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COMPILATION OF LIC REFERENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY VOLUME II

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Army - Air Force Center for Low Intensity Conflict
Langley Air Force Base, Virginia

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COMPILATION OF LIC REFERENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

VOLUME II

Compiled by
Thomas W. Crouch



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Langley Air Force Base, Virginia 23665-5556

September 1988

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THE ARMY-AIR FORCE CENTER FOR LOW INTENSITY CONFLICT

The mission of the Army-Air Force Center for Low Intensity Conflict (A-AF CLIC) is to improve the Army and Air Force posture for engaging in low-intensity conflict (LIC), elevate awareness throughout the Army and Air Force of the role of the military instrument of national power in low-intensity conflict, including the capabilities needed to realize that role, and provide an infrastructure for eventual transition to a joint and, perhaps, interagency activity.

CLIC PAPERS

CLIC PAPERS are informal, occasional publications sponsored by the Army-Air Force Center for Low Intensity Conflict. They are dedicated to the advancement of the art and science of the application of the military instrument of national power in the low-intensity conflict environment. All military members and civilian Defense Department employees are invited to contribute original, unclassified manuscripts for publication as CLIC PAPERS. Topics can include any aspect of military involvement in low-intensity conflict to include history, doctrine, strategy, or operations. Papers should be as brief and concise as possible. Interested authors should submit double-spaced typed manuscripts along with a brief, one-page abstract to the Army-Air Force Center for Low Intensity Conflict, Langley AFB, VA 23665-5556.

PREVIOUS CLIC PAPERS

Previous CLIC PAPERS are available in many major military libraries. Copies can be obtained from the Defense Technical Information Center (DTIC), Defense Logistics Agency, Cameron Station, Alexandria, VA 22304-6145, telephone (202) 274-6434 or AUTOVON 284-6434. These papers together with their DTIC reference number are listed below.

<u>DTIC AD#</u>	<u>SHORT TITLE</u>
A185 972	Operational Considerations in LIC
A185 973	Logistical Considerations in LIC
A185 974	Security Assistance and LIC: A Challenge to Excellence
A185 975	The Role of Reserve Forces in LIC
A185 976	Compilation of LIC References and Bibliography, Vol I
A185 977	Army Medical Department Roles and Functions in LIC
A185 978	Operational Art in LIC
A186 280	LIC Imperatives for Success
A193 702	Logistic Support for LIC An Air Force Perspective
A193 703	Framework for Competitive Strategies Development in LIC
A193 704	US Armed Forces Public Affairs Roles in LIC
A193 705	LIC Education and Training Within the DoD
A193 706	Planning for Combat Employment of Air Power in PCOs
Pending	Modern Terrorism: Potential for Increased Lethality
Pending	Aid to Democratic States Facing Revolutionary Warfare
Pending	Technology Guidelines and Military Applications in LIC
Pending	Arms Transfers and The Third World
Pending	Introduction to Understanding Latin Americans
Pending	The Literature of Low-Intensity Conflict

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PREFACE

The purpose of this compilation is to aid military action officers and other authorities working on low-intensity conflict (LIC) matters. Bibliographically, it is a follow-on to a CLIC PAPER published in August 1987 under the title, Compilation of References and Bibliography, Volume I: An Annotated Bibliography On Low Intensity Conflict Taken From the Joint Low-Intensity Conflict Project Final Report of 1 August 1986. All the entries in this compilation are, to some degree, LIC-related and fall into two categories: Part I, Bibliographical Recommendations, which, with few exceptions, consist of about 90 references to articles, books, and papers, and Part II, Summaries of CLIC PAPERS, which comprise a valuable adjunct to this bibliography, because of the PAPERS' pertinence to LIC.

This compilation is composed of information the staff of the Army-Air Force Center for Low Intensity Conflict (A-AF CLIC) provided. The theory behind the compilation is one of gathering the knowledge of some of the experts on LIC and making it available to others also involved in strengthening the nation's capacity to face the LIC threat. The entries in this compilation afford access to information on theory, technology, and military and civilian organizations directly concerned with LIC. The wish is that these entries offer a good grounding in the complexities and demands of LIC to anyone who uses them appropriately.

The compiler owes a debt of gratitude to all members of the A-AF CLIC staff for their contributions to this work. He is especially indebted to Lt Col James C. Clem, USAF, and Lt Col William F. Furr, USAF, who urged him to undertake the project and guided him with timely and prudent suggestions regarding format and editing. The A-AF CLIC administrative staff, under the direction of MSgt Ralph Gross, USAF, also provided essential and expeditious services. As is the case with any printed work, errors in interpretation or fact accrue to the compiler and none of the above persons.

COMPILATION OF LIC REFERENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

VOLUME II

Part One: Bibliographical Recommendations

Articles

Military Logistics in the Third World
Journal of Defense and Diplomacy, Vol. 4, No. 6, Jun 1986

LTC George M. Alexander, USA

This article provides an insightful examination of the capabilities and needs of military logistics in the third world. It is mandatory reading for those involved in this most vital area of low-intensity conflict, particularly those who will be responsible for supporting third world militaries. The article examines the reasons for logistics' key role in LIC, explains the factors behind these countries' special concern to make every dollar count, analyzes logistic obstacles and natural obstacles, describes the impact of the absence of an industrial base, highlights the importance of the use of expatriate professional assistance, stresses the importance of logistic planning, decries the lack of adequately trained personnel, and finally discusses various logistic solutions. It provides a list of questions top military leaders in each country can use to examine their own systems, and it also gives a list of ideas gathered from throughout the world to assist in providing a sense of direction. Finally, it discusses a JCS/J-4 project to develop an International Logistic System Development Guide.

The Politics of Low-Intensity Conflict
Military Review, Vol. 68, No. 2, Feb 1988

LTC Rudolph C. Barnes, USA

This article considers some of the contemporary situations where military and political factors and concerns must necessarily overlap. The author states it is the political nature of LIC that has prevented development of an effective capability to compete in LIC. He examines political and military considerations, special doctrine for LIC, and the Special Operations Command. He concludes by questioning whether the US has the necessary organizational strategy, conceptual synthesis, and political will to use the force structure effectively.

The Technology of Terrorism
Discover Magazine, Jun 1986

Wayne Biddle

This article is an exceptional synopsis of the many technological innovations under consideration for use in combatting terrorism. The author contrasts the simple and reliable means with the sophisticated and sometimes unpredictable to provide an interesting glimpse into this aspect of the terrorist problem.

Edward G. Lansdale: LIC and the Ugly American
Military Review, Vol. 68, No. 5, May 1988

Chaplain (COL) Cecil B. Curry, US Army Reserve

This article examine the career of Major General Edward G. Lansdale, US Air Force, one of the "fathers" of special operations in the US military. The author asserts that unlike many of his era (and later), Lansdale understood that Americans should not only understand communist recipes for insurgency, but adopt them as their own and use them even more effectively than the enemy to build solid, responsive, and responsible national governments in disordered areas of the world.

The MAGTF and Low-Intensity Conflict
Marine Corps Gazette, Vol. 72, No. 3, Mar 1988

Capt Michael H. Decker

This article won first place in the 1987 Chase Prize Essay Contest. It examines the role of the Marine air-ground task force (MAGTF) in the LIC environment. The author discusses the origins of the Marine Corps Small Wars Manual of 1940, and examines the concepts of small wars versus low-intensity conflict. He examines the use of the MAGTF in LIC from 1958 to 1983. He concludes by suggesting the Marine Corps needs to reexamine and rewrite the 1940 Small Wars Manual to incorporate new strategies and equipment being used by the enemy.

Grenada: Rampant Confusion
Military Logistics Forum, Vol. 2, No. 1, Jul-Aug 1985

Michael Duffy

This article examines the logistical aspects of Operation URGENT FURY. It does so without access to the classified after action reports; however, it stems from interviews with numerous individuals who participated in the planning and execution of

this operation. Included in the article's "findings" are the following: (1) The JCS demanded total secrecy during the 48 hours prior to the invasion, a demand that left most logistical planners in the dark. (2) The chiefs were concerned that activating the planning bureaucracy would slow matters down. (3) Poor interservice cooperation was the primary cause of major foul-ups. The article's bottom line conclusion is, "The Grenada invasion was a success, but it exposed logistical weaknesses that could cripple US forces in larger, more distant conflicts." The article concludes by discussing a number of DOD initiatives to address these problems.

Focus on Low-Intensity Conflict
Marine Corps Gazette, Vol. 72, No. 3, Mar 1988

Editorial

This editorial introduces the feature section of this issue of the Marine Corps Gazette. It examines low-intensity conflict, third world conflicts and US interests, and Soviet third world activities. The material is taken from the White House paper, National Security Strategy of the United States 1987, and Jan 1988 Report of the Commission on Integrated Long Term Strategy.

The Roots of US Counterinsurgency Doctrine
Military Review, Vol. 68, No. 1, Jan 1988

MAJ Edward J. Filiberti, USA

This article, the winner of the Arter-Darby Military History Writing Program of the US Army Command and General Staff College, looks at an earlier successful US campaign in a counterinsurgency conflict. Specifically, it examines the 1901 counterinsurgency campaign of General J. Franklin Bell in the Philippine Islands.

