

Understanding How Non-State Actors Fight and Defeat Foreign States in War

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Main Puzzle and Significance

- How do non-state actors defeat foreign states in war?
- This puzzle is important because it
 - affects key U.S. missions in irregular conflicts like Afghanistan/Pakistan, Iraq, and Somalia
 - fills gap in asymmetric war literature
 - advances our understanding of process and termination of irregular war

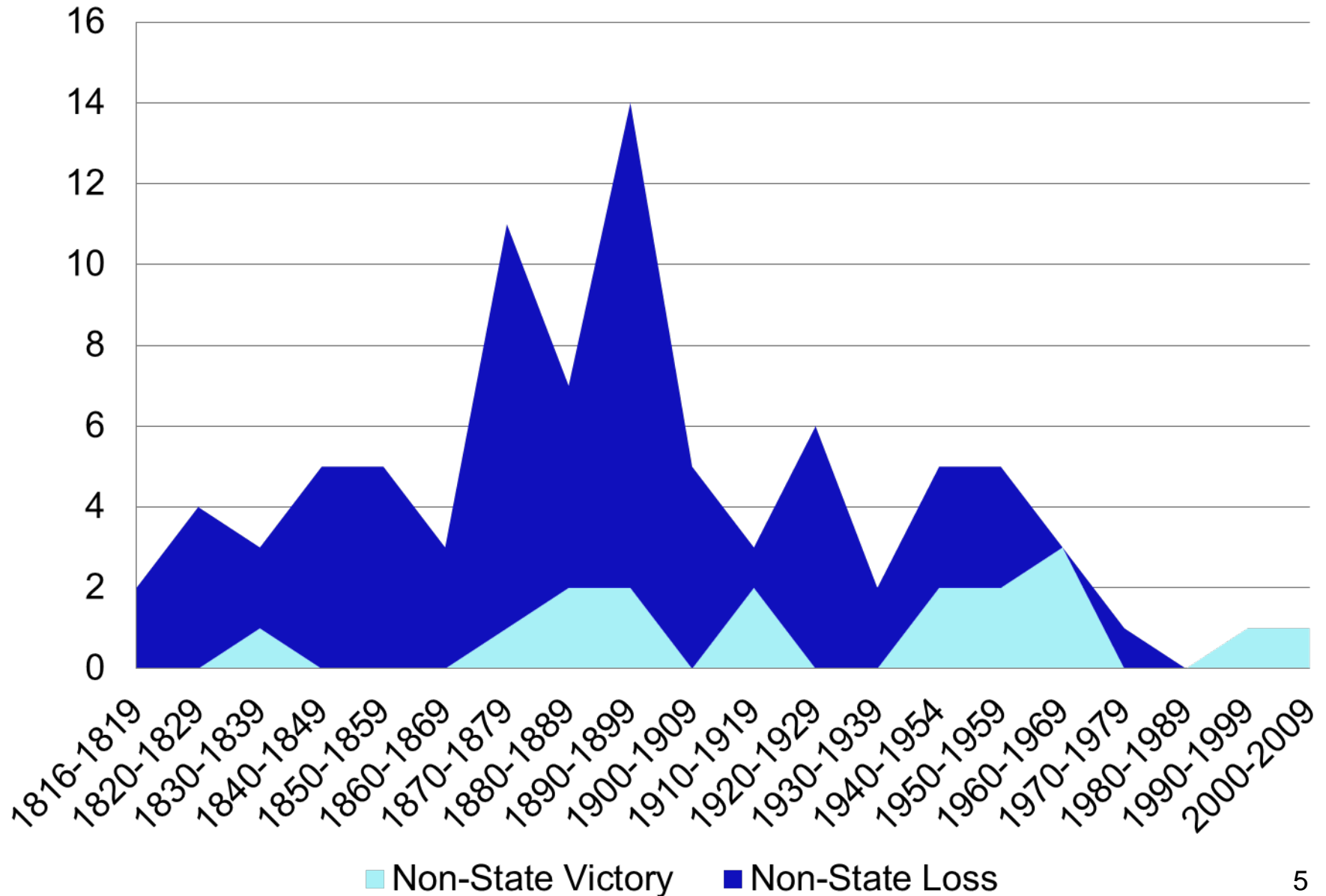
Methodology

- Survey of 86 extra-systemic wars (1816-2009)
 - Examined all wars to seek historical patterns
 - Created a complete dataset
 - Revised COW (1994, 2001) and Gleditsch (2004)
- Six in-depth case studies
 - Dahomey (vs. **France**, 1890-1894)
 - Malayan Emergency (vs. **Britain**, 1948-1960)
 - Philippines (vs. **USA**, 1899-1902)
 - Somalia (vs. **Britain**, 1899-1920)
 - **Guinea-Bissau** (vs. Portugal, 1961-1975)
 - **Indochina** (vs. France, 1946-1954)
- Archival and field research
 - In Vietnam (Hanoi, Dien Bien Phu), Malaysia (KL, Ipoh), UK, France, US Army War College, etc.

