

CONTENTS

PROLOGUE: BAGHDAD PATROL, APRIL 9, 2007 xvii

BOOK I

BARBARIANS AT THE GATE The Origins of Guerrilla Warfare



- | | |
|--|----|
| 1. AMBUSH AT BETH-HORON | 1 |
| <i>Romans vs. Jews, AD 66</i> | |
| 2. CLASSICAL CONFLICTS | 4 |
| <i>The Peloponnesian War, Alexander the Great in
Central Asia, the Maccabees, and the Bar Kokhba Revolt,
426 BC–AD 132</i> | |
| 3. UNCIVILIZED WARFARE | 8 |
| <i>Tribal Wars of Mass Destruction</i> | |
| 4. AKKAD AND THE ORIGINS OF INSURGENCY | 13 |
| <i>Mesopotamia, 2334–2005 BC</i> | |
| 5. CATCH ME IF YOU CAN | 16 |
| <i>Persians vs. Scythians, 512 BC</i> | |
| 6. “CREATE A DESERT” | 19 |
| <i>The Origins of Counterinsurgency in Assyria
and Rome, 1100 BC–AD 212</i> | |

- | | |
|---|----|
| 7. ROME'S DOWNFALL | 26 |
| <i>The Barbarian Invasions, AD 370–476</i> | |
| 8. AN EASTERN WAY OF WAR? | 31 |
| <i>Ancient Chinese Warfare beyond Sun Tzu</i> | |
| 9. NOMADS AND MANDARINS | 34 |
| <i>Xiongnu vs. Han, 200 BC–AD 48</i> | |
| 10. THE GUERRILLA PARADOX | 41 |
| <i>Why the Weak Beat the Strong</i> | |
| 11. THE TARTAN REBELLIONS | 44 |
| <i>Scotland vs. England, 1296–1746</i> | |
| 12. WAR BY THE BOOK | 52 |
| <i>The Counterinsurgents' Advantage</i> | |

BOOK II

LIBERTY OR DEATH

The Rise of the Liberal Revolutionaries



- | | |
|---|-----|
| 13. IRREGULARS IN THE AGE OF REASON | 59 |
| <i>Hussars, Pandours, and Rangers, 1648–1775</i> | |
| 14. THE AMERICAN HORNETS | 64 |
| <i>The Revolution against Britain, 1775–1783</i> | |
| 15. WAR TO THE KNIFE | 80 |
| <i>The Peninsular War, 1808–1814</i> | |
| 16. BLACK SPARTACUS | 92 |
| <i>The Haitian War of Independence, 1791–1804</i> | |
| 17. GREEKS AND THEIR LOVERS | 101 |
| <i>The Greek War of Independence, 1821–1832</i> | |

18. HERO OF TWO WORLDS 109
Giuseppe Garibaldi and the Struggle for Italian Unification, 1833–1872
19. REVOLUTIONARY CONSEQUENCES 122
The Liberal Achievement

BOOK III

THE SPREADING OIL SPOT The Wars of Empire



20. THE WARS THAT WEREN'T 127
Why Did So Few Guerrillas Resist the European Advance?
21. THE SKULKING WAY OF WAR 132
The "Forest Wars" in Eastern North America, 1622–1842
22. THE WINNING OF THE WEST 141
Braves vs. Bluecoats, 1848–1890
23. THE WINNING OF THE EAST 154
The Holy War against Russia in Chechnya and Dagestan, 1829–1859
24. DARK DEFILES 164
The First Anglo–Afghan War, 1838–1842
25. NORTHWEST FRONTIER 172
Britain and the Pashtuns, 1897–1947
26. MISSION CIVILISATRICE 177
Lyautey in Morocco, 1912–1925
27. COMMANDOS 184
Britain's Near-Defeat in South Africa, 1899–1902

28. HIGH NOON FOR EMPIRE 198
*Why Imperialism Carried the Seeds of
 Its Own Destruction*

BOOK IV

THE BOMB THROWERS The First Age of International Terrorism



29. SUICIDE KNIFERS 205
The Assassins, AD 1090–1256
30. JOHN BROWN'S BODY 211
*The Terrorist Who Helped Start the Civil War,
 1856–1859*
31. THE DESTRUCTION OF RECONSTRUCTION 218
*Ku Kluxers and the War against Civil Rights,
 1866–1876*
32. PROPAGANDA BY THE DEED 226
Anarchists, ca. 1880–ca. 1939
33. HUNTING THE TSAR 235
*The Nihilists on the Trail of Alexander II,
 1879–1881*
34. "AN UNCONTROLLABLE EXPLOSION" 240
Socialist Revolutionaries in Russia, 1902–1917
35. SHINNERS AND PEELERS 246
The Irish War of Independence, 1919–1921
36. THE TERRORIST MIND 260
Sinners or Saints?

