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THESIS

THE ROLE OF CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING AND LANGUAGE TRAINING IN UNCONVENTIONAL WARFARE

by

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December 2004

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This thesis analyzes the influence of language training and cultural understanding on the overall success of counterinsurgency campaigns. Examining some situations where the U.S. and British forces carried out counter-insurgency operations, this project reveals that ground troops with foreign language skills and cultural training were able to work more efficient with the local population. Cultural awareness facilitated communication and developed interpersonal trust. Additionally, language and cultural training enhanced military personnel's ability to understand the operational environment and to make a more selective use of force.

The purpose of this thesis is not to promote a departure from conventional military training, but rather to propose the development of new Romanian military capabilities, the performance of which will increase through a better exploitation of language and cultural resources.

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**THE ROLE OF CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING AND LANGUAGE TRAINING
IN UNCONVENTIONAL WARFARE**

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
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I. INTRODUCTION

Understanding future warfare is the most important responsibility of those who must defend a nation from future enemies

Major General Perry M. Smith[1]

A. CURRENT AND FUTURE THREATS

A decade after the end of the Cold War, people have started to realize that the period of expected peace and prosperity failed to materialize, and that the world is not safer as a result. Neither the end of the military rivalry between the East and the West nor the collapse of Soviet Union brought the expected improvements to international security. On the contrary, even more than before one witnesses a continued degradation of the security environment. This phenomenon has tended to be most prominent "in those countries where liberalization of the economy has proceeded more rapidly than the expansion of citizenship rights and the consolidation of newly democratic institutions" (Davis, 2003, p. 4).

The decrease of state authority over its constituencies or, in some cases, even the disintegration of the state, altogether, has triggered a migration of the centers of power from the state level into the hands of various non-state actors. Such a shift in the base of power has given birth to what Ralph Peters (2003) calls a "new warrior class," i.e., a class that is more ruthless than its predecessors, capable of operating on a global scale (p. 16). As Kaldor (1999) noted, the main factors that contributed to this erosion, especially in the field "of the monopoly of legitimate violence" were 1) "the availability of surplus weapons," 2) "the discrediting of socialist ideologies," 3) "the disintegration of totalitarian empires," and 4) "the withdrawal of superpower support to client regimes" (p. 4).

Pondering how these challenges might be surmounted, Hammond (2001), noting that since the ambition of many warring elements is "not specifically military," and that their chosen means encompass both "low technology, mass

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[1] Smith, P.M. (1989). Foreword. In R, Paschall *LIC 2010: Special Operations and Unconventional Warfare.* New York: Brassey's Inc.

violence" and "high technology warfare," predicted that such factors would profoundly affect the way wars will be conducted within the next century, (p. 34). While the latter statement raises financial and organizational questions that cannot be answered by many existing political entities, low intensity violence offers a cheaper way of waging war, especially for the newly emerging sub-national groups as Al-Qaeda and the like. The attacks against the US on September 11, 2001, Spain on March 11, 2004, Indonesia and the most recent one in North Osetia, to name just a few, testify how destructive and global terrorism has become.

During the last decade, low intensity violence has manifested itself in numerous forms, ranging from ethnic and religious conflicts to narco-trafficking and organized crime. This tends to underscore the benefits of globalization, which, according to Kaldor, can be understood as the "intensification of global interconnectedness –political, economical, military and cultural", movements that have been accompanied by an unprecedented increase in levels of violence (Kaldor, 1999, p. 3). As David Charters says, we have witnessed a transition in the nature of conflict that has gone from "communal violence to terrorist insurgency" (Charters, 1989, p. 195). Examples of this in today's world abound: airplanes are hijacked and turned into killing devises; trains and busses are blown up; innocent citizens are taken hostage; and violence driven by ethnic and religious intolerance is likely nearing an all-time high. In an effort to gain international recognition for their cause, terrorists strike apparently indiscriminate political leaders and civilians, women and children, regardless of their nationalities.

The numerous connections which blurred the distinction between foreign and domestic threats, on both the national and the international levels, have increased with global violence. According to Kaldor, this blurring has been heightened because of the difficulty to clearly differentiate:

> between war (usually defined as violence between states or organized political groups for political motives), organized crime (violence undertaken by privately organized groups for private

purpose, usually financial gain) and large-scale violation of human rights (violence undertaken by states or politically organized groups against individuals) (Kaldor, 1999p. 3- 4).

This loss of distinction between nations has been spurred on, in part, by the many technological advances being experienced today. Taking advantage of some of these technological developments has enabled some groups in this new class of insurgents to join forces, thus forming ever stronger transnational organizations. However, in whatever ways technology has been used to enhance transnational goals, insurgents must still retain their ability to act locally and rally people's support for their cause.

For example, even Al Qaeda must rely on the support of other like-minded organizations around the world to extend its own capabilities to affect the global socio-political climate (e.g., they require safe places to set up their training camps, stockpile their arsenal and plan for future operations without fearing that security agencies may impair their activities). This tends to be especially true in those places where a state's control over its constituency is very limited. Al Qaeda's decision to move its headquarters from Sudan to the safer haven provided by Afghanistan (upon the ascension to power of the Taliban regime) is illustrative in this regard.

Equally important is an insurgent entity's capability to rally popular support for their cause through the use of political mobilization. Typically, such groups rely on symbols and ideas that are relevant to the target population to accomplish this. In this way, an insurgent movement is enabled to set up façade organizations to act as fronts for legitimacy in order to conduct propaganda in support of their actions and recruit new members. For example, it is widely believed that the London-based Jama'at al-Muhajirun is helping Osama bin Laden, not only to direct his message to the Muslim community, but also to rally their support for his International Islamic Front for Jihad against Jews and Crusaders (Verton, 2003, p. 84). Such activity is reminiscent of the abundance of communist-inspired liberation fronts that flourished across the globe throughout the 1960s and 1970s—from Europe to Asia, South America and Africa. The

difference with Al Qaeda, however, is that the sponsor is not a state, but a sub-national organization (whose goal, it says, is not intended to impose a new ideology on the world, but rather to bring to an end Western military supremacy by depriving it of its economic power). According to Osama bin Laden, "It is important to hit the economy of the United States, which is the base of its military power" (as cited in Verton, 2003, p. 83). The goal of his endeavor, according to bin Laden, is to "liberate" Muslim lands from US and their allied military forces.

These trends have caught many defense establishments unprepared because, "for the last 50 years or so, the military has focused on state vs. state wars" while violence has moved "downwards to the individual level" (Cebrowski, 2003, p.1). Cebrowski also believes that, despite the fact that throughout recorded history warfare has been associated inevitably with human behavior, decision makers' have tended to ignore most challenges to security that require a different kind of solution than that which they were prepared to provide (Cebrowski, 2004, p. 2). Thus, military planners have tended to prepare extensively to possess highly technological warfare capabilities, having begun with the premise that a technologically superior force will prevail over a less technologically advanced force. In fact, however, one encounters an increasing incidence of low intensity, mass violent behavior when surveying warfare over the past several decades. This is pointed out by Daniel Marston when he writes that only 12% of all the confrontations following the Second World War could be categorized as conventional, while the others had an evident irregular character (Marston, 2004, p. 4). Many world leaders disregarded the warning U.S. President John F. Kennedy gave more than forty years ago (as he focused on what many assumed to be the greatest challenge at that time, namely world nuclear supremacy),:

> The free World's security can be endangered not only by a nuclear attack, but also by being slowly nibbled away at the periphery, regardless of our strategic power, by forces of subversion, infiltration, intimidation, indirect or non-overt aggression, internal revolution, diplomatic blackmail, guerrilla warfare, or a series of limited wars (as cited in Kelly, 1989, p. ix).

B.   CHALLENGES TO NATIONAL SECURITY

The deterioration of the security environment, in which a growing number of non-state actors challenge the tendency of many states to maintain a monopoly on warfare, increases the complexity of the decision-making process in the foreign and security policies of states.

Romania's National Security Strategy (NSS), while acknowledging the dangers posed by non-military actions which can affect economic, financial, social and environmental fields (especially domestic non-military actions), identifies that the risk of "major threats of classic military type" are less probable in the near future (Security strategy, 1999, Chapter 4). The NSS has identified that the most immediate and important threats are as follows:

- possible negative developments at the sub-regional level, in the area of democratization, human rights and economic development, which might result in serious crises, with destabilizing effects over a large area;

- proliferation of mass destruction weapons, nuclear materials and technologies, non-conventional arms and lethal devices;

- proliferation and development of terrorist networks, transnational organized crime, illegal trafficking in people, drugs, arms and ammunition, strategic and radioactive materials;

- clandestine migration and the emergence of some massive flows of refugees;

- actions inciting extremism, intolerance, separatism and xenophobia that might affect Romania and the advancement of democratic values;

- gaps between the levels of enforcing security and the stability of the states in the proximity of Romania;

- limited access of the Romanian state to some regional resources and opportunities that are important for the attainment of the national interests (Security strategy, 1999, Chapter 4).

In order to counter these non-classical, asymmetric threats, Romania's NSS includes "deliberate armed and non-armed actions aimed at affecting national security by causing direct or indirect consequences on the country's economic and social life" (Security Strategy, 1999, Chapter 4). Among Romania's endeavors, some of the most important are:

- Transnational and international political terrorism, including its biological and cyber forms;

- Acts infringing upon the safety of domestic and international transportation networks;

- Individual or group actions that target illegal access to computer systems;

- Activities aimed at deliberately adversely affecting Romania's international image --under various forms and circumstances--, activities which negatively impact Romania's credibility and reliability in complying with the commitments which she has undertaken;

- Economic-financial attacks;

- Deliberate provocation of environmental catastrophes (Security Strategy, 1999, Chapter 4)

In order to avoid such things, the Romanian Armed Forces must be able "to prevent, deter, and if necessary, defeat any aggressor that threatens and endangers the security of the Romanian state, simultaneously providing the capability to participate in conflict prevention, crisis management and collective defense at regional levels" (Military Strategy, 2001, Introduction). In keeping with these stated ambitions, the four pillars for the Romanian Armed Forces are:

1) Reliable defense capability – i.e., a constant readiness and capability to act against all possible risks within the security environment.

2) Restructuring and modernization – including the creation of small and flexible military structures, able to deploy on short notice and have self-sustaining logistical capabilities. Moreover, a special focus will be placed on enhancing troops' equipment through both the modernization of the existing one and the purchase of new.

3) Intensified operational partnerships – bilateral and multilateral partnerships with NATO allies and other foreign nations to enhance security.

4) Gradual integration – into both European and Euro-Atlantic military structures (i.e., the ability to operate effectively with other members' states armies). (Military Strategy, 2001, Introduction)

C.   BACKGROUND

A nation's armed forces are usually a powerful instrument of national power. Therefore, throughout history keeping the armed forces prepared for war has often been of paramount concern for national rulers. Ever since the demise of the Warsaw Pact, Romania's decision-makers have usually acknowledged the importance of its armed forces. In doing so, Romania has tended to promote a steady policy in keeping with the general European trend of endorsing a gradual reduction of military strength, coupled with strategies for professionalizing the military establishment.

However, the turning point for Romania came in 1994, when Romania became a member of the Partnership for Peace program (PfP). As a result, in only a few years the Romanian Armed Force gradually downsized from a total strength of over 300,000 personnel in 1989 to about 119,000 in 2004. As outlined in Force Project 2007, the total estimated strength will be 90,000 by 2007 (including 75,000 military personnel and 15,000 civilians)[2] divided into two main components: 1) active and 2) territorial. Simultaneously, a big effort has been made to replace Romania's outdated military equipment, a process that has already begun, but will continue for many years (partly because it tends to be one of the more costly phases of a nation's military transformation). Accordingly, the Romanian Armed Forces underwent an annual Membership Action Plan[3] (MAP) cycle to complete NATO integration requirements starting in 1999. As a result of this process, the new Romanian structure will consist of two types of forces:

- Deployable forces with strong, interoperable, deployable, sustainable, mobile capabilities with hi-tech equipment, able to participate abroad, without host nation support and to combat terrorist threats

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[2] Figures were presented at the Romanian Defence Ministry Assessment for the first semester 2004 and represent the estimated strength for the Romanian Armed Forces at the end of the restructuring process. Retrieved on August 29, 2004 from http://www.Presamil.ro/OM/2004/31/pag.23.htm

[3] Membership Action Plan (MAP) was introduced by the Washington Summit in April 1999 in order to supervise the transformation process of the aspiring NATO members. For further details see Simon, J (2000). *NATO's Membership Action Plan (MAP) and Prospects for the Next Round of Enlargement.* Retrieved on October 25, 2004 from http://wwics.si.edu/topics/pubs/ACF45B.pdf

- In-place forces able to repel any aggression until the Alliance provides support (Romanian Defence, 2004, p. 5).

Besides structural and technological reforms, much effort has been spent to shape the future of doctrinaire approaches. Currently, there is an urgency in setting up a legal framework that would allow the Romanian Armed Forces to participate in regional and international initiatives that are aimed at promoting stability and cooperation.

With this in mind, the Supreme Council for the National Defense has approved the National Security Strategy and Military Strategy; the government has adopted the *White Book*; and the Defense Ministry designed different strategies to employ different kinds of forces. The aforementioned amounts to a departure from the old non-involvement doctrine, which has been evidenced by Romanian contingents being deployed, in conjunction with other NATO forces, throughout the Balkans, the Caucasus and Africa and, more recently, in Asia and the Middle East. For the last three years, the Romanian Armed Forces, along with U.S. and NATO forces, have been involved, in Afghanistan and Iraq, proving their desire to take on a more strategic role in international crises. This was acknowledged by Romanian President Ion Iliescu when he said, "Romania's strategic interests will not be performed on the borders anymore, but in most of the situations far away from them, and when needed we rely on our allies help to defend our national integrity" (Iliescu, 2004, Pro memoria).

As a direct result of the progress in achieving its military aims and willingness to involve itself in international affairs, Romania was finally accepted into NATO in April 2004. Still, this may not be enough to address future unconventional challenges. As recently acknowledged by the Romanian Foreign Minister, upcoming duties of the Romanian Armed Forces may commit more troops to collective security operations outside the country. In such endeavors, the Romanian military will be asked to work in highly integrated alliances to support national strategic interests (in places such as the Western Balkans, Caucasus and Central Asia) (Geoana, 2004, online). Because the enemy, in many of these instances, may lack financial and other resources readily available

to states, they, may choose to avoid direct confrontations with regular troops, instead reverting to the use of small war hit-and-run tactics (i.e., raids, ambushes, terrorism, etc.). The use of such tactics can be seen in Afghanistan and Iraq, where insurgents are challenging the authority of the newly installed governments. Therefore, a bigger emphasis should be placed on peacekeeping operations for the conventional forces. At the same time, Special Operation Forces (SOF) might become increasingly involved in unconventional warfare, foreign internal defense efforts and counter-terrorism as the primary mission and coalition support as secondary mission.

D.   DEFINITIONS

Because many authors hold divergent views concerning the essence of small wars, this thesis will present definitions that will try to embrace the more cogent views—views that will constitute the basis of subsequent analyses.