Defining the Spectrum of Conflict
Toward a Unified National Strategy
Military Review, Vol. 68, No. 4, Apr 1988

MAJ Edward J. Filiberti, USA

This article examines the "levels" of conflict and the formulation of a workable national strategy. The author states that if the levels of conflict are to have any utility in providing a common basis for doctrine development, we must adequately define these conceptualizations in clear terms. The descriptions of the levels of conflict define the operational vision of future war, form the basis of strategic doctrine and a unified national strategy, and allow the development of effective Army and military doctrine.

Civil-Military Operations and the War for
Moral Legitimacy in Latin America
Military Review, Vol. 68, No. 1, Jan 1988

LTC John T. Fishel, US Army Reserve and MAJ Edmond S. Cowan, USA

This article examines US civil-military operations in Latin America and how they relate to US strategic objectives. The authors discuss and give examples of what are civil-military operations. They discuss the capabilities the host nation must have to win the war for moral legitimacy and state that no host nation in Latin America has all of these capabilities. They conclude with a discussion of how the US can assist in the transfer of these capabilities.

The Legality of Military Responses to Terrorism
Defense Issues, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1986

H. Lawrence Garrett

This article is a reprint of an address by Mr. Garrett to the Council on Foreign Affairs, at the School of Law, The University of Texas, Austin, Texas, on 28 Oct 1986. It provides a good review of the use of military force in response to terrorism and limitations under the War Powers Act of 1973, as amended.

Is There a Role for Air Power in Low-Intensity Conflict?
Armed Forces Journal International, May 1985

Alan L. Gropman and Noel C. Koch

This article consists of a series of candid accusations regarding alleged USAF failings in the LIC arena and equally candid rebuttals defending the air service against the attacks. The accuser is Noel C. Koch, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, and the defender is Col Alan L. Gropman, USAF, whom the Air Force selected to reply to the Koch criticisms. Mr. Koch's speech was the only on-the-record speech made at the Air University's Ninth Annual Air Symposium, an intense three-day "dialogue" on "The Role of Air Power in Low Intensity Conflict." To some listeners, the exchange between Mr. Koch and Col Gropman sounded in large part as though it were a fight between the USAF's "Fighter Mafia" and the nation's special operations experts. The consensus among scores of participants in the dialogues was that the US is less prepared than it was in previous decades to prosecute high risk, high stakes "special operations." The USAF, learning that Mr. Koch was publishing his remarks, made certain to see that Col Gropman's comments also appeared in print.

Insurgency: The Forgotten Threat
Marine Corps Gazette, Vol. 72, No. 3, Mar 1988

Maj Thomas X. Hammes, USMC

This article examines the definition of low-intensity conflict and narrows the definition into a discussion of insurgency. It examines the impact of insurgency, the relative capabilities, and possible US responses. The article concludes that "the Navy-Marine Corps team is the logical choice for employment in counterinsurgency missions."

Law, Politics and Support to Insurgency
Military Review, Vol. 68, No. 6, Jun 1988

LTC John B. Hunt, USA (Ret)

This article examines the question of how US support to insurgencies can be justified. The author states that the status of an insurgency is precarious. The insurgents and the US, if it supports them, must convince their people and the world community of the justice of their cause and the appropriateness of their methods.

Evacuation Operations
The State Department-Military Interface
Marine Corps Gazette, Vol. 72, No. 3, Mar 1988

Lt Col Richard L. Jaehne, USMC

The author states that evacuating noncombatants is an important facet of low-intensity conflict operations. He provides some valuable suggestions on how Marines can better prepare for these missions. He looks at who the evacuees are, the State Department evacuation planning organizations, evacuation phases, the embassy-military interface, documentation, assembly area operations, evacuation site operations, embassy security and operations, and interface with the senior US military official on the country team.

Shortcomings of Mobile Training Teams to Foreign Countries
Marine Corps Gazette, Vol. 72, No. 3, Mar 1988

Maj Richard N. Jeppesen, USMC

This article was a 1986 Chase Prize Essay Contest entry. The author states that although the Marine Corps has not had a major role recently in the training of foreign military units, it is occasionally called on to field a mobile training team (MTT) that can provide instruction to Allies overseas. He argues that there is evidence to suggest we are not paying proper attention to this important LIC activity.

Hearts and Minds
Marine Corps Gazette, Vol. 72, No. 3, Mar 1988

Lt Gen William K.-Jones, USMC

According to the author, in any counterinsurgency effort, the people are key. Civic action programs, efforts to improve economic and social conditions and help the people, stem from this fundamental truth. In this article, a senior commander discusses one of the projects supported by his division in Vietnam.

Strategic Implications of "The Little War"
Strategic Review, Vol. 13, No. 2, Spring 1985

LTG Vicktor H. Krulak, USMC

General Krulak maintains that a vast difference exists between the guerrillas of past eras and those of today. The demarcation he discerns is the heavy level of outside aid the contemporary guerrillas receive, especially from the Soviet Union, the chief "puppeteer" of guerrilla insurgency movements in the current international scene. Yet, the General sees also elements of continuity in the guerrilla warfare of the 1980s. These elements apply to the counter-guerrilla (or, counterinsurgency) forces and are: (1) offensive action is necessary to win; (2) superiority of forces at the ratio of 10 or 12 to one is a requirement for victory; (3) intelligence, especially that coming from the indigenous population, whose support is the prerequisite of success, is an essential element of counterinsurgency. Regarding Central America, the author points out that the US has to be aware of the domestic political limitations on its policy in the region. It also has to understand that, owing to the Central American nations' keen sensitivity about their national sovereignty, the US may find its actions restricted. There may be willingness to accept aid, but also a strong and stubborn opposition to anything that smacks of US attempts to command.

Inside the Philippine Insurgency
New York Times Magazine, 3 Nov 1985

Steve Lohr

The author, reporting from the New People's Army (NPA), the communist insurgents' military arm in the Philippines, provides an interesting view of the insurgents in their own environment and suggests a growing military and political strength for the Communist Party of the Philippines. Writing before the advent of the government of President Corazon Aquino, the author states his belief that the Philippine insurgency could bring about a new Vietnam for the US.

Terrorism in Revolutionary Warfare
Strategic Review, Fall 1974

Jay Mallin

This author is one of the outstanding students of terrorism. He has great knowledge of the strategies, tactics, techniques, and motivations of terrorism, both from the academic and "in the field" standpoints. He places terrorism within the context of guerrilla warfare and views it as a means for guerrillas to achieve their revolutionary aims.

Toward an Understanding of Insurgent Warfare
Military Review, Vol. 68, No. 1, Jan 1988

Max G. Manwaring

This article presents several considerations when analyzing situations in the LIC arena. The author states that probably the best possible use of "foreign" military personnel in a third world internal conflict is the relatively unobtrusive "train the trainer" role. Large numbers of outsiders in a nationalistic environment for any length of time have tended to be counter-productive in terms of "independence" of the targeted country and the consequent "legitimacy" of the regime.

International Terrorism: A Challenge for US Intelligence
International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence,
Spring 1986

James B. Motley

This article underscores the importance of accurate and timely intelligence to the success of actions to combat and counter terrorism. It also explains the difficulties involved in carrying out intelligence activities in the face of the terrorist threat, which has the strong support in many instances of powerful nation states.

A Perspective on Low-Intensity Conflict
Military Review, Vol. 64, No. 1, Jun 1985

COL James B. Motley, USA

While the FY 1984 budget for the DOD afforded the highest priority for readying the nation to cope with LIC, the author maintains that US foreign policy remains "too defensive and reactive." Such a foreign policy is entirely inappropriate in the face of Soviet military strength, the difficulty in

predicting Soviet intentions, the widespread instability in the world, and the character of contemporary warfare. The author argues that the US has to direct its policies away from Europe and focus them on the "resource-rich and strategically located Third World areas." "Responsiveness and flexibility" should be the watchwords in the restructuring of US forces in this new world situation.

Vietnam Logistics: Who's to Blame?
Military Logistics Forum, Vol. 1, No. 2, Sep 1984

GEN John E. Murray, USA

This article is a very interesting and insightful expose on US logistics support to South Vietnam. As the author states, "The United States promised to support the South Vietnamese Army after the cease-fire. It was a promise that many people ignored." The author contends the United States abandoned its ally and its ethics and "pulled the plug" on South Vietnam. Major sections of the article include, "A Problem From the Start," "Kissinger: 'Enhancing' the Muddle," "Wrong People for the Job," "The Power of Pentagon Lawyers," "Peace with Dishonor: The Knockout Punch," and "The Hard Lessons of Vietnam." The author relates his first-hand experiences as the US chief of logistics in Vietnam in 1972 and, after the US withdrawal, the US defense attache in Vietnam until 1974. This article is "must reading" for all those who seek to learn from the mistakes of the past.

