b. Fuller, Grade Hadley, Military Government: A Selected List of References (1946)

c. Taylor, Philip H., and Braibanti, Ralph J. D., Administration of Occupied Areas, A Study Guide (1948)

d. Birkhimer, William E., Military Government and Martial Law (1904)

e. Dowell, Maj. Cassius M., Military Aid to the Civil Power, (1925)

f. Friedrich, Carl J., Military Government and Dictatorship (1950)


i. U. S. Department of the Army, Judge Advocate General's School, Civil Affairs/Military Government; Selected Cases and Materials (1958)
1. **Introduction**

   a. Since the US has entered into collective defense arrangements throughout the world, the furnishing of military assistance is not a new concept. Thus it must be expected that future military operations will either be in support of, or in conjunction with one or more of these allied nations.

   b. In this block of instruction we will show how the civil affairs organization is and has been utilized in the Cold War to work under any type of Command including a Joint Command. Additionally an insight will be gained concerning the operational and staff capabilities of CA in its adaptation to environmental conditions peculiar to the Cold War.

   c. As the MAP has progressively extended its scope to include Military Civic Action Projects there has been an ever-increasing need for specialist skills in host countries. These skills are those normally found in occupational specialties in a civilian economy. Civil affairs is the only organizational echelon within the Armed Forces which has the capability of drafting these particular skills and adapting them to the needs of the Cold War.

   d. Beginning with the smallest and most basic operational unit in the CA organizational structure viz., the CA Company and Platoon and progressing to the largest operational unit, the CA Group, these skills have been organized into composite occupational specialties by CA and utilized to form Mobile Training Teams to assist developing countries. The Platoon contributes to CA generalist capabilities, the Company and Group to common type CA specialties and the Group, individually, to unique CA specialties. These capabilities must of necessity be tailored to fit a particular situation. Additionally CA has furnished staff support as required to all Command echelons participating in the Cold War which require J-5 or G-5 capability or supplemented these echelons in an advisory capacity of a staff nature with civil affairs advisors.

   e. As CA officers it is important that you have a knowledge of these CA capabilities since your future role in world affairs may well place you in Southeast Asia tomorrow.
2. **Topics for Consideration**

a. What type of mission does the term "paramilitary support" connote when used in conjunction with CA organizational components? (Read published extract from Army Times as cited in Required Reading material).

b. Authorities in the field of Public Administration stress the concept of flexibility as a criterion for judging the effectiveness of an organization's capabilities. In your opinion does the current organizational structure of CA meet this criteria? (Consider these capabilities relative to the spectrum of peace, cold war, limited war and general war.)

c. JCS Publication 2 classifies types of Joint Commands as:

   1. Unified
   2. Specified
   3. Joint Task Force

In developing a case for or against the capabilities of a J-5 or G-5 in a MAAG Headquarters, how would you classify the MAAG as a type of Joint Command? Discuss.

d. In a CA Group the functional teams are grouped into 4 principal subdivisions consisting of Governmental Control, Economics, Public Facilities and Special Functions. If you were establishing a new TOE for a Group based on the current staffing pattern would you consider an individual slot on a full time basis for some subdivisions in the Group? If so, under what circumstances? (It is suggested that you review TOE 41-500D and consider team size, span of control, and relative skills supervised among your criteria).

3. **Scope and Purpose**

To provide a comprehensive understanding of the organization and capabilities of civil affairs in the Cold War to include: familiarization with the civil affairs organization as a component in the Department of Army and the Army Zone of Interior; capabilities of Civil Affairs Platoons, Companies and Groups; and the civil affairs organizational role in a Joint and Combined Command, with emphasis on the support role rendered to a Joint Force in implementing a Civic Action Program.

4. **Required Reading**

a. Dept of Army SOP for Civic Action Teams.

c. FM 41-10 Chapter 6 Paras 71-90 (Draft 1961)

d. FM 101-5 Paras 3.11 and 3.12

e. TOE 41-5000 (One copy should be issued each student)

5. Reference Reading


b. Counter Insurgency Operations, Special Warfare Division, Dept of Army, 1960


f. JCS Pub 2 - Unified Action Armed Forces

g. FM 100-10 Draft 1961

h. FM 41-5 Para 1-35
CIVIC ACTION AND COMMUNITY PROGRAMMING

1.  Introduction

   a.  In an address before the Association of the United States Army, Lt Gen Barksdale Hamlett, Deputy Chief of Staff, for Military Operations stated, "Army forces could do much to help the developing nations help themselves. For example, if requested by the host government development of basic projects such as improved roads and bridges, medical treatment stations, water development and simple communications systems could be initiated by trained U.S. Army units. The indigenous army forces would be trained concurrently to take over the completion of such projects. In areas where civic action programs alone are not enough to strengthen the country, direct support to the military and police forces could be furnished to assist them in regaining and maintaining internal stability." It is now being recognized by the leading military minds that the military has a capability in addition to its primary role. This additional role must be translated from the minds of the military leaders into the operating levels of the armed forces.

   b.  During this block of instruction a discussion will be given to the definition and important aspects of civic action and how these actions can be taken either by U.S. Forces in foreign countries or by the military forces of countries where unstable economic and political conditions exist.

   c.  A dramatic example of what has been accomplished by military forces is found in the Armed Forces Assistance to Korea (AFAK), a program that had its beginning when soldiers voluntarily rolled up their sleeves to help the Korean People pull themselves out of the devastation of war. The humanitarian efforts of these Americans were quickly expanded into a comprehensive program that involved almost every unit of all the Armed Forces stationed in Korea, U.S. and Korean. The simple purpose of the program has been achieved; that is, to employ the skills and capabilities of military forces in low cost, immediate impact, social and economic development projects.
d. The use of force is not the only way to stem the tide of resistance to a lawful government. The more lasting method is to attack the conditions which generate resistance. This block of instruction will deal with the participating role of the military in civic action programs, an aspect of civil affairs.

e. Case studies will be made to demonstrate the effectiveness of a civil-military program and how these programs give stability to the social and economic conditions of the country.

2. Topics for Consideration

a. Where does the United States stand in the Cold War struggle with Communism?

b. What is military-civic action?

c. What potential does the military have for civil assistance?

d. In what areas has the U. S. military participated in civil assistance?

e. Is the U. S. struggle with communism exclusively in the area of combat operations?

f. What would you suggest as methods and means for military participation in civic action projects?

