

EFFECTS-BASED TARGETING: ANOTHER EMPTY PROMISE?

BY

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ABSTRACT

What is effects-based targeting, and from where did this concept come? Is it based on a coherent theory and, if so, has the US Air Force incorporated it in its doctrine and operations? Is there more yet to do? These questions form both the focus and format of this study, which examines the evolution of effects-based targeting. Specifically, this paper asks how effectively has the US Air Force incorporated the concept of effects-based operations into its procedures for targeting and combat assessment.

To answer this question, the study defines effects-based targeting, asserting that commanders should direct airpower against targets in ways that produce specific, predetermined, military and political effects. The study explores the historical development of effects-based targeting theory and then conducts a focused comparison of four major air operations—Pointblank, Linebacker II, Desert Storm, and Allied Force—in order to survey US airpower’s actual combat experience with regard to effects-based operations.

This study determines that senior decision makers have always been interested in creating specific effects rather than simply destroying targets; however, as a whole, the USAF has been inconsistent in employing effects-based operations across the spectrum of conflict. American airpower has accomplished its most significant improvements at the tactical level of war, but is less reliable in creating operational and strategic effects. In a similar vein, airpower has become very effective at producing direct, physical effects, and it is becoming increasingly capable of creating certain widespread systemic effects. Generally, though, the ability to even predict, much less generate, specific psychological effects remains yet a hope and may, in fact, act as a virtual ceiling on the potential of effects-based operations.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

The evaluation of the effects of aerial bombardment operations . . . has been raised to first importance by the maturing of air power in the present conflict. No established methodology has been evolved, however, for making such an evaluation; in fact the exact nature and scope of the problem itself . . . are not generally understood. Assuming adequate force employed, the ability . . . to accomplish the physical destruction of targets . . . has been demonstrated. The effects, however, of such destruction on the course and duration of the war, are not readily apparent. Those effects are numerous and complex, and range from tangible ones capable of more or less precise measurement to highly imponderable ones incapable of such measurement. The relative importance of the various effects may have no relationship to the degree of tangibility present in each. . . . For example . . . [t]he evaluation of the state of enemy morale at any given time belongs in the category of factors which make the conduct of war an art as well as a science.

- Response to a Chief of Staff tasking, 15 Sep 1943

Following the success of Operation Desert Storm, stories began filtering out that spoke of a new type of war—parallel war—with action to induce specific effects as its foundation. Col David Deptula, “Black Hole” planner for Gen H. Norman Schwarzkopf, wrote, “The solution [to operations in a constrained environment] lay in effects-based rather than destruction-based targeting.”¹ Then, in October of 1999, the concept of effects-based operations began to appear in print once again following the “success” of Operation Allied Force in Kosovo. In the words of the commander of US Air Forces in Europe Gen John P. Jumper, “Effects-based targeting has to be the objective of the air campaign planners, as opposed to campaign by target-list management . . .”²

What is this concept called effects-based targeting, and from where did it come? Is it based on a coherent theory and, if so, has the US Air Force incorporated it in its doctrine and operations? Is there more yet to do? These questions form both the focus

¹ Col David A. Deptula, “Firing For Effect: Change in the Nature of Warfare,” *Defense and Airpower Series*, (Arlington, Va.: Aerospace Education Foundation, 24 August 1995), 4.

² To James A. Kitfield, “Another Look at the Air War That Was,” *Air Force Magazine* 82, no. 10 (October 1999), 42.

and format of this study, which seeks to examine the evolution of effects-based targeting. Specifically, this paper asks how effectively has the US Air Force incorporated the concept of effects-based operations into its procedures for targeting and combat assessment.

To answer this question, the study begins in chapter two by defining effects-based targeting, asserting that commanders should direct airpower against targets in ways that produce specific, predetermined, military, and political effects. The chapter discusses several taxonomies for classifying these effects and presents a conceptual framework that airpower professionals can use to plan, execute, assess, and incorporate feedback in an iterative fashion as they employ a dynamic effects-based strategy.

Chapter three explores the historical development of effects-based targeting theory as revealed in the writings of prominent theorists and military planners. These sources provide a rich body of warfighting theory that focuses on manipulating effects to achieve military and political objectives. The theories suggest these men considered the act of destroying physical targets to be a means of achieving a higher-order effect, not an end in itself. Following this look at theory, the study focuses on practice.

