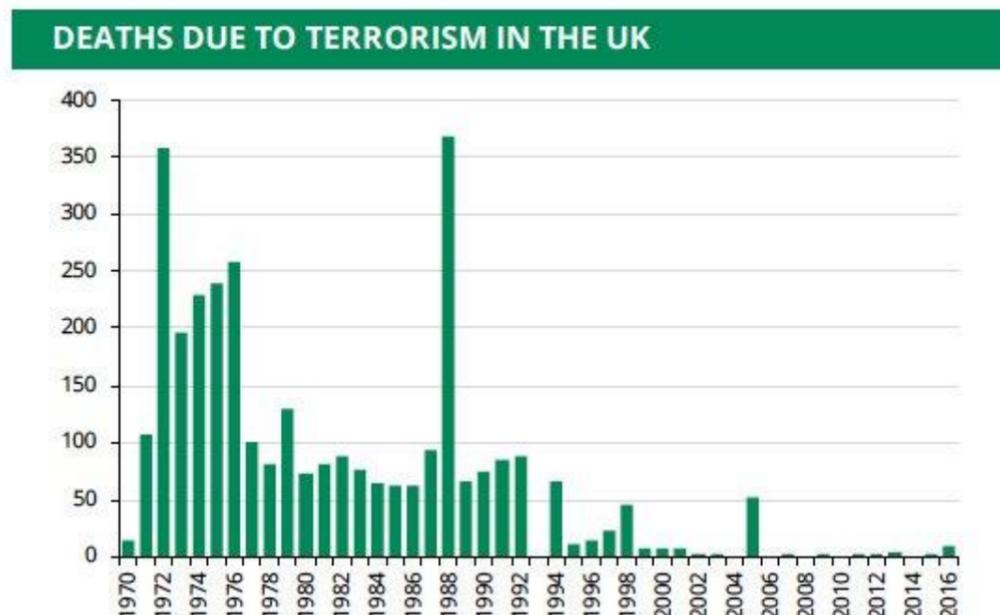


# WARFARE AND BRITISH SOCIETY

## Revision 11: MODERN WARFARE 1945-2010



NAME OF WAR/ TYPE OF WAR	PUBLIC RESPONSE/IMPACT ON PUBLIC	GOVERNMENT/MONARCH RESPONSE/ IMPACT ON THEM
<p><b>The Cold War in Britain:</b>            By 1945, Britain was no longer a great world power. To maintain influence around the world, it adopted a policy of allying closely with the USA through NATO. For example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Britain usually supported US RESOLUTIONS in the United Nations.</li> <li>• It shared intelligence gathered by British spies.</li> <li>• The British government allowed the US air force to use bases in Britain, particularly in the south and east of England. British forces were also stationed in Germany, alongside US forces, for most of the Cold War to defend against a Soviet attack.</li> </ul> <p>Another important way in which Britain contributed to the Cold War was its NUCLEAR DETERRENT.</p>	<p>Some people actively opposed nuclear weapons e.g In 1981 a group of women, angered by the decision to site cruise missiles (guided nuclear missiles) in the UK, organised a protest march to Greenham Common Air Base near Newbury in Berkshire. Here they set up what became known as the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp.</p> <p>More British people agreed with the government's policy of nuclear deterrence – believing that the only thing keeping them safe was the threat of retaliation in the face of a nuclear attack.</p> <p>There did still exist communists within Britain who were favourable to the Soviet Union, these were watched closely by MI5. However, some slipped through the net. The Soviet Union also employed men from Britain to spy on Britain – men who had become disaffected by the British way of life and looked to the east. The most famous were the 'Cambridge Five' – graduates who as a result of their background had got into high positions in the British Establishment. Four members of the ring were originally identified: <a href="#">Kim Philby</a>, <a href="#">Donald Duart Maclean</a>, <a href="#">Guy Burgess</a> and <a href="#">Anthony Blunt</a>. Throughout the era of the Cold War information covertly acquired in Britain ended up with the KGB.</p>	<p>The government was aware of the potential damage a nuclear attack might cause. It organised training for fire, health and police services, as well as thousands of volunteers in CIVIL DEFENCE. It made information films and distributed pamphlets describing what might happen in an attack and how people should prepare for it. The government also made detailed plans to keep the country running if an attack did take place. This included giving emergency powers to the army and building underground bunkers to protect top government and military officials who would govern the country after an attack.</p> <p><b>Espionage</b>            In the absence of traditional warfare, intelligence becomes itself the primary battleground as each side tries to understand the enemy's capabilities and intentions, as it seeks to undermine their position using covert action, psychological operations and forms of subversion. The government was also anxious about Soviet spies, especially as the USSR had first gained access to knowledge of how to build nuclear weapons through their spies. It was also known that the Soviets had detailed maps of Britain, which they used to plan possible attacks. Spy rows flared periodically. In the early 1970s, the UK expelled more than 100 Soviet diplomats from its embassy in London.</p> <p>The two main political parties in Britain – Labour and Conservative – were both hostile to communism. So were organisations like the Trades Union Congress, which represented Britain's working classes, and most of the MASS MEDIA. They all actively supported the government's Cold</p>

