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The Counterinsurgency Ferment, 1961–1965

On 6 January 1961, four days before the Army published its new doctrinal guidance on counterguerrilla warfare in FM 100–1, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev declared his nation's support of wars of national liberation. With several dozen insurgencies already percolating around the globe, Khrushchev's words signaled an escalation of what appeared to be a deliberate strategy to undermine Western institutions where they were weakest, in the emerging nations of the third world. Not one to let a challenge go unmet, President John F. Kennedy announced in his 20 January inaugural address that America would "pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival and success of liberty."[1]

Kennedy and the Army

Kennedy's strategy for rescuing the underdeveloped world from communism rested on three pillars—economic development, political reform, and military assistance. Of these, military action was the least important. As Kennedy explained in a May 1961 address to Congress, insurgency was really more of a "battle for minds and souls" rather than of weapons, for "no amount of arms and armies can help stabilize those governments which are unable or unwilling to achieve social and economic reform and development. Military pacts cannot help nations whose social injustice and economic chaos invite insurgency and penetration and subversion. The most skillful counter-guerrilla efforts cannot succeed where the local population is too caught up in its own misery to be concerned about the advance of communism."[2]

Kennedy's approach differed from that of prior administrations less in substance than in style. A charismatic leader, Kennedy turned the fight against communism into a national crusade. He rallied public support, expanded foreign aid programs, and created the Peace Corps to spread American ideas to the peoples of the world. To guide this effort, the president recruited to his administration the "best and the brightest" America's universities and corporations had to offer, including the leading proponent of economic development and nation-building theory, Walt Rostow. These "action intellectuals" preached a creed of social engineering that proved quite popular, resonating as it did with several deeply ingrained aspects of the American psyche, including liberal progressivism, Christian evangelicalism, and cultural chauvinism, not to mention the nation's growing acceptance of government activism as a remedy for social ills. Together, Rostow's theory about the revolution of rising expectations, and Kennedy's proposed solution—sociopolitical reforms that would win the "hearts and minds" of disaffected peoples the world over—created an "ideology of modernization" that would dominate American strategic policy for the next decade.[3]

While the president considered political reform and economic development to be the key weapons against communism, he did not neglect the Cold War's military aspects. He abandoned Eisenhower's nuclear-oriented doctrine in favor of a strategy of "flexible response" designed to meet every form of Communist aggression without having to use nuclear weapons. He initiated a major buildup that by 1965 had added five new divisions and nearly $10 billion worth of new materiel to the U.S. Army. He also authorized the Army to recast its combat divisions into a new organization, the Reorganization Objective Army Division (ROAD), whose conventionally oriented, flexible structure was much more adaptable to the president's purposes than the nuclear-oriented pentomic division of the Eisenhower era.[4]

But improving America's ability to wage wars without resorting to nuclear weapons was only part of the president's program. More important in his mind were initiatives designed to meet the threat posed by "sub-limited" war—guerrilla action, insurgency, and subversion. Kennedy shared the view voiced by fellow politician Hubert H. Humphrey that Maoist revolutionary warfare represented nothing less than "a bold new form of aggression which could rank in military importance with the invention of gunpowder." The politicians were not alone in this assessment, as many social scientists, strategists, and commentators also propounded this view. In answer to the president's call to arms, the nation's intellectuals rushed to put forward

various theories about the insurgency threat, creating in the process an atmosphere of "overthink" similar to that which had prevailed in the 1950s with regard to nuclear warfare. Fascinated by the black arts of guerrilla warfare, espionage, and propaganda and convinced that Maoist revolutionary warfare was qualitatively different than anything heretofore known, Kennedy insisted that "it is nonsense to think that regular forces trained for conventional war can handle jungle guerrillas adequately." Consequently, he demanded that the Army devise "a wholly new kind of strategy; a wholly different kind of force and therefore a new and different kind of military training" to meet what he considered to be the preeminent threat of the day.[5]

For the most part, the Army responded positively to President Kennedy's security initiatives. It strongly supported the new doctrine of flexible response, accepted the necessity of developing countermeasures to Communist insurgent warfare, and readily embraced both Rostow's theory about the revolution of rising expectations and the president's nation-building counterstrategy. Although many officers felt uncomfortable with suggestions that they be transformed from warriors into social engineers, they challenged neither the importance of political considerations in counterinsurgency nor the notion that specialists were required to deal with insurgency's many political and social facets. As Army Chief of Staff General George H. Decker himself conceded,

> our splendid field armies in Europe and Korea and in reserve in the United States . . . are designed for conventional and tactical nuclear warfare. Their purpose is to meet clearly-defined, large-scale military threats. Obviously these units are not the proper response to a band of guerrillas which in a flash will transform itself into a scattering of "farmers." Neither are they best geared to move into a weak country and help it move up the development ladder by training local forces to improve the people's health, transportation, and building program.[6]

Moreover, the Army maintained that introducing large ground forces into a highly charged nationalistic environment could well prove to be the "kiss of death" for the government the United States was trying to aid. Consequently, it shared the president's interest in creating small, specialist formations and of improving the nation's advisory and assistance programs. This was evidenced by Decker's 1960 recommendations to increase the size of Special Forces and to create Cold War task forces, proposals that eventually bore fruit in the form of the Special Action Forces and the SAF backup brigades. But at this point, Decker and the president parted company. For Kennedy was not content

Army Chief of Staff General Decker chats with soldiers who were playing the role of villagers during a counterguerrilla training exercise.

with making minor adjustments around the edges of American defense policy. Rather, he wanted to transform the entire U.S. Army, both mentally and structurally, into the type of politically astute, socially conscious, and guerrilla-savvy force that he believed was necessary to combat Maoist-style revolutions—and General Decker did not.[7]

To begin with, Decker questioned the wisdom of overhauling the military to meet third world contingencies on the grounds that "our primary interest must be in Europe. With the exception of Japan, the areas of the East have nothing to contribute toward our survival. Therefore we could lose in Asia without losing everything, but to lose in Europe would be fatal." Indeed, the Army had a very practical dilemma—the president insisted that it restructure itself without jeopardizing its other missions, including the defense of Europe and Korea. Lacking the time, money, and manpower to create different armies for different types of warfare, the Army favored a more gradual introduction of counterinsurgency than the president was willing to tolerate.[8]

Although he did not doubt that the United States needed to be able to fight guerrillas effectively, Decker also challenged Kennedy's assertion that conventional soldiers were incapable of defeating irregulars. He regarded such talk as excessive and ahistorical, believing instead that, with proper preparation, "any good soldier can handle guerrillas." He was not alone, as many other military leaders,

including Joint Chiefs Chairman General Lyman L. Lemnitzer; the president's personal military adviser and future chairman of the Joint Chiefs, General Maxwell D. Taylor; and Marine Corps Maj. Gen. Victor H. Krulak, the Joint Chiefs' point man for counterinsurgency, shared Decker's opinion.[9]

Kennedy regarded such sentiments as heresy and attempted to quash them. During his three-year tenure the president issued no fewer than twenty-three National Security Action Memorandums pertaining to counterinsurgency—formal ukases that demanded immediate compliance. He peppered his military advisers with questions, scrutinized their answers closely, and requested periodic updates on the state of the counterinsurgency program. He let everyone know that he considered counterinsurgency experience to be an important factor in determining promotions, and many believed that he did not renew Generals Decker's and Lemnitzer's tenures on the grounds that they had failed to demonstrate sufficient enthusiasm for his counterinsurgency initiatives. Finally, in January 1962 Kennedy formed an interagency task force, the Special Group (Counterinsurgency), with the mission of ensuring "proper recognition throughout the United States government that subversive insurgency ('wars of liberation') is a major form of politico-military conflict equal in importance to conventional warfare," and "that such recognition is reflected in the organization, training, equipment and doctrine of the United States armed forces and other United States agencies."[10]

In pressing his agenda the president was not without allies within the Army, including Brig. Gen. William P. Yarborough, commander of the Special Warfare Center at Fort Bragg, and Brig. Gen. William B. Rosson, the special assistant to the chief of staff for special warfare activities. Together with elements drawn largely from the Special Forces, psyops, and civil affairs communities, these "young moderns" advanced Kennedy's agenda from within with some success. But this success came at a price, for like all bureaucratic institutions, the Army cherished its institutional autonomy, and many soldiers resented Kennedy's interference in what they believed were internal matters that were best left to professionals.[11]

The Army was not alone in opposing aspects of the president's counterinsurgency initiative. The State Department flatly resisted the more operational role that the president expected it to play in orchestrating the counterinsurgency effort. There also existed in the State Department a core of officials who "appeared to consider problems of internal conflict a diversion from their main interest of foreign policy and diplomacy, and something that would, if played

President Kennedy talks with General Yarborough at Fort Bragg, North Carolina.

down long enough, eventually be resolved in the normal course of international relations." Similar sentiments existed within the Agency for International Development (AID), which resisted suggestions that it abandon its traditional long-term development projects for more short-term, civic action-type activities—activities that the agency tended to dismiss as gimmickry. AID showed equal disinterest in improving indigenous police forces, a key counterinsurgency program that it controlled but which seemed out of step with its primary socioeconomic mission. Finally, all civilian agencies feared that the counterinsurgency movement represented a militarization of policy that would give military men influence in areas that had previously been the exclusive domain of civilians, a fear that further impeded interagency coordination. In fact, Kennedy created the Special Group in 1962 largely due to frustration over the unwillingness of civilian agencies to jump on the counterinsurgency bandwagon.[12]

Nevertheless, foot dragging—perceived or real—on the part of the Army usually brought the strongest reaction from the president. Given the innate tendency of bureaucracies to resist outside interference, the president believed that he had to keep the pressure on if he was to have any hope of seeing the government adopt his programs in a speedy fashion. But deep down, many soldiers continued to feel uncomfortable with a process that they believed had politicized military doctrine.[13]

Sources of Doctrine

Misgivings aside, the Army moved with due diligence in formulating a doctrine for defeating wars of national liberation. In the process, its doctrine writers cast a wide net. They consulted outside experts, examined published works, and sponsored research. They read the works of Mao Tse-tung and the Cuban revolutionary Ernesto "Che" Guevara, whose 1960 book, *On Guerrilla Warfare*, the Army rushed to translate. Military doctrine writers also mined recent counterinsurgency operations for nuggets of useful information. Because of the covert nature of American activities in Laos, relatively little emerged from that conflict into the broader doctrinal world. On the other hand, the Army made a concerted effort to acquire, digest, and disseminate the latest lessons generated by the growing insurgency in South Vietnam. In addition to circulating pertinent reports produced by the Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (MACV), the Army established the Army Concept Team in Vietnam, which used the burgeoning insurgency as a laboratory to test new organizations, equipment, and techniques. Still, in the early 1960s Vietnam experiences worked mainly along the edges of doctrine, adding a technique here or a bit of emphasis there but not changing doctrine's core principles.[14]

Compared with America's ongoing and as yet inconclusive advisory operations in Southeast Asia, the lessons of conflicts already concluded seemed both clearer and more readily available, and consequently the Army took great pains to study the many irregular conflicts that had occurred over the previous twenty years. Although the Army continued to examine *Wehrmacht* techniques, it focused most of its historical inquiries on more recent conflicts.[15] The two the Army studied most were the Malayan emergency and the Huk rebellion. The popularity of these events stemmed both from a desire to emulate success and from the fact that information pertaining to them was readily available in English. As in the late 1950s the Army turned to the British for examples of civil-military coordination and administration, jungle tactics, and population-control techniques. From the Philippines, the Army derived examples of the roles that intelligence, psychological warfare, and civic action played in suppressing unrest. Unfortunately, the overwhelming popularity of the Malayan and the Philippine cases led to a relatively uncritical acceptance of the alleged lessons of these conflicts. All too often Americans saw only what they wanted to see in these two episodes. They tended to overestimate the ease and extent to which resettlement programs and political reforms had won the hearts and minds of the people while ignoring contradictory evidence

and minimizing the role that coercion had contributed to the success of these campaigns.[16] Not until they had had some direct experiences of their own would Americans begin to question some of their earlier Malayan- and Philippine-based assumptions.

The Army's infatuation with Malaya and the Philippines notwithstanding, the service did not ignore the French experience. As it had done during the previous decade, the Army monitored ongoing operations in Algeria and continued to translate and distribute French texts to instructors and doctrine writers.[17] Most Army schools examined either the Indochinese or Algerian civil wars in their curriculums, assisted in some cases by French liaison officers like Lt. Col. Paul Aussaresses, who visited both the Infantry and Special Warfare schools in the early 1960s. Interested officers could further their studies by consulting a variety of books and articles that appeared on these two conflicts in the early 1960s, including the works of journalist/political scientist Bernard Fall, who was a popular speaker at Army institutions despite his criticism of American methods in South Vietnam.[18] Such study was not idle curiosity, for according to General Yarborough, special warfare doctrine writers consciously employed *guerre revolutionnaire* theory when fashioning doctrinal tracts.[19] Though Americans admired aspects of French doctrine, most continued to treat French operations in Indochina as a paradigm for how not to wage a counterinsurgency.

As in the 1950s, Army analysts believed France had lost the Indochina War due to its shortsighted colonial policies that neither recognized the legitimacy of Vietnamese nationalism nor introduced any significant political, social, or economic reforms to win the support of the Vietnamese people. Army commentators also noted that France had not committed sufficient forces to win the war, in part due to a lack of public support back home, which had put the French military in the unenviable position of trying "to maintain a position of strength from which some sort of 'honorable' settlement might be negotiated." Militarily, Army documents criticized the French for fighting conventionally, for moving in road-bound columns, and for dispersing their forces in a myriad of small, static posts that robbed them of the initiative. Although U.S. soldiers conceded that there were not always easy solutions to the problems the French had faced, many of them believed that the reform-oriented, offensive doctrine they were crafting would allow the United States to avoid many of the mistakes France had made in Indochina.[20]

While the Army examined recent foreign experiences with insurgency, it generally ignored its own rich heritage in irregular warfare. True, Army leaders liked to brag about legendary guerrilla fighters

of yesteryear—Robert Rogers and his Rangers during the French and Indian War, George Crook in Apacheria, J. Franklin Bell in the Philippines, and John J. Pershing, who fought bandits from Moroland to Mexico. The exploits of such men may have been relevant had the Army actually made a determined effort to remember and document them. In fact, most soldiers had only the vaguest impressions about the old Army's counterinsurgency and constabulary operations. Nor did the Army make much of an effort to correct this deficiency, since it shared the popular belief that distant wars involving obsolescent technologies and pre-Communist organizations could not possibly be relevant to understanding modern insurgency.[21]

If the Army ignored its own past, there was one source of American knowledge of which the manual writers of the 1960s did take full advantage—the Army's own doctrine as developed in the 1950s. In word, thought, and concept, the U.S. Army's response in the 1960s to the threat of Communist revolutionary warfare ultimately rested in large part on recycling the lessons Colonel Volckmann had derived a decade earlier from his study of partisan warfare in World War II. Thus, while examinations of recent foreign experiences would add richness and depth to the Army's understanding of insurgency, they would not fundamentally alter it.

The Doctrine Development System

Doctrine may be about ideas, but like so many other human endeavors its final form is frequently influenced as much by the process through which it is created as the ideas themselves. In the case of counterinsurgency, the development of doctrine was complicated both by the nature of the subject and the organization of the Army's doctrinal development system.