Chapters four through seven review four major air operations in order to survey US airpower's actual combat experience with regard to effects-based operations. The first is the Combined Bomber Offensive of World War II, arguably one of the earliest major aerial bombardment campaigns. In 1943, Allied leaders began combat-testing a variety of airpower employment theories, and few survived unscathed. Chapter five examines Operation Linebacker II. This operation occurred late in the Vietnam war and was the first major effort in which US airpower employed laser-guided bombs. Chapter six examines the air portion of Operation Desert Storm, which employed a mature air capability with significantly improved precision munitions and equally enhanced intelligence capabilities. The fourth and final study focuses on Operation Allied Force. In this case, political constraints denied air commanders the opportunity to employ airpower in a way they would have preferred; yet this recent example enables us to examine some of the US Air Force's most current combat practices.

Readers may observe that this study concentrates on large-scale conventional conflict in which American airpower played a significant role. Due to time and space

constraints, air operations in the Korean War, Bosnia, and numerous smaller contingencies are not included. As a result, effects-based operations in small-scale contingencies and operations other than war are not explored. Nevertheless, many of this study's lessons may still be applied to such operations.

For comparative purposes, each of the four case studies employs the same analytical framework. Each begins with a historical description of the overall conflict to establish context before narrowing to the specific operation in question. This description reviews the objectives—from the national and strategic levels down to the supporting air objectives—that guided actions within each operation. With the stage set for what US airpower strategists intended to achieve, analysis begins by evaluating case events in terms of a four-step iterative loop that characterizes sound effects-based operations. The study examines targeting debates, combat plans, and air operations to determine how airpower practitioners envisioned effects-based operations and how well they carried them out.

The first step of the iterative loop explores whether planners emphasized higher-order effects and considered how they would measure those effects as they constructed their air operations. Then we examine the execution and see whether operators could actually carry out the plan as initially conceived. Following execution, there should have been some assessment of results—if so, how did analysts perform this assessment, and to what degree was it successful in terms of timeliness, accuracy, and usefulness? Finally, we examine feedback and replanning functions to ascertain what changes took place as a result of these findings. How did planners incorporate assessment results back into the planning process, and how did the results influence subsequent operations? We apply this four-step analysis in historical context—what were the planners and decision makers thinking, and what did they have available to them *at the time*—but hindsight, with its greater acuity, frequently reveals new evidence and fresh insights that place case events in a different perspective.

Given this improved awareness, each case study seeks to determine what we can learn from the *actual* results given the perspective of time. What effects or results became known “after the fact” from information not available when conversations and decisions actually took place? This retrospective look, combined with the real-time

appraisal, completes the analysis of each operation, and each chapter concludes with a brief, interim summary before transitioning to the next case study.

The four cases provide ample evidence of the development and, in some cases, stagnation of effects-based practices. From this history, chapter eight appraises the current state of US Air Force effects-based operations. Ultimately, this study concludes:

- 1) Senior decision makers have always been interested in creating specific effects rather than simply destroying targets; however, as a whole, the USAF has been inconsistent in employing effects-based operations across the spectrum of conflict.
- 2) American airpower's most significant effects-related improvements have focused on the tactical level of war with considerably less progress evident at the operational and strategic levels.
- 3) Airpower has become very effective at producing direct, physical effects and is becoming increasingly capable of creating certain widespread systemic effects. However, the most sought-after effects are often psychological in nature, and efforts to improve airpower's capabilities in this area are virtually nonexistent.

The study discusses the implications of these trends and closes by addressing areas needing improvement if we are to remain not only competitive, but also dominant in combat. This study does not seek to discover the "Holy Grail" of targets or target sets. Rather, it simply seeks to examine the historical feasibility of an effects-based process within conventional air operations. With that end in mind, we begin by examining the concept called effects-based operations.

Chapter 2

Effects-Based Targeting: What is it?³

The focus at a given level of war is not on the specific weapons used, or even on the targets attacked, but rather on the desired effects.

—AFDD-2

Instead of relying on massed forces and sequential ops, we will achieve massed effects in other ways.

—Joint Vision 2010

Simply put, effects-based targeting is identifying and engaging an adversary's key capabilities in the most efficient manner to produce a specific effect consistent with the commander's objectives.⁴ The underlying concept, therefore, posits it is possible to direct airpower against targets in ways that cause military and political effects beyond the mere destruction of those targets. Airpower may still seek to destroy targets, but destruction is only one effect within a spectrum of desired options. More typically, it is a first step enroute to subsequent, more highly desired effects. Consequently, effects-based targeting adherents view destruction primarily as a means and rarely as an end in itself. The aim of effects-based operations lies in using target destruction (or some other effect via non-lethal technology) to generate predetermined second-order effects at the operational and strategic levels of war, which, in turn, compel enemy decision makers to respond in ways favorable to our overall campaign objectives. The net result suggests airpower can be applied more economically and with greater coercive effect—goals ever important in times of fiscal and material constraint. To further explore this topic, we must first look at the term “effects” and then examine more fully how one might pursue them.

