INDEX

Afghanistan
British forces in 314
COIN failure in 321, 344
costs of interventions in 318
effect of SOF dominance 336
international aid and corruption 330–31
overthrow of Taliban 29, 296
and Private Military Companies 332
Agency for International Development (AID) 229
Aguinaldo 65
air support, to insurgent forces 137
lack of success of 137
Alderson, Colonel Alexander 314, 315
Alexander, Don 11
Alexander, General Harold 140
Algeria, French policy in 154, 182–83
assumption of Muslim disloyalty 188
campaign to win over Muslim women 189–90, 191
COIN tactics 177–78
and shaping of FM 3–24 175, 176
and Cold War game 174
Constantine Plan 197
failure to integrate moderates into political process 183–84
failure of population-centric strategy 187
resettlement of Muslims 187–88, 199
French tactical efficiency 180–82
and Front de libération national 172–73
and Galula 176–77
lack of investment in Muslim development 190–91
 politicization of army 154, 174
psychological operations in 174, 180
reaction to early signs of war 184–85
replacement of police by army 191–92
sealing of borders 195–96
transfer of operational lessons from Indochina 173
use of torture 181–82, 199
see also Battle of Algiers
Algerian Communist Party (PLA) 172
Allenby, Edmund 90
al-Qaeda, and Sunni Awakening 309–10
American Anti-Imperialist League 64
Amritsar Massacre 107
Abbas, Ferhat, and UDMA 172
Abd-el-Kader 15, 17, 19, 20, 24, 25, 335
Abd el-Krim 99–100
Abizaid, General John 308
Abolition of Slavery Act (1833) 67
Abrams, General Creighton 207, 219
acción civica 233, 239
Act of Union (1801) 110
active defense, in FM 100–5 291
Adair, Johnny 284
Adams, Gerry 276
Alexander, Don 11
Alexander, General Harold 140
Afghanistan
British forces in 314
COIN failure in 321, 344
costs of interventions in 318
effect of SOF dominance 336
international aid and corruption 330–31
overthrow of Taliban 29, 296
and Private Military Companies 332
Agency for International Development (AID) 229
Aguinaldo 65
air support, to insurgent forces 137
lack of success of 137
Alderson, Colonel Alexander 314, 315
Alexander, Don 11
Alexander, General Harold 140
Algeria, French policy in 154, 182–83
assumption of Muslim disloyalty 188
campaign to win over Muslim women 189–90, 191
COIN tactics 177–78
and shaping of FM 3–24 175, 176
and Cold War game 174
Constantine Plan 197
failure to integrate moderates into political process 183–84
failure of population-centric strategy 187
resettlement of Muslims 187–88, 199
French tactical efficiency 180–82
and Front de libération national 172–73
and Galula 176–77
lack of investment in Muslim development 190–91
 politicization of army 154, 174
psychological operations in 174, 180
reaction to early signs of war 184–85
replacement of police by army 191–92
sealing of borders 195–96
transfer of operational lessons from Indochina 173
use of torture 181–82, 199
see also Battle of Algiers
Algerian Communist Party (PLA) 172
Allenby, Edmund 90
al-Qaeda, and Sunni Awakening 309–10
American Anti-Imperialist League 64
Amritsar Massacre 107
Anderson, David 251, 256, 263–64
Andrews, C. S. 109
Anglim, Simon 125, 133, 144
Anglo-Boer Wars 67–68, 71
British tactics in face of insurgency 68–69, 70
public protests against 69, 74, 110
Treaty of Vereeniging 70
Anglo-Irish Agreement 283–84, 288
Aqaba, seizure of
Arab Revolt
attack on Turkish garrisons 87–88
Dara raid 90
fiction of 87, 91–92
and Lawrence 86–87, 89–90
and nationalism 92
and small wars tradition 91
see also Faisal; Lawrence
Arendt, Hannah 17, 25, 127, 340, 341
Arab–Israeli War
British tactics in face of insurgency 68–69, 70
public protests against 69, 74, 110
Treaty of Vereeniging 70
Anglo-Irish Agreement 283–84, 288
Aqaba, seizure of
Arab Revolt
attack on Turkish garrisons 87–88
Dara raid 90
fiction of 87, 91–92
and Lawrence 86–87, 89–90
and nationalism 92
and small wars tradition 91
see also Faisal; Lawrence
Arendt, Hannah 17, 25, 127, 340, 341
Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN)
216, 221
relations with GIs 218
support from US 203, 206
and US strategy 213
Diem’s opposition to 213–14
see also Vietnam War
Arquilla, John 4, 9, 11, 24, 81, 143, 144
Bugeaud’s swarm tactics 20
“great new truth in strategy” 95–96
on Lawrence and Liddell Hart 94
on von Lettow-Vorbeck 81–82, 83, 84, 85
Aussaresses, General Paul 176, 186, 197
Bacevich, Andrew 191, 291, 294, 295, 302, 333, 345
Baines, John M. 232–33
Balfour Declaration (1917) 145
Bao Dai 164
Barr, James 90
Barrientos, General René 236
Battle of Algiers 182, 185
French strategic defeat 186
use of COIN techniques 186
see also Algeria
Bayly, C. A. 32, 251, 256
Bazaine, Achille 42
Begin, Menachem 146
Bell, Gertrude 34, 310–11, 329
Ben Bella, Mohamed Ahmed 193
Ben Gurion, David 146
Ben M’Hidi, Larbi 182, 185, 186
Bennett, Huw 279
Bergerud, Eric 212, 217, 218, 219, 222
Bevin, Ernest, and Zionist Revolt 147
Bew, John 268, 284
Bin Laden, Osama 335, 345
Bismarck, Chancellor Otto von 43, 45
Bolivia, and Che Guevara’s revolution 227, 256, 237
Bollardière, General Jacques Pâris de la 186
Boot, Max 294, 333
Boumédiène, Houari 193
Boucher, Paul 212
Branché, Raphaëlle 181
Brands, Hal 243, 245
Bremer, Paul 305
Breton Association 6
Brezhnev, Leonid, and Latin American revolution 237
Briggs, Sir Harold 246, 248, 250, 254–55, 266
Britain
African focus during Great War 82
attitude toward military 48
lack of control over colonial military 73
political organization of army 49
professional military shortcomings 49
commitment to South African Wars 61
competition with France 45
conflation of political and criminal misdemeanors 132
and continental conflict 45–46
counterinsurgency methods after World War II 131, 249
cost of colonial warfare 81
and decolonization 183
and French North African campaign 25
and imperial expansion 44
and Indian resistance 107
occupation of Holy Land and Syria 90
and Peninsular Wars 10, 11, 12
repressive methods of imperial military 126, 128
support for French counter-revolutionaries 7, 8
bureaux arabes