According to the United States Department of Defense (DOD), unconventional warfare (UW) encompasses:

> A broad spectrum of military and paramilitary operations, normally of long duration, predominantly conducted through, with, or by indigenous or surrogate forces that are organized, trained equipped, supported, and directed in various degrees by an external source. It includes, but it is not limited to, guerrilla warfare, subversion, sabotage, intelligence activities, and unconventional assisted recovery. (DOD, 2004, Dictionary of Military Terms)

The main characteristic of this form of warfare, as Huntington asserted, "is that the strategically weaker side assumes tactical offensive in selected forms, times and places" (Huntington, 1962, p. xvi). In their struggle, the two camps often pursue different strategies in support of their goals. On the one hand, the insurgents are "organized indigenous group[s] outside the established governing structure seeking "to weaken, modify, or replace existing governing authority" through the use of force and illegal methods (Molnar et al., 1966, p.3). According to Steven Metz, an insurgency may be defined as "the use of low-level, protracted violence to overthrow a political system or force some sort of fundamental change in the political and economic status quo" (Metz, 1993, p. 6).

On the other hand, the governmental forces may try to counter subversive actions and defeat the rebels by using the instruments of national power. According to the US DOD counterinsurgency encompasses "those military, paramilitary, political, economic, psychological, and civic actions taken by a government to defeat insurgency" (DOD, 2004, Dictionary of Military Terms). Therefore, because of their relationship with one another, insurgencies and counterinsurgencies should be discussed in conjunction with each other.

E.   PURPOSE

Striving to achieve structural and technical integration of the Romanian Armed Forces with its NATO allies, Romanian decision makers have tended to focus heavily on restructuring and modernizing the Romanian military (often attempting to match the technological competence of the U.S. or British [UK] Armed Forces) almost to the point of neglecting preparation for unconventional warfare.

The purpose of this thesis is to show that unconventional warfare has a different set of rules than does conventional warfare and, therefore, that conventional tactical proficiency does not suffice in combating insurgencies. The intent of this thesis is neither to promote a departure from conventional training, nor to diminish its role in the professional development of military leaders. Rather, the need for unconventional training will be advocated, with an emphasis on matters that can give military personnel the kind of knowledge and understanding needed to cope with the irregular threats envisaged by the NSS. This thesis postulates that acquiring unconventional training can make a difference in the subsequent progress of a campaign against forces using irregular tactics. It makes the argument that only an intimate understanding of operational environments often associated with unconventional warfare, coupled with language proficiency and cultural awareness, can lead to success in the conduct of irregular warfare.

Given the Romanian Armed Force involvement in counterinsurgencies abroad (i.e., in Afghanistan and Iraq), the main criteria for choosing the U.S and

British cases is the introduction of external military support to defeat an insurgency. Because Malaya and Vietnam are over researched cases, this thesis will examine some understudied cases (i.e., Indian Wars, Philippine and South Arabian insurgencies).

Although it is not as evident that Indian Wars had the characteristics of a foreign intervention as the U.S. intervention in Philippine or the British involvement in South Yemen and Oman, the examination started from the premise that during the first half of the nineteenth century, the U.S. government recognized Indian Territory as a separate country. The fact that the frontier was protected by border troops and people entering the Indian Territory needed special passes is sufficient to categorize the Indian territory as separate entities from the U.S.

F. HYPOTHESIS

New demands on forces responsible for maintaining the security of an environment frequently require that more troops perform policing and peacekeeping functions around the world. This can pose new challenges for the armed forces of a nation, especially when such functions become even more critical than participation in conventional confrontations. Paramount is the need to work in small teams, usually platoon or company level, with either our allies or local forces in an increasingly unconventional setting in which counterinsurgency may be, as Andrew Krepinevich (1986) wrote, "the most demanding contingency" (p. 274). The main hypotheses of this thesis is that language and cultural training can serve to enhance a military's capability to extract relevant information in counter-insurgency efforts, thus leading to a more selective and effective use of force. Accordingly, the starting propositions are as follows:

- Unconventional Warfare campaigns are protracted operations that require a deep understanding of the insurgent phenomenon and the strategic environments in which they operate (usually determined by conditions local to the insurgency) and such knowledge is best acquired prior to the deployment in the area of conflict.

- Intelligence gathering is vital during campaigns waged against unconventional combatants and cannot be acquired merely by technical means. Popular support is vital for success in UW.

G.   METHODOLOGY

To accomplish the stated goals of this thesis a linear approach to the problem will be pursued. First, the notion of "operational environment" will be explained, followed by the presentation of selected existing models that are relevant for understanding unconventional warfare. Also included in this part will be an exploration of the role of language training and cultural awareness in UW. Second, four cases where U.S. and British armed forces were involved in small wars will be examined. In these cases, an investigation will be made to first determine how the British and Americans initially dealt with the insurgencies followed by how they eventually adapted to the operational environment. These chapters will also examine whether people cooperate better through intimidation and the use of force, or if other methods are more likely to provide a greater chance of cooperation. Third, findings from the case studies will be used to determine the role of language training and cultural understanding on waging successful unconventional warfare. Finally, the conclusion will suggest some actions that should be taken by the Romanian military establishment to enhance its chances of producing desirable outcomes when it finds itself waging UW.

H.   CHAPTER OUTLINE

The thesis will have five chapters. The first chapter gives a brief overview of current trends in the maintenance of national security, with an emphasis on how unconventional threats are being dealt with. Additionally, it points out the unconventional risks to Romania's internal security (as identified by the NSS) and the transformation measures adopted by the Romanian Armed Forces over the last decade. Furthermore, it will present the methodological approach used in this thesis.

The second chapter will explain the principles often associated with unconventional warfare, as well as assess their roles in conducting irregular operations. Subsequently, some current counterinsurgency models will be

examined. Additionally, the chapter will present the benefits of language training and cultural sensitivity in establishing the necessary trust within the foreign societies necessary to waging a successful counterinsurgency.

The third chapter will analyze the U.S. armed forces' involvement in small wars (i.e., like those wars described herein). This chapter will also examine the level of understanding of the operational environment necessary for the forces involved in counterinsurgencies to succeed. The level of violence used in carrying out these operations will also be discussed as well as what has been done to secure the loyalty of the local population.

The fourth chapter will analyze the same problems as those presented in chapter three, but by examining recent British Armed Forces' involvement in small wars.

The fifth chapter will attempt to weigh the importance of cultural sensitivity and language proficiency in light of the inferences drawn from the above case studies.

The sixth chapter will conclude the thesis by summarizing the main lessons that can prove profitable the Romanian Armed Forces when involved in unconventional warfare, based on a thorough examination of the role of language proficiency and cultural understanding. Additionally, it will offer proposals of how to improve the Romanian SOF's ability to conduct unconventional missions in various war theaters.

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II. UNDERSTANDING UNCONVENTIONAL WARFARE

> If you want to overcome your enemy you must match your effort against his power of resistance, which can be expressed as the product of two inseparable factors, viz. the total means at his disposal and the strength of his will.

Carl von Clausewitz[4]

In the previous chapter it was proposed that the current threats to international security, with particular reference to the Romanian's internal security have tended to move from conventional to unconventional spectrum. Furthermore, the main steps the Romanian defence establishment has undertaken in order to improve its efficiency were reviewed.

This chapter will attempt to systematically examine the underlying principles of unconventional warfare. The main focus will be placed on understanding the strategic environment within which both guerrilla and antiguerrilla forces operate. Additionally, it will introduce some current theories of how counter-insurgencies tend to operate, as well as present some models of how nations currently approach irregular warfare. Finally, the chapter will present the benefits of cultural understanding and language training for operating in the current strategic environment.

A. UNDERSTANDING THE NATURE OF UNCONVENTIONAL WARFARE

Guerrilla warfare, revolutionary wars, underground resistance, subversion, sabotage and propaganda (to name just few forms of unconventional warfare) are far from being inventions of modern societies and can be traced back to ancient times. Unconventional tactics have been used throughout history in the context of military confrontations, from low to high intensity conflicts. Despite their different tags, they share some common underlying principles that help unconventional warfare emerge and grow, in the first place, and which makes them differ markedly from conventional confrontations.

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[4] See Clausewitz, C. (1984). *On War.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 77.

Whereas the typical Clausewitzian-based warfare strategy tends to place the center of gravity on the destruction of the opponent's army in order to control a certain territory, unconventional warfare strategies often place a premium on co-opting local populations in order to achieve the same results. Traditionally, military operations have avoided mixing with civilians and sought separating them from the battlefield. However, this is not an option in irregular warfare because it takes place among the people. Unconventional warfare is not a small scale conventional confrontation and it is dangerous to treat it in this manner. Each insurgency is a unique occurrence which is influenced greatly by the local conditions of the place it arises.

One of the first to acknowledge and describe guerrilla warfare was Antoine Jomini (1838) who, as he witness the French defeat in Spain, wrote, "the spectacle of a spontaneous uprising of a nation is rarely seen; and, though there be in it something grand and noble which commands our admiration, the consequences are so terrible that, for the sake of humanity, we ought to hope never to see it" (p. 29). But, he described only one instance, i.e., when people have resorted to guerrilla tactics to achieve their goals, namely wars of national liberations. However, as James Rosenau[5] (as cited in Tanter & Midlarsky, 1975, p. 49) argues, they are much more numerous and include a whole range of internal causes.

Huntington (1962) distinguished three instances when groups resort to guerrilla warfare to accomplish their goals, "(1) after regular (i.e., stronger) forces have been defeated, (2) before they have been created, and (3) where they are unable to operate" (p. xvi). Their aim is twofold: On the political side, they aspire "to destroy the government's prestige and authority" and rally people's support; while, on the military side, they "aim to neutralize the government's armed forces, and render them powerless to save the country" (Thompson, 1966, p. 29). In this milieu, insurgencies are unique occurrences during which, as Arthur Cebrowski

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[5] Rosenau has identified three types of internal wars: caudillismo, authority war and structural war, but actually only the last two make use of the guerrilla tactics. Whether during authority wars insurgents compete to arrange and occupancy specific roles in the political structure, during structural wars, their goal is "the introduction of social and economic changes in the society".

(2004) wrote "nations, states and others who wage wars, do so in ways appropriate to their culture and values" (p. 2). Therefore, in order to fight an insurgency, one has to understand the operational environment within which it takes place. This can be best represented by three aspects: political nature of an insurgency, physical environment (i.e. terrain features, climate, etc.) and human environment (with its language, cultural and traditional aspects).

1. Political Nature of Insurgency

Insurgencies are not random occurrences and they only take place when there is a state of dis-equilibrium at the societal level that has to be redressed. As Sorokin (1957) writes, they "are but logical and factual consequences of the state of disintegration of crystallized systems of relationships" (p. 535). However, in order to get started in the first place, insurgencies require a cause, as Antoine Jomini (1836) said more than a century ago:

> This uprising may be produced by the most opposite causes. The serf may rise in a body at the call of the government, and their masters, affected by love of their sovereign and country, may set them the example and take the command of them; similarly, a fanatical people may arm under the appeal of its priests; or a people enthusiastic in its political opinions, or animated by a sacred love of its institutions, may rush to meet the enemy in defense of all it holds most dear (p. 30).

Such causes may not be evident upon first glance, as "there is always some issue which has an appeal to each section of the community, and, even if dormant, an inspired incident may easily revive it in an acute form" (Thompson, 1966, p. 21). It is up to the insurgents to make them "appear legitimate, progressive and desirable", and anti-colonialism, land for landless, regional autonomy and political equality for the minorities have been a few of the most common ideas used by communists to mobilize people to their side (p. 21).

In essence, insurgencies are protracted political movements that try to accomplish goals by rallying people's support around an idea. The unconventional character of certain guerrilla actions does not rest on the capability of insurgents to fight their opponent through elaborate military

strategies. Rather, they rely on their relative anonymity to erode their opponent's influence from the periphery, through the use of subversion, deception and, at the last resort by military actions. As Robert Thompson (1966) writes, "Opening the armed struggle is a measure both of success and of the failure of subversion. The subversion has been successful enough for them to mount an insurgency, but not successful enough to win by subversion" (p. 28).

Unlike in conventional wars, where one might take control over a body of people following a crushing defeat of their army, guerrilla actions have to be understood by taking a political perspective, often involving long-standing problems. There is no well-defined period of time for an insurgency to grow, witnessed by the fact that the guerrilla phase may go on for years before reaching its zenith of power. The highly secretive nature of guerrilla warfare allows insurgents to operate below the military horizon and to keep a relatively low profile in relation with counter-insurgent forces. During this time, rebels seek both to expand their control over the population through façade organizations which tend to rely on propaganda, rather than purely through the use of military force. Unless government forces (i.e., the military establishment and constabulary forces) are properly equipped, trained and organized to fight guerrillas, they will merely react to the insurgents' actions, often with overwhelming force against the civilian population, thereby creating more discontent.

The erosion of state authority usually starts in the countryside, where governmental control is weak, gradually extending to the cities. During this process, insurgents barely hold any territory, instead funneling all of their efforts into rallying the local people through propaganda and political means to create as Thompson (1966) says, three types of recruits: "(1) the natural, (2) the converted and (3) the deceived" (p. 35). Pondering this subject, Mao Tse-Tung (as cited in Shaw, 1975) wrote,

> It is necessary for every soldier and civilian to see why the war must be fought and how it concerns him… By word of mouth, by leaflets and bulletins, by newspapers, books and pamphlets,

through plays and films, through schools, through the mass organizations and through our cadres…We must link the political mobilization for the war with developments in the war and with the life of the soldiers and the people, and make it a continuous movement. (p. 224).

The reason behind the insurgents' strategy of gradually attaining their ends can be found in their perceived weaknesses in relation to the state in which they live. Whereas states are "forces in being" and have specially designated institutions (e.g., security forces, courts of law, etc.) to handle the problems of society, the insurgents are merely "forces in development," usually without any legal status. Thus, an insurgency is typically no match for a state's security apparatus (McCormick, 2003).

2.   Natural Environment

Understanding the natural environment is important during unconventional warfare campaigns because the contours of the terrain often dictate the way both governmental and guerrilla forces will conduct their operations. Still, as Ney (1962) asserted, the environment "should not be conceived of merely in geographical terms, however significant these may be. Environment also embraces climate, terrain, the road and communication networks, local economic conditions, the location of villages and towns" (p. 28).

Whereas geographical barriers exert a direct influence on guerrilla warfare, the climate and local conditions often affect it indirectly. Mountains, jungles and deserts not only tend to restrict the ability of governmental forces to deploy troops, it can also nullify their technological superiority. Such conditions may also greatly influence the development and cohesiveness of indigenous communities.

Guerrillas are very sensitive to the natural environment within which they operate because it may dictate the way their attacks are conducted against governmental forces. In this regard, Jomini (1838) writes: "The nature of the country may be such as to contribute to the facility of a national defense. In mountainous countries people are always most formidable; next to these are

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countries covered with extensive forests" (p. 30). Restrictive terrain may allow a relatively lightly-equipped insurgent force not only to stay on the offensive against governmental troops, but also enhances its use of hit and run tactics. Insurgent forces often favor using ambush tactics along main routes of travel, or places where terrain does not permit conventional forces to use their superior firepower.

Insurgents fighting on land in their natural environment often have a double advantage over their enemy, in that they are (1) better adapted to the local conditions, thereby easing their efforts, and (2) usually have an intimate knowledge of the terrain. Pondering this last factor, Callwell (1996) writes, "he knows the tracks over the hills, the path through the jungle, the passages over the rivers, the points where he can be sure of replenishing his few requirements" (p. 53). Furthermore, "(an insurgent) finds everywhere a relative or a friend who aids him; the commanders also know the country, and, learning immediately the slightest movement on the part of invader, can adopt the best measures to defeat his projects" (Jomini, 1838, p. 31).

