

APPENDIX A: THE BALLAD OF THE SACK AND SINK

At a time when the difficulties between the ‘SAC’s Planners’ and the ‘C-in-C Planners’ were at their height the following Ballad was written. It is reproduced here as a warning against trying to run two separate Joint Planning teams.¹

“Oh Sinks are Sinks and Sacks are Sacks,
And each of the other must think
That they ought to be ruthlessly pruned with an axe,
Or be drowned in an ocean of ink

The Sinker’s work will never win
The war, say Sacker’s planners;
It just consists of throwing in
Obscure logistic spanners.

¹WO 203/6193, Headquarters, Supreme Allied Command South East Asia, “The Organisation and Working of the Joint Planning Staff in SEAC”, SAC (46) 8, 1 February 1946, Appendix B.

And so their plan are oft repu
 diated by the Sackers
 (Who, in the Sinker's humble view,
 are definitely crackers).

Such Sacker's work that sees the light
 of day is handed back;
 This is the reason for the trite
 expression "cul de Sac"

Oh, many and fruity the jokes to be cracked
 and many the toasts to be drunk
 Before the Sinkers are finally sacked
 Or the Sackers are totally sunk.

An end to levity let us see;
 Let sacks and sinks be link'd;
 And let their future effusions be
 Brief, lucid and sac-sinct."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

The Gurkha Museum, Winchester

2 Gurkha Rifles Regimental Records.

2 Gurkha Rifles Documents of Historical Interest, Malaya 1947–1949; War Diary.

7 Gurkha Rifles, Diaries 1949–1957.

The India Office Records, London

War Staff (WS) Series Files, 1946–1947.

Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, King's College London

The Papers of Major General Sir William Penney.

The Papers of Major General Sir Hugh Stockwell.

The Military Intelligence Museum

Maj. L. Wilkins, Intelligence Reports, 1948–1950.

Capt. Woods, Narrative—Malaya to 1971.

History of Int. Corps in Far East.

Notes on Int. Corps in S. E. Asia.

The National Archives, London

Air Ministry Files

AIR 20—Papers Accumulated by the Air Historical Branch, 1874–1983.

AIR 23—Royal Air Force Overseas Commands: Reports and Correspondence, 1916–1978.

AIR 24—Operations Record Books, Commands, 1920–1982.

AIR 25—Operations Record Books, Groups, 1914–82.

Cabinet Office Files

CAB 21—Cabinet Office and Predecessors, Registered Files, 1916–1953.

CAB 129—Cabinet Memoranda, 1945–1978.

CAB 130—Miscellaneous Committees Minutes and Papers, 1945–1980.

CAB 134—Miscellaneous Committees Minutes and Papers, 1945–1982.

CAB 158—Joint Intelligence Committee Memoranda, 1947–1968.

CAB 159—Joint Intelligence Committee Minutes, 1947–1968.

CAB 163—Joint Intelligence Committee Secretariat Files, 1939–1980.

CAB 176—Joint Intelligence Committee Secretariat Files, 1942–1957.

Colonial Office Files

CO 537—Confidential General and Confidential Original Correspondence, 1759–1955.

CO 717—Federated Malay States Original Correspondence, 1920–1951.

CO 1022—South East Asia Department: Original Correspondence, 1950–1956.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

FCO 141—Records of Former Colonial Administrations: Migrated Archives, 1835–2012.

FO 371—Political Departments: General Correspondence from 1906–1966.

Ministry of Defence Files

DEFE 4—Chiefs of Staff Committee Minutes, 1947–1978.

DEFE 5—Chiefs of Staff Committee Memoranda, 1947–1977.

DEFE 11—Chiefs of Staff Committee Registered Files, 1946–1983.

Security Service Files

KV 4—Policy (Pol F Series) Files, 1909–1963.

War Office Files

WO 106—Director of Military Operations and Military Intelligence, and Predecessors: Correspondence and Papers, 1837–1962.

WO 203—South East Asia Command: Military Headquarters Papers, Second World War, 1932–1949.

WO 204—Allied Forces, Mediterranean Theatre: Military Headquarters Papers, Second World War, 1941–1948.

WO 208—Director of Military Operations and Intelligence, and Director of Military Intelligence: Files, 1917–1974.

WO 216—Officer of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff: Papers, 1935–1964.

WO 268—Far East Land Forces: Quarterly Historical Reports, 1946–1966.

WO 291—Military Operational Research Unit, Successors and Related Bodies: Reports and Papers, 1941–1983.

Rhodes House, Oxford

The Papers of Lt. Col. John Dalley.

The Papers of Col. Arthur Young.

