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**THE LITERATURE OF
LOW-INTENSITY CONFLICT:
A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY AND
SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

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

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**THE LITERATURE OF LOW-INTENSITY CONFLICT:
A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

by
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THE ARMY-AIR FORCE CENTER FOR LOW INTENSITY CONFLICT

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

CLIC PAPERS

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

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Pending	Introduction to Understanding Latin Americans

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FOREWORD BY A-AF CLIC

Addressing the challenges of low-intensity conflict (LIC) requires planning, coordination, intelligence, and tailoring of responses to particular situations and locales. In other words, it requires a complete understanding of the variegated phenomena associated with LIC in all its categories. Certainly, disagreements remain on terminology, and admittedly, confusion exists regarding the exact and appropriate roles military organizations and civilian agencies should play in confronting the multi-faceted LIC threat. But much has been done and is being done to address the remaining disagreements. One point where general accord does exist is that knowledge, comprehension, and information are basic elements of any approach to addressing the LIC threat successfully. It is only through such an awareness that we can hope to avoid the trap of "relearning the past."

Consequently, the Army-Air Force Center for Low Intensity Conflict (A-AF CLIC) is pleased to publish another CLIC PAPER addressing the literature of LIC. It is entitled The Literature of LIC: A Selected Bibliography and Suggestions For Further Research by Steven Metz, PhD, Associate Professor of Strategic Studies, US Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS. This bibliography is a useful tool to aid those grappling with LIC in all its manifestations. It surveys the vast body of literature connected with LIC and points up trends and vantage points that have helped to shape the viewpoints of writers. It names the better authors and works, providing brief descriptions of contents in many instances. Moreover, this bibliography directs attention to areas in need of further research efforts from traditional scholars as well as reflective operators (once they finally have time to record their ideas). Those trying to understand LIC can profit by consulting this bibliography.

In addition to this document the A-AF CLIC will also soon publish another volume of bibliographic references. For an alternative perspective the Resource Center publishes issues of the LIC Update. This periodical contains an annotated bibliography and a short article about particulars of LIC. It includes a description of new developments in LIC theory or practice, or an analysis of the direction of LIC. The bibliography focuses on writings of the US military and national security establishment, although writings from other countries and critics of policies in LIC are also included. It is available from the Resource Center, PO Box 4506, Albuquerque, NM 87196.

THE LITERATURE OF LOW-INTENSITY CONFLICT:

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Low intensity conflict (LIC) provides some of the most complex problems which the United States currently faces and will demand even more attention from security professionals in the future. The prevalence and relevance of LIC inspired much thinking and writing in books, military journals, and civilian periodicals. By providing a forum for debate, the literature on LIC clarifies points of consensus, illustrates debates and disagreements, contributes to an integrated effort by providing communication between the military and civilian sectors of the security community, and lays the foundation for such action-oriented writing as that dealing with doctrine. In addition, the literature on LIC indicates gaps in current thinking.

All of this means that the success which the US has in meeting the challenge of LIC is in part contingent on the quality of analysis which forms the foundation of national efforts. This essay outlines the status and structure of the current literature on LIC. The intent is not to provide an exhaustive bibliography or assess the quality of individual contributions. It is, rather, to trace key themes in the literature and use these to outline gaps which must be filled if US security professionals are to understand LIC fully and craft a coherent response.

THE FIRST GENERATION

Although insurgency and terrorism have existed and been studied throughout recorded history, the first generation of the modern literature of LIC took shape in the early 1960s. The inspiration was the large number of insurgencies around the world and the intersection of cold war conflict and Third World instability caused by decolonization and development. Insurgency rather than terrorism was the focus. The first generation of LIC literature fell into five general categories.

One category consisted of the writings of insurgents themselves. Based on the theories of Karl Marx, Leon Trotsky, and V. I. Lenin, the most important and most studied works on Third World revolution are those of MAO, GIAP, GUEVARA, and DEBRAY. KATZENBACH AND HANRAHAN introduced Maoist theories to Western readers; good studies of the theories and activities of the Asian revolutionaries are found in GRIFFITH, ROBERT O'NEILL, and ATKINSON.