3.   Human Environment

Human environment embraces two distinctive set of factors: "ethnicity" and "the system of religious belief" (Ney, 1962, p. 28). Whereas the first is the sum of language, traditions and customs and may shape the attitudes of indigenous population towards both the guerrilla and the counter-insurgent force, the second "may determine how a people will behave under the condition of guerrilla warfare" (p. 28).

As T.E Lawrence (as cited in Leites and Wolf, 1970) noted, the success of an insurgency often rests on "a population … *sympathetic* to the point of not betraying rebel movement to the enemy. Rebellions can be made by two percent active in a striking force, and 98 percent passively sympathetic" (p. 11). Recounting the importance of a friendly population toward the guerrillas during the partisan war in Yugoslavia during the Second World War, Franklin Lindsay[6] (1993) wrote, "Their support was crucial to success. They provided the

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[6] Franklin Lindsay is a former OSS officer who during the Second World War served as a liaison officer for the Allied command in Italy with Tito's Partisans in Slovenia.

intelligence screens that surrounded and protected the armed Partisans, as well as the food and clothing, the shelter and the recruits, without which the Partisans could not survive" (p. 198).

Due to non-territorial characteristic of insurgencies corroborated with insurgents' high degree of mobility, as Leites & Wolf (1970) say, "information is more important in insurgency and counter-insurgency than in other forms of conflict" (p. 137). According to Thompson (1966) "good intelligence leads to more frequent and more rapid contacts. More contacts lead to more kills, this in turn leads to greater confidence in the population, resulting in better intelligence and still more contacts and kills" (p. 89). However, as Handel (1992) writes,

> The danger is that modern intelligence analysts and commanders may focus on what can be measured rather than on the most important but more illusive factors of will. Certainly one important lesson of the Gulf War is that a close examination of enemy's will (which requires familiarity with his language, culture and politics) should always be carried out (p. 17-18).

B.   BREAKING IRREGULAR WARFARE'S DYNAMICS?

Unconventional warfare, with its multi-dimensional character, has always set a variety of demands on those who have attempted to design a coherent strategy to fight guerrillas. The difficulty can be seen by recognizing the fact that every country presents unique challenges to conventional forces, challenges impossible to replicate in other places, thus making every insurgency a peculiar case.

For example, Che Guevara's failure to export the Cuban model of revolution to the Congo or Bolivia can largely be attributed to the many differences between Cuba and the other nations. Accordingly, it would be a mistake to believe that there is only one successful counter-insurgency model, which can be used in all situations. Instead, one must be able to understand both internal dynamics and the nature of irregular warfare in order to tailor an appropriate response to a particular insurgency. However, this does not diminish the benefit of studying existing models, as they may provide useful guidelines.

Consequently, some current counter-insurgency theories will be examined in the following sections.

The first theory to be looked at stresses the need to win "the hearts and minds of the people," and has been promoted by such famous counter-insurgent theorists as Sir Robert Thompson, Frank Kitson, Peter Paret, Larry Cable and Andrew Krepinevich to name just a few of the most prominent. It underscores the political and psychological dimensions of the insurgency/counter-insurgency campaign which can be viewed as a battle to control people, rather than simply to control land. Perhaps the most important thing for a government to do in these situations is to maintain a positive attitude, trying to keep its objective political rather than military. This realization may start a government on a reform program.

In a counter-insurgency, the role of the armed forces is often to separate guerrillas from their base of support, and to protect people from the guerrilla's vengeance. During the Hukbalahaps insurgency, President Magsaysay gave special prominence to the re-indoctrination program of the Philippine Army. He was aware that the army was the most visible symbol of the government in the countryside and that "the government would be judged by the stance and actions of the soldiery in relation to the rural population" (Stilwell, 1989, p. 302).

A similar program was set up in El Salvador under the supervision of the US military advisors. The main ideas inculcated in this program stressed that the Salvadorian Army's mission was: (1) to protect citizens, (2) to fight guerrilla and (3) to contribute to the moral development and welfare of the civilian population. Some have said that it is better to counteract guerrilla's strategy of sowing 'fear and hate' with a sustained campaign of regaining legitimacy (Kaldor, p. 114).

Sir Robert Thompson (1968) suggested five principles that should guide governmental actions aimed at preventing the growth of an insurgent organization.

- the government must have a clear political aim: to establish and maintain a free, independent and united country which is politically and economically stable and viable
- the government must function in accordance with law
- the government must have an overall plan
- the government must give priority to defeating the political subversion, not the guerrillas
- in the guerrilla phase of an insurgency, a government must secure its base area first (p. 51-57)

The second theory points out the prevalence of political, social, and economic aspects in the internal dynamic of an insurgency (Leites & Wolf, 1970, p. 6). It approaches insurgency "as a system and an organizational technique, and views the process of countering a rebellion in terms of weakening its organization while strengthening the structure of authority" (p. 4). The starting premise for Nathan Leites and Charles Wolf, Jr. (1970) was that insurgencies require steady fluxes of resources: recruits, food, financial resources, etc, which can come from both internal (endogeny) and external (exogeny) environment (p. 32). Within the organization they are converted into outputs by the use of internal mechanisms. The output can take the form of terrorist acts, demonstrations, attacks against security forces, etc.

Consequently, any counter-insurgency effort should have as its aim to disrupt this flow, and thereby to complicate insurgents' logistical systems to the point they are unable to repeat the cycle. The aim of this "input denial" measure is to prevent any kind of supplies from getting to guerrillas, thus causing them to spend more of their time fulfilling their immediate needs, rather than to planning and conducting operations. Stopping smuggling from neighboring countries may be essential, but it should be augmented with internal measures to control the society that may facilitate the smuggling.

During the Malayan emergency, food was distributed to the population already cooked, and cans were punctured, all in an effort to prevent Communist guerrilla from storing it. Furthermore, security forces can prevent guerrillas from moving freely within the populated areas and spreading their propaganda by

strictly controlling the population's movement. This might be done through the imposition of a curfew or through issuing new identification papers. Thus, according to Leites & Wolf, it is a matter of raising the costs to the level where insurgents are unable to restart the cycle again.

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┌──────────────┐        ┌──────────────┐
│  ENDOGENY    ├───┐ ┌──┤  EXOGENY     │
└──────────────┘   │ │  └──────────────┘
        ┌──────────▼─▼──────────────────┐
        │            INPUTS             │
        │ (People, food material, information, │
        └───────────────┬───────────────┘
        ┌───────────────▼───────────────┐
        │     CONVERSION MECHANISM      │
        │ (Production functions for training, │
        │            logistics,         │
        └───────────────┬───────────────┘
              ┌─────────▼─────────┐
              │     OUTPUTS       │
              │   (Activities)    │
              └─────────┬─────────┘
                   ┌────▼─────────┐
                   │  AUTHORITY   │
                   └──────────────┘
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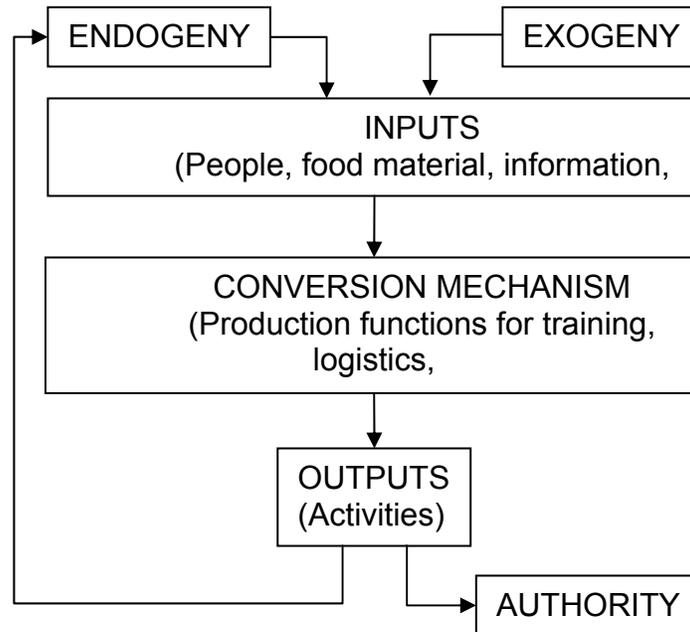
Figure 1.   Insurgency as a system (Leites and Wolf, 1970, p. 35)

C.   THE RELEVANCE OF CULTURAL SENSITIVITY AND LANGUAGE TRAINING DURING UNCONVENTIONAL WARFARE

Local population represents the most important element in the unconventional warfare domain. It is also the only component that can be influenced through a wide range of actions; actions ranging from non-violent ones (e.g., the distribution of propaganda) to extremely brutal ones (e.g., terrorism, political assassinations, etc). However, persuasion plays a very important role, the success of which rests on the ability of people to communicate and generate trust. This process is facilitated through the use of language. In a cultural context, language influences the way people think, communicate and behave. Thus, as Leavitt (as cited in Force,1961) says, language does not only serve "as a device for reporting human experience but also as a way of defining, analyzing, and organizing it trough prescribed channels into meaningful categories for its speakers" (p. 1202). Languages often act as very complex

guides to the social reality in which human communities operate. Learning a foreign language not only gives one a useful tool to interrelate with others in a foreign culture, but may also help one understand and appreciate "what in the foreign culture converges with ours in consolidating a basic human value" (Balakian, 1961, p. 254).

Equally important to communicate different attitudes during human interactions is the use of non-verbal communication (i.e., facial expression, body posture, gesture, proximity). Non-verbal messages are an essential component of communication but not sufficient in creating trust and influence. Usually they are transmitted both voluntary and involuntary thus making their interpretation more difficult outside the cultural context. While interrelating with other people, individuals tend to relate everything to their own system of judging behavior, which they may regard as universal, thus generating many problems for outsiders. Richard McGonigal (1971) identified some relevant concepts that can be communicated from a person's unintended actions or attitudes, e.g., condescension, contempt, entropy, goal dissonance, heterophily, kinetics, noise, patronization, proxemics" (McGonigal, 1971p. 8). These tend to affect all human interactions. This is especially true when foreign troops are deployed into the conflict area, deployments that almost always entail close contact with the population.

Recounting the negative effects of a person's lack of cultural sensitivity, Roger Hilsman writes (as cited in Malcom, 1996), "if we violated the mores of any particular group, that group would turn on us" (p. 39).

Thus, it is important to understand that culture is often a relative matter, and its evaluation cannot be done outside the environment that generates it (Hoopes & Pusch, 1979, p. 3). According to Hoopes & Pusch (1979):

> Culture is the sum total of way of living; including vales, beliefs esthetic standards, linguistic expressions, patterns of thinking, behavioral norms, and styles of communication which a group of people has developed to assure its survival in a particular physical and human environment. Culture, and people who are part if it, interact, so that culture is not static. Culture is the response of a

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group of human beings to the valid and particular needs of its members (p. 3).

Although it has long been recognized that culture shock can be a serious issue because it can severely hamper a person's ability to perform efficiently, it has been neglected by military establishments. Describing the benefits of receiving language and cultural training, James Bruton and Wayne Zajac (1988) state that military personnel assigned to a tour of duty in Vietnam, after being trained in these fields, performed far better than those who didn't receive such training. According to Bruton and Zajac, cultural sensitivity and language skills contributed "significantly to positive cultural interaction with the Vietnamese people" (p. 30). A good command of a language puts individuals in a better position to deal with the behavior patterns of other people (Balakian, 1961, p. 253)

The benefits of cross-cultural training have also been pointed out by Richard McGonigal, who identified that they produce a twofold benefit: (1) It makes one aware of how he is perceived by his counterparts and (2) increases one's tolerance for ambiguity (McGonigal, 1971, p. 1). Cross-cultural training refers to "all kinds of programs that train people to live, work, study or perform effectively in a cultural setting different from their own. The techniques of cross-cultural training are normally experiential, though they may include comparative cultural studies or the study of specific cultures" (Hoopes & Pusch, 1979, p. 7).

D.   CONCLUSIONS

The unique character of unconventional warfare comes largely from the fact that they are usually struggles for the minds and hearts of people, rather than for territories. Fostering legitimacy during insurgencies is more important, perhaps, than is the use of firepower. Thus, any strategy to conduct irregular warfare operations should be based on gaining local support. This requires people to have a deep understanding of their counterparts; a knowledge that can best be obtained through specific training that emphasizes not only language, but also cultural understanding.

III. U.S. ARMY'S INVOLVEMENT IN SMALL WARS

> The art of war is important to the state. It is a matter of life and death, a road either to safety or ruin. Hence, under no circumstances can it be neglected.

Sun Tzu

The previous chapter examined insurgency and counterinsurgency from theoretical points of view, focusing primarily on the main principles utilized by each side in small wars. The present chapter will examine two instances of U.S. involvement in small wars.

Within the context of both its wars against Native Americans (henceforth, called the "Indian Wars") and the Philippine insurgency of 1899 against Aguinaldo's guerrillas, an examination will ensue of the level of understanding of the operational environment exhibited by U.S. forces, the level of violence used to achieve U.S. purposes, and last but not least, how the U.S. troops secured the cooperation of the local peoples.

A. INDIAN WARS

Following the establishment of the American Republic and the War of 1812, the U.S. government pursued a steady policy to undermine the military power of the eastern Native American tribes, especially those fighting alongside the British Army. Until the Mexican War this effort aimed to resettle Native American tribes peacefully, west of Mississippi River. Furthermore, efforts were then made to establish an Indian nation. Hence, the office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs within the War Department was created in 1832. Two years later, the Indian Intercourse Act (designed to help settle the legal problems of entering the Indian Country) was passed, and from that moment the border "amounted almost to an international frontier (Weigley, 1973, p. 154). This seemingly stable situation was to be altered by the discovery of gold in California. As increasing numbers of prospectors and settlers crossed through Indian lands as they were heading west, the number of conflicts between the "white man" and the natives

increased, thus prompting the U.S. government to dispatch the army. New forts were erected and more soldiers were brought in to guard routes and provide protection to the settlers. Initially intended only as a stop-gap, policing measure to end lawlessness in the Indian territories, it gradually degenerated into fierce fighting between parties. This grew to be especially intense following the Civil War. The U.S. government's fledgling army was often little prepared for such conflicts because, unlike their previous confrontations (where enemies had been clearly defined and the warfare usually took place in open spaces, between large bodies of troops), this time their opponents often proved to be masters of guerrilla-warfare tactics.

Despite its name, the Indian Wars were merely a collection of small campaigns, during which Native Americans continually harassed the nineteenth century Napoleonic Army of the United States in its quest for a decisive battle. The Sioux War, the Modoc War (1872-1873), the Red River War (1874-1875) and the Battle of Little Bighorn (1876) are among the most important campaigns, but neither one succeeded in undermining Indians' will to fight. As a result, the U.S. Army patrolling the Indian territories had to be constantly "on the watch against hostile perfidy" of the native Indians, as Callwell (1996, p. 50) noted.

1.   Understanding the Operational Environment
a.   *Political Nature of Insurgency*

Though it created an agency whose sole function was to deal with the Indian problem (i.e., the Department of Indian Affairs), the U.S. government pursued what is now recognized to have been an inconsistent policy toward native populations. For example, whenever signs indicated that reservation land was valuable for either mining or the purposes of agriculture prior settling agreements were frequently broken. The result was that Indians were often excluded from their own territory, relegated to "lands where the white man was not yet ready to adventure, or where it was assumed he would never settle" (Weigley, 1973, p. 153). This constant expansion of the white man vastly impaired the notion of the Indian Country.