³ Many of the ideas and concepts in this section originated in draft documents currently in work under a collaborative effort by the USAF Doctrine Center, the College of Aerospace Doctrine, Research, and Education (CADRE), and HQ USAF/XOCI.

⁴ The author's introduction to effects-based targeting came from Col David A. Deptula, “Firing for Effect: Change in the Nature of Warfare,” (Arlington, Va.: Aerospace Education Foundation, 1995). In this article, Col Deptula presents effects-based targeting as almost inextricably tied to a new form of warfare—control warfare—which he offers as “the antithesis of attrition and annihilation warfare.” However, this study views effects-based operations as an overarching method of employing combat capability not directly linked with any specific strategy of war. Therefore, this study does not address the pros and cons of annihilation, attrition, exhaustion, or control warfare.

Definitions and Taxonomies

The term “effects” is extremely nebulous. Because of this, we need to consider several taxonomies in order to focus future discussions. The simplest is that of direct or indirect.⁵ A direct effect is the result of actions with no intervening effect or mechanism between act and outcome. These effects are usually immediate and easily recognizable. Conversely, an indirect effect is a result created through an intermediate effect or mechanism to produce the final outcome, which may be physical or psychological in nature. Indirect effects tend to be delayed and may be difficult to recognize. One can see the relationship of direct and indirect effects in a plan that targets enemy oil refineries. Destroying a single refinery creates a direct effect: that specific refinery ceases to operate. However, if several refineries are destroyed, then the planners’ true objective, the indirect effect, may begin to be realized. The enemy’s mechanized forces become immobilized due to lack of fuel. However, if the plan succeeds, it will require some period of time before enemy fuel consumption depletes available reserves. During this time, the effects may be difficult to recognize. Figure 1 depicts the interaction of direct and indirect effects, as well as the ability to achieve a single objective via multiple means.⁶

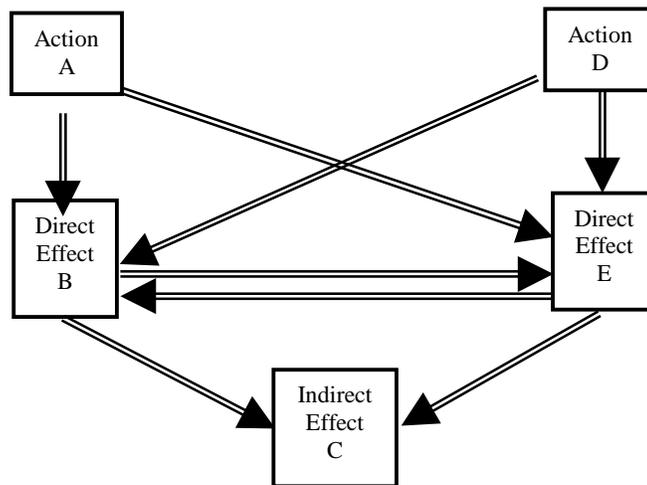


Figure 1.
Interaction of
Direct and
Indirect Effects

Source: USAF Doctrine Center briefing, “Strategic and Indirect Effects: Defining and Modeling.”

⁵ “Strategic and Indirect Effects: Defining and Modeling,” USAF Doctrine Center; on-line, Internet, 3 December 1999, available from <http://www.dctrine.af.mil/Application/Issues/StratEffects.pdf>, 11-14. The definitions given are drafts proposed for inclusion in the next Air Force Doctrine Document (AFDD) 2-1, Air Warfare.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

Categorizing effects as direct or indirect further suggests a numerical taxonomy based on the order in which those effects occur. Thus, a first-order effect is synonymous with a *direct* effect and subsequent orders (second, third, fourth, etc.) are the first, second, third, and so on, layers of *indirect* effects.⁷ As one might expect, it becomes increasingly difficult to predict the outcomes of successively higher-order effects. Due to the tenuous nature of predicting causal linkages between higher-order effects, this taxonomy is only useful in discussing first-, second-, and, possibly, third-order effects. Fortunately, there are other considerations besides simply the order in which effects occur.