Main Findings

- Non-State victory is historically rare
 - Non-state actors have won 20% in past 200 years
- Evolutionary determinism
 - Non-states likely to win when they evolve
 - They evolve from small guerrilla group through state-building into modern army
 - Evolving nature of war increases/decreases chance of victory
- Policy Implications
 - U.S. likely to prevail in Iraq and Afghanistan, but caution is in order
 - Prevention of enemy evolution is key

Outcomes of Extra-Systemic war



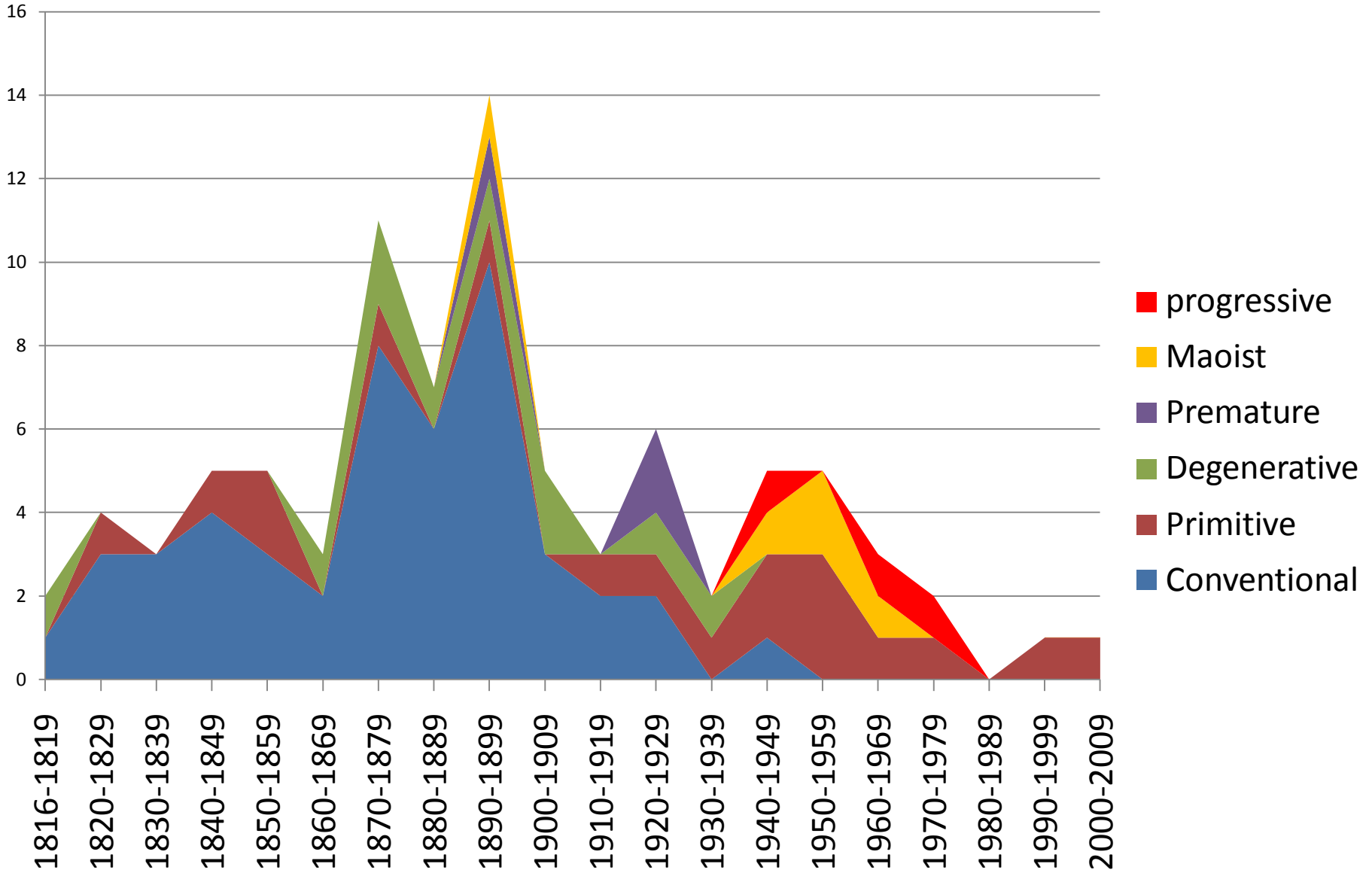
Explaining Variation in War Outcomes

- Three key phases of war
 - Guerrilla war phase
 - Winning popular support from civilians/former combatants
 - State-building phase
 - Building political parties, constitutions, economic infrastructure, services, education, taxes
 - Conventional war phase
 - Attaining military power for ground operations
- Proper sequences of these phases increase chances of victory
- Difficulties explain low success rate

