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COUNTERINSURGENCY, MILITARY EDUCATION, AND THE EROSION OF APOLITICAL PROFESSIONALISM: LESSONS FROM THE FRENCH AND BRAZILIAN EXPERIENCES

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ABSTRACT

This paper addresses the effects of counterinsurgency warfare's inherently ideological nature on military professionalism by analyzing the development of the French Army's theory of Guerre Révolutionnaire during the Algerian war and then the doctrine's influence on the Brazilian military, which became concerned with counterinsurgency in the 1950s and '60s. In both cases, a military doctrine propagated by the institutions of professional education politicized the officer corps and contributed to military intervention in the political system. In Brazil, counterinsurgency burgeoned into a comprehensive Doctrine of National Security that guided the military in its decision to seize power in 1964 and the authoritarian model of development pursued as an ideological prophylactic during the military government.

KEYWORDS

- *Counterinsurgency*
- *Military doctrine*
- *Military education*
- *Military politics*
- *Military professionalism*

"All warfare is bound to become political, colonel, and an officer with no political training will soon prove ineffective." -- Jean Larteguy, *The Centurions*

Introduction

At the height of David Petraeus' military career, a magazine report noted that the general drew at least some inspiration from a fifty-year-old French novel about veterans of France's counterinsurgency campaigns in Indochina and Algeria, *The Centurions* by Jean Larteguy (Raday: 2011). Published in French in 1960, and English translation a year later, *The Centurions* is an admiring portrait of soldiers in a new kind of struggle, motivated by a calling that separates them from their fellow citizens. The picture is of a band of lonely warriors, alienated from the civilians they serve, estranged from the homeland they defend, and purified by their experiences in combat and Viet Minh POW camps. Apparently, the portrait of the bonds among the soldiers and their devotion to the cause for which they fight held great appeal for General Petraeus as an illustration of the military vocation. It is not clear that the general is equally enamored of the sequel, *The Praetorians* (Larteguy: 1963), which tells of the movement of that band of officers into mutiny against the government they come to view as betraying

the virtues that dominate their lives. This latter novel raises the uncomfortable issue of how a civilian government can control the institutions of force under its command when those institutions engage in an ideologically informed conflict.

As one of the bedrock beliefs about the modern military institution has been that professionalism encourages a military that is essentially apolitical and, therefore, less likely to become a partisan political actor, the obvious response to the question of ensuring civilian control is to strengthen the institutions of professionalization – the military academies, advanced schools, learning networks, and professional associations. The underlying assumption is that professionalization removes political considerations from military thinking as a feature of the professional ideal, while insulating the military from political pressures as the professional ethos inculcated by the institutions of professional education dominates the officer corps. But this raises an obvious question: Is civilian control necessarily enhanced by military education and professionalization in itself? A dissenting tradition in the literature suggests that an increased professionalism that inculcates a corporate identity in the military is far more likely to exacerbate the problem of civilian control than to alleviate it (Finer: 1962; Feaver: 1996). The key point in this latter tradition is that the content of professional education and identity, rather than professionalization *per se*, determines the subordination of the military to civilian authority (Janowitz: 1960). Where the doctrinal or intellectual content of the system of professionalization runs contrary to the political values of the state, the danger exists that the professional ethos will set itself in opposition to civilian politics and, therefore, to civilian control. This effect can be seen in the linked examples of France and Brazil in the 1950s and '60s, where a military doctrine developed in response to political-military threats actually turned first one, then the other military institution against the very governments that the military was charged with defending.

The doctrine at issue is the French Army's theory of "Revolutionary War" (*Guerre Révolutionnaire*). Originally developed to counter a supposedly totalizing doctrine of ideological-military struggle behind the Indochinese and Algerian wars of independence, it spread to Brazil as a result of long-standing institutional and cultural ties with France, developed into the Brazilian Army's "Doctrine of National Security" (*Doutrina de Segurança Nacional*) in the highest institutions of military education, and shaped the Brazilian officer corps' corporate identity as it sought a role in the Cold War world as a partner of the United States. In both cases, it contributed to revolt against civilian authority in the name of an anti-communist vision of society and politics. The decisive point is that the institutions of military professionalization contributed to direct intervention in the political system precisely *because* these institutions were so central to shaping the worldview of the officer corps through an ideologically charged doctrine of counter-revolutionary warfare. In short, professionalization *per se* cannot be a barrier to politicization when the doctrine promulgated by the institutions of professionalism is itself political.

The argument of this paper is laid out in four sections. First, an overview of the concept of military professionalism (specifically Samuel Huntington's, which remains the touchstone, despite decades of criticism) and criticism of the tautological assumption that professionalization renders the military apolitical because

professionalism is not political. Second, a refutation of the widespread assumption in the English-language literature that the major intellectual and doctrinal influence in Brazil in the early Cold War was the American military, despite long-standing ties between Brazil and France. Third, a discussion of the basic ideas of the French Army's doctrine of *Guerre Révolutionnaire* in the context of France's postwar struggle to retain its empire and the political implications of this military doctrine. Fourth, the adaptation of *Guerre Révolutionnaire* into the Brazilian *Doutrina de Segurança Nacional* and its political implications for the young postwar democracy of the New Republic, eventually to be overthrown in the name of anti-communism and liberal democracy by officers trained in institutions of professional military education.

1. Professionalism and its limits

For two generations, the dominant orthodoxy has held that the key to civilian control is the "professionalism" of the armed forces. As described by Samuel Huntington's seminal *The Soldier and the State*, the officer corps is "an autonomous social unit" in which "levels of competence are distinguished by a hierarchy of ranks…[reflecting] professional achievement measured in terms of experience, seniority, education, and ability." Furthermore, "the professional character of the officer corps rests upon the priority of the hierarchy of rank over the hierarchy of office" (Huntington: 1957, pp. 16-17). This professionalism is the key to civilian control over the military in democracies, achieved by "professionalizing the military, by rendering them politically sterile and neutral" (Huntington: 1957, p. 84). Huntington's theory of "objective control" through the ideal of professionalism has been subject to a great deal of criticism, but even his critics concede that Huntington's work is still the standard by which other works on civil-military relations are judged (Feaver: 1996, 2003). More practically, the argument that professionalism creates a military capable of functioning with minimal intervention by civilian authority remains a strong one, especially within the US officer corps (Hartle: 2004; Moten: 2010; Snider and Matthews: 2005). However, what happens when these institutions of professionalization themselves are responsible for the development of the subversive tendencies through the formulation, articulation, and promotion of doctrine that runs counter to the ideal?

Even as Huntington's argument appeared in print, one of the world's most professional militaries (judging by the extent of the education and training system for its officer corps) was in the process of transforming itself through its military educational system. This model professional army would shortly stage the *putsch* that brought down the Fourth Republic in France, later plotting against the regime installed by that first rebellion. Likewise, less than a decade after Huntington made his argument about professionalism, the most professional military in Latin America (Stepan: 1973, pp. 47-48) overthrew the elected government of Brazil and initiated the first attempt at long-term, institutional, military rule in Brazil's history. Huntington's recommendations for civilian control through apolitical professionalism were belied by the highly political professionals of the French and Brazilian officer corps.