Anything that can be influenced will have effects associated with that influence. One can classify those effects by associating them with the target, area, or medium being influenced, that is, logistical, leadership, infrastructure, cyber, space, security, mobility, political, and so forth. While this method of classification may be useful at lower levels of analysis, it becomes ponderous at higher levels of discussion. A more general method of grouping effects is to categorize them as physical, systemic, and psychological.⁸ The primary purpose of a *physical* effect is to eliminate or neutralize the object targeted. Historically, targeteers achieved this effect through destruction; however, with the advent of non-lethal technology, other means may soon be available. *Systemic* effects are those aimed at disrupting the functions of a specific system or systems, for example, an electrical power grid. Lastly, *psychological* effects occur in the adversary's mind and require an indirect approach as there is no material basis to directly target.⁹

⁷ For more on this topic, see Maj Jay M. Kreighbaum, "Force Application Planning: A Systems-and-Effects-Based Approach," (Unpublished thesis, School of Advanced Airpower Studies (SAAS), 1998), 50 and 62-63.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 55, 67.

⁹ This taxonomy—physical, systemic, psychological—most closely matches that used by the US Air Force in its assessment of wartime effects. Combat assessment (CA) is an overall evaluation of combat operations in relation to command objectives. CA consists of three sub-assessments: battle damage assessment (BDA), munitions effectiveness assessment (MEA), and mission assessment (MA). MA addresses the effectiveness of broad apportioned missions, such as interdiction, counterair, etc. MEA analyzes the effectiveness of munition damage mechanisms, e.g., fuzing, against specific target types. USAF guidance further sub-divides the often-overshadowing pillar, BDA, into assessments of physical damage, functional damage, and target system. A physical damage assessment is an estimate of the extent of physical damage to a target based on observed or interpreted damage. A functional damage assessment estimates the remaining functional or operational capability of a targeted facility or object. Lastly, in target system assessment, the combatant command fuses the previous component BDA reporting on functional damage to targets within a target system and assesses the overall impact on that system's capabilities. See Air Force Pamphlet 14-210, *USAF Intelligence Targeting Guide*, 1 February 1998, 70-72. This Air Force guidance is both enlightening and interesting. First, it is enlightening in that the focus is completely on the

Another practical and historically popular method of grouping effects is via the war-related function at which they aim, that is, the enemy's war-making capability, war-sustaining capacity, or his will to fight. *War-making* describes the actual troops, equipment, and capabilities through which the enemy exerts his combat power. *War-sustainment* refers to the enemy's ability to maintain and support his war efforts through production, distribution, and supply. Lastly, the enemy's *will* expresses his commitment to the war and his resolve to persevere in pursuit of his wartime objectives. Of course, this last category, the adversary's warfighting will, is the least tangible of the three and, being akin to psychological effects can only be attacked indirectly.

A third scheme for grouping functional effects looks at the enemy as a whole via his social structure and national instruments of power. Thinking in these terms—military, political, economic, and social—necessarily broadens the scope of consideration and may expose weaknesses more vulnerable to coercive leverage than a more direct (and costly) force-on-force approach.¹⁰ Exploiting these vulnerabilities may enable us to attain our ultimate political objectives with greater economy of force. This third taxonomy, by expanding the focus, hints at a final means of categorization.

A completely different taxonomy associates the desired effects with the most applicable level of war—tactical, operational, or strategic—at which they are directed. The *tactical* level of war is associated directly with the battlefield engagement at the unit level and below and narrowly focuses on maneuvering combat elements in direct

left side of the physical, systemic, psychological spectrum with no emphasis on the right (non-physical) side and second, the sole source of Air Force direction and doctrine on this topic is found in a *pamphlet*, arguably the lowest and least influential block in the hierarchy of official Air Force publications. Fortunately, joint publications contain substantially more information on the topics of CA and BDA, but even so, many of these are available only in draft versions. Of interest here is Joint Publication (JP) 2-01.1, which describes BDA as being conducted in three phases. Phase one BDA is an initial analysis, based primarily on visual observation of the target. Reports from this phase state whether a target was hit or missed and offer an initial estimate of damage. Second-phase analysis, or supplemental BDA, amplifies the initial analysis by drawing on all-source intelligence and operational data to determine the target's functional damage and provide an initial estimate of impact to the target system. Phase three BDA fuses all supplemental BDA with the experience of subject matter experts to provide the Joint Force Commander with an estimate of the remaining capabilities of the targeted system. See the preliminary coordination draft of JP 2-01.1, *Joint Tactics, Techniques, and Procedures for Intelligence Support to Targeting*; on-line, Internet, 7 April 2000, available from <http://delphi.dia.ic.gov/intel/j2/j2t/issues/DOCTRINE/2-01.1/>.