SECONDARY SOURCES

- A. Alderson, “Britain”, in T. Rid and T. Keane (eds.), *Understanding Counterinsurgency—Doctrine, Operations and Challenges* (London 2010).
- R. Aldrich, “Secret Intelligence for a Post-war World: Reshaping the British Intelligence Committee, 1944–51”, in R. Aldrich (ed.), *British Intelligence, Strategy and the Cold War 1945–51* (Cambridge 1992).
- , “Britain’s Secret Intelligence Service in Asia During the Second World War”, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (February 1998), pp. 179–217.
- , *Intelligence and the War Against Japan—Britain, America and the Politics of Secret Service* (Cambridge 2000).
- , *The Hidden Hand: Britain, America and Cold War Secret Intelligence* (London 2006).
- , *GCHQ* (London 2011).
- C. Andrew, *The Defence of the Realm: The Authorised History of MI5* (London 2010).
- R. Arditti and P. Davies, “Rethinking the Rise and Fall of the Malayan Security Service, 1946–8”, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (2015), pp. 292–316.
- R. Arditti, “The View from Above: How the Royal Air Force Provided a Strategic Vision for Operational Intelligence During the Malayan Emergency”, *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, Vol. 26, No. 5 (2015), pp. 769–784.
- , “Security Intelligence in the Middle East (SIME): Joint Security Intelligence Operations in the Middle East, c. 1939–58”, *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (2016), pp. 369–396.
- N. Aylwin-Foster, “Changing the Army for Counterinsurgency Operations”, *Military Review*, Vol. 85 (November–December 2005), pp. 2–15.
- J. Bailey, R. Iron and H. Strachan (eds.), *British Generals in Blair’s Wars* (Farnham 2013).
- M. Banton, “Destroy? ‘Migrate’? Conceal? British Strategies for the Disposal of Sensitive Records of Colonial Administrations at Independence”, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (June 2012), pp. 321–335.
- C. Bayly and T. Harper, *Forgotten Wars—The End of Britain’s Asian Empire* (London 2008).

- I. Beckett, "British Counter-Insurgency a Historiographical Reflection", *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, Vol. 23, No. 4–5 (2012), pp. 781–798.
- H. Bennett, "'A Very Salutory Effect': The Counter-Terror Strategy in the Early Malayan Emergency, June 1948 to December 1949", *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 3, pp. 415–444.
- M. Bloch, *The Historian's Craft* (1992).
- D. Branch, "Footprints in the Sand: British Colonial Counter-Insurgency and the War in Iraq", *Politics and Society*, Vol. 38 (2010), pp. 15–34.
- P. Broadwell, *All in—The Education of General David Petraeus* (New York 2012).
- J.-P. Brodeur, "High Policing and Low Policing: Remarks About the Policing of Political Activities", *Social Problems*, Vol. 30, No. 5 (Thematic Issue on Justice) (June 1983), pp. 507–520.
- J. Burgess, "Lincolns—100 Squadron Malaya 1950", *Royal Air Force Historical Society Journal*, Vol. 21 (2000), pp. 5–58.
- M. Burton, "The Malayan Emergency: A Subaltern's View", *Asian Affairs*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (2011), pp. 251–260.
- Lord Butler, *Review of Intelligence on Weapons of Mass Destruction* (London 2004).
- M. Calvert, *Fighting Mad—One Man's Guerrilla War* (London 1964).
- A. Campbell, *Jungle Green* (London, 1953).
- E. Carr, *What Is History?* (London 2001).
- S. Carruthers, *Winning Hearts and Minds: British Governments, the Media and Colonial Counter-Insurgency 1944–1960* (London 1995).
- D. Charters, "Counter-Insurgency Intelligence: The Evolution of British Theory and Practice", *Journal of Conflict Studies*, Vol. 29 (2009), pp. 55–74.
- Cheah Boon Kheng, "Review of Hearts and Minds in Guerrilla Warfare: The Malayan Emergency 1948–60 by Richard Stubbs", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 2. (September 1991), pp. 427–430.
- C. C. Chin and K. Hack (eds.), *Dialogues with Chin Peng: New Light on the Malayan Communist Party* (Singapore 2004).
- W. Chin, "Why Did It All Go Wrong? Reassessing British Counterinsurgency in Iraq", *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 2 (Winter 2008), pp. 119–135.
- , "From Belfast to Lashkar Gar via Basra—British Counter-Insurgency Today", in R. Rich and I. Duyvesteyn (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Insurgency and Counterinsurgency* (Oxon 2014), p. 276.
- Chin Peng, *Alias Chin Peng—My Side of History* (Singapore 2003).
- J. Chynoweth, *Hunting Terrorists in the Jungle* (Stroud 2007).
- J. Cloake, *Templer—Tiger of Malaya* (London 1985).
- R. Clutterbuck, *The Emergency in Malaya, 1948–60* (London 1966).
- , *Riot and Revolution in Singapore and Malaya, 1945–1963* (London 1973).