The political interventions of the French and Brazilian armies cannot be explained by common problems of social and economic development. France was

an industrialized state on par with Germany and Britain in 1958, waging a colonial war at great cost, while Brazil was a poor, predominantly rural and agricultural society in 1964, facing rural unrest in the impoverished northeast, but no immediate armed threat.[1] Nor do cultural traditions or common military patterns of political activity explain the coups. Though both France and Brazil are "Latin" countries, even works that emphasize the political culture of Latin America argue for parallels with Spain and Portugal, not France (e.g., Wiarda: 2001). The internal military and political experiences of the two countries were also quite different in the 19th and 20th centuries. The French Army was characterized by "political abstention" rather than activism after overthrowing the Second Republic in 1851, while the Brazilian military claimed and exercised a constitutional right to intervene in politics as the heir of the "moderating power" exercised by the Emperor who was overthrown by military coup in 1889 (Menard: 1964; Kelly: 1965; Ambler: 1968; Hayes: 1989; Schneider: 1991). Finally, the "external threat environment" (Desch: 2001) is not an explanatory variable because the existence of external threats to each country had varied prior to this without clear connection to military interventions and, from a comparative point of view, other countries in similar circumstances faced the same Cold War threats without seeing military interventions.

Key features shared in both cases are a combination of weak political authority and a military characterized by robust institutions for the development of corporate identity. Despite this, the weakness of the regimes does not, by itself, make military intervention inevitable; for example, military intervention never seriously threatened France's weak Third Republic, even at the height of the Dreyfus Affair, suggesting that "the solidity of political authority is not the only significant defense against praetorianism" (Ambler: 1968, p. 283). In both cases, the military justified its intervention in highly ideological terms – though this may have been a cover for other more partial interests in either case, including factional competition and even corruption.[2] The question then becomes one of identifying the sources of the ideology that motivated and justified political activism. The answer lies in those institutions which were responsible for preparing officers and formulating doctrine, the very institutions of military professionalism that are taken to guarantee the state against political activism by its soldiers. The paradox to be explained is how the instruments of professionalism – military education and doctrine – served to undermine the apolitical nature of professionalism that was to guarantee civilian control of the military. Simply put, the military of both France and Brazil understood themselves to be faced with military challenges that were not those of conventional warfare and responded with a doctrine based on the ideological challenge and the political demands of the perceived threat, which itself became an ideological threat to the existing regime of civilian authority. The related doctrines of counterinsurgency warfare that were developed (*Guerre*

1 France's GDP/capita in 1958 was $6,988. The Western European average was $6,312. Brazil's GDP/capita in 1964 was $2,472, compared to an average of $3,632 for the eight largest economies of Latin America. Maddison: 2001, Tables C1-c and C2-c.

2 Finer (1962) discusses the role of statements concerning the national interest or higher mission obscuring sectional interests within military institutions in the latter half of ch. 4, "The Disposition to Intervene (1) Motive". On the self-serving nature of army statements in a context of rampant corruption within the Brazilian officer corps see Smallman (2001, esp. ch. 4 and 6).

Révolutionnaire in France and *Doutrina de Segurança Nacional*, a more expansive form, in Brazil) spread through both militaries and justified the overthrow of civilian regimes judged inadequate to the new nature of war. This was neither a necessary outcome of events nor a simple betrayal of the ideal of professionalism, but a development connected to the nature of the new doctrine, which was inherently ideological, political, and the product of highly professionalized military establishments faced with difficult tasks.

In itself, this point is not original. Fifty years ago Orville Menard noted that "armies everywhere have at hand a ready concept to justify frustrations leading to political action – the theory of the army above the state," which he explained as "the concept of the army being above the government of the moment with its loyalty given to something higher, the nation, and being therefore in the position to act as an overseer of the national interest" (Menard: 1964, pp. 129 and 123). Alfred Stepan made a similar point when he contrasted the "new professionalism" of internal security with Huntington's "old professionalism" of conventionally oriented armies (Stepan: 1971, 1973). Moreover, Huntington himself discussed the difference between an army focused on conventional interstate conflict and one focused on internal security in his subsequent work on the military (Huntington: 1962, pp. 19-22). But why did both the French and Brazilian militaries develop such politicized doctrines within a decade of each other and find it necessary to intervene politically? A frequent answer, at least in the case of Brazil, has been that the Brazilian army was under the influence of the United States after WWII, but this is unsatisfying because it does not apply to the French military and it ignores both Brazil's specific circumstances and long-standing connections between the armies of France and Brazil. In fact, the structural circumstance of the Cold War played a role for both militaries, but the politicization through professionalism reflects important intellectual ties between the two countries that developed in the early 20th century and survived through the first decade of the Cold War. In no small part, the French pioneered the ideologically charged doctrine of counterinsurgency warfare that turned professionalism against civilian authority and the Brazilians imitated the military for which they had a strong cultural and professional affinity. In effect, Brazil's military dictatorship gestated in Brazil's institutions of professional military education, but was conceived in the writings of France's *Guerre Révolutionnaire* theorists.

2. The lacuna of French influence on Brazilian Cold War military thought

Despite a long and widely acknowledged tradition of French intellectual influence on Brazil and the pre-World War II ties between the French and Brazilian militaries,[3] the connection between French *Guerre Révolutionnaire* and the strategic/political ideas of the Brazilian military has been largely ignored in the literature on the 1964 coup and the subsequent military government. There are passing references to French doctrine in the literature on the Brazilian military, but few attempts to connect French doctrine with the Brazilian ideas that developed into National Security Doctrine. This is true even of authors who focus on the importance of counterinsurgency and a comprehensive

3 On the importance of French influence generally, see, for instance, Mota (1980) and Needell (1987). On pre-WWII ties between the French and Brazilian militaries, see Nunn (1983) and Svartman (2006).

approach to national security to the Brazilian military. To cite only a few prominent works, Stepan's pioneering work on Brazilian military thought and the role of the senior military schools[4] makes reference to the French experience with revolutionary war and the development of a "military ideology of total counterrevolutionary warfare" but he does not broach the possibility of French doctrine influencing the Brazilians (Stepan: 1973, pp. 51-52). This, despite his own claim that "Even before the emphasis in the cold war [*sic*] shifted in the United States from atomic to revolutionary warfare, the ESG [Escola Superior de Guerra] became the center of ideological thought concerning counterrevolutionary strategy in Brazil" (Stepan: 1971, p. 179).[5] One of the most prolific and important Brazilian scholars of the military, Eliézer Rizzo de Oliveira, refers to "the French defeat in Indochina, as well as the Algerian war of national liberation, from which the thinkers of the ESG…extracted the more important elements of the concept of *revolutionary war* in the middle of the '50s" (Oliveira: 1988, pp. 238-239, original italics). However, he does not discuss the influence of French doctrine directly, despite an earlier observation that US "politico-military thought… may not be the only source of the origin and variations" of National Security Doctrine (Oliveira: 1976, p. 26). Frederick Nunn's comparative study of Latin American military institutions and governments devotes a chapter to the role of Christian faith and the ideal of education in shaping the "professional militarism" of the Latin American officer corps, without noting any similarity to the mystical Catholicism embraced by many of the leading figures of the French *Guerre Révolutionnaire* school (Nunn: 1992, ch. 6). Brian Loveman claims that the French military mission in the 1920s "convinced Brazilian officers of the relationship between internal security, national defense, and economic development" and "would inspire a more fully elaborated national security doctrine in the 1950s," but says nothing of the numerous works produced by the French army in the 1950s (Loveman: 1993, p. 93). This oversight among leading scholars of the military in Latin America seems most curious.[6] There are, however, reasons for the dearth of work concerning the French connection in this matter.