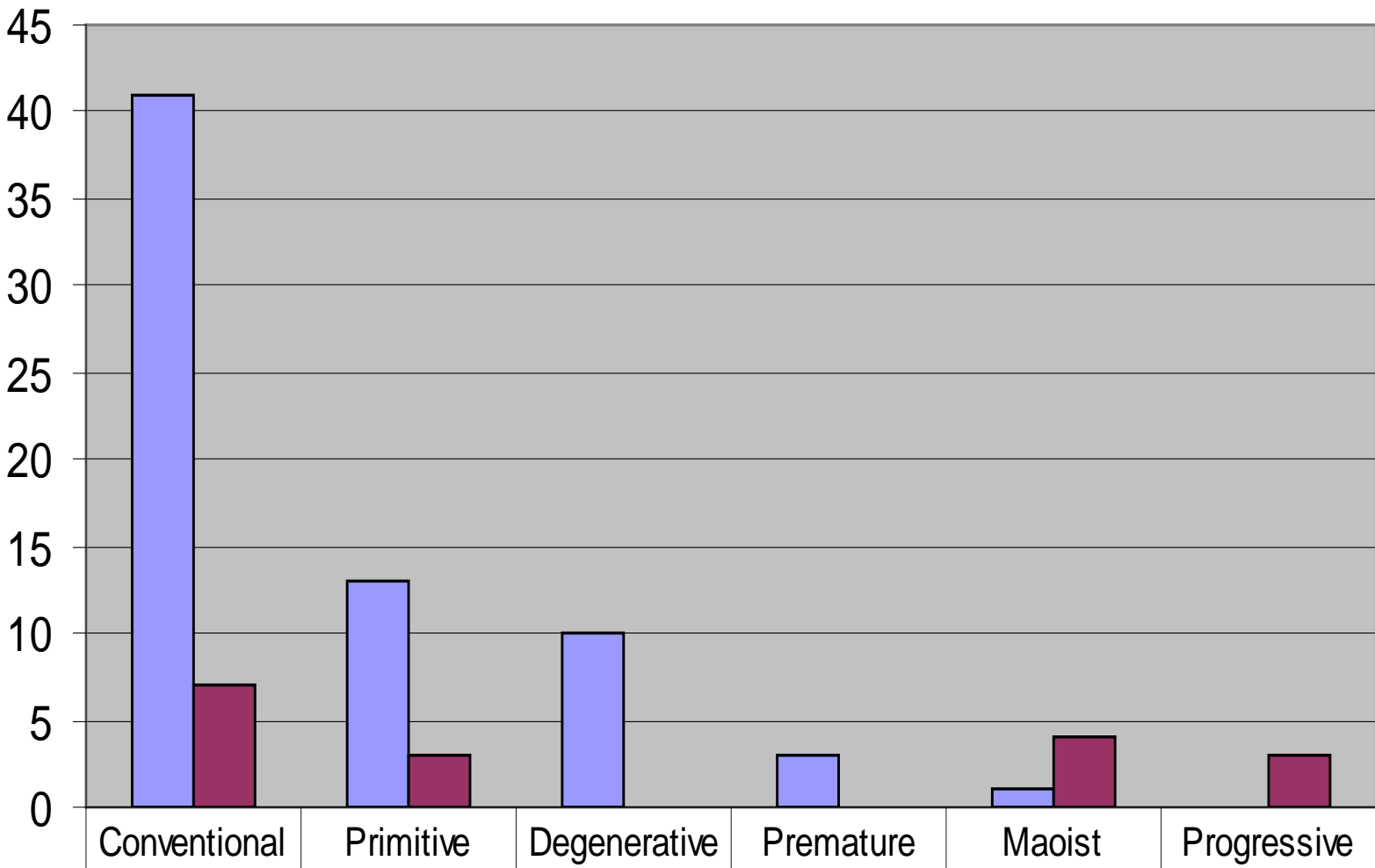
6 Models of Extra-Systemic War

Models	1 st Phase	2 nd Phase	3 rd Phase	Frequency
Conventional (Dahomey)	Conventional war			56%
Primitive (Malaya)	Guerrilla war			19%
Degenerative (Philippines)	Conventional war	Guerrilla war		12%
Premature (Somalia vs UK)	Guerrilla war	Conventional war		4%
Maoist (Guinea-Bissau)	State-building	Guerrilla war	Conventional war	6%
Progressive (Indochina)	Guerrilla war	State-building	Conventional war	4% ⁷

Evolution of Extra-Systemic War



Likelihood of Non-State Loss across Models



■ Non-State Loss	41	13	10	3	1	0
■ Non-State Victory	7	3	0	0	4	3

Ex 1: Malayan Emergency (1948-1960) (Primitive Model)

- MCP (Malayan Communist Party) vs. UK
- UK resettlement projects (Briggs Plan)
- Gen. Templer's political leadership
- No evolution beyond MCP guerrilla operations



Ex 2: Indochina War (1946-1954) (Progressive Model)



- ICP (Indochina Com Party) vs. France
- **1st Phase:** Guerrilla War
 - Mao's influence
- **2nd Phase:** State-building
 - ICP resurrected, constitution
- **3rd Phase:** Conventional War
 - CCP victory in '49 sent material aid and advisers
 - Dien Bien Phu

Ex 3: Guinea-Bissau (1961-1975) (Maoist Model)

- Nationalist movement (PAIGC) against Portugal
- **1st phase:** State-building
 - PAIGC is built and expands control over rural area
- **2nd phase:** Guerrilla war
 - Protraction & civilian support
- **3rd phase:** Conventional war
 - Weapons import
 - Key battlefield victory



War in Afghanistan/Pakistan

- Currently following the primitive model
- Despite costs, US likely to prevail
- US should prevent insurgent evolution
 - Guerrilla War Phase
 - Win a wide range of popular support bases
 - Recruit, train, and befriend more indigenous forces
 - State-building Phase