Things became worse when the Indians were threatened by starvation--due to the loss of their traditional sources of food; their fighting often became more fierce. According to Crook, "ninety-nine-hundredths" of the troubles were created by Indian agents who were supposed to care about the Indians' welfare:

> The Interior Department did little that was calculated to induce an era of peace and prosperity among the Apaches. Instead, a policy of removal was carried into effect. The Indians were gradually forced to leave the reservations which had been assured them, and obliged to move to the hot, dry flats of the San Carlos (as cited in Schmitt, 1946, p. 241).

Under the Department of the Interior, the government did little to identify the real causes of Indian rebellion often concluding that the army's assistance was required simply to return the Indian parties who had "illegally" left their reservation. When Army officers addressed the Indian Bureau for a clarification of who the enemy was, instead of a plain answer they were told by the state officials that, "those on the reservation were friendly and the exclusive responsibility of the Indian Bureau" while "those off the reservation were hostile and the responsibility of the army" (Utley, 1984, p. 165). However, as noted by Utley (1984), this was not necessarily true "Indians off the reservation were not necessarily belligerent. They might be out hunting, or headed for a visit with friends in another tribe, or simply wandering about seeing the country" while those inside were not necessarily friendly (p. 165).

As Indian territory was occupied by the white man, the federal policy toward Native Indians changed to one of assimilation. According to Weigley (1973), the general opinion at the time was that "if the Indians were to live close to the white man, they must abandon their own way of life and take up the white man's" (p. 156). However, the practice demonstrated that the US officials discriminated between the white man and the native Indians on the subject of legal matters. While the whites were seldom punished for their wrongdoings against the natives, there were frequently "posses" (i.e., people in hot pursuit) that came together to bring the Indian perpetrators of wrongdoing to

"justice". Describing this situation, General Crook wrote, "It was of no unfrequent occurrence for an Indian to be shot down in cold blood, or a squaw to be raped by some brute. Such a thing as a white man being punished for outraging an Indian was unheard of" (as cited in Schmitt, 1946, p. 16).

b. Natural Environment

The rugged terrain where the rebel Indians chose to hide enhanced the efficiency of their hit and run tactics. Indians' superior knowledge of the territory allowed them to move unseen by their opponents. Only gradually did the army overcome this disadvantage, through intensive exploration and mapping as the campaigns wore on. Eventually, the use of Indian scouts proved very important in overcoming this difficulty. Therefore, the success of army operations rested upon the accuracy of its intelligence, coupled with its own mobility. Acknowledging this phenomenon, Schuyler writes, "the campaigns in Arizona did not owe their ultimate success to any particular Waterloo-like victory, as much as they did to the covering of a great deal of ground by a comparatively small number of men, permitting the Indians no rest and rendering any and every hiding place insecure" (as cited in Utley, 1984, p. 157). In achieving similar goals, General Crook organized his troops in mixed parties of white soldiers and Indian scouts, supported with mule trains for the transportation of supplies and men, reasoning, "a mule train can go anywhere; there is no rear to protect at the cost of largely reducing your fighting force" (as cited in Schmitt, 1946, p. 213).

c. Human Environment

Inhabiting a very large area native Indians did not represent a homogenous society and people gave their allegiance to the family and tribe rather than the race. As Utley (1973) noted, "Culturally, the tribes differed markedly from one another. They spoke different languages, were organized according to different political and social forms, and worshiped different deities" (p. 5). However, from the point of view of military culture and organization, Indians shared some common characteristics as they fought "principally for the honors of war, both individual and group" (p. 6).

The prevailing misunderstanding of the real motives that made Indians leave the reservations prompted, in most of the cases, a military response. As Utley notes, the army's poor performances in the early phases of the campaign were often due to the fact that it "did not pursue its Indian-fighting mission very creatively" (Utley, 1984, p. 166). While the army was sending "heavy columns of infantry and cavalry, locked to slow moving supply trains" in search of Indians, the latter could scatter and vanish almost instantly (p. 167). This was possible because of the significant dissimilarities in the tactics used and the different approach toward the fight. While the U.S. army focused on how usher in a decisive type of battles; ones like the battles that had ended the Civil War, the protesting Indian tribes were unwilling subjects. Instead, the Indians relied on small war parties, conducting small skirmishes using hit and run tactics. Describing this situation, Asprey (1994) quipped, "Small in number, these bands moved fast, struck hard, and disappeared. Little pattern existed in either their strategy or their tactics" (p. 111). The few exceptions when the Indians stayed and fought proved to be an exercise in deadly futility. The superior organization and discipline of the U.S. army had always prevailed over the native Indians' individual qualities. This individual character of Indian tribal society inhibited the rise of powerful leader able to bring tribes together. As Utley (1984) wrote,

> Despite the common danger, tribal particularism and intertribal animosities remained as strong as ever. Sometimes tribes came together in alliances against visible threats from whites, but rarely did such alliance hang together for long. Even unity within a tribe proved illusion (p. 169).

Furthermore, due to the great mobility of Native American warriors, they were able to engage in fighting far away from their base camps, thus keeping them safe from any retaliation. They often "traveled huge distances in a few hours after one of their devastating forays" (Callwell, 1996, p. 52).

Significant in this regard is Kiowa's raid during the summer of 1872 into Texas when a party of ten men led by Pogo-to-goodle left Fort Still Reservation heading south into a sparse populated territory. During the travel they "come upon a lone white soldier, afoot, lost and near death from thirst"

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whom they killed and scalped (p. 162). Once after completing their mission they were on their way home when they saw a column of soldiers. Following a brief engagement they killed one, whom they looted and scalped, after, which they "crossed the Red River into their reservation sanctuary" (p. 164). And, this is only one account of a "raid by a small party intent on plunder, coups, scalps and sometimes revenge" Indians carried out during the confrontation that lasted more than a hundred years (p. 161).

2.   Use of Force

The army's inability to deal with the irregular tactics of the Indians prompted them to carry out brutal reprisals against entire tribes. According to Utley (1984), the army "never learned to discriminate between the guilty and the innocent simply because rarely was a group of Indians unmistakably one or the other" (p. 166). Hence, because of the unconventional nature of the warfare, the army's pursuit of victory often led to a total war against entire Indian populations, and those Indians who decided to stay and fight often died. Words ascribed to U.S. Colonel Gillem are illustrative of this point: "I have dislodged the Modocs from the Stronghold in the Lava Beds. They are moving southward. No effort will be spared to exterminate them" (as cited in Quinn, 1998, p. 147). When it was understood that Indians were vulnerable in their winter camps, Army leaders made extensive use of their ability to conduct military campaigns the year around to "kill (Indians) or drive them from their lodges, to destroy their ponies, food, and shelter, and to hound them mercilessly across a frigid landscape until they gave up" (Utley, 1984, p. 169). Examples of this phenomenon include the battles won by George Custer at Washita, and of George Crook and Nelson Miles who defeated Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse (Asprey, 1994, p. 113).

As the number of settlers in Indian territories increased, the use of force was no longer the exclusive domain of the U.S. army. People often organized themselves in "colonial and state militia, territorial and national volunteers, rangers, 'minute companies', spontaneously formed home guards" to supplement the regular troops, but their actions were not always purely defensive, aimed to

defend their properties (Utley, 1978, p. 6). There were instances when they carried out their own vendettas against the Indian tribes which frequently led to killings of innocent tribesmen. Instead of such vigilantes being punished, they were often regarded as heroes or rewarded. Significant in this account is the case of Ben Wright who killed in cold blood a Modoc party he invited to his headquarter "under the flag of truce" (Quinn, 1998, p. 12). This, in turn, led to a long range of bloody feuds, whose victims were often whites and native Indians, alike.

3.   Securing People's Loyalty

One of the few individuals who fully understood the Indians and their grievances was General Crook. His superior understanding of the problem was enhanced by two things: 1) his commitment and 2) his openness to learn about his opponents. As Schmitt (1946) writes, "First, he (General Crook) made the frontier his life work and his life hobby, not simply an interval in a carrier pointed toward Governor's Island or Washington, D.C. Second, he approached the problem of the frontier, the Indians, not only as a 'pacifier', a representative of force, but as a humanitarian and an interested student of his job" (p. xiv). Having spent more than twenty-six years observing Indian behavior, he put much effort into becoming intimately acquainted with Indian practices. His efforts were greatly enhanced by the fact that he was able to speak certain Indian dialects. His ability to communicate freely with Indians allowed him, not only to understand their grievances, but also to curry favor when negotiating with them.

A good example of his accomplishments was the surrender of Chiricahuas tribesmen, to U.S. governmental forces only eight months after Crook resumed command of the Department of Arizona. General Crook had established a good reputation as a result of his previous successful operation methods. General Crook was perceived not only a tough military commander, but also as a man of honor whose "promise was good" (Schmitt, 1946, p. 243). Therefore, when

negotiating with the Chiricahuas leaders (i.e., Geronimo, Chato, Bonito, etc.) his personal involvement was enough to make them give up hostilities and return to San Carlos (p. 246-249).

4. Conclusions

The army's ability to successfully engage Indians in combat increased gradually after the employment of the Indian scouts as an auxiliary to its regular forces. According to Utley (1978), they were able to "differentiate between guilty and innocent and, using the Indian's own fighting style, contend with the guilty" (p.10). However, because such use of an auxiliary didn't fit the Army's vision of how to conduct military operations it was never adopted on a broad scale. Thus "no military school or training program, no tactics manual, and very little professional literature provided guidance on how to fight or treat Indians" (Utley, 1978, p. 8). The only instruction West Point cadets were receiving at the time was provided by Denis Hart Mahan who included brief discussions about Indian-fighting tactics in one of his courses (p. 8). Pondering the long term effect over the army in these campaigns, Utley (1978) summarized as follows: "(The) army's frontier employment unfitted it for orthodox war at the same time that its preoccupation with orthodox war unfitted it for its frontier missions" (p. 7). The failure of the Army leaders of the time to recognize the type of war they were waging prevented it from winning with ease--instead, it was Indian disunity that resulted in their own defeat.

B. PHILIPPINE INSURGENCY

The Philippine archipelago encompasses thousand of islands stretched over an area of 116,000 square miles. They had been under Spanish rule for more than 300 years. By April 30, 1898 when U.S. President George McKinley ordered Commodore George Dewey to move his vessels against the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay, the Spanish were facing a rebellion that broke in 1896 in Luzon (Welch, 1979, p. 4). The insurgency, led by Emilio Aguinaldo, was organized by a secret society called the "Katipunan", a group which had a large

support-base on the main islands among the Tagalog tribes (Joes, 1996, p. 48). By late spring 1898, the number of insurgents was nearly thirty thousand (Asprey 1994, p. 123).

The dispute between the U.S. forces and Aguinaldo's followers started on August 13, 1898 when Spanish garrison defending Manila surrendered the city to American troops after a symbolic resistance. The peace with the Spanish was negotiated by Commodore George Dewey and Major General Wesley Merritt who excluded the Filipinos' from the talks. Moreover, at the surrender ceremony American troops, marched into the city "unaccompanied by their Filipino allies" (Welch, 1979, p. 5). This prearranged surrender of Manila to the American forces, and the subsequent exclusion of Aguinaldo and his followers from governance, raised a pronounced sense of bitterness among the Filipino insurgents. Moreover, President McKinley refused to recognize both the Visayan Republic and the Filipino's right to govern themselves. Instead, in his December 21, 1898 proclamation President McKinley declared that the U.S. policy toward the Filipinos will be one of "benevolent assimilation". To insure the successful implementation of his plan, he ordered an increase in the military presence to 30,000 soldiers, of whom "more than half were state volunteers" (Boot, 2002, p. 109). By November 1899, this contingency was completely replaced by a 35,000 volunteer force (Boot, 2002, p. 110).

The situation between the two parties became irreconcilable after General Otis, Merritt's successor as commander of American forces in Manila, launched an unsuccessful campaign to capture Aguinaldo (who, at the time, was pursuing a conventional-style campaign to drive American forces out of Manila). Upon realizing the futility of his conventional tactics, Aguinaldo and his followers decided to adopt guerrilla tactics in his conflict with the U.S. As a first step, he withdrew his force into the mountains of northern Luzon (Boot, 2002, p. 110). The Paris treaty signed on December 10, 1898 that sanctioned American sovereignty throughout the Philippine was the last straw, making war inevitable.

1.   **Understanding the Operational Environment**

      a.   *Political Nature of Insurgency*

Far from being "part of any grand scheme to promote the economic or strategic interests of America in the Far East", President McKinley's intentions to acquire the Philippines was based initially on his desire to impair the Spanish ability to wage war. However, his decision to stay and assume a leading role in the archipelago's political life was based on a report sent to him by an appointed commission headed by Jacob Schurman. In the report Schurman said,

> …(The) lack of [Filipino] education and political experience, combined with their racial and linguistic diversity, disqualify them, in spite of their mental gifts and domestic virtues, to undertake the task of governing the archipelago at the present time. The most that can be expected of them is to cooperate with the Americans in the administration of general affairs … and to undertake, subject to American control or guidance (as may be found necessary), the administration of provincial and municipal affairs…
>
> Should our power by any fatality be withdrawn, the commission believe that the government of the Philippines would speedily lapse into anarchy, which would excuse, if it did not necessitate, the intervention of other powers and the eventual division of the islands among them. Only through American occupation, therefore, is the idea of a free, self-governing, and united Philippines Commonwealth at all conceivable (as cited in Asprey, 1994, p. 125).

Consequently, McKinley "found it difficult to conceive that this little brown man could object to the authority and good intentions of the American friends" (Welch, 1979, p.5). What he failed to notice, however, was that his policy toward the native population, no matter how enlightened, was viewed by the Filipinos as an attempt to change one imperial power with another. It gave Aguinaldo and his followers a new way to appeal to the population. The main themes were independence and self-determination. As Joes (1996) asserted, Aguinaldo's agitation implied "that the Americans had come to enslave the Filipinos and destroy Catholicism" (p. 49). Therefore, as the number of the U.S. troops increased, and Aguinaldo's protests continued to be dismissed by top

American officials, the "natives ill feeling began to leave the Spanish corpse to quiver about the newcomer" (Asprey, 1994, p. 126).

Acting on the information available about Aguinaldo, America's military leaders concluded that he was not very popular amongst the people, especially among non-Tagalogs. Thus, they constantly displayed condescension and contempt toward him and his troops, whom the U.S. perceived as "more of a mob than a military force" (Dupuy & Baumer, 1968, p. 67). As a result, U.S. commanders constantly rejected Filipinos' involvement and avoided any reference to being co-laborers with them. Filipinos were refused even a role in the surrender ceremony, although they made a major contribution in defeating the Spanish. As Welch (1979) noted, American leaders thought that "the U.S. Army could operate more efficiently if it were not forced to share its authority with the ragtail soldiers of Emilio Aguinaldo" (p. 5).