Between 1942 and 1962 a succession of major Army commands—Army Ground Forces (1942–1948), Army Field Forces (1948–1955), and Continental Army Command (1955–1962)—had overseen the Army's doctrinal, educational, and training activities. Under their supervision, school faculties, select committees, or specially chosen individuals like Volckmann had drafted Army manuals. For the most part, Army schools wrote and disseminated doctrine pertaining to their particular branch of service, while the Command and General Staff College prepared upper-level combined arms doctrine. By the early 1960s, however, the Army had decided that the fast pace of technological change had made the task of developing and inculcating doctrine too difficult for one agency. Consequently, in 1962 General Decker

split these functions between Continental Army Command (CONARC) at Fort Monroe, Virginia, and a new entity, Combat Developments Command (CDC), at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

According to the arrangement, Combat Developments Command was responsible for determining the Army's future needs and developing broad policies and concepts to meet them. It was then to publish these overarching concepts in doctrinal manuals. The Continental Army Command, on the other hand, retained control of the Army's educational and training system. It was responsible for teaching CDC doctrine as well as for developing the tactics, techniques, and procedures necessary to implement the broad concepts contained in CDC manuals. Continental Army Command published these applicatory techniques in what the Army termed training manuals. To facilitate coordination and communication between the two commands, CDC collocated a doctrine development agency at each CONARC school. Thus the CDC Infantry Agency at Fort Benning, Georgia, developed infantry doctrine, while CONARC's Infantry School, also at Fort Benning, developed tactics and techniques to implement that doctrine while teaching the combined CDC-CONARC material to its students.

After a CDC field agency had drafted a manual, it would forward the draft to an intermediary CDC group headquarters for review. Once other CDC field-level agencies had had a chance to comment on the proposed manual, the manual would next be sent up through CDC headquarters to a newly created entity on the Pentagon's Army Staff—the Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Force Development (OACSFOR)—which in 1963 assumed from the deputy chief of staff for military operations responsibility for doctrinal development and manual production within the Army. After coordinating the proposed doctrine within the Army Staff, OACSFOR would either return the manual to Combat Developments Command for revision or forward it to the Office of the Adjutant General for publication.

Although Decker had created Combat Developments Command to improve the Army's ability to adapt to a fast changing world, the process proved cumbersome. CONARC and CDC did not always coordinate their actions as closely as they should, and for the Army to take up to three years to produce a manual under the new system was not unusual. This was clearly an impediment given the urgency for developing and disseminating new doctrine for counterinsurgency. The fact that the counterinsurgency wave hit the Army at a time when it was in the midst of reorganizing its doctrinal system merely exacerbated the already difficult task of developing and integrating new concepts.[22]

Anxious that counterinsurgency not become lost in the organizational shuffle, General Decker created a temporary Remote Area Conflict Office to expedite the development of counterinsurgency doctrine. Once Combat Developments Command was up and running, the Army replaced the office in October 1962 with a permanent CDC group-level headquarters, the Special Doctrine and Equipment Group. Located at Fort Belvoir, Virginia, the group (which the Army renamed the Special Warfare Group in 1963) worked to ensure that counterinsurgency doctrine was properly incorporated into all applicable manuals. Much of the group's day-to-day work in this regard fell upon its subordinate field element, the CDC Special Warfare Agency at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. In addition to writing doctrine for Special Forces, psychological operations, and military advisory activities, the Special Warfare Agency developed basic counterinsurgency doctrine and reviewed manuals developed by other Army agencies for counterinsurgency content.[23] This was not a simple task.

To begin with, the Army had several hundred field manuals in its inventory, many of which the Special Warfare Agency would have to review periodically for possible inclusion of counterinsurgency material. In addition to the heavy work load this created for the Special Warfare Agency, the fact that counterinsurgency cut across branch and functional lines created a certain degree of conceptual and bureaucratic friction between it and other CDC entities. The parent agencies for the Army's numerous branch and functional manuals did not always concur with the special warfare community about the degree to which their manuals needed to incorporate counterinsurgency-related material. Moreover, some confusion existed between the Special Warfare Agency and other agencies over proponency for certain aspects of counterinsurgency doctrine. For example, the Civil Affairs Agency at Fort Gordon, Georgia, believed that the Special Warfare Agency did not pay it proper deference with regard to counterinsurgency's many civil aspects for which Fort Gordon held proponency.

The Army tried to improve the coordination between these two agencies in 1964 by transferring control of the Civil Affairs Agency from the Combat Service Support Group to the Special Warfare Group, which the Army redesignated the Special Warfare and Civil Affairs Group. However, other tensions simmered between the Special Warfare Agency and the Infantry Agency, which developed tactical counterguerrilla doctrine, as well as the Institute for Advanced Studies at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, which formulated broad, Army-wide concepts, and the Command and General Staff College and its associated CDC agency, the Combined Warfare Agency, which held proponency for all

doctrinal matters at the army, corps, and division level. Ultimately, all of these agencies and their related CONARC institutions would at one time or another hold proponency for some aspects of counterinsurgency doctrine, and the friction that sometimes developed between them adversely affected the formulation of doctrine.[24]

The Evolution of Doctrine, 1961–1964

The Army published its first response to the president's counterinsurgency drive—FM 31–15, *Operations Against Irregular Forces*—just four months after Kennedy assumed office. The rapid appearance of this manual stemmed from the fact that the Command and General Staff College had written the bulk of it prior to Kennedy's election. The manual, which replaced FM 31–15, *Operations Against Airborne Attack, Guerrilla Action, and Infiltration* (1953), provided broad guidance concerning the conduct of counterguerrilla operations, repeating and amplifying the doctrine that had just been published a few months before in FM 100–1.

Operations Against Irregular Forces opened with the premise that guerrilla warfare was merely the "outward manifestation" of public disenchantment with certain political, social, and economic conditions. This premise led to two conclusions: first, that a guerrilla movement required at least some degree of public support to flourish, and second, that the only permanent solution to an insurgency was to rectify the conditions that had given rise to it in the first place. Military action, unaccompanied by meaningful reforms, could at best suppress, but never completely eradicate, a heartfelt revolutionary movement.[25]

FM 31–15 (1961) followed the 1960 ODCSOPS handbook in identifying four tasks that had to be achieved to defeat guerrillas and prevent their resurgence. First and foremost, government authorities had to establish an effective intelligence system. Second, through a combination of military and police measures, the Army had to separate the irregulars both physically and psychologically from the population and all sources of support—internal and external. Third, the Army had to destroy the guerrillas as a military force. Finally, the government would have to reeducate the dissidents, rebuild damaged institutions, and redress the causes of discontent.

To help commanders accomplish these tasks the manual offered five operational principles. The first principle was unity of command, as it recommended that a single person be placed in charge of all civil and military counterinsurgency programs at each level of command. Corollaries to this principle included the need to develop an integrated

politico-military campaign plan, the desirability of maintaining continuity of personnel in a particular area to promote regional expertise, and the utility of creating a combined command to coordinate the activities of U.S. and indigenous military forces. The remaining principles also stressed concepts that had appeared in previous American doctrine—respect for human rights, offensive operations, and the creation of mobile task forces. Finally, the manual reiterated that police, combat, and political operations all had to be conducted simultaneously throughout the course of a campaign, despite the fact that in any particular stage one of those methods might predominate over the others.[26]

Like earlier writings, FM 31–15 (1961) adopted a strategy of progressive area clearance. The force commander would establish regional commands, normally along existing political boundaries, in order to facilitate civil-military coordination. Within each region, subareas would be created, with each being cleared in turn according to government priorities and troop availability. Once an area was cleared, the commander would leave behind a sufficient number of troops, backed by a large number of police, paramilitary, and village defense forces, to prevent a guerrilla resurgence, while the bulk of the soldiers moved on to the next area to be cleared.

The manual enumerated four types of military operations that were to be conducted during a counterguerrilla campaign: *reaction operations*, in which mobile reserves responded to guerrilla sightings or actions; *harassment operations*, in which small patrols and raiding parties beleaguered the enemy, keeping him fragmented and on the move; *denial operations* that sought to block guerrilla access to external sources of supply; and *elimination operations* that were offensive actions designed to destroy guerrilla units once intelligence or reconnaissance forces had "definitely located" them. The manual repeated earlier doctrine in making the destruction of the enemy, not the capture of ground, the primary objective, prescribing encirclement as the most effective, if admittedly difficult, means of achieving this end.[27]

While military operations broke up the irregulars and drove them away from populated areas, FM 31–15 (1961) prescribed a variety of intelligence, psychological warfare, civic action, and police measures to complete the separation of the guerrillas from the people. In line with previous doctrine, the manual required that commanders achieve a delicate balance between benevolence and repression. Thus, the manual advised that "persons whose property is searched and whose goods are seized should be irritated and frightened to such an extent that they will neither harbor irregular force members nor support them in the future. Conversely, the action must not be so harsh as to drive them to

collaboration with the irregular force because of resentment." Humane treatment of prisoners, correct behavior toward inhabitants, and civic actions were, when necessary, to be supplemented by strict controls over assembly, movement, and the possession of food, arms, and medicine. The manual authorized commanders to relocate populations from insecure areas to places where they could be more readily monitored and protected and recommended instituting a *pao chia*–style system in which villagers spied on their neighbors.[28]

FM 31–15 (1961) recommended several modifications that might be necessary in conducting a counterguerrilla war. It listed planning factors to be considered and highlighted the important roles civic action and intelligence operations would play. It recommended that commanders augment standard infantry battalions with additional rifle companies, an artillery battery, aviation, and detachments of intelligence, psychological warfare, civil affairs, and military police personnel, not unlike the battalion combat teams that U.S. advisers had developed during the Huk rebellion. Finally, the manual echoed earlier doctrine in pointing out the unique moral and psychological aspects associated with guerrilla warfare. Among these were frustration born from an inability to achieve tangible results against an elusive foe, disenchantment derived from prolonged service under primitive living conditions among an alien population, and fear of guerrilla atrocities. FM 31–15 (1961) also noted the corrosive effects of several conflicting emotions: the desire to retaliate against civilians for guerrilla misdeeds, "the ingrained reluctance of the soldier to take repressive measures against women, children, and old men who usually are active in both overt and covert irregular activities or who must be resettled or concentrated for security reasons," and "the sympathy of some soldiers with certain stated objectives of the resistance movement such as relief from oppression." For these and other dilemmas the manual offered no solutions other than those prescribed a decade earlier by Volckmann—intensive training, troop indoctrination, and dynamic leadership.[29]

Operations Against Irregular Forces established the basic outline of Army counterinsurgency doctrine for the next few years. Subsequent manuals would amplify and clarify it, adding a few new concepts and updating its language, but truly substantive changes would be few. FM 31–15 (1961) was not, however, meant to be the Army's final word on the subject. Two major areas remained to be addressed. First, the broad themes contained in the manual needed to be fleshed out with applicatory methods and techniques. Conversely, the Army believed that FM 31–15 (1961) needed to be placed in a broader strategic context. This was especially important given counterinsurgency's many

political aspects and the administration's professed desire to approach the problem on an interagency basis. But such a doctrine was not the Army's to make, as it required policy decisions at the highest levels of government. Still, as the first agency to have published a counterguerrilla doctrine of any sort, the Army was well positioned to influence events as they unfolded.

The first step on the road to formulating a national counterinsurgency doctrine occurred nearly a year after the Army had published FM 31–15. In April 1962 the Joint Chiefs of Staff issued a document titled "Joint Counterinsurgency Concept and Doctrinal Guidance." Based chiefly on input from the Army Staff, the joint concept established broad guidelines for the military services as they developed organizations and doctrines to meet the threat of Communist insurgency. The document called for unified action by all government agencies—U.S. and foreign alike—to create a "fully integrated, mutually supporting and concurrently applied" mesh of political, military, and socioeconomic programs. Such an approach was essential, "since economic and political progress are dependent upon reasonable internal security, and internal security cannot be permanently effective without complementing non-military action."[30]

The Joint Chiefs established three roles for the U.S. military as part of the national counterinsurgency program: providing advice and assistance in nation building, furnishing advice and assistance in counterguerrilla operations, and undertaking direct combat action. The extent of military activity in each of these areas was pegged to the three stages of a Maoist insurgency. In the first phase, when insurgency was still latent, U.S. military advisers were to concentrate their efforts on improving the indigenous military's civic action, security, and counterguerrilla capabilities. In phase two, under conditions of active guerrilla warfare, the Americans would continue and intensify these efforts. Finally, should the insurgency escalate into a full-blown phase three conflict, the United States as a last resort might intervene. Should it do so, the joint concept called for the commitment of soldiers trained in the military, social, and psychological aspects of insurgency, as well as the language and culture of the afflicted area. The Joint Chiefs also directed that "U.S. military units employed in any counterinsurgency role will be tailored to the conditions where insurgency exists. Use of large combat units will be avoided." Such stipulations, together with the injunction that military agencies were to develop individuals for counterinsurgency duty, indicated that the Pentagon envisioned its role largely as an advisory one—an approach that reflected administration policy.[31]

In the joint concept the Joint Chiefs of Staff assigned to the Army the task of developing counterinsurgency tactics, techniques, and doctrine for both itself and the Marine Corps. However, the Joint Staff established a broad conceptual framework within which Army doctrine would have to operate. Thus the joint concept asserted that the basic function of military forces was to "insulate the people from the insurgents both physically and psychologically; win and maintain popular respect, support, and confidence." To achieve these ends, military forces were to seal populated areas, clear them of guerrillas, and hold them against the possibility of a guerrilla resurgence. Operations were to be continuous, aggressive, and varied, using ruses and deception to keep the enemy off-balance. Meanwhile, the military would assist police and government officials in eliminating the last vestiges of civilian support for the insurgents through a combination of civic and psychological actions, counterintelligence activities, security operations, and "appropriate reprisals."[32]

The importance of the joint concept stemmed from the fact that it imposed on the military services a doctrinal vision that was virtually identical to the views already held by the Army. It could not, however, definitively address the larger issues of national policy and the interaction of civil-military agencies. Such policies required higher-level action—action that occurred in September 1962 when the National Security Council formally published a government-wide counterinsurgency doctrine, known as the Overseas Internal Defense Policy (OIDP).