The Communist New People's Army
Military Review, Vol. 68, No. 2, Feb 1988

Edgar O'Ballance

This article examines the growth of the Communist New People's Army (NPA) in the Philippines. It discusses the efforts of the Armed Forces of the Philippines to deal with this insurgency, the impact of NPA expansion, the military response, the change of Presidents, the effect on US bases, and NPA progress. The author concludes by warning that the US must not repeat its mistake of trying to spearhead the war against the insurgents, as it did in Vietnam.

Organizational Requirements for LIC
Military Review, Vol. 68, No. 1, Jan 1988

William J. Olson

Dr. Olson is the Director of the Low-Intensity Conflict Organization in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low-Intensity Conflict. In this article, he discusses what is being done to meet the LIC challenge and what more should be done. He states that the cardinal lesson of counterinsurgency and insurgency is that the disparate elements that compose the effort must contribute to a common purpose, and these must be clear, consistent guidance and focus on the ultimate objective. He examines organizational requirements, and why things go wrong. He concludes that we must respond to LIC situations not as individuals but as institutions. How institutions learn and propagate what they have learned becomes an essential element in future organizational requirements for LIC. Unity of effort is not possible without unity of understanding.

Combatting Terrorism: The Dilemmas of a Decent Nation
Parameters, Vol. 15, No. 1, Spring 1985

John M. Oseth

The author argues that the US is handicapped in coping with the threat of international terrorism because of several factors: (1) the absence of an internationally acceptable definition of terrorism; (2) the curtailments on US intelligence operations because of alleged excesses in recent years; (3) the cultural norms stressing the preference of retaliation over preemption; (4) the shortfalls in intelligence concerning terrorist groups; (5) the traditional military disdain for specialized elite units with particular missions. The author believes the US has to try to elevate international consciousness about the evils of terrorism. The nation also may have to accept retaliation as the better form of action over preemption, since it is politically more acceptable and may be equally as effective.

The Tenth Principle of War
Military Review, Oct 1987

LTC Richard J Rinaldo, USA

The author postulates that "information" (as it functions in military intelligence roles, psychological operations (PSYOP), and public affairs) is a "missing principle of war." He asserts that, "None of the other principles are operable without information/intelligence." He adds that, "Information is a

weapon in psychological operations and warfare." To him, information is also a part of the public affairs effort of a nation or a military establishment. In elaborating his theme, the author describes some of the differences and effects of information in its various roles, intelligence, PSYOP, and public affairs. He points out that, "information is a vital factor in the 'gray wars,' the conflicts on the fringe of overt warfare." The author's vehicle for supporting his thesis is a historical account of the influence of public opinion, PSYOP, and intelligence in warfare.

Logistics Support of the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force
Army Logistician, Vol. 17, No. 5, Sep-Oct 1985

CPT Charles H. Schafer, USA

The author was team chief for the Army technical assistance team on Barbados from Oct 1984 to Apr 1985. This article describes the logistics support for operation ISLAND BREEZE, the multinational peacekeeping operation (PKO) that followed operation URGENT FURY. During this period, the US provided equipment and materiel to the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force (CPF) member nations for use in training CPF personnel on Grenada and their home islands. The author notes that the host nation's support facilities and training status varied from island to island, ranging from adequate to nearly nonexistent, and the ability to manage the US equipment varied throughout the Eastern Caribbean nations. This article does a good job of highlighting the challenges of such an undertaking and explaining how the technical assistance team dealt with these challenges.

A Strategy of Counter-Revolutionary War
Military Review, Vol. 65, No. 2, Feb 1985

William O. Staudenmaier and Alan N. Sabrosky

According to the authors, the US has been following "a 'high-low' avoidance strategy." This strategy stresses rapid deployment of elite units to cope with contingencies and counter terrorism and appears to be fairly effective. However, such a strategy dilutes the capability of the nation to deal with situations like the one currently warping the society and economy of El Salvador. In the light of this outlook, the authors examine the doctrine of Mao Tse Tung and the experience of the US in Vietnam and reach certain conclusions: (1) any US intervention should come only after a "catalytic event" has galvanized public opinion behind government policy; (2) all action should be collective and involve all relevant powers; (3) operations against sanctuaries neighboring the menaced country are essential for success; (4) the US has to be ready for main-force and low-level operations

but should not, under any circumstances, alienate the people and harm the legitimacy of the local government; (5) counter-revolutionary strategies have to be quickly implementable and able to evince quick signs of success; (6) military intervention can only provide the time essential for the legal government to redress the ills of the society and remove the causes for revolution; military solutions for social problems do not exist.

**Military Intelligence Operations in Low-Intensity Conflict:
An Organizational Model**

Military Review, Vol. 68, No. 1, Jan 1988

BG John F. Stewart, USA

This article examines military intelligence (MI) assets required for LIC and outlines some considerations for the most effective and efficient use of these important assets. Military intelligence is one major means of obtaining and understanding information concerning an adversary, but the MI requirements in a LIC environment may be quite different from those required for mid- to high-intensity conflicts.

Principles of War and Low-Intensity Conflict
Military Review, Vol. 65, No. 3, Mar 1985

COL Harry G. Summers, Jr., USA (Ret)

COL Summers, noted military historian and scholar, finds US military doctrine has undergone changes in the nuclear age following World War II. These changes, coming partly as a result of the introduction of nuclear weapons, redefined the established "principles of war" and became evident in the Korean and Vietnamese conflicts. LIC, however, in the opinion of COL Summers, still shares many of the basic characteristics of conventional conflicts. What the principles of war did for doctrine was to refine the ever-present basic questions facing a participant in warfare: (1) What is the goal? (2) How is the goal attainable? (3) Who is going to control the means to the goal? This article is important reading, since it complements the author's recent analysis of the war in Vietnam.

When the Peace Corps Meets the Army in A Distant Land
Army Magazine, Jul 1987

Lisa Swenarski

The author discusses the traditional distrust that characterize relationships between the Peace Corps and military personnel. The article provides insight about the basis and scope of this problem. The author uses experiences in Honduras as a basis for the article.

What Are These Things Called "Operations Short of War"
Military Review, Vol. 68, No. 1, Jan 1988

COL Richard H. Taylor, USA

With this article the editors of Military Review introduce a series of articles in this and future issues focusing on low-intensity conflict. Colonel Taylor introduces the JCS definition of LIC and examines how military operations in LIC are not business as usual. He concludes with the idea that support for military operations short of war is an application of our national military strategy. This is not easy, LICs are serious, tough, challenging, dirty, and dangerous. But they are important. Our national security depends on our success.

Low-Intensity Campaigns
Military Review, Vol. 68, No. 3, Mar 1988

COL Richard H. Taylor, USA and LTC John McDowell, USA

This article looks at some of the factors to be considered when planning a military campaign in a LIC environment. The authors conclude that although initially the military aspects of the campaign may be of secondary importance, military forces must always be prepared should the situation suddenly change.

Terrorism: The Challenge and the Response
The DISAM Journal, Vol. 9, No. 3, Spring 1987

John C. Whitehead

This article is a reprint of an address by Deputy Secretary Whitehead before the Brookings Institution Conference on Terrorism in Washington, DC, on 10 Dec 1986. The Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State, has published this article as "Current Policy No. 900."

Books

Development and Employment of Fixed-Wing Gunships, 1962-1972
Office of the Chief of Air Force History, Washington, DC, 1982

Jack S. Ballard

This text gives a history of the fixed-wing gunship in which, in simplest form, the USAF installed side-firing guns in available aircraft (mostly transports) and employed them tactically, using the technique of an orbiting maneuver. Such unlikely conversion of relatively slow, large-cabin aircraft into heavily-armed, aerial, firing platforms filled the need for an air weapon able to direct saturating, extremely accurate firepower on generally small (and even fleeing) targets in difficult terrain, varying weather, and, particularly, night actions. The USAF's combat aircraft of the early 1960's often could neither find nor accurately strike enemy targets if they were hidden by darkness and concealed by the great jungle canopy of Southeast Asia. The urgent need for such a capability became dramatically obvious as guerrilla warfare expanded across South Vietnam. The book discusses the fulfilling of this need by the employment of the AC-47 gunship and its successors -- the AC-130 and AC-119 -- and does a good job describing the inseparable linkage between the evolution of these aircraft and the war in Southeast Asia.

Authoritarian Regimes in Transition
Department of State, Foreign Service Institute
Washington, DC, Jun 1987

Hans Binnendijk, Peggy Nails, and Diane Bendahmane

This book is a compilation of materials flowing from six symposia held at the DOS FSI in 1985 and 1986. It is divided into two parts. Part I reviews several transitions in which democratic values have not so far prevailed -- Iran, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, and Central America. Part II examines transitions in six nations that chose the path to democracy -- Spain, Portugal, Argentina, Brazil, Haiti (perhaps inappropriately, in the light of the events of early Dec 1987), and the Philippines. Each case is analyzed by government practitioners and academic observers. The book assumes a wide perspective welcome to the researcher and offers quite a few lessons learned pertinent to the student of low-intensity conflict.