- , “Review of the Communist Insurrection in Malaya, 1948–60”, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 11 (1977), pp. 149–152.
- L. Comber, “The Malayan Security Service (1945–48)”, *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (2003), pp. 128–153.
- , *Malaya’s Secret Police 1945–60—The Role of the Special Branch in the Malayan Emergency* (Singapore 2008).
- J. Cooper, *Curing Analytical Pathologies—Pathways to Improved Intelligence Analysis* (Centre for the Study of Intelligence 2005).
- R. Cormac, “Organising Intelligence: An Introduction to the 1955 Report on Colonial Security”, *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 25, No. 6 (2010), pp. 800–822.
- , “A Whitehall ‘Showdown’? Colonial Office—Joint Intelligence Committee Relations in the Mid-1950s”, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (June 2011), pp. 800–822.
- , *Finding a Role: The Joint Intelligence Committee and Counterinsurgency at the End of Empire*, PhD Thesis, King’s College London, 2011.
- , *Confronting the Colonies—British Intelligence and Counterinsurgency* (London 2013).
- J. Corum and W. Johnson, *Airpower in Small Wars—Fighting Insurgents and Terrorists* (London 2003).
- P. Cradock, *Know Your Enemy—How the Joint Intelligence Committee Saw the World* (London 2002).
- J. Curry, *The Security Service 1908–1945: The Official History* (London 1999).
- P. Davies, “The SIS Singapore Station and the Role of the Far East Controller: Secret Intelligence Structure and Process in Post-war Colonial Administration”, *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (1999), pp. 105–129.
- , *MI6 and the Machinery of Spying* (London 2005).
- , “Imagery in the UK: Britain’s Troubled Imagery Intelligence Architecture”, *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 35 (2009), pp. 957–969.
- , *Intelligence and Government in Britain and the United States, Volume 2: Evolution of the UK Intelligence Community* (Santa Barbara 2012).
- P. Deery, “The Terminology of Terrorism: Malaya, 1948–52”, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (June 2003), pp. 231–247.
- , “Britain’s Asian Cold War?”, *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Winter 2007), pp. 29–54.
- P. Dixon, “‘Hearts and Minds’? British Counter-Insurgency from Malaya to Iraq”, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (2009), pp. 353–381.
- J. Durkin, *Malayan Scouts SAS—A Memoir of the Malayan Emergency, 1951* (Stroud 2011).
- R. Egnell, “Lessons from Helmand, Afghanistan: What Now for British Counter-Insurgency,” *International Affairs*, Vol. 87, No. 2 (2011), pp. 297–315.

- C. Elkins, "Alchemy of Evidence: Mau Mau, the British Empire and the High Court of Justice", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 39, No. 5 (2011), pp. 731–748.
- R. Evans, *In Defence of History* (London 2000).
- C. Felix, *The Spy and His Masters* (London 1963).
- D. French, *The British Way in Counter-Insurgency 1945–67* (Oxford 2011).
- , "Nasty Not Nice: British Counter-Insurgency Doctrine and Practice, 1945–67", *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, Vol. 23, No. 4–5 (2012), pp. 744–761.
- J. Gaddis, *The Landscape of History* (Oxford 2002).
- D. Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare—Theory and Practice* (London 2006).
- M. Goodman, "Learning to Walk: The Origins of the UK's Joint Intelligence Committee", *International Journal of Intelligence and Counter Intelligence*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (2007), pp. 40–56.
- , *The Official History of the Joint Intelligence Committee*, Vol. 1 (Oxford 2014).
- B. Grob-Fitzgibbon, *Imperial Endgame* (Basingstoke 2011).
- K. Hack, "British Intelligence and Counter-Insurgency in the Era of Decolonisation: The Example of Malaya", *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (Summer 1999), pp. 124–155.
- , "'Iron Claws on Malaya': The Historiography of the Malaya Emergency", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (March 1999), pp. 99–125.
- , "British and Communist Crises in Malaya: A Response to Anthony Short", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (September 2000), pp. 392–395.
- , "Corpses, Prisoners of War and Captured Documents: British and Communist Narratives of the Malayan Emergency, and the Dynamics of Intelligence Transformation", *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (2008), pp. 211–241.
- , "The Malayan Emergency as Counter-Insurgency Paradigm", *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (2009), pp. 383–414.
- , "Origins of the Asian Cold War: Malaya 1948", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (October 2009), pp. 471–496.
- , "Everyone Lived in Fear: Malaya and the British Way of Counter-Insurgency", *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, Vol. 23, No. 4–5 (2012), pp. 671–699.
- J. Hamby, "Civil-Military Operations: Joint Doctrine and the Malayan Emergency", *Joint Forces Quarterly* (Autumn 2002), pp. 54–61.
- W. Hayter, *A Double Life—The Memoirs of Sir William Hayter* (London 1974).
- H. Hembry, *Malayan Spymaster* (Singapore 2011).
- M. Herman, *Intelligence Power in Peace and War* (Cambridge, 1996).
- F. Hinsley, *British Intelligence in the Second World War*, Vol. 1 (1979).

- F. Hinsley and C. Simkins, *British Intelligence in the Second World War, Volume 4: Security and Counterintelligence* (London 1990).
- A. Hoe and E. Morris, *Re-enter the SAS* (London 1994).
- F. Hoffinman, "Neo-Classical Counterinsurgency", *Parameters* (Summer 2007), pp. 71–87.
- M. Hughes, "Introduction: British Ways of Counter-Insurgency", *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, Vol. 23, No. 4–5 (2012), pp. 580–590.
- S. Hurst, "Colonel Gray and the Armoured Cars: The Malayan Police 1948–1952", Monash Asia Institute, Working Paper 119, 2003.
- A. Gendron, "Improving the IC's Analytical Performance", *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (2012), pp. 420–426.
- G. Gentile, *Wrong Turn—America's Deadly Embrace of Counter-Insurgency* (New York 2013).
- D. Jones and M. Smith, "Whose Hearts and Whose Minds? The Curious Case of Global Counter-Insurgency", *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (2010), pp. 81–121.
- D. Jones, "Empire of Secrets by Calder Watson", *The Telegraph*, 30 January 2013.
- T. Jones, *Postwar Counterinsurgency and the SAS, 1945–1952—A Special Type of Warfare* (Oxon 2001).
- F. Kaplan, *The Insurgents* (New York 2013).
- D. Kilcullen, "Counterinsurgency Redux", *Survival*, Vol. 48, No. 4 (2006), pp. 111–130.
- J. Kiszely, "The British Army and Thinking About the Operational Level", in J. Bailey, R. Iron and H. Strachan (eds.), *British Generals in Blair's Wars* (2013).
- F. Kitson, *Gangs and Counter-Gangs* (London 1960).
- , *Low Intensity Operations—Subversion, Insurgency and Peacekeeping* (London 1971).
- , *Bunch of Five* (London 1977).
- R. Komer, *Organisation of a Successful Counterinsurgency* (Rand 1972).
- W. Ladwig, "Managing Counterinsurgency: Lessons from Malaya", *Military Review*, Vol. 83, No. 3 (May–June 2007), pp. 56–66.
- W. Laqueur, *World of Secrets: The Uses and Limits of Intelligence* (London 1985).
- F. Ledwidge, *Losing Small Wars* (London 2011).
- M. Leifer, "Review of the Long Long War: The Emergency in Malaya 1948–1960 by Richard Clutterbuck", *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944–)*, Vol. 43, No. 4 (October 1967), pp. 790–791.
- C. Lockard, "Review of Hearts and Minds in Guerrilla Warfare: The Malayan Emergency 1948–60 by Richard Stubbs", *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (August 1990).
- O. Lyttelton, *The Memoirs of Lord Chandos* (London 1962).