BOOK V

THE SIDESHOWS

Guerrillas and Commandos in the World Wars



- | | |
|--|-----|
| 37. THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR | 269 |
| <i>Blood Brothers and Brownshirts, 1914–1945</i> | |
| 38. THE EVOLUTION OF AN ARCHAEOLOGIST | 274 |
| <i>“Lawrence of Arabia,” 1916–1935</i> | |
| 39. THE REGULAR IRREGULARS | 288 |
| <i>The Birth of the Special Forces in World War II</i> | |
| 40. WINGATE'S WARS | 292 |
| <i>A “Wayward Genius” in Palestine, Abyssinia,
and Burma, 1936–1944</i> | |
| 41. RESISTANCE AND COLLABORATION | 306 |
| <i>Yugoslavia, 1941–1945, and the Limits of
Scorched-Earth Counterinsurgency</i> | |
| 42. ASSESSING THE “SUPERSOLDIERS” | 313 |
| <i>Did Commandos Make a Difference?</i> | |

BOOK VI

THE END OF EMPIRE

The Wars of “National Liberation”



- | | |
|--|-----|
| 43. THE WORLD AFTER THE WAR | 321 |
| <i>The Slipping European Grip</i> | |
| 44. THE RISE OF THE RED EMPEROR | 328 |
| <i>Mao Zedong's Long March to Power, 1921–1949</i> | |

45. ADIEU AT DIEN BIEN PHU 347
The Indochina War, 1945–1954
46. “CONVINCE OR COERCE” 364
The Algerian War of Independence, 1954–1962
47. A MAN AND A PLAN 378
Briggs, Templer, and the Malayan Emergency, 1948–1960
48. “A DISTINCTLY BRITISH APPROACH”? 389
Why the British Succeeded—at Least Sometimes

BOOK VII

RADICAL CHIC

The Romance of the Leftist Revolutionaries



49. TWO SIDES OF THE COIN 397
The Guerrilla Mystique in the 1960s–1970s
50. THE QUIET AMERICAN 400
Edward Lansdale and the Huk Rebellion, 1945–1954
51. CREATING SOUTH VIETNAM 407
Lansdale and Diem, 1954–1956
52. THE OTHER WAR 413
The Limitations of Firepower in Vietnam, 1960–1973
53. M-26-7 427
Castro's Improbable Comeback, 1952–1959
54. FOCO OR LOCO? 440
Che's Quixotic Quest, 1965–1967
55. THE CHILDREN OF '68—AND '48 450
The Raid on Entebbe and the Terrorism of the 1970s

56. ARAFAT'S ODYSSEY 460
What Terrorism Did and Did Not Achieve for the Palestinians
57. LEFT OUT, OR REBELS WITHOUT A CAUSE 475
The End of the (Marxist) Affair in the 1980s

BOOK VIII

GOD'S KILLERS

The Rise of Radical Islam



58. FIFTY DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD 481
*Tehran, Mecca, Islamabad, and Kabul,
 November 4–December 24, 1979*
59. RUSSIA'S VIETNAM 485
The Red Army vs. the Mujahideen, 1980–1989
60. THE A TEAM 501
The “Party of God” in Lebanon, 1982–2006
61. THE TERRORIST INTERNATIONALE 515
Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda, 1988–2011
62. CARNAGE IN MESOPOTAMIA 529
Al Qaeda in Iraq since 2003
63. COUNTERINSURGENCY REDISCOVERED 535
David Petraeus and the Surge, 2007–2008
64. DOWN AND OUT? 547
The Failures and Successes of the Global Islamist Insurgency
- EPILOGUE: MEETING IN MARJAH, 551
 OCTOBER 23, 2011
- IMPLICATIONS: TWELVE ARTICLES, 557
 OR THE LESSONS OF FIVE THOUSAND YEARS

APPENDIX: THE <i>INVISIBLE ARMIES</i> DATABASE	569
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	591
NOTES	593
BIBLIOGRAPHY	643
INDEX	709