A second category consisted of theoretical and scholarly analyses of insurgency and revolution by political scientists and sociologists. This literature dealt with the role of LIC in world politics (OSGOOD 1957; BLOOMFIELD AND LEISS; THOMPSON 1970;

KECSKEMETI; CYRIL BLACK; MCCLINTOCK), and the causes and nature of revolution. Among the best examples of the latter is the collection edited by ECKSTEIN, which includes chapters by some of the most eminent social scientists of the early 1960s. Additional classics of this period include HUNTINGTON on the cause of disorder in developing nations, ARENDT on the philosophy of revolution, CHALMERS JOHNSON on the general theory of revolution, and GURR, which is an extensive behavioral study of the causes of rebellion. Other useful examples include BARBER, THOMAS GREENE, BELL, DUNN, OSANKA, DALY, FAIRBAIRN, PARET AND SHY, LEITES AND WOLF 1966, LEITES AND WOLF 1970, SARKESIAN 1975, SULLIVAN AND SATTER, and SCOTT. General studies dealing more specifically with the role of the military in insurgency include GALULA, KITSON, PUSTAY, CALVERT, DARLING, T. N. GREENE, and PAGET. CONDIR compiled a useful bibliography of early works.

Although nearly all of these early general works included some case studies, works that dealt exclusively with such cases compose the third category of the first generation of the literature of LIC. Attention was given to the British experience in Malaya (CLUTTERBUCK 1966; PAGET; KITSON; BARBER) and Kenya (CLAYTON). PARET provided detailed analysis of French counterinsurgency in Indochina and Algeria, while TRINQUIER offered first-hand discussion of the French experience. There is a huge number of studies of the insurgency in Vietnam. Some of the more useful ones include TANHAM, BUTTINGER, FALL, and MCALISTER AND MUS.

The fourth category includes writings on specialized or technical aspects of the military dimension of insurgency. Most of these dealt with the United States experience in Vietnam, but additional attention was devoted to subjects like urban guerrillas (BARCLAY; ROBERT BLACK; SCHLAACK).

A final category consists of leftist writings. These are highly critical of the United States approach to counterinsurgency and grew out of the anti-Vietnam war movement and, more generally, out of the political "new left." An example is KLARE, 1972.

While the factual material from the first generation of LIC literature may be dated, it is not true that the analysis it spawned is automatically obsolescent. The importance of insurgency in the 1960s and early 1970s attracted some of the best minds among scholars and security professionals, and thus expertise on LIC in the current era must be based on understanding of this first generation literature.

SECOND GENERATION

Although there was never a total absence of writing on what would come to be called "low intensity conflict," there certainly was a lull between the end of the United States involvement in Vietnam and the mid-1970s. The initial impetus for a reawakened interest in LIC was terrorism. From the late 1970s, this literature exploded. In the early 1980s, expanded attention to counterinsurgency became evident, and analysts began to treat LIC as a unitary phenomenon.

As with the first generation literature, second generation literature falls along a continuum from the purely theoretical to the purely applied. Most works mix both but emphasize one or the other in accordance with the author's profession. A number of useful bibliographies facilitate second generation LIC research. These include AIR UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, BEEDE, BLACKKEY, BURNS AND LEITENBERG, and SPECIAL WARFARE. The second generation literature itself can be divided into the following categories: (1) general works falling on the theoretical end of the continuum; (2) general works falling on the applied end of the continuum; (3) works dealing with some specialized dimension of LIC; and (4) the counter-LIC literature.