The Philippine conflict that started on February 4, 1899 found the U.S. Army a little better prepared than they were during Spanish-American war. The army incorporated some of their previous experiences from the Caribbean and Central America which resulted in changes, in weapons and tactics. However, there was still a lack of understanding at the strategic command level regarding the meaning of guerrilla warfare and other non-conventional aspects. The fact that Aguinaldo's forces were driven underground and defeated around Manila in a conventional manner, apparently led General Otis to conclude that he won this war, too, causing him to say:

> You asked me to say when the war in the Philippines will be over…. The war in Philippines is already over …all we have to do is protect Filipinos against themselves…. There will be no more real fighting … little skirmishes which amount to nothing (as cited in Asprey, 1994, p. 129).

b.   Natural Environment

Due to uniqueness of the geographical environment, American troops faced several problems in the Philippine insurgency, among them being a lack of suitable uniforms and food rations. Soldiers were issued flannel uniforms

which were too thick for the humid tropical environment in which they had to operate. Also, the canned food provisions could not be maintained properly and, thus, frequently spoiled (Boot, 2002, 108). In addition, the tropical diseases during the rainy season were virulent, often depleting up to 60 percent of a unit's strength (p. 109). As the campaign progressed, troops were able to surmount these problems. The conflict finally ended when General Frederick Funston, based on good information and astute use of the Macabebe scouts, was able to mount a hoax that resulted in Aguinaldo's capture, thus landing a fatal blow to the insurgency.

c.   Human Environment

As a whole, the results of the campaign improved when General Otis was replaced by General Arthur MacArthur, a veteran of the Civil and Indian Wars. He completely changed the approach toward the Filipinos. Instead of trying to subdue them by force, MacArthur set about working with the constabulary force. He employed techniques aimed at pacifying them developed by the U.S. forces in the Caribbean (Bundt, 2004, p.9). MacArthur recruited soldiers and scouts from the Macabebes, Illocanos, and other Philippine ethnic groups--groups who were "suspicious of the Tagalogs"—in order to enhance the capabilities of U.S. troops (Boot, 2002, p. 114). Moreover, important help was provided by William Howard Taft, the chairman of the commission that supervised the transition from military to civilian rule in pacified areas. Despite their disagreements, MacArthur and Taft were able to complement each other's actions. While MacArthur, through the use of well-tailored military power, denied the insurgent forces sanctuaries in which to hide, Taft was winning the hearts and minds of the people through social programs. Though greatly outnumbered throughout the campaign by a margin of almost three to one, the U.S. won because they were able to make a better use of "'chastisement' and 'attraction'" (Boot, 2002, p. 126). According to Boot (2002) "there were an average of only 24,000 US soldiers in the field at any given time to face at least 80,000 insurgents" (p. 126).

Unlike the previous case (which almost led to the extinction of an entire nation), U.S. involvement in the Philippine insurgency is a success story in which, as Joes (1996) aptly states, "all sides were able to live with each other and with themselves" (p. 47). The distinct character that differentiated the Philippines case from previous ones, causing analysts to consider it one of the preeminent models of how to successfully fight an insurgency, was produced by a difference in the thinking of two military leaders, namely General MacArthur and General Otis. It was during this time that the U.S. began to understand that confronting unconventional threats required more than a mere change in tactics in order to achieve success --it requires a profound understanding of the society that is waging the unconventional struggle. Thereafter, the U.S. military has attempted to use native population in its effort, not only to increase the level of intelligence, but also "to learn about the unfamiliar culture, language, and social systems" of the enemy (Bundt, 2004, p.10). As Bundt (2004) says, counterinsurgency efforts are enhanced when "work with the local population counters the enemy's use of terrorism by employing culturally, religiously, and socially acceptable methods of pacification" (p.10).

2. Use of Force

Upon the surrender of Manila to the U.S. troops, Filipino insurgents continued to maintain their position around the city and pressed the top American officials to recognize their right to establish an independent government. Several negotiation rounds took place between the insurgents and the American commanders. Acting under the orders from Washington, both Merritt and Otis delayed a final settlement of the situation which further deteriorated the relations between the U.S. troops and Filipino insurgents. Under increasing pressure from the rebels to grand them autonomy, General Otis developed a gradual aversion toward the Filipino insurgents. As Welch (1979) noted, "[h]e became convinced that only military defeat would subdue their [Filipinos] arrogance and pretensions" (p. 21). As a result, General Otis pressed the officials in Washington to grant him a greater autonomy to decide over the start of military actions. In early February 1899 hostilities broke between the U.S. forces and Filipino insurgents. As a result

of disproportionate firepower at their disposal, the American troops won the conventional phase after only two days. General Otis concluded that he won and directed his efforts to capture the rest of Luna's army. In order to achieve this objective, General Otis sent out "task forces to find, fix and destroy" the insurgents (Asprey, 1994, p. 127). The end result, as Asprey recounts, was that these columns "found little, fixed virtually nothing, but destroyed numerous villages" (p. 127).

Not only did General Otis tactic of sending expeditions to punish the insurgents not produce tangible results, but it also tended to alienate the few pro-American Filipinos. The lack of coherent planning to fight a guerrilla war prevented the U.S. army from mounting successful campaigns in the early stages. The lack of desire of the American troops to stay in one place long enough to secure a support base made gaining the people's cooperation impossible. As a result people refused to provide information. These people believed that if they talked to the American forces, they would be targeted by the guerrillas as soon as the army left their area. As time passed, insurgents were able to mount more successful attacks against the American troops. This prompted the army to retaliate, often resorting to torture and related tactics to get information from the general populace, thus further alienating them. It has been reported that one of the preferred techniques U.S. troops used on reluctant natives was the "water cure." In this type of "interrogation," "four or five gallons of water were forced down a man's throat, then squeezed out by kneeling on his stomach" (p. 129). In turn, many of the insurgent combatants retaliated with torture tactics of their own, often mutilating their enemies' bodies. In a further escalation of the violence, U.S. forces were reported to have occasionally burnt whole villages.

The most notable account of a situation that arose between American troops and a local population involved Company C, 9th U.S. Infantry Battalion stationed in Balangiga, a small village in the south Samar. The company was deployed for the purpose of rooting out one of the most stubborn guerrillas' leaders, General Vincente Lukban, who was directing the insurgency on the

island. Initially, the American troops were welcomed by the villagers because they were displeased by rebels' actions. However, the behavior of the troops following their arrival led the people to side with the rebels, eventually leading to the massacre of the U.S. soldiers at the hands of insurgents (Boot, 2002, p. 100).

Disturbed by the unsanitary conditions the villagers had to live in, Company commander Captain Thomas W. Connell was reported to have "demanded that Filipinos clean up the mess" around their houses (p. 100). Their refusal prompted him to take drastic measures, including using forced labor at gunpoint. Connell apparently was unaware that his actions were creating a state of discontent among the people. He thought that he was just being "a fellow Catholic (who) had a special empathy for the villagers, and (that) he and his men were welcome because Pedro Abayan, Balagiga's *presidente* (mayor), had asked the army to send a contingent to protect the town from 'pirates'." (p. 100).

As a result of Connell's incorrect assessment of the local situation, he didn't find out that rebels had infiltrated the community until it was too late. On the morning of September 28 at 5:30, Connell's company was caught completely unprepared by the rebel attack; an attack which in just 15 minutes saw three officers and 35 soldiers killed, and 36 wounded, some of them severely (p. 101). The survivors managed to escape in five wooden canoes. The conflict worsened when Company G, 9th Infantry stationed in Basey, upon hearing the bad news, set off for Balangiga the following day aboard a steamer. To make sure that they, too, would not be overrun by insurgents when the company was close to shore, the troops opened fire in order to drive out any remaining Filipinos from the village (p. 102).

3.   Securing People's Loyalty

As a whole, the campaign U.S. forces waged in the Philippines was not characterized by wide-spread abuses, even though the degree of efficiency varied from place to place, depending on the leadership qualities of the military personnel in charge. Fortunately, one of the main emphases had been to strengthen Philippine social programs. Here, many soldiers distributed food to

hungry population and were involved in various community projects (e.g. helping build schools, roads and bridges, and staging sanitary campaigns, and even to "set up courts run by the natives" (p. 115). The overall control of the population was exercised through Filipinos who acted "as police chiefs, mayors, and municipal officials," while the Americans tried to retain only an advisory role (p. 113). An important component of the campaign had been the use of incentives to motivate guerrilla combatants to surrender. In addition to the increasing political autonomy granted to Filipinos', whenever a person turned in "a gun, (s/he) could receive either a cash bounty or the release of a prisoner of war" without any further inquiry from the security forces (Joes, 1996, p. 49). Moreover, insurgents who surrendered to the authorities were generally treated well. This served to lessen the effectiveness of the guerrilla's propaganda, thus isolating them from the population and "making their cause seem hopeless" (p. 49)

4.   Conclusions

The successful conclusion of the Philippine insurgency cannot be attributed to the use of decisive force—the troops were outnumbered by the insurgents by 80,000 to 24,000. Rather, as Boot (2002) says, "the skilful employment of carrots and sticks" by the U.S. led to their success (p. 126). People sided with the Americans because their programs produced real changes within their lives, whereas Aguinaldo and his followers had not shown interest in carrying out reforms. Among the most successful actions by U.S. troops included those carried out by veterans of the Indian Wars and by those who had served in previous campaigns in Caribbean.

IV. BRITISH ARMY'S INVOLVEMENT IN SMALL WARS

> There are only two powers in the world … the sword and the spirit.
> In the long run, the sword is always defeated by the spirit.

Napoleon Bonaparte[7]

The previous chapter examined the level of understanding of the operational environment exhibited by U.S. forces, the level of violence used to achieve U.S. purposes, and last but not least, how the U.S. troops secured the cooperation of the local peoples.

The current chapter will examine the same elements for the British forces involved in counterinsurgency endeavors in South Yemen and Oman.

A. FIGHTING INSURGENTS IN SOUTH YEMEN

Due to its strategic location, the town of Aden has always been regarded as "a pivotal point for British strategy in the Indian Ocean and in the Peninsula [Arabian] as a whole" (Kostiner, 1984, p. 6). Its importance in the maintenance of Britain's position as a world power further increased when, following the Second World War, Britain granted independence to Cyprus. At that time Aden became the headquarters of Middle East Command and it was regarded along with Singapore and Britain itself "as one of three vital permanent military bases" (Newsinger, 2002, p. 108).

The rise of Arab nationalism put increasing pressure on the British position in the Middle East, which, according to Newsinger (2002), came from two different directions (p. 108). Within the "Protectorate", which in February 1959, comprised a federation of six polities, Beihan, Fahdli, Aulaqi, Dhala, Lower Yafa and Upper Aulaqi, the threat to the British authority came from neighbouring North Yemen (Newsinger, 2002, p. 109). The Imam Ahmed, an autocratic ruler, pursued a constant confrontational policy towards the British, encouraging local tribes to revolt. During most of the 1950s, he stirred up a series of incidents that culminated in what Gregory Blaxland calls, "the Border War" (as cited in

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[7] See Horne, A. (1988). *To Lose a Battle: France, 1940.* London: Penguin Books, p. 74.

Newsinger, 2002, p. 109). In Aden itself, the danger was posed by the increasingly influential Aden Trade Union (ATU) and its left-wing nationalist leadership. Following the example set by other movements, ATU started to play a very important role in "cultivating political awareness among their working class members" (Kostiner, 1984, p. 31).

Attempting to contain the growing urban Arab nationalism, Britain decided to rely on the loyal sultans and emirs within the Protectorate. The decision to work through sultans and emirs produced discontent among the Aden population. Many of the people in Aden disliked the idea of the British collaborating with much poorer Sultanates (most of who relied heavily on the British for support) (p. 110). It was believed that strengthening the Sultans position would have a negative impact on the level of civil liberties experienced by the people of Aden. As a result, from 1964 to 1967 British troops were confronted with two, distinct insurgencies: one in the Radfan Mountains and the other in Aden.

The Radfan insurgency commenced in mid-October 1963 as a tribal revolt initiated by Qutaybi tribes. Upon their return from North Yemen, where tribesmen fought alongside the Republican rebels, British forces attempted to confiscate the tribesmen's weapons. In the skirmish that ensued, the Qutaybi leader, Galib al-Buzah, was killed, leading his son to initiate a mass revolt. Trying to retake control of the area (and, thus, preventing the revolt's spread), the British Army carried out two conventional-type, expeditionary operations. Within what was called "Operation Nutcracker," an emphasis was placed on airpower and the employment of mechanized troops. When this strategy failed to achieve the desired results, the British commenced "Radforce" which consisted of paratroopers and Special Air Service (SAS) troops. They were flown from Britain to "cut the tribesmen's link with North Yemen and than push southwards to Radfan" (p. 72). "Radforce" accomplish their mission by May 9, 1964, but suffered losses. As a result the British committed a regular division to fight the insurgents and to take control of the main wadis of Radfan. Although British forces succeeded in defeating the insurgents militarily, they were not able to

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completely suppress the revolt. Upon the involvement of the National Liberation Front (NLF) the insurgency spread into neighboring tribal areas.

Inside Aden, the NLF conducted traditional urban guerrilla warfare. After London decided to support the coalition of the People's Socialist Party (PSP) and the Aden Trade Union Congress (ATUC), NLF underground cells launched their open resistance against the British forces (commencing in late November of 1964). The NLF was able to incite the population--using subversive tactics, propaganda and intimidation--to exercise civil disobedience, initiating major clashes with the police. According to Julian Paget (as cited in Newsinger, 2002), all the police abuses during the clashes were subsequently exploited for propaganda purposes (p. 121).

Through military actions aimed at police forces and especially at its Special Branch, the NLF succeeded in reducing the effectiveness of the security forces (Newsinger, 2002, p. 121). In order to help strengthen their intelligence gathering capabilities, British forces imposed severe restrictions on the movements of the population. Additionally, they launched massive search operation to seize weapons and apprehend insurgents. Both strategies served to increase the people's discontent with British rule. In the end, British troops pulled out of South Yemen, lacking political and popular support, both at home and in Aden.

1. Understanding the Operational Environment
a. *Political Mobilization*

The National Liberation Front for Occupied South Yemen (NLF) was created in late 1963 in the Yemen Arab Republic (YAR), encompassing several clandestine organizations that were structured after Nasserite and Baathist models. Upon its creation, the NLF "declared an armed revolt against the British rule" (Kostiner, 1984, p. 53). The declared goals of the NLF insurgency was to: 1) destroy the Federation, 2) overthrow the feudal rulers, 3) evict the British and 4) establish a Communist-style people's democracy (Newsinger, 2002, p. 114). In order to accomplish this, the NLF instigated both

strikes aimed at destabilizing the government and civil disobedience. A major step was taken toward employing guerrilla warfare tactics when the NLF took control over the Radfan revolt. According to Kostiner (1984) this decision came as a result of the relatively large autonomy being enjoyed by the people in the region, coupled with the fact that there were no permanent governmental troops to pose a threat for the insurgents (p. 71).

In order to rally the support of the people, the NLF relied heavily on propaganda aimed at exploiting people's grievances against both the government and British rule (Kostiner, 1984, p. 103). Quoting al-Shaᶜbī, Kostiner asserts that the major principle guiding the NLF's actions was:

> …to exercise a political, cultural and social struggle, to comprise all the inhabitants in the framework of a progressive society which would live on political and social justice… and would necessarily bring the end of feudalism, monopolism and particularism [of the prerogatives given to] descents [of] tribalism and primitivism and the signs of the ancient past … to save the Arab people from the reality of conquest, reaction, divisions and political and economic exploitation (Kostiner, 1984, p. 96)

The tribal nature of the Federation society in existence at the time imposed upon the NLF the need to use a dual strategy in order to carry out its desired political mobilization. Whereas in the cities the main emphasis of the NLF had been on laboring to establish secret cells to carry out both ideological and military actions, in the countryside the NLF relied on the persuasive powers of senior tribal leaders to accomplish its goals. The NLF was active in inciting students to rebel against the authorities, and succeeded in establishing secret underground cells, even at the high school level (i. e., Dathinah and Bayhan) (Kostiner, 1984p. 100). Also, they succeeded in recruiting supporters from among the relatives of victims killed by British and Federation security forces (Kostiner, 1984, p. 100).