Is your washroom breeding Bolsheviks?

Employees lose respect for a company that fails to provide decent facilities for their comfort

Try wiping your hands in one of these small, but important conveniences—such as proper air and lighting—that help build up the goodwill of your employees.

That's why you'll find Scotch-Kraft Toilet Tissues in the washrooms of large well-run organizations such as B.C.A., Xerox Co., Inc., National Lead Co. and Campbell Soup Co.

Scot Tissue Towels are made of "heavy fiber"—an amazing cellulose product that drinks up moisture 12 times as fast as ordinary paper towels. They feel soft and glide in a flash. Yet they're so strong and tough to remove they won't crumble or go to pieces—even when they're wet.

And they cost less, too—because one is enough to do the job—instead of three or four.

Write for free trial samples. Scotch Paper Company, Chester, Pennsylvania.

Scot Tissue Towels - really dry!

**PROTECT AND SURVIVE**

This booklet tells you how to make your home and your family as safe as possible under nuclear attack

**In times of crisis**

A more widespread form of dissent came in times of crisis, when people criticised the government for being too closely allied to the foreign policy of the USA. For example:

- The Suez Crisis**
- Cuban Missile Crisis**
- The Vietnam War**

**The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament**

The most organised form of protest was against nuclear weapons. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) began in 1958. CND supported UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT, which was not a strategy that military leaders would ever support. However, CND hoped that if Britain led the way, other countries would follow.

All sorts of people joined CND – scientists, religious leaders, politicians and students. There were many different reasons why people opposed nuclear weapons. Some believed that this form of weapon was immoral; others felt that they were simply too expensive. There was also a real fear of a nuclear accident or of one side mistakenly thinking they were under attack and retaliating.

In 1962, 150,000 people marched in support of CND and an opinion poll in the early 1960s suggested that 20–30 per cent of British people supported unilateral disarmament. However, support for CND declined throughout the rest of the 1960s (although it re-emerged in the 1980s).

War policies. One good source of information on this issue is the **Mass Observation Project, which ran from 1937 to the mid-1960s and was then revived in the 1980s**. It was designed to provide a picture of public opinion. The general picture that emerged from MO data was that the majority of the population shared the government's fears and concerns about communism and supported the government's policies in the Cold War.

In the years 1945–50, newspapers fed the public stories of communist atrocities (such as the murder of political opponents in Czechoslovakia and East Germany) and the threat posed by communist agents. They emphasised how awful life was under communism and how much better people had it in non-communist Britain. This helped ensure solid support for government policies through the rest of the Cold War. It was not only newspapers that reinforced these attitudes. In the 1940s and 1950s in particular, cinemas were full of US films, many of which carried anti-communist messages.

The Government also used censorship laws to control theatre, books, radio, TV and films. These laws were often used to ban any works that were sympathetic to communism or the USSR.