In part, the neglect of the French influence must be attributed to the nature of the paper trail left by the Brazilian military itself, which provides plenty of obvious evidence pointing to US influences on the Cold War-era Brazilian military, but little for French influence. In the first place, the founding of the ESG was inspired by the US National War College and the influence of the United States military was quite openly acknowledged, with the inspiration credited to a US military mission to Brazil

4 The War College and the Army Command and Staff School, the Escola Superior de Guerra or ESG and the Escola de Comando e Estado Maior do Exército, ECEME, respectively.

5 For criticisms of Stepan's emphasis on the ESG as a driver of military ideology, see Markoff and Duncan Baretta (1985) and Miyamoto (1987).

6 There are some exceptions to this neglect. João Roberto Martins Filho has established a nucleus of scholars at the Universidade Federal de São Carlos researching and publishing in this area and published an important study of how French *guerre révolutionnaire* ideas migrated from France to Brazil by way of Argentina (see Martins Filho: 2008). In English, Perelli (1992) and Carlson (2000) trace the French influence in Argentina and Uruguay, and Desch (2001) refers to the French influence in Latin America in the context of civilian control of the military, as does Porch (2010). However, 20 years after Gustavo Gorriti noted that the importance of the French on the mindset of the military in Latin America was largely unexplored (Gorriti: 1994), the lacuna is more obvious than the response.

in 1946 (Escola Superior de Guerra: n.d.;[7] Arruda: 1980, pp. 1-2). Furthermore, the curricular emphasis within the ESG was on rational management and social science approaches to problems of national security. The result is bibliographies heavy with American authors emphasizing the same approaches.[8] Beyond this, the Cold War context of the coup and the military government influenced how they have been understood. Following closely on the Alliance for Progress, the sending of US advisors to Vietnam, and the development of Civic Action programs to encourage nation building, it is hardly surprising that observers and, especially, critics of the military government would identify it with American involvement in Latin America (Comblin: 1979; Lernoux: 1982; Gill: 2004; Grandin: 2007). This tendency can still be seen in a recent Brazilian dissertation on the leadership of the 1964 coup which refers to the central role of the inter-war French Military Mission in shaping the Escola de Estado-Maior do Exército and notes the convergence of Brazilian doctrine with the broad ideological concerns articulated in *Guerre Révolutionnaire*, but insists that efforts to develop a "Brazilian military doctrine" and "to deal with irregular conflicts under the designation of 'revolutionary war'" were begun only after "the diffusion of North American military doctrine" (Svartman: 2006, pp. 105-108, 110, 187-188,).

In short, there is plenty of evidence of American influence on the thinking of the Brazilian officer corps but seeing only American influence in the development of the Doctrine of National Security ignores a basic fact. In the late 1950s, when the fear of revolutionary subversion haunted the military in Latin America generally, and Brazil in particular, the United States had not yet developed a doctrine for dealing with "subversive insurgency" or "wars of liberation." Only in the second year of the Kennedy administration did the National Security Council order the establishment of a "Special Group (Counter-Insurgency)" to "insure proper recognition throughout the U. S. Government that subversive insurgency ('wars of liberation') is a major form of politico-military conflict equal in importance to conventional warfare" and to "insure that such recognition is reflected in the organization, training, equipment and doctrine of the U.S. Armed Forces and other U.S. agencies," which led to the establishment of counterinsurgency summer courses at the National War College and the service war colleges 1962 ("National Security Action Memorandum" 124: 1962; Riley: 1962). Thus, the American military had little practical advice to offer at a time when the French had their own counter-revolutionary doctrine based on experiences in Indochina and Algeria. It was the spread of this latter doctrine through the channels of professionalization that provided intellectual legitimacy for the political intervention and ambitions of the Brazilian officer corps.

7 Reference to the US military mission no longer appears on the ESG website.

8 A rough survey of bibliographies and reading lists produced at the ESG between 1958 and 1976 indicates that the curriculum became much more heavily American in orientation over time. A collection of unofficial photocopies of lectures delivered by faculty and invited speakers, selections of assigned readings, and reports produced by the Working Groups formed in each year's class of students, are available at CERLAC (Center for Research on Latin America and the Caribbean) Documentation Collection, York University, Toronto, Ontario. This collection is by no means complete, despite running to 24 volumes of documents.

3. *Guerre révolutionnaire* and the self-destruction of the Fourth Republic

What, then, is the nature of the French doctrine that so disastrously influenced the professional formation of a generation of officers in France and then in Brazil? Although the deep roots of the French approach to counterinsurgency can be found in the French colonial campaigns of the 19th century, with their emphasis on flexible expeditionary forces, "the social role of the officer" as an agent of metropolitan political authority, and the use of brutality to awe the indigenous population (Porch: 1986; Hoisington: 1995; Griffin: 2009), the proximate origins of *Guerre Révolutionnaire* lie in the particular international conjuncture in the decade after WWII (Paret: 1964; Kelly: 1965; Shy and Collier: 1986; Porch 2013). The nuclear standoff between the super powers made conventional war between major states unlikely. The rising nationalist movements in the European colonies made anti-colonial insurrections a major concern. The triumph of the Communists in China seemed to link ideological confrontation and anti-colonialism. These circumstances, combined with the experience of a long losing struggle in Indochina, the bitterness of the final defeat, and the exposure to ideological fervor of the Viet Minh led a number of French officers to rethink the nature of war. To make sense of their defeat, it was necessary to understand their opponents; to regain their honor required formulating a doctrine in response to the kind of war that had defeated them in Indochina.