¹⁰ This categorization, based on examining effects within the four elements of national power, is the taxonomy employed by the Joint Warfare Analysis Center (JWAC). Chapter seven of this study provides a more detailed description of the JWAC operation.

achievement of combat objectives.¹¹ Effects at this level contribute to reducing the enemy's war-making capability on a relatively localized scale. Thus, tactical effects are typically immediate, but limited in duration and scope of influence. The *operational* level concerns planning, conducting, and sustaining campaigns and major operations within a theater.¹² The qualities of effects at this level describe the middle ground between those of the tactical and strategic levels of war in terms of time required for manifestation, duration, and scope of influence. Finally, the *strategic* level views the war as a whole by addressing a nation's military and security objectives. Strategic effects aim at disrupting the enemy's strategy, ability, or will to wage war by destroying or disrupting his vital centers, which may entail military, political, economic, or social ramifications. Strategic effects, generally, do not occur immediately and can actually be quite slow in their manifestation; however, once manifest, they typically have a significantly larger span of influence and subsequent duration than do lower-level effects.¹³

Interim Summary

Figure 2 encapsulates the primary taxonomies just discussed, but should serve only as a general guide to stimulate thought. It is not a checklist. Additionally, though each of these taxonomies is useful within specific contexts, attempting to use them all becomes unwieldy and potentially confusing. Thus, not only for the sake of simplicity, but also because this taxonomy most closely matches that currently used by the US Air Force, this study limits itself to examining physical, systemic, and psychological effects at the various levels of war.

¹¹ *Joint Publication 1-02*, "DOD Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms," on-line, Internet, 1 February 2000, available from <http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/doddict>.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ For significantly more on the topic of effects and their relationship to the levels of war, see Kreighbaum, 19, 69, 72, 73, 110, and 121.

| Tactical Level of War | Operational Level of War | Strategic Level of War |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| War-making | War-sustaining | Will to Fight |
| Physical | Systemic | Psychological |
| Military | Economic | Political |
| | Social | |

Figure 2. Effects Taxonomies¹⁴

Other qualities of effects

Besides being direct or indirect, effects have other qualities planners must consider. As noted earlier, effects vary in the time required for them to mature and become manifest, as well as in their duration and the scope of their influence. While some effects take place instantly, others take longer to manifest themselves due to the complex chain of events set in motion when interrelated target systems are attacked. As a result, effects may have cumulative, cascading, or distributive properties.

Cumulative effects result when direct or indirect effects aggregate and may occur at the same or different levels of war as their contributing lower-order effects. This is seen, for instance, when destroying numerous SAM sites at the tactical level results in increased operational-level air superiority. Moreover, effects often cascade as indirect effects ripple through an enemy system, influencing other systems enroute. Typically, these effects occur when an attack affects nodes critical to multiple systems and, most often, they flow from higher to lower levels within the enemy's system. For example, destroying an enemy central headquarters may cause effects to cascade down through several echelons and ultimately disrupt numerous tactical units on the battlefield.¹⁵ The cumulative and cascading nature of effects contribute to their distributive character.

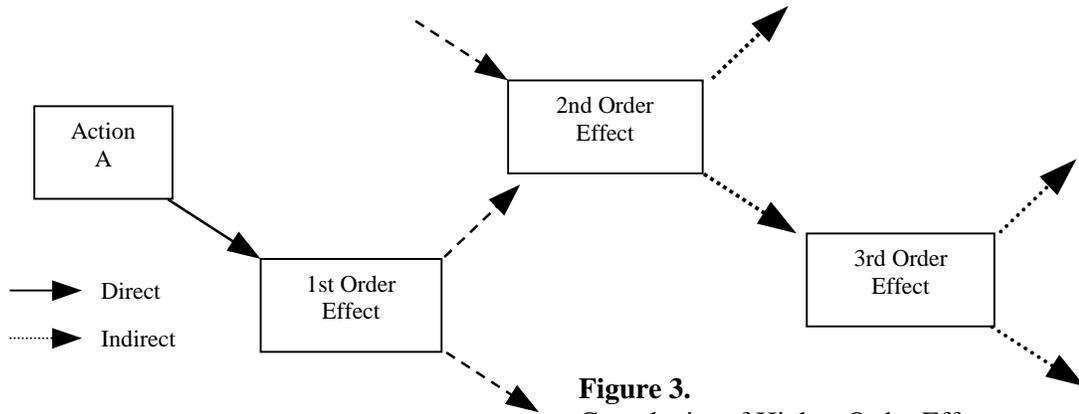
The distributive nature of these phenomena suggests that virtually no part of the enemy is truly isolated, and any effects generated emanate outwards affecting other systems and sub-systems.¹⁶ This characteristic, more than any other, drives home the