The OIDP made Rostow's nation-building theory the official policy of the United States government. It enunciated in a formal way Kennedy's threefold strategy of applying sociopolitical reforms, economic stimuli, and military assistance as both prophylactics and remedies for the disease of Communist insurgency. Like the joint concept, the OIDP embraced the Maoist model of revolutionary warfare, using it as a framework around which to build American countermeasures. The policy asserted that political, social, and economic reform, not repression, were the keys to defeating subversion. The OIDP also established as policy the notion that the job of defeating an insurgency rested primarily upon the indigenous government, not the United States. Finally, the OIDP called for the creation of a well-integrated, seamless counterinsurgency effort on the part of all elements of the federal government, assigning particular roles to the Departments of State and Defense, the CIA, AID, and the U.S. Information Agency (USIA).[33]

Although the OIDP fulfilled the Army's desire for a formal enunciation of national policy, the document had several weaknesses. First, it was, in the words of one of its principal architects, a "somewhat

simplistic document," whose broad prescriptions were inadequate to meet what was in reality a highly complex world. Second, while the OIDP had assigned roles and missions, it had not detailed how the actions of the various agencies would be integrated into a cohesive whole other than through the coordinative powers of the Special Group (Counterinsurgency) in Washington and, at the country level, through the ambassador. Since both entities were given only the power to monitor and coordinate, rather than direct and control, there was in fact very little to ensure the necessary integration of effort. The Army would complain for several years that the absence of a well-integrated system for executing the national counterinsurgency program greatly impeded its efforts, both doctrinally and operationally.[34]

Finally, the OIDP suffered from a third major weakness, one that its authors recognized but for which they did not have an answer. For if, as the doctrine asserted, insurgency was the product of social, economic, and political inequities that were not being addressed by indigenous authorities, what confidence could the United States have that it would be able to persuade these very same people to adopt American-proffered reforms? While the OIDP proudly showcased Ramon Magsaysay as an example of what could be achieved when an able leader listened to American advice, there was little guarantee that the United States would always be so fortunate. Indeed, the OIDP conceded that U.S. officials would be confronted with indigenous elites who benefited from the status quo and who would exhibit "deep-seated emotional, cultural, and proprietary resistance to any change that diminishes power and privilege, regardless of how unrealistic and short-sighted this stubbornness may seem objectively."[35]

Given America's reluctance to intervene directly, the OIDP saw only two options when confronted by a recalcitrant regime. Either the United States could threaten to withhold aid until the indigenous government implemented reforms, or it could employ covert means to change the political landscape of the country in question, possibly resulting in the removal of particularly obstinate leaders. Neither option was very palatable, and thus the old dilemma of leverage would continue to bedevil any counterinsurgency action undertaken by the United States.[36]

Like the joint concept, the OIDP was of great importance to the Army because it established the basic policy positions that Army doctrine would have to reflect. Nevertheless, it had very little effect on the shape of Army doctrine, largely because the document echoed positions that had already been adopted by both the Army and the Pentagon. In fact, the National Security Council had relied heavily on the Joint Chief's joint concept when it had written the OIDP.[37]

While national authorities spent most of 1962 crafting overarching policies, the Army did not remain idle. Due to both the newness of the subject and its perceived importance, the Army adopted a two-pronged approach in developing counterinsurgency doctrine. The first approach involved integrating broad counterinsurgency principles into as many manuals as possible, folding the material in whenever a manual came up for routine review and revision. Perhaps the most important example of this approach occurred in February 1962, when the Army published a new edition of FM 100–5, *Operations*, that included new chapters on situations short of war, guerrilla warfare, counterguerrilla warfare, and airmobile operations. All told, Cold War– and counterinsurgency-related subjects accounted for about 20 percent of this widely read manual. In actuality, the manual contained little that was new, as it merely summarized the basic principles already established in FM 31–15 the year before. Still, the increased visibility that the manual afforded counterinsurgency and contingency operations represented a major milestone that helped solidify their places as important missions within the Army.[38]

While the integration of counterinsurgency principles into existing manuals proceeded, the Army also advanced on a second track, developing new tactics and techniques to help soldiers implement FM 31–15's broad principles. Perhaps the best examples of this approach in 1962 were FM 33–5, *Psychological Operations*, and FM 41–10, *Civil Affairs Operations*. Of the two, *Psychological Operations*, written at Fort Bragg, was the more progressive. It revised the 1955 edition of FM 33–5 by adding new chapters on the important role psychological operations played in insurgencies and situations short of war. It was also the first manual to employ such cutting edge terms as *counterinsurgency* and *nation building*. The manual impressed upon its readers that "no tactical counterinsurgency program can be effective without major nation building programs. The causes for unrest must be in the process of reduction for the successful counterinsurgency operation. This implies extensive political, economic, and social reform."[39]

FM 41–10 (1962), prepared by the Civil Affairs School at Fort Gordon, agreed with this philosophy. Although the bulk of this manual was dedicated to conventional operations, it strongly endorsed civic action, defined as "any function performed by military forces in cooperation with civil authorities, agencies, or groups through the use of military manpower and material resources for the socio-economic well-being and improvement of the civil community with a goal of building or reinforcing mutual respect and fellowship between the civil and military communities." Based on recent experience, FM 41–10

(1962) examined the organization and function of civic action advisory teams and related lessons regarding the implementation of a civic action program. It stated that projects originated by the local population were more likely to succeed than those imposed from above by well-meaning, but often ignorant and ethnocentric advisers. The manual concluded that a project must have a fairly short completion time, both because military units moved frequently and because the government needed to win public support in the present, rather than in the distant future. Finally, FM 41–10 (1962) advised soldiers to coordinate all of their civic action projects with civilian agencies to ensure that those activities would complement, and not compete, with the efforts of other government elements.[40]

While FMs 33–5 and 41–10 added depth to the Army's understanding of its role in an insurgency, the Army pressed ahead with the development of counterguerrilla tactics and techniques. This effort had begun in December 1961, when the Army had directed the Command and General Staff College to flesh out the principles established in FM 31–15 (1961). After completing an initial draft in early 1962, CGSC handed the project over to the Infantry School. The effort came to fruition in February 1963 as FM 31–16, *Counterguerrilla Operations*.[41]

Counterguerrilla Operations added detail to the multiphased and multifaceted area control strategy called for in FM 31–15 (1961). Reflecting an appreciation for counterinsurgency's uniquely local and decentralized nature, as well as the belief that deployments larger than a division were unlikely, FM 31–16 established the brigade as the basic operational and command element. The manual envisioned that a brigade would be assigned to control a geographical area. Upon arrival, it would establish a main base camp and subsidiary installations, further subdividing the region into battalion and company operating areas, with each level of command retaining a mobile (preferably airmobile) reserve reaction force. Like FM 31–15 (1961), *Counterguerrilla Operations* placed special emphasis on accumulating intelligence, for "in counterguerrilla operations, the commander is even more deeply dependent upon intelligence and counterintelligence than in conventional warfare situations." Noting that, "the unit which conducts counterguerrilla operations without sound intelligence wastes time, materiel, and troop effort," the manual urged commanders to tap every conceivable resource to acquire a coherent picture of a region's political, social, and military topography.[42]

Included among the seven pages the manual devoted to intelligence matters were suggestions concerning methods and techniques appropriate for insurgency situations. The manual recommended maintaining

personality files on guerrilla leaders and asserted that friends and family of known guerrillas were "valuable as sources of information, as hostages, and as bait for traps that can be laid for guerrillas visiting them." Conversely, the manual recognized that insurgents usually had excellent intelligence sources of their own, a fact that demanded that military forces exercise the utmost secrecy if they were ever to have a hope of catching the irregulars. To help even the odds, FM 31–16 recommended that commanders leak false information, manipulate suspected enemy agents, and employ cover operations and deception plans to outfox the enemy as to the Army's true intentions.[43]

Having established itself in a region, the brigade's next step was to separate the irregulars from the population. Off the battlefield, the government would achieve this goal through police and security measures, intelligence operations, civic actions, and propaganda. The manual described each of these in turn, stressing the necessity of weaving them together into a seamless whole with the help of Malayan-style civil-military pacification committees in each brigade and battalion sector. Recognizing that the task of securing the population "should never be deemphasized," FM 31–16 called for the creation of large police and village defense forces and the imposition of effective measures to control the behavior and resources of the civilian population.[44]

While never minimizing the importance of positive measures, FM 31–16 paralleled British manuals of the day by dwelling upon pacification's more restrictive aspects, reminding its readers that "counterguerrilla operations must include appropriate action against the civilian and underground support of the guerrilla force without which it cannot operate." The manual reviewed the usual list of control measures—curfews, travel restrictions, and the like—describing several in more detail than had appeared in previous manuals. Throughout, FM 31–16 tried to balance the desirability of winning popular support with the less palatable requirements of military necessity. Following American tradition, the manual advised commanders to apply a judicious mixture of moderation and fairness on the one hand, and "vigorous enforcement and stern punishment" on the other, warning that "half-heartedness or any other sign of laxness will breed contempt and defiance."[45]

Although *Counterguerrilla Operations* focused on the internal aspects of insurgency, it conceded that past experience had shown that insurrections rarely achieved their full potential without access to external sanctuaries and sustenance. Consequently, the manual included a short section on border control operations. The section was of necessity vague since actual measures would depend on the military,

diplomatic, and topographical features of the conflict. Nevertheless, FM 31–16 prescribed a vigorous surveillance program involving observation posts, intelligence agents, electronic listening and sensing devices, and ground, air, and waterborne patrols. Crop destruction and defoliation measures were recommended for eliminating food and cover in guerrilla base areas. The manual also endorsed the creation of restricted zones, in which the Army would remove the entire population so as to create a no-man's land along the border, and buffer zones, in which the military removed only the disloyal while permitting trusted individuals to stay on to create a hostile environment for guerrilla infiltrators. The manual recognized the significant human and materiel cost of such methods, and consequently it recommended that relocation and resettlement schemes be employed only when absolutely necessary and in close coordination with civil authorities.[46]

As civil, military, and police officials secured the country's resources, regular military units would provide the necessary cover, keeping the enemy off-balance and away from populated areas through a continuous harassment campaign. Because guerrillas were usually difficult to locate, *Counterguerrilla Operations* stated that harassment campaigns could proceed for months before they had an appreciable effect in clearing the enemy out of a targeted area. The primary weapon in this campaign was the patrol. Ranging in size from a squad to a reinforced company, patrols would continuously scour their assigned areas, searching villages, establishing ambushes, and launching raids. Generally, these patrols would employ conventional small-unit tactics, though the manual did add a new technique, the area ambush, based on British counterguerrilla experience. Night marches, frequent relocations of patrol bases, and movements by circuitous or unexpected routes were all advised to ensure security and secrecy. Aircraft would provide crucial assistance by conducting surveillance, ferrying troops and supplies, and supporting airmobile hunter-killer teams, an idea which had first appeared in the mid-1950s and was currently being employed in Vietnam. Indeed, noting the difficulty conventional forces normally experienced in trying to catch irregulars, FM 31–16 asserted that "the imaginative, extensive, and sustained use of the airmobile forces offers the most effective challenge available today to this mobility differential of the enemy guerrilla force. It is imperative that, whenever possible, the concept of counterguerrilla operations be based on the maximum employment of this type of force."[47]

While decentralized, small-unit harassment operations backed by airmobile reaction forces constituted the bulk of the Army's daily operational routine, *Counterguerrilla Operations* advised that offensive

operations be undertaken whenever a sizable force or installation had been located. Although linear tactics might be appropriate if the enemy fielded large, conventional units and endeavored to hold ground, FM 31–16 believed the most effective counterguerrilla tactic was encirclement. Because of the difficulties posed by terrain and the guerrillas' proclivity for avoiding combat, the manual repeated earlier warnings that encirclements were difficult to execute. To be effective such operations had to be carefully planned, flawlessly executed, and backed by a considerably larger force than that of the enemy to prevent him from escaping the trap. As a guide, FM 31–16 prescribed three of the four *Wehrmacht* encirclement tactics initially introduced by the 1951 Volckmann manual: "tightening the noose," "fragmenting the disc," and "hammer and anvil."[48]

When conditions prohibited using encirclement, FM 31–16 offered five other methods for conducting offensive operations. Two of these—surprise attack and pursuit—had appeared in Volckmann's manual. However, FM 31–16 slightly modified Volckmann's pursuit operation—which it subtitled a "sweep"—by adding airmobile encircling forces that would attempt to block the enemy as he fell back in front of the pursuing ground forces. The manual also provided additional information on a technique that had first appeared in FM 31–15 (1961), the urban cordon and sweep. As FM 31–16 explained it, political considerations were the primary feature that differentiated urban counterguerrilla operations from their conventional counterparts. Included among the factors to be considered were the desirability of minimizing civilian casualties and property destruction, the utility of waging an aggressive propaganda campaign to mollify the population and entice the irregulars to surrender, and the necessity of quickly retaking lost urban areas to prevent the appearance of a guerrilla victory.[49]

Finally, the manual added two new maneuvers, both partly derived from British doctrine. The first, the "rabbit hunt," was a cordon-and-sweep, encirclement tactic that the manual stated was "a very effective technique for finding and destroying elements of a guerrilla force known or suspected to be in a relatively small area." It involved nothing more than establishing blocking forces around three sides of a designated area while a line of beaters advanced from the fourth, scouring the area and driving the guerrillas into ambush teams deployed around the perimeter. The second new technique, the fire flush, used troops to surround an area approximately 1,000 meters square that was then subjected to concentrated air and artillery fire—fire so severe that it would either destroy the enemy or drive him into the arms of the encircling troops.[50]

The appearance of the fire flush tactic in FM 31–16 marked a subtle but important development in Army counterguerrilla doctrine. Although the Army had occasionally employed similar tactics in Korea, historically artillery had played a minor role in the Army's approach to counterguerrilla warfare. This had been true not only before World War II, but thereafter as well, as Army counterguerrilla advisers repeatedly criticized America's Chinese, Greek, Korean, Filipino, and Vietnamese allies for employing artillery as a substitute for mobile, aggressive infantry action. While recognizing the utility of artillery, tanks, and tactical airpower under certain conditions, Army doctrine writers had always doubted that heavy firepower could be applied effectively against guerrillas, whose elusive nature and penchant for deep swamps, thick forests, and rugged mountains were well known. Thus Army texts of the early 1960s had asserted that infantry battalions would rarely receive fire support beyond their own organic weapons and that when such support was provided, it would be limited to "a section or a platoon and will seldom require units of more than battery size." To extend at least token support to dispersed patrols and outposts, Army doctrine writers had even overcome traditional prejudices against dispersing artillery and accepted the unorthodox Franco-Vietnamese practice of distributing artillery in one- and two-tube positions.[51]

Counterguerrilla Operations adhered to these themes. It pointed out the many impediments to effectively employing artillery and limited the amount of artillery support a brigade could expect to a single battalion of 105-mm. howitzers. Yet the manual also talked about artillery in more positive terms than the past, a change that seems to have been based on British doctrine, from which the writers of FM 31–16 lifted not only the fire flush technique, but also the idea of using artillery fire to harass and interdict the movement of enemy irregulars. From these beginnings, Army doctrine would move inextricably toward a more expansive view of firepower, perhaps as a result of the growing availability of helicopters to transport guns into remote areas, as well as the escalating conflict in Vietnam, where enemy firepower increasingly approximated that of government forces. Though never abandoning its faith in the bayonet, by 1965 Army texts were conceding that "it is often more economical in terms of manpower to maneuver the guerrilla force into a killing area by fire, rather than by hand-to-hand combat. It is easier to maneuver artillery fire across the battle areas than it is to maneuver personnel."[52]

A similar, though less dramatic shift in Army doctrine occurred vis-a-vis the role of armor in an insurgency, as doctrine writers began

to assert more positive roles for armored and armored cavalry formations. Interestingly, however, the movement to embrace heavier forms of weaponry did not extend to airpower. Perhaps based on the lessons of the Indochina War, FM 31–15 (1961) had questioned the utility of tactical aircraft on the basis of the guerrilla's "tactics of clinging to his enemy or of mingling with the populace." FM 31–16 (1963) retained this skepticism, noting that adverse terrain and weather, difficulties in air-ground coordination, and the guerrillas' habit of operating dispersed and at night all reduced the effectiveness of airpower.[53]

Regardless of the weapons and tactics employed, *Counterguerrilla Operations* pointed out that "counterguerrilla warfare is a contest of imagination, ingenuity, and improvisation by the opposing commanders. Commanders must be ever alert to change or adapt their tactics, techniques, and procedures to meet the specific situation at hand. Once the routine operations of a counterguerrilla force becomes stereotyped, surprise (a major ingredient of success) has been lost." The manual enjoined commanders to be continuously on the offensive and to focus their efforts on destroying the guerrillas rather than on capturing ground. It likewise understood that units would have to be tailored to the mission and environment, deleting unneeded and burdensome equipment, restructuring superfluous elements—like antitank units—to more useful functions, and adding other resources, such as man-portable radios, helicopters, and additional intelligence, signal, fire control, civil affairs, and psychological warfare personnel.[54]

Continuous, aggressive small-unit operations punctuated by larger offensive strikes as part of a wider, coordinated politico-military–police campaign were thus FM 31–16's prescription for how the U.S. Army would defeat contemporary Communist insurgencies. If this sounded familiar, it was. Very little of it was new. In addition to following the lead charted by the most recent doctrinal works, like the 1960 ODCSOPS handbook and FM 31–15 (1961), *Counterguerrilla Operations* had relied heavily on the Army's premier counterguerrilla work—FM 31–20 (1951). Not only had doctrine writers adopted many of FM 31–20's principles, but they had lifted significant portions, sometimes virtually verbatim, from the original Volckmann manual. In the process, they not only preserved concepts initially introduced in 1951—like *Wehrmacht* encirclement tactics—but resurrected ideas that had long since fallen out of Army manuals, like Volckmann's analytical division of an operational area into guerrilla-controlled, Army-controlled, and disputed zones. Even FM 31–16's description of guerrilla warfare was drawn from the 1951 manual, a description that, while still serviceable, had been based on a study of World War

II partisans, not Vietnamese irregulars. Thus three years after the inauguration of the great counterinsurgency drive, the Army's response to the threat posed by Maoist third world insurgencies remained firmly rooted in the past.