- D. Mackay, *The Domino That Stood—The Malayan Emergency 1948–60* (London 1997).
- W. Magan, *Middle Eastern Approaches—Experiences and Travels of an Intelligence Officer 1939–1948* (Norwich 2001).
- S. Marrin, “Intelligence Analysis Theory: Explaining and Predicting Analytical Responsibilities”, *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 22, No. 6 (2008), pp. 821–846.
- , “Preventing Intelligence Failures by Learning from the Past”, *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (2004), pp. 655–672.
- J. Mc Alister, “Review of Defeating Communist Insurgency—Experience from Malaya and Vietnam”, *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 61, No. 3 (September 1967), pp. 773–775.
- G. Means, “Review of Hearts and Minds in Guerrilla Warfare: The Malayan Emergency 1948–60 by Richard Stubbs”, *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (December 1990), pp. 813–814.
- F. Mellersh, “The Campaign Against the Terrorists in Malaya”, *Royal United Services Institution Journal*, Vol. 96, No. 583 (1951), pp. 401–415.
- T. Mockaitis, *British Counterinsurgency, 1919–60* (London 1990).
- J. Moran, *Spearhead in Malaya* (London 1959).
- A. Mumford and C. Kennedy-Pipe, “Unnecessary or Unsung? The Strategic Role of Air Power in Britain’s Colonial Counter-Insurgencies”, in J. Hayward (ed.), *Air Power, Insurgency and the ‘War on Terror’* (Cranwell 2009), pp. 63–78.
- A. Mumford, “Sir Robert Thompson’s Lessons for Iraq: Bringing the ‘Basic Principles of Counter Insurgency’ into the 21st century”, *Defence Studies*, Vol. 10 (2010), pp. 177–194.
- J. Nagl, *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife* (Chicago 2002).
- N. Parton, “Air Power and Insurgency: Early RAF Doctrine”, in J. Hayward (ed.), *Air Power, Insurgency and the ‘War on Terror’* (Cranwell 2009), pp. 29–42.
- T. Pocock, *Fighting General—The Public and Private Campaigns of General Sir Walter Walker* (London 1973).
- R. Popplewell “Lacking Intelligence: Some Reflections on Recent Approaches to British Counter-Insurgency, 1900–1960,” *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (April 1995), pp. 336–352.
- D. Porch, *Counterinsurgency—Exposing the Myths of the New Way of War* (Cambridge 2013).
- M. Postgate, *Operation Firedog: Air Support in the Malayan Emergency 1948–1960* (London 1992).
- K. Ramakrishna, “Content, Credibility and Content: Propaganda Government Surrender Policy and the Malaya Communist Terrorist Mass Surrenders

- of 1958”, *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (1999), pp. 242–266.
- , “‘Transmogrifying’ Malaya: The Impact of Sir Gerald Templer (1952–54)”, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (February 2001), pp. 79–92.
- , *Emergency Propaganda: The Winning of Malayan Hearts and Minds 1948–58* (London 2001).
- , “‘Bribing the Reds to Give Up’: Rewards Policy in the Malayan Emergency”, *War in History*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (2002), pp. 332–353.
- , “Review of Malaya’s Secret Police 1945–60: The Role of Special Branch in the Malayan Emergency”, *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 3 (2009), pp. 193–195.
- T. Ricks, *The Gamble* (New York 2009).
- I. Rigden, *The British Approach to Counter-Insurgency: Myths, Realities, and Strategic Challenges*, Strategic Research Project—US Army War College (2008).
- P. Rich and I. Duyvesteyn (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Insurgency and Counterinsurgency* (Oxon 2014).
- T. Rid and T. Keane (eds.), *Understanding Counterinsurgency—Doctrine, Operations and Challenges* (London 2010).
- S. Ritchie, *The RAF, Small Wars and Insurgencies: Late Colonial Operations, 1945–1975* (Air Historical Branch, undated).
- M. Robinson, “Offensive Air Operations, Beaufighter / Brigand”, *Royal Air Force Historical Society Journal*, Vol. 21 (2000), pp. 20–23.
- C. Sanger, *Malcolm MacDonald—Bringing an End to Empire* (Liverpool 1995).
- A. Shaw, “MI5 and the Cold War in South-East Asia: Examining the Performance of Security Intelligence Far East (SIFE), 1946–1963”, *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 32, No. 6 (2017), pp. 797–816.
- M. Shennan, *Our Man in Malaya* (Stroud 2007).
- A. Short, *The Communist Insurrection in Malaya* (London 1975).
- , “Letter from Short”, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (September 2000), pp. 390–391.
- , “The Malayan Emergency and the Batang Kali Incident”, *Asian Affairs*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (2010), pp. 337–354.
- A. Shulsky and G. Schmitt, *Silent Warfare: Understanding the World of Warfare* (Washington 2002).
- G. Sinclair, *At the End of the Line—Colonial Policing and the Imperial Endgame 1945–80* (Manchester 2006).
- , “‘The Sharp End of the Intelligence Machine’: The Rise of the Malayan Police Special Branch 1948–1955”, *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (2011), pp. 465–467.