National Negotiating Styles
Department of State, Foreign Service Institute
Washington, DC, Apr 1987

Hans Binnendijk

Many LICs end in some type of negotiated settlement. The topic of negotiation, then, would seem important. Different nations negotiate with different styles -- styles shaped by the nation's culture, history, political system, and geopolitical status. This book comprises a compilation of studies prepared by separate authors who follow the same analytical model. It profiles six nations of particular interest to the US: China, Russia, Japan, France, Egypt, and Mexico. It reviews these nations' historical and institutional settings, the characteristics of their political culture, the style of their negotiators themselves, and their national strategies and tactics. Finally, each author suggests bargaining guidelines for the US negotiators to follow when dealing with these nations' negotiators.

Strategy and Ethnocentrism
Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc., New York, NY, 1979

Ken Booth

This book describes the cultural distortion which affects the theory and practice of strategy. Ethnocentrism is the view of the world in which one's own group, or nation, is the center of everything, and in which all other groups, or nations, have a standing and rating in accordance with this view. The author clearly examines many of the pitfalls created by this false sense of reality in the modern world. It is especially relevant to understand the importance of ethnocentrism in relation to its impact on LIC strategies, because strategists who have such understanding can minimize the risk of failure in the dynamics of the contemporary rapidly changing world. This book, closely read, can help provide this understanding.

Operation Ranch Hand, The Air Force and Herbicides
in Southeast Asia, 1961-1971
Office of Air Force History, Washington, DC, 1982

William A. Buckingham, Jr.

This is a solidly researched monograph that traces the story of the involvement of the USAF with the use of herbicides in the Vietnamese war. The author makes use of official reports and documents, and he also gleans information from interviews with USAF personnel who participated in the defoliation operations of Ranch Hand. This book is a good study of an unorthodox use of

airpower in support of both counter-insurgent and mid-level conventional ground operations in the protracted struggle in Southeast Asia.

Conflict of Myths: The Development of American
Counterinsurgency Doctrine And the Vietnam War
New York University Press, New York, NY, 1986

Larry E. Cable

The author surveyed some of the experience of the US military in the twentieth century in terms of counterinsurgency operations and reached the conclusion that the successes in Greece in 1946-1947, coming soon after the sweeping successes of US arms in western Europe in 1944-1945, led the military leadership to make the wrong assessments about the nature of insurgencies and the appropriate way to respond to them. The Korean conflict, with its own peculiar nature, served to enlighten no one any further; indeed, its events merely strengthened the fallacious interpretations that the US Army had refined after the Greek experience. What the military leaders ignored, unfortunately, was the experience and successes the USMC found in Nicaragua, 1913-1933. The heart of the lesson should have been, according to Cable, that insurgencies are quite often indigenous and self-generating with their origins in internal injustices and wrongs. Outsiders can -- and do -- help, but the key to quelling most insurgencies is to win support of the population by assistance, reform, and protection. This book is as thought stimulating as that of Krepinevich and has only one possible flaw: A failure to treat the experience of the US military in the Philippine Insurrection, 1899-1902, in terms of "lessons learned" or "lessons ignored."

The Air Force Role in Low Intensity Conflict
Airpower Research Institute, Air University Press
Maxwell AFB, AL, Oct 1986

Lt Col David J. Dean, USAF

This book gives a historical look at the use of airpower in low-intensity conflicts. It is especially good in this area, as it attempts to define LIC before providing historical examples of how the military has employed airpower, and in some cases airlift, in LIC. The author explores the British air control experience, the Morocco-Polisario War, the US security assistance efforts, and the early Special Air Warfare Center's efforts, and he provides a foundation for the plan he offers for future USAF participation in LICs.

Low-Intensity Conflict and Modern Technology
Air University Press, Maxwell AFB, AL, Jun 1986

Lt Col David J. Dean, USAF, editor

This book constitutes a serious step toward effectively grappling with the technical, intellectual, and military problems of LIC. A compilation of 21 articles authored by noted authorities in LIC, this work classifies these articles into the three broad categories of policy, technology, and doctrine. The breadth of topics covered clearly indicates the complexity and range of difficulties which the US and its allies have to explore if they are to develop a successful response to LIC. The various authors of the articles composing the book participated in a workshop conducted by the Air University Center for Aerospace Research, Doctrine, and Education (CADRE) in Mar 1984. A primary goal of the workshop was to increase awareness among the defense community of the importance of understanding the real nature of the LIC threat. By any measurement, this book has done much to attain this goal. Regarding the employment of air power, this book, although not specifically concerned with airlift and other air activities, outlines the policy, doctrine, and equipment problems US air power faces at the low end of the spectrum of conflict. It then details the technological requirements necessary if the US is to be successful in developing weapon systems capable of prosecuting these conflicts. The chapter on Light Aircraft Technology for Small Wars is especially useful for anyone interested in the development of airlift requirements for low-intensity conflict.

An Urban Strategy for Guerrillas and Governments
Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, CA, 1972

Brian M. Jenkins

In this book, Brian M. Jenkins -- a writer whose name is justly associated with expertise on the subject of contemporary terrorism -- presents the thesis of his "five stage model" about the development of urban insurgency accompanied by terrorism. This book, and other works by this author, provide an excellent framework for analyzing urban terrorism and for organizing thinking about successfully confronting and quelling it. No one can seriously address the subject intellectually without perusing and considering the ideas of Brian Jenkins first.

The Army And Vietnam
Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD, 1986

Andrew F. Krepinevich

Written by a perceptive soldier-scholar -- PhD, history, and Major, USA -- this book is of significant importance to those seeking to understand the course and outcome of the US intervention in Vietnam and to determine how the US should proceed in its future involvements in insurgencies. The author develops a logical and well-documented account of the doctrine, strategy, and tactics that the US Army applied in Vietnam and builds a very strong case that the major mistake in that agonizing struggle was the US Army's misunderstanding of the nature of the conflict and ignoring the need to adapt new strategy and tactics. In short, Krepinevich maintains that the US Army, much to its own detriment, insisted on fighting the wrong kind of war, because the kind it knew how to fight was more congenial with doctrine, training, and recent historical experience as the leadership interpreted military events after 1945. Any one concerned with LIC must read this provocative work and carefully ponder the thesis that the author has presented.

Airpower and the 1972 Spring Invasion
(USAF Southeast Asia Monograph Series, Vol. II, Monograph 3)
Office of Air Force History, Washington, DC, 1985

Maj A. J. C. Lavalley, USAF, General Editor

This volume describes the USAF use of airpower during the North Vietnamese invasion of South Vietnam in the Spring of 1972. Especially noteworthy is the description of airlift in response to this invasion. A fairly comprehensive account of USAF activities, the study provides a historical foundation for "lessons learned" regarding the use of airlift in LIC.

Last Flight From Saigon
(USAF Southeast Asia Monograph Series, Vol. IV, Monograph 6)
Office of Air Force History, Washington, DC, 1985

Maj A. J. C. Lavalley, USAF, General Editor

This volume details the evacuation of Saigon in April 1975. Of particular note is the role airlift played in this effort. This monograph explains the conduct of noncombatant evacuations and provides "lessons learned" that may have application for the future conduct of such operations.

Airpower and the Airlift Evacuation of Kham Duc
(USAF Southeast Asia Monograph Series, Vol. V, Monograph 7)
Air Force Office of History, Washington, DC, 1985

Maj A. J. C. Lavalley, USAF, General Editor

This narrative describes the evacuation of more than 1,400 US soldiers, marines, airmen, and Vietnamese civilians (men, women, and children) from the Kham Duc Special Forces camp in southern I Corps on 12 May 1968. It devotes individual chapters to the US Army and Marine helicopter rescue efforts, tactical air support, and tactical airlift.

Land-Based Air Power in Third World Crises
Air University Press, Maxwell AFB, AL, Jul 1986

David R. Mets

The book is a good primer on airpower in LIC as well as on LIC in general. Appropriately it first discusses the political objectives and military relationships before presenting case studies in which land-based airpower played decisive roles in LIC. Although not expressly concerned with airlift in LIC, the book discusses the successful use of airlift in several instances of Third World conflicts.

Terrorism: How the West Can Win
Avon Books, New York, NY, Apr 1987

Benjamin Netanyahu

Benjamin Netanyahu, the editor, is the brother of Jonathan Netanyahu, the Harvard-graduated Israeli officer killed at Entebbe, Uganda, during the Israeli rescue of hostages held by terrorists in the summer of 1976. Following his brother's death, Benjamin Netanyahu helped establish the Jonathan Institute to study the causes and effects of terrorism and to devise methods to combat it. The book is a compilation of the proceedings of the second international gathering of the Jonathan Institute held at Washington, DC, from 24-27 Jun 1984. The contributors to the compilation include such distinguished personages as George P. Shultz, the Secretary of State, Daniel P. Moynihan, US Senator from New York (Democrat), Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, former US Ambassador to the United Nations, and William H. Webster, formerly the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and now Director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Soviet Policy Toward the Developing World During the 1980s
Air University Press, Washington, DC, 1986

Dan Papp

This book really has five parts: the background; evolution, objectives, and constraints; the instruments of Soviet policies; regional aspects of Soviet policies; and conclusions, the dilemmas of power and presence. Using substantial and impressive research and, where necessary, appropriate and plausible postulation, the author traces the dynamics of Soviet activities in the Third World. He shows the synergistic approach to the political, economic, and military assistance that the Soviet Union employs both to establish its presence and to gain ability to influence events in various regions and nations. Papp provides an examination of geopolitical considerations and draws comparisons and contrasts among the various Soviet approaches to particular regions. In his conclusions, Papp outlines some of the emerging dilemmas that Soviet policy makers will have to face in the future.