 - Buttress a party system around strong leadership
 - Build supportive infrastructure
 - Conventional War Phase
 - Cut enemy import of weapons
 - Empower local forces

Conclusion

- States are likely to continue to prevail
 - But need to stay cautious as non-state actors' victory is more likely
 - Must stem enemy evolution of political and military strategies
- Evolutionary perspective as alternative way to studying extra-systemic wars
 - Three key phases to see how underdogs evolve over time and overcome challenge

Future Research

- Apply sequencing method to different types of war
 - Interstate war
 - Civil war
 - Counter-terrorism
 - Counter-insurgency
- Apply sequencing method to other levels of analysis
 - Grand strategy/policy
 - Strategy
 - **Operations**
 - **Tactics**

Appendices

- Level of popular support in guerrilla war
- Level of political control in state-building
- Level of military power in conventional war
- Average duration of war
- Geographic distribution of war
- Geographic distribution and duration
- Extra-systemic wars since 1945
- All 85 cases

Key works on asymmetric war

- Mack (1975) – strong will/resolve
- Merom (2003) – democratic weakness
- Arreguin-Toft (2005) – strategic interaction
- Record (2007) – external material support
- Lyall/Wilson (2009) – mechanization of armed forces

(1) Levels of Popular Support in Guerrilla War Phase

Levels	Description	Causes	Frequency
State dominance	State actors have edge in popular support	Police crackdown, raids, lower taxes, resettlement, infra improvement	High
Equilibrium	Civilians divided between states and non-states	Balance of support from civilian populations	Medium
Non-state dominance	Non-states have edge in popular support	Non-state provision of service, patrol, infra. Improvement, state misbehavior	Low