Counterguerrilla Operations may well have represented a repackaging of old wine in a new bottle, but it was good wine, one that embodied principles that had generally stood the test of time. Nevertheless, the Army recognized the need to supplement and refine it. Two important examples of this emerged at the end of 1963. The first, the "Counterinsurgency Planning Guide," was issued by the Special Warfare School in October 1963 as a guidebook for soldiers charged with planning and implementing counterinsurgency campaigns. The booklet was filled with practical tips, worksheets, and checklists to help the practitioner apply current doctrinal concepts. It was also a virtual primer on social engineering, blending modern developmental theory with a host of suggestions on what U.S. soldiers could do to bring prosperity and democracy to foreign lands. Finally, the booklet introduced some modest refinements to doctrine, dividing the pacification committees into two entities—civil-military advisory committees that served as liaison bodies between the military and the civilian community, and security coordination centers, which focused more narrowly on the integration of military, police, and intelligence matters. It also assigned a new label, clear and hold, to the area control concept espoused by FM 31–16.[55]

The last doctrinal product of 1963 was FM 31–22, *U.S. Army Counterinsurgency Forces*, published by the Special Warfare Agency in November. While FM 31–16 (1963) had outlined what U.S. forces would do when directly engaged in counterguerrilla warfare, FM 31–22 focused on the earlier stages of an insurgency, when American participation would be limited to providing advice and support. Consequently, while the manual reiterated the broad tenets of national and Army counterinsurgency doctrine, it was dedicated more narrowly to what the Army in 1961 had termed *counterinsurgency forces*. Counterinsurgency forces were those elements of the Army specifically designated to help third world countries combat Communist subversion, primarily by providing advice and support, rather than direct action. FM 31–22 (1963) divided such forces into three tiers according to the order in which they were to be committed. Military assistance advisory group (MAAG) personnel and mobile advisory teams drawn mainly from SAFs made up the first tier. SAF backup brigades composed the second, while any other individual, combat support, or combat service support units drawn from the Army at large made up the third tier.

FM 31–22 (1963) examined in depth the organization and function of the Special Action Forces and the SAF backup brigades. Because of its advisory focus, FM 31–22 also discussed the organization, operation, and training of indigenous paramilitary forces in greater detail than had heretofore appeared in official manuals. The manual noted that people who joined paramilitary forces did so at great risk to themselves and their families and that consequently the government had a moral obligation to reward and protect them. The manual also suggested establishing village radio systems that could be used for both security and administrative purposes.[56]

FM 31–22 (1963) assigned two major functions to indigenous paramilitaries. First, paramilitaries protected villages—a function that yielded immense political, morale, and intelligence benefits. Second, and equally important, paramilitary forces performed static security missions "in order that the national army may be relieved of these tasks to concentrate on offensive operations." This view not only reflected the advice the Army had given insurgency-torn countries since 1945, but mirrored British doctrine as well, which asserted that "the primary role of the army is to seek out and destroy CT [Communist terrorists] in the jungle and on its fringes. . . . The secondary role of the Army is that of supporting the . . . police in the populated areas by helping to enforce food denial measures, curfews, etc." American doctrine writers in the 1960s thoroughly agreed with this approach. Although FM 31–16 acknowledged that military units would have to perform police and population- and resources-control functions to one degree or another, American texts repeatedly assigned primary responsibility for such missions to indigenous forces in general and to police and paramilitary formations in particular. Such a division of labor made the best use of the indigenous forces' local knowledge and linguistic skills; minimized the involvement of foreign troops in politically sensitive, population-oriented operations; and freed the more heavily armed regulars for the mission for which they were best suited—offensive combat.[57]

Throughout its pages, FM 31–22 dispensed additional observations with regard to implementing Army counterinsurgency doctrine. It recommended maintaining high stock levels at all bases so that sudden increases in supply activities at a particular base would not tip off the enemy about upcoming operations. It cautioned that the intermingling of guerrillas and civilians would restrict the application of firepower, except in declared "free zones" where artillery could be employed "indiscriminately." It warned, however, that "the amount of such fire must be well controlled to prevent wasting ammunition."[58]

FM 31–22 also repeated injunctions to the effect that counterinsurgency was a "war for men's minds" in which every soldier was a "grass roots ambassador." Still, while socioeconomic action programs were vital to winning public support, the manual advised commanders not to allow civic action programs to interfere with their units' primary mission of engaging the enemy in combat. Finally, based on the Army's many advisory experiences over the past decade, FM 31–22 (1963) reviewed some of the problems that typically impeded advisory missions, offering several pages of suggestions on how advisers might overcome these difficulties before concluding with a series of appendixes outlining paramilitary training, village defense, civic action, and resettlement programs.[59]

FM 31–22 was the last counterinsurgency manual published during President Kennedy's three-year administration. Ten days after its publication, Kennedy fell victim to an assassin's bullet. During the first year of his successor's administration, the Army published only one major counterinsurgency work—FM 100–20, *Field Service Regulations, Counterinsurgency*. Prepared by the Army's Institute for Advanced Studies, FM 100–20 was intended to be the highest-level statement of counterinsurgency doctrine in the family of Army manuals. The manual described the current world situation in Rostowian terms, explaining how communism endeavored to exploit the revolution of rising expectations for its own ends. It related U.S. national policy as found in the OIDP and summarized the part each U.S. government agency was to play in implementing this program before focusing on the Army's particular role during each stage of a Maoist-style insurgency. In the process, it reiterated the fact that U.S. national policy generally restricted American overseas involvements to providing advice and assistance to avoid exposing the United States "unnecessarily to charges of intervention and colonialism." The manual concluded by reviewing some operational and planning factors for counterinsurgency actions.[60]

Much of the information contained in FM 100–20 had already appeared in earlier texts. Nevertheless, the publication of FM 100–20 in April 1964 marked an important milestone in the development of Army counterinsurgency literature, as the Army now had a fairly complete family of counterinsurgency manuals. FM 100–20 (1964) put the Army's role in counterinsurgency in a national context and provided information useful for high-level planners. FM 31–22 (1963) explained the role of Army forces in more depth, particularly during the preliminary stages of an insurrection when the Army's role would be confined to providing advisers, while FM 31–15 (1961) described what the Army would do once the United States directly intervened in

an irregular conflict. Finally, FM 31–16 (1963) described in even more detail how infantry brigades and battalions would go about the business of fighting guerrillas.

The Development of Doctrine, 1964–1965

The publication of the Army's capstone counterinsurgency manual three years into the national counterinsurgency campaign reflected some underlying problems in the Army's doctrinal effort. Ideally, the Army would have preferred to publish its highest-level manual first, followed by an orderly progression of derivative manuals, each describing in greater detail exactly how the concepts contained in the preceding manuals were to be implemented. In practice, the Army had not been able to adhere to this scheme. Definitive national-level doctrine, in the form of the OIDP, had not been available until the fall of 1962, and, although the Army had immediately drafted a manual incorporating that policy, cumbersome internal review procedures and the need to coordinate the manuscript with outside agencies had delayed the publication of FM 100–20 until after Kennedy's death. Consequently, the Army ended up publishing lower-level operational doctrine, like FM 31–16, before higher-level manuals, like FM 100–20. Since the service's fundamental philosophy with regard to counterinsurgency did not alter during this period, the ill effects of the delay were perhaps minimal. On the other hand, the language of counterinsurgency was changing so rapidly during the 1960s due to intense military and public interest in the subject that manuals published at different times employed different, and somewhat conflicting, terms. The confusion was exacerbated by the Army's decision, taken in deference to the importance assigned to counterinsurgency, to incorporate new ideas into existing doctrine as soon as they were available rather than waiting for the development of a complete doctrinal base.[61]

Meanwhile, the inclusion of counterinsurgency in branch-level, how-to-do-it manuals had proceeded unevenly for a variety of reasons. To begin with, few doctrine writers had the type of knowledge needed to write detailed implementing-level doctrine for counterinsurgency. Army efforts to rectify this situation were only marginally effective until America's growing involvement in Vietnam eventually generated a surplus of such individuals. The fact that the branches introduced counterinsurgency material into their manuals at different times, depending on when particular manuals were due for review, added to the doctrinal unevenness. Turf battles between agencies over proponency for certain aspects of doctrine, as well as philosophical differences as to the degree

to which counterinsurgency needed to be integrated into functional manuals, further complicated matters. A few branches—including Special Forces—argued that standard branch techniques were entirely adequate to meet counterinsurgency needs and hence there was no need to develop special tactics for counterguerrilla operations. Some doctrinal writers also objected to including counterguerrilla information in lower-level manuals on the grounds that higher-level manuals had already covered the subject adequately, citing regulations that discouraged redundancy. In fact, the Army's counterinsurgency literature was exceedingly redundant despite these regulations. This was not entirely bad, given the president's desire that the Army rapidly immerse itself in what was for many an unfamiliar subject. The redundancy, however, muddied doctrinal clarity and added to the confusion as to exactly what each manual was supposed to achieve.[62]

Army Chief of Staff General Johnson was particularly dissatisfied with the state of counterinsurgency doctrine and training in the Army. He felt that while the Army had made significant progress on the counterinsurgency front over the past few years, it had still not fully come to grips with the issue. He was disturbed by uneven treatment of the subject in Army manuals and wanted the technical and operational aspects of waging a counterinsurgency campaign developed in more detail. Johnson also thought that civil affairs doctrine had not yet made the adjustment from conventional occupation duty to the more varied demands of the contemporary world. Finally, he suspected that a belief existed "in many parts of the government and within the army as well that counterinsurgency and Special Forces are synonymous." Until this notion was put to rest once and for all, Johnson believed he would not be successful at integrating counterinsurgency into the mainstream of the Army.[63]

To correct these deficiencies, General Johnson launched two major initiatives in the latter half of 1964. The first focused on convincing the Army that counterinsurgency was not just for advisers and Special Forces personnel anymore, but a mission affecting the whole Army. To help sell this notion, Johnson coined a new term, *stability operations*, that broadly encompassed the entire range of activities that the Army might perform in support of national policy in the third world—constabulary operations, situations short of war, counterinsurgency, and nation building. From his perspective, the common denominator to all of these missions was that they required that the Army establish a level of stability and security sufficient to allow political, social, and economic measures—the true instruments of change—to work. Some observers criticized the term, saying it implied a status quo policy, but

Johnson denied such an inference, arguing that *stability operations* was far preferable to the other terms of the day—*counterinsurgency*, which he believed had negative connotations, and *special warfare*, which he felt implied that such operations were not a normal military function. After declaring in the fall of 1964 that stability operations represented the "third principal mission" of the Army, coequal with general and limited warfare, Johnson waged an aggressive campaign to make sure that everyone in the Army understood the new paradigm and took it seriously.[64]

Meanwhile, General Johnson launched the second prong of his offensive by ordering Combat Developments Command to review the entire counterinsurgency doctrinal program. The command responded to Johnson's request in August 1964 with a "Program for Analysis and Development of U.S. Counterinsurgency Doctrine and Organization." The program proposed a two-track approach. On the one hand, CDC would quickly redress some of Johnson's most urgent concerns. Meanwhile, it would proceed in a more systematic fashion to examine, refine, and revise the entire corpus of counterinsurgency literature.[65]

The fast track part of the CDC program required that the special warfare community publish a new handbook for advisory personnel and revise existing psyops and Special Forces manuals by the end of 1965. Although the psyops manual did not reach print until early 1966, Combat Developments Command did publish new versions of FM 31–21, *Special Forces Operations*, and FM 31–20, *Special Forces Operational Techniques*, in 1965. These manuals explained the techniques Special Forces personnel were to use in combating insurgencies and reflected to a large degree current practices in Southeast Asia. Of more importance to the Army as a whole, however, was the new advisory text, FM 31–73, *Advisor Handbook for Counterinsurgency*, released in April 1965.

FM 31–73 was the first manual published by the Army devoted exclusively to advisory issues. Although intended for general use, it was clearly written with an eye to Vietnam, where the United States already had over 30,000 military personnel. In addition to discussing advisory duty in general, the manual offered detailed coverage of the conduct of a counterinsurgency campaign in a way that was useful for advisers and operators alike. FM 31–73 endorsed civic action but cautioned from experience that "rural traditions are resistant to change and often will work against the project." It discussed the practical aspects of building defended hamlets, relocating populations, and conducting clear-and-hold operations, noting that such operations might take several years to succeed. The handbook also warned advisers that

they would likely find that indigenous forces treated captured guerrillas much more harshly than would be tolerated in the U.S. Army. It instructed advisers to avoid becoming involved in atrocities and to encourage their counterparts to abide by the 1949 Geneva Convention. Finally, the manual reminded readers that they should apply "the minimum destruction concept in view of the overriding requirements to minimize alienating the population. (Bringing artillery or air power to bear on a village from which sniper fire was received may neutralize guerrilla action but will alienate the civilian population as a result of casualties among noncombatants.)"[66]

While Combat Developments Command proceeded to meet General Johnson's most urgent concerns, it initiated concurrently its broader doctrinal review. This effort called for the accomplishment of twenty-four tasks in an orderly, multiphased process of data collection, analysis, and publication. The desired result was a new family of manuals that covered the entire range of counterinsurgency issues, from national policy to the most technical procedure, with minimum redundancy in a clear, coherent, and linguistically consistent fashion. The command also planned to use the revision process to reinforce Johnson's campaign to integrate stability operations into the Army and to reorient the officer corps "from the purely military aspects of warfare to a recognition that every military move must be weighed with regard to both its political effects and military effects."[67]

General Johnson insisted that the conceptual aspects of the program be completed by November 1965, although he recognized that integrating the results of this review into Army literature would take much longer. Of the twenty-four tasks, perhaps the most important was task five, a study prepared by the CDC's Special Warfare and Civil Affairs Group in July 1965 titled "Concepts and General Doctrine for Counterinsurgency." Combat Developments Command intended this study to be the conceptual mainspring for the development of all future doctrine. What was most notable about the study, however, was how little it differed from existing doctrine. Although the report acknowledged problems in application, it fully embraced the social engineer's creed, stating that America's job was to change "the basic attitudes and value scales of the people to conform to that needed by the new nation that is being built to replace the former structure." Such measures were to go forward despite the fact that a majority of the population might object to the American-inspired changes.[68]

The study also did not challenge the U.S. government's basic strategy of relating American actions to the three phases of Maoist revolutionary warfare. Nation building still took precedence when insurgency

was in a latent or incipient stage (phase one). Once guerrilla warfare had emerged (phase two), these efforts would share center stage with police, intelligence, and population- and resources-control programs. Military activities throughout these two phases remained of secondary importance in the minds of Army doctrine writers, who insisted on limiting the armed forces to performing clear-and-hold–type operations. But the study's tone changed dramatically when it came to considering appropriate policies for a full-blown, phase three war. In the opinion of the Special Warfare and Civil Affairs Group, "in a phase three insurgency, the survival of the government is predicated upon its ability to successfully undertake combat operations. . . . The government must concentrate its resources to completely defeat the guerrilla forces." Under these circumstances, nation-building and reform efforts, though never completely halted, were to take a backseat to more violent measures.[69]

The study's view of phase three warfare, while consistent with earlier Army writings, represented one of the strongest assertions to date that military considerations should take priority over political ones once major warfare had broken out. It was not an opinion universally held, as some soldiers believed that political and economic reforms should never be subordinated to military action. It was, nevertheless, consistent with past experience, where time after time counterinsurgents had found that political and economic programs could not advance without adequate security.