Indonesia and the Philippines
Columbia University Press, New York, NY, 1980

Robert Pringle

This study defines the scope and content of US national interests in Southeast Asia. It attempts to show the need for US foreign policy to establish concrete and long-term objectives in lieu of the "crisis management" which has historically characterized the US approach to policy making in this part of the world. In making his case, the author analyzes six areas: political instability, the importance of US bases in the Philippines, US economic interests, human rights policy, the developmental problems of Indonesia, and environmental concerns.

War Comes to Long An
University of California Press, Berkeley, CA, 1972

Jeffrey Race

This book is a study of the victory of the Viet Cong in a single province of Vietnam. The analysis clearly shows the various techniques the Communists used to undermine and render ineffective the local apparatus of the government of the Republic of Vietnam. The emphasis on the intertwining of political, terrorist, and military methods to achieve the goal of Communist control reveals much about the reasons for the success of the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese in taking over the territory of the Republic of Vietnam. The book explains the inappropriateness

of traditional military tactics for the situation in Vietnam and makes the Communist triumph understandable, even if it still remains unpalatable.

The Logistics of Waging War: American Logistics 1774-1985,
Emphasizing the Development of Airpower
Air Force Logistics Management Center, Gunter AFS, AL, 1986

Lt Col David C. Rutenberg, USAF, and Jane S. Allen, editors

This document is a very interesting study of the development of US military logistics in general and includes approximately 20 pages on logistics in Vietnam. The paper has many relevant pictures and insightful anecdotes. It describes Vietnam logistics in terms of requirements, distribution, and maintenance. It also details such logistics lessons as, "The present operating structure of AID and similar agencies does not enable them to utilize the military logistics system efficiently; yet they must heavily depend on that system to accomplish their missions." This paper is definitely worth reading and will likely become a well used referenced work.

The New Jewel Movement: Grenada's Revolution, 1979-1983
Department of State, Foreign Service Institute
Washington, DC, Jun 1987

Gregory Sandford

This book holds particular interest for the military student of LIC. It presents the political side of a now famous LIC-oriented military operation. The author is a foreign service officer (FSO) with first hand knowledge of the build-up and the sequel to the events that the book depicts. He tells the sorry tale of popular ground swell harnessed by manipulating politicians and then hijacked by calculating, secretive personages steeped in an ideology alien to the majority of the Grenadians. The book holds lessons worth review, since similar revolutions of LIC interest to the US are unfolding elsewhere in today's world.

Insurgent Era
Potomac Books, Washington, DC, 1967

Richard H. Sanger

This book is a useful text for background material on revolutionary warfare in the 1960s. It suggests some broad but useful indicators of insurgent activity in the first chapter, and then it looks at a number of case studies from the political and social dimensions.

Advice And Support: The Early Years of the US Army In Vietnam,
1941-1960

The Free Press, New York, NY, 1983

Ronald H. Spector

The author has written a sound historical narrative depicting the various aspects of the US Army's contacts and involvements in Vietnam between Pearl Harbor and the John F. Kennedy Administration. His documentation is impressive, and his narrative style is quite readable. This book is good background preparation for the reading of Krepinevich, and it helps to develop an understanding of the earlier, post-World War II viewpoints of the Army about a region that became crucial in the 1960s.

On Strategy

US Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, PA, Mar 1982

COL Harry G. Summers, Jr., USA (Ret)

Using Clausewitzian theory and the classic principles of war, the author attempts to place the war in Vietnam in appropriate historical context in terms of military struggles. He hews to the theme that the US erred in Vietnam by not applying properly the well-known principles of war that had loomed so large in US military doctrine between World War I and the end of World War II. Summers' provocative approach deserves serious reading by students of LIC and US military endeavors in general.

Other Works

A Model to Assist in Countering Short-Term Terrorist Activities
Department of Law Enforcement Administration
Western Illinois University, Macomb, IL, May 1982

MAJ Fred M. Berger, USA

This is a useful work to the student of terrorism on two counts: the treatment of the independent variables appearing in instances of terrorism and the presentation of an analysis of major literature on the subject before 1981. The author attempts to correlate important variables of terrorist incidents and offer guidance for individuals carrying the responsibility to respond to terrorist activities. He devises a tentative model derived from Brian Jenkins' "five-stage model" of terrorist actions and thereby sets down an interesting framework for analyzing terrorist tactics. The discussion of literature affords a good point of departure for undertaking a study of modern terrorism.

Wartime Contingency Contracting Handbook
Air Force Logistics Management Center, Gunter AFS, AL, May 1986

Maj Bradley R. Busch, USAF

This handbook provides a consolidated source of information for a Contingency Contracting Officer to use to provide support to a deployed unit during wartime. Since the Air Force practices in peacetime the way it plans on functioning in wartime, concepts and guidelines outlined in this handbook should be useful during all exercises in which contracting people deploy. The handbook includes the following considerations: legal authorities and limitations, funding, duties and responsibilities, contingency contracting procedures, rules of engagement, and contingency contracting, and international relations. It also includes a number of figures illustrating different documents that could be used for these purposes.

**Command and Control for the Use of Military Force
in Low Intensity Conflict**
US Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, Mar 1986

William B. Caldwell and Michael L. Findlay

This thesis examines command and control peculiar to the employment of military force in conditions short of declared war. Initially, the authors present an analysis of command and control to provide an understanding of the theoretical requirements for monitoring and controlling forces. They then examine US national

strategy for LIC, which requires a coordinated politico-military response. They address this response within a developed spectrum of conflict, and, with an acceptance that command and control is institutionally dependent, they discuss two different types of military force employment: security assistance, and military force projection that can support US foreign and military policies. The writers then consider political and military command relationships and make an analysis to ascertain their critical command and control functions.

SPETSNAZ: A Soviet Sabotage Threat
Air Command and Staff College, Maxwell AFB, AL, 1986

Maj Burton A. Casteel, USAF

This paper is a readable, straight forward, and comprehensive study of the threat that the Soviet Union's SPETSNAZ (Special Forces) comprise. The bibliography is of particular interest since the SPETSNAZ have, unfortunately, not yet attracted the attention from military scholars they merit. It is indeed time to give them more attention and closer study.

American Public Opinion and US Foreign Policy
The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, Chicago, IL, 1987

Chicago Council on Foreign Relations

This paper is the fourth in a series of public opinion surveys and analyses that the Gallup polling organization recently has conducted. This survey involved a stratified systematic national sample of 1,585 general respondents and an additional 343 individuals whose occupations indicated they held considerable knowledge about international affairs. The survey addressed such areas as perceptions of foreign policy problems, goals and opinions of the performance of the US government in foreign affairs, attitudes about what constituted threats to the US, and whether covert operations were appropriate activities in US foreign policy. The survey explores changes in public attitudes about defense spending over the past 30 years and also points out some of the gaps existing between the public and the national leadership over foreign policy preferences. In general, this survey is useful to those concerned with the impact of LIC upon public opinion in the US.

Construction Manual for Central and South America
US Army Corps of Engineers, Washington, DC, May 1986

Construction Engineer Research Laboratory

This technical report updates and adapts US Army military construction methods for application in Central and South America. It provides current doctrine, organization, and site-specific engineering guidance for engineer activities associated with base camp development to support US military personnel as well as for projects with infrastructure development potential. Information stems from actual field experiences, current knowledge among the Corps of Engineers laboratories and other military personnel, and findings in the literature. For construction methods identified as pertinent to Central and South America, the instructions include recommended circumstances for use along with necessary engineering, design, and construction data. The engineering disciplines involved in base development and construction include geography and climatology in chapter 2, construction security -- base camp and site -- in chapter 3, electric power generation, distribution, and grounding in chapter 4, water and sanitation in chapter 5, vertical and horizontal construction in chapters 6 and 7, and engineering work rate factors in chapter 8. The bibliographies at the end of each chapter list the points of contact (POCs) and other useful sources for information.

Coalition Logistics -- The Multinational Force
and Observers Model

US Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, PA, 19 May 1986

LTCs Joe C. Creel and James M. Wright, USA

This is an excellent study of logistics support to a peacekeeping operation (PKO). The authors were the logistics planners for the Multinational Force and Observers Sinai operation. Later, as Army War College students, they evaluated their planning effort and drew a number of enlightening conclusions concerning logistics support of multinational PKOs. They identified 35 logistics considerations which logisticians should include in the planning and execution of logistics support for PKOs. Included among these considerations were the need for a phased support concept, direct contact between logistics planners and logistics operators, a backwards planning sequence, and deployment of logistics personnel before the remainder of the PKO forces. Definitely worth reading, this paper provides valuable insights available nowhere else.