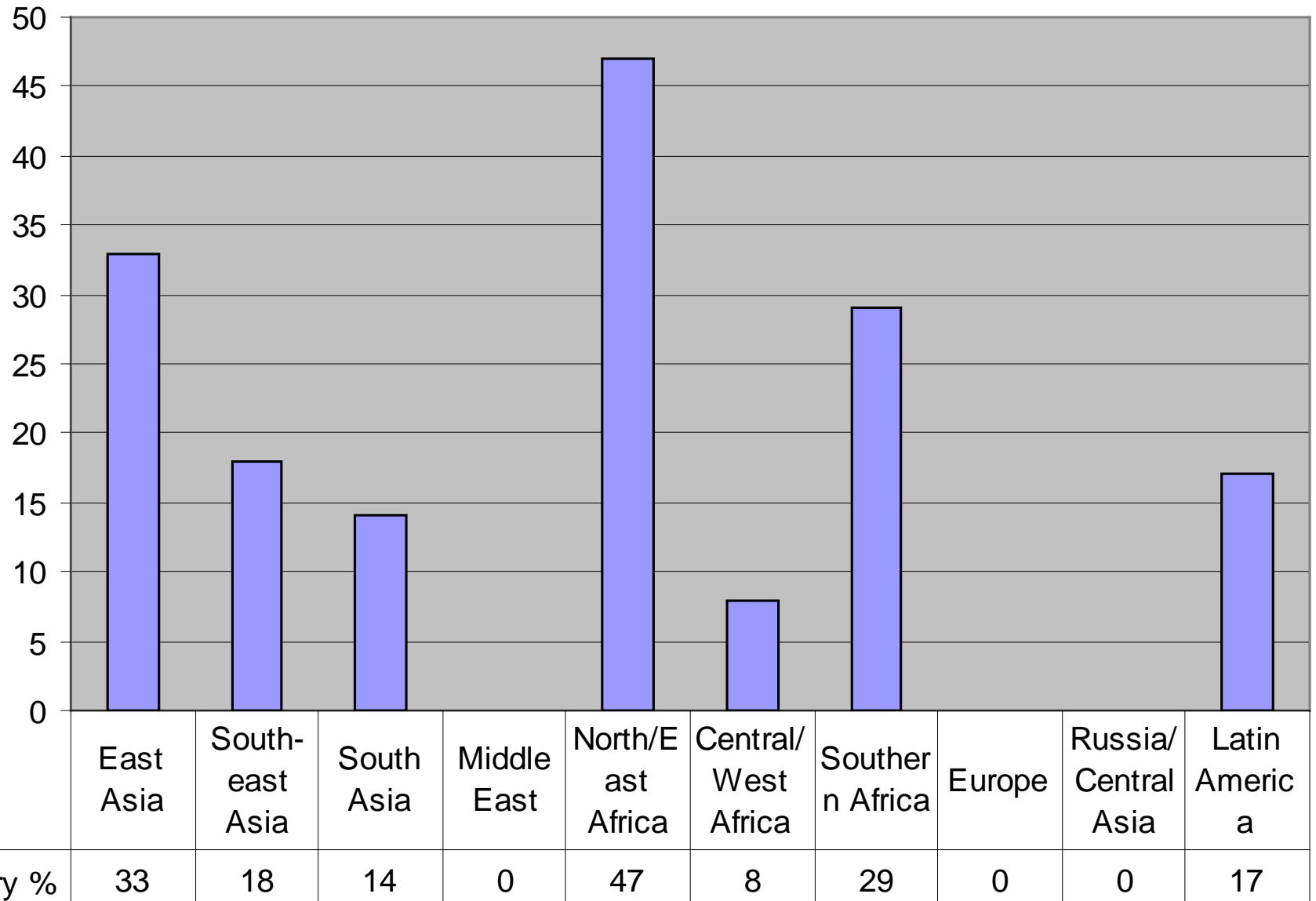
(2) Levels of Political Institutions in State-Building Phase

Levels	Description	Causes	Frequency
State dominance	State actors have edge in the control of political insti's	state control of territory; non-states' inability to weaken it	High
Equilibrium	Control of political insti's is shared by two sides	Ongoing rivalry over the control of institutions	Medium
Non-state dominance	Non-states control political institutions	National unity under single party led by non-states	Low