While the CDC study asserted the importance of military action during a full-scale war, it was less confident as to what that action should be. In the authors' opinion, the Army faced a difficult situation once an insurgency had reached its final stage.

> If the guerrilla forces organize for conventional military operations, the problem for the government forces is resolved to that of defeating the insurgents, using standard military operations. . . . On the other hand, if the guerrillas remain dispersed to avoid battle but concentrate sufficiently to cause severe government attrition, the government faces a dilemma. Concentration of government forces permits the spread of insurgent control to those areas where government strength has been reduced. Conversely, failure to concentrate invites piecemeal destruction.[70]

The Special Warfare and Civil Affairs Group did not have a pat solution for such an eventuality. The group recommended that the government first secure those areas of the country that it needed for its own survival, such as major population centers and regions containing important resources, while applying vigorous population, resources,

and border controls to deny the enemy sustenance. Meanwhile, the military would maintain pressure on the insurgents by inflicting casualties and destroying their supplies and equipment. "The resulting insurgent attrition combined with the requirement for the guerrillas to react to government operations contributes to the loss of insurgent operational initiative. . . . Where the government has gained the initiative, combat operations to destroy guerrilla units and to harass their safe areas should be extended."[71] Large units, employing massed artillery fires when appropriate, would conduct major operations, striking at guerrilla bases and gradually extending the government's zone of control, while small units kept up a constant pressure around populated areas through patrols and raids. Such was the advice of CDC's counterinsurgency experts for combating a phase three insurgency.

The Special Warfare and Civil Affairs Group's three-phase approach to insurgency betrayed several weaknesses. From the beginning, national policy and Army doctrine alike had tended to treat the differences between the phases in a Maoist revolutionary war as ones of scale and intensity, not method. Consequently, the United States had adopted the view that the only response to an escalating insurgency was to do more of the same—more reforms, more police controls, more combat operations—seemingly oblivious to the implication that if such measures had failed to arrest an insurgency in its earlier stages, they would be unlikely to do so after it had escalated to mobile warfare. Army doctrine also reflected national policy in depicting the enemy primarily in terms of small guerrilla bands. Its proposed countermeasures—decentralized area operations conducted by battalions and brigades operating on an independent or semi-independent basis—seemed to presuppose such a scenario. Army manuals never discussed division-level operations in an insurgency environment, adhering stubbornly to the independent brigade-battalion-company model. Some soldiers dismissed the whole question with an intellectual slight of hand, maintaining that any conflict in which the United States committed troops in division strength was, by definition, outside the bounds of counterinsurgency doctrine. Nonetheless, when forced to confront the question as to what was to be done once an enemy fielded large, conventional-type units, the Army's general response had been that conventional offensive and defensive tactics would suffice. In fact, as late as January 1965, CDC's Special Warfare Agency had asserted that "major combined arms operations per se are not visualized for counterinsurgency," and, in the unlikely event that they were required, "the doctrine will be essentially that of general war or limited war." Although a few soldiers warned that such assumptions were inaccurate, the Army gave little thought to the possibility that

the enemy's large conventional formations might be able to continue to operate on a semiguerrilla basis, coalescing to strike, then dispersing to avoid retaliation, all the while maintaining the relatively fluid aspects characteristic of lower-level insurgencies.[72]

The Army's failure to consider the problems associated with conventional warfare in phase three represented one of the most significant flaws in its counterinsurgency doctrine. The CDC's failure to rectify the omission was not, however, the only area where the doctrinal review effort came up short. For example, the CDC's effort to identify techniques that would help the Army motivate indigenous populations to support a counterinsurgency campaign hit a snag when the organization tasked with preparing the study, the Special Operations Research Office, conceded that social science was still an "infant science" that had not yet progressed to the stage where it could provide the type of concrete solutions so desperately needed by doctrine writers. This admission should not have come as a surprise. As early as 1962, the academician Lucian W. Pye had warned that "the disturbing truth" was that the social science community had yet to develop a practical "doctrine about how to go about nation building."[73] That such a doctrine still did not exist three years later illustrated the difficulties doctrine writers would have in trying to produce more definitive guidance pertaining to counterinsurgency's complex social aspects.

General Johnson did not receive any better news from Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations General Palmer, who at Johnson's request prepared a paper on the nature of conflict in the "lower spectrum of war" in early 1965. After examining thirty-seven past insurgencies, Palmer concluded that Army doctrine was sound in its broad outlines but that any attempt to produce a definitive counterinsurgency doctrine would be like looking for a "Will-O-The-Wisp," since every insurgency was a unique event, the product of distinct political, social, topographical, and military factors. "This particularization," Palmer concluded, "calls into serious question the validity of current U.S. Army attempts to devise a universal doctrine for counterinsurgency comparable to our conventional war doctrine."[74]

Palmer's words of caution notwithstanding, Johnson still pressed ahead with the quest for a more perfect doctrine, even if it had to be acknowledged that no doctrine could ever fully address counterinsurgent warfare. By the end of 1965 Combat Developments Command had accomplished some important preliminary work toward revising the Army's counterinsurgency literature. Yet much remained to be done, and the revision program would take several more years before it was fully in place.

Disseminating Doctrine: The Education System

All of the Army's efforts at writing and revising doctrine would go for naught unless that doctrine was inculcated into the Army at large. This was no small task. Introducing new ideas is always time consuming. Counterinsurgency's heavy emphasis on political affairs posed special difficulties for an institution that, while it had long performed civil functions, had never felt comfortable doing so. The fact that soldiers had to master counterinsurgency while still maintaining proficiency in nuclear and conventional warfare added to the complexity of the task. Kennedy's determination that soldiers absorb the new style of warfare as quickly as possible, and the Army's reluctance to increase the amount of time its already busy soldiers spent in classrooms, merely exacerbated the problem.[75]

Because national policy placed the primary burden for countering third world revolutions on indigenous armies and their U.S. advisers, the military initially concentrated its educational initiatives on these two groups. The Army's first educational effort—the counterguerrilla operations and tactics course that opened at Fort Bragg in January 1961—was just such a course, as a significant portion of its student body consisted of foreign officers and Americans slated for overseas advisory duty. This class, which the Special Warfare School eventually expanded from six to ten weeks and renamed the counterinsurgency operations course, offered the most comprehensive treatment of counterinsurgency in the military education system. It covered everything from national policy to tactics and techniques. The course's central theme was that an insurgency could not be defeated unless significant progress was made in raising living standards, improving production, and achieving social and political equality. By 1962 the Army had established similar courses in Okinawa, Germany, and the Panama Canal Zone. Like the parent course at Fort Bragg, these courses primarily taught foreign officers, although the commander of U.S. Army, Europe, cycled enough men through the school in Germany to post at least one graduate in each brigade and battalion headquarters in Europe.[76]

Meanwhile, the Army introduced a number of other advisory-oriented initiatives. The service assisted the Pentagon's Military Assistance Institute in integrating counterinsurgency into its advisory training program and sent some of the Army's most senior adviser-designates to the Department of State's counterinsurgency-oriented National Interdepartmental Seminar. General Decker also initiated a Senior Officer Orientation Tour program, in which selected senior

Classroom instruction as part of the military assistance training adviser course

officers spent up to six weeks in a troubled third world country to experience insurgency-related problems. Over two hundred senior officers participated in this program during its two-year existence. Last but not least, the Army developed a number of adviser-preparation courses. The most notable of these was the military assistance training adviser (MATA) course at Fort Bragg, established in early 1962. The four-week (later six-week) course was oriented exclusively to preparing advisers for the burgeoning conflict in Vietnam. Only a portion of all personnel going to Vietnam took the course, which experienced some growing pains. Nevertheless, the Special Warfare School continuously adjusted and improved the class based on feedback from Vietnam. The course reviewed doctrine, related Vietnam-specific tactics, and provided an orientation to Vietnamese language and culture.[77]

Based on the premise that a purely military solution was not possible in Vietnam, the original MATA course devoted roughly 25 percent of its time to civic action. In 1963 the Civil Affairs School reinforced this effort by initiating a six-week civic action course that taught nation-building theory to civil affairs personnel slated for duty overseas. Other schools eventually added adviser-oriented courses as well, so that by the end of 1965 perhaps 7,000 officers had graduated from the Army's most intensive counterinsurgency-related courses. While this number represented just a small fraction of the officer corps, it

was an important one, as these individuals composed the front line of America's overseas counterinsurgency effort.[78]

The Army did not, however, limit its educational efforts to future advisers. From the beginning of the national counterinsurgency campaign, the Army committed itself to the goal of indoctrinating the entire officer corps in counterinsurgency. At the president's urging, the Pentagon established counterinsurgency libraries at many installations and published bibliographies and reading lists containing hundreds of counterinsurgency-related titles.[79] The Army's professional journals helped spread the counterinsurgency gospel as well, publishing hundreds of articles between 1961 and 1965. Some of these articles presented distillations of the latest doctrine, while others offered critiques, reviewed historical examples, or related tactics and techniques. A significant percentage of these articles emphasized the importance of good troop behavior and civic actions in the battle for the hearts and minds of the afflicted population.[80] The Army also integrated counterinsurgency studies into a number of short familiarization and refresher courses, the most notable of which was the senior officer counterinsurgency and special warfare course at Fort Bragg, a one-week intensive course that by 1964 was graduating about 450 colonels and generals a year.[81]

Meanwhile, in early 1961 Continental Army Command ordered that counterinsurgency be introduced into every level of officer education. Initially, it left the question of how much time schools should devote to counterinsurgency up to the individual school commandants. One consequence of this approach was that coverage varied widely from school to school in 1961, ranging from twelve hours given to Infantry officers to a mere two hours presented to Special Forces officers.[82] In September Continental Army Command attempted to impose some uniformity by mandating minimum hours of instruction for each level of schooling in the Army. However, rather than creating an entirely new block of instruction separate from the rest of a school's curriculum, CONARC directed that most counterinsurgency instruction be integrated into existing courses. To help meet these new requirements, the Special Warfare School drafted a series of common subject courses that service schools were to use as the basis of their instruction. These courses focused heavily on the political, social, and psychological aspects of counterinsurgency theory. For example, the three-hour common course for newly commissioned second lieutenants devoted no more than ninety seconds to tactics, while the twelve-hour branch career course contained just four hours on military tactics and techniques, still only a third of the total program. Using these lectures

as a starting point, the schools were then free to add additional hours of instruction tailored more directly to their particular missions, a method that still allowed a great deal of flexibility. By January 1962 the average branch orientation course (given to all newly commissioned second lieutenants) devoted 6.2 hours to "pure" counterinsurgency and 73.4 hours to "related" subjects, while career courses (for first lieutenants and captains) contained, on average, 35 pure and 182 related hours.[83]

The significance of these statistics is difficult to judge, as school officials, eager to demonstrate their responsiveness to the president, used somewhat questionable criteria as to what constituted counterinsurgency and counterinsurgency-related course hours. The absence of any formal definition of these terms, together with CONARC's preference that most counterinsurgency instruction be integrated into preexisting courses, lent further confusion. Skeptics rightly scoffed at the Infantry School's claim that by January 1962 the school was devoting over 400 hours to counterinsurgency-related subjects. On the other hand, there was a certain legitimacy to the view that many conventional subjects were relevant to performing counterinsurgency missions, especially if instructors integrated appropriate counterinsurgency observations into their standard lectures. For example, the Commandant of Cadets at West Point in 1962, Brig. Gen. Richard G. Stilwell, claimed that an English course titled "Evolution of American Ideals as Reflected in American Literature from 1607 to the Present" was counterinsurgency-related because it helped "the cadet in realizing and understanding the American way of life. Such background training is considered valuable in working with peoples of underdeveloped nations." He similarly argued that the activities of the judo and debate clubs bore "some relationship" to counterinsurgency. While his reasoning was not without merit, statements such as these illustrate the difficulty one experiences in trying to quantify counterinsurgency education in the Army.[84]

What is incontrovertible is that Army leaders were dissatisfied with the way the schools were handling counterinsurgency, as evidenced by a number of internal reports generated in 1961 and 1962. Nor was President Kennedy satisfied, and in March 1962 he directed that all government agencies involved in counterinsurgency, including the Departments of State and Defense, USIA, AID, and the CIA, establish counterinsurgency education programs. According to National Security Action Memorandum 131, all civil and military officers in the aforementioned agencies were to receive a basic orientation in the history and nature of insurgency, to include Communist tactics and America's counterstrategy. In addition, junior- and mid-grade officers were to

study counterinsurgency tactics and techniques applicable to their branches and departments, while staff-level officers received instruction in planning and conducting counterinsurgency campaigns. Finally, the memorandum required that all mid- and senior-grade officers slated for overseas service in developing countries receive both general counterinsurgency instruction as well as more specific information about the country to which they were about to be posted.[85]

Spurred by this directive, Continental Army Command redoubled its efforts to improve the quantity and quality of instruction given in its schools, directing that all officer orientation and career courses contain between twenty and twenty-seven hours of pure counterinsurgency instruction. This was rapidly achieved, and between 1963 and 1965 the average branch officer career course included about twenty-eight hours of pure counterinsurgency instruction, of which about eight hours were devoted to theory and twenty to branch-oriented tactics and techniques. All schools also continued to report many additional hours of counterinsurgency-related instruction.[86]

Exposure to counterinsurgency began at the very beginning of officer education, in ROTC and at the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York. Counterinsurgency proved quite popular on college campuses, where students, inspired by Kennedy's somewhat romantic portrayal of guerrilla warfare, began forming volunteer counterguerrilla units. CONARC quickly tapped into the fad, and by 1965 nearly half of all college ROTC programs sported counterguerrilla units that practiced patrol, survival, and fieldcraft skills. In the meantime, the command ensured that all ROTC students were exposed to the idea that "subversive insurgency is a battle for the hearts and minds of men" in a six-hour required course.[87]

Cadets at the Military Academy received an even heavier dose of counterinsurgency theory. The works of Communist theoreticians Mao Tse-tung, Vo Nguyen Giap, and Truong Chinh were required reading at the academy beginning in 1962, as were histories of past revolutionary struggles in Malaya, Indochina, and the Philippines. Also mandatory for cadets were lectures on the current war in Vietnam. By 1963 West Point's curriculum included sixty-six mandatory lessons in counterinsurgency plus twenty-six hours of Ranger-style counterguerrilla training in summer camp. Seniors were also required to write a paper chosen from a list of twenty-nine topics developed by the academy, eight of which (28 percent) were counterinsurgency related. The academy further identified another 136 required lessons and 45 hours of field training as being counterinsurgency related, while the school offered an additional 226 counterinsurgency lessons in such elective courses

as "National Security Problems," "Military History of Insurgency and Counterinsurgency," and "Revolutionary Warfare."[88]

Upon commissioning, the Army sent its young second lieutenants to branch schools for roughly nine weeks of orientation training in their new duties. They then went to operational assignments, only to return a few years later as first lieutenants and captains to receive six to nine months of branch career instruction. While the amount of counterinsurgency instruction offered in Army branch schools varied widely, one school that played a pivotal role in disseminating doctrine was the Infantry School, both because of the large number of officers who passed through its doors each year and because of the central role the Army assigned to Infantry units in counterguerrilla doctrine.