Castillo, Thomas-Robert

Castro, Fidel

see also Anglo-Boer war; Arab Revolt; COIN; imperial policing; Ireland; Kenyan Emergency; Lawrence; Malayan Emergency; Palestine; World War I and World War II

British Army, and COIN tactics

absence of legal framework for in Iraq

in Basra 313–14

failure of in Iraq 315–16

in Helmand Province 314

Brown, John Sloan

Bugeaud, Thomas-Robert

in Helmand Province

Bugeaud, Thomas-Robert, and COIN tactics

Bush, President George W.

Che Guevara, Ernesto

Che Guevara, Ernesto

and people’s war 238–39

and people’s war 238–39

and revolutionary romanticism 236, 237

treatise on guerrilla warfare 229

and Hoche 8

War of the Vendée 7, 8–9

Christian civilization, and imperial rule 326–27

Churchill, Winston

Churchill, Winston

and Auxiliary Division 115–16

costs of counterinsurgency 119

and SOE 138

Civil Liberties Union, and Van Deman 67

Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support (CORDS)

Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support (CORDS)

207, 217

civil-military relations

and Bugeaud 23–24, 27–29

civilian control of military 72–73, 74, 77

effect of COIN on fusion 156

interwar crisis in 121–22

Irish challenge to 108

discontent among the French parliament 165

and decapitation 41

defeat at Sedan 25

and French parliament 23–24, 27–29

and ghaziya 22

ruining the countryside 23

and small wars 19–21

subjugation of indigenous populations 29

and swarming 22–23

bureaux arabes 30

intelligence mechanisms 31

knowledge of language and culture 30–31, 33

power and integrity of officers 34–35

Bush, President George W. 296, 297, 298, 300, 343

Butler, Sir Harcourt 35

Callwell, Major General Sir Charles 4–5, 14, 15, 24, 36, 98, 248, 327

and small wars school 30–51, 54

Cambodia, use of strategic hamlets in 165

Carbillot, Major Gabriel 104–105

Cardwell Reforms 48–49

Carlson, Eric Stener 340

Carothers, Dr. J. C. 265

Casey, General George W. 308

Castellane, comte de 17, 21–22, 24, 46, 335

Castro, Fidel 228, 235

legend of Sierra Maestra 228–29

and people’s war 238–39

Cavaignac, General Louis Eugène 17

Cesuran, David 125, 150

Chabrol, Major Emmanuel 53

Chaco War 236

Chamberlain, Austen 119

Che Guevara, Ernesto 228, 237

and people’s war 238–39

revolutionary romanticism 236, 237

treatise on guerrilla warfare 229

Cheney, Dick 300

Chiang Kai-shek, campaigns of 156–57, 158

alliance with Mao 158

effect of war on Kuomintang 159

Chichester-Clark, James 270

Chieu Hoi program 217

Childers, Erskine, and IRA 111, 117

Chinese Communist Party (CCP) 158

effect of world war on 159

Choiseul 5, 6–7

and Hoche 8

and Hoche 8

War of the Vendée 7, 8–9

Christian civilization, and imperial rule 326–27

Churchill, Winston

Churchill, Winston

and Auxiliary Division 115–16

costs of counterinsurgency 119

and SOE 138

Civil Liberties Union, and Van Deman 67

Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support (CORDS)