- K. Slater, "Air Operations in Malaya", *Royal United Services Institute Journal*, Vol. 102, No. 607 (1957).
- S. Smith, "General Templer and Counter-Insurgency in Malaya: Hearts and Minds, Intelligence and Propaganda", *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (2001), pp. 60–78.
- B. Stewart, "Winning in Malaya: An Intelligence Success Story", *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (1999), pp. 267–283.
- A. Stockwell, "British Imperial Policy and Decolonisation in Malaya, 1942–52", *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (October 1984), pp. 68–87.
- , "Policing During the Malayan Emergency, 1948–60: Communism, Communalism, and Decolonisation", in D. Anderson and D. Killingray (eds.), *Policing and Decolonisation: Politics, Nationalism and the Police* (Manchester 1992), pp. 105–126.
- , "'A Widespread and Long-Concocted Plot to Overthrow the Government in Malaya?' The Origins of the Malayan Emergency", *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (September 1993), pp. 66–88.
- , "Chin Peng and the Struggle for Malaya", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 3, No. 16 (2006), p. 3.
- , "Review of Malaya's Secret Police 1945–60: The Role of Special Branch in the Malayan Emergency", *Asian Affairs*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (2009), pp. 478–479.
- H. Strachan, *The Direction of War—Contemporary Strategy in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge 2013), pp. 26–46.
- K. Strong, *Men of Intelligence* (London 1970).
- R. Stubbs, "Review of the Communist Insurrection in Malaya, 1948–60", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (Winter 1976–1977), pp. 742–744.
- R. Sunderland, *Antiguerrilla Intelligence in Malaya, 1948–1960* (Rand 1964).
- , *Organising Counterinsurgency in Malaya* (Rand 1964).
- , *Army Operations in Malaya, 1947–60* (Rand 1964).
- , *Resettlement and Food Control in Malaya* (Rand 1964).
- , *Winning the Hearts and Minds of the People in Malaya* (Rand 1964).
- R. Taylor, "Review of Malaya's Secret Police 1945–60: The Role of Special Branch in the Malayan Emergency", *Asian Studies Review*, Vol. 35, No. 1, p. 117.
- R. Thompson, *Defeating Communist Insurgency—Experience from Malaya and Vietnam* (London 1966).
- R. Thompson, *Make for the Hills* (London 1989).
- D. Ucko, "The Malayan Emergency: The Legacy and Relevance of a Counter-Insurgency Success Story", *Defence Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1–2 (2010), pp. 13–39.
- D. Ukco and R. Egnell, "Options for Avoiding Counterinsurgencies", *Parameters*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (Spring 2014), pp. 11–22.

- US Army and Marine Corps, *Counterinsurgency Field Manual* (Chicago 2007).
- C. Walton, *Empire of Secrets* (London 2013).
- G. Warner, *From Auster to Apache: The History of 656 Squadron RAF/AAC 1942–2012* (Barnsley 2013).
- C. Wastell, “Cognitive Predisposition and Intelligence Analyst Reasoning”, *International Journal of Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (2010), pp. 449–460.
- C. Wolf, “Review of the Long Long War by Richard Clutterbuck”, *International Journal*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (Autumn 1967), pp. 683–685.
- C. Woodhouse, “Review of Defeating Communist Insurgency—Experience from Malaya and Vietnam”, *International Affairs*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (1967).
- Yuen Yuet Leng, *Nation Before Self—And Values That Do Not Die* (Kuala Lumpur 2008).
- P. Ziegler, *Mountbatten—The Official Biography* (London 1985).