Among writers dealing with the broad theoretical aspects of LIC, the dominant figure is Sam C. Sarkesian. As a retired United States Army officer, Sarkesian masterfully blends theoretical and applied analysis (SARKESIAN 1986; SARKESIAN 1984; SARKESIAN AND SCULLY). Useful theoretical groundwork is also crafted by STAUDENMAIER AND SABROSKY and EVANS. Studies which focus on insurgency and the United States response include BLAUFARB, which is excellent but ends with the Vietnam war; ASPREY, which is an exhaustive two volume history of guerrilla warfare from ancient to modern times; Updates of general revolutionary theory are found in SHY AND COLLIER, GOLDSTONE, and FRIEDLAND. The US response is covered in BECKETT AND PIMLOTT, SPJUT, and SHAFER. Good collections of case studies are provided by CHALIAND, O'NEILL AND HEATON AND ALBERTS. Latin American insurgency now receives more attention as in FAURIOL and JOHNSON AND RUSSELL.

The most important work on applied aspects of LIC has been done by security professionals rather than scholars and tends to be found in military journals. A huge number of recent works deal with the definition and tenets of LIC, and the military force structure and doctrine required to deal with it. Examples include OLSON, 1988; BOND, FULTON, SARKESIAN, GALVIN, LIND, MORELLI AND FERGUSON, GOLDSTONE, GORMAN, LITTLE, MOTLEY, PASCHALL, SUMMERS, 1985; SWAIN, TAYLOR AND MCDOWELL, SARKESIAN, VOUGHT, VOUGHT AND FRASER, WAGHELSTEIN, and ZAIS, 1984. DUBIK examines LIC and wider Army warfighting doctrine, while LUTTWAK, JOHNSON, and HAYCOCK examine the limitations which military

doctrine and force structure place on LIC capability. Such writers as FISHEL AND COWEN look to the roots of US counterinsurgency doctrine for assistance with modern problems. The most prevalent type of historical study concerns Vietnam. This literature is immense; of use to analysts of LIC are SUMMERS, 1981; KREPENIVICH, HUNT AND SCHULTZ, and THOMPSON, 1973. SUGNET provides a good bibliography on Vietnam writing.

Among writings dealing with limited aspects of LIC, the largest body is the literature on terrorism. Terrorism generated hundreds of books in the past decade and even a specialized journal (Terrorism). The most useful compilation of definitions, dimensions, and resources for the study of terrorism is SCHMID. MICKOLUS is a useful but somewhat dated bibliography. Works which examine terrorism within the context of LIC include O'BALLANCE, SELTH, WRIGHT, MALLIN, BARD O'NEILL, MOTLEY, RENTER, SLOAN, HENSMAN, GARRETT, DELLOW, RAND CORPORATION, and TERRY. Michael Stohl (STOHL, STOHL, AND LOPEZ) has done valuable work on terrorism and foreign policy. More applied writings include DASKAL, KUSTER, and MANWARING.

Another genre of applied writing focuses on the role of a specific type of military force. DEMAREST, OSETH, STEWART, WARD, TOVAR, and ZINDAR concentrate on the intelligence requirements of LIC. BARNETT, ISBY, PEZZELLE, and SCHLACTER AND STUBBS examine the role of Special Forces. KAFKALAS analyzes light divisions, and MCEWEN and PADDOCK, psychological operations. The Army has taken the lead in LIC, but the role of other services has been considered. There are a number of sources on the role of airpower in LIC. Useful examples include ALNWICK; DEAN, 1986a; DEAN, 1986b; DEAN, 1985; GROPMAN, KOCH, OLSON, 1986; and PROCEEDINGS OF THE SYMPOSIUM. The contribution of the Marine Corps is discussed in MELSHEN and WESTERN. Little examination has been done of the role of the Navy outside WASIELEWSKI.

The counter-LIC literature is the descendent of the radical critiques of counterinsurgency which emerged in the late 1960s. Writers in this group tend to be leftist and isolationist and argue that the enhancement of US LIC capability is dangerous and will encourage irresponsible intervention in Third World affairs. The best explanation of this position is found in the theoretical essays and case studies compiled by KLARE AND KORNBLUH. Also useful are KLARE, 1981 and 1985; REED, and KORNBLUH.

A THIRD GENERATION?

The literature of LIC has undergone tremendous development in the past decade, but gaps still exist. Future research should not repeat the type of analysis already performed, but rather aim at filling in these gaps.

