, terrorism, civil disobedience, revolutionary warfare, and insurrection. Of these, insurgents are likely to use civil disturbance, guerrilla warfare, subversion, terrorism, and civil disobedience.

10. There is no standard definition for "Hearts and Minds," but it is essentially the process of winning the popular support of the people away from the insurgents.

11. *Joint Warfare Publication 0-01.1, The United Kingdom Glossary of Joint and Multinational Terms and Definitions*, 6th Ed., London, UK: Ministry of Defence, p. C-25.

12. Sir Robert Thompson KBE, CMG, DSO, MC. A career diplomat, Thompson joined the Malayan Civil Service in 1938. He saw military service as a RAF Officer with both Chindit Operations in Burma (1943-45) during which he was awarded the DSO and the MC. After the war he returned to Malaya, where he was one of the staff who helped General Sir Harold Briggs to write the "Briggs Plan." Subsequent appointments included Permanent Secretary for Defence Malaya (1959-61) and the Head of the British Advisory Mission to Vietnam (1961-65). His best known book is *Defeating Communist Insurgency* (1966), which distils the lessons of the Malayan Emergency into five basic principles for counterinsurgency.

13. General Sir Frank Kitson GBE, KCB, MC, is best known for his three books on counterinsurgency: *Gangs and Counter-Gangs*, 1960; *Low Intensity Operations – Subversion, Insurgency and Peacekeeping,* 1971; and *Bunch of Five*, 1977. He is veteran of five counterinsurgency campaigns: Kenya, Malaya, Cyprus, Oman, and Northern Ireland.

14. Sir Robert Thompson, *Defeating Communist Insurgency; The lessons from Malaya and Vietnam*, New York, F. A. Praeger, 1966.

15. AFM Volume 1.

16. Jackson, p. 20.

17. See Mockaitis, *British Counterinsurgency 1919-1960*, pp. 8-10, for a brief description of the campaign; and p. 180, where he identifies Malaya as the turning point in the development of British counterinsurgency doctrine.

18. Rod Thornton, "Getting it Wrong: The Crucial Mistakes Made in the early Months of the British Army's Deployment to Northern Ireland (August 1969-1970)," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 1, February 2007. Thornton attributes the main mistakes to difficult command and control, the military commander trying to simultaneously command the Army units and the police while reporting directly to the MOD, the Provisional Irish Republican Army's (PIRA) success in luring the Army into overreacting to incidents thus effectively separating them from the people, and limited military resources (a perennial problem).

19. During the imperial era, there was very little attempt to distil the lessons of imperial policing and small wars before Colonel, later Major General, Sir Charles Callwell in 1896 with the publication of his seminal work, *Small Wars – Their Principles and Practice*.

20. Roger Trinquier, *Modern Warfare – a French View of Counterinsurgency,* Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006 (1964), trans. from the French by Daniel Lee, with an introduction by Bernard B. Fall; David Gallula, *Counter-Insurgency Warfare Theory and Practice*, Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006 (1964).

21. Charles Allen, *The Savage Wars of Peace–Soldiers' Voices 1945-1989*, London, UK: Penguin Books, p. 3-18. It is one of the forgotten aspects of the Malayan Campaign that the initial military defence against the Communists was down to six under strength Gurkha battalions who bore the brunt of the insurgency for the first 2 years. Despite the fact that many of the Gurkha soldiers were new recruits because of the transition from the Indian to the British Army, there was sufficient residual knowledge from Burma amongst the British officers and some of the NCOs to enable the battalions to learn quickly.

22. The Communist Terrorists (CTs) were 95 percent Chinese (the minority population). Many of their leaders had been trained by the British Special Operations Executive (SOE), Force 136, led by Colonel Freddie Spencer-Chapman DSO, and there was some good information about the leadership in the organization.

23. Ian Beckett, *The Malayan Emergency, 1948-1960*, Junior Command and Staff Course Precis, Sandhurst, UK: The Royal Military Academy Sandhurst,1986.

24. The Briggs Plan, formulated by Lieutenant General Sir Harold Briggs KCIE, KCB, DSO** Indian Army in 1951:

1. Cutting off supplies to the enemy and forcing them away from the urban areas into the deep jungle where they could be defeated by direct action.

2. Re-housing the indigenous population and giving them citizenship.

3. Defending the new villages.

4. Joint Command and Control in the form of War Executive Committees that were established from States down to Districts and included representation from the local government, military and police in each committee.

Interpreted by the author from Sir Robert Thompson, *Make for the Hills*, London, UK: Leo Cooper, 1989, pp. 92-93.