The beginning point for the response was the perceived novelty of the counterinsurgent struggle. This novelty lay not so much in terms of the tactics to be used – the colonial campaigns of Bugeaud, Gallieni, and Lyautey offered models for these, though they had proved inadequate in Indochina – but in terms of a change in the nature of war itself. This new conflict was not simply a colonial pacification, nor was it the kind of big war that had defeated Nazi Germany and that NATO was structured to fight against the Soviet Union; it was an intensely political war to be waged by armed forces with political consciousness. In short, neither the colonial warfare that allowed France (as well as the other European powers) to conquer their empires in the 19th and early 20th centuries nor the conventional warfare of the great European struggles was adequate to the new age of ideological struggle and insurrection. Reflecting on his experiences in Indochina and Algeria, Roger Trinquier insisted that "modern war" was effectively a matter of counterinsurgency against an armed political organization, not the conventional war of maneuver fought between armies that had dominated the first half of the 20th century (Trinquier: 1964 [orig. French ed., 1961] and 1968). David Galula – whose work is the touchstone for contemporary American discussion of the French experience, though he was not an influential thinker in the French Army[9] – insisted on the difference between conventional and revolutionary war, arguing that the latter "represents an exceptional case not only because, as we suspect, it has its special rules, different from those of the conventional war, but also because most of

9 For a study of Galula's work, see Marlowe (2010). Galula is dismissed as "a marginal figure in France", irrelevant to the French school of counterinsurgency thinking by Etienne de Durand, while Charles Lacheroy is described as "the foundational figure of the French school" and Trinquier as "its most influential and enduring one" (Durand: 2010, p. 16). Incidentally, Galula's claim about the absolute failure of colonial insurgency or revolt requires ignoring not only the Irish War of Independence in 1919-1922, but also the explicitly anti-colonial struggles of the various states of the Americas, which won their independence in the five decades between 1776 and 1825.

the rules applicable to one side do not work for the other" (1964, p. xi). However, he also pointedly argued, "no insurgency or revolt succeeded in colonial territories before 1938, although the situation then was no less revolutionary than after the war" (Galula: 1964, p. 33). The key variable was the weakening of the European colonial powers as a result of the Second World War, which allowed insurgent political movements the opportunity to organize and act more freely than in the past – it was the political organization of anti-colonial opposition that made all the difference (Galula: 1964 and 2006). Thus, the nature of these "modern" wars was, primarily, a political struggle rather than battle. The conflict would be a *guerre en surface*, rather than a *guerre de front*, fought over populated areas to be controlled rather than on obvious fronts, requiring that political, administrative, social, and economic action be as important in separating the enemy from the population as straightforward military operations (Martin: 1957; Durand: 2010). In short, the mobilization of all resources in the theater of operations and at home – the new form of war required that the nation be on permanent war-footing. It was this "totalizing" of war that formed the doctrinal and ideological core of *Guerre Révolutionnaire*.

This new war, waged by and through political movements rather than openly by states, was understood to be part of a comprehensive campaign waged against the West by a unified Communist movement (Chassin: 1956; Ximenès: 1957; Allard: 1958). Shaped by study of Mao's writings and experience with the political work of the Viet Minh, the French veterans of Indochina emphasized the inadequacy of conventional military operations and institutions in combating the "interlocking system of actions – political, economic, psychological, military" that characterize "modern warfare" (Trinquier: 1964, p. 6). The Algerian war required that same kind of response because the rebels were "following to the letter the tactics used by the Marxist Chinese" despite certain "traditional" features of the insurgency ("Operations de contre guerilla": 1956; Ambler: 1968, ch. 11). The emphasis of the response was on developing a comprehensive political alternative to the ideological and subversive challenge posed by the Maoist-inspired revolutionary war.

If the "object of revolutionary warfare is to be able to seize power with the active participation of the population (who have been physically and morally won over) by means of technical methods which are both destructive and constructive," the proper response must be to win back the population by exposing the falseness of revolutionary doctrine and inculcating an alternative (Ximenès: 1957). The core of the French response to the problem of creating an alternative to revolution was psychological warfare. Insisting that the appeal of the insurgents was rooted in manipulation of the population, the French theorists assumed that psychology and the techniques of propaganda would be the key to success, a case made by theorists and illustrated by the activities of the Service d'Action Psychologique et d'Information (Lacheroy: 1957; Center for Pacification [CIPCG]: n.d.). The parameters for this response could be deduced from a definition of the new kind of war offered by Col. Gabriel Georges Bonnet, which sums up the basic idea in a simple equation:

partisan warfare + *psychological warfare* = *revolutionary warfare* (Bonnet: 1958, p. 60)

Partisan warfare meant dealing with an enemy who refused to fight openly and demanded a response more akin to that of 19th century colonial warfare, securing the

population through small unit actions that combined policing and administrative affairs with military operations, than the large-scale operations of the 20th century European armies. This demanded a tremendous degree of autonomy for junior officers tasked with pacifying potentially restive populations. Psychological action was aimed at the minds of the "physically and morally won over population" who had to be won back through the use of psychological techniques of re-education to counter the pernicious influence of communist propaganda lying at the root of any anti-colonial insurrection (Ximenès: 1957). This emphasis on psychological manipulation as the cause of unrest and, therefore, its solution, is especially pronounced in the works of Bonnet, Jacques Hogard, Charles Lacheroy, and the pseudonymous Ximenès (Paret: 1964, pp. 15-19). Ximenès describes the techniques used by the insurgent, which could just as easily be a description of psychological action as practiced by the French:

> Individual action is not sufficient. The final resources of experimental psychology are employed in order to sensitize an indifferent population. This technique is called psychological impregnation, and consists in the supplying of stimuli, the preparation of slogans adapted to the situation, the incessant repetition of affirmations, the systematic resumption of the same subjects by all the means of publicity, and the giving of a special slant to information (Ximenès: 1957, definition of "Psychological Impregnation").

Of the content of the slogans, the ideological beliefs underlying them, and the basis for the "slant to information" Ximenès says nothing.

The techniques of psychological warfare were to be coordinated with military and police actions to establish security, judicial reforms to streamline the trial and punishment of activists and clandestine political workers, social and economic reforms to address causes of discontent, and administrative reforms to create a unified politico-military command to enable rapid and decisive response to the threat of subversion (Galula: 1964, ch. 6 and 7; Trinquier: 1964, ch. 7 and 10; Souyris: 1957). Ultimately, these measures were to be implemented within an overall strategy of ideological strengthening, regeneration, and recommitment to the idea of Western, Christian civilization that was an alternative not only to Communist revolution and its related forms, but also to the liberal and secular republicanism of the Fourth Republic – a position that linked the GR theorists with the anti-republican Catholicism of *Cité Catholique* and, thus, took them to the outer fringe of the political spectrum (Paret: 1964, 108-120; Ambler: 1968, 273). It is the spread of a highly politicized, indeed ideological, doctrine of warfare within a highly professionalized military that is of interest here. Ironically, the officer corps' isolation from domestic politics, its strong corporate identity based on shared experience, its emphasis on doctrinal adaptation and development, its efforts to make use of social science, and its educational system – in short, its professionalism – all served to encourage the politicization of the military rather than to prevent it once the idea of ideological struggle in a total war emerged.