The use of military force short of war is one area requiring further examination. The relationship of force and diplomacy is a time-honored topic among political scientists, with BLECHMAN providing the current standard, but with the exception of glances by TAYLOR and LINN, little has been done on the implications of the use of military force short of war for the armed services. Since the purpose of the use of force short of war is the communication of intent and capability, it is largely psychological. Studies which synthesize other uses of force for psychological purposes -- particularly the massive literature on deterrence -- and low intensity operations short of war are greatly needed. There is also a paucity of analysis of the role of United States forces in peacekeeping which concentrates on the criteria for success and failure. Most existing studies of peacekeeping, such as JONES, deal with the United Nations rather than the US military.

Proinsurgency also needs further examination. Second generation LIC literature generally developed inductively, with specific and applied analyses leading to broader and more theoretical treatment. Ironically, studies of proinsurgency have gone the other way. There is a fairly well-developed body of literature on the strategic and diplomatic meaning of proinsurgency (KIRKPATRICK; BODE; COPSON AND CRONIN; LISKA; HANSEN), but almost nothing exists on the impact which proinsurgency has on the ability of the military to perform assigned missions, or on the doctrinal and operational changes which proinsurgency will demand.

The economics of LIC is also poorly understood. Many general examinations discuss security assistance, but even so, this subject has not been explored in sufficient depth. Questions concerning when US aid is effective and ineffective must be answered in order to extract the greatest possible benefits from declining funds for security assistance. Such operational and strategic-level economic issues as the economics of insurgency and the most effective way to utilize US economic power in LIC situations have not been analyzed at all.

General strategic-level explorations of LIC are also incomplete. A few recent efforts include COMMISSION ON INTEGRATED LONG-TERM STRATEGY, METZ, 1988; MAECHLING, and QUIST. Similarly, the domestic politics of LIC are not fully understood. Studies do exist on the impact which terrorism and counterterrorism have on democracies (P. WILKINSON), and BARNES,

SHULTZ, and TARR examined the political constraints on LIC. But while all writers note the importance of domestic support to sustaining LIC efforts, no study of how governments can do this is yet published (METZ, forthcoming). At an even more abstract level, first generation studies of the role of LIC on international relations and national security strategy need to be augmented and updated. Some good work has been done on this topic: KRULAK, IKLE, HALLORAN, and MOORE, but additional study is required.

On a military level, inadequate study has been given to military-political interface in LIC including the vital relationship between a regional CINC and such civilian agencies as the State Department and CIA. At an applied level, DECKER has examined the importance of civil affairs in LIC, but more detailed study is needed. Further examination is needed of "jointness" issues, the advantages and problems of combined LIC operations, and the applicability of such existing US doctrine as AirLand battle to LIC.

There is a need for comparative studies that extrapolate lessons from LICs not involving the US. Some studies of counterinsurgency in southern Africa exist: BRUTON, MURSTON, A. WILKINSON, and METZ, 1987. Recently, attention has turned to counterinsurgency in Marxist states as DICKSON, HART, and HENRIKSEN have analyzed. CASTILLON examined the recent French experience. These are all useful, but they do not fully explore the lessons for the United States that may lie in these other conflicts.

Generally, the literature of LIC, like the subject itself, is irregular, inconsistent, and variegated. Movement toward a unified theory, or at least a comprehensive treatment, would greatly assist the US in confronting the LIC threat. Two additional efforts are needed. The division between theoretical and applied analyses should be bridged by more collaborative efforts involving security professionals, political scientists, sociologists, economists, and development professionals. Movement in this direction has occurred at such conferences as the 1986 Low Intensity Warfare Conference at Fort Lesley J. McNair and the 1988 Colloquium on Low Intensity Conflict at the Foreign Service Institute, but further emphasis is needed. Finally, there is a need for more writing on LIC in forms more accessible to non-professionals. The LIC threat will undoubtedly grow in the next decade, and great national efforts will be needed to meet it. At the present time both the public and elected representatives in the United States poorly understand the nature of this threat. It is the task of security professionals to contribute both to movement toward a unified theory of LIC and to public understanding of the phenomenon.

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