INDEX

A

Air Command Far East (ACFE), 119, 177
Air Headquarters (AHQ), 120, 176, 177, 186, 188–190
Air Officer Commanding (AOC), 200
Air Photographic Interpretation Unit (APIU), 184
Allied Land Forces South East Asia (ALFSEA), 59, 93
Ang Bun Hoay, 104
Australia, 79, 82, 94

B

Balan, R.G., 94, 111
Batang Kali, 161
Batu Caves, 93
Boucher, General Sir Charles, xvii, xxvi, 124, 126
Bourne, General Geoffrey
 Bourne, xvii, xxvii, 145, 172, 220
Bower, General Sir Roger, xvii, xviii, xxvii, 172, 173, 220

Briggs, General Sir Harold Rawdon, xviii, xxvi, xxvii, 3, 4, 6, 11, 12, 117, 134–138, 140, 163, 164, 166, 184–186, 190, 194, 197, 204, 205, 215–217, 220, 223, 233
British Defence Coordination Committee (Far East), BDCC(FE), 50, 181
British Military Administration (BMA), xxv, 41, 87
Broome, Richard, 123

C

Capel-Dunn, Denis, xxv, 25, 50
Central Intelligence Staff (CIS), 46–48, 64, 82
Chapman, Freddie Spencer, 2, 91, 92, 123
Chiefs of Staff (CoS), 18, 21–23, 106
China, 2, 32, 43, 62, 63, 82, 88, 94, 107, 137

- Chin Peng, xviii, 6, 14, 15, 43, 91, 92, 112, 123
- Civil Liaison Corps (CLC), 11, 125, 127, 133
- Combined Intelligence Centre Iraq (CICI), 31
- Combined Services Detailed Interrogation Centre (CSDIC), 23
- Counter-Intelligence Combined Board (CICB), 38, 58
- Covey, Francis, 153
- Cradock, Sir Percy, 18
- Creech Jones, Arthur, xxv, xxvi, 115, 117, 129, 134, 153, 155–158, 162, 180, 181
- Criminal Investigation Department (CID), 12, 21, 43, 55, 61, 69, 77, 152, 153, 163–167, 169, 174, 178, 210, 213
- Czechoslovakia, 94
- D**
- Dalley, Lt. Col. John, xviii, xxv, 3, 7, 60, 66–70, 78–81, 83–87, 89, 99, 101, 106–108, 110–113, 116, 151, 152, 165, 169, 192, 193, 226, 233
- Davis, John, 91, 92, 123, 125
- Defence Security Officer (DSO), xix, 26–30, 53–57, 59, 71–73, 75, 77, 78, 85, 147, 153
- Denham, Geoffrey, 53–55
- Deportation, 3, 5, 6, 8, 11, 102, 131, 148, 155–160, 212
- Detention, 3, 8, 11, 131, 155–161, 165, 211, 212
- Dickinson, Arthur, 60
- Director of Intelligence (DOI), xxvi, 3, 12, 20, 21, 34–36, 38, 39, 46, 47, 51, 74, 152, 164, 166, 167, 190, 192, 196, 201, 203, 204, 210, 211, 215, 221, 230, 231
- Director of Military Intelligence (DMI), xxii, 27, 28
- Director of Operations, xviii, xxvi, xxvii, 3, 4, 6, 117, 118, 121, 134, 136, 138–142, 144–146, 148, 159, 160, 167, 170, 172, 173, 184–187, 189, 190, 193–195, 197, 200–203, 220, 221
- District War Executive Committee (DWEC), 185, 189, 190, 196–199, 202, 203
- Dixon, Col. Cyril Egerton, xxv, 58, 59, 66, 70, 71, 73
- Dudley-Clarke, Brigadier, 30
- E**
- Economic Intelligence Section, 20
- Emergency Information Services, 141
- Emergency Operations Council, 200, 203
- Emergency Regulations, 11, 90, 146, 148, 149, 155, 159, 160, 168, 198, 212
- Ex-Services Comrades Association, 96, 103
- F**
- Far East Air Force (FEAF), 106, 183
- Far East Combined Intelligence Bureau (FECB), 46
- Far East Land Forces (FARELF), xxii, xxvi, 105, 124, 130, 183
- Federal Intelligence Committee (FIC), 12, 167, 194, 201–204, 210, 221, 231
- Federation of Malaya, xix–xxi, xxiii, xxvi, 2, 6, 10, 40, 49, 86, 108,

110, 112–114, 116–120, 131, 133, 136, 146–151, 154–156, 160, 162, 164, 165, 167, 170, 173, 181, 192, 195, 197, 200, 207, 213, 224, 226, 231, 233

Ferret Force, 8, 11, 124, 125, 127, 178, 211, 229

Field Security Service (FSS), 126

FM 3-24, 216, 218, 222–224

Food Denial, 11, 41, 104, 107, 118, 121, 134, 135, 138–141, 143, 145, 146, 149, 161, 162, 175, 198, 199, 212, 213

Force 136, xviii, 92, 123, 124, 126, 128

G

Garnons-Williams, Captain G.A., 37, 38

Gater, Sir George, 54–57, 59

General Headquarters (GHQ), Malaya Command, 84, 87, 130, 183

General Labour Union (GLU), 62, 88, 94

Gent, Sir (Gerard) Edward James, xviii, xix, xxv, xxvi, 2, 67, 73–75, 78, 80, 112, 114, 115, 156, 180, 226

Gimson, Sir Franklin, xxv, xxvii, 71, 74, 79, 85, 86, 89, 180, 181

Grantham, Sir Alexander, 180

Gray, Col. Nicol, xix, xxvi, xxvii, 3, 147, 148, 154, 163–167, 169, 170, 190, 192, 193, 230

Griffiths, Jim, xxvi, 131, 166

Gurkha, xvii, 109, 124, 125, 128, 196

Gurney, Sir Henry Lovell
 Goldsworthy, xix, xxvi, 2, 4, 114, 131, 133, 134, 136–138, 150, 163, 164, 166, 167, 169, 170, 178, 180, 181, 191, 197, 203, 204, 230, 231, 233