As the war in Indochina wound down to defeat, service in this war and, especially, firsthand experience of Viet Minh ideological indoctrination served to create links among a core of officers who formulated the basic ideas of the doctrine. The struggle against the Viet Minh involved not only military operations, including conventional sweeps and the organization of counter-guerrilla operations, but also the

assumption of civil administrative authority by officers in the field – often quite junior officers. This shared experience and the example of the Viet Minh's unified politico-military command influenced both the doctrine and its spread. Advocates of *Guerre Révolutionnaire* became zealous in its propagation, making use of their personal and professional networks and resources.[10]

Even as the war in Indochina was raging, books and articles analyzing Mao's military writings, drawing lessons from the wars in Indochina and Algeria, and making the case for the new approach to war rolled off private presses and appeared in the official journals of the French military, including *Revue de Défense Nationale*, *Revue Militaire d'Information*, *Revue Militaire Générale*, *Revue des Forces Terrestres*. Civilians also got into the act of publishing explanations of psychological warfare and the new nature of war (Delmas: 1959). These various works sought to formulate a doctrine of warfare capable of responding to the challenges of the new form of warfare that allowed an insurgent force to confront and defeat a modern army. The motivating idea is that "ideological conviction" combined with unity of political and military purpose (Ximenès: 1957) was at the root of the Viet Minh success against a weak and divided opponent: "On the one side, an *easy-going justice* in a *venal and relaxed democracy*; on the other, a *popular-political-military dictatorship, relatively pure*, always *hard*, and, when necessary, *cruel*" (Lacheroy: 1952, p. 6; italics in original).

As officers with an interest in GR rose in the ranks or assumed new billets, they took the ideas with them and often spread them through official as well as unofficial means. Attempts to win popular support in the colonies and at home led to the development of an elaborate system to support psychological warfare and propaganda. Eventually this involved the creation of the so-called Bureaux Psychologiques and their integration into the formal structure of the military as the 5th Bureau of the command staffs from combat units to the General Staff for National Defense. From these positions, the psychological warfare specialists sought to mold not only Arab opinion in Algeria, but public opinion and even government policy at home in France (Ambler: 1968, pp. 205-208). Old propaganda activities common to all the armies in WWII – leafleting and loudspeaker broadcasts intended to weaken enemy resolve, win over the uncommitted, and improve morale – were greatly expanded, encompassing courses delivered to units, curriculum development for indoctrination of servicemen as well as the Algerian population, and active psychological operations more akin to intelligence operations than to traditional propaganda. Eventually, these "active operations" included political organization of the Algerian colonists to pressure the government on policy matters (Paret: 1964, ch. 5; Pahlavi: 2007). The repeated overreaching of the "psychological warfare" specialists, attempting to propagandize in metropolitan France and influence government policy in opposition to the government itself, eventually led to the dissolution of the Fifth Bureau and a general ban on the very term in the Army (Ambler: 1968, p. 277).

The Army's educational institutions, including the École Supérieure de Guerre,

10 The career path followed by Trinquier as described by Bernard Fall in his introduction to the English edition of Trinquier (1964), though not exactly typical, reflects the role of shared service experiences among the "Indochina hands" in securing billets and promotions. Similar linkages can be found in the careers of other Indochina and Algeria veterans even into opposition to De Gaulle and the Fifth Republic.

also began to reflect the ideas of the GR theorists as officers returned from Indochina rose to teaching and command positions, introducing courses in psychological warfare and counter-guerrilla operations. Meanwhile the first psychological warfare center was established in 1955, followed by the Service d'Action Psychologique et d'Information, commanded by Col. Charles Lacheroy, which offered training and expertise to military units based on the principles of *Guerre Révolutionnaire* (Paret: 1964, p. 55).[11] By 1957 an inter-service training center, the Center for Training and Preparation in Counter-Guerrilla Warfare (Centre d'Instruction à la Pacification et à la Contre-Guérilla – CIPCG), was established in Algeria and became a major center for the development of psychological warfare. This center was commanded by Lt. Col. André Bruge, a survivor of five years in Viet Minh re-education camps, who believed that the experience allowed him to "discover the secrets of revolutionary warfare" (Bruge: 1969, quoted in Guelton: 2002, p. 41). The CIPCG ultimately focused on psychological warfare as the core element of counter-guerrilla warfare and trained some 7,172 officers. CIPCG staff also provided assistance to the Center for Training in Subversive Warfare (Centre d'Entraînement à la Guerre Subversive) and to the Center for Leadership Training for local village leaders (Reis: 2013, p. 55; Guelton: 2002, p. 45).[12] All these opportunities to introduce revolutionary warfare and psychological warfare into the training curriculum exposed a significant part of the officer corps to the ideas, even if only a minority ever embraced the doctrine. The result was a generation of officers who had been exposed the idea that it was their duty to formulate and embody an ideological vision capable of motivating resistance to the perceived ideological threat of communism. Not all would respond favorably, but a significant minority did and contributed to both the 1958 *putsch* that overthrew the Fourth Republic and to the plots against De Gaulle (Ambler: 1968, ch. 11).

The effects of the new doctrine were unexpected and unpleasant. Most obviously, the commitment to a "total war" waged without mercy justified the practice of torture that became widespread among the French troops in Algeria.[13] In itself, torture might seem to represent a failure of professionalism within the army, and there is an argument that torture and the commission of other atrocities was a symptom of indiscipline and brutalization encouraged by the nature of the war in Algeria and by the misfortunes of the French army more generally in the mid-20th century (Horne: 1977; Cradock and Smith: 2007). However, torture and the "adaptation of justice" in dealing with insurgents was also an outgrowth of doctrine, not simply a response of a few frustrated soldiers, a point that is made not only by Trinquier's attempt to justify it, but also by General Massu's defense of it during the war and in his memoirs (Ambler: 1968, pp. 180-186; Rejali: 2007, ch. 22). Thus, the "adaptation of justice" was the result of conscious decisions as argued for explicitly by Trinquier in his explanation of "modern warfare," recounted by Paul Aussaresses in his memoir of his time in Algeria,

11 Lacheroy's career is also discussed in Reis (2013).

12 The number is only a small portion of the total number of personnel who served in Algeria, but it is a notable proportion of the junior officers.

13 Porch is particularly scathing in his criticisms of the effects of counterinsurgency doctrine on, not only, the French, but also the American and British armies since WWII (Porch: 2010). He discusses the development, practical and intellectual incoherence, and baleful political and military effects of *Guerre Révolutionnaire* at length in ch. 5.

and endorsed implicitly by Galula in his recommendations for counterinsurgency (Trinquier: 1964, pp. 21-23 and ch. 4; Aussaresses: 2002; Galula: 1964, pp. 123-127). In each case, the author knew what he was endorsing and concluded that it was a necessary tactic to win the war. In fact, Trinquier explicitly argues for torture, not merely as an unpleasant exigency, but on the grounds that "As the use of physical force is not excluded from any form of intelligence operation, he who uses it without pity and does not recoil from bloodshed will have the advantage over his adversary…." (Trinquier: 1968, quoted in Lemoine: 2004, p. 32) – the only real disagreement among them is over how and when it should be applied. The use of torture, though defended as a necessary and effective measure, posed a problem for the legitimacy of both French policy and military authority. Apart from undermining popular support for the war and alienating Muslim and international opinion, torture was distasteful to many officers and men, especially the conscripts (DiMarco: 2006). The distaste contributed to an antagonism between conscript units serving mainly as static garrison units and the elite units like the paras, who operated as the mobile reserve and troubleshooters. The mutual distaste was based on the respective roles of the different units within military strategy, but also on a growing sense of alienation from civilian society on the part of the professionals and their lack of trust in the performance of the conscript troops in sensitive operations (Paret: 1964, ch. 7). The gap between professionals and conscripts eventually contributed to active conscript resistance to the Generals' Revolt in April 1961, in contrast to their passivity in May 1958 (Ambler: 1968, pp. 269-284) – a further hint that it was the institutions of professional socialization within the military, not simply frustration with the war, which contributed to the military's willingness to intervene politically.