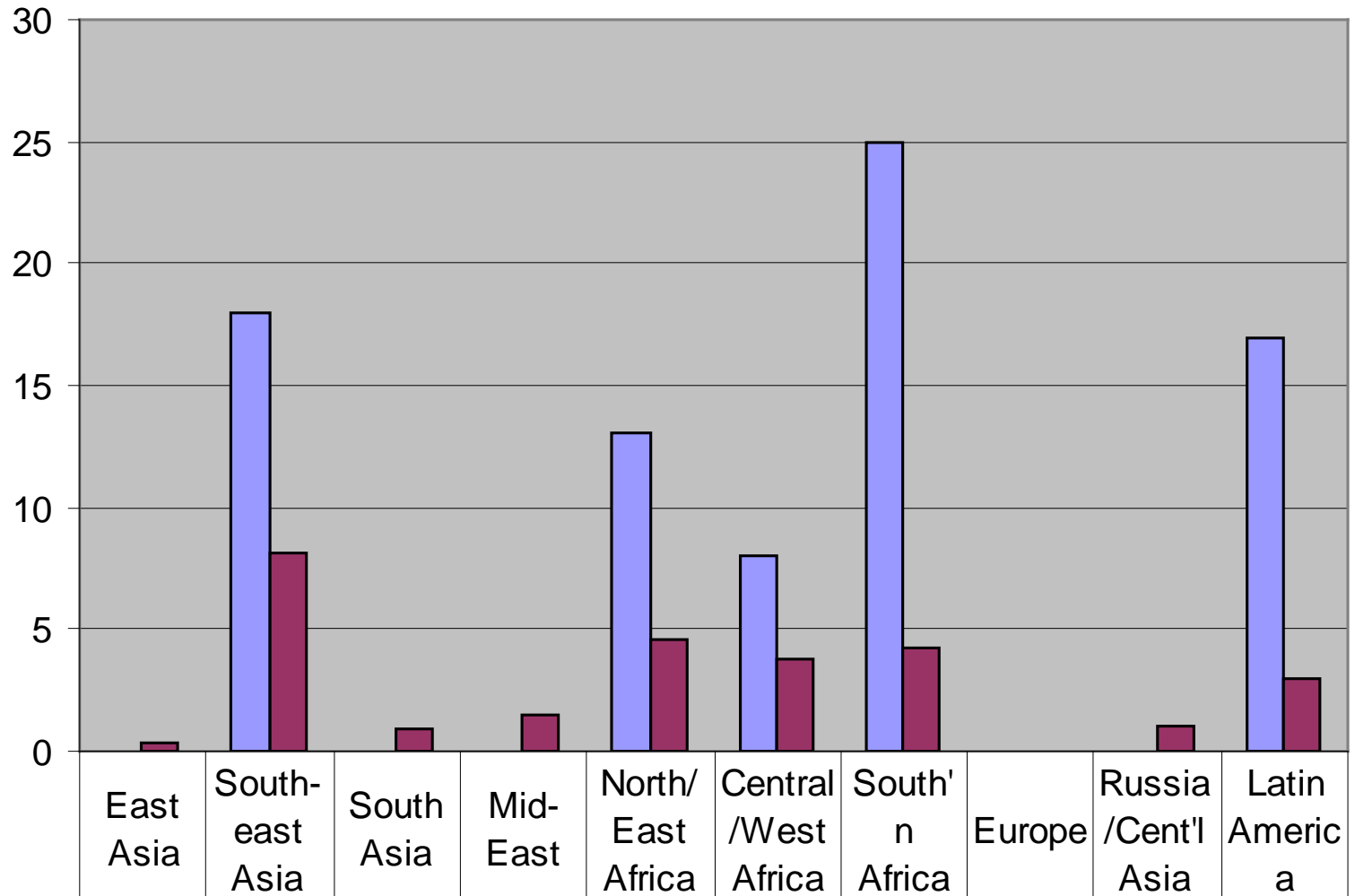
(3) Levels of Battlefield Performance in Conventional War Phase

Levels	Description	Causes	Frequency
State-dominance	States have edge in military power	State control of means of violence	High
Equilibrium	Military balance	Non-states' growth in power and/or states' decline	Medium
Non-state dominance	Non-states have edge in military power	Leftover arms from previous wars; weapons purchase; external aid	Low

Geographic Distribution of Non-State Victory



Average duration of war by geography



■ Successful models

■ Average duration

0

18

0

0

13

8

25

0

0

17

0.3

8.1

0.9

1.5

4.6

3.8

4.2

0

1

3

Repeated wars and outcomes (1/2)

#	Name	Duration (Years)	Sequence	Winner
1	First Ashanti	1824-1831	Conventional	State
2	Second Ashanti	1873-1874	Conventional	State
3	Third Ashanti	1895-1896	Conventional	State
4	First Zulu	1838-1839	Conventional	State
5	Second Zulu	1879	Conventional	State
6	Third Zulu	1906-1907	Conventional	State
7	First Afghan	1838-1842	Conventional	Non-state
8	Second Afghan	1878-1880	Conventional	State
9	Third Afghan	1919	Conventional	Non-state
10	Seventh Kaffir	1846-1847	Conventional	State
11	Eighth Kaffir	1850-1853	Conventional	State
12	Ninth Kaffir	1877-1878	Conventional	State
13	First Khivan	1839-1842	Conventional	State