H

Harding, General Sir John, xxvi, xxvii, 129, 136, 137, 163, 172, 220

Harker, Brigadier Oswald, 52, 53

Hayter, Sir William Goodenough, xix, xxvi, 83, 84

Hembry, Boris, 92, 110

Home Defence (Security) Executive (HD(S)E), 24

Hone, Major General Sir Ralph, 60, 67, 68, 92, 113, 151, 152

Hong Kong, xvii, 43, 47, 71, 86, 88, 180

Human Intelligence (humint), 7, 8, 11, 117, 131, 146, 148, 149, 155, 162, 173, 175, 190, 213, 230

I

India, xvii, xx, xxi, 28, 32–34, 36, 59, 62, 70, 88, 94, 126, 180

Indian National Army (INA), 69, 99

Indonesia, 42, 43, 62, 63, 88, 89

Intelligence Corps, xxi, 126, 127, 211, 229

Interservice Topographical Department (ISTD), 23

Itu, Colonel (Liew Wai Choong), 103

J

Japan, 35, 37, 38, 42, 48, 58, 60, 66, 83, 92, 177

Jenkin, Sir William, xx, xxvi, 3, 163–166, 169, 170, 190, 192, 193, 210, 230

Johnson, Col. W. C., xxvi, 70, 71, 119, 148, 150

Johnson, William, 153

Joint Air Photographic Intelligence Board (JAPIB), 18, 183, 184

Joint Air Photographic Intelligence Centre (JAPIC), 182–184, 211, 227, 228, 230

Joint Intelligence Bureau (JIB), 18, 46, 49, 84, 183

Joint Intelligence Committee (Far East), JIC (FE), xxvi, 10, 17, 19, 39, 40, 49–51, 59, 64, 65, 81–85, 87, 179–183, 201, 203, 207, 209, 214, 227, 228, 230, 231

Joint Intelligence Committee (London), xxvi, 10, 15, 33, 36, 38, 46, 48–50, 76, 82, 83, 179, 181, 182

Joint Intelligence Committee (Middle East), JIC (ME), 19, 25, 26, 31, 39

Joint Intelligence Organisation (JIO), 17–19, 21–26

Joint Intelligence Staff (JIS), 23, 36, 49

Joint Operations Room (JOC), 8, 187, 197, 199, 202

Joint Planning Staff (JPS), xvii, 36, 44, 45, 235

Jungle Training School, 8, 211

K

Kell, Major-General Sir Vernon, 52, 56

Kellar, Alec, xxvi, 71, 82

Kempetai, 69

Killearn, Lord, 45, 47

Kitson, General Sir Frank, 7, 208, 215, 216, 218, 222–224, 227

Knight, L.F., 61–63, 67, 75–77

Kuala Lumpur, xix, 13, 60, 61, 122, 130, 134, 142, 147, 159, 176, 179, 199, 203

Kuomintang (KMT), 62, 68, 88, 104, 105, 107, 111

L

Lai Tek, 42, 91–93, 95

Langworthy, Lt. Col. H. D., xxvi, 147

Liddell, Guy, xx, 35, 38, 76, 78, 81, 82, 141, 145, 196–198

Local Defence Committee (LDC), 136, 147, 148, 179–181

Local Intelligence Committee (LIC), 179–182, 195, 230

Lyttelton, Sir Oliver (Viscount Chandos), xx, xxvi, 143, 159, 167, 191–193, 220

M

MacDonald, Malcolm John, xx, xxv, 45, 47, 68, 71, 74, 75, 77, 79–83, 85, 87, 89, 113, 115–117, 124, 129, 156–158, 179, 180

MacGillivray, Sir Donald Charles, xx, xxi, xxvii

Malayan Communist Party (MCP), xviii, xxvii, 1, 3–7, 10, 11, 13–15, 20, 43, 62, 63, 72, 84, 86, 87, 89–109, 111–113, 115, 116, 123, 127, 137, 138, 142, 144, 153, 155–157, 159, 170–173, 191, 197, 202, 204, 208, 209, 213, 219, 224, 227, 231

Malayan National Liberation Army (MNLA), 15

Malayan People's Anti-British Army (MPABA), 15, 66, 119, 123

Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA), 15, 42, 43, 66, 69, 91–93, 96, 98, 103–105, 107, 108, 212

Malayan Races Liberation Army (MRLA), 15, 126, 129, 133, 135, 138, 145, 161, 170, 197, 198, 202