The frustrations of the Algerian war aggravated institutional and political fault lines and various discontents that existed already within the military. These were further exacerbated by the very innovations brought about by revolutionary war doctrine itself. The highly political role of the Sections Administrative Spéciale (SAS), which put both military and political authority in the hands of junior officers, drew the military into policy decisions and political disputes, while often obscuring the chain of command. These problems not only interfered with the effectiveness of the military, but threatened its institutional integrity and ultimately provoked crises in civil-military relations that led to the military *putsch* of 1958, the Colonels' "soviet" of 1960, the Generals' Revolt of 1961, and the organization of a subversive group active within the French military itself, the Organisation Armée Secrète (Ambler: 1968, ch. 8-10, 12). The blurring of the line between civil and military functions, the secondment of officers and NCOs to "special" tasks, and the creation of *ad hoc* units that operated across service lines and outside normal military channels contributed to problems of discipline and morale – all of which could be presented as a failure to maintain proper professional forms rather than evidence that professionalism was itself the problem, but for the fact that the doctrine and training that led to these practices were themselves the product of the institutions of professionalism, and the practices were unavoidable given the totalizing conception of war and the flexibility demanded by the doctrine of revolutionary war.

The insistence on the total nature of the struggle and the continuing challenges

to discipline would eventually contribute to an even more dangerous development: the politicization of the Army, which led it to rise against its own government on several occasions. A deep fear of an ideological threat that was all-embracing, concern about the weakness and disunity of the West in general and France in particular, and the desire to regenerate France through a return to pre-modern values as expressed by the anti-republican and ultra-Catholic right created within some elements of the military a disloyalty to not only the government of the day, but the constitutional regime itself. Struggling to develop an adequate response to the threat of Communism, which the theorists of *Guerre Révolutionnaire* saw behind the anti-colonial movements, these theorists turned on the society they claimed to be defending because of its perceived weakness, disunity, and inadequacy. General André Zeller, later jailed for his involvement in the Generals' Revolt of 1961, openly stated the implications of the struggle that the Army pictured in an article published the year before the final crisis of the Fourth Republic:

> "In the global crisis in which we are now involved, and considering our likely enemies, an Army can no longer obey or sacrifice itself for words such as 'duty' or 'discipline,' which purely by themselves are, to put it bluntly, meaningless to the Army" (Zeller: 1957, p. 514).

The irony of this development is that a doctrine developed to counter "the overthrow of the established authority in a country and its replacement by another regime" (Trinquier: 1964, p. 6) and widely taught throughout the very institutions responsible for the professional training of the national armed forces became the justification for attempts by the French military to overthrow its own government during the Algerian War and De Gaulle's ending of it.

4. How "*Guerre Révolutionnaire*" became "*Doutrina de Segurança Nacional*"

The transmission of *Guerre Révolutionnaire* followed both direct connections with France and an indirect route by way of Argentina. In the former case, the ties were based on the inter-war military mission to Brazil, which not only trained a number of officers who had risen to flag rank by the 1950s but aided the re-organization of the Army Staff School and the development of its curriculum in the 1930s, and "profoundly marked our military thought" (Svartman: 2002, ch. 2; Costa: 1994, p. 77). These efforts were influential enough that connection with the mission became a source of prestige in the post-war military (Nabuco de Araújo and Marin: 2008). More substantively, when the French military began formulating the doctrine of *Guerre Révolutionnaire*, there was an affinity for French thought and a continuing institutional connection between the armies of both countries:

> At this time, French military literature, from which we never separated ourselves…despite the American influence, began to reflect this colonial and metropolitan experience and to formulate a new type of war. It was infinitely small war, insurrectional war, revolutionary war [*sic*]. It was in this phase that there emerged, for example, the book of Gabriel Bonnet, a great French military thinker. One commits a great injustice crediting to the Americans the inspiration for the movement of '64. I think that French thought influenced us much more. The war that was studied in French schools was insurrectional

> war, revolutionary war. As we never stopped sending students to the École Supérieure de Guerre in Paris, our officers returned with this material in hand, all the French thinking about the subject. This entered by way of our ESG, which put out ideas about insurrectional and revolutionary wars and began to identify in them the scene of our own possible war. … All this contributed to the formulation of our own doctrine of revolutionary war, which resulted in the military movement of '64 (Costa: 1994, pp. 77-78).

These ties were also recognized by the French, who sought to increase their influence in Brazil by re-establishing contact with the officer corps. The French military attaché in 1959 remarked that "This increasing interest in our military thought owes as much to fidelity to the memory of the old officers trained by our mission as to the intellectual affinities between the Brazilians and us" (Normand: [1959], quoted in Nabuco de Araújo and Marin: 2008, p. 193).

A further source of information on *Guerre Révolutionnaire* was the informal French military mission to Argentina from 1957 to 1963. This mission was not an official French government initiative, but the result of contacts between Argentine officers and the French École Supérieure de Guerre, which brought several officers with experience in Indochina and Algeria to Buenos Aires while on leave from the French Army. Following the arrival of the French officers, the first articles dealing with doctrine appeared in 1958 in the *Revista de la Escuela Superior de Guerra* and training of officers began in earnest in 1959. There is evidence that Brazilian officers took advantage of the growing program in Buenos Aires to develop their own curriculum, attending an "Introductory Course on Counter-Revolutionary War" 1961, which became the basis for a new program at the ESG in Rio de Janeiro inaugurated the following year (Martins Filho: 2008; also, Carlson: 2000, Perelli: 1992, and Porch: 2010, ch. 7).

Like the French in the early Cold War, the Brazilian military sought a role for itself in the shadow of the two nuclear superpowers. A conventional war between the US and the USSR seemed unlikely and Brazil had no role in a nuclear war, but political subversion and revolutionary insurrection were identified as substantial threats, leaving Brazil's military leadership to formulate a response to a situation that was of limited concern to their mentors. Military intellectuals associated with the ESG addressed themselves to Brazil's place in the bipolar world of the late 1950s and warned of the danger of Communist subversion (Couto e Silva: 1981, pp. 192-194, 235-237). As late as 1974, the ESG's *Manual Básico* noted that "nuclear war, however, is considered improbable in the foreseeable future" and that even limited wars involving the superpowers risked escalation to nuclear wars, making them of limited value, though they could be forced by anti-colonial struggles. The real military challenge would come from anti-colonial insurrections, which might be merely a cover for Communist revolutions (Escola Superior de Guerra: 1974, pp. 28-30). At this juncture, the French doctrine appeared as a ready-made response to subversion and insurrection, with the added bonus that the concern with political, economic, and social reforms recommended itself as a guide to the challenges of development that also faced Brazil. This latter consideration meshed well with the fact that when the ESG was established "rather than preparation for war, the most important task would be that of forming

elites for the solution of the country's problems in time of peace" (Arruda: 1980, p. 2) The combination of counterinsurgency and national development became a basic part of the curriculum at the ESG.