3. Scope and Purpose

To develop an understanding of the role of the military in military-civic action programs and the effectiveness of such programs as measures of counter-insurgency and building social and economic stability.

4. Required Reading

a. Haustrath, Alfred H., Civil Affairs in the Cold War, pp. 44-60, Staff Paper ORO-SP-151, The Johns Hopkins University, October 1961.


c. Address by Roger W. Jones, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration, given at U. S. Army Civil Affairs School, 2 Mar 62.
5. **Reference Reading:**


c. *Mutual Support Between Economic and Military*  
A study prepared for consideration by the President's Committee to Study the U. S. Military Assistance Program, 10 June 1969.

1. Introduction

a. During previous instruction certain guidelines have been developed for your thinking in the area of civic action. Certain historical examples have been cited and criteria and objectives of successful programs have been given. This material has been developed through the process of practical experience and study. The backlog of information available provides us with the tools of our trade as civil affairs officers.

b. The desired effectiveness of a program of civic action is supported by practical experience, however, failure to recognize fully the total requirements of civic action has limited in some case the success. Representative areas of the world have been selected as case studies in which we will observe the application of the principles learned for the implementation of civic action programs.

3. Scope and Purpose

To examine actual case studies of civic action in under-developed areas and to analyze these programs under varying conditions.
4. Required Reading

None

5. Reference Reading

  a. Lansdale, Colonel Edward G., Civic Activities of the Military, Southeast Asia, 27 April 1959.


  g. Binamira, Ramon P., Community Development, Answer to Communism, SEATO Publication, Banghok, Thailand.

  h. Hausrath, Alfred H., Civil Affairs in the Cold War, Staff Paper ORO-SP-151, The Johns Hopkins University, Oct 1961.

  i. Swarm, Colonel William R., Analysis and Recommendations of How the Military Can Best be Used to Implement U. S. Socio-Economic Foreign Policies, Foreign Service Institute, Department of State, June 1961 (Classified).


o. Civic Action Plan Abroad is Approved. Speech by President Kennedy, recorded in Washington Post 6 Jan 1962.

p. Decker, General George H., Speech, Chief of Staff, United States Army Inter-American Army Conference, Panama Canal Zone, 10 July 1961.


r. Speech by Roger W. Jones, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration, to the Graduating Class of the U. S. Army Civil Affairs School, Fort Gordon, Ga. 2 March 1962.


1. Introduction

a. If competition between economic systems were conducted in the market place for goods and services, perhaps we might leave the study of economic history solely in the hands of scholars. But modern history has taught us that the coming-of-age or maturity of some nations in terms of industrial capacity has had tragic consequences for many members of the family of nations and their peoples. The history of both world wars, in a way, may be laid at the feet of those nations who have tested their economic might in the supreme combat of war, in the geopolitical sphere, seeking hegemony among nations in both hemispheres, subduing peoples and reshaping their institutions.

b. Capitalism is a relatively modern form of economic system. Actually, the presence of the state in industrial enterprise and trade is a far older concept in western civilization. To understand capitalism one must go back in time to the middle ages to find some of the institutions which are bedrock to our system. The Magna Carta with its recognition of property rights began the process of shedding feudalistic trappings. But even before this, was the development of Roman law, particularly the recognition of contracts which are basic to trade and commerce. With the Magna Carta in 1215 the preconditions of capitalism were established; the right of free choice applied to property disposition which leads to the creation of value. The revolt in the American Colonies basically was a revolt against the mercantilistic orientation of Great Britain, and the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution solidified property rights and the rights of free movement in an open market where the forces of supply and demand function freely. This pure form of capitalism called for private ownership of the means of production, and economic planning was the function of private individuals, rather than the State.

c. As capitalistic systems matured in the 19th Century, particularly in Great Britain where the pace of industrialization was most advanced, a wave of disenchantment swept through the ranks of intellectuals and culminated in the dire pronouncements of Marx and Engels as to the future of capitalistic systems. They pointed to the concentration of wealth in the hands of fewer and fewer entrepreneurs; the bare subsistence wages of the working class, and the imperialistic intent of such a system which was always seeking new markets through colonization and conquest. Through an extrapolation of then current economic trends Marx pointed to the
imminent revolt of the working classes, the disenfranchise-
ment of capitalists and the creation of a new socialistic
state where ownership and control would be centralized and
all would share in economic growth.

d. To this day, the 19th Century image of a rapacious
capitalism predominates in Russian thinking and propaganda
broad sides against the U. S. The flaunting of the USSR's
catching-up process in capital formation has culminated in
Khruschev's pronouncements that Communism will bury capitalism
in coming generations. Claims of superiority by the USSR
for its economic system have not fallen on deaf ears, and
have proved a potent tool in the Cold War, particularly in
the field of foreign aid and in the ever-changing realign-
ment of neutralist nations in the power blocs: If anything,
in recent years the Soviet economic offensive, particularly
in the foreign and military aid sector, has intensified,
with a fair share of successes, culminating recently in the
gathering of Cuba into the fold of Communist-oriented nations.

e. The long term challenge to capitalism may well be
extended to the arena of foreign aid programs. For, if the
USSR continues to outpace the U. S. in terms of annual
economic growth, albeit from a lower base, within a genera-
tion, parity with the U. S. gross national product will be
achieved. In terms of allocations to foreign aid programs
it is estimated that the Soviet Union is close to 50% of U. S.
expenditures, but about equal in terms of the percentage
allocation of gross national product. A time may come when
the annual incremental gain in gross national product of the
USSR may exceed the U. S. experience, thereby providing
a base for outstripping U. S. aid allocations. This is
certainly not a promising prospect for U. S. foreign policy
to effectively counteract.

2. Topics for Consideration

a. What are the major problems the U. S. would face
if complete and total disarmament were effectively negotiated?How would the USSR's problems differ from ours?

b. Would a prolonged economic recession in this country
affect foreign aid appropriations on an annual basis?

c. How best can the U. S. counter the image of a
rapacious capitalistic system that is perpetuated by
Soviet propaganda efforts?

d. Is the trend toward increasing or decreasing economic
controls on the part of the federal government in the U. S.?
3. **Scope and Purpose**

To trace the historical development of US Capitalism and the locus of Communist criticism of this economic system.