With regard to gaining support in rural areas, the NLF's senior leaders played a very important role. By traveling to many villages, they not only explained the aims of the revolution to the people, but also tried to pacify different warring factions and direct their effort against the British (Kostiner, 1984, p. 100).

Instead of engaging in direct fighting, insurgents' leaders served as "planners, administrators and political agitators" in order to direct the actions of the tribesmen (Kostiner, 1984, p. 76). Illustrating the NLF's role, Kostiner (1984) wrote

> In all of these social pressure points, the NLF acted mainly as a stimulus, trying to recruit potential fighters and to manipulate them to the NLF's purpose. One way to achieve this was to expose the population to the authorities' reaction and pressure. The severity of the British bombing, detention, suppressions of demonstrations and other emergency measures precipitated a counter reaction by the population" (Kostiner, 1984, p. 100)

To make their message appeal to their target audience in the Radfan mountains, the NLF convinced people that their struggle "was an extension of previous struggles, notably of Ibn al-Aydarus's 1957 revolt" (Kostiner, 1984, p. 100). Moreover, playing the conspiratorial card, the NLF suggested that Britain's real intention was to inflict harm on local society (Kostiner, 1984, p. 66). Their main purpose for using propaganda in the area (e.g., broadcasts and leaflets) was to vilify the British troops by pointing out reprehensible tactics used by them in fighting the insurgents, while emphasizing the NLF's charitable motives for fighting. Propaganda served also to expose and publicly threaten any British collaborators (Kostiner, 1984, p. 103).

b.   Natural Environment

Organized in North Yemen under Egyptian supervision, NLF insurgents started to cross the border into South Yemen and conduct guerilla actions in Radfan Mountains. Its proximity to North Yemen allowed NLF forces to acquire help from the friendly regime in the north. This assistance consisted both in safe heaven and material support. The superior topographical knowledge of the insurgents permitted them to control the main route from Aden to Bayda (in North Yemen) (Kostiner, 1984, p. 71). They were able to move throughout sparsely populated region in small parties, using donkeys and camels to carry their weapons and supplies. Assessing the insurgents' military strategy, Newsinger (2002) writes "The NLF fought a classic guerrilla war. They refused to

stand and fight, except on rare occasions, and instead melted away into the landscape, subjecting the British to continual sniping and laying fresh mines every night" (p. 116). Using guerrilla tactics they were able to attack British convoys on the main roads, afterwards to quickly disappear into the mountains. This high mobility allowed them to successfully cut the Dhala road by the end of 1963 (Newsinger, 2002, p. 114).

Consequently, Federal Regular Army (FRA)[8] and British forces were committed to carry out the objectives of Operation Nutcracker. Thinking that they were facing an old type, tribal insurrection, the combined forces made extensive use of conventional tactics with a special emphasis on airpower. Beginning in early January of 1964, Operation Nutcracker was of an expeditionary type "carried out by three battalions of the Federal Regular Army (FRA) supported by British artillery, tanks and airpower" (Newsinger, 2002, p. 114).

A second attempt to subdue the tribes was done using another expeditionary force--Radforce, consisting of about 3, 600 men, which included paratroopers and Special Air Service (SAS) troops (Kostiner, 1984, p. 71). Initial attempts to take control of the area through an airborne operation failed. Only continuous air support for the nine-man SAS team sent to mark out the drop zone prevented the insurgent from overtaking the area (Newsinger, 2002, p. 114). It was the commitment of an additional regular division in the main wādīs of Radfan that allowed British to bring the rebel area under control. However, because of the rough terrain and hot climate of South Yemen, combined with the fact that British troops had to overcome difficulties posed by a lack of intelligence, they suffered further losses as a result of rebel ambushes (Kostiner, 1984, p. 72).

c.   *Human Environment*
Although culturally homogenous, South Yemeni society comprised two different ethnic groupings which had experienced different paths of

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[8] Federal Regular Army (FRA) was created by the British in 1962 from the combination of the "Aden Protectorate Levies" and the "Tribal Guards". It encompassed members of various tribes led by British and Arab officers (Kostiner, 1984, p. 12).

development—port cities and the countryside. Gerber (1988) distinguishes between "the port of Aden, with its immediate hinterland and the countryside" (p. 53). Whereas the majority of the inland population consisted of a mixture of settled and nomadic Arab tribes, in Aden, it was a combination of Arab, European and Asian people. Because all groups labored to preserve their own language, religion and cultural individuality, there were permanent tensions and disputes "between the Bedouin tribes and urban population and among the tribes themselves" (Kostiner, 1984, p. 1 and 29).

The nature of tribal organization encouraged social segmentation thus preventing centralized control over the entire population. Though chieftainship was hereditary, the authority vested in Amirs, Sultans or Na'ibs was not absolute. Rather it "was distributed at every point of tribal structure and political leadership [was] limited to situations in which a tribe or a segment of it act[ed] corporately" (Gerber, 1988, p. 55). However, as Dresch (as cited in Gerber, 1988) writes, "Great shaykhs in particular, and great shaykhly houses, have powers of their own which are an important part of the world in question" (p. 193). As a result, competition for tribal leadership sometimes took on violent forms, which led to the development of a strong warrior ethos among the tribe members. According to Newsinger (2002):

> The Radfan tribesmen made excellent guerrillas. They had been born to warfare, and had been brought up to regard possession of a rifle as a sign of maturity. They were good natural shots with wonderful powers of observation: they thus made fine snipers, for they knew just where to look for the targets. They could conceal themselves perfectly, and also used to place marks on the ground, so as to know the range exactly. Being accustomed to carrying out lightning raids and ambushes, they could move far and fast across mountains and were thus an elusive enemy. They were also extremely courageous, as was shown by their capacity to fight on in the face of heavy artillery and air attacks (p. 114).

In contrast to what was experienced in the countryside, in towns the real authority was in the hands of Sayyids[9]—men who represented both the social and political elite. Their sanctity played an important role in the local balance of power and spared cities from being overrun by hostile tribes (Gerber, 1988, p. 66).

In their attempt to pacify and modernize Yemeni society, British introduced a series of reforms that altered the social fabric. Of significance in this regard were British efforts to strengthen the position of various Sultans as heads of state. Such efforts often produced discontent and resistance among the common tribesmen and "either exacerbated or generated social divisions all over South Yemen" (Kostiner, 1984, p. 14). British help for the Sultans usually came in the form of helping them to develop armed forces and other social structures to fight against tribes who engaged in looting or inter-tribal fighting (Kostiner, 1984, p. 11).

2. Use of Force

A misperception of the real nature of the rebellion by the British troops, coupled with their lack of intelligence, prompted British forces to pursue a military approach in both the Radfan Mountains and Aden in their effort to defeat the insurgencies. With regard to the Radfan campaign, according to Fred Halliday (as cited in Newsinger, 2002):

> British had all long misunderstood the situation, thinking they were up against old-style tribal resistance' that could be suppressed by punitive columns, bombing and the taking of hostages. Instead, in the NLF they were encountering an increasingly well-armed guerrilla force that was conducting, not a particularist tribal rebellion, but a revolutionary war."(p. 118).

To increase the efficiency of their actions, the British imposed severe restrictions on the movement of the population through curfews and the establishment of "restricted" areas (Newsinger, 2002, p. 117). Within the Radfan

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[9] According to Kostiner (1984) Sayyids were considered the descendants of the Prophet. They performed different social functions (i.e. teachers, judges and political mediators) and their residential territory was considered sacred place where violence was forbidden (p. 2).

Mountains, the British troops' attempted to sever contacts between insurgents and their bases of support. Emphasis was placed on conventional methods, especially air strikes aimed at destroying crops and livestock. For this purpose, the British Air Force used large quantities of ammunition. According to Newsinger (2002), "Between the end of April and the end of June 1964, Hunter jets fired 2,508 rockets and nearly 200,000 cannon rounds, while the four-engined Shackleton bombers dropped 3,504-20 lb. antipersonnel mines, and 14-1000 lb. and fired 20,000 cannon rounds" (p. 117).

On the other hand, during the Aden rebellion British forces relied heavily on ground-based search operations to uncover weapons and to apprehend NLF members in lieu of air power. Still, these actions led to a series of abuses which, according to Newsinger, involved both physical mistreatment and racial discriminations, further alienating local population and not producing their desired results. Revealing the inefficiency of such operations, Newsinger recounts a case where over a period of eight months, one unit searched 35,000 people and 8,000 vehicles to find 12 grenades and six pistols (Newsinger, 2002, p. 122). Unwittingly, security forces pushed more people into the insurgents' camp through their violent conduct. Moreover, as later investigations revealed, road block duty often provided British troops with ample opportunities to extort money from the people in an abuse of their power (Newsinger, 2002, p. 129).

British operations improved significantly with the employment of small, mobile patrols. Operating mostly during the night, disguised as Arabs, SAS and Anglian's Regiment squads were able to apprehend guerrillas and seize weapons. To illustrate their successes in these ventures, Newsinger (2002) cites the example of one squad which "was responsible for the capture of 14 guerrillas and seizure of 105 grenades, five automatic weapons, three pistols, two rocket launchers and a quantity of explosives" (p. 122).

3.   Securing People's Loyalty

Because the political[10] and economic[11] reforms introduced by the British were usually tailored to fit the British needs, rather than those of Yemenite society, these reforms failed to produce the desired results. In fact they disturbed the delicate social equilibrium in the region, while stirring anti-colonial sentiment. As E. Kedourie (as cited in Kostiner, 1984) has pointed out, "European ideas of progress and democracy intruded into Third World societies, have often aroused an anti-European reaction" (p. 14). The loss of traditional social and political positions, namely by moving the base of power from the many to a few elites, allowed the NLF to attract people's support for their "nationalist" cause, while spurring on hostile sentiments against the British (Newsinger, 2002, p. 122).

The peoples' opposition took a wide variety of forms ranging from tribal revolts in the countryside to demonstrations and riots in Aden. British efforts to "pacify" the society revealed a paradox--whereas Britain's stated intention was to establish a democratic regime, its response to NLF's provocations was marked by the use of coercive methods in order to quell the violence. Moreover, to split the rebels from the people and thereby to reassert control over the people, the British resorted to the use of massive air strikes which often resulted in the destruction of crops and personal properties. Additionally, inappropriate conduct of search operations led to numerous human rights violations, especially racial abuses, all of which, in time, served to undermine popular support of the British. Thomas Mockaitis (as cited in Newsinger, 2002) admits that British troops operating in South Yemen lacked "'anything like a hearts and minds campaign' in Radfan or anywhere else" (p. 118).

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[10] British strengthen the position of the Sultans in the society by giving them power to control the government. This way Sultans controlled all the governmental expenditure and tax collections.

[11] Within the Protectorate, British introduce land reforms which led to an unequal distribution of land among the tribesmen. Moreover, the introduction of roads prevented the tribesmen from continuing their traditional occupations (i.e., guides and leaders for caravans). Within Aden the modernization of the port and the oil refineries demanded skilled and permanent labor. Thus many unskilled Arab people were left unemployed.

4. Conclusions

The British campaign in South Yemen provides ample evidence that neither a massive use of firepower nor tactical proficiency is sufficient to defeat an insurgency. By concentrating almost exclusively on defeating guerrillas militarily through conventional means, British forces underestimated the potential of guerrilla tactics. Moreover, they misjudged the ability of the guerrillas to persuade and mobilize the people. The lack of useful intelligence by the British caused its security forces to commit numerous abuses against the populace during field operations. Additionally, the bad attitudes displayed by many British troops and their condescension toward the native populations further increased the people's discontent with British rule. As a result, even though Britain never lost a battle with insurgents, British forces lost the war because they alienated the people. By way of contrast, the NLF was able to better adapt its message and methods to suit the needs of the South Yemeni society. In the words of Kostiner, "the significance of the guerrilla warfare was that it imbued South Yemen with novel conditions of chronic fighting, riots, strikes, and general disruption" (Kostiner, 1984, p. 177).

B. OMAN INSURGENCIES

Positioned between South Yemen and the Gulf, the sultanate's strategic location in the Persian Gulf area was demonstrated by the fact that it controlled the southern shore of the Straits of Hormuz. With a population estimated at 750,000, distributed unevenly over 82,000 square miles of land, the sultanate came under British influence during the 1870s. The Sultan still retained his ruling position; but, as Fred Halliday (as cited in Newsinger, 2002) acknowledges, he was "under the effective control of his British advisor" (p. 132). Due to tyrannical rule by certain sultans, Oman's history recorded long periods of unrest that can be traced back to the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Inland tribes constituted another major source of instability for Oman. This was especially true among tribes who belonged to the Ibadhi sect, whose members wanted to be ruled exclusively by their religious leader. These differences were temporarily settled by the Treaty of Seeb in 1920, which allowed for greater autonomy for the Imam

of Oman in interior regions (mainly around the town of Nizwa), while the Sultan of Muscat still retained nominal control. As Newsinger (2002) writes, "This situation continued until the 1950s with Sultan Said showing no interest whatsoever in trying to regain control of the area" (p. 136).

The circumstances changed after the prospects of oil reserves stirred up a rivalry between the British and other players in the area (among them were Saudi Arabia, Iraq and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY)). According to one account, the Saudi family and Aramco, an American oil company, provided substantial support to Imam Ghalib bin Ali to establish an independent state (Newsinger, 2002, p. 136). To prevent this from happening, British forces provided military and financial support to the sultans of Oman, Said bin Taimur and his son, Qaboos bin Said Al Said. This effort was mainly directed to suppress two rebellions which destabilized internal situation of Oman. Whereas, the first insurgency had flared up in Jebel-Akhdar in the mid 1950s from tribal grounds, the second occurred in Dhofar from 1962 to 1976 and was communist inspired.

In the first case, Imam Ghalib, upon his appointment as the Imam for the inland tribes, declared his regions' independence from the Sultan of Muscat, simultaneously attempting to join the Arab League. Subsequently, he continually tried to undermine the Sultan's efforts to take control of the interior by leading sporadic revolts against the Sultan's Armed Forces for almost five years. After the Sultan's forces took the Imam's capital, Nizwa, in September 1955, capturing the Imam in the process, his brother, Talib, took refuge in Saudi Arabia and organized the opposition's resistance. For more than one and a half years Talib laid the foundation for the Oman Revolutionary Movement (ORM). In mid-June 1957, he and his trained and equipped rebel force landed on the Batinah coast along with large quantities of weapons and American mines (Newsinger, 2002, p. 136). Through a series of small-scale operations, rebels continually harassed and ambushed the Sultan's forces. The culminating point of the campaign was the destruction of the Oman Regiment in July, when insurgents retook Nizwa and "drove the Sultan's forces out of the interior" (p. 136). Only constant British

support for the Sultan's Armed Forces and, in the end, the commitment of SAS troops put an end to the insurgency.

In the case of Dhofar's insurgency, the Dhofar Liberation Front (DLF) capitalized on the dissatisfaction of the local population with the oppressive system of the Sultan bin Taimur. Quoting Fred Halliday, Newsinger (2002) writes, "while Oman was a British colony, Dhofar was an Omani colony, ruled even more oppressively than the rest of the sultanate" (p. 140). Since its founding in 1962, the DLF had gradually pursued a more confrontational path, ultimately launching several small-scale attacks against the Sultan's forces. Lacking a force powerful enough to confront the Jebel tribesmen, the Sultan avoided taking vigorous actions in response to the attacks. It was the attempt to assassinate the Sultan that triggered the campaign (Newsinger, 2002, p. 141).