207, 217

civil-military relations

and Bugeaud 23–24, 27–29

civilian control of military 72–73, 74, 77

effect of COIN on fusion 156

interwar crisis in 121–22

Irish challenge to 108

importance of tactics 118–19

legacy of colonial service 112–13

in postwar France 162–63

and small wars 29

Clausewitz 13, 19, 21, 95, 97

and military history 332–33

Clemenceau, Georges 75
Clemis, Martin 216
Clinton, William Jefferson 296, 297
Clive, and East India Company 36
code de l’indigénat 34
Cohen, Eliot 296–97, 333
COIN doctrine 1, 9, 246–47
adaptation of counterinsurgency to Cold War context 155–56, 161
American receptiveness to 204–205
anthropological update of 329–30
British application of 276, 320
challenges to claims of success 265–67
in Northern Ireland 268, 273–74, 277–78, 287–88
in Iraq 313–14
brutality of tactics 263–65
Callwell’s definition of 327
and colonial worldview 76
and Columbian army 238
complexity of issues for counterinsurgency tactics 316–17
cultural suitability of 243–44
denial of Clausewitzian view of war 319
and development programs 55, 229–30
development theory of 1960s 59
document of escapism 330
early recognition of insurgation 183
exemption from conventional laws and standards 192, 326–27, 340
failure of FM 3–24 345
failure to adapt to conventional operations 325
French failure in Algeria 173, 186
and Gallieni’s campaign in upper Tonkin 54
and geopolitics 231
global threat as justification for 174
hearts and minds approach 242, 244–45
impediments to divide and rule strategies 321
indigenous resistance to 2, 328
and institutional learning 248, 249
and Kennedy administration 210, 211
“know your enemy” 37
and legacy of paternalism 80
LIC doctrine in Iraq 304–305
and Lyauty 51, 75
media and NGO scrutiny 338–39
and misuse of history 332–34, 337–38, 344
and networks 55
Operation Sunrise 214–15
origins of 51, 75–76, 162, 316–17
and Petraeus 300, 302
promise of strategic renaissance in Iraq 301–302
public relations problem of victory without battles 311
revival in Iraq 201, 202, 222
as separate category of warfare 318
small-unit tactics, risks of 244
and strategic environment of war 208
swarming, and Bugeaud 20–21
tribal structures 59
and US Army strategy in Vietnam 208–209
and US Army’s institutional aversion to counterinsurgency 205, 206–207, 208
waning enthusiasm for 327, 338
whole of government approach 124, 243
women as key to victory 324
see also Decker; Downie; Galula;
direct rule; Pareé; psychological operations; Special Operations Forces; tribal social pathology
Cold War, effects of security assistance 231–32
Collins, Michael 109, 249, 287
and Bloody Sunday 116
and British counterinsurgency 118
colonial warfare
control of armies 73
and imperial expansion 1–2, 60–62
linguistic skills of military 76
in North Africa 18
Orientalized view of indigenous societies 318
problems for indigenous resistance 15
and reality of control methods 17, 21–22, 23, 25–26, 319–20
requirements of 318
and Western concepts of modernization 3–4
see also small wars; Spanish–American War
colonialism
challenge to European dominion between world wars 99, 112, 120–21
clash of civilizations 76
and occupation 76–77
distortion of civil-military relations 112–13, 121–22
import of military violence to continental war 77–78
and nationalism 97
notion of Oriental society 103
opposition at home 78
see also Morocco; Syria
Columbia
and ELN defeat 238
Plan Columbia 240
communism
COIN as national security mission 156
globalized threat of 155, 160
and National Liberation Front in Vietnam 203
US crusade against 205–206, 211
victory of in China 159–60
see also Mao Tse-tung
concentration camps 126, 261–62
and Boer resistance 70
and Fawcett Commission 69
and German actions in Southwest Africa 72
civilian response to 73
conscription, and insurrection in France 6, 8
continental warfare
effect of Napoleonic campaigns on 12–13
separation from colonial warfare 13–15
US focus on big war management 2–3
Corum, Lieutenant Colonel James S. 265
counterinsurgency 4, 71
adaptability of conventional soldiers 242–43
British framework for, and repression 325–26
and British tactics in Palestine 151–52
British use of in Ireland 117–18
clemency with firmness 5–6
and communist victory in China 155, 156
concept of minimum force 131–35
demoralization and destitution of indigenous population 26
evolution between world wars 123–24, 125
failure of British policy in Basra and Helmand 313–14
French and US methods in Latin America 226
French formalized doctrine of 179–80
French small wars tactics 323–24
and Hoche’s success 8–9
and human rights violations 244–45
and international opinion 130–31
legacy of von Lettow-Vorbeck 86
link with democracy 3
link with special operations 125
modernization versus tradition 57
mythology of the surge 316
neo-containment of terrorist groups 344–45
Orientalism of Petraeus’ team 310–11
politicization of counterinsurgents in Cold War 156
and population-centric warfare 303
public opinion 160
racialization of 26–27, 125–26
revolutionaries’ use of 161
strategic context, importance of 177, 240, 245, 320
strategy options in Latin America 224–26, 229–30
and Suchet 10–11
tactical adaptation in 325
US Army strategy in Vietnam 208–209, 216
value of attritional strategies 70
worsening of insurgencies 321–22
see also Anglo-Boer Wars; Bugeaud; Division of Military Information; ghaziya; hamleting; imperial policing; Palestine; psychological operations
Criminal Investigation Department (CID) 128
conflict with army priorities 130
intelligence collection 129
reliance on indigenous recruits 129–30
criminality, and aims of insurgents 330, 331–32
Cuba
and Latin American revolution 229
overthrow of Batista regime 227, 228
training of Columbian guerrillas 238
US occupation of 226–27
and Weyler’s reconcentrado tactics 62–63
and Wood, General Leonard 65
cultural understanding, in occupied territories 29–30, 32–33
nature of culture 39
racial prejudices 33–34
see also bureaux arabes; imperial governance; Indian Political Service; tribal social pathology
Cunningham, General Sir Alan 149
Curragh mutiny 113–14
Curzon, Lord 113
Cyprus, insurgency in
failure of COIN tactics 264–65
fusion of police and army 128
and independence 265, 266
and intelligence coordination 130
d’Argenlieu, Admiral Thierry 164, 165
Daddis, Colonel Gregory 209
Dalton, Hugh, and SOE 138
Daumier, and Trasnonian 17
de Beauvoir, Simone 190
de Gaulle, Charles 19, 96, 153, 154, 176, 187, 189–90, 195, 341, 342
and Argentine military 230
and demilitarization process 196, 198–200
and French Resistance 141
and soldiers’ belief in civilian betrayal 329
de Lattre de Tassigny, Jean 167
de Naurois, Patrice 339
De Tham (Hoang Hoa Tham) 54–55
De Valera, Eamon 110
Debray, Régis 229
Decker, General George 206, 289, 319, 320
Decker, General Paul von 50
defense climb 132
Deppe, Ludwig 85
developmental theory, and occupation strategies 330–31
unsuitability of programs 330, 331–32
Devlin, Paddy 275, 278
Diem, Ngo Dinh
alienation of supporters 202–203, 209
land issue 212
opposition to US strategy 213–14
Diplock, Baron, and Diplock courts 280
Douhet, Giulio 96
Dreyfus, Alfred 56
Druze, the 104
Carbillet’s modernizations 104–105
Duval, General Raymond 183
Dyer, Brigadier Reginald 107, 132, 134
East African Trades Union Congress (EATUC) 258
East India Company (EIC) 36
Edwards, Aaron 277
Eire, and British presence in Northern Ireland 280
and British public opinion 286
Eisenhower, Dwight 297–98
El Salvador, civil war in 320
and FMLN 241
and human rights violations 245
US policy 243
Elkins, Caroline 260, 264
Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense 227
Emergency Powers Order-in-Council (1939) 135
enemy system theory 30–31, 32
entrenched camps 5–6
Erskine, General Bobby 250, 260–61, 262
Espionage Act (1917) 66
Espoz y Mina 11
Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston (National Organization of Cypriot Fighters, or EOKA) 265
European Convention on Human Rights 326
and internment in Kenya 261
expedition size, and military disadvantage 15–16
Faisal bin al-Husayn bin Ali al-Hashemi 87–88, 89–90, 107
and Allenby’s army 90, 91
and government of Syria 101
declaration of independence 102
reliance on British 90
Fall, Bernard 166
Farabundo Martí National Liberation
Front (FMLN) 241
Farran, Major Roy, and Alexander
Rubowitz 150
Faure, Felix 45
Fawcett, Millicent, and Fawcett
Commission 69, 73
FBI, and Van Deman 67
Female Engagement Teams 30, 324
Ferdinand VII 10
Ferguson, Niall 294–95, 333
Ferry, Jules 54
FM 3-24 Counterinsurgency (2006) 2,
300, 302, 303
and Galula 163, 175, 176, 196
on ideology 161
inconsistency of theory 38
view of insurgents 26
Foreign Legion 179
France
and Annam 120
and Arab Revolt 89
attempts at reform 74
behavior of troops in World
War II 140
civilian protest against military
tactics 73
competition with Germany 43–44
and with Britain 45
and continental conflict 45–46
damage to military 42
effect of colonial occupation on military
behaviour 77
effect of diplomatic isolation on 43–44
expansion of 61
loss in Indochina and Algeria 200
military adaptation after Sedan 43
military criticism by metropolitan
soldiers 46
pace of conquest 44
postwar adjustment to counterinsurgency
challenges 153–54, 163
public perception of colonial military
41–42, 46–47
reorganization of army (in 1900) 56
and the Resistance movement 139–40
Special Powers Act (1956) 272
and Syrian Evacuation Crisis 101–102
civilizing mission 102–103, 106
concept of Oriental society 103
economic problems 103
transformation of army to
counterinsurgency force 173
Vichy regime 139
see also Algeria; French Revolution;
Galula; Great Syrian Revolt; Indochina; Napoleon
Franco-Austrian War (1859) 26
Franco-Prussian War, French defeat in 41,
46–47
Frémeaux, Jacques 34, 77
French Communist Party 98
French Revolution 3, 4, 6
French, David 124, 247, 250, 266, 288,
323, 325
French, Sir John 127
Fromkin, David 89
Front de libération national (FLN)
172–73, 177–78, 181
and Battle of Algiers 185, 186
effect of decapitation strategy on 193
effect of sealed borders on 195–96
growth of 182–83
Philippeville massacre 184
and psyops 194
use of guillotine on 185
use of media 185
Fukuyama, Francis 333
Fuller, J. F. C. 96
Fuller, William 110, 158
Gallieni, Colonel Joseph 5, 47,
167–68, 320
and Lang Son 52–53, 54–55
Galula, David 163, 176–77, 201, 209,
221, 322–23, 324, 335
and COIN 176, 180, 196–97
rules of counterinsurgency
decapitation strategy 192
denial of safe havens to
insurgents 195
Galula, David (cont.)
distinction between people and rebels 188
eyearly recognition of insurgency 182
impact of media on public opinion 185
information operations campaign 193
need for doctrine 178–79
policing central mission of army 191
population-centric strategy 187
promotion of women’s rights 142
see also FM 3–24
treatment of captured insurgents 181–82
see also FM
Gandhi, Mahatma, and satyagraha campaign 107, 126
Geneva Convention 26
Germany
and colonial expansion 48
competition with France 43–44, 75
military violence in Southwest Africa 72
civilian response to 73
controls on counterinsurgency 74
reasons for 72–73
unification and technological change 42–43
and von Lettow-Vorbeck legacy 86
and World War II
Afrika Korps 137
collaborationist governments 139
counterinsurgency and the
Holocaust 126
effect of resistance on 140
special operations units 138
Geyer, Michael 96
ghaziya 22
Gibson, Wing Commander Guy 144
Gideon Force 136
Gladstone, William Ewart 45
Godechot, Jacques 6
gold, effect on Transvaal 68
Graves, Robert 93
Great Syrian Revolt, the 105–106
failure of civilizing mission 106
origins of 103–105
Great War; see World War I
Green Berets, the 204, 205–206, 207
Guatemala, CIA coup in 227
guerrilla warfare 4