4. **Required Reading**

None

5. **Reference Reading**


MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS AND MISSIONS

1. Introduction

United States military operations in the Cold War are conducted through the nation's Military Assistance Program. Military Assistance Programs and Missions traces the history and concept of Military Assistance, the organization of Military Assistance Advisory Groups, their role in the implementation of United States Foreign Policy and the role of Military Assistance in mutual security among the Western Allies.

2. Topics for Consideration

a. What role in Military Assistance to our own developing economy has the United States Army played?

b. On what basis does the United States render military assistance?

c. What is the legal basis for Military Assistance and from what grants of authority does it stem?

d. How is the Military Assistance Program organized and what are its command channels?

e. What is the role of a Military Assistance Advisory Group in the Country Team?

3. Scope and Purpose.

The purpose of this period is to demonstrate to civil affairs officers where they fit in the concept of Military Assistance and their responsibilities to its organizations. Also, the student will be asked to familiarize himself with the benefits of Military Assistance to mutual security and the economies which have resulted in lieu of maintaining a United States defense establishment of equal size.

4. Required Reading

None

5. Reference Reading


ECONOMIC SYSTEMS IN SOCIAL STRUCTURES

1. Introduction

Economics through the centuries has played an important role in the development of social structures. Many of our Cold War problems are cited in developing areas of the world where social pressures have given rise to conditions of insurgency and outright guerrilla operations. Economic Systems in Social Structures is designed to refresh students in the differences between basic economic and social systems and the manner in which their differences contribute to United States problems in the Cold War. Particular emphasis is placed on the manner in which differing economic and social systems affect civil affairs operations.

2. Topics for Consideration

a. How do differing cultural and economic systems compare with those of the United States?

b. In what way will my operations as a civil affairs officer be conditioned in developing areas?

c. What general taboos can I be expected to find in a developing society?

d. What cultural impact is connected with growing economies in a developing area?

3. Purpose and Scope.

The purpose of this period is to acquaint the student with the problems he may expect to confront in civil affairs Cold War operations and to create in him an attitude suitable for their recognition and eventual solution.

4. Required Reading

None

5. Reference Reading

None

IV - 401 - 1
FILE 402S

EFFECTS OF CULTURE AND MORES ON COLD WAR OPERATIONS

1. Introduction

United States Cold War operations are influenced critically in many parts of the world by local cultures and mores. With that in mind, Effects of Culture and Mores on Cold War Operations surveys culture as a way of life; social motivation; political, social, economic and religious aspects; consideration of culture in economic progress; the effect of cultural changes on established societies; and examines some of the limitations imposed by existing cultures on Cold War efforts.

2. Topics for Consideration

a. What are the influences of social, political, economic and religious influences on culture as a way of life?

b. What seeds of insurgency are inherent in culture and mores in developing areas?

c. What is the relationship between denial of the fruits of the technological revolution of the Twentieth Century and insurgency in newly independent but developing areas?

3. Purpose and Scope.

This period is designed to familiarize the student with basic problems encountered in developing nations leading to insurgency and to teach him to recognize that solutions to area problems are not always found in his own culture, experience and education.

4. Required Reading

None

5. Reference Reading

None
1. Introduction

Cold War operations are influenced throughout the world by communications, the ability of Free World representatives to communicate with counterparts in uncommitted or developing areas of the world. The Art of Communication surveys the problems involved in effective face-to-face communication, pitfalls and establishes basic rules for effective vocal and written communication. Emphasis is placed primarily on problems of communicating with counterparts in developing areas particularly involving civil affairs operations.

2. Topics for Consideration

a. What problems will I as a civil affairs officer face in communicating with persons of differing backgrounds, culture and language?

b. How can I become a more effective communicator?

c. What taboos do I face in many developing areas of the world?

3. Scope and Purpose

The period is divided into two parts, the first hour, consisting of a seminar dealing first-hand in problems of communicating with questions and answers. The second hour deals with history of language, rules for effective communicating and the peculiar responsibilities civil affairs officers face in dealing with problem areas.

4. Required Reading

None

5. Reference Reading


b. Chase, Stuart, Power of Words (1953)
c. Kecskemiti, Paul, Totalitarian Communications as a Means of Control (1950)


e. U. S. Army Civil Affairs School, Working Effectively Overseas (1961)
1. Introduction

a. There have been many answers given to the question, What is politics? Among them have been Harold Lasswell's that politics is concerned with "Who Gets What, When and How." George Catlin has suggested that "Politics is the study of the art of control" and V. O. Key has said that "The study of politics is the study of relationships of political power: the concern of... politicians is the acquisition and retention of political power."

b. These and many others which could be given all cast light on this most fundamental phenomenon. A useful definition is one advanced by Snyder and Wilson who say, "Politics is an unending process in which individuals or groups seek to control the power of the government, or influence those who exercise public power, temporarily or regularly, to accomplish certain things or to prevent certain things from being done -- all within a legal framework."

c. The advantage of this definition is that it stresses that politics is a process, that it involves people or groups seeking power for purposes of legally influencing the government. The political process is composed of both power and morality. The acquisition of power is the first goal of those participating in the political process. It may be an end in itself, but it is usually pursued as a means to another end -- status, wealth, prestige, advancing policy.

d. Power is the ability to get someone to do what you want them to do and may be obtained by the use of persuasion, barter, bribery or force. Power can be organized around interest groups trying to protect or advance some value it holds in common, usually property or money. Interest groups create power centers which when focused on the state and in competition with each other, generate the energy of the political process.
e. Morality, which is usually associated with attempts to reform things as they are or as a normative guide to action, leavens the political process and transforms it from one of brutal strength to peaceful persuasion and purposeful struggle - at least within a tranquil state. Frequently moral beliefs are organized into political ideologies and compete with each other for power. Interest groups frequently rationalize their own interests into universals and enlist ideologies for their purposes and vice-versa.

f. The end result of this struggle between interest and interest, interest vs. morality and ideology vs. ideology is usually a decision which is the result of a compromise between them. A policy decision is the resultant of the various material and ethical interests involved at any given time.

g. Politics then is a compromise between the desirable and the possible, between power and morality, between interest and ideology, between necessity and preference. It has been truly said that politics is the art of the possible.

2. Topics for Consideration

a. What do we mean by politics?

b. What are the component parts of politics?

c. What roles do power and morality play in politics?

d. What is the role of the organized interest in politics?

e. What is the role of ideology in politics?

f. What is the end result of politics?