The government also had a strong influence over the BBC. For example, in 1965 a film with a strong anti-nuclear weapons message called *The War Game* was banned from being broadcast by the director of the BBC. The government even produced its own documentary films about how awful life was under communism

**THE TROUBLES- IRA AND NORTHERN IRELAND:**

- The division in Northern Ireland between Protestant Unionists and Catholic Nationalists has always existed. BUT, in 1969 this division escalated into a bloody, dark and bitter conflict.
- In the late 1960's, there was a serious of nationalist marches to challenge discrimination against Catholics. These marchers were attacked by Loyalist mobs and the RUC (protestant dominated police force) did nothing to stop it. This created a battle of TIT FOR TAT and by 1969 sectarian violence had become so bad the British government sent in troops to restore peace.
- Hard line nationalists saw this as a symbol of British domination. A paramilitary group entitled the

Over 3, 600 were killed and thousands injured. People lived in fear of sectarian violence erupting anywhere. Beyond the dead it is estimated some 50,000 people were wounded. Tens of thousands served in the security forces, joined the paramilitaries and went to prison. More witnessed the horror of violent death.

New methods of violence, such as the car bomb and plastic explosives, supplemented the more established use of firearms. Bombs detonated with little or no warning produced high death tolls. In July 1972, nineteen IRA bombs across Belfast killed nine people on a day that became known as Bloody Friday.

March 1973 saw a concerted IRA bombing campaign in England begin in earnest. The following year, 21 people were killed and over 180 injured by explosions in two

**INTERNMENT 1970S-** This gave security forces the right to arrest and aggressively interrogate anyone they liked. This caused resentment as it was only ever used against nationalists. It actually convinced more people to join the IRA. This was regarded as a controversial measure both in Northern Ireland and mainland Britain and it boosted sympathy for the IRA overseas.

**INCREASED SECURITY-** British governments responded to the IRA by increasing the number of British forces in Northern Ireland, and by using the SAS. Operation Banner was the operational name for the British Armed Forces' operation in Northern Ireland from August 1969 to July 2007, as part of the Troubles. It was the longest continuous deployment in the British military's history. At the peak of the operation in the 1970s, about 21,000 British troops were deployed, most of them from Britain. According to the Ministry of Defence, 1,441 serving British military personnel died in Operation Banner; 722 of whom were killed in paramilitary attacks, and 719 of whom died as a result of other causes.

Provisional IRA was set up to defend the rights of Catholics using military warfare.

- This was to be the start of 30 years of Guerrilla warfare.
- **KEY EVENTS:**
- **Bloody Sunday 1972-** Led to increased resentment of the British and increased support for the IRA
- **The Brighton Bomb 1984-** IRA bombing of Conservative party conference in response to Thatcher's 0 tolerance policy. Shocked British society about how close the IRA had come to assassinating the Prime Minister.
- **1991-IRA** launched mortar bombs on 10 Downing Street while John Major was meeting with officials.
- **1970's onwards-** IRA receive funding and support from Irish communities in the USA.
- **August 1998-**In the greatest single atrocity of the Troubles, 29 people are killed by a car bombing in Omagh planted by a dissident splinter group, the Real IRA.
- **1980's-** IRA build a political wing. This is called Sinn Fein and is under the leadership of Gerry Adams. This wing was legal and could speak openly and use the media.

Birmingham bars. In total, around 250 people were killed in England and the Republic of Ireland during the Troubles. People died in Europe as well, as the IRA sought diplomatic and military targets

The period from 1976 to the mid-Eighties saw the Troubles settle into a deadly pattern. Loyalist paramilitaries killed as and when they could, while the security forces and the IRA were engaged in a cat-and-mouse battle with each other. Loyalists used different tactics to the IRA, targeting Catholics simply because they were Catholics. This caused around 30 per cent of the deaths in The Troubles.

At the height of the Troubles a curfew existed at night due to the fear of violence erupting.

**Punishment attacks:** In working-class areas, both the IRA and Loyalist paramilitaries exercised strict control. Anyone speaking up against them ran the risk of a beating or even murder. These paramilitaries were essentially a localised police force and ruled the community.

**Disruption:** Roads all over Northern Ireland were regularly blocked by security checkpoints. People in the region learned to carry identity papers, driving licences and other documents at all times. Some roads that crossed the border between Northern Ireland and the Republic were destroyed.

**PUBLIC OPINION:**

Nationalists felt the security forces were against them. They demanded political prisoner status but the government refused- leading to Hunger Strikes. The most famous hunger striker was Bobby Sands in 1981. Thatcher refused and called the IRA criminals.