against Napoleonic troops 11
and Latin America 239
and occupied populations 140–41
organization and supply of 138
value of 138–40
and von Lettow-Vorbeck 85
see also IRA
Gulf War; see Operation Desert Storm; Operation Iraqi Freedom
Gurney, Sir Henry 254
Gwynn, Major General Sir Charles 127, 131–32, 248
Hague Conferences 26
hamleting (reconcentration) 63
see also concentration camps
Hanson, Victor Davis 333
Harding, Field Marshall Sir John 265
Harmand, Jules 28
Harper, Tim 251, 256
Hastings, Max 249
Hastings, Michael 336–37
Hearst, William Randolph 63
hearts and minds tactics 57, 58, 77, 78
between world wars 99
in Syria 103
and Carbillot’s reforms 104–105
failure of in Vietnam War 209, 213, 215, 217, 218, 221
and Kenyan Emergency 264
and Latin America 233–42
and Mao’s example of military and social reform 155
in Philippines 64
Heath, Edward 271, 273
Heihachiro, Admiral Togo 61
Herero War 71–72
Hilman, Roger 214
Hitler, Adolph, and paratroops 137
Ho Chi Minh
and Geneva Conference 170
and Provisional Republic of Vietnam 163–64
Hobhouse, Emily 69
Hobson, J. A. 98
Hoche, Lazare 4, 5–6, 7–8, 320
Hoffmann, Bruce 176, 198
Hogan, David 204, 220
Hoisington, William A., Jr. 100
Holmes, Richard 46
Hoover, Herbert 132
Hosmer, Joseph 196–97
Hull, Isabel 26, 44, 72–73, 77, 119
Human Terrain Teams (HTTs) 30, 50, 330
Husayn ibn Ali 87, 89, 92
attacks at Mecca and Jiddah 87–88
Hussein, Saddam, and Desert Storm 295
imperial governance 32–33, 57–58, 109–11
breakdown of cultural approach 36–37
erosion of EIC’s influence in India 36
and feidoms 59
limitations of 58–60
local administrators 34–36, 60
martial races 37
racial prejudices 33–34
traditional hierarchies 59–60
tribal structures 59
see also bureaux arabes; Indian Political Service
imperial policing
“aid to the civil power” approach 127
attitude toward crime and political subversion 132
and decolonization conflicts 128–29
divergent viewpoints of police and army 130
intelligence collection 129
reliance on local recruits 129–30
lack of restraints on 125
paramilitary nature of 127, 131–32
principles of 123
rebranding as hearts and minds 130–31
see also martial law; sub-war
imperialism
attitudes after Great War 97–99
failure of civilized mission in Syria 106
recognition of moral hazard 40
India
and Indian Political Service 31–32, 33
military service in 13, 14
see also imperial governance
indigenous resistance 15
and Western liberal values 154
Indochina, French policy in
defeat at Dien Bien Phu 166, 167, 170–71
belief in oil spot 167–68
groupement des commandos mixtes aéroporté (GCMA) 169
invincibility of fortified airheads 169
and Na San 170
romantic view of montagnards 168
use of Resistance strategy 168–69
intelligence system 165
lack of colonial infrastructure 165
lack of political foundation for counterinsurgency 164, 171
provocation of war by French military 164
position of French army 164
recognition of Provisional Republic of Vietnam 163–64
tactical alliances in 165–66
US aid 167
Industrial Revolution, effect on warfare 13
and colonial conditions 14–15
information operations (IO)
and Abd-el-Kader 24
and Peninsular Wars 9–10
and Suchet 10, 12
insurgents 3
aims of 330–31
romanticism of 79–80
see also Lawrence; von Lettow-Vorbeck
International Red Cross 26, 182
IRA 112
bombing campaigns 278, 285
effect on public opinion 287
campaign to end British occupational system 273
and Catholic civil rights movement 270
delegitimization of in Prevention of Terrorism Act 280, 281
effect of British Army policy on 277
gang warfare with RIC 109, 114
information operations strategy 108, 111
Maze Prison hunger strikes 282–83
military accomplishments of 109
Restoration of Order in Ireland Act 116
security consciousness, lack of 284
penetration by army intelligence 285
support for 108–109
and British reprisals 117
tension between organizations of 279
IRA (cont.)
and long war strategy 279–80, 286, 287
and terrorist assassinations 282
see also Ireland
Iraq, war in 298
and COIN renaissance 301–302
and cultural naïvety of FM 3-24 305–306
disbanding of army 305
Haditha incident 298–99
internal security of 300
and international aid 331
and National Guard 307
obscuring of costs of interventions 338
rationale for 301
and suicide bombings 307
Sunni Awakening 309–10
and the surge 321
use of IEDs in 306
see also Operation Desert Storm;
Operation Iraqi Freedom; US Army
Ireland, British policy in
application of COIN tactics 268,
273–75, 285–86
army self-assessment 277–78, 286
Bloody Sunday 116
and civil rights movement 268–69
and IRA 270
and RUC 270
decision to remain in 280
shift to anti-terrorist strategy 280
Easter Rising, 1916 108, 111, 114
Government of Ireland Act 119
and imperial policing 132
and independence 109–110, 114
civil–military relations 108
legacy of colonial service 112–13
intelligence and SO campaign 280
internment without trial 273, 277
IRA information strategy 111
level of violence in 108
military control of security services 114,
271, 272, 286
army clashes with IRA 273
army intelligence and support for
Protestant militias 274
and Catholic community 276
government strategy 272–73
public opinion 286
and soldierly misconduct 278–79
military perception of 121
neutrality policy in Westminster 271
normalization approach 281, 282
failure of 282–83
and minimum force 282
use of SAS 281–82
organized retaliation 117, 120
and propaganda usage 118
Prevention of Terrorism Act (1974) 280–81, 284–85
Protestant support 108
public reaction to counterinsurgency
tactics 110–11
response to RIC decline 114
Restoration of Order in Ireland Act
(1920) 116
success of 113–14, 117–18
tactical failures 112, 116
threat of conscription 112
victory of independence movement 109–10
see also Anglo-Irish Agreement; IRA;
supergrass
Irgun Zvei Leumi (IZL) 146, 148
and United Resistance Movement
146–47
Iron, Colonel Richard 276, 285,
286, 316
Italy
and colonial expansion 61
resistance movement in 140
weapons of 138
Jameson raid 68
Japan, imperial expansion of 61–62
Jenni, Alexis 328, 330, 342–43
Jewish Agency, and Haganah military
force 145–46, 148
and Zionist extremists 148
Joffre, Joseph 47, 75
Johnson, Thomas 336
Joly, Vincent 188, 202
Jomini 13
Judd, Denis 36
Kaiser, David 204–205, 213
Kaplan, Robert 294, 333, 336
Keegan, John 120
Kennedy, John F. 202, 204, 205
and COIN 210, 211