1. Understanding the Operational Environment

a. *Political Mobilization*

Kinship and religious ties played a central role in the Imam's efforts to rally the people in support of his struggle to make an independent state. Tribal connections allowed rebels to establish themselves in some of the tribe's fortified settlements that subsequently became the operational bases for raiding parties that proceeded to harass the Sultan's armed forces. Propaganda was important in inciting various clans to join the fight, but was not used on a large scale. Though it started as a tribal disturbance of only disaffected Bayt Kathīr tribesmen, the Dhofar insurgency developed into a revolutionary war. The insurgents were able to infiltrate different organizations and divert their efforts in support of the rebels' cause resulting in the spread of revolutionary ideas. Groups such as the Dhofar Benevolent Society (DBS), the Dhofar Soldiers' Organization (DSO) and the local branch of the Arab Nationalists' Movement (ANM) were brought together under the leadership of the DLF. The conglomerate that resulted held its first conference in central Dhofar in early June 1965 (Peterson, 1978, p. 188). In their proclamation, according to Townsend (1977), the insurgents called for:

liberating the country [i.e., Dhofar] from the rule of the despotic Al Bu Said Sultan whose dynasty has been identified with the hordes of the British imperialist occupation… This people [i.e., the Dhofaris] has long and bitterly suffered from dispersion, unemployment, poverty, illiteracy and disease…(p. 98).

However, until 1967 no major changes occurred in the DLF's approach toward the insurgency. The DLF's actions remained limited to traditional guerrilla attacks aimed at both intimidating Sultan's armed forces and eliminating the Sultan.

The turning point for the DLF ideological action came after the British expulsion from South Yemen, and the subsequent establishment of the PDRY. The DLF magnified its ideological activity in response to the external support provided by the PDRY, the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union, Iraq and various Palestinian guerrilla organizations. As a result of this ideological change, the DLF attempted to rally the support of a larger segment of the Omani population. Thus in 1968, during the Second Congress, the DLF changed its name to the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arabian Gulf (PFLOAG). The change of title was made to let the impression that Front's actions envisaged a much broader area than Dhofar (p. 100).

The year 1968 also marked a radicalization in the insurgents' views (Peterson, 1978, p. 189). According to Townsend (1977), "the ideological dogma of Marxism-Leninist or the Maoist dialectic gradually became the motivating force for opposition to a ruler who would make no concession to the present" (p. 97). PFLOAG's successes led to the emergence of other groups. The most prominent from among them was the National Democratic Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf (NDFLOAG), which, according to Peterson, encompassed a coalition of minor, dissident groups. Finally, in 1971 all revolutionary movements merged into a single entity under the banner of the PFLOAG (Peterson, 1978, p. 189)

b. Natural Environment

The rough terrain of Oman allowed the insurgents to make extensive use of guerrilla tactics to repel conventional attacks, both in Jebel

Akhdar and Dhofar. Moreover, their early successes over the Sultan's mercenary troops were further enhanced by the rebels' intimate knowledge of the natural environment. Knowing the topography (e.g., trails and paths), they were able to elude their pursuers and to infiltrate to within close-range of the Sultan's forces. The insurgents laid mines on the roads and around the camps, afterwards disappearing into the mountains. As a result, the Sultan urged the British troops to intervene to bring the rebellion to a halt.

Acting in a manner consistent with their old, colonial ways, in Jebel Akhdar, the British launched a massive air campaign to dislodge the rebels from what Michael Dewar (as cited in Newsinger, 2002) called, "one of the greatest natural fortresses in the world". Despite the huge quantity of munitions fired and the air blockade imposed by British forces, the results were only of limited success. British forces were neither able to break the insurgents' will to fight nor to separate them from the supportive population. The turning point of the campaign came on November 18, 1958 when the "D Squadron of 22 SAS, about 60 strong, arrived in Oman" (p. 137). Within three months, through extensive efforts to patrol the area in small groups, they we able to clear the lower slopes of the Jebel and identify the best routes onto the plateau. Subsequently, they used these trails to infiltrate and destroy the rebels in conjunction with a diversionary operation conducted by conventional troops.

The sparsely populated terrain of western Dhofar proved to be ideal territory for the employment of guerrilla tactics. From their bases, insurgents were able to conduct raids on the costal plains against the Sultan's troops. The Jabal Mountains' proximity to the PDRY allowed the insurgents to continually replenish their strength, helping them to maintain their resolve (Townsend, 1977, p. 100). Aside from rough terrain, the climate also presented a major obstacle to the counterinsurgent forces. Early in 1971, "Operation Hornet" was suspended because of the onset of the rainy season. As. Newsinger (2002) writes: "the monsoon brought rain, mist and cloud that closed down air support and left the SAF [Sultan Armed Forces] vulnerable to attack" (p. 144).

c.   Human Environment

The physical layout of the country dictated different evolutionary pathways for the tribally-based Omani society. The only common attribute of the inland and costal inhabitants was Islam. The territorial segmentation that affected the human environment also influenced traditional occupations and a tribe's social relations with other groups.

Wilkinson (1977) distinguishes between people living in the mountains and those living in the plains. Whereas, the first groups tended to be pastoralists and nomadic, the second groups were more settled, subsisting on trade, agriculture and fishing (p. 32). Because tribes were in competition over scarce resources, people developed various degrees of caution in relation with other groups. Townsend (1977) points out that the inland peoples were more reticent and distrustful of strangers than were the peoples inhabiting the coast (p. 28).

Additionally, the struggle for supremacy between various ethnic groups (or even among the members of the same tribe) caused a number of inter-racial and inter-tribal confrontations. Eventually, these struggles led to the development of a stronger warrior ethos among the members of specific tribes. Quoting Bertram Thomas about the martial characteristics of the Omani society, Townsend (1977) writes:

> The people, composed of warlike and rival tribes, have always found law and order irksome. They love unfettered personal liberty more than life, and glory in their hereditary wars. The alternative of an extraneously imposed authority has in the past been acceptable to them only by force…(p. 96).

The Sultan bin Taimur's goal to rule over the loose Omani society placed a special emphasis on the use of force. In order to retain total control over the inland tribes, the Sultan bin Taimur exercised a despotic reign, marked by numerous abuses and human rights violations, which created a permanent state

of unrest. Gradually, the opposition against his rule changed from being an old-style tribal revolt to being a more organized Marxist–Leninist revolution (Townsend, 1977, p. 97).

2.   Use of Force

The two Sultans, Bin Taimur and his son Qaboos, took different approaches to the problem of maintaining their right to rule. Whereas Sultan bin Taimur relied excessively on force to subdue the insurgents, Sultan Qaboos applied a mixture of military, economic and political reforms.

The initial failures of forces loyal to Sultan's bin Taimur to take the rebel strongholds through conventional attacks eventually led him to rely upon British military power. Since the bulk of the British troops in Oman were conventional, their response was a massive use of firepower, a strategy Britain developed during the colonial war at the beginning of the century. In Jebel Akhdar, the massive use of air strikes and artillery bombardment of the plateau throughout 1958 had little effect on breaking the rebel's will to fight. Instead, it often resulted in massive fatalities to livestock and to the destruction of crops. According to one account, the army even retaliated by burning a village to the ground after one of its soldiers was killed. David Smiley, who was in charge with the reorganization of the Sultan's Armed Forces, (as cited in Newsinger, 2002) writes, "We went systematically from house to house, setting each alight with paraffin until nothing remained but smoldering ruins" (p. 137). In Dhofar, the blockade imposed by the Sultan's forces and the massive retaliations, including the destruction of the water wells, alienated the population.

On the other hand, after the Sultan Qaboos took power, he emphasized attempting to separate the rebels from their support bases through a campaign aimed at winning the "hearts and minds" of the people (Newsinger, 2002, p. 142). Quoting Tony Jeapes, an SAS squadron commander at the time, Newsinger (2002) writes that after 1970, the Dhofar campaign was "a war in which both sides concentrated upon winning the support of the civilians of the Jebel Dhofar and which was won in the end by civil development, with military action merely a

means to that end" (p. 142). So the SAS troops, many of whom spoke fluent Arabic as well as a number of tribal dialects, spearheaded the Sultan's efforts to win-over the local people (Newsinger, 2002, p. 143). The military actions conducted by SAS-led teams capitalized on local militia organized around "pseudo-gangs," giving them a twofold advantage – an increase in actionable intelligence and allowing the SAS to fight rebels using local methods (p. 144).

3. Securing People's Loyalty

Sultan bin Taimur's visions concerning effective rule markedly differ from those of his son, Sultan Qaboos. Whereas Sultan bin Taimur maintained social and political control by ruling with an iron fist and keeping his people deliberately impoverished and uneducated, Sultan Qaboos was able to secure their loyalty through undertaking measures directed at improving their lives (Newsinger, 2002, p. 133). These different perspectives concerning the importance of the people in an insurgency prompted antithetical approaches to the insurgency. Describing Sultan's bin Taimur approach, Townsend (1977) admits that he pursued a "negative, repressive, punitive, unimaginative strategy" which was exploited by the opposition forces. According to Townsend (1977), "Moderates in Oman and Dhofar, increasingly alienated by the Sultan's policies, were attracted to the extremist forces of change because these forces represented the only effective opposition to the Sultan" (p. 101).

Conversely, Sultan Qaboos' strategy of winning people to his side was comprised of five elements: 1) "the offer of a general amnesty to all those of his subjects who had opposed his father", 2) "the ending of the anarchic status of Dhofar and its formal incorporation into Oman as the 'southern province'", 3) "effective military opposition to the rebels who did not accept the amnesty offer, 4) "a vigorous nation-wide program of development", and 5) "a diplomatic initiative aimed first at having Oman recognized as a genuine Arab state with its legal form of government, and second, at isolating People's Democratic Republic of Yemen" from other Arab states (p. 101).

Essential to the successful cessation of the insurgency were the general amnesty offered by Sultan Qaboos and the civic programs developed. Rebels

who surrendered were given money and, after a screening period, were incorporated into local tribal militia ("firqat") "as part of an internal security and peace-keeping force" (Townsend, 1977, p. 102). As members of the security forces, the surrendered rebels were sent in their old tribal areas together with their families. As part of the civic programs, the new Omani government opened shops, schools and clinics. In the end, the number of people who surrendered and were incorporated in local defence forces was about 2,000. (p. 102).

4.   Conclusions

In Oman, the British-led counterinsurgency campaigns succeeded in both Jebel Akhdar and Dhofar. However, the British victories were only to a very small extent due to the superior military force they brought to bear during the insurgencies. In Jebel Akhdar, which produced a military campaign that closely resembled a traditional tribal rebellion, the superior air power neither broke insurgent's will to fight nor separated them from their support base. It was the deployment of SAS troops that changed the balance of forces. They understood the way insurgents' conducted their operations, and were able to fight back with the same weapons. Conversely, during the Dhofar insurgency, the heightened success of the British forces came about mainly as a result of the radical change in the country's regime. Through a series of judicious reforms that emphasized a "hearts and minds" approach, Sultan Qaboos enhanced British efforts to fight the communist-inspired insurgency. Whereas military actions were aimed mainly at cutting off insurgents from their external support, civic actions were aimed at establishing and securing links between the governments and the people.

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V.   ANALYSIS

Theory cannot equip the mind with formulas for solving problems, nor can it mark the narrow path on which the sole solution is suppose to lie by planting a hedge of principles on either side. But it can give the mind insight into the great mass of phenomena and of their relations, then leave it free to rise into the realm of action.

Clausewitz[12]

The previous chapters systematically examined the current unconventional threats and the underlying principles of unconventional warfare. Additionally, they considered the U.S. and the British involvement in counter-insurgency operations.

The present chapter will investigate the importance of understanding the operational environment in the light provided by inferences drawn from the above case studies. Moreover, it will examine the role of enhanced language and cultural training in the process.

A.   UNDERSTANDING THE OPERATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

Insurgencies and counter-insurgencies are complicated occurrences, which cannot be conceived solely in militaristic terms. Victory or defeat usually does not occur as a result of one force militarily crushing the other. Rather, it is usually due to a gradual erosion of the popular base of support and the subsequent will to fight. Within this struggle, the most important victory is that gained over the human spirit. Favorite weapons for this are various forms of psychological actions and a persuasive use of propaganda. Hence, as Valeriano & Bohannan (1962) note, "whoever wants to defeat guerrilla warfare must understand thoroughly three things: his reasons for being, his goals and his methods to achieve the stated goals" (p. 3).

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[12] Clausewitz, C. von (1984). *On war.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. p. 578

1.   Political Mobilization

A closer look to the social milieu in the U.S., Philippines, South Yemen and Oman during the time of their respective insurgencies reveals that these societies were undergoing profound social-economic and political transformations. Such phenomena interfered with the traditional ways of life of the aforementioned societies, thus, altering the existing social order and producing unrest among their members.

Insurgents took advantage of the disorder and unrest, focusing on political mobilization, in order to increase their popular support. However, their abilities to conduct a persuasive propaganda campaign differed greatly from one place to another, and were influenced by several factors, such as: social structure, capabilities of dissemination and the availability and capability of people to carry out propaganda and agitation.

A society's social structure played a very important role because it influenced both the complexity and the broadness of the message being delivered. Within societies that lacked centralized political control (e.g., as did native Indians in the U.S., Jebel Akhdar tribesmen in the Middle East, and many societies in the Philippine insurgency), insurgents were less able to conduct a consistent political mobilization. The lack of any well-established façade organizations limited the spread of their message to a confined geographical area inhabited by a particular population linked by blood ties. Moreover, the particularity of the problems made the propaganda relevant to only a small part of the population.

Conversely, within societies where the political control of the insurgencies was assumed by well-established underground groups, the problems for the counter-insurgent forces increased considerably. These secret societies were able to use every historical and cultural aspect in order to broaden the support base for the insurgency. Well-organized Marxist-inspired groups, such as the NLF and DLF, which operated in South Yemen and Oman respectively, were able to make use of nationalist sentiments to mobilize the population in their

favor. By employing various psychological techniques and propaganda, the NLF successfully manipulated the social-political climate to make British rule undesirable, both for the South Yemeni society and for the British policymakers. The withdrawal of the British forces from Aden and the Protectorate demonstrated the success of the NLF's techniques. On the other hand, the DLF's failure to produce a political change in their favor was related to the effectiveness of the counter campaign waged by the government's forces. Understanding the political motives of the insurgency, Sultan Qaboos was able to implement those political and economical reforms which delegitimized the insurgency.

Capabilities to disseminate propaganda varied according with the respective historical situations and the rebels' abilities to procure necessary funds. Propaganda employed across the spectrum of rebel movements, from native Indians to Marxist inspired groups, ranged in complexity from word-of-mouth communications, to elaborate techniques using mass-media, to spreading leaflets (employed only by the insurgents in Aden and Dhofar).

Thus, agitators played an important role, their task being to "overcome the inevitable barriers in communication and to see that the message reach[ed] the target audience in a credible and meaningful form" (Molnar, 1966, p. xvi). Their appeals aimed at influencing the emotional side of the individual and encouraged a specific response from the target audience. For example, Aguinaldo emphasized the national character of the struggle against the Americans; the NLF had promoted the idea that the struggle against British rule had been going on for decades and it was the duty of every Yemeni to participate in the revolt; in Dhofar, people were mobilized around the idea of the unjust rule of Sultan Bin Taimur. In all cases, agitators were assisted in their effort by a profound understanding of the social and cultural rules.