- Malayan Security Service (MSS), *xvii*, *xviii*, *xxv*, *3*, *5*, *7*, *9*, *15*, *40*, *44*, *50*, *59*, *60*, *63*, *65*, *66*, *69*, *74*, *76*, *79*, *82–84*, *87*, *89*, *90*, *122*, *148*, *151*, *203*, *230*
- Middle East Intelligence Centre (MEIC), *26*
- Min Yuen, *3*, *6*, *11*, *15*, *119*, *135*, *145*, *170*, *191*, *198*, *204*
- Morton, J.P. (Jack), *xxvi*, *xxvii*, *152*, *153*, *155*, *165*, *169*, *191–194*, *211*, *214*, *221*, *230*, *233*
- Mountbatten, Louis, first Earl of Mountbatten of Burma, *xx*, *xxi*, *32–34*, *37*, *45*, *46*, *58*
- N**
- Nagl, John, *15*, *69*, *118*, *126*, *139*, *141*, *216*
- Newbould, Sir Alexander, *75*, *113–115*
- New Democratic Youth League (NDYL), *96*, *98*, *100*, *101*
- New Villages, *140*, *160*, *212*
- Noel Alexander, *123*
- O**
- Office of Strategic Services (OSS), *35*, *37*, *38*, *40*, *58*
- Overseas Control (OC), *52*, *53*, *55*, *56*
- P**
- Palestine, *xix*, *xxi*, *xxii*, *1*, *17–19*, *147*, *154*, *170*
- Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions (PMFTU), *156*
- Penney, Sir (William) Ronald, *35*, *38*, *46–48*
- Petrie, Sir David, *xxi*, *30*, *52–57*, *59*
- Phoenix Park, *9*, *64*, *66*, *78*
- Photographic Intelligence (photint), *18*, *182–184*
- Police, *xviii*, *xxii*, *xxiii*, *3*, *7–9*, *11*, *12*, *40*, *42*, *43*, *51–55*, *59*, *60*, *67*, *68*, *70–73*, *75*, *85*, *90*, *100*, *107*, *111*, *116–121*, *131*, *134*, *136*, *137*, *142*, *146–152*, *155*, *158*, *160–163*, *166–168*, *171*, *173–175*, *178*, *186*, *187*, *189*, *191*, *192*, *194*, *196*, *199*, *207*, *228*
- Policing Mission, *162*, *163*, *190*, *204*
- Political Intelligence Arab World (PIAW), *26*, *29*
- Political Intelligence Journal (PIJ), *60–63*, *87*, *88*, *90*, *95*, *96*, *98–103*
- Priorities Division, *37*
- Psychological Warfare Section (PWS), *142*
- R**
- Resettlement, *6*, *8*, *11*, *133*, *134*, *137*, *140*, *143*, *148*, *155*, *160*, *161*, *175*, *198*, *212*, *213*, *220*
- Ritchie, General Sir Neil Methuen, *xxi*, *xxvi*, *105*, *106*, *124–127*, *132*, *134*, *178*
- Robinson, T.A., *29*, *30*, *165*
- Royal Air Force (RAF), *3*, *8*, *59*, *109*, *116*, *120–122*, *130*, *145*, *173*, *175*, *177*, *186*, *188*, *210*, *214*, *227*, *230*
- Royal Navy, *37*, *59*, *141*, *145*
- S**
- Sanderson, Air Vice Marshal Sir Clifford, *176*, *203*
- Scrivener, Sir Patrick, *xxii*, *xxvi*, *179*

- Secret Intelligence Service (SIS), MI6, 9, 15, 18, 19, 23, 24, 26, 37–39, 44, 46, 53, 58, 78
- Security Intelligence Far East (SIFE), xxv, 9, 15, 17, 38, 44, 50, 51, 59, 65, 72, 73, 76, 87, 122, 191, 201, 203, 207
- Security Intelligence Middle East (SIME), 19, 26, 28, 29, 31, 54, 57
- The Security Service (MI5), 9, 24, 26, 51, 52, 70, 72, 73
- Sillitoe, Sir Percy Joseph, xx, xxii, xxv, 3, 7, 10, 60, 66, 70–73, 76–79, 81–84, 86, 87, 89, 113, 191, 192, 203, 224, 226, 227
- Singapore, xxi, xxiv, xxv, 4, 6, 9, 15, 19, 41–44, 47–49, 51–53, 57–61, 64–66, 70–72, 74, 75, 77–84, 89–92, 96, 98, 99, 101, 106, 107, 114–116, 120, 123, 137, 138, 176, 180, 192, 209, 224
- Slim, General Sir William, xxvi, 37, 129, 148, 154, 155, 161, 162, 220
- Southeast Asia Command (SEAC), 9, 20, 26, 31, 33, 34, 36–40, 44–49, 51, 58, 64, 207, 231, 235
- Special Air Service (SAS), 117, 124
- Special Branch, xx, 6–8, 11, 12, 42, 43, 59, 60, 66, 77, 90, 91, 114, 117, 135, 138, 140, 146, 148–154, 161–166, 169–172, 174, 175, 180, 181, 190–197, 199, 201–203, 207–211, 213, 220, 221, 226–230, 232
- Special Operations Executive (SOE), 35
- State Emergency Information Officer (SEIO), 142
- State/Settlement War Executive Committee, 185, 189, 201, 202
- Supreme Allied Commander (SAC), 32, 36, 44, 46
- Surrendered Enemy Personnel (SEP), 143, 170, 175, 196
- T**
- Templer, General Sir Gerald, xxi–xxiii, xxvii, 3–5, 7, 11, 12, 138–140, 142–144, 166–170, 173, 191–194, 196, 197, 202, 204, 205, 213, 215, 216, 230, 231, 233
- Thompson, Sir Robert, 7, 123, 124, 208, 215–218, 221–224, 227–229
- V**
- Visual Intelligence, 120, 121, 130, 146, 173, 175, 229
- W**
- Weekly Intelligence Review, 95–97, 99–104, 134
- Winterborn, Major P.H., 72, 77, 79, 80
- Y**
- Young, Sir Arthur Edwin, xxiii, xxvii, 11, 58, 78, 167–171, 173, 191, 192, 227, 233
- Yugoslavia, 94