expansion of Special Forces 206
Kenya Africa Union (KAU) 258

Kenyan Emergency, British policy in

brutality of counterinsurgency tactics
250, 260, 261–63

COIN and civilizing mission 260
costs of 264–65
damage to British reputation 265
effect of settlers on Kikuyu population
256–58
Erskine's counterinsurgency measures
260–61
and Kenya Police Reserve 129
Labour protests against army
misconduct 271
oathing 258–59
Operation Anvil 130, 261
Operation Jock Scott 259, 260
Operation Progress 263
and police auxiliaries 128
resettlement 262
transition to majority rule 264
violence of Home Guards 260, 262

see also Mau Mau

Kenyatta, Jomo 258, 259
Kesselring, Albert 140
Khalat, Major General Jalil 314
Khalili, Laleh 310, 311, 339
Kilcullen, David 303, 310, 329
Kinnvall, Catarina 31
Kipling, Rudyard 27, 28

Kissinger, Henry 234

Kitchener, General Horatio

and COIN in Northern Ireland
274–76, 277, 280
Kleber, Jean-Baptiste 7, 8
Kohn, Richard 297–98
Korea, Japanese possession of 61–62
Krepinevich, Andrew 214, 220, 289, 324
Kromer, Robert W. 217
Kruger, Paul 68

La Cité Catholique 230

la guerre subversive
and de Gaulle 198–200
and sabotage of political solutions 184

la politique des races 53

Lacheroy, Colonel Charles 173, 192, 194, 233–34
and psychological operations 180, 193

Lacouture, Jean 199

Ladies Commissions 73

Lang Son, and Gallieni’s strategy 52–53

Lartéguy, Jean 317

Latin America, revolutions in
benefits of using US forces as
advisers 240
causes of unrest in twentieth century 226
and Cuban Revolution 228, 229
debate over responsibility for violence
232–34
drug trade 239

guerrilla proficiency 239

influx of US counterinsurgency advisers
234–35

level of threat to stability 225

and Mao’s revolutionary vision 228, 236

romantic view of conspiracy of
heroes 237

lack of military skills 238
target for revolutionary activists 224

use of French military veterans in
Argentina 230

use of population control 239

see also Castro; Che Guevara;