Like all of its sister institutions, the Infantry School found the task of integrating a complex subject like counterinsurgency into an already cramped curriculum to be no easy matter. School instructor Maj. Harold D. Yow explained the school's dilemma and the rationale behind its ultimate solution.

> We cannot give a complete course in geography, political science, applied psychology, comparative religions, ethnology, aesthetics, economics, and the tactics and techniques of counterguerrilla operations—it just cannot be done. Yet knowledge in all of these areas is vital to success in counterinsurgency operations and as you know we have a multitude of prophets about us, each setting forth, what in his own best judgment, is the one facet of these operations to be most emphasized. In all probability they are all right to a degree, for above all else, counterinsurgency operations must have a "total" approach, prepared to attack every deficiency which can present obstacles in a country to the rapid development of human capabilities, with a concomitant development of an environment of individual freedom necessary for their exercise. . . . We realize that the infantryman must have an acute awareness of the totality of the successful counterinsurgency formula. He must be aware of the importance of psychological operations, economics, politics, etc.—in fact, at the individual level he must become directly involved in many of these activities within his own means—in the program of activities which are called "military civic actions." But, first, last, and foremost, the business of the infantry officer in counterinsurgency operations is most properly the beating of the overt armed guerrilla force, whether by an American unit he is leading, or by an indigenous unit he is advising.[89]

Guided by this philosophy, the Infantry School proceeded to integrate counterinsurgency instruction into its curriculum. At the start of the Kennedy administration the orientation course for newly commissioned infantry lieutenants included a mere two hours of counterinsurgency instruction, while the longer branch career course offered

twelve hours. This was clearly insufficient. In fact, only 32 percent of the students expressed satisfaction with the school's treatment of counterguerrilla warfare, while only 25 percent believed they had sufficient knowledge to train a unit effectively for antiguerrilla operations. From these meager beginnings the school's coverage of counterinsurgency matters expanded rapidly, so that by 1965 the orientation course included 29 hours of pure and 195 hours of integrated counterinsurgency instruction. The career course was even more impressive, devoting about sixty-seven hours to pure counterinsurgency instruction by 1965.[90]

Throughout the 1960s, Infantry School curricular materials stressed the idea that soldiers who blindly adhered to conventional methods, without taking into account a conflict's unique political, military, and topographical facets, were bound to fail. To outfox the guerrilla, the school advocated that soldiers employ ruses and deceptions, operate at night and in inclement weather, and leave ambush parties behind to catch unsuspecting enemies as they investigated abandoned positions. It also recommended using small, seemingly vulnerable units as bait to tempt the irregulars into attacking, thereby exposing themselves to a powerful riposte by reaction forces. In fact, the school stressed the importance of maintaining ready reaction forces at all levels, for "this is the crux of our tactical doctrine: use minimum forces to find the guerrilla and maintain maximum forces, preferably airborne or airmobile, in an advanced state of readiness to react to any located guerrilla force."[91]

Emulating principles that the old Indian fighting Army would have well understood, Army schools preached continuous, aggressive action, for in the words of one text, "if the guerrilla is kept running, fighting and hiding long enough, attrition from casualties, desertions and the loss of contact with the civilian population can cause the guerrilla band to break up to a point where they could be effectively controlled by police." Reflecting the small-unit focus of Army doctrine, the Infantry School's career course spent only four hours considering division and larger operations, compared to forty-one hours on brigade, battalion, and company operations. Clear-and-hold–type pacification operations were the infantry battalion's bread and butter, for according to the school, "no large coordinated action in the conventional sense will take place . . . until there is a requirement for offensive action against a located guerrilla force. The majority of the day-by-day activity . . . will be small-unit action to locate guerrilla forces, secure the population, installations, and lines of communication, train and assist the indigenous paramilitary forces, and conduct military civic action."[92]

Notwithstanding the requirement that the Infantry School produce combat leaders, the school in no way ignored counterinsurgency's many political facets. "The important thing," it reminded its pupils, "is to realize that from the very start you are fighting an ideology. And, since shooting guerrillas is a very ineffective way to destroy an ideology . . . actions on the counterinsurgency battlefield at all levels of command must be a total military-civilian effort to both destroy the armed guerrilla of an insurgency and attack this ideological root of the resistance." In fact, the school devoted approximately twelve hours of instruction to civic action, during which instructors explained to their students that "the guerrilla force is only a symptom of the over-all problem in the area which caused the resistance movement to arise in the first place. Prior to, during, and following the successful completion of counterguerrilla operations, a positive program of civil assistance to the area must be conducted to eliminate the original cause of the resistance movement."[93]

Curricular materials also reviewed counterinfrastructure and police-style population- and resource-control measures. While preaching an overall policy of enlightened moderation, the school conceded that "if it cannot be determined which portion of the civilian population is actively supporting the irregular force, harsh measures may have to be used with the entire population until such a determination can be made." While the Army clearly discouraged severity, such statements were not unusual, and other schools flirted with equally distasteful practices, including the Special Warfare School, which advised its students that the "children of known guerrillas should be separated from their parents to prevent further subversion and act as a deterrent to association with the guerrillas." The destruction of crops and foodstuffs, the creation of forbidden zones "where *anyone* in the area will be shot on sight," and the resettlement of populations were also to be included in the counterinsurgent's arsenal, although Army schools cautioned that such actions were measures of last resort and had to be implemented with care lest they cause undue hardship and fan the flames of resistance.[94]

While most instruction given at Fort Benning was generic in nature, neither it nor its sister institutions could ignore the growing conflagration in Vietnam. The Infantry School began presenting information about Vietnam in 1962, as the Kennedy administration dramatically increased America's presence there. The school related information based on reports from the field and occasionally employed Vietnam scenarios in its tests and exercises. In 1963 the school modified its traditional small arms instruction, which had focused on long-range

marksmanship, to include "quick fire" techniques designed to allow soldiers to respond rapidly and effectively to the type of close-in, surprise targets often encountered in jungle ambushes. The Infantry School also introduced in 1963 a voluntary forty-hour course on Vietnam for students who were slated to go there upon graduation. A mixture of U.S. soldiers who had recently returned from Vietnam and South Vietnamese who were currently students at the school taught the class. The following year the assistant commandant, Brig. Gen. John Norton, initiated a "Win in Vietnam" program. He formed committees that considered various aspects of the war and recommended doctrinal, training, and organizational improvements. The school reviewed the curriculum to ensure that it was as effective as possible in preparing officers for duty in Vietnam. The Infantry School also launched a variety of initiatives that included inviting Vietnam veterans as guest speakers, publishing articles, assembling special reading materials, and organizing displays and demonstrations. As the United States moved toward intervention, the school redoubled its efforts. By 1965 it was operating two mock South Vietnamese villages, complete with female inhabitants drawn from the Women's Army Corps, who were used to teach search and seizure techniques.[95]

Students who passed through the Infantry or other branch-level schools in the early 1960s would have found much of their course material repeated at the Command and General Staff College. This represented a deliberate policy, as the college was well aware that many of its students might have attended branch schools prior to the introduction of counterinsurgency into those curriculums. To ensure a common base of understanding, the school reviewed the entire sweep of counterinsurgency doctrine, from national policy and nation-building theory to tactics. The college naturally focused, however, on organizational, operational, and planning issues in accordance with its overall mission of producing mid-level commanders and staff officers.

Like all Army schools, the college steadily increased the amount of time devoted to counterinsurgency issues throughout the early 1960s. By 1964 the Command and General Staff College provided 42 hours of direct counterinsurgency instruction, with another 171 hours of related material scattered throughout the 38-week course. Students studied case histories from Greece, Algeria, Malaya, and the Philippines, with about 18 percent of the student body writing theses on counterinsurgency-related subjects. As part of the training, the college put students to work drafting hypothetical counterinsurgency plans, advisory procedures, and intervention deployments for a variety of countries, real and imagined, all in accordance with current national policies and doctrines.

Although school exercises occasionally depicted division-size encirclement operations, for the most part the school's curriculum emphasized the type of brigade, battalion, and small-unit area control techniques that lay at the heart of U.S. doctrine. Civic and psychological actions also featured prominently in school exercises, as did questions relating to the formation of paramilitary defense organizations, the imposition of population and resource controls, and, when necessary, the resettlement of populations.[96]

Those officers who were fortunate enough to be selected to attend the Army's highest educational institution, the Army War College, concentrated their studies on such subjects as national policy, strategy, and interagency coordination. The school introduced irregular warfare in 1961 when the "Concepts of Future Land Warfare" course dedicated twelve of its sixteen study committees to counterinsurgency questions. The following year coverage of low intensity conflict grew to about 12 percent of the curriculum, with about 10 percent of the students writing counterinsurgency theses. In 1962 the college also hosted two senior officer counterinsurgency courses, each of three weeks' duration. Although these courses were designed to immerse a select group of nonstudent officers in counterinsurgency issues, the college permitted the general student body to attend a number of the lectures as well.[97]

In 1963 the college introduced a 3 ½-week course on the developing world. The course focused on the problems of modernization, the nature and causes of insurgency, and the U.S. response. By 1965 the college had expanded this course to five weeks. In addition, the school required that all students write papers on some aspect of low intensity warfare. Meanwhile the college kept abreast of the latest developments by holding special seminars and panel discussions on Vietnam. Thus by 1965 the Army's school system had assembled a creditable, though by no means flawless, program of instruction that sought to ensure that all officers, from cadets to generals, were exposed to counterinsurgency doctrine.[98]

Disseminating Doctrine: The Training System

While the Army transmitted counterinsurgency theory to its officers through lectures and readings, training provided the best means to test students' understanding, reinforce doctrinal precepts, and refine tactics and techniques. It was also the Army's primary means of acquainting rank-and-file soldiers with the counterguerrilla mission.

At the outset of the Kennedy administration Army regulations required that every recruit receive four hours of antiguerrilla instruction as part of basic combat training, with an additional eight hours for

rifle companies. Army leaders evinced little enthusiasm for imposing additional hours of mandatory counterguerrilla training at the expense of conventional combat capability. They also considered that most of the conventional skills taught to individuals and small units were fully applicable to counterguerrilla warfare. True, tactics might have to be modified to meet local conditions, and soldiers would undoubtedly have to demonstrate a higher degree of aptitude in certain individual skills, but the Army believed that it could accommodate these requirements with only minor changes to conventional training programs. Given the fact that military training schedules were already heavily burdened to meet the diverse requirements of nuclear, chemical, airmobile, and conventional warfare, the Army initially decided against imposing a separate counterinsurgency training program. Rather, as with officer education, it opted to integrate counterguerrilla instruction into the normal training regimen.[99]

The Continental Army Command officially affirmed this policy in May 1961, when it issued its first training directive of the Kennedy era. The directive encouraged training officers to integrate counterinsurgency into routine training, asserting that this could easily be done as 918 of the 1,443 hours that made up the Army's core training programs concerned subjects that had some counterinsurgency application. It also recommended that rifle companies incorporate counterguerrilla situations into exercises and that major unit commanders designate portions of their commands for more intensive irregular warfare training. But beyond this it did not go, specifying neither the quantity nor content of such training.[100]

By focusing on the training of individuals and small groups of specialists rather than units, the May 1961 directive clearly reflected the Army's belief that the United States intended to follow an advisory, rather than interventionist, approach to the counterinsurgency problem. Unfortunately, the individual training approach, when coupled with the Army's initial categorization of counterinsurgency as a subset of special warfare, created an impression among many soldiers that counterinsurgency was really only something that Special Forces had to be concerned with. This, of course, was not the true position of either the administration or the Army. To drive home this point, CONARC issued a new training directive in September 1961 that clearly stated that the "task of improving the capability of the Army to cope with counterinsurgency/counterguerrilla warfare now involves the entire army and not special forces alone. All combat forces must develop a broad base of knowledge. . . . Counterinsurgency and counterguerrilla operations are the entire army's business and all elements must become familiar with

their respective roles and develop the required proficiency in this type of warfare." The directive mandated that all Army personnel receive training in the nature, causes, prevention, and elimination of third world insurgency, to include the employment of intelligence, medical, civil affairs, and psychological assets. Individuals or units assigned to counterinsurgency missions were to receive specialized training beyond this, including appropriate language and cultural skills. The September regulations also directed that certain divisions, most notably those in the Strategic Army Corps, provide intensive counterguerrilla training to at least some of their component units. Meanwhile, CONARC began revising many of its Army training programs (ATPs) and Army training tests (ATTs) to include suggestions as to how counterinsurgency subjects might be integrated into conventional training regimens.[101]

Even these measures fell short. A survey of officers enrolled in the infantry officer career course at Fort Benning in 1961 found that while 47 percent of them had conducted counterguerrilla training in their units prior to coming to the school, only 22 percent believed that training had been adequate. A subsequent study in January 1962 led by Lt. Gen. Hamilton H. Howze concurred in this assessment and advised that all eight Regular Army divisions based in the continental United States be given counterguerrilla training. Continental Army Command responded to these criticisms in March 1962 by revising the counterguerrilla training directive yet again.[102]

The new directive made a distinction between "counterinsurgency" and "counterguerrilla" training. Counterinsurgency training included the whole range of insurgency-related issues, from the nature of Maoist insurgency and the revolution of rising expectations to America's national strategy, nation building, and Army roles and missions. Counterguerrilla training focused more narrowly on the actions military units would take when operating against irregular forces. According to the directive, all soldiers were to be trained for counterguerrilla warfare, and all soldiers were to receive familiarization training in counterinsurgency. However, only designated "counterinsurgency forces"—primarily Special Forces and other elements assigned to what would eventually become the SAFs and SAF backup brigades—were to receive intensive training in both counterinsurgency and counterguerrilla warfare, to include an annual six-week training cycle for the backup brigades.