Airpower in Small Wars: The British Air Control Experience
Air University Press, Maxwell AFB, AL, Apr 1985

Lt Col David J. Dean, USAF

"Air control" implies that control in undeveloped countries is applied by aircraft as the primary arm, usually supplemented by forces on the ground, according to particular requirements. Owing to the large cost associated with using ground force expeditions to maintain order in the empire, in addition to restive populations following World War I, necessity forced the British to use air control to maintain order. The fledgling Royal Air Force (RAF) also faced threats to its existence in the postwar struggle for dwindling resources among the three services, and used the existing world political situation to make itself indispensable to the country as a separate unified service. The author contrasts this situation with the one existing today in which available technology and the arms bazaar can provide small groups with sophisticated surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) and artillery anti-aircraft (AAA). Despite the differences, he concludes that air power has the inherent flexibility for helping to creatively shape effective political results.

Terrorism and the Media: A Handbook for Commanders
Air Command and Staff College, Maxwell AFB, AL, Apr 1986

Maj Valerie A. Elbow, USAF

Terrorism touches the US military community with increasing frequency each year. At the same time, many Air Force personnel and their families have been involved in media coverage of terrorist incidents. Commanders need to understand the roles the media play in terrorist incidents. Commanders also need to anticipate the media's requirements, demands, and impact, should a terrorist incident occur on an Air Force installation, or involve Air Force personnel or their dependents. This handbook for commanders will meet these needs by making commanders aware of the media "complication" of terrorist incidents, and by describing how they can deal with that complication. The handbook also defines the commander's role in educating Air Force people about their possible media involvement and provides commanders with a briefing they can present to their personnel concerning media involvement during terrorist incidents.

**Interim Operational Concept for Logistics Support
in Low-Intensity Conflict
US Army Logistics Center, Ft Lee, VA, 20 Mar 1987**

CPT Tom Harvey, USA

This document presents emerging Army doctrine about logistic planning principles and operational guidance for logistics at the lower end of the conflict spectrum as described in FC 100-20, Low-Intensity Conflict, dated 16 Jul 1986. The US Army has distributed the document to Army schools and centers which will have significant responsibilities in developing and implementing logistics doctrine for LIC. The document examines logistics considerations relative to four categories of LIC: foreign internal defense (FID), peacetime contingency operations (PCOs), terrorism counteraction (TC), and peacekeeping operations (PKOs). It includes detailed appendices of automated tools for logistics contingency planning, host nation support coordination team (contingency), command and control, base development, supply support of an expeditionary force, and logistics planning checklist for contingency operations.

**Salvadoran Army Engineer Nation-Building Assessment
HQ DA/OACE, Washington, DC, 28 Feb 1985**

LTC Robert L. Herndon, USA

This report, classified CONFIDENTIAL/NOFORN, is an assessment of El Salvador's military engineering capability to conduct nation-building civic action projects, humanitarian assistance activities, and disaster relief engineering support. It includes a two-page executive summary, background and country status, force structure assessment of engineers, civic action operations, findings, and recommendations.

**The Role of Public Affairs in Low-Intensity Conflict
US Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, PA, 23 Mar 1987**

LTC James M. Kelly, USA

Despite a lack of full understanding of the concept, low-intensity conflict continues to be the most likely type of conflict which will involve US military forces in the next two or three decades at least. Public information and the media are major factors in the LIC environment and necessitate a more prominent role for a heretofore neglected military function in this arena, Public Affairs. All LIC operational areas have significant requirements for public affairs. Grenada and counterterrorism operations have highlighted media relations; however, public affairs involvement must be more comprehensive, incorporating command information and community relations.

Public Affairs is not fully integrated into planning, and Public Affairs personnel seldom participate as players in exercise scenarios. To be an effective force in supporting LIC operations, the Public Affairs Officer (PAO) must be a real part of the warfighting staff. Public Affairs emphasis in exercises must originate at DOD and JCS levels. The unified command PAO must have a more sophisticated and expansive view of his role, to include public diplomacy and coordination with psychological operations. Training for PAOs, especially those receiving assignments to unified commands, must include a LIC orientation. A change in attitude in the military toward the role of the media and the PAO must come about. New attitudes, new ideas, and innovative application of military capabilities are the only means the US can successfully wield to counter the threat posed by the complexities of LIC.

Counter-Revolutionary Warfare: Strategy Considerations
Air War College, Maxwell AFB, AL, 1986

Lt Col Thomas B. Lindahl, USAF

This paper discusses nation building, revolutionary warfare, and counter-revolutionary strategy, which embraces three levels of strategy: national, military, and air. The focus of the paper is the problem of revolution in developing nations, and the paper provides the outlines of a policy for the building of a nation in terms of improving the results of US aid to developing nations. The paper stresses linkage between the continuance of US aid and real progress in nation building. Another theme in the paper deals with the nature of revolutionary war and the reasons for its successes in developing nations. Included also are suggestions for strategy to counter revolutionary war after it has broken out as well as for the best ways to aid US allies in fighting it.

Logistics in Low Intensity Conflict
OJCS/J-4(SCAD), Washington, DC, 19 Nov 1986

Lt Col Ray Linville, USAF, compiler

This report documents the first in a series of OJCS/J-4-sponsored action officer seminars on logistics in low-intensity conflict. The seminars constituted an opportunity to examine logistic problems the US must cope with in LIC. Participants included representatives of Service headquarters plus representatives of several commands and agencies. The seminar report is divided into five parts: overview; understanding LIC (Low Intensity Warfare Conference, DIA Symposium, Joint LIC Project, Center for LIC, and definition); joint initiatives (USSOUTHCOM Symposium, Logistics Systems Development Guide, Special Operations Forces Logistics Conference, other joint initiatives, and IDA study);

service initiatives (Field Circular 100-20, Operational Concept, Air Force doctrine, Wartime Contingency Contracting Handbook, LICNET, Materiel Programs, Army Seminar, and other studies and articles); and open discussion (characteristics, issues, and conclusion).

Logistic Planning for the Low Intensity Conflict Environment
OJCS/J-4(SCAD), Washington, DC, 25 Feb 1987

Lt Col Ray Linville, USAF, compiler

This report documents the second in a series of OJCS/J-4-sponsored action officer seminars on logistics in low-intensity conflict. The seminars were an opportunity to examine logistic problems the US must cope with in LIC. Participants included representatives of Service headquarters as well as representatives of several commands and agencies. The report is divided into five parts: overview (purpose and goals); a commander's view (logistic support early, logistic requirements, local economy considerations); logistic doctrine (Joint Logistic Doctrine, Concept Paper, Army Logistic Concept, Air Force Doctrine, CLIC Draft Doctrine, Logistics in LIC from USSOUTHCOM Perspective, and US National Security Strategy Report); logistic planning issues (International Handbook for Logistic Systems Development, Critical Items for LIC, Joint LIC Project Final Report, Logistic Intelligence in LIC, Implications for Logistic Planners of USSOC Establishment, NDU LIC Gaming System, C-17 Capabilities for LIC, and ARG/MAU(SOC) Logistics); and other discussion (Interface with JLTPB, Information Sources for Logistics in LIC, Air Force Logistic Projects, and conclusion). The report includes related briefing slides and other material.

Logistic Intelligence for the Low Intensity Conflict
OJCS/J-4(SCAD), Washington, DC, Feb 1988

Lt Col Ray Linville, USAF, compiler

This report documents the third in a series of OJCS/J-4-sponsored action officer seminars on logistics in low-intensity conflict. The seminars were an opportunity to examine logistic problems the US must cope with in LIC. Participants included representatives of Service headquarters as well as representatives of several commands and agencies. This report examines what is logistics intelligence and its importance in low-intensity conflict, planning tools, and logistics concepts and doctrine. It also includes the Charter for a Logistics in Low-Intensity Conflict Working Group sponsored by the JCS Joint Logistics Board.

International Handbook for Logistic Systems Development
US Army Logistics Center, Ft Lee, VA, 20 Mar 1987

COL William L. Norman, USA

This handbook is a result of JCS/J4 tasking to develop a manual for use by US and Allied personnel in assisting other countries in developing their own "most cost effective joint internal logistics systems that will provide assured adequate support for all anticipated levels of threat." This is the second draft of this handbook, and the Army intends it for field trial. The objectives of the handbook are as follows: (1) emphasize to all levels of command the importance of logistics and promote internal system improvement efforts as well as improvement of international logistics interfaces; (2) point out the significant impact of command emphasis, logistics training at all levels, system design and procedures, and proper planning and programming upon the cost and adequacy of logistics support; (3) cover all of the basic functions, tasks, documentation, and reports that are common to all countries and services, and present these as used in a nonautomated system; (4) discuss alternative logistics support concepts together with factors that favor selection of each. The Army expects to translate the draft and publish it in Spanish, French, and Arabic for expanded trial use.