The Brazilian military began publishing translations of French work as early as 1958 (Estado Maior da Armada: 1958) and was discussing the inclusion of courses on irregular warfare in the curriculum of the Army Command and Staff School at a time when a Brazilian officer could legitimately conclude, "The French bibliography on the subject of GR [*Guerre Révolutionnaire*] is, one could say, the only one of its kind in existence. The bibliography originating in North America up to now has not given this subject the attention it deserves" (Fragoso: 1959, p. 5). Another officer noted in his memoirs that "The oft-declared American influence, in this military-political movement, was practically nil. The future historian, examining this episode more calmly, will surely discover a certain French influence, at least in the field of doctrine" (Silveira: 1989, p. 264). This flies in the face of conventional wisdom but is in keeping with the relative emphasis of the respective militaries on counterinsurgency. The concerns of the Brazilian military being different from those of the US, a different doctrine was demanded for a different task.

The growing impact of the French ideas in the early 1960s is attested to by a shift within the military concerning the nature of the struggle facing Brazil, with greater emphasis on the techniques of revolutionary and psychological warfare, in contrast to the concern with "total war" seen in the 1950s. By the mid-1960s, the military had "created courses and structures in tune with the priority given to counter-revolution," such that "probably 80% of the concepts came to be about revolutionary war," which "gave proof of the absolute conviction that this would be our war" (Costa: 1994, pp. 80-81).[14] The vocabulary used in these new courses drew directly on the French literature, with its five-stage scheme of revolutionary struggle and distinction between "psychological actions" among the friendly population and "psychological war" against an enemy (Arruda: 1980, pp. 241-255).[15] What is especially noteworthy is that this increased interest was combined with a strong policy orientation in the ESG courses, including both those open to civilians and the Command and Staff Course. The consequences of this combination were the development of a national security doctrine that embraced all aspects of national development as a natural part of security planning and the politicization of the officer corps' understanding of their role in the state, though this did not occur right away.

Early Brazilian efforts to address the new kind of warfare identified by the French military seem unfocused, defining "revolutionary war," "psychological war," "subversive war," "insurrectional war," "cold war," and "total war" as distinct kinds of warfare, each demanding attention (Arruda: 1980, ch. XVI; Gurgel: 1975, pp. 36-53). However, the effort to find a role in the shadow of the superpower confrontation is clearly visible and eventually gave rise to a comprehensive vision of national security

14 According to Stepan, instruction hours concerned with internal security and irregular warfare at the highly prestigious Escola de Comando e Estado Maior do Exército (Army Command and Staff College) increased from none in 1956 to 222 and 129 respectively in 1966 (Stepan: 1973, p. 57). By way of contrast, the Marine Corps Senior School/Command and Staff College, offered 64 hours on COIN and counter-guerrilla operations in 1966-67. See Bittner (1988).

15 Compare the vocabulary with that used in Lacheroy (1957).

that emphasized the interpenetration of political, economic, psychosocial, and military factors as illustrated in the iterations of the *Manual Básico*. Examination of early articulations of this broad view of national security reveals roots in a concern with national mobilization dating back to the 1930s and the French Military Mission (Svartman: 2002, pp. 108-109; and Smallman: 2001, ch. 3), but the working out of a comprehensive conception on national security seem to have required the *political* element of *Guerre Révolutionnaire* doctrine and the influence of the French doctrine is clear in the conceptual language.

Much of the work produced by the Brazilians involved summary and paraphrase of the French doctrine, with efforts to tailor it to specifically Brazilian conditions. At times, the Brazilians appear to be doing little more than copying the French doctrine, as the definitions of revolutionary warfare used at the ESG are those found in the works of Bonnet, Lacheroy, and Ximenès, among others. Indeed, the seminal lectures by Augusto Fragoso, credited with beginning the study of revolutionary warfare at the ESG – "Introdução ao Estudo da Guerra Revolucionária" and "Guerra Revolucionária" – are largely reviews of the French *Guerre Révolutionnaire* literature and quote both Bonnet's equation and Ximenès' definition of revolutionary war as basic points.[16] Even a specifically polemical work, such as the pseudonymous Pedro Brasil's *Livro Branco sobre a Guerra Revolucionária no Brasil*, takes the basic ideas and vocabulary from the French writings and provides Brazilian examples (Brasil: 1964). In effect, this was a natural evolution of French ideas transplanted into the new environment. The ideas and definitions of *Guerre Révolutionnaire* doctrine so thoroughly penetrated the officer corps and the part of the civilian elite that was exposed to the ideas of the ESG that their analysis of Brazilian reality was shaped by the French doctrine.

The dangers of this development ought to be obvious. Given the manner in which *Guerre Révolutionnaire* doctrine politicized the French military and undermined faith in civilian democracy in France, it should come as no surprise that something similar occurred in Brazil. Additionally, several other factors came into play: First, the Brazilian military had a tradition of political intervention that was confirmed and reinforced by the totalizing implications of *Guerre Révolutionnaire*. This tendency can be seen in the claims of military interest in policy matters that became common in the ESG's various publications – for example, in 1958 the commandant of the ESG proclaimed that "We attend, thus…to studies which have direct ties with the Policy of National Security, such as the political and administrative structure of the State; the particular aspects of the Powers of the Republic, principally those of greatest currency on the political scene…" (Secco: 1958, p. 11). Like the French theorists, the Brazilians saw this new form of war as demanding a much-expanded view of the military's concern:

> In the matter of this threat, the problems relevant to National Security move from the military field to the social, the economic and the political, but primarily the social and economic, by which they come to dominate, in the

16 Strangely, while Arruda notes the quotation of Bonnet in Fragoso's 1960 lecture "Guerra Revolucionária," he claims that Fragoso "presented his own concept of Revolutionary War" in 1959's "Introdução ao Estudo da Guerra Revolucionária" and then gives a verbatim translation of Ximenès' definition from "La guerre révolutionnaire et ses données fondamentales" (see p. 246).

> concern of the governors, peace and social stability, which constitute in the present conjuncture the true front subject to the attack of Communism (Lyra Tavares: 1962, p. 22).

This is of a piece with the expansion of the military's focus from National Defense, a purely military issue of protecting the national territory from invasion, to National Security, a concern with the ability of the state to achieve its national objectives, broadly defined. This change was repeatedly referred to in lectures at the ESG, as in the definition that National Security is "the guarantee in sufficient degree that the State, by adequate employment of National Power, affords to the collectivity under its jurisdiction the achievement and maintenance of National Objectives despite existing or foreseeable external or internal antagonisms" (Secco: 1958, p. 5).