Repeated wars and outcomes (2/2)

14	Second Khivan	1873	Conventional	State
15	First Sikh	1845-1846	Conventional	State
16	Second Sikh	1848-1849	Conventional	State
17	First Senegalese	1854-1865	Conventional	State
18	Second Senegalese	1887-1890	Degenerative	State
19	First Egypt-Ethiopia	1875-1876	Conventional	Non-state
20	Second Egypt-Ethiopia	1885	Conventional	State
21	First Mahdist	1882-1885	Conventional	Non-state
22	Second Mahdist	1896-1899	Conventional	State
23	First Ethiopia-Italy	1887	Conventional	State
24	Second Ethiopia-Italy	1895-1896	Conventional	Non-state
25	First Matabele	1893	Conventional	State
26	Second Matabele	1896-1897	Conventional	State

Extra-Systemic Wars after 1945

#	Name	Warring Actors	Duration	War Outcome	Became independent?
1	Indonesia	Netherlands vs. Indonesia	1945-1950	Non-state won	Yes
2	Indochina War	France vs. Vietnam	1946-1954	Non-state won	Yes
3	Madagascar Revolt	France vs. Madagascar	1947-1948	State won	Yes
4	Malayan Emergency	Britain vs. Malay Communists	1948-1960	State won	Yes
5	Indo-Hyderabad	India vs. Hyderabad	1948	State won	No
6	Tunisia	France vs. Tunisia	1952-1956	Non-state won	Yes
7	Mau Mau Rebellion	Britain vs. Kenya	1952-1960	State won	Yes
8	Morocco	France vs. Morocco	1953-1956	Non-state won	Yes
9	Algeria	France vs. Algeria	1954-1962	Non-state won	Yes
10	Cameroon	France vs. Cameroon	1955-1960	State won	Yes
11	Angola	Portugal vs. Angola	1961-1975	Non-state won	Yes
12	Portuguese Guinea	Portugal vs. Portuguese Guinea	1963-1974	Non-state won	Yes
13	Mozambique	Portugal vs. Mozambique	1964-1975	Non-state won	Yes
14	East Timor	Indonesia vs. East Timor	1975-1978	State won	No
15	Namibia	South Africa vs. Namibia	1975-1988	Non-state won	Yes
16	Somalia	United States vs. Somalia	1992-1995	Non-state won	n/a

85 Extra-Systemic Wars

#	Name of War	Years Fought	Combatants	Winner
1	Pindari	1817-1818	Britain vs. Maratha (India)	State
2	Kandyan	1817-1818	Britain vs. Kandyans (India)	State
3	Haiti-Santo Domingo	1821-1822	Haiti vs. Santo Domingo (Dominican Rep.)	State
4	First Ashanti	1824-1831	Britain vs. Ashanti (Ghana)	State
5	Java	1825-1830	Holland vs. Javanese (Indonesia)	State
6	Bharatpuran	1825-1826	Britain vs. Bharatpure (India)	State
7	First Zulu	1838-1839	Britain vs. Zulu (South Africa)	State
8	First Afghan	1838-1842	Britain vs. Afghanistan	Non-state
9	First Khivan	1839-1842	Russia vs. Khiva	State

10	Baluchi	1843	Britain vs. Baluchi (Pakistan)	State
11	First Sikh	1845-1846	Britain vs. Sikh (India)	State
12	Seventh Kaffir	1846-1847	Britain vs. Kaffir (South Africa)	State
13	Cracow Revolt	1846	Austria vs. Cracow (Poland)	State
14	Second Sikh	1848-1849	Britain vs. Sikh	State
15	Eighth Kaffir	1850-1853	Britain vs. Kaffir	State
16	Santal Insurrection	1855	Britain vs. Santal (India)	State
17	First Senegalese	1854-1865	France vs. Senegal	State
18	Indian Mutiny	1857-1858	Britain vs. India	State
19	Argentine-Buenos Aires	1859	Argentine vs. Buenos Aires	State
20	Maori	1860-1870	Britain vs. Maori (New Zealand)	State
21	Duar	1864-1865	Britain vs. Bhutan	State