Columbia; El Salvador

Latin America, US policy in 227
civil-military relations 241
and COIN doctrine 231
effects of Cold War on 227

El Salvador 241–42, 243, 245

expansion of military missions in World
War II 227

Kennedy’s Alliance for Progress 229–30

National Security Doctrine and
geopolitics 230–31

responsibility for violence 232–33

security assistance 224, 225, 231–32,
236, 237, 239, 240

unsuitability of COIN approach 243–44
Lawrence, T. E. 34, 79, 80–81, 88, 93, 310–11, 329, 335
and Arab Revolt 86–87, 89–90
and Allenby’s army 90
attack at Jeddah 87–88
contribution to Ottoman defeat 90–91
and guerrilla warfare 94
use of propaganda 95
and Lowell Thomas 92–93
popular insurrection model 136–37
romantic reputation of 237
and SOE 138
League of Nations 98
Leakey, Louis 323
and Sultan of Morocco 137
stealth advances
and romanticism 59
and “small wars school” 50, 51–52
stealth advances 75
and Sultan of Morocco 60
see also Gallieni

Lynn, Brian 293, 295

MacArthur, Douglas 132
Mac-Mahon, Patrice de 42
Macmillan, Harold 142, 183, 250, 265
Macready, General Sir Neville 116
Madar, Chase 326
Maji Maji Rebellion 72–73
Malayan Emergency, British policy in 124, 253
and COIN 248, 253–54, 256
and colony’s wealth 250
coordination of army and police operations 254–55
early use of conventional tactics 255–56
effect of Korean War on 256
failure of whole government approach 266
intelligence coordination in 130
and Malayan Communist Party 251–53, 255
and Malayan People’s Liberation Army 253
and Malayan Special Constabulary 128
military adaptability 248, 249–50
colonial office 250, 267
and organizational learning 250
and multiethnic Alliance Party 256
population resettlement 255
Thompson’s principles for counterinsurgency 246, 247–48
White Terror 253
Manchuria, competition for 61–62
Mangin, General Charles 44
Mao Tse-tung 79, 97, 155
and Chiang’s kidnap 158
effect of Japanese invasion on 157, 159
Long March 158
and Marxist theory 157
and mobile warfare 97
On Guerrilla Warfare 157–58
and People’s Liberation Army 157
training of Viet Minh 166
triumph over Chiang Kai-shek 156–57
and Vietnam 203
Marchand, General Jean-Baptist 45
Marlowe, Ann 175
Marr, David 54
Marshall, Andrew 292
Marshall, George 297–98