3. Scope and Purpose

The purpose of this lecture is to explain what politics is and to examine the component parts and the dynamics of the political process.

4. Required Reading


THE LANGUAGE OF POLITICS

POLITICS: STATE AND INTERSTATE

1. Introduction

a. The similarities between intra-state and inter-state politics are more numerous than sometimes meets the eye of the unobservant. If politics involves an unending process generated by the conflicts between power and morality, it follows that it does not stop operating just because it involves matters beyond a state's boundaries. Inter-state politics or "politics among nations" as Hans Morgenthau has called it, has the same component parts as domestic politics. The methods of persuasion, barter, bribery and force are used, although in different proportions. In essence, the process is the same.

b. Because of the different circumstances, however, in which politics is practiced in interstate relations, the contrast with state politics is great indeed. Nation-states show a greater degree of social cohesion within themselves than among themselves. The existence of cultural uniformity, technological unification, external pressure on the state and hierarchic political organization within the state all produce a situation where the political process within states is conducted more as a game with rules, with the rulers-enforcers having a monopoly of force and law and morality on their side.

c. In the politics among states, there is no monopoly of force, no enforceable law, no agreement on means as more import as ends and a sense of community within a well established social system.

d. In interstate relations the power of the state is all important. This involves its power over nature and man. It involves objective, quantitative elements such as land, people, resources, location, climate, technology and military preparation. Subjective qualitative elements must also be included in final assessment -- the character of the people and the government, the state of morale and the quality of the nation's diplomacy.

e. Because power is diffused and there is no overriding authority in the politics of states, the final counter tends to be the ability of a state to "crack heads" instead of "counting them" as is done within most well organized communities.

2. Topics for Consideration

a. What are the similarities of state and interstate politics?

b. What are the differences between state and interstate politics?
c. What makes state power so important in interstate politics?
d. What are the indices of state power?

3. Scope and Purpose

The purpose of this lecture is to point out the similarities and differences of state and interstate politics.

4. Required Reading


5. Reference Reading

None
1. Introduction

a. Acquaintance with the formal structure of a host country is the initial and basic necessity for operating with political effectiveness. Whether the country has a developed government of the Western type or an underdeveloped system of government, it contains certain institutions which are assigned specific functions. The difference between government in developed and underdeveloped countries is essentially the difference in development of their institutions of government. Nevertheless, even where the formal patterns of government are undeveloped, the functions are still exercised by someone.

b. Effective operation within a state therefore depends on knowledge of the formal rules of the state and the process by which they are formulated, applied and enforced. Classical Western theory divides these three functions among the legislative, executive and judicial institutions.

c. Legislative institutions have the functions of initiating, preparing and enacting formal rules. In Western states, these functions are held by an elected representative body, in interaction with a counterbalancing executive, responsible either to the legislative body or directly to the electorate. Governments further away from the Western pattern exercise these functions through their executive bodies, and the representative body is either a symbol or inexistent. Consequently, there are two important differences in the legislative processes. Legislation in Western societies is a diffused process, involving many people and several institutions, whereas in underdeveloped societies it is concentrated in a relatively few hands, even where representative organs exist. Similarly, in Western societies there is much room for contact between the population, pressure groups and individuals, and the legislative organs, and this contact is largely institutionalized; in non-Western societies, the social gap which separates the elite from the masses is reflected in the inaccessibility of the legislators to the people.
d. Institutions of enforcement can be divided into the judiciary and the police. Again, the latter tends to be more important in underdeveloped societies, where violence frequently remains a means of popular expression in the absence of alternative institutions or of national acceptance of alternatives. In developed societies, enforcement of rules is largely concentrated in the hands of the courts. Violence is not eliminated from the society, but it is an abnormality and is usually regarded as such.

e. Of equal value in area operations is an understanding of local (as opposed to national) functions and institutions. Again, Western states enjoy a defined relation between their local units and their national governments, and these relations generally fall into centralized or diffused (federal) patterns. In underdeveloped societies, local administration is even more important. The national government tends to lack authority on the local level, national unity is poorly developed and local ways and customs are village-centered, and isolation exists both on the horizontal (local-local) and the vertical (national-local) level. In both societies, two points of focus are of great importance. First, local institutions of social control - often going far beyond simply institutions of government - must be understood, along with the extent to which social activity is controlled. Second, probably the most crucial point is the meeting-point between institutions of local consensus and institutions of national control.

2. **Topics for Consideration**

   a. What is the importance of understanding the institutions of an area?

   b. What different approaches are to be used in dealing with legislative vs. executive institutions?

   c. What differences in approach are used in dealing with developed vs. undeveloped governments?

   d. What are some of the problems which can be encountered in dealing with each level of government?

   e. Is the development of institutions a desirable goal to be encouraged in all societies?

3. **Scope and Purpose**

   To examine the typical institutions of government in both developed and underdeveloped countries, in order to realize the importance of governmental organization in approaching an area.
4. Required Reading

Macridis, Roy and Brown, Bernard, "Introductory Notes" to all sections of Part III, *Comparative Politics* (Dorsey, 1961).

5. Reference Reading

a. Macridis and Brown, *Comparative Politics*.


1. Introduction

a. In no area can understanding of the functional and institutional aspect of government give a full appreciation of the entire political set-up, and a formal approach to government gives less and less of the answers as the countries studied become less and less developed. There is, therefore, a complementary aspect to be examined in understanding an area of operations, and that is the groups and lines of power that are really involved in actually decision-making - as opposed to the theoretical functions and institutions. In all countries, political parties, the military, personalities, pressure groups and the press are significant parts of the political process. The fact that their role is informal means that special care must be taken to evaluate their power; no fixed rules can be given, but guidelines can be offered to understanding their possible role.