In Britain, most people approved of this attitude and supported Thatcher. However, in Northern Ireland the hunger strikers gained a great deal of support. This did not mean that the majority of Nationalists supported the IRA – far from it. BUT it was clear many Nationalists felt alienated from their own government.

On both sides communities felt their sense of identity was under threat and so became defensive. 'Peace Walls' were built- a series of physical barriers in Northern Ireland that separate predominantly Republican and Nationalist Catholic neighbourhoods from predominantly Loyalist and Unionist Protestant neighbourhoods. Over 100 were built.

Political parties, trade unions, churches and other organisations tried in different ways to build bridges between the communities and to challenge the power of the paramilitaries through different reconciliation initiatives.

The British military killed 306 people during the operation, about 51% of whom were civilians and 41% of whom were members of republican paramilitaries.

**CHANGING TACTICS EARLY 1980S TO MID-1990S**

By the mid-1980s the British government, the Irish government and the IRA all began to change tactics.

- The IRA began to build up its political wing, Sinn Fein, under the leadership of Gerry Adams. This political wing was legal, could speak openly and make use of the media.
- At the same time, the British government began co-operating with the Irish government on security matters such as making it harder for IRA activists to escape across the border into the Republic to try to restrict IRA operations.
- In return, the Irish government demanded more say in affairs in Northern Ireland. Unionists protested but the British government carried on anyway.

**1973-** The **Sunningdale Agreement** was an attempt to establish a power-sharing [Northern Ireland Executive](#) and a cross-border [Council of Ireland](#). The Agreement was signed at [Sunningdale Park](#) located in [Sunningdale](#), Berkshire, on 9 December 1973.<sup>[1]</sup> Unionist opposition, violence and a [loyalist general strike](#) caused the collapse of the Agreement in May 1974.

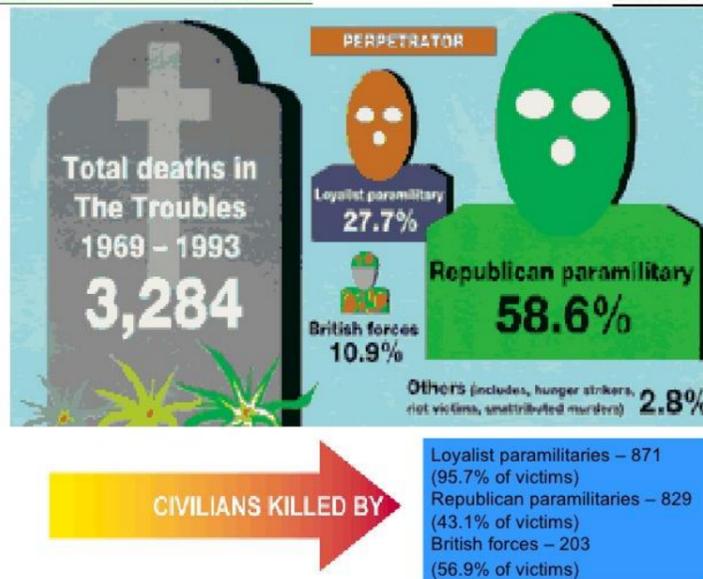
**-1993-** Downing Street Declaration- British Government said it would not oppose a united Ireland if the majority of people in Northern Ireland voted for it democratically. This was an important concession and a ceasefire followed.

**April 1998-**The Good Friday Agreement is signed and is hailed as the end of the Troubles. It establishes the Northern Ireland assembly, with David Trimble as its first minister.

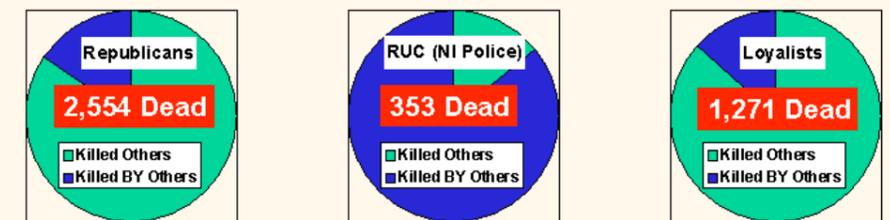
**April 1998-** 71% voted in favour for the Good Friday Agreement. This made Tony Blair look like the PM who had solved the Irish problem.