¹⁴ While it is tempting to view this matrix vertically and infer relationships between the various classifications, such conclusions dangerously gloss over relationships between categories and ignore other characteristics, such as the cumulative, cascading, and distributive properties of effects.

¹⁵ Strategic and Indirect Effects, 17-18.

¹⁶ See Steven M. Rinaldi, *Beyond the Industrial Web: Economic Synergies and Targeting Methodologies*, (Master's thesis, School of Advanced Airpower Studies (SAAS), June 1995). This thesis extensively covers the interrelatedness of national economic systems. Specifically, he states, "the targeting implications are clear: interactions between target sets must enter the decision making process if the global effects of air attacks are to be determined."

point that, even though the previously discussed taxonomies are necessary to facilitate discussion and study, they are, in the end, completely arbitrary with few, if any, clear lines of demarcation. The result is that planned first-order effects may generate subsequent effects that were unintended and even completely unanticipated. This reality highlights the complexity of higher order effects and recalls their description in this study’s opening epigraph as “highly imponderable.” Figure 3 shows the increasing complexity involved with predicting higher-order effects within a complex and interrelated system such as an enemy nation.¹⁷



Source: USAF Doctrine Center briefing, “Strategic and Indirect Effects: Defining and Modeling.”

To briefly summarize with an illustration, it is thus possible to conduct a first-order physical action (e.g., destruction of an electrical switching station) that directly produces systemic effects (loss of power within a given region that happens to include a POL processing plant). That, in turn, eventually causes local enemy aircraft to be grounded for lack of fuel. This is good, as air superiority is achieved without a potentially expensive force-on-force confrontation. Unfortunately, the region’s only water purification plant also unexpectedly loses electrical power, and word of the pain and suffering inflicted on innocent civilians reaches the media, resulting in severe oversight and involvement in previously independent targeting decisions.¹⁸ Having enhanced our knowledge of “effects” and some of their attendant problems, let us return to the broader concept of “effects-based operations” and examine their execution.

¹⁷ Strategic and Indirect Effects, 16.

A Conceptual Framework for Effects-Based Planning

Joint publications state, “Objectives provide the focus for military action; they are essential for unity of effort. In the abstract sense, the objective is the effect desired.”¹⁹ The question then is from where do these objectives come. Conceptually, unified efforts are derived from a coherent plan, which links national objectives to all subsequent military actions. This hierarchical arrangement can be depicted as a “Z-diagram” describing the congruent linkages between objectives and strategy at each level of planning (see Figure 4).²⁰

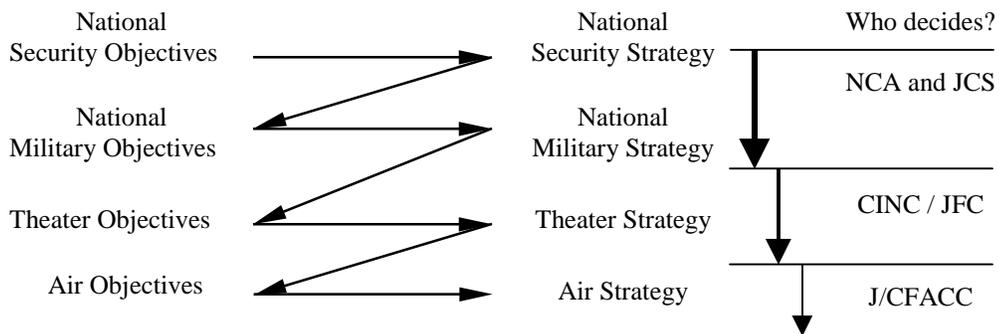


Figure 4. Z-Diagram

Effects-based operations provide the ideal means to execute this strategy-to-task framework because it forces planners to consciously link efforts with objectives and lower-level objectives with higher ones. Planners and decision makers at every level must ask what the desired end state is before they can proceed to plan a strategy or course of action to create that outcome. Importantly, the higher the level at which end states and objectives are clearly stated, the more likely that supporting objectives and strategies will be congruent and effective, and the more likely that we will attain our ultimate political objectives.