b. Political parties are above all important through the role they play in the area's party system. In a single party system, the party generally parallels the governmental hierarchy, with lateral bridges of power at each level, and may often be more important in deciding policy than government channels. Particular points which deserve special attention in a single party system are the possibility of control by a single individual or limited clique, the existence of factions vying for power within the party, and the role of an ideology within the party. Each of these elements may be decisive in determining the action of a party, but may not appear on the surface. In multiparty systems, other points appear, in which the power relationship becomes visible. The allies a party is willing to make and the behavior of the party in coalition can explain its role in government; frequently, there are limitations to coalition possibilities posed by the existence of non-democratic extremes, either on the left (Communist) or on the right (Royalist or authoritarian). In a multiparty system too, the interplay of party ideologies and the role of ideology within the party determines the limits of action that the party is free to take. In addition to the party systems, a second way of approaching the party and analyzing its strength is through its organization, an approach particularly helpful to facilitating operations within an area. In addition to the nature of the organization itself, it is valuable to know the characteristics of the party leaders and the nature of their
following, including its extent, composition, and place in the party machinery; finally, the nature of the communications which exist between the upper and lower levels is necessary to an understanding of the independence of the leaders, their responsibility, and the up-hill flow of initiative, people and ideas. A third way of understanding parties is through their goals. The electoral systems themselves give a key to these goals, since the party, in a democratic situation, is above all and electoral alliance designed to win power through votes. In a democratic situation, the goals between elections are also an item of importance, for they illustrate both party tactics and power outside the ballot box and also party appeals and thinking away from campaign pressure; party operations during this period help give a complete picture of party relations with government and population. On the other hand, in a non-democratic situation, where there are no elections, the goals of the parties are different from those who seek votes. The alternative method of operation must be understood to realize the effect of party programs in this situation.

c. In many countries the military plays an important non-military role, and in some areas is in fact the governing elite. Therefore not only civilian-military relations with regard to the defense purpose, but also the role of the military in political affairs must be appreciated to understand the power of this group. Other items include its loyalty to the regime and its revolutionary possibilities (and alternative policies), its social composition as affected by recruitment and social status, its indoctrination programs, and the special social and technological skills which it possesses are all points of attention which can reveal the power of the military.

d. Although individuals occupy institutional roles and functions, the effect of their personality may far extend or weaken their formal powers; often the institution is only a paper framework for a powerful personality. It is, therefore, important to know of and understand the significant leaders, their formal powers, their background, the nature of their real powers and of their supporting elements, and the possibility and effects of replacement.

e. Pressure groups often serve as a fourth branch of the government, giving functional representation in democratic as well as non-democratic situations; their methods of operation are important to an understanding of decision-making. This understanding must include an awareness of pressure points, the capabilities of the groups and their tactics, and an evaluation of their areas of interest and their effectiveness in those areas. It is also important to understand what groups actually have representation, and the representativeness of these groups.
f. Finally, the press is also an informal influence, frequently of great power. First, the area of influence must be appreciated, including both the circulation of the paper, and the nature of the public it reaches, including their influence in turn on decision-making. Second, the ownership and control of the newspaper or magazine affects its views; in few areas is there a tradition of objectivity such as exists in the U. S. Finally, other elements of mass communications, such as radio and television, and other informal communications channels, such as town criers, bars and barber shops, markets, and rumor chains, are all important if operations are to make effective use of public opinion and communications opportunities.

2. Topics for Consideration

a. Why do the informal patterns of decision-making and the centers of power differ from the formal institutions?

b. What is the interrelation between the formal and informal elements, in deciding not substantive policy, but rather the shape of future formal institutions and functions?

c. What are the most effective ways of making use of these informal centers of power?

d. What are the limits placed on the utilization of these centers and patterns in an operations area, and what imposes these limitations?

e. Is there a possibility of building up centers of influence in an operational area, and is there an advantage to this sort of activity?

3. Scope and Purpose

To understand the informal aspects of government in order to facilitate discovery of the channels of action and centers of power in an operational area.

4. Required Reading

Introductory notes to all sections of Part II, Roy Macridis and Bernard Brown, Comparative Politics, (Dorsey, 1961).

5. Reference Reading

a. Macridis and Brown, Comparative Politics.


1. Introduction

a. Policy operations in underdeveloped areas run into a number of problems which hinder their effectiveness and often pose seemingly insurmountable obstacles to the accomplishment of their purposes. The obstacles can often be surmounted by careful personal efforts, but the success of these attempts depends on an understanding of the nature of the obstacle and the underlying elements which cause it. These obstacles usually derive from typical characteristics of underdeveloped societies, such as the existence of a social and political gap, the presence of an underdeveloped government, the dominance of local politics, and the prevalence of neutralist thinking.

b. Most underdeveloped societies are composed of two distinct groups in the population, a large primitive poor mass and a small active educated political elite. In between these groups is a chasm in experience, activity, and communications which results in the country's underdeveloped status, and which generates a corresponding political gap. The result is a peculiar political system which is particularly frustrating to such operations as a people-to-people program. The gap is characterized by a number of phenomena. Politics is carried out in the language of populism, the use of vague emotional popular slogans which hide issues and reality. Populism keeps policy at an emotional level, for the elite tends to become prisoner of the language which it uses when talking to its population. This tendency is reinforced by the propensity of leaders to rely on popular followings and mass power, the only power that they have grown accustomed to use since their struggle against colonial or traditional governments wielding all other types of power (legal, military, customary, etc.). However, populism remains a useless way of handling problems, since the very existence of the gap means that representative institutions cannot properly function, where they do exist, they are generally weak organs of government, since their composition tends to reflect public incomprehension of national issues. As a result, the masses are talked at by the elite and are used by them as blocs to be wielded in a fight for political power, but are prevented from and unable to exercise any effective influence on government. As a result, operations in an underdeveloped area tend to find contacts with the population are ineffective in influencing the area's governing elite.
c. Underdeveloped societies usually have underdeveloped governments; i.e., governments whose ways of action are too limited to handle their own problems effectively. This, too, creates an element of frustration for operations in an underdeveloped area, since attempts to communicate with an influence the governments meet with incomprehension and inability to carry out policies. Underdeveloped government means above all a personal political control of the small governmental machinery, with a limited and highly politicized civil service operating under the political control of a few figures and sapped of its initiative and independence of action. Since decisions are made only at the top level, there is no possibility for action lower down in the hierarchy. Furthermore, there exists within the government an unfamiliarity with the performance that can be expected of government, and a corresponding (if obverse) incomprehension among the populations of the expectations that can be imposed on government. The fact that independence, the greatest of all problems, has been solved by direct action leads the public to expect great things fast from their new leaders. However, among the leadership there is no clear idea of policies that can or should (in terms of both needs and desires) be put into effect; the first few years of independence are frequently spent in narrowing down vague dreams into concrete and applicable policies. At the same time, there is frequently great ignorance of the physical characteristics and possibilities of the country (agriculture, industry, skills, raw materials) in terms that are applicable to modernization and development. This situation also poses obstacles to effective operations.