The March 1962 directive reiterated CONARC's policy that commanders integrate counterguerrilla subjects into all phases of training to the maximum extent possible, including training tests, exercises, and maneuvers. To assist in this task, the directive enumerated subjects

that lent themselves to counterguerrilla training. It also required that all active duty infantry, armor, combat engineer, military police, and cannon artillery units conduct two three-day counterguerrilla exercises every year. Administrative and technical units were required to devote ninety-two hours a year to counterguerrilla training and to partake in semiannual counterguerrilla field exercises. The regulation specifically directed that civil affairs and civic action, psychological operations, and intelligence issues be integrated into all phases of counterguerrilla training. Continental Army Command further ordered that training at all levels focus on the formation and operation of small, mobile task forces, from squad to battle group, capable of undertaking independent or semi-independent action. Patrol, reaction, police, and clear-and-hold–type activities, rather than large-scale operations, were to be the order of the day.[103]

This directive represented a significant step forward over the first regulation issued less than a year earlier. Nevertheless, the Army's adherence to a strategy of integrated instruction and decentralized execution created a situation in which the amount and quality of instruction inevitably varied from unit to unit. Moreover, although CONARC encouraged commanders to modify standard Army training tests for use in counterguerrilla training, it never issued an Army-wide test for counterguerrilla operations. Since military trainers, like most educators operating under a regime of standardized exams, tended to focus their efforts on preparing their charges for what was on the tests, the lack of an official test for counterguerrilla warfare undermined the Army's efforts to persuade commanders to devote precious training time to the subject.[104]

Commanders' reluctance to deviate from conventional norms was particularly troublesome in the area of small-unit leadership, which the Army understood was critical in conducting highly dispersed operations. Conventional training regimens generally did not accord junior officers and noncommissioned officers at the fire team, squad, and platoon levels much opportunity to plan and direct independent operations. A 1962 survey of students at the Infantry School found that 61 percent of the respondents could not recall having received any counterguerrilla leadership training in their units, while 19 percent stated that their units engaged in such training only occasionally. On the other hand, 20 percent of the students reported that their parent brigades and divisions had indeed established special counterguerrilla leadership academies, some of which offered courses of up to three weeks' duration. Such institutions became more common as the decade progressed, as commanders became ever more aware of the need to improve their

"Guerrillas" maneuver during a 1962 counterguerrilla exercise at Fort Carson, Colorado.

units' counterguerrilla proficiency. In fact, while some units did little more than the minimum expected of them, others well exceeded Army standards. Weaknesses remained, however, even in crack outfits like the 173d Airborne Brigade, which prior to its deployment to Vietnam in May 1965 had seldom given its junior noncommissioned officers the opportunity to lead independent patrols, a skill that would soon be in high demand.[105]

Technically, CONARC's regulations only applied to units in the continental United States, but overseas Army commands generally followed CONARC's lead. This was especially true in Asia, where U.S. Army, Pacific, imposed mandatory counterguerrilla training for all combat and combat support units. By the spring of 1962 its three major units—the 7th and 25th Infantry Divisions and 1st Cavalry Division—were all operating special counterinsurgency schools, while the U.S. Eighth Army had a counterinsurgency study group as well.[106]

Meanwhile, back home Continental Army Command introduced a special lecture program for all incoming recruits. It consisted of two hours of counterinsurgency and one hour of counterguerrilla orientation in basic training, with the two-hour counterinsurgency lecture repeated in advanced individual training, supplemented by a three-hour course on communism. These courses reviewed Maoist principles, endorsed land reform and economic growth as tools to eliminate the causes of disaffection, and cited historical examples

"Guerrilla" mortarmen emerge from concealment during Vietnam-oriented training.

of counterinsurgency operations. The orientation programs also reviewed Communist tactics based on Viet Minh manuals and warned soldiers that they would have to modify conventional tactics if they were to defeat such an opponent.[107]

By the end of 1962 CONARC had erected special counterguerrilla reaction and testing courses at each of its major recruit training facilities, with the command claiming that 25 percent of all recruit training was now directly related to counterinsurgency. It had also begun encouraging commanders to integrate Vietnam experience into their training programs, assisting them by periodically disseminating the latest lessons learned from that part of the world. Finally, in November, in the most important training development of the year, Continental Army Command mandated that all regular combat units in the United States conduct six weeks of counterguerrilla training annually. The new program was identical to that established in March for the backup brigades and consisted of three phases, each of two weeks' duration. The first phase focused on individual and Ranger-type training. The second phase consisted of small-unit counterguerrilla tactics, while the third phase was devoted entirely to field training, culminating in a battalion-level exercise.[108]

The six-week counterguerrilla training program represented the single largest block of mandatory training imposed by the Continental Army Command. Many commanders disliked the requirement,

believing that it was too restrictive and that it contravened the latitude the Army customarily accorded commanders in managing their training time. Although the command refused to budge on this issue, it did eventually reduce the number of hours of counterinsurgency lectures given to recruits on the grounds that many of the subjects were too abstract for young soldiers to absorb. Still, by 1963 all of the elements of the Army's counterinsurgency and counterguerrilla training program were in place. All soldiers were expected to be familiar with the general precepts of American counterinsurgency doctrine, and all underwent some form of mandatory counterguerrilla training each year, with combat units receiving the most intense training. Although training increasingly took on a Vietnam focus as the decade wore on, officially training was to be generic in nature. Only after receiving notification of a possible overseas deployment were units to begin training for a specific theater of operations during a short, intensive program that would include both general counterguerrilla and country-specific environmental and cultural training. Such an approach was essential due to the impossibility of predicting where units might be called upon to serve.[109]

CONARC assisted officers in crafting their training programs with an extensive catalog of all available counterinsurgency training materials. Several manuals were also particularly useful to the trainer, including FM 30–102, *Aggressor Forces* (1963), which provided advice on integrating guerrillas into training exercises; FM 31–30, *Jungle Operations* (1960); FM 31–30, *Jungle Training and Operations* (1965); and FM 57–35, *Airmobile Operations* (1960 and 1963). Other manuals of special utility were FM 31–18, *Long Range Patrols* (1962 and 1965); FM 21–75, *Combat Training of the Individual Soldier and Patrolling* (1962); and FM 21–50, *Ranger Training and Ranger Operations* (1962).

FM 31–18, *Long Range Patrols*, described the organization, function, and operation of long-range reconnaissance patrols (LRRPs). These were small teams of highly trained soldiers whose primary mission was to gather intelligence and acquire targets deep in enemy territory—a concept the Army would shortly put to the test in Vietnam. FM 21–75, *Combat Training of the Individual Soldier and Patrolling*, not only covered ambush, patrol, and airmobile techniques applicable to counterguerrilla warfare, but also impressed upon each soldier the importance of proper behavior toward civilians, noting that

> practicing self-discipline is an extremely important part of combating the guerrilla. Almost every man is proud of the spiritual values, culture, and customs of his country. If you ignore or neglect the importance of these items,

Soldiers search "dead" insurgents that they have just ambushed during training.

hatred of you and sympathy for the guerrilla will result. The guerrilla desires to spread resentment against you and your country. Disregarding these considerations will aid his effort. Self-discipline, combined with a firm, just, and understanding policy in dealing with civilians, will reduce chances of guerrilla success.[110]

The 1962 edition of FM 21–50, *Ranger Training and Ranger Operations*, further reinforced the Army's efforts to develop the type of highly skilled infantrymen so necessary in counterguerrilla warfare. The Ranger movement of the 1950s continued to flourish into the 1960s, with concomitant benefits for counterguerrilla proficiency as a whole. Not only did Army regulations require that all rifle companies undergo annual Ranger training, but by 1962, 80 percent of all Regular Army second lieutenants had already taken the Ranger course at Fort Benning. In 1964 the Army directed that all Regular Army officers should take either Ranger or airborne training, and the following year the Infantry School revised the Ranger curriculum to include an eighteen-day counterguerrilla phase. Ultimately, in 1966 the Army would make Ranger training mandatory for all newly commissioned Regular Army officers.[111]

Commanders put all of their training efforts to the test through exercises. Initially, most counterguerrilla exercises were merely small phases of larger conventional exercises. Such exercises usually had a

Helicopter shortages meant that soldiers sometimes had to practice airmobile operations using mock-ups.

rear area flavor and were of limited utility. However, as time passed all-guerrilla exercises became more common, as did the use of "live" guerrillas played by combinations of regular soldiers and Special Forces teams. The vast majority of these exercises emphasized small-unit operations, patrolling, camp and march security, ambush and counterambush situations, raids, and night and aerial movements. Exercises involving entire brigades or divisions in a counterguerrilla role were rare. Artillery and tactical airpower were also seldom employed in training exercises. More important, the small inventory of helicopters meant that few units had any opportunity to practice the airmobile tactics espoused by doctrine.[112]

Perhaps the most difficult aspect for Army trainers to simulate was the complex interrelationship between soldiers, civilians, and a covert insurgent apparatus. Although many exercises included civil, psychological, and intelligence aspects, there was never enough time and resources to depict the twilight struggle that occurred in the villages. The Army recognized this problem. FM 31–16 (1963) declared that "it is impossible to conduct a three- or four-day exercise and expect elements of a large unit to realistically locate, harass, consolidate, and eliminate a guerrilla force in its area during the available time. Such an operation may take weeks or months in actual combat. By the same token, it is impossible in a short-term exercise to conduct extensive civic action or police operations concurrently

with combat operations and receive any significant proficiency in the skills involved."[113]

The fact of the matter was that counterinsurgency just did not lend itself very well to customary exercise schedules. Although the Army never resolved this problem, it did come up with some partial solutions. As in the 1950s, one of the leaders in pacification simulation was the 25th Infantry Division. The division used mock villages to train its soldiers in the full range of pacification strategies, from civic action to more severe methods, in which soldiers were instructed to "move the people out of the area and then destroy their crops, put the area off limits, and shoot anyone who goes into this area."[114] Still, there was always an air of artificiality about such undertakings.

A more promising method was available when maneuvers were held off military reservations because in these areas the Army was able to incorporate local inhabitants into exercise play. The usual technique was to have the "guerrillas" enter the maneuver area first to give them a chance to familiarize themselves with the terrain and cultivate the friendship of the local populace. Then, once the exercise began, the counterinsurgents would try to woo the population away from the guerrillas. Typically, the counterinsurgents attempted to achieve this goal by issuing propaganda, distributing candy, hosting concerts and sporting events, providing free medical care, and performing civil works. Sometimes these measures paid off, as occurred during one exercise in Germany, where villagers promptly turned in a German Army "guerrilla" force after the Americans built the village a soccer field. More often than not, the allure of being on the side of the underdog proved too great. In exercise after exercise, civilians freely provided guerrillas with food, shelter, and information, while giving a cold shoulder to counterinsurgents. During Exercise HELPING HAND II, held in Washington state, townspeople flew revolutionary flags while children posed for guerrilla propaganda photos that purported to show U.S. soldiers killing innocent boys and girls. During Exercise SHERWOOD FOREST, also held in Washington, businesses temporarily "hired" guerrillas as cover for their espionage activities, while a school let the irregulars use its mimeograph machine to churn out anti-American pamphlets. During another exercise, the inhabitants of a North Carolina town hosted a "guerrilla appreciation night" that featured a potluck supper and country music.

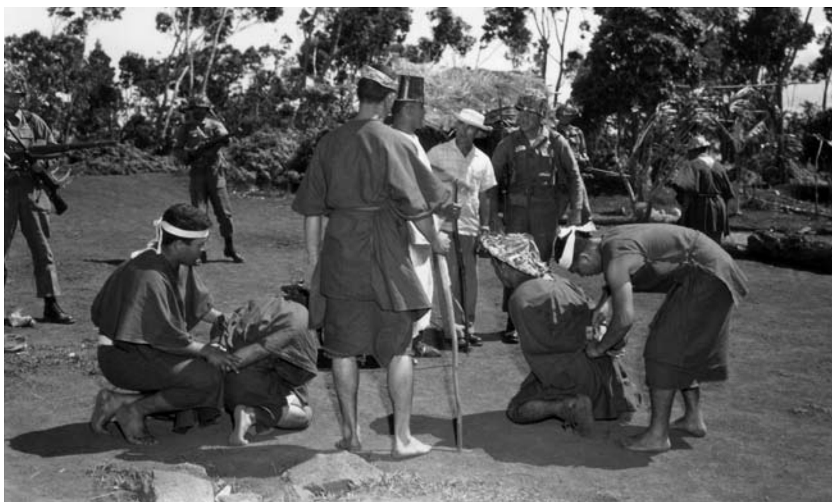
Civilian enthusiasm for the guerrillas was sometimes so intense that it became hard to control. In one case, a group of college students formed their own partisan unit. In another, a sheriff fired an employee who had provided information to counterguerrilla forces, while a seven-year-old boy attacked and bit soldiers who had captured a guerrilla who

Soldiers enter a mock village during counterguerrilla training in Hawaii in 1962.

had befriended him. Sometimes the guerrillas too became unmanageable, committing acts of vandalism or establishing bases outside the authorized exercise area, a real-life tactic that infuriated counterinsurgent players. Ultimately, most counterinsurgents shared the experience of the 2d Infantry Division, which ruefully reported after one 1964 exercise that "civic affairs productions were well-attended and politely applauded, but they did not change the basic loyalty of anyone."[115]

The State of Affairs, 1965

In January 1962, one year after he had initiated the counterinsurgency drive, President Kennedy told Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara that he was "not satisfied that the Department of Defense, and in particular the Army, is according the necessary degree of attention and effort to the threat of insurgency and guerrilla war." Just a few months later, as General Decker's new education and training initiatives began to take root, the president evinced a more favorable attitude, remarking that "they're beginning to recognize the nature of the problem, and what they're doing at Fort Bragg is really good."[116] Whether the president would have been satisfied with the state of affairs as they emerged by 1965 is impossible to say. Certainly he would have recognized that his strategy for defeating wars of national liberation continued to be bedeviled by a number of conceptual,



With the help of an interpreter and friendly village officials, an Army patrol interrogates captured "guerrillas" during training.

organizational, and programmatic weaknesses. Nevertheless, much had been achieved.

In just a few short years the Army had completely restructured its divisions into a new configuration more capable of executing the flexible response strategy. It had developed an entirely new dimension of warfare—airmobility—and elevated that concept to a prominent place in its approach to counterguerrilla warfare. It had improved both the quantity and quality of the advice it gave to nations threatened by insurgencies by adjusting military assistance programs, expanding Special Forces, and creating new entities, like the Special Action Forces, which spread American counterinsurgency methods around the globe. It had absorbed the thrust of popular counterinsurgency and developmental theory and blended these with traditional Army counterguerrilla and civil affairs precepts to produce an extensive body of doctrinal literature. It had also made significant efforts to see that this doctrine was understood and practiced by all echelons. While Army leaders had not always agreed with the full scope of Kennedy's policies, they had made a creditable effort to implement them.[117]

Such at least was the finding of a special commission established by President Johnson in 1965 to review the state of the national counterinsurgency program. The panel, which consisted of representatives of every federal agency involved in the counterinsurgency effort, reported that the Army was the only agency that had developed a cogent, written

doctrine for counterinsurgency and that only it and the Marine Corps had comprehensive training programs to disseminate that doctrine to all ranks. Given the government's stance that counterinsurgency was primarily a political and not a military phenomenon, the failure of the government's civilian agencies to match the Army's efforts in developing and disseminating doctrine did not bode well for a program that required a high degree of civil-military coordination.[118]

Still, the Army could take pride in its achievements, for after a somewhat slow start in 1961, it had by 1965 succeeded in integrating counterinsurgency and counterguerrilla warfare in substantive ways into its doctrinal, educational, and training systems. At no other time in its history had the Army been better prepared to wage a counterinsurgency campaign, if preparedness is measured in the amount of manual pages, classroom time, and training exercises specifically devoted to counterinsurgent warfare. The question was, would it be enough to meet Khrushchev's challenge?