Northern Ireland – The Facts Cont.

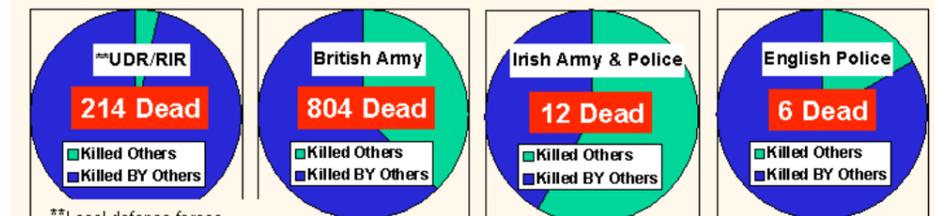
Deaths



**Northern Ireland killings, 1969-2004**



**TOTAL 5,214 DEAD**



\*\*Local defence forces –  
 • Ulster Defence Regiment  
 • Royal Irish Regiment

Source : David McKittrick, "Lost Lives: The Stories of the Men, Women and Children Who Died Through the Northern Ireland Troubles", Mainstream Publishing, ISBN: 184018504X

## IRAQ WAR 2003: CAUSES:

### A new mood in the USA

US president George W. Bush was hostile to Iraq. His hard-line advisers wanted to topple Saddam and establish a pro-USA democracy in the country. They wanted an extra ally in the region, as well as favourable access to Iraq's oil.

### Saddam's actions

The USA tried to weaken Saddam by funding his enemies, but he held tightly to power. He used chemical weapons against the Kurds in the north of Iraq who opposed his rule. He used air strikes and his armed forces to savagely crush Shi'a Muslims in southern Iraq who also opposed him (Saddam was a Sunni Muslim, as were the majority of Iraqis). In 1998, he expelled United Nations weapons inspectors who had been monitoring Iraq. Intelligence reports suggested that Saddam was building many weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), including missiles armed with chemical weapons. With hindsight we know that Saddam had no WMDs but Saddam did not want to admit this and appear weak, so he refused to deny the claims or allow inspectors to conduct any checks.

### Al-Qaeda, the Taliban and Afghanistan

On 11 September 2001, the Islamist extremist group al-Qaeda attacked New York and other targets in the USA, killing thousands of people. This convinced Bush and many other Americans that something had to be done about Afghanistan, where al-Qaeda was based. They called this the 'War on Terror'. The USA (with support from Britain and many other countries) destroyed al-Qaeda's bases in Afghanistan and defeated the group's ally the Taliban, which ruled Afghanistan at the time. The victories were swift. US attention then turned to Saddam Hussein. They assumed he could be removed just as quickly and easily. There were also strong suspicions that Saddam was somehow connected with the 9/11 attacks (although this was not true).

### UN resolution 1441

In 2002, the United Nations passed Resolution 1441 (see Source 16). This accused Iraq of making WMDs and demanded that Saddam allow inspectors in or 'face serious consequences'. Saddam refused. President Bush claimed that Resolution 1441 gave him authority to attack Iraq, but leaders in many other countries disagreed, arguing that an attack would be illegal unless there was a second UN resolution *specifically authorising* an attack.

### Support from Britain

The British prime minister, Tony Blair, had shown consistent support for US policies and he backed Bush's view of Resolution 1441 too. Britain's political and military support was an important factor for the USA, because it helped to avoid the impression that it was making unilateral decisions.

The invasion took place in March 2003. Iraqi forces quickly collapsed and the country suffered heavy military and civilian casualties. It seemed like a great victory for the USA and its allies, but the situation soon began to unravel. The US commanders and their allies made a series of incorrect assumptions and mistakes. They had assumed that the Iraqis would welcome their intervention, but this was not the case. They also did not have enough troops to properly control a collapsing Iraq. The invading forces did nothing to restore law and order. They focused their efforts

Though it has been controversial for over a decade, the invasion was actually popular at the time. In 2003, YouGov conducted 21 polls from March to December asking British people whether they thought the decision by the US and the UK to go to war was right or wrong, and on average 54% said it was right. REMEMBER, the public were basing their judgement on Blair's claim that Hussein did have WMD's. However, there was still enormous opposition on moral and ethical grounds.