25. Mockaitis, *British Counterinsurgency 1919-1960*, p. 64. The exact provenance of the phrase "hearts and minds" is open to debate but it is generally attributed to General Sir Gerald Templer, the High

Commissioner and Commander in Chief in Malaya. In an interesting footnote, Mockaitis quotes that one of the first instances of the use of the term "minds and hearts" was actually by John Adams in a letter to H. Niles on February 13, 1818, when describing the American Revolution: "The Revolution was affected before the war commenced. The Revolution was in the minds and hearts of the people," available from *teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=968*. As Mockaitis concludes, it is highly unlikely that General Templer was aware of this.

26. *Ibid*. pp. 44-48.

27. Jackson, pp. 14-15.

28. *Ibid*., p. 4.

29. *Ibid*., p. 15.

30. Mockaitis, *British Counterinsurgency 1919-1960*. See also Thomas R. Mockaitis, *British Counterinsurgency in the Post-Imperial Era*, Armed Forces and Society Ed., New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.

31. John A. Nagl, *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife; Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2005, pp. 36-39.

32. Bamber Gascoigne, "British Empire" *Encyclopedia of Great Britain*, Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan Press, 1993.

33. Thomas Pakenham, *The Boer War*, London, UK: Wiedenfield & Nicolson, 1979; London, UK: Macdonald and Company, 1982, pp. 493-495.

34. *Ibid*. At the Treaty of Vereeniging, the British agreed to pay £3 million as compensation for the destruction of farms. In addition, post the treaty, they voluntarily paid a further £2 million to loyalists and "uitlanders," the Boer term for foreigners (literally outsiders).

35. Byron Farwell, *Queen Victoria's Little Wars*, London, UK: W.W. Norton & Company, 1972. Farwell has compiled an exhaustive list of 230 campaigns at the end of his fascinating book.

36. Douglas Porch, *Wars of Empire*, Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2000, p. 5.

37. Carl von Clausewitz, *On War,* Michael Howard and Peter Paret, eds. and trans., Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989, p. 87. "War is not merely an act of policy, but a true political instrument, a continuation of political intercourse, carried on with other means."

38. For the purpose of this chapter, war is defined as a formally declared state of violence between one or more internal or external actors to resolve a political issue or difference, or in reaction to an unprovoked act of aggression against the other. Author's own definition from his U.S. Army War College paper, "Fighting for Peace."

39. Clausewitz, p. 88.

40. Sir Basil H. Liddell Hart, *Strategy*, 2d Ed., New York: Penguin Group, Meridian Publishing, 1991, p. 353.

41. Thompson was a member of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) in Malaya, ending as the Permanent Secretary of Defence.

42. Thomas R. Mockaitis, British *Counter-Insurgency in the Post-Imperial Era*, Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1995, p. 74. Mockaitis outlines the four original principles but then elaborates on the recruiting of Dhofaris into the security forces which became the third point in the plan. The plan was formulated by Lieutenant Colonel, later General, Johnny Watts of 22 SAS.

43. Robert Coram, *Boyd – The Fighter Pilot Who Changed the Art of War*, New York: Back Bay Books, Time Warner Book Group, 2002, p. 344.

44. Mockaitis, *British Counter-Insurgency 1919-1960*, p. 74.

45. *Ibid*., p. 113.

46. Sir Robert Thompson, *Make for the Hills*, London, UK: Leo Cooper, 1989, p. 92.

47. Jackson, p. 16.

48. Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*, Trans. with introduction by Samuel B. Griffith, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1963, p. 84.

49. Attributable to the ideas of Rousseau, 1712-78, and John Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651). In particular, see Hobbes's idea of the social contract and the link between the people, power, consent, and authority.

50. Clausewitz, p. 89.

51. The original Mao quotation is: "The guerrilla must move amongst the people as a fish swims in the sea." It is difficult to find the exact source of this quote as he uses it and similar phrases in several of his writings. It is normally attributed to his essay, "Problems of Strategy in Guerilla War against Japan," May 1938, included in his book *Six Essays on Military Affairs*, Peking, China: Foreign Languages Press, 1972.

52. Thompson.

53. For example, during the Second Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902, the Boers had only 83,000 males of military age. The Boers had a maximum of 40,000 men in the field at any one time. Imperial Forces started with 25,000, but this figure had risen to 365,593 Imperial and 82,742 Colonial soldiers by the end of the war.

54. Kitson, *Low Intensity Operations – Subversion, Insurgency and Peacekeeping.*

55. British National Archives, "Note of a Meeting with Representatives of the Provisional IRA, 20 June 1972," British Government Minute to the Secretary of State.

56. Hansard, *Question to Secretary of State for the Colonies into the Results of the Meetings with the MCP*, November 30,1955, Vol. 546, c210W.