© in this web service Cambridge University Press  www.cambridge.org
martial law 134–55
and civil-military fusion 132
definition of lawful behavior 326
and Gwynn’s imperial policing 131–32
Marx, Karl, dismissal of peasantry 157
Mason, Roy 281, 282
Massu, General Jacques 186, 339
Mathias, Grégor 176, 177, 180, 187
Mau Mau 258–59
confiscation of Kikuyu land 262
failure of Land and Freedom Army 263
internment by British 261
the Pipeline 262–63
support for 260
see also Kenyan Emergency
May, Karl 80
McBride, John 114
McCrystal, Stanley 341
McFate, Montgomery 329
McKinley, President, and
Spanish–American War 64
McMaster, General H. R. 305, 330–31
McNamara, Robert 204–205
Meiji Restoration 45
Mendès-France, Pierre 197–98
Menjivar, C. 227
Mesopotamia, rebellion in 107
Military Assistance Advisory Group
(MAAG) 203, 206
Military Assistance Program (MAP) 229
military defeat, by indigenous peoples 45
military Orientalism 37
military strategy, irregular warfare, and
conventional operations 95–96
Milner, Sir Alfred 68, 70, 71
Milward, Alan, and Albert Speer 140
Min Yuen 253–54
Mitchell, Billy 96
Mitchell, Lieutenant Colonel Colin, and
Argyll Law 272
Mockaitis, Thomas, P. 108, 123–24, 128,
247–49, 250, 265, 266, 322–23
Mollet, Guy 185, 186
Moltke, General Helmut von 43
Montaigne, Michel de 156
Montgomery, Field Marshal Bernard,
148, 149
Moore, Robin 204, 205–206
Moran, Daniel 160, 163, 228
Morice Line, the 195
Morocco, Rif Rebellion in 99–100
Mouvement National Algérien (MNA)
172
Moyne, Lord 146
Munford, Andrew 274, 277, 287
Mussolini, Benito 138, 142–43
Mutual Security Act (1951) 227
Nagl, John 124, 214, 248, 249, 254, 266,
305, 322–23, 341
Napoleon I
assassination plots against 8
opposition to 10–11, 12
Spanish project 9–10
and Suchet 10
Napoleon III, surrender at Sedan 41, 43
National Defense Authorization
Act 343
National Socialism, racialization of
counterinsurgency 125–26
Navarre, General Henri 169, 171
Neumann, Peter
and civil-military fusion
Nixon, President Richard
normalization approach 280
Nouri-al-Maliki 314
Nye, Joseph 294
O’Hanlon, Michael 314
O’Neill, Terence 269, 270
Obama, Barack 343
occupation, and mistreatment of civilians
77–78
Office of Strategic Services 138
Operation Banner report 316
Operation CONDOR 234
Operation Desert Storm 291
lack of strategic success 295
limitations of defense reforms 291–92
Operation Eagle Claw 293
Operation Iraqi Freedom 298, 303–304, 309
Coalition offensive operations 306
IED defense measures 306–307
collapse of law and order 304
Low Intensity Conflict 304–305
manpower shortfall 305–306, 307
reaction to 306
Operation Iraqi Freedom (cont.)
effect of spiraling violence on US military 298–99
operational success of 304
Orientalist view of Iraqis 310
Provincial Reconstruction Teams 310
repatriation process 307–309
and the surge 311–12, 316
see also British Army and COIN
Operation Motorman 278, 286
Operation Sinbad 313
Organisation armée secrète (OAS) 153, 230
organizational learning 240
and British “forgetting organizations” 323
COIN-centric view of 322–23
impediments to in British Army 288
and “petty” warfare 320
and Vietnam 201, 202
Painlevé, Paul 100
Pakenham, Thomas 67, 69
Palestine 145
1936 Arab Revolt 133, 135
and martial law 133–34
British abandonment of 150–51
Jewish settlement in 145–46
and support for cooperation with British 146
terrorist organizations 146
United Resistance Movement 146–47
public relations and the Exodus 130
see also Zionist Revolt
Palestine Gendarmerie/Police 128
Papon, Maurice 342
Paré, Peter 95, 196, 197
and COIN doctrine 211–12
Parsons, Timothy 40
peaceful penetration 53, 57
Peel, Sir Robert 112, 127–28
Pennequin, Colonel Théophile 53
People’s War 96–97
changing context of 97
and Ireland 108, 109
and Mao Tse-tung 156–57
and postwar ideologies 126
and Soviet triumph 154–55
Pétain, Philippe 194
and Rif Rebellion 100
Petraeus, General David 222, 298–99,
305, 321, 341, 344
and FM 3–24 300, 302, 311–12
Philippines, and Spanish–American War 63–64
failures of independence movement 64–65
US troop violence in 64
vulnerability to Japanese attack 65
see also Division of Military Information; Taft
Phoenix Program 207, 219
Pinochet, Augusto 233–34
Pion-Berlin, David 233
Pontecorvo, Gillo 328
popular mobilization, and postwar counterinsurgents 156
population concentration, use in Indochina 165
Porter, Patrick 38, 310
postwar revolutionary movements advantages over predecessors 160–61
ideological weapons of 161
need for outside support 160
Powell, Enoch 263
Powell, General Colin 290, 295, 296, 298
Price, David H. 38
propaganda, value of 193–94
Provence, Michael 103
psychological operations 30, 180
and French campaign in Algeria 193, 194–95
and French counterinsurgency methods 186
and politicization of French army 194
use of confessions in Kenya 262–63
public opinion
and Algerian war 186, 198
and brutality of counterinsurgent tactics 160
and civil-military relations 156
protest against small wars 74
and resettlement of Algerian Muslims 188
Qing Dynasty, collapse of 61
racialization, and imperial conquest 26–27
Ramdane, Abbane 194
Ranalletti, Mario 230
Ranger, T. O. 38–39
razzia 20–22, 28
Reagan, President Ronald 290
regimental system, of British Army 124
Regional Forces and Popular Forces (RF/PF) 207, 217
repatriation of troops 28–29
revolution, reasons for 224–25
Rhodes, Cecil 68
Ricks, Tom
and British Army 313
criticism of US military tradition 299–300
and Haditha incident 298–99, 309–10, 311
Rid, Thomas 22
Rio Pact (1947) 227
Roberts, Frederick 48
Roberts, Lord, of Kandahar 30, 113
and Ulster Volunteers 113
Robespierre, Maximilian 7
Robin, Marie-Monique 184
Rodriguez, N. 227
romanticism, and imperial service 59, 80
fiction of 80, 85–86
imperial adventurers 80–82
see also Lawrence; Liddell Hart; Lowell
Thomas
Roon, Albrecht von 43
Roosevelt, Theodore 297–98
and Latin America 226
and Special intelligence Service (SIS) 227
Root, Elihu 65
Rostow, Walt 204
Roy, Jules 167
Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) 108, 109, 112, 114, 119, 127–28
excesses of 111, 116
Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) 128
assault on Londonderry march 270
and neutral policing 273
and Prevention of Terrorism Act (1974) 280–81
shoot-to-kill tactics 285
Rubowitz, Alexander 326
Rumsfeld, Donald 296, 297, 298, 300, 301, 305
Russell, James 307, 308–309
Saint-Arnaud, Jacques Leroy de 23, 28, 29
Salan, General Raoul 165, 168, 170
and psychological operations 180, 193
Salisbury, Lord 44
Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) 241
Sands, Bobby 282
Sarrail, Maurice 106
scallywagging 137
Schneller, Rachel 309, 310, 311, 314, 315
Schwarzkopf, Norman 295
Sedition Act (1918) 66
September 11 (2001), and Global War on Terrorism 295, 302
Service d’Action Psychologique et d’Information 180
Service de Renseignement 99
Shamir, Yitzhak 146
Shinseki, Eric K. 298, 304, 305–306
Shy, John, and COIN doctrine 211–12
Simons, Anna 38
Simson, H. J. 132–33, 248
Sinclair, Georgina 128, 132
Singer, P. W. 283, 332
Skorzeny, Otto 138, 142–43
slavery, in Algeria 57
Sleeman, Major William 37, 329
Slim, William 143
small wars 1–2, 4–5
backlash following Sedan 41–42, 43, 48–49
and Bugeaud’s North African campaign 19–21, 24, 25
and COIN 75–76
and democratization of political systems 2
derestabilization of international system 75
effects of alliances and navalism 61
European colonial competition 44, 52–53
formula for victory 94–95
ignorance of history 333–34
implications for homeland 340–44
interwar focus on 121, 125
journalists’ support for 1–2
knowledge of indigenous culture 37
small wars (cont.)
and lawlessness 117
link between French and US
document 163
links to Holocaust 124
propaganda and PR tactics, and the
surge 312
and public opinion 40
and racialized violence 3–27
“small wars school” 50–52, 55–56
superiority of conventional forces 325
transition to popular insurrection 86, 96–97
unacceptable costs of 327–28
Smith, Adam 40
Smuts, Jan 83
Somoza, Anastasio 241
Sorley, Lewis 215
Soult, Marshal 28, 53
Soustelle, Jacques 183
Spanish–American War 62, 63–64
and army reform 65
use of violence 64
Special Air Services (SAS), and Northern
Ireland 280
and normalization 281–82
and shoot-to-kill tactics 285
Special Operations Forces (SOF)
and civilian betrayal 336–37
containment of terrorist groups 344–45
counterproductive strategic impact of
335–36
influence on policy 336
risks of failure 345–46
status of 334–35
Special Powers Act (1922), use in Northern
Ireland 273
stability, and reconstruction contractors 331
Stalin, Josef 141
Stanley, William Deane 320
stealth encroachment 2
Stern, Abraham 146
Storey, Moorfield 62
Strategic Hamlets
use in Vietnam War 210
Operation Sunrise 214–15
sub-war 132–33
Suchet, Louis-Gabriel 5, 9
and guerrilla harassment 11
and IO 10
myth of success 11
Summers, Colonel Harry 220, 289–90
Sunningdale Agreement 279
supergrass initiative 283
swarming advantages to French colonial soldiers
22–23
of civilians 20–21
in Kabylia and Western Algeria 25
in Lang Son 52
see also ghaziya
Sykes-Picot agreement (1916) 90, 92
Sylvin-Charles, Marshall, Count Valée 19
Syria
Evacuation Crisis 101–102
focus of Franco-British intrigue 106
Moroccan formula of government 102
origins of the Great Revolt 103–104
see also Druze; Great Syrian Revolt
Taft, William Howard 65
and information dominance 66
technology
in Operation Iraqi Freedom 304
as substitute for strategy 293–94
Templer, Sir Gerald 246, 248, 250, 254–55, 256, 266
territorial “faits accomplis” 2, 23–24
Thatcher, Margaret 282
Thénault, Sylvie 199
Thiers, Adolphe 5–6
Thomas, Lowell 92–93
Thompson, Sir Robert 124, 143, 322–23
COIN credentials 246–47
“ideal” COIN approach 247, 254, 255
and Strategic Hamlets Program 210, 214
Tocqueville, Alexis de 29
torture, use in counterinsurgency 340
total war, and postwar ideologies 126
Trenchard, Lord 120, 345
tribal social pathology, failure of 38–39
Trinquier, Colonel Roger 169, 189–90, 193, 233–34, 322–23
Tripodi, Christian 35
Trochu, General Louis Jules 46
Tudor, Major General Henry 115