2.   Natural Environment

The natural environment significantly affected the mobility and scale of the engagements, of both the insurgent and counter-insurgent forces. However, the rebels (i.e., native Indians, Filipinos, South Yemeni and Omani tribesmen) were

able to overcome these hindrances more easily than were the counter-insurgent forces. This was due to the fact that insurgents were indigenous to the local areas of war, while the counter-insurgent forces were, in most cases, alien of the territory and, thus, had to adapt gradually to the new environment.

Operating in small groups, insurgents were normally lightly equipped and had an intimate knowledge of the local topography. Mobility for the insurgents rested on their ability to travel long distances over rugged terrain. For transportation, insurgents relied on traditional means (i.e., horses, mules and camels) because this allowed them to carry their supplies over the rough terrain undetected. Moreover, their superb use of the terrain enhanced their ability to conduct operations in two ways. First, it allowed them to ambush larger U.S. and British Army formations, inflicting high casualties in the process; and second, it enabled them to evade their pursuers after attacking isolated military or police posts. The guerrilla's great mobility allowed them to retain their tactical offensive posture in relation to governmental troops. In this way, the insurgents were able to prevail over U.S. and the British conventional forces who dependent on good roads to move their mounted armies during field operations.

A thorough examination of the cases suggests that the forces involved in counter-insurgent endeavors succeeded in overcoming the problems posed by the natural environment, either through extensive patrolling, or through the cooperation of local populations. SAS troops in Oman overcame the insurgents in the Jebel Akhdar Mountains after discovering the secret passes that led to the high plateaus where the insurgents hid. American troops fighting in Philippine surmount the rough terrain in Northern Luzon by employing Macabebe scouts. Moreover, while fighting Indian tribes, the U.S. troops overcome the problem of natural environment through the use of Indian scouts and the implementation of innovative solutions. General Crook has become famous for successfully operating against the American Indians with mobile flying columns. He made his troops more mobile by replacing the traditional supply trains with mules, an unorthodox solution.

The most serious problem encountered by counter-insurgent forces operating in a foreign environment was the difficulties that came with acclimatization. Troops suffered from diseases to which the natives had grown immune. For example, the U.S. forces had a 60 percent depletion rate during the rainy season during the Philippine insurgency. Moreover, the newcomers' equipment was often not suited to the new conditions. Failing to comprehend the impact of unsuitable equipment over the troops' performances, U.S. military leaders did not change the standard army issues for the troops deployed to fight in the Philippines. Hence, soldiers had to operate in a hot, humid environment dressed in uniforms suited for colder areas of the United States.

3.   Human Environment

To understand the struggles encountered in counter-insurgency efforts, one has to start with a thorough investigation of the social bonds of the people within which the insurgency takes place. Understanding the human environment (i.e., religion, customs, traditions, etc.), and how people interrelate with each other, make determining who is likely to support the guerrilla and who is not easier. In the case of Oman (i.e., Jebel Akhdar) and Yemen (i.e., Radfan Mountains), tribesmen relied heavily on family ties, whereas in Aden, the underground organizations co-opted people with different backgrounds.

It is important to understand the mores and religion of the population because they may have a decisive influence upon human interactions. Being familiar with the cultural aspects of a population helps counter-insurgent forces understand how people behave under different conditions, and how to develop connections of trust with local populations. Because, as Sztompka (1999) writes, "it is precisely cultural rules that may play a powerful role in co-determining the degree to which trust or distrust prevail in a society, at a given historical moment" (p. 101).

As the case studies showed, increased cultural awareness allowed security forces to develop strategies best suited to the particular requirements of the society in which they operated. Moreover, it facilitated access to the local

population, which, in turn, increased the level of intelligence collected. The fact that the SAS forces deployed in Dhofar spoke Arabic and operated in small units gave them better access to the local population. As a result, they were able to gather the needed information to conduct field operations and civic programs which further enhanced their inter-connectivity with the natives. A similar outcome was achieved by General Crook during the Indian campaigns. Due to the fact that he spoke many Indian dialects, General Crook was able to communicate freely with different tribes, thus, preventing translations biased against him. Additionally, both cases reveal that cultural understanding was essential in decreasing the reluctance of people to work with others from a different culture. Knowing what to expect from people increases the level of confidence among troops, while also helping to build trust among the locals.

Conversely, when there was a lack of cultural awareness among the military personnel involved in counter-insurgency operations, the results were detrimental to the success of the campaign. Illustrative of this is the case of the British troops operating in Aden. The British troops' attitude of superiority toward the natives, evidenced by the insulting language they used (e.g., British soldiers called the Arabs "wog" or "gollies") produced friction between British and locals that eventually was used by the NLF in their propaganda (Newsinger, 2002, p. 122). The lack of language capabilities and local knowledge on the part of the British forces operating in South Yemen allowed insurgents to retain the initiative. As a result, the population was reluctant to cooperate with the British forces, thus putting the military personnel "in a dilemma between the recommended policy of using minimum force and the necessity to react more forcefully" (Kostiner, 1984, p. 98). Hence, British forces failed to gain the needed legitimacy to secure the local population's cooperation. Additionally, the lack of empathy demonstrated by British troops affected the working relations between them and the Yemeni Armed Forces, leading to poor performances during field operations.

B.   USE OF FORCE

As suggested thus far, insurgencies are, in general, conflicts that stem from a given society's particular grievances. Case studies revealed that the U.S. and the British governments, when facing the challenges of an unconventional war initially approached their respective problems militarily, rather than politically. Through an aggressive employment of force, U.S. and British policymakers and military brass attempted to eliminate the effect (i.e., the insurgents) instead of addressing the problems which gave rise to the insurgency in the first place.

Examining the pattern of military actions, there are some common issues that have remained constant over time. Sir Robert Thompson (1966) writes that commanders were "inclined to regard the local and regular units … as their main objective because military they present the only attractive target" (p. 31). Thus, the U.S. and the British armed forces, in most cases, relied on: 1) punitive expeditions conducted either by infantry formations or air power (i.e., Indian Wars, Philippine, Radfan, Dhofar, and Jebel Akhdar), 2) search operations (i.e., Aden, Dhofar), 3) search and destroy operations (i.e., Indian Wars, Philippine, Radfan) and 4) the use of "pseudo-gangs" (Philippine and Dhofar).

A close look at the first three types of operations revealed that the main focus of the U.S. and the British militaries had been to subdue the insurgents with overwhelming force. However, instead of subduing the insurgents, the violence generated resentment among the populace. On the other hand, the use of "pseudo-gangs" allowed the U.S. and the British militaries to make a better use of their armed forces. Operating in small size units, the U.S. and the British troops were able to selectively use force against the armed guerrillas thus sparing civilians.

Instead of uncovering weapons, or disrupting the insurgents' activities, by launching these operations, the U.S. and British security forces created more discontent among the people, and in some cases (i.e., Aden, Radfan), created more insurgents. Hence, as Sir Richard Thompson (1966) says, the erratic use of

military force produced damage to guerrilla units that was only temporary. Insurgents could replace their losses as soon as governmental forces withdrew from the area (p. 31).

C.   SECURING PEOPLE'S LOYALTY

The evidence suggests that securing people's loyalty was a difficult task for both the U.S and the British armed forces involved in counter-insurgent endeavors. The main challenge was to establish friendly relations with the natives. In many situations, the lack of language competence among the soldiers in the field prevented them from achieving the best results. However, when military personnel succeeded in overcoming cultural and language barriers (i.e., Philippine and Dhofar), operational successes improved significantly. Thus, a "hearts and minds" campaigns replaced the focus on brute force and the process to pacify populations was eased. Moreover, civic actions also improved and security forces were able to offer better protection to the civilian population against the retaliatory actions of guerrillas.

D.   CONCLUSIONS

Although superiority of firepower allowed the U.S. and the British forces to win battles against the insurgents, when taken as a whole, such tactics failed to ensure the success of the overall campaigns. Military operations alone were neither able to provide security to the population nor did they prevent people from supporting guerrillas. Rather, it was a combination of comprehensive social, economic and political strategies that, in the end, produced the most lasting effects. Enhanced language abilities and cultural awareness constituted key factors in the success of those strategies.

VI. IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ROMANIAN ARMED FORCES

This chapter will summarize the main benefits of having enhanced language training and cultural understanding. Drawing some valid lessons from the U.S. and the British militaries, there is a hope to increase the efficiency of the Romanian Armed Forces that are engaged in Unconventional Warfare and Foreign Internal Defence.

A. SUMMARY

The starting premise of this thesis is that language and cultural training can serve to enhance a military's capability to successfully counter an insurgency. Language and cultural knowledge will result in a better understanding of the population and therefore produce the type of intelligence required for successful military operations. This will lead to a more selective and effective use of force by the military. Whereas, cultural awareness gives counter-insurgent forces a comprehensive understanding of the operational environment, the addition of language abilities can provide the necessary tools to gather intelligence through better interactions with local populations.

By examining four situations where U.S. and British forces were involved in counter-insurgent endeavors, this thesis revealed that the main impediment for security forces was their difficulty differentiating between the guerrillas and the general civilian population. Operating among local people, whose cooperation was secured through either the use of terror or propaganda, insurgents were able to avoid detection by security forces. This underground base of intelligence provided the security screen, thus, allowing the rebels to retain an initiative in relation to governmental forces. Insurgents usually conducted their attacks at times and places of their choice. The response of the U.S. and British security forces to insurgent strikes varied and was influenced by troops' prior training and experience in unconventional warfare.

In the cases studied, where the level of cultural awareness was low and troops lacked language training, security forces tended to rely solely on brute

force to fight the insurgents. Missing the necessary tools to build meaningful ties with the population in order to secure their cooperation, both the U.S. and the British conventional forces had to conduct large scale operations without good intelligence. Civilians were reluctant to give information about the rebels, especially in the early stages, because they either sympathized with or feared the guerrillas or distrusted the government troops. Hence, because of the government forces' inability to discern between friend and foe, security forces ended up abusing innocent civilians and violating local customs, thereby increasing the discontent among the people.

Conversely, where troops had the ability to speak the local language (e.g., as the British SAS are able to do in Dhofar), thereby co-opting natives in their counter-insurgent endeavors, the results were positive. Operating in small joint patrols with the local security forces, the U.S. and the British soldiers attained much easier access to the local population, and, thus to the information necessary to capture or kill insurgents.

This achievement improved the U.S. and British forces' actions in a twofold way. First, they were able to better protect the civilians from the guerrillas' retaliatory attacks; and, second, they were able to strike armed insurgent bands with more accuracy. In this way, security forces were able to steal the initiative from the insurgents, thereby stopping their momentum and regaining the initiative for the government.

Analyses of the insurgency campaigns conducted by the U.S. and the British forces revealed that neither a "hearts and minds," nor input denial strategies worked unless the counter-insurgent forces had a good understanding of the operational environment. Without properly trained people, governments cannot implement the economic, social and political reforms needed within a particular society. However, this requires more than cultural and language training. Still, cultural and language training is a necessary (though insufficient) condition for countering insurgencies.

Evidence from the cases also points out that language and cultural training will enhance military personnel's ability to work with people from a foreign culture in several ways:

- It reduced the level of culture shock experienced by personnel. Knowing what to expect from the people reduces the tensions created by cultural differences and, thus, allowed military personnel to adapt easier to their new work environment.

- It increases an understanding of local values. Cultural awareness helps people get over common stereotypes and erase prejudices regarding other cultures.

- It increased the level of trust between troops and civilians. Speaking the language helped military personnel to overcome barriers to communication, thereby making interconnections easier with the natives.

- It reduced the risks of failed communications and cultural conflicts. Different cultures have different ways of interpreting the signals given by the outside world. Knowledge of local customs allowed security forces to better understand how their actions were perceived by the locals. Moreover, cultural awareness gave them a valuable framework by which to shape their behavior when interacting with another person.

The aforementioned benefits of language training and cultural sensitivity, in turn, translate into operational advantages for security forces involved in counter-insurgency endeavors. In summary language training and cultural sensitivity:

- Enhances good will. Having cultural awareness and language abilities often changes people's perception of the military force. Speaking the language and acting in a culturally acceptable manner will generate trust among the people for the forces involved. Trust is the key to everything else.

- Improves and increases the collection of intelligence. By speaking the language and mastering the communication techniques specific to a given culture, military personnel can collect information from the local sources, first hand. Not having to rely on the services of a translator tends to give military personnel easier access to the natives and thus to information sources. For example, there are situations when people are reluctant to communicate through translators, and would rather disclose their information directly to foreign national military personnel.

- Increases the operational tempo. Military forces deployed in UW and FID missions have a better chance of coordinating efforts with local

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security forces at the lowest level (i.e., squad or platoon level) during joint operations.

- Allows for better planning of Psychological Operations campaigns. Understanding the cultural environment helps military planners comprehend how a specific populace interprets signals from the external environments. Additionally, speaking the language helps military planners find the right symbols and formulations to get their messages through.

- Increases humanitarian effort. Cultural awareness and language abilities help civic action teams generate programs that would fit both cultural and physical needs of a particular population.

B. LESSONS LEARNED

- Insurgencies are protracted struggles which put a premium on the ability of the sides involved to use propaganda in order to mobilize people.

- Military operations alone cannot effectively end an insurgency. It is the concentrated effort of social, economic and political reforms that makes a counterinsurgent effort successful.

- Use of large-scale, conventional search operations and brute force inhibit the flow of information necessary to fight insurgents.

- Intelligence collection in Unconventional Warfare rests on the ability to establish and secure a strong base of popular support.

- Use of force does not prevent people from joining the insurgents. It often convinces people to join insurgency.

- Under the stress of a new environment, military personnel often act in ways inappropriate with local customs

- Military personnel who received language training were much more sensitive to the cultural differences, often trying to accommodate social norms of local communities.

C. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE ROMANIAN ARMED FORCES

A close look at the operational benefits and the lessons learned here suggest that Romanian planners should take into consideration the importance of language training and cultural sensitivity for the development of its national counter-insurgency endeavors. In order to overcome the eventual problem Romanian forces may encounter in Afghanistan and Iraq as well as in other areas where national contingents are deployed, the following recommendations should be considered:

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- Development of new language courses, available to the leaders at tactical level, as they are the ones in closest contact with population. A special emphasis should be placed on those languages spoken in countries in the area of interest for the Romanian government. Since this area includes the Balkans, Middle East and the Caucasus, the courses should teach Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Albanian, Arabic, Farsi, Russian and Urdu.

- Development of cultural awareness seminars with the help of anthropologists and sociologists that should teach military personnel about cultural aspects.

- Predeployment cultural training for the units being deployed in a foreign country and, if possible, continuation of the cultural training in the area of deployment with the help of local people.

- Use of native speaking teachers to teach the language courses and to give lectures to units ready to deploy abroad.

- Use military personnel returning from foreign theaters of war as guest speakers for the units being deployed.

- Field training exercises with foreign partners from Romania's areas of interest to develop relations based on trust and to allow military personnel to experience cultural differences. It is especially important for the Special Forces, who have to work closely both with the indigenous forces and the population.

Additionally, it should be kept in mind that the best results against insurgents were achieved by small units. They have a small footprint within the area of operations and can more easily work with the local population.

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