22	Ten Years	1868-1878	Spain vs. Cuba	State
23	Second Algeria	1871-1872	France vs. Algeria	State
24	Second Khiva	1873	Russia vs. Khiva	State
25	Second Ashanti	1873-1874	Britain vs. Ashanti	State
26	Aceh	1873-1913	Holland vs. Acehnese (Indonesia)	State
27	First Egypt-Ethiopia	1875-1876	Egypt vs. Ethiopia	Non-state
28	Ninth Kaffir	1877-1878	Britain vs. Kaffir	State
29	Bosnia	1878	Austria vs. Bosnia	State
30	Second Afghan	1878-1880	Britain vs. Afghanistan	State
31	Second Zulu	1879	Britain vs. Zulu	State
32	Little	1879-1880	Spain vs. Cuba	State
33	Gun	1880-1881	Britain vs. Basuto	Non-state
34	Tunisian	1881-1882	France vs. Tunisia	State
35	First Mahdist	1882-1885	Britain vs. Sudan	Non-state
36	Mandigo	1882-1889	France vs. Mandingo (Mali)	State

37	Second Ethiopia-Egypt	1885	Ethiopia vs. Egypt	State
38	First Ethiopia-Italy	1887	Italy vs. Ethiopia	State
39	Second Senegalese	1887-1890	France vs. Senegal	State
40	Dahomey	1890-1894	France vs. Dahomey (Benin)	State
41	Congolese	1892	Belgium vs. Congo	State
42	First Matabele	1893	Britain vs. Matabele (South Africa)	State
43	Lombok	1894	Holland vs. Bali (Indonesia)	State
44	Third Ashanti	1895-1896	Britain vs. Ashanti	State
45	Second Ethiopia-Italy	1895-1896	Italy vs. Ethiopia	Non-state
46	Spanish-Cuban	1895-1898	Spanish vs. Cuba	Non-state
47	Japanese-Taiwanese	1895	Japan vs. Taiwan	State
48	Second Matabele	1896-1897	Britain vs. Matabele	State
49	Second Mahdist	1896-1899	Britain vs. Sudan	State
50	Mohmand	1897	Britain vs. Pashtun (Afghan)	State
51	Hut Tax	1898	Britain vs. Sierra Leone	State 29

52	Philippine	1899-1902	United States vs. Philippines	State
53	Somali Rebellion	1899-1920	Britain vs. Somalis	State
54	Kano & Sokoto	1903	Britain vs. Nigeria	State
55	British-Tibetan	1903-1904	Britain vs. Tibet	State
56	South West African Revolt	1904-1907	Germany vs. Namibia	State
57	Maji-Maji Revolt	1905	Germany vs. Tanzania	State
58	Third Zulu	1906-1907	Britain vs. Zulu	State
59	Sino-Tibetan	1912	China vs. Tibet	Non-state
60	Caco Revolt	1918-1920	United States vs. Cuba	State
61	Third Afghan	1919	Britain vs. Afghanistan	Non-state
62	Syrian	1920	France vs. Syria	State
63	Iraqi-British	1920-1921	Britain vs. Iraq	State

64	Italo-Libyan	1920-1931	Italy vs. Libya	State
65	Rif	1920-1926	Spain vs. Morocco	State
66	Moplah Rebellion	1921	Britain vs. India	State
67	Druze Revolt	1925-1927	France vs. Syria	State
68	Saya San's Rebellion	1930-1932	Britain vs. Burma	State
69	British-Palestinian	1936-1939	Britain vs. Palestine	State
70	Indonesian	1945-1950	Holland vs. Indonesia	Non-state
71	Indochina	1946-1954	France vs. Vietnam	Non-state
72	Madagascar Revolt	1947-1948	France vs. Madagascar	State
73	Malayan Emergency	1948-1960	Britain vs. Malay Chinese	State
74	Indo-Hyderabad	1948	India vs. Hyderabad	State
75	Tunisia	1952-1956	France vs. Tunisia	Non-state

76	Mau Mau Rebellion	1952-1960	Britain vs. Kenya	State
77	Morocco	1953-1956	France vs. Morocco	Non-state
78	Algeria	1954-1962	France vs. Algeria	Non-state
79	Cameroon	1955-1960	France vs. Cameroon	State
80	Angola	1961-1975	Portugal vs. Angola	Non-state
81	Portuguese Guinea	1963-1974	Portugal vs. Guinea	Non-state
82	Mozambique	1964-1975	Portugal vs. Mozambique	Non-state
83	East Timor	1975-1978	Indonesia vs. East Timor	State
84	Namibia	1975-1988	South Africa vs. Namibia	Non-state
85	Somalia	1992-1995	United States vs. Somalia	Non-state