United States
aid to French in Indochina 167
counterinsurgency campaign in Philippines 63–64
resort to violence 64
and Division of Military Information 66–67
modern warfare movement 62
neo-imperialism in 294–95
public opinion, and Zionist Revolt 147, 148, 152
see also Latin America; Operation CONDOR; United States Army; Vietnam War

United States Army
Decade of War after action report 345
evolution of small war tactics in Iraq 307
IED defense measures 306–307
as learning organization 305–306
post-Vietnam reconstruction of conventional war 289–91, 293
relations with defense intellectuals 296–97
erosion of military professionalism 296, 297
Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) 292, 293–94
failure of in Iraq 301–302
and Global War on Terror 295
Kuwait victory and neo-imperialism 294
rivalry between colonial and conventional soldiers 135
SOF establishments and Low Intensity Conflict 293
and Spanish–American War 65, 78
Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC) 291
AirLand Battle 291, 292
withdrawal of strategy from central focus 297–98
see also Iraq; Operation Desert Storm; Operation Iraqi Freedom; Petraeus; technology; Vietnam War

Upton, Emory, and modern warfare movement 62
USMC Combined Action Program (CAP) 207
US Special Operations Command (USSOCOM) 293, 298
Van Deman, Ralph 66–67
van Deventer, J. L. 83
Vernet, Horace 24
victory without battle, search for 93–94
Viet Minh, political control of 203

Vietnam War
anti-communist crusade 205
assignment of blame for 220–21
attacks on Viet Cong sanctuaries 213
commitment of US military resources to Southeast Asia 212
conventional versus special forces argument 206
and GVN 205, 221
and COIN 219
and land issues 212
and village war 217
importance of strategic environment 202, 205, 208, 212–23
military options 209
experimentation as war progressed 210
population-centric pacification 209–10, 214–15
Phoenix Program and US public opinion 207
Têt offensive and US public opinion 207
transition from conventional warfare to COIN 324
failure to address political and strategic context 325
US receptiveness to COIN doctrine 204–205, 208–209, 210, 212
and complexity of Vietnam’s combat environment 205
US strategies for war 213
Accelerated Pacification Program 219
Diem’s opposition to 213–14
rural construction activities 217
Strategic Hamlets 214–15
use of firepower 218
Vietnam War (cont.)
weaknesses of 213, 219
US withdrawal from 207, 222–23
Viet Cong’s targeted violence 219
and Weinberger–Powell Doctrine 221, 290
see also COIN; Diem; Paret; United States; Westmoreland
vigilante police, use in colonies 128–29
Vo Nguyen Giap 167, 169
and Dien Bien Phu 170–71
Volkskrieg, and mobile warfare 95–96
von Bülow, Bernhard, and Hotentot elections 74
von Lettow-Vorbeck, Paul 48, 49, 79, 80–81, 85, 339
von Seeckt, Hans 96
von Trotta, Lothar 71–72, 126
Wars of German Unification 42
Warsaw Pact 290
watecurc 64
Wavell, General Sir Archibald 96, 137
Weber, Eugen 74, 98
Weizmann, Chaim, and Zionist Organization 145–46
Wellesley, Sir Arthur 13
Wellington, Duke of 10, 11, 14, 320
Westmoreland, William 201, 206–207, 208, 209, 220, 221
strategy for Vietnam 215–16
Weyler, General Valeriano, and hamleting tactics 62–63, 69
defects in 63
Wilson, Harold 269, 271, 279
Wingate, Orde 92, 96, 327, 345
and Allied Special Forces 136–37, 141
and Chiindits 143–44
counter-terror tactics in Palestine 133–34
Operation Thursday 169
withdrawal of troops, and civilian betrayal 328–29
Wolfowitz, Paul 295, 296, 297, 298, 301, 305

Wolseley, Sir Garnet 25, 29, 48
Wood, General Leonard 65–66
World War I
and bureaucratization 79
popular support for 96–97
romanticism of insurgency 79–80
and rejection of conventional warfare 93–94, 97
von Lettow-Vorbeck and German morale 85
and strategic failure 85–86
World War II
Allied Special Forces 136–37
paratroops 117
persistence of British small wars mentality 135
resistance movements 125
Chiindits 143–44
contribution to victory 142–43, 145
and conventional forces 137–38
and occupied populations 140–41
political and propaganda value of 142
and postwar betrayal 141–42
Special Operations Executive (SOE) 138
value of insurgents 138–40
and technology 96
Yalta agreement 159
Yeats, W. B. 114
Young Turks 87
Yugoslavia, resistance movement in 140
and Tito 140, 141
Zionist Revolt 146–47
attacks on military 148
and British intelligence 147
difficulties of counterinsurgency 147–48, 150
and Rome embassy bombing 149
martial law 149
militarization of Palestinian police 149–50
see also Palestine