On 15 February 2003, there was a coordinated day of [protests](#) across the world in which people in more than 600 cities expressed opposition to the imminent [Iraq War](#). The British [Stop the War Coalition](#) (StWC) claimed the protest in London was the largest political demonstration in the city's history. Police estimated attendance as well in excess of 750,000 people and the BBC estimated that around a million attended. At the finishing rally in Hyde Park, the organisers announced 3 million attended. It remains probably the largest protest march in UK history

British people became divided about the war. The capture of Saddam Hussein in December temporarily boosted support, but began falling again – never to recover – especially after the Butler Review concluded in July 2004 that the intelligence used to justify the war had been unreliable.



## STILL UNRESOLVED

### POLITICAL IMPACT:

Unlike the World Wars, the Iraq war did not require mass mobilisation. Britain's professional army had the necessary troops and equipment to carry out the task. However, Blair did need parliament's approval to commit those troops to war, and gaining that approval was not a simple matter:

- Blair's critics attacked him for being submissive to Bush.
- They argued that war against Iraq was illegal because the United Nations had not sanctioned it.
- Blair claimed that Iraq could launch WMDs in 45 minutes but his critics doubted the evidence.
- They worried that the US and Britain had no clear plan for Iraq after the war. Blair was undeterred. In one of his most powerful speeches, the prime minister urged parliament to approve an attack on Iraq. He compared refusing to attack Iraq with the government's policy of appeasement towards Hitler in the 1930s. He argued that it would encourage terrorists around the world to think that Britain was weak and unwilling to act. He claimed that Saddam's weapons threatened Britain both directly and indirectly, because Saddam might give these weapons to terrorists. Blair made it clear that he and several other senior members of the government would resign if parliament did not support him. Despite the controversy, Blair won the vote by 412 to 149. THOUGH MANY MPS ABSTAINED!

### Death of David Kelly 2003:

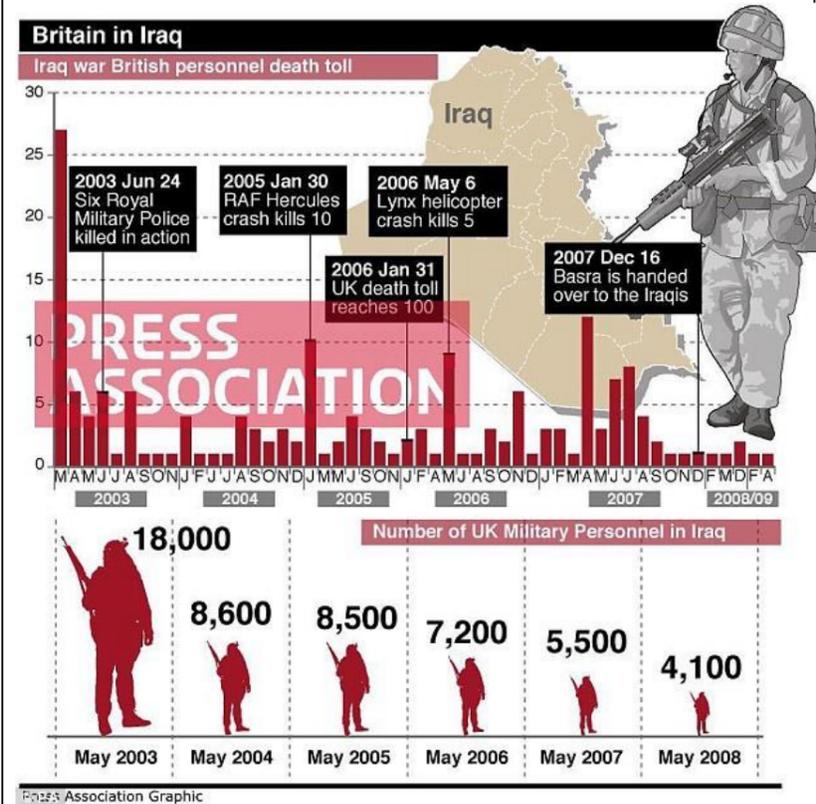
Kelly was the distinguished government scientist who hunted down weapons of mass destruction of the kind used by the Blair government to justify the 2003 war with [Iraq](#). The problem was the Saddam Hussein regime did not have them. A BBC Today programme report claimed the government had embellished or "sexed up" the intelligence it presented to the public in 2003 to justify the war. A furore erupted between the government, led by chief spin doctor [Alastair Campbell](#), and the BBC, which refused to back down, having failed to spot the flaws in its reporting. Kelly was outed as the BBC's source, felt publicly humiliated and was reprimanded by his bosses.