Problems of Logistic Operations in Support of US Operations
in Limited-War Areas

Research Analysis Corp, Bethesda, MD, Jan 1962

W. Scott Payne, Roswell B. Wing, Benjamin R. Baldwin,
Marcel Vigneras, Angelo Gierratana, and Carrol C. J. Jacobson

This dated study is still relevant and includes much useful information. The objective of the study is "to isolate logistical-support problems peculiar to limited war in underdeveloped regions and to suggest possible solutions to these problems." The time frame of the analysis covers 1962-1964. The concern is intra-theater logistical-support problems in four geographical areas taken to be representative of underdeveloped regions in general. These are Vietnam, Iran, West Pakistan, and Jordan. The study focuses on the operation of relatively small forces and includes consideration of the employment of nuclear weapons of moderate to small yields. The study identifies the following distinguishing characteristics that make logistical-support problems under conditions in these underdeveloped regions different from those in more developed regions. These characteristics include inadequate communications network, inadequate logistical facilities, high level of guerrilla activity, political fragmentation of local population, need for rapid deployment of US forces, low health and sanitation level, inadequate local forces to provide cover, absence of a clear

declaration of war, extemporization of logistical units, and existence of targets and areas unlikely to be attacked.

Concepts, Principles, and Policy in Low-Intensity Conflict:
The Hidden Challenge
Air Command and Staff College, Maxwell AFB, AL, Feb 1986

Sam Sarkesian

Sam Sarkesian, the widely-known authority and prolific author about LIC matters, in this article defines LIC as the warfare evolving "primarily from revolutionary and counter-revolutionary strategy and causes." LIC, in his view, does not include limited conventional wars (the Korean conflict comes readily to mind) and acts of terrorism (the bombing of the US Marines' billets near Beirut, Lebanon, in Oct 1983, would seem a prime example here). To Sarkesian, the main US problem is that of managerial and technological over-emphasis when waging war--at the expense of the political and psychological factors which so govern LIC. Sarkesian thinks that too often there is an attempt to "Americanize" the LIC. An additional problem, in his opinion, is that the US frequently finds itself supporting a regime whose tenets and methods are anathema to the democratic openness and pluralism of the nation's system of political ethics. Alliance with such a regime impales US policy on the horns of a dilemma: either support the unsavory political status quo, or see the ally's country come under communist control. Revolution and counterrevolution, however, face no such quandary; they develop their own morality and are able to justify use of any means leading to success. Sarkesian sees no solution save that of the US accepting this uncomfortable situation and designing its policy, strategy, and tactics accordingly. In military terms, this acceptance of the late twentieth century's realpolitik means emphasis on special operations. It may also mean that in some instances noninvolvement is the best policy for the US to pursue. The overriding consideration, as Sarkesian views LIC, is that the US public clearly understand and support any LIC involvement by the nation. This article is a thoughtful piece carrying much import for anyone concerned with the LIC threat.

A Conference Report: Protracted Warfare--The Third World Arena:
A Dimension of U.S.-Soviet Conflict
The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University,
Medford, MA, Apr 1987

Richard H. Shultz, et al

On 22-24 Apr 1987, the International Security Studies Program (ISSP) of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, together with the US Army War College and the

National Defense University, co-sponsored the 16th Annual ISSP Conference devoted to the title subject. The conference focused primarily on assessing the multidimensional aspect of low-intensity conflict in the Third World. The conference report discusses third world conflicts from a soviet perspective, soviet and American approaches to doctrine and strategy, force structures and C³ in protracted warfare, political-psychological operations, and finally, examples of low-intensity conflicts.

Beating International Terrorism
Air University Press, Maxwell AFB, AL, Dec 1986

Stephen Sloan

This report is an extremely thought-provoking document exploring the means open to the US to defeat international terrorism. Sloan notes that the US military will have to play a major role in this effort and, in doing so, it will have to develop doctrine to combat this form of warfare. The author presents a framework showing how the US can develop such doctrine and implement it to gain the initiative over the terrorists. Although much of the framework is theoretical, it does serve as a point of departure for serious research on the ways by which the US can improve its response to this type of warfare.

Air Force Involvement in Drug Interdiction
Air Command and Staff College, Maxwell AFB, AL, 1986

Maj Richard W. Shurtleff, USAF

This study outlines the USAF's evolving connections with the matter of drug interdiction and highlights the need for improving the command and control aspects of these critical efforts. It presents some good source materials, makes some astute observations, assesses the weaknesses of the drug intervention program, and offers some stimulating recommendations for the improvement of US activities in drug interdiction operations.

Deployment of United Nations Peace-Keeping Forces:
The Nature of Transportation and Review of Current Methodologies
US Army Command and General Staff College
Ft Leavenworth, KS, 6 Jun 1987

Maj Anthony S.I. Ukpo, Nigeria

This study analyzes the various methods the United Nations has used to transport peacekeeping forces to the area of operations to determine their suitability for present and future employments. It uses three case studies: the 1956 United Nations Emergency Force, the 1960 United Nations Operations in

the Congo, and the 1978 United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon. Among the major findings were the following: (1) There is a heavy dependence on the US for air and sealift of the UN force. (2) Questions of neutrality and the incompatibility of resources caused valuable wastes of time. (3) There was a "nonchalant" attitude by countries capable of providing the necessary transportation. (4) Finally, there was an increasing attempt by developing nations to be entirely self-supporting in transportation of their troops, sometimes to the possible detriment of the entire UN force. The study concludes that the current ad hoc arrangements for deployment of UN forces leave too much room for failure. Therefore, a need exists to examine alternative methods of providing neutral transportation assets for the UN to use to deploy peacekeeping forces.

Civic Action in USSOUTHCOM
USSOUTHCOM, Quarry Heights, Panama, May 1987

US Southern Command J-5

This document appears periodically (usually twice each year) and is the product of J-5, USSOUTHCOM. It contains numerous articles on civic action (CA) and humanitarian assistance (HA) initiatives in Latin America. The objective of these initiatives is to enhance regional social and economic stability. The document serves as a means to chronicle and publicize USSOUTHCOM efforts to achieve their regional objectives. The document is unclassified and demonstrates what is achievable through CA and HA initiatives.

Deception and Tactical Airlift
Air Command And Staff College, Maxwell AFB, AL, May 1986

Palmer Voyles

This report provides an outstanding starting point for any tactical airlift planner or operator concerned with, or considering the use of, tactical deception. The report leads the reader first to a presentation of the problem of the failure of the US to use tactical deception as an effective tactic. Then, it takes the reader to the well-reasoned conclusion that the US has much to gain, both offensively and defensively, by carefully developing and appropriately employing this lost art.

Rapid Deployment Logistics: Lebanon, 1958
Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, Oct 1984

LTC Gary H. Wade, USA

This survey is a detailed examination of logistics support of the US military intervention in Lebanon in 1958. It discusses the logistics background of the operation to include existing doctrine, planning efforts, capabilities, and problems. It then considers the deployment phase of the operation in terms of preparation, movement, airhead, maritime operation, and result. The survey examines logistics support of the actual operation in terms of organization, resupply, procurement, civil affairs, medical support, and security. Finally, it presents a number of insightful conclusions. The survey makes good use of relevant maps, figures, tables, and pictures which add to readability and thoroughness. As the author states in his introduction, this study offers "a model for planning, deploying, and sustaining a task force -- a model that offers many lessons for today's Army." The lessons are also applicable to all branches of the US military.

Part Two: Summary of CLIC PAPERS

Operational Considerations for Military Involvement in Low Intensity Conflict

This paper was prepared in an attempt to provide a framework to consider the military role in LIC. Although written from an Army and Air Force perspective, it can be adapted to all services, departments, and agencies of the US Government. The paper explains the meaning of LIC, delineates its parameters, and describes its major components. These components are peacekeeping, insurgency and counterinsurgency, combatting terrorism, and peacetime contingency operations.

Logistical Considerations in LIC

This paper attempts to articulate and highlight important logistical considerations in LIC. The paper maintains that while the fundamental principles of logistics apply across the spectrum of conflict, it is the application or adaptation of these principles to the LIC environment that present unique challenges for the logistician. Low intensity conflict is not business as usual. It is usually prosecuted under peacetime laws and regulations. It requires ingenuity, imagination, and flexibility to tailor the logistics resources to effectively and efficiently support the mission objective. In the LIC environment, the logistician will be expected to take the lead and will be a planner, operator, and teacher. These roles will require mental agility as well as a good dose of common sense.

Security Assistance and LIC: A Challenge to Excellence

This paper provides a framework for the consideration of the role of the military security assistance officer involved in LIC. The paper assumes the national strategic perspective, briefly explaining what LIC is, and detailing how security assistance fits in the context of US responses to LIC. It also discusses the unique position the security assistance officer occupies in the process of formulating and executing US foreign policy.