¹⁸ This example is somewhat simplistic, and the results, from a planning perspective, are not unforeseeable. However, it does provide some indication of the far-reaching ramifications of a single action.

¹⁹ *Joint Pub O-2*, “Unified Action Armed Forces (UNAAF),” dated 24 Feb 1995, on-line, Internet, 1 February 2000, available from <http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/capstone.htm>.

²⁰ The national security objectives, determined by the NCA, drive the national security strategy required to achieve those objectives. The national security strategy, in turn, determines the focus of our national military objectives. These, in turn, drive the supporting national military strategy and so on all the way down to individual tactical operations. In the end, the air strategy, employed in any given conflict, should directly contribute to the achievement of air objectives, which, by design, should directly support the successful execution of the overall theater strategy and so on. This congruent support eventually yields the successful achievement of our national security objectives.

An effects-based operation is less a specific procedure than a strategy-to-task mindset focused on evaluating the achievement of desired effects rather than the destruction of specific targets.²¹ It serves to focus diversified efforts towards a common objective. The key is assessing effectiveness at all levels, and the true value lies in continually assessing and analyzing the current strategy's success in achieving the CINC's intent.²² This, in theory, should then support the achievement of national objectives.

The key in assessing effects is a skeptical "So what?" mentality. A simple tally of sorties launched and weapons delivered does not count towards mission success. Every strike prompts a series of questions such as—was the target hit? If so, did hitting the target achieve the desired effects and, if so, did the desired effects meet the stated objective? The result of each strike mission initiates a collection-assessment-feedback loop that occurs repeatedly throughout a campaign's planning and execution process. Strike results prompt another "so what," which, in turn, helps determine whether re-tasking, re-targeting, or re-planning is in order.²³ If the same target needs to be struck again, either through the same or different means, then re-tasking is necessary; if a different target is required in order to achieve the desired effect, then re-targeting is in order; and if the desired effect was not achieved within the expected timeframe or it was achieved, but failed to accomplish the stated objective, then re-planning is mandated. Through all of this, the achievement of desired effects, not target status, determines subsequent efforts.

If the key in assessing effects is a "so what" mentality, then there must exist information or intelligence to which this query can be applied. Thus arises the question of measurability. It is not enough simply to decide upon a desired effect or even to predict follow-on secondary and tertiary effects. Though both of these steps are

²¹ Since this process begins with the desired objective or effect and works backward rather than beginning with available targets and working forward, this process is considered output-based as addressed by Rinaldi, 48, or objective-based as discussed by Kreighbaum, 51.

²² Col Phillip S. Meilinger expresses this insight in his *10 Propositions Regarding Airpower*, (Air Force History and Museums Program, 1995), 20. "In essence, Air Power is targeting, targeting is intelligence, and intelligence is analyzing the effects of air operations." Unfortunately, we too often stop after the first phrase.

²³ Maj Kevin L. Fox, HQ USAF/XOCI, draft memorandum "Effects Based Operations (EBO) CONOPS," 27 September 1999, 5-6.

necessary, neither is sufficient. The crux of assessment is having selected information to evaluate concerning the consequences of actions taken in order to determine the rate and direction of your strategy's progress. In short, once you act and set the consequent effects in motion, you must be able to measure those effects. Three levels deserve consideration—assessment of delivery results, subsequent order effects, and strategy effectiveness.²⁴ The first level of assessment determines the current status of the target after weapons delivery. This captures the first-order physical effect upon the target. Then one must capture the resultant indirect effects, a task much more difficult as those effects may be functional, systemic, or even psychological. Direct measurability becomes problematic as effects move along this spectrum from physical to systemic to psychological with a corresponding decrease in their material basis. This shift requires measurements more sophisticated than simply interpreting imagery. Finally, one must assess each effect's contribution to the stated objective. At this point, the focus changes from effects to effectiveness, from "Did we do the action correctly?" to "Did we do the correct action?"²⁵ This step is even less quantifiable than previous ones. However, assuming completion of the assessment, analysts then feed the information back so that, if re-planning, re-targeting, or re-tasking is required, planners can adapt the strategy proactively. Obviously, the key is assessment and, given the difficulties involved, the time to consider that function is not after the strike has taken place, but before.