Kelly died shortly after this, a report stated he had committed suicide. Kelly's death led not to an inquest, but a public inquiry by Lord Hutton, which brought a rare glimpse into the secret worlds of Whitehall, British intelligence, the low arts of high politics, and the workings of the BBC. Unusually, this inquiry was never finished. IT SERIOUSLY HARMED THE BRITISH GOVERNMENTS REPUTATION!

### AFTERMATH:

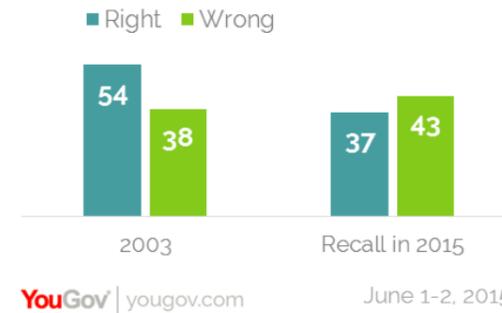
However, the war had a significant and lasting political effect on Britain. Many historians believe that the Iraq War seriously damaged the relationship between the government and the British people. Tony Blair's popularity declined significantly. It also made the public and even MPs suspicious of intelligence reports and any military action taken based on such reports. New Labour will be forever tarnished by the Iraq War. A powerful example of this came in 2013 when the

on setting up their own headquarters and searching for the WMDs. It was soon clear that there were none.



### 'Remembering' Iraq

% in 2003 who thought the US and Britain were right or wrong to take military action against Iraq, compared to how they now 'remember' feeling at the time



**Dangerous impact on society-** enhanced extremist attitudes. Many people felt it now made the UK a target of Islamic extremists!

Conservative prime minister David Cameron tried to get parliament to authorise British air strikes against the regime of President Assad of Syria, who was using chemical weapons against his own people. Parliament refused to authorise this action. They had learnt their lesson.



### THE CHILCOT INQUIRY 2016

- The Chilcot inquiry has delivered a damning verdict on the decision by former prime minister Tony Blair to commit British troops to the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003. It said:
- The UK chose to join the invasion before peaceful options had been exhausted
- Blair deliberately exaggerated the threat posed by Saddam Hussein
- Blair promised George Bush: 'I will be with you, whatever'
- The decision to invade was made in unsatisfactory circumstances
- George Bush largely ignored UK advice on postwar planning
- There was no imminent threat from Saddam

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Britain's intelligence agencies produced 'flawed information'</u></li> <li>• <u>The UK military were ill-equipped for the task</u></li> <li>• <u>UK-US relations would not have been harmed if UK stayed out of war</u></li> <li>• <u>Blair ignored warnings on what would happen in Iraq after invasion</u></li> <li>• <u>The government had no post-invasion strategy</u></li> <li>• <u>The UK had no influence on Iraq's postwar US-run administration</u></li> <li>• <u>The UK did not achieve its objectives in Iraq</u></li> <li>• <u>The government did not try hard enough to keep a tally of Iraqi civilian casualties</u></li> </ul>
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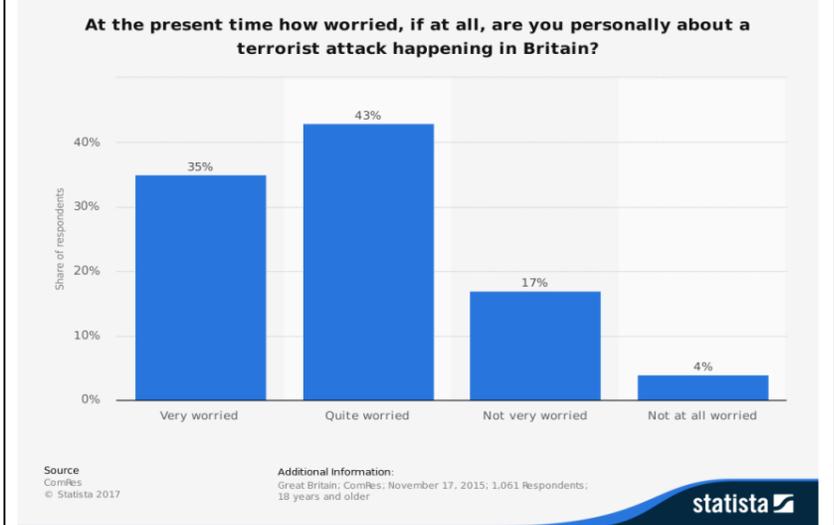
**TERRORISM SINCE 2003:  
RISE OF AL- QAEDA:**