d. In developing areas, local politics tends to be more important to national politics. This is the result of an absence of national unity, not only in terms of horizontal divisions (the Gap), but of vertical divisions based on geography and family ties. Throughout much of the underdeveloped world, the village is the social unity. As a result, foreign policy tends to be seen through the lens of local differences. Provincialism or parochialism means that local politics tends to be more important than national or international issues. The political importance of the local unit means that national governments and coalitions tend to be decided on the basis of local politics. All these characteristics pose serious obstacles to efforts designed to encourage stable anti-communist governments.

e. To the extent that international politics is thought about in developing areas, neutralism is the dominant philosophy. Neutralism is essentially the notion that the Cold War is not our (the developing area's) war. This idea has two facets: the Cold War is irrelevant because it is a war between two superpowers and is beyond the means of small nations, and the Cold War is irrelevant because the war of developing nations is the war of anti-colonialism. There are other contributing elements which buttress
this key notion. States follow neutralist policies for reasons of prestige, because they believe in a role of conciliation between the great powers, in order to benefit their state through the great powers, in order to benefit their state through acceptance of aid and models from both sides, and because they equate neutralism with socialism (neither Capitalism nor Communism). These four reasons are positive ingredients of neutralism. Negative ingredients include an effort to compensate for the dominance of western influence, vestigial fascination with the slogans of anti-colonialism, belief in anti-alliance and anti-violence ideologies, pressures of internal politics, fear of offending powerful states, and defeatism. Until these arguments have been countered by patient reasoning cooperation with western policies is often at a dead end.

2. Topics for Consideration

These questions are posed, not as a guide for a formal lecture, but to stimulate individual analysis and for possible use on discussion groups.

a. What are the differences in the operations of a people-to-people program in a developed and an underdeveloped area?

b. How far can personal contacts be carried out to overcome some of these obstacles?

c. What arguments are effective against the various ingredients of neutralism?

d. Is there a contradiction between the idea that local politics is paramount and the idea that decisions are concentrated only in a few hands at the top?

e. Must the ideas of neutralism be totally overcome, or can they be turned to use or bypassed in order for operations to be effective?

3. Scope and Purpose

To examine conditions of operation in an underdeveloped area in order to understand typical problems and applicable ways of meeting them.

4. Required Reading


5. Reference Reading


d. Martin, Lawrence, ed., The In-Between World (Praeger, 1962)

e. Mead, Margaret, ed., Cultural Patterns and Technical Change (Mentor, 1958)


g. Rivkin, Arnold, Africa and The West (Praeger, 1962)

POLICY OPERATIONS IN DEVELOPED AREAS

1. Introduction

a. Even though developed areas - countries with modern economic and social systems and western-type governments similar to the US - are in most cases allied with the US, there are also problems which may impede operations in these states. To a large extent these problems stem from the very nature of development - as in underdeveloped areas - and from the fact that much of the Western world has an older history of policies and institutions than does the US. Therefore, problems in dealing with developed nations can be grouped into problems of an old and stable society, problems associated with developed government, and problems associated with a developed foreign policy. Again, personal contacts often prove to be the most effective way of getting about these obstacles.

b. To an old and stable society, the very presence of American personnel is often a source of resentment. The American presence generally reflects a fall in power for the operations area, and a corresponding rise in power for the US. This is a source of personal embarrassment to local citizens, and their personal reflection of their nation's position is taken out on American personnel, themselves representatives of their nation. Furthermore, this resentment is often reinforced by the local tendency to view cultural differences as evidence of American inferiority, an attitude that may be interpreted psychologically as evidence of inferiority feelings (in terms of power) on their part and attempts to sublimate the problem into new fields (culture). The increase in other evidence of American culture (movies, supermarkets, drug stores, Coca-cola, cars, etc.) only gives reason to this feeling and aggravates it. Finally, there is also a frequent belief that the local language and culture is not appreciated, understood or respected by Americans, and that the local area is being Americanized; i.e., de-cultured. Patient and specific efforts on the part of American teams are required to overcome these animosities.

c. A developed government is one that has a full array of effective and functioning institutions. However, where government is highly institutionalized, responsibility is diffused, and access to decision-makers and points of authority are often hard to find. Initiative and action are difficult to stimulate, and it becomes easier to know the corridors of a government building than to find a point where the vicious circle of responsibility begins.

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bureaucratic machine is large and effective and strong in inertia. Furthermore, there are often fixed cultural patterns governing what can and cannot be accomplished by government. Hours, traditional areas, customary division of labor, unwritten rules, all have been evolved over long periods of time and are hard to change. In this situation the possibilities of external access and influence are slow and slim, and the chances of change are dim.

d. Developed areas usually have a long tradition of having their own independent foreign policy, generally more independent than it is possible for any nation to be at the present time. Here again there is the idea that the US is merely a newcomer, and a clumsy one at that, and that the answers to the world's problems lie in a return to the traditional role of the host state. Frustration over the change in power relationships between the operations area and the US also cause friction and resentment.

In a realistic sense, there is frequently a solid awareness of the national interest, as it has been developed through past history, and a realization that it diverges from the national interest of the US in significant points or that there are at least serious conflicting interests which bother smooth relations with the US. Often these conflicting interests are more clearly realized than the common interests, or blow up out of proportion. Often too, they are based on the past power position of the nation, and not on the present changed realities of the Cold War. There is frequently much to learn from the experience of such a nation, and there is also much to learn about ways of getting around the obstacles posed by a long tradition of foreign policy, in a part of the world that is often over-conscious of its own history.

2. Topics for Consideration

These questions are posed, not as a guide for a formal lecture, but to stimulate individual analysis and for possible use in discussion groups.

a. What can be learned from the substance of these problems common to operations in a developed area?

b. How important is an understanding of the local language?

c. What is the role of personal contacts in such a situation?

d. What are other obstacles to operations in a developed area, and how can they be overcome?

e. Are there similarities between our system and theirs which can be used to facilitate operations?
3. Scope and Purpose

To examine the conditions of operation in a developed area in order to understand typical problems and applicable solutions.