The Role of Reserve Forces in LIC

This paper describes LIC and the potential impact on US national interests. The role of reserve forces is developed within the context of four categories: peacekeeping, combatting terrorism, insurgency and counterinsurgency, and peacetime contingency operations. Existing and potential contributions of reserve forces relative to these categories are described. One concern of the author is the proportion of reserve forces to total force in those noncombat functions primarily involved in counterinsurgency. He also cautions against overcommitment of

reserve forces in such peacetime missions as drug interdiction when it impacts their capability to train and maintain their wartime readiness.

Compilation of References and Bibliography, Volume I: An
Annotated Bibliography on LIC Taken from the Joint Low Intensity
Conflict Project Final Report of 1 August 1986

This annotated bibliography derives from the two volumes of the Joint Low-Intensity Conflict Project Final Report (J-LIC Report) of 1 August 1986, whose appearance was timely and stimulating. Underpinning the J-LIC Report itself are the printed sources that provided the raw material for some of the Project's conclusions and recommendations. These sources are the substance of this bibliography. Their annotations were the subjects of the compiler's work to clarify and simplify in the hope students of LIC might use the bibliography as a guide and aid in their studies. While not all of the bibliographical items of the J-LIC Report became entries, most did, and whether they are books, articles, or papers, they constitute useful materials for the study of LIC. Under each type of item (book, article, paper), the bibliography lists entries under four categories (except in two cases in which no items made the bibliography). These categories are: insurgency and counterinsurgency, combatting terrorism, peacetime contingency operations, and peacekeeping operations.

Army Medical Department Roles and Functions in LIC

This paper looks at LIC from the standpoint of its functional areas and the roles which the Army Medical Department (AMEDD) is expected to fulfill in each. Emphasis is placed on the AMEDD's expanding role in the insurgency and counterinsurgency arena. The paper examines the traditional health service support focus, medical support to LIC operations, training instrumentalities in insurgency and counterinsurgency, and future trends and requirements.

Operational Art in LIC

This paper applies the concepts of operational art to LIC. It does not attempt to provide a "cookbook approach" to the subject but rather a construct designed to provoke thought on the part of the reader and hopefully assist in formulating other ideas and opinions concerning that application. A comparison of Soviet and US applications of the concept provides the framework for analysis with emphasis on the major concepts of operational design (centers of gravity, lines of operation, sequels, branches, and culminating points). In applying these concepts, the tenets of AirLand Battle doctrine together with appropriate principles of war are developed within the context of LIC.

LIC Imperatives for Success

This paper maintains there is a need for a reorientation of military thought concerning LIC based on the following imperatives for success: political dominance, unity of effort, adaptability, legitimacy, and patience. There is a significant difference between military operations in LIC and military operations in mid and high intensity conflict. As a result, the imperatives for military success in these different environments must reflect the unique constraints and must address the unique requirements of each environment. The imperatives for LIC discussed in this paper will not in and of themselves guarantee success. However, they do provide a framework for the successful application of the military instrument of national power in LIC.

Modern Terrorism: The Potential for Increased Lethality

This paper examines the practice of terrorism from an historical perspective and, in particular, the changes in revolutionary theory which have in part resulted from the availability of mass media means. The author proposes a correlation exists in the media attention garnered through violent terrorist acts and the increasingly lethal and seemingly random incidents of these acts. A deadly spiral of violence has developed in which, to attract media attention, ever higher levels of violence are required. Toxic chemical agents may be used by terrorist to achieve a new and even higher level.

US Aid to Democratic States Facing Totalitarian Revolutionary Warfare: Twelve Rules

The principles discussed in this paper are for allies of the US who are in revolutionary situations and reliant on substantial US assistance in meeting the diplomatic, economic, psychological, and military challenges of revolutionary warfare. These rules do not apply to situations in which a "quick strike" fix by US armed forces is called for, as was the case in Grenada. Instead, it applies to those situations in which the revolutionary struggle is protracted and the overall likelihood of armed US intervention is extremely small. As in all such cases, these rules are not absolute but merely guideposts for nations struggling to divine the strengths and weaknesses of American political, military, and economic support.

Technology Guidelines and Military Applications in LIC

This paper discusses the general environment in which LIC occurs and points to nine proposed guidelines for use when developing and/or selecting technologies for use in LIC. It also relates potential military technology applications to the four operational categories of LIC, insurgency and counterinsurgency, peacetime contingency operations, combatting terrorism, and peacekeeping operations.

Logistic Support for Low Intensity Conflict An Air Force Perspective

This document examines LIC logistics from a US Air Force perspective as seen through the eyes of a Royal Air Force exchange officer. As such, it is based on the US Air Force doctrine discussed in Air Force Manual 1-10, Combat Support Doctrine. The paper is aimed at operational and logistics staff at all levels of command. Its purpose is to provoke thought on the doctrinal issues associated with providing logistic support during LIC. The paper briefly looks at the cause and effect of LIC using insurgency as a model. It examines some of the principles of logistics as applied in the LIC scenario and then outlines how the logistic support processes might be applied to resources. Finally, it touches on some issues that should be addressed when providing aid to allies in the LIC scenario.

A Framework for Competitive Strategies Development in LIC

This study describes a process by which strategists can develop specific competitive strategy options in LIC. Through the use of module analysis and flow presentation, the reader is provided a framework for conceptualization and creating potential options for implementation. The process allows the strategist to develop a number of specific competitive strategy options along three avenues of analysis. Comparative assessment analysis of friends and allies is conducted to ascertain their condition prior to development of a comprehensive and integrated nation-building program. Persuasive profile analysis is used to determine how best to converge the interests of other nations with the US. Finally, coercibility analysis is employed to determine how best to compel the threat to recede or pay more to maintain position.

Low Intensity Conflict Education and Training Within DOD: A Compilation of Courses and Instructional Periods

This study provides a compendium of existing LIC and LIC-related courses within the DOD. The impetus behind this paper is two-fold: 1) to provide a single source of information concerning what is being taught in the various DOD and Service schools with respect to LIC, and 2) to serve as a resource and possible springboard from which to launch further research regarding the consistency and adequacy of existing curricula to support US LIC policy and Service doctrine. The scope of the compilation includes descriptions of those courses and instructional periods (IPs) which focus on doctrine, concepts, theory, or awareness. Part I lists those courses and IPs which deal with one or more of the categories of LIC: insurgency and counterinsurgency, peacetime contingency operations, combatting terrorism, and peacekeeping operations. Part II includes those courses and IPs which deal with many of the functional areas critical to US involvement and success in LIC, e.g., security assistance, civil affairs, and psychological operations.

Planning Considerations for the Combat Employment of Air Power in Peacetime Contingency Operations

This paper describes ways US military commanders and planning staffs can use combat air power within peacetime contingency operations. It offers several suggestions to enhance the use of air power in this area. It is intended to generate thought on a topic with a high probability of future occurrence. It is an outgrowth of Center efforts to develop joint doctrine for LIC. This paper supports the view that LIC is more than just a difference in degree. It is also a difference in kind, requiring forces uniquely organized and specifically tailored to the task at hand.

US Armed Forces Public Affairs Roles in LIC

To avert and counter the threat posed by LIC, the US has adopted a multi-faceted policy which includes the prudent use of armed forces, principally for security assistance. However, public support--primarily from the US citizenry, but also from that of the assisted nations--is needed to ensure the policy's viability. United States armed forces public affairs practitioners can and should assume significant roles to help achieve that support. This paper identifies and explains those roles. It demonstrates how public support can be earned for armed forces actions conducted in the context of overall US policy, and how that can logically contribute to support for, and effectiveness of, the national policy.

Arms Transfers and the Third World: Trends and Developments

This paper reviews several postwar trends in weapons technology and arms transfers, illustrating their potential influence on the conduct of conflict in future years. While providing a brief overview on the primary arms suppliers, the paper also examines many of the same questions concerning arms transfers as they relate to the even more volatile and uncertain prospect of nuclear-weapon proliferation. Additionally, the final section discusses the implications that this growing militarization has for US policymakers.

Introduction to Understanding Latin Americans

This paper was prepared by the USAF Special Operations School for use in their Latin American Orientation Course. It describes Latin America today in terms of the land, the people, economics, and politics. It explains cultural misconceptions and the roots of Latin culture. It then discusses Latin American values in terms of "personalismo" and Latin individualism, greetings, invitations, body language, world view, time, machismo, success, and manual labor. It explains teaching and training Latins in terms of the personal relationship, gifts, criticism and praise,

reactions to misunderstandings, school scheduling, instructor status, language, lecture notes, group discussions, feedback, exams, and critiques. Finally, it includes a short Spanish language guide.

**The Literature of Low-Intensity Conflict: A Selected
Bibliography and Suggestions for Future Research**

This bibliography is a useful tool to aid those grappling with LIC in all its manifestations. It surveys the vast body of literature connected with LIC and points up trends and vantage points that have helped to shape the viewpoints of writers. It names the better authors and works, providing brief descriptions of contents in many instances. Moreover, this bibliography directs attention to areas in need of further research efforts from traditional scholars as well as reflective operators (once they finally have time to record their ideas). Those trying to understand LIC can profit by consulting this bibliography.

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