- Al- Qaeda regards the USA as its greatest enemy. The most obvious event to exemplify this is 9/11.
- In October 2001 USA instigated the war in Afghanistan to destroy Al- Qaeda and its Taliban allies. Although, it destroyed it as a single organisation, the groups aims, influence and expertise continued to filter down and support other similarly motivated groups across the world.
- From 2006 onwards a movement known as ISIS emerged in Iraq and Syria. This group took on a similar role to al- Qaeda in training and supporting groups and individuals in attacks on the USA and its allies.
- Britain's involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan and its 'special relationship' with the USA put it on the frontline for potential attack by Islamist terrorists. Between 2003-2011 there were at least 8 major terrorist plots known to the police.
- Civilians were the main target of these attacks, their aim was to spread fear, anxiety and disruption to all avenues of life. Most plots during this period were foiled, but one succeeded.

**London Bombings: 7<sup>th</sup> July 2005:**  
**Over 700 people were injured and 52 were killed.**  
**Many more were psychologically traumatised by what they saw and experienced.**

**Controversy over extremist government response created mass opposition and discontent e.g over Identity Cards/ treatment of suspects/ alleged cases of torture/ Britain derogating from article 5 of ECHR.**

Islamist terrorism negatively affected attitudes towards Muslims. Research in 2006 found that 91 per cent of press coverage about Muslims was negative and represented them as a possible threat to the safety of the country. These headlines made Muslim communities feel threatened, a fact that radicalised activists could then exploit.  
 Created climate of fear/ rise of extremist attitudes/ made Britain more insular.



**Government Response: "Let no one be in doubt. The rules of the game have changed." ( Blair, July 2005)**

- The Terrorism Act 2006, was a direct consequence of the attacks, provided for terrorism suspects to be held without charge for 28 days, an increase of 14. That legislation was followed by measures that allowed the Bank of England to freeze the assets of terrorism suspects.
- The Counter-Terrorism Act 2008, passed after the government failed in its attempt to increase detention periods to 42 days, allowed police to continue questioning suspects after they had been charged, required convicted terrorists to notify the police of their whereabouts, extended the jurisdiction of courts to overseas terrorism offences, increased some sentences, and has been interpreted as banning photographs of the police in public places.
- The number of arrests for terrorism offences duly increased after the summer of 2005. There were about 280 arrests for alleged terrorism offences in 2005/6. Conviction rates on terrorism charges soared briefly after the bombings, according to Home Office figures, before settling down at around 60%.
- The whole atmosphere in which the police, MI5 and MI6 operated was about to change. Police stop-and-searches increased dramatically. There was talk of armed "marshals" being deployed on trains. One man, Jean Charles de Menezes, was mistakenly shot dead by officers who followed him on to a tube train at Stockwell station in London the day after the failed attacks of 21 July 2005 after he was confused with one of the suspects. Another man was shot and injured during a counterterrorism raid on his home in east London.
- There were allegations of British collusion in torture in places such as Pakistan and Dubai. In 2008, there were fresh complaints from a number of young British Muslims, particularly Londoners of Somali origin, who said they had been approached by MI5 officers who threatened them with dire consequences whenever they travelled overseas unless they agreed to become informers.
- Increased sense of government surveillance over general public.

### Public perceptions of the threat of terrorism

In the last five years, do you think the threat of terrorism in Britain has...