4. Required Reading


5. Reference Reading

Davidson, Eugene, *The Death and Life of Germany* (Knopf, 1961)
1. INTRODUCTION

a. A problem involving people is often better understood and more easily solved if it can be looked at from various points of view. Since the ultimate result of Civil Affairs Operations, simply stated, is to influence or at times to control civilian populations, it is necessary for the Civil Affairs officer to have a knowledgeable understanding of all the factors that affect a peoples thinking, attitudes and relationships. Political geography and geopolitics only provide a different point of view.

b. The study of political geography includes the synthesis and analysis of both geographic and nongeographic factors present in political areas, whether they be nations, states or counties. These factors merge in many areas with the economics of nations and the psychological make up of the people. Thus, the political geographer's interests overlap those of the political scientist, economist, anthropologist, and psychologist. Each of these branches of learning (points of view) draws upon the information of the others. This joint area of interest likewise embraces the military aspects of political geography with which the student of military science and Civil Affairs is concerned.

c. The dependence of domestic and foreign policies of a people upon the physical environment is the prime concern of the political geographer. The form of domestic government and the administrative structure of the state are as important as the objectives, policies, and commitments of the state in its foreign relations. Study and analysis must be made of cohesive and non-cohesive forces which exist in every nation. Religion, language, demography, resources, transportation, industrial facilities, and production—all must be considered in evaluating both the internal political geography and its strategic situation in this world of sovereign powers.

(1) An example of such investigation and analysis procedures in the case of West Germany is reviewed as found in the Air University's, "Military Aspects of World Geography". The political geography of that nation is important today because of its power position. A political geographer seeks answers to many questions. He evaluates the size, shape, location, and boundaries of West Germany
in comparative sense. He synthesizes the physical environment with resources, productive facilities, foreign trade, and transportation in evaluating the weight of West German policies. The structure of the society, the dominant political and economic ideology, the strength of the government, and the administrative hierarchy lead to an evaluation of the psychological attitudes of the people and their leaders. The size, age-grouping, sex, and training of the labor force are assessed. The political objectives of the state, need to be assimilated. After a synthesis of the answers to many of these questions, conclusions are derived which may clarify the problems of Europe and hence of the United States and the Soviet Union. Emphatically, there are few answers which are exact and "scientific".

(2) As indicated in the above example, detailed and generalized geographic knowledge of nations can continue to be tremendously important to us if properly used and placed in the perspective of Civil Affairs operations.

d. As Civil Affairs officers we are concerned not only with the temporary aspects of weather, climate, and terrain which are useful in combat, but also the fundamental geographical factors which have helped to mold the lasting economic institutions and political systems of an area of Civil Affairs operations. In the present area of the Cold War we can never know when we might have to exercise civil affairs responsibilities in some area of the world for a considerable period of time. If we are to make the people of this area understand our way of life and to keep them from embracing the doctrines of communism, we must use all our wisdom in shaping the policies which we apply in such an area. The Soviets are very accomplished geopoliticians. They know what areas of the globe are important and why. They know how to appeal to the people who inhabit these areas. We must be similarly clear in our thinking if we are going to intelligently defend these areas. One of the principal aims of this course is to stimulate and expand the thinking of the Civil Affairs officer by pointing out the importance of geographical factors in human affairs.

2. Suggested Topics for Consideration

These topics are posed, not as a guide for formal instruction, but to stimulate individual analysis and for possible use in discussion groups.

a. Boundaries between political subdivisions are generally classified as physical, arbitrary and cultural. What are the advantages and disadvantages of each?
b. What are some of the aspects of political history of a country or an area that should be studied by a Civil Affairs officer?

c. According to Mahan, in what respect do the United States and Britain have a similar position in the world which favors their development as dominant sea powers? Does this advantage still exist?

d. Population of a country is very definitely considered as an important element of national power. What facts or statistical data about a population would you consider as being useful to a Civil Affairs officer?

3. Scope and Purpose of the Topic

To examine the influence of the physical environment on the development of the political, economic, and sociological institutions and their relationships.

4. Required Reading

Advance Sheet 406S

5. Reference Reading


1. Introduction

The United States cannot conduct Cold War military operations in foreign countries without being invited to do so. Host-Guest Agreements deals primarily with United States responsibilities to host nations in its overseas military operations. The period seeks to point out areas in which such operations are critical to the extent that we are "guests" of those nations in which we maintain Military Assistance missions or actually station troops in mutual security.

2. Topics for Consideration

a. How are my normally-accepted rights circumscribed as a civil affairs officer operating abroad?

b. What is the basis for agreements formalizing host-guest relationships?

c. What are my responsibilities as an American officer while stationed abroad either in a Military Assistance Advisory Group or with U.S. forces on station?

3. Scope and Purpose

The purpose of the period is to familiarize students with the philosophy of the host-guest relationship, United States rights abroad as well as the privileges assigned us as a guest in a foreign nation as well as civil affairs responsibility within the framework of the host-guest relationship.

4. Required Reading

None

5. Reference Reading


c. Instructor's Outline for Civil Affairs (International Law, Part II) Third Year, prepared by the U. S. Army Judge Advocate General's School (1955)

1. Introduction

Civil affairs in the Cold War are conducted, as are other United States Cold War military operations, through the Country Team. The Country Team Concept covers organization of the Country Team and its Concept as a device for managing, coordinating and controlling various aspects of foreign policy at the country level. The role of the Ambassador, his responsibilities and his authority are covered in detail with particular emphasis on the role of civil affairs officers as actual and potential members of a Country Team.

2. Topics for Consideration

   a. What role does the Country Team play in the prosecution of United States interests in the Cold War?

   b. What are the agencies which make up the normal Country Team?

   c. What are the channels of command and responsibility from Washington to the Country Team at the country level?

3. Scope and Purpose

   The purpose of the period is to acquaint the student with the Country Team as an agency for administration of United States policy abroad and the particular portion of that policy known as the "Country Plan". Stressed is the importance of the Country Team as the device through which civil affairs are carried out in the Cold War.

4. Required Reading

   None

5. Reference Reading

   a. DA PAM 29-60.

   b. An Act for International Development (Dept of State Publication #7205).
I. Introduction

a. "No previous aspirants for global domination have ever been so well organized, possessed so many instruments of destruction, or been so adept at disguising ignoble motives and objectives with noble words and phrases." (Sec. of Defense McNamara, before Senate Armed Services Committee 1961.)

b. Planning the means for securing US goals and objectives from the Cold War is a difficult but extremely important aspect of Cold War activities. Planning is essential to the successful accomplishment of military tasks.

c. Due to the broad CA area of functional activities, and to the impact which CA operations can have on the host country, CA plans must be carefully developed and coordinated.

d. The principles of planning and the common elements of the planning process need to be understood and applied when planning for CA Cold War activities.