Second, the self-conscious intent of using the ESG to formulate and disseminate doctrine among the civilian elite, thereby shaping all aspects of state planning, had the effect, not of creating an open intellectual milieu at the ESG, but of inculcating the civilian elite in the mindset of a more closed, hierarchical, and technically oriented institution:

> "The role of the School, in this instance, is that of a laboratory of ideas. With the confluence of various opinions of those who compose its body of trainees, as well as its CP [*corpo permanente*, permanent faculty], one can obtain a MEAN OPINION [*sic*] that represents the thought of an elite and, thus, a thought that can constitute a base for structuring the Policy of National Security" (Ferreira da Silva: 1959, p. 7).

The ESG was directed with the thought of consciously cultivating a civil-military elite trained in a method of analysis and problem-solving that assumed the existence of objective, technical solutions to the problems facing Brazil; a mindset exemplified by the confident declaration that

> the ESG had formulated a doctrine of government. It is a correct doctrine, because instead of governing in a casual way, you govern within a rational system: select objectives, make plans that become programs and have to be realized. It is an absolutely valid doctrine, it is not an ideological doctrine, it is a doctrine of political science (Meira Mattos: 1994, p. 119).

Further, the pedagogical system of team learning and group exercises within the framework of a common doctrine tended to promote a predictable common response to problems, much as military training promotes reflexive obedience to orders and instills a common set of skills and responses that can be relied upon in stress situations where standardized movements are essential to avoiding conflict with friendly units.[17] The numbing similarity of the various group and individual papers produced by each year's class is evidence of this powerful influence – the same format, vocabulary, analysis, and solutions recur not only within classes, but year after year.

Third, intense factional competition within the military during the second Vargas era contributed to polarization of the officer corps over a number of issues

17 Nelson Werneck Sodré, an instructor at the Escola de Comando e Estado-Maior do Exército (Command and General Staff College) in the 1950s and fierce critic of the military regime, wrote of his experience at the ECEME that the curriculum of repetitive problem-solving "was not intended to teach reasoning, it was intended to create reflexes and to teach the composing of orders resulting from these reflexes" (Werneck Sodré: 1986, p. 254).

that were subject to wider political dispute, importing civilian politics into the military and increasing ties between the officer corps and the civilian political factions. This was aggravated by growing corruption within the upper ranks of the military, which undermined the loyalty of the institution to the government in favor of ties to business elites (Smallman: 1997 and 2001, ch. 6 and 7). The ideological features of the new doctrine of warfare legitimated the growing gap between the officer corps (or, at least, the senior officers) and the civilian government identified as being insufficiently attentive to the national interest and the corporate interest of the military in the ideological in which Brazil found itself.

The search for a specific role for the military and the embrace of *Guerre Révolutionnaire* doctrine took place within a military characterized by a high degree of professionalism. The Brazilian officer corps was, to some extent, a tightly organized caste within Brazilian society with its own corporate identity. A sophisticated system of military education existed based on several military academies, colleges, and a demanding Command and Staff School (ECEME), to which the War College (ESG) had been added in 1949 as a capstone that taught both military and civilian personnel how to formulate, plan, and pursue national security policies. National security, as defined and studied in the ESG, required a comprehensive understanding of national capabilities and an integrated approach to the development of national potential. This integrated approach is emphasized repeatedly in the lectures, doctrinal materials, and student work produced at the ESG.[18] Unfortunately, the very institutions of professionalism thus encouraged the development and spread of a politicized doctrine geared to combating ideological subversion, which led to the overthrow of the constitutional government of President João Goulart in March 1964 after identifying it as an enemy of Brazil. The resulting military government lasted 21 years and saw both tremendous repression directed against political dissent and increasingly severe strains on the institutional integrity of the Armed Forces. The withdrawal of the military from power was, in part, motivated by problems of indiscipline and corporate/institutional disintegration linked to the counter-subversive struggle that had become central to the professional identity of the military in the 1950s and '60s (Moreira Alves: 1985; Skidmore: 1990 and 2007; Stepan: 1988).

Conclusion

The obvious question is why professionalism failed to render the French and Brazilian militaries "politically sterile and neutral" as Huntington argued should be the case. The answer lies in a significant aspect of this very professionalism. Huntington assumed that an effective military would be dominated by "conservative" values, in contrast to the liberalism of the surrounding society, and understood professionalization to mean the development of a corporate identity focused on the "functional imperatives" of national security, which would preclude a political role for the military; this is the key to his notion of "objective control" of the military by civilian authority and to the

18 The archive of ESG materials at CERLAC is a mix of precisely these materials and one of the remarkable things about it is how much consensus there is in the materials over the expansive nature of national security policy. It embraces almost every aspect of national life.

preservation of military effectiveness in war (Huntington: 1957, pp. 2-3).[19] Looking back for a moment at Larteguy's novels, his key point is that the nature of the warfare described is precisely what leads the heroes into sedition and mutiny. The wars in both Indochina and Algeria are understood by Larteguy's heroes to be primarily ideological struggles far broader than simple combat between armies, necessitating the formulation of military doctrine which reflects a similarly broad understanding of conflict. The politicization of the army officers in the novels was inevitable precisely because such a thoroughgoing ideological struggle must necessarily subvert the ideal of an apolitical military subordinated to civilian authority. Moving from fiction to the concrete cases, in both France and Brazil, the erosion of political neutrality was encouraged rather than constrained by the institutions of professional socialization precisely because of the substantive content of the military doctrine developed and propounded by these institutions, contradicting the assumptions of Huntington's model of professionalism. In short, professionalism in Huntington's formalist sense cannot be the solution to the basic problem of civilian control of the military. The ideological content of professionalization is precisely what is at issue.

Recognizing that contemporary counterinsurgency doctrine is rooted in the French literature on revolutionary war, it is important to appreciate the expansiveness and the political nature of the thinking on *Guerre Révolutionnaire*. The French doctrine was the outgrowth of colonial warfare combined with the post-WWII ideological struggle of the Cold War. The twin challenges of countering an ideological threat and developing the institutions of societies in the midst of insurgencies fueled a military doctrine that was highly politicized and prone to undermine the position of the civilian leadership in the civil-military relation. The systems of military education and doctrinal development spread this doctrine within the French Army and, even more so, the Brazilian military. In light of this, the assumption that institutions of professionalism are sufficient to limit the politicizing effects of long-term irregular warfare seems naïve. The ideological nature of such struggle and the demand that soldiers take on the role of diplomat, engineer, arbitrator, administrator, among others in both planning and fulfillment of duties seemed to make inevitable deleterious effects on military relations with civilian authorities. As the military took on more political roles, the civilian authorities they served were judged inadequate to the demands of ongoing struggle and the societies they defended came to appear corrupt and unable to live up to the virtues demanded by the professional self-image inculcated in the officer corps. In these circumstances, the Army's new doctrine arrogated to the officer corps the right to make the policy decisions required by an expansive concept of national security in the midst of ideological conflict.

Acknowledgments
The author would like to thank the anonymous RJSP reviewers for their comments and acknowledge the assistance of Dr. João Roberto Martins Filho and the Arquivo Ana Lagôa of the Departamento de Ciências Sociais, Universidade Federal de São Carlos in obtaining several documents cited in the paper from the Brazilian ESG.

19 For a critical discussion of Huntington's assumptions, see Driver (2009).

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