Notes

[1] Inaugural Address, 20 Jan 61, in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: John F. Kennedy, 1961* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1962), p. 1.

[2] Quotes from Special Message on Urgent National Needs to Congress, 25 May 61, in ibid., pp. 397, 399, respectively. Lawrence Grinter, "How They Lost: Doctrines, Strategies and Outcomes of the Vietnam War," *Asian Survey* 15 (December 1975): 1112.

[3] First quote from David Halberstam, *The Best and the Brightest* (New York: Random House, 1972), p. i (title page). Second quote from Packenham, *Liberal America*, p. 61, and see also pp. 6, 18–21, 62–63, 253. Sir Henry Gurney, British high commissioner for Malaya, coined the phrase "hearts and minds" in 1951 to describe efforts to defeat Communist guerrillas through political and social action during the Malayan emergency. Americans in the 1960s adopted the phrase to describe their own politically oriented approach to counterinsurgency. Third quote from CGSC, *Counterinsurgency Case History, Malaya: 1948–60*, RB 31–2 (Fort Leavenworth, Kans.: CGSC, 1965), p. 6. Shafer, *Deadly Paradigms*, pp. 9–13, 21, 49–50, 79, 104, 111, 135; DePauw and Luz, *Winning the Peace*, pp. 133–34; Howard Wiarda, *Ethnocentrism in Foreign Policy: Can We Understand the Third World?* (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1985), pp. 1–4; Charles Maechling, "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency: The Role of Strategic Theory," *Parameters* 14 (Autumn 1984): 33. Fourth quote from Latham, *Modernization as Ideology*, p. 71, and see also pp. 1–8, 50, 56–68, 166–67.

[4] Quote from Maurice Matloff, ed., *American Military History*, Army Historical Series (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1989), p. 623. Department of Defense, *Annual Report for Fiscal Year 1965*, p. 21; Weigley, *History of the United States Army*, pp. 527–28; Doughty, *Army Tactical Doctrine*, pp. 19–22; Donald Carter, "From G.I. to Atomic Soldier: The Development of U.S. Army Tactical Doctrine, 1945–1956" (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1987), pp. 210, 219; Myles Marken, "The Atomic Age Divisions," *Army Information Digest* 20 (September 1965): 58–64.

[5] First quoted word from Seymour Deitchman, *Limited War and American Defense Policy* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1964), p. 4. Second quote from Andrew Kauffman, "On 'Wars of National Liberation,'" *Military Review* 48 (October 1968): 33. Third quoted word from Harry Coles, "Strategic Studies Since 1945, the Era of Overthink," *Military Review* 53 (April 1973): 3. Fourth quote from W. Bruce Weinrod, "Counterinsurgency: Its Role in Defense Policy," *Strategic Review* 2 (Fall 1974): 37. Fifth quote from Richard Schultz et al., *Guerrilla Warfare and Counterinsurgency: United States–Soviet Policy in the Third World* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1989), p. 10. For criticisms of the counterinsurgency "fad," see Laqueur, *Guerrilla*, pp. ix–x, 101, 374, 384–87, 391–96; Bell, *Myth of the Guerrilla*, p. 64; Shy and Collier, "Revolutionary War," in *Makers of Modern Strategy*, ed. Peter Paret (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 818–19; 840–42, 857–58.

[6] Quote from Department of the Army (DA), *Special Warfare: An Army Specialty* (1962), pp. 15–16. Memo, Decker for the President, 15 Feb 61, sub: U.S. Army Role

in Guerrilla and Anti-Guerrilla Operations, in 385, Secretary of the Army (Secy of the Army), 1961–64, RG 335, NARA; Rpt, CSA, n.d., sub: A Compilation of U.S. Army Cold War Activities, 1 Jan 61 to 26 Jan 62, p. II-14, Historians files, CMH (hereafter cited as CSA, Cold War Activities).

[7] Quoted words from Rpt, DCSOPS, 2 Jan 62, sub: Concept of Employment of U.S. Army Forces in Paramilitary Operations, p. 2, Historians files, CMH. CSA, Cold War Activities, pp. I-3, I-4; Jonathan Ladd, "Some Reflections on Counterinsurgency," *Military Review* 44 (October 1964): 75.

[8] Quote from Stephen Bowman, "The Evolution of United States Army Doctrine for Counterinsurgency Warfare: From World War II to the Commitment of Combat Units in Vietnam" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1985), p. 134, and see also pp. 5–6. Lloyd Norman and John Spore, "Big Push in Guerrilla Warfare," *Army* 12 (March 1962): 34–35.

[9] Quote from Blaufarb, *Counterinsurgency Era*, p. 80. Richard Betts, *Soldiers, Statesmen, and Cold War Crises* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977), p. 130; Ricky Waddell, "The Army and Peacetime Low Intensity Conflict, 1961–1993: The Process of Peripheral and Fundamental Military Change" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1994), p. 141; Bowman, "Evolution of Army Doctrine," p. 85; Andrew Krepinevich, The U.S. Army and Vietnam: Counterinsurgency Doctrine and the Army Concept of War (Fort Bragg, N.C.: U.S. Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center, 1984), pp. 25–26; Memos, Krulak for Chair, JCS, 10 Apr 62, sub: Special Group (Counterinsurgency), Establishment of Special Group (Counterinsurgency), Wheeler files, RG 218, NARA, and Krulak for Lansdale, Rosson, 22 May 62, sub: Counter-guerrilla Tactics, 370.64, CSA, 1962, RG 319, NARA.

[10] Quote from Bowman, "Evolution of Army Doctrine," p. 85, and see also pp. 113–14. David Petraeus, "The American Military and the Lessons of Vietnam: A Study of Military Influence and the Use of Force in the Post-Vietnam Era" (Ph.D. diss., Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, 1987), p. 96.

[11] Quoted words from William Yarborough, "'Young Moderns' Are Impetus Behind Army's Special Forces," *Army* 12 (March 1962): 38. Betts, *Soldiers, Statesmen*, pp. 10–13; Bowman, "Evolution of Army Doctrine," p. 179; Thomas Adams, "Military Doctrine and the Organization Culture of the U.S. Army" (Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University, 1990), pp. 5–6, 68.

[12] Quote from Corr and Sloan, *Low-Intensity Conflict*, p. 21. Charles Maechling, "Counterinsurgency: The First Ordeal by Fire," in *Low-Intensity Warfare*, ed. Michael Klare and Peter Kornbluh (New York: Pantheon, 1988), pp. 26–27; Michael Hennessy, *Strategy in Vietnam: The Marines and Revolutionary Warfare in I Corps, 1965–1972* (Westport, Conn.: Frederick A. Praeger, 1997), p. 18; George Tanham, *War Without Guns* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), pp. 7, 24; Memo, Special Group, Counterinsurgency, for the President, 20 Jul 62, sub: Report of the Committee on Police Assistance Programs, p. 1, Historians files, CMH.

[13] Doughty, *Army Tactical Doctrine*, pp. 46–48.

[14] Memo, Lt Gen Earle Wheeler, Dir, Joint Staff, for Chair, JCS, 9 Feb 61, sub: Review of Lieutenant General McGarr's Papers, in 3360, JCS 1961, RG 218, NARA.

[15] Special Warfare School, ST 31–180, Readings in Guerrilla Warfare, 1960 and 1961 editions, and ST 31–170, Tactics and Techniques in Counter-Guerrilla Operations, c. 1963. Both at Special Warfare School. Lesson Plan C3.A1408, C6.A1408, Special Warfare School, Fundamentals of Counterguerrilla Operations, 1964, pp. LP-61 to

LP-64, MHI; Infantry School, Selected Readings, 1962 and 1965 editions, Infantry School; T. A. McCarry, Report on the Burma Counterinsurgency Campaign, 1961, N–18745.10, CARL; Lesson Plan A2310–1, CGSC, 1965–1966, CARL. As late as 1965 the Command and General Staff College still employed the German Army's 1944 manual, *Fighting the Guerrilla Bands*, as well as other derivative materials, as course reading materials. Lesson Plan A2300, CGSC, 1964–1965 , p. L4-1, CARL.

[16] Veterans of the Philippine and Malayan conflicts, including Air Force Maj. Gen. Edward G. Lansdale, Army Lt. Col. Charles T. R. Bohannan, and Britain's liaison officer at the CGSC, Col. Richard L. Clutterbuck, frequently spoke at American educational institutions in the early 1960s. Examples of publications discussing Malaya and the Philippines include G. C. Phipps, "Guerrillas in Malaya," *Infantry* 51 (May–June 1961): 36–40; William Long, "Counterinsurgency: Some Antecedents for Success," *Military Review* 43 (October 1963): 90–97; CGSC, Reference Book (RB) 31–3, Counterinsurgency Case History, the Philippines, 1946–54, 1965, CGSC.

[17] For examples of Army translations and studies, see Translation, Army G–2, Counter Guerrilla Training in the Scope of Maintenance in the A.F.N., n.d.; Translation, Army G–2, Special Training in Counter Guerrilla Warfare, n.d.; Translation, Army G–2, Guerrilla and Counterguerrilla Operations, 1962. All in MHI. Donn Starry, La Guerre Revolutionnaire: Some Comments on a Theory of Counterinsurgency Operations (Student paper, AWC, 1966); William Malone, Unconventional Warfare: A Look at French "Psychological Action" in Algeria (Student paper, AWC, 1962).

[18] Interv, Andrew Birtle with Carl Bernard, 28 Jan 03, and CONARC, Counterinsurgency Conference Report, 23–24 March 1962, p. A-16-1, both in Historians files, CMH; Bowman, "Evolution of Army Doctrine," pp. 139–40; AWC, U.S. Army War College Curriculum Coverage of Counterinsurgency, 1961–62, 1962, p. 18, MHI; Bernard Fall, "Counterinsurgency: the French Experience," Industrial College of the Armed Forces lecture, 1962.

[19] CONARC, Counterinsurgency Conference Report, 23–24 March 1962, p. A-5-1; Program of Instruction (POI) 33–G–F6, Special Warfare School (SWS) Counterinsurgency Operations, 1964; Memo, Maj Gen Yarborough for CG, CONARC, 20 Dec 64, sub: Counterinsurgency Training, with atchs, Historians files, CMH; Ltr, Maj Gen Lawrence J. Lincoln, Commandant, U.S. Army Engineer School, to Gen Herbert Powell, CG, CONARC, c. 1962, 71A3439, CONARC, RG 338, NARA; Clyde Eddleman, The Report of Educational Survey Commission of the United States Army Command and General Staff College, November 1962, p. 55, CARL.

[20] Quote from Addendum to Lesson IV–50, History of Military Art Course, U.S. Military Academy (USMA), 1962–1963, p. 9. Lesson Plan, USMA 1963–1964, History of Military Art, pp. 27, 30–33. Both from the Department of Military Arts and Engineering, Organizational History, POI files, USMA, West Point, N.Y. French Operations in Indo-China, pp. 1–4, 7, atch to Memo, Commander in Chief, Pacific, for Distribution, 16 Oct 61, sub: Lessons from Limited War Operations, with atchs, Historians files, CMH; Charles Biggio, "Let's Learn from the French," *Military Review* 46 (October 1966): 28–34; David Foster, Irregular Warfare—Challenge to the Free World (Student paper, AWC, 1962), pp. iii, 26, 36; Lesson Plan 112A, SWS, Insurgency Movement, Indochina, 1965, pp. LP-1, LP-48, LP-49, LP-65, MHI; Memos, DCSOPS War Plans Div for OPS-PI, n.d., sub: Phase III Warfare in Indochina, and Johnson for DCSOPS, 27 Mar 65, both in Geog v Indochina, 380 Warfare, CMH; "Phase III Warfare Indochina 1951–1954. Vietnam 1965?" *Weekly Intelligence Digest*, WID 18–65 (1965): 14–15.

[21] Kevin Sheehan, "Preparing for an Imaginary War? Examining Peacetime Functions and Changes of Army Doctrine" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1988), pp. 376–77; DA, *Special Warfare: An Army Specialty* (1962); Donald Rattan, "Antiguerrilla Operations: A Case Study from History," *Military Review* 40 (May 1960): 23–27.

[22] Bowman, "Evolution of Army Doctrine," pp. 49–56; "ACSFOR Comes of Age," *Army Information Digest* 20 (February 1965): 34–37; CONARC, Historical Background of USCONARC Participation in Combat and Materiel Development Activities, Dec 63, pp. 1–9, 23–24, 32; John Daley, "U.S. Army Combat Developments Command," *Army Information Digest* 17 (September 1962): 13–18.

[23] CDC Planning Group, Preliminary Implementation Plan, vol. 3, Field Agencies, CDC, 16 Apr 62, ans. A, B, pts. 2 to 7, p. A-iv-A-1; Ltrs, Lt Gen John Daley, CDC Planning Group to Director, Reorganization Project Office, 11 May 62, sub: Activation of Remote Area Conflict Office, and Decker to Gen Herbert Powell, 8 Mar 62, with atched Staff Summary Sheet, Lt Gen Barksdale Hamlett, DCSOPS, to CSA, 26 Feb 62, sub: Remote Area Conflict Office. All in 69–0630, CDC, RG 338, NARA.

[24] CONARC, Historical Background of USCONARC Participation in Combat and Materiel Development Activities, Dec 63, p. 37; CDC Cir 10–2, 11 Sep 64, 73A2678, RG 338, NARA.

[25] FM 31–15, *Operations Against Irregular Forces*, 1961, pp. 3–4. For criticism of FM 31–15's view of insurgency, see Laqueur, *Guerrilla*, p. 377.

[26] FM 31–15, *Operations Against Irregular Forces*, 1961, pp. 4, 5, 12–14, 25, 32.

[27] Quoted words from ibid., p. 27, and see also pp. 25–26, 28, 34.

[28] Quote from ibid., p. 21, and see also pp. 17–22, 24, 36–39, 48.

[29] Quotes from ibid., p. 47, and see also pp. 15–18, 33, 36–39. FM 31–20, *Operations Against Guerrilla Forces*, 1951, p. 125.

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[31] Quote from ibid., p. I-20, and see also pp. I-14 to I-19. Blaufarb, *Counterinsurgency Era*, p. 78.

[32] Quotes from Joint Concept, p. I-29, and see also p. I-24.

[33] Overseas Internal Defense Policy, atch to National Security Action Memorandum 182, Counterinsurgency Doctrine, 1 Sep 62 (hereafter cited as OIDP).

[34] Quote from Maechling, "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency," p. 34. Maechling, "Counterinsurgency," p. 25; Hennessy, *Strategy in Vietnam*, p. 18; Schultz, *Guerrilla Warfare*, p. 103; Memo, Maj Gen William R. Peers for Gen Taylor, 15 Dec 65, sub: Review of the Committee I Report, Historians files, CMH; CDC Special Warfare Agency, Operational, Organizational, and Material Concepts for U.S. Army Counterinsurgency Operations During the Period 1970–80, Aug 64, pp. 55, 64–66, 76–77.

[35] Quote from OIDP, p. 17.

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[43] Quote from ibid., p. 96, and see also p. 98.

[44] Quote from ibid., p. 37, and see also pp. 24, 38.

[45] First quote from ibid., p. 20. Remaining quotes from ibid., p. 40, and see also pp. 7, 22, 38–42, 111.

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