2. Topics for Consideration

a. What national agencies are concerned with Cold War planning? What are their respective roles?

b. What steps are common to most planning efforts?

c. What are the military objectives in the Cold War?

d. Consider some military Cold War activities that require coordinated planning.

3. Scope and Purpose

To consider Cold War program planning from the national level down to the military unit; the role of the civil affairs staff officer; problems associated with planning for various areas and societies.

4. Required Reading

a. FM 41-5, para 20.

b. FM 41-10 (December 1961 draft) chs. 6 and 9 and App. II, III, and IV.
5. **Reference Reading**

a. FM 101-5, Ch 7 and App II, Examples 8 and 62.

b. FM 31-15, Ch. 2.

c. FM 100-1, Ch. 17, para 12.4, and Ch 23, paras 9.1-9.3.


f. JCS Public No. 2, p 97-100.
RESISTANCE AND COUNTER-RESISTANCE ACTIVITIES

Introduction

1. In every political and social organization there are present certain weaknesses or vulnerabilities which may be exploited for political warfare purposes, either by an aggressive internal faction which ultimately seeks to seize power for itself or by an external power seeking to extend its influence and control over a target state. The sources of discontent or dissidence present in any state are especially acute in most of the underdeveloped areas of the world, and are actively exploited either by local or externally-controlled Communist parties in a rising scale of violence covering the entire political warfare spectrum from inoffensive propaganda through manipulative persuasion and resistance or guerrilla warfare movements aimed at gaining control of a country.

2. Resistance activities and organized resistance movements are likely to arise under conditions of military occupation during wartime or during the truce or peace following general hostilities. Harsh, oppressive police-state regimes impose controls which are comparable in their overall pattern and effects to wartime occupation. For this reason, the spontaneous (and later organized) resistance activities which occurred in Nazi-occupied territory during World War II are worthy of study, especially since such movements were generally exploited by both the Communists and the Western Allies, with varying degrees of effectiveness.

3. The effects of earlier "peacetime" and wartime dislocation also set the stage for the extension of Communist control over China and elsewhere in Southeast Asia. Communist seizure of power in these areas was characterized by extensive guerrilla warfare, and Mao Tse-tung has become the foremost theorist of the Sino-Soviet bloc of this form of warfare as an end in itself rather than as an adjunct to traditional positional warfare employing mass armies as practiced during World War II. The experience of the Free World in countering Communist-led aggression has led to an intensive interest in guerrilla warfare and related countermeasures. Current doctrine emphasizes that effective countermeasures require careful integration of political, social and economic reforms with tactical military measures. An appreciation of these factors and their effective coordination is the special field of competence of the civil affairs officer.
RESISTANCE, COUNTER-RESISTANCE AND GUERRILLA WARFARE

1. Introduction

The Cold War activities of both the Free World and the Sino-Soviet Bloc of nations have included the broadest possible use of political, economic, sociological, psychological and military measures (short of overt conflict with regular military forces) to achieve the national objectives of the adversaries concerned. The range and extent of such activities has lead to a confused terminology and bewildering overlapping of concepts. This situation has been aggravated by the administrative definition and use of terms for purposes of bureaucratic convenience and organization. Millions have been spent on research on concepts of resistance potential and vulnerabilities as applied to military planning. Actual operations have tended to center on either information programs or on military measures required to counter-resistance or guerrilla activities. There is a need for clarification of terms and concepts used if we are to think clearly and cogently on these problems.

2. Topics for Consideration

a. How have terms such as "wars of subversion," "covert aggression," "wars of national liberation," etc. been used to describe various political warfare techniques, including covert operations?

b. How have U. S. administrative or executive agencies confused current terminology for bureaucratic purposes?

c. What is included in the concept of resistance and resistance potential?

(1) How are resistance activities classified?

(2) How is resistance potential exploited?

(3) How are resistance movements defined?
(4) How is insurgency defined?

(5) How is guerrilla warfare defined (for this course)?

d. What is the U. S. Army concept of counter-insurgency?

(1) What are counter-guerrilla operations, and

(2) What are U. S. Army Special Forces groups?

e. What are the principal (political warfare) components of U. S. counter-insurgency forces?

(1) What are civic actions and what is their purpose?

(2) What role does psychological warfare play?

f. What non-U.S. concepts are currently predominant?

(1) What is included in the French concept of "revolutionary warfare?"

(2) What have been the contributions of Mao Tse-tung and Guevara?

(3) What is the French concept of "two-dimensional warfare?"

3. Scope and Purpose

To define and examine current concepts and terminology describing resistance and counter-resistance activities, "revolutionary" and guerrilla warfare and appropriate counter-measures.

4. Required Reading

Daugherty, W. E., and Janowitz, M., A Psychological Warfare Casebook, Chapter II, Psychological Warfare Doctrine, pp. 11-54.

5. Reference Reading

None.
PARTISAN WARFARE RESISTANCE ACTIVITIES DURING WW II IN
WESTERN EUROPE

1. Introduction

The Nazi regime of Adolph Hitler gave the world the first modern illustration of how political warfare techniques may be used to seize power internally and then extend influence and control abroad by non-military means. When such indirect aggression failed to achieve Nazi objectives, general war was resorted to, but at the same time skillful use was made of political warfare techniques in conjunction with both military campaigns and occupation regimes. However, in the Nazi occupied areas of Western Europe the increasingly repressive character of the occupation regime combined with adverse military developments created a fertile ground for both Communist and Allied (French-U.S.-British) controlled resistance movements which made a significant contribution to Nazi defeat in Western Europe.

2. Topics for Consideration

a. What was the World War II setting in which anti-Nazi resistance movements in Western Europe had their origin?

b. What are the political pre-requisites which provide the framework for resistance movements?

c. What are the basic factors of geography, population, terrain and cover which make it possible for a resistance movement to engage in partisan (guerrilla warfare) operations?

d. What were the principal factors limiting the scope and success of Allied and Soviet resistance movements in Western Europe?

3. Scope and Purpose

To examine and analyze Partisan Warfare Resistance Activities during World War II in Western Europe.
4. Required Reading


5. Reference Reading

None