As essential as the execution, collection, assessment, and feedback steps are, much of the success of effects-based operations is determined during the planning phase before any aircraft leaves the ground. Planners need to address all issues of collection and assessment beforehand so that collection assets are in place at the proper time and assessment analysts know exactly for what they are searching. These issues can be ameliorated, if not eliminated, if the planning process culminates with a series of tasks and associated measures of merit (MoM). Each task specifies the desired effect along

²⁴ Ibid., 53-55.

²⁵ *Gulf War Air Power Survey (GWAPS)*, Vol II, "Operations and Effects and Effectiveness," (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1993), 25-75. This entire section of GWAPS focuses on the distinction between effects and effectiveness and the difficulty with capturing and measuring effects. See also Kreighbaum, 52-54. One great example for distinguishing between effects and effectiveness is the WWII Doolittle raid on Japan, which had negligible physical effects, but was extremely effective psychologically.

with the tasker's intent and a list of key indicators that signify accomplishment of the effect. In addition, the measures of merit act as qualifiers specifying the degree of the effect, intended duration, and any necessary constraints imposed on creating the effect.²⁶ This hard analytical forethought does not guarantee success, as that is impossible, but it decreases the impact of unintended consequences and, thereby, increases the likelihood of success.

Having become more familiar with the scope and complexity of effects-based operations, the question now becomes—is this a new idea? For that answer, we turn to a variety of prominent military and airpower theorists.

²⁶ Maj John N. Sims, HQ USAF/XOCI, draft memorandum "Effects-Based Operations: The Road Ahead," 29 January 2000, 10.

Chapter 3

The Theoretical Basis

Too often vision has outrun reality and resulted in disappointment and reaction.

-- Robin Higham

“The evaluation of the effects of aerial bombardment operations . . . has been raised to first importance by the maturing of air power in the present conflict. No established methodology has been evolved, however, for making such an evaluation; in fact the exact nature and scope of the problem itself . . . are not generally understood.”²⁷ Given these thoughts regarding the Combined Bomber Offensive of World War II, concerns over the effects of bombing are obviously not new. In fact, when we review airpower strategy’s historical development, it becomes apparent there is a common thread throughout the writings of prominent theorists. The desire to control the enemy rather than simply destroy him is a unifying element, which suggests that effects-based operations are not new at all, but rather as old as airpower employment itself and, in fact, still evolving.

Douhet

In 1921, Giulio Douhet authored the first major theory of airpower and was one of the first to consider specific effects as he developed his employment concepts.²⁸ Although he advocated a strategy of neutralizing enemy forces by striking their functional essentials of supply, transportation, and fuel, his primary mechanism for defeating the enemy lay in bombing his vital civilian centers. Victory lay not in annihilation, but in attacking the people’s vulnerable moral resistance and, in so doing, breaking the enemy’s national resolve to fight.²⁹ Douhet believed this would be quicker and, thus, more humane than the abhorrent trench warfare of WWI. He saw destruction

²⁷ “Effect of Combined Bomber Offensive,” July 1943, AFHRA 142.042-7, frame 1053.

²⁸ Giulio Douhet, *The Command of the Air*, trans. Dino Ferrari, (Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1983).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 22, 25, 57, and 126.

merely as an expedient to generate specific effects that, in turn, would achieve the ultimate objectives.

Mitchell

William “Billy” Mitchell, a contemporary of Douhet’s, shared many of his views, and though his theory of airpower employment evolved through the interwar years, his inventory of vital centers—the enemy’s military forces, his transportation, industry, and the will of the people—did not.³⁰ Shortly after World War I, Mitchell believed an air force’s principal mission was to destroy the enemy’s air force and attack his military forces on the ground.³¹ However, between the 1920s and the 1930s, Mitchell’s conception of the primary mechanism for victory shifted from defeating fielded military forces to defeating the will of the people³² and, by 1933, he considered industry to be the target most vulnerable to airpower’s unique capabilities.³³ Thus, Mitchell’s beliefs evolved from employing airpower in a force-on-force, tactical-attribution manner to exploiting functional effects at the strategic level of war.

Slessor

In the 1930s, J.C. Slessor, an RAF officer, lectured at Britain’s Army Staff College and, in 1936, he published his compiled lecture notes in a book entitled *Air Power and Armies*. Slessor reminded readers that independent air operations against a country’s vital centers are a primary function of airpower; however, given his original audience, Slessor focused on employing airpower in conjunction with a land campaign in which British expeditionary forces had been committed.

Considering the enemy to be a system, he, consequently, looked for ways to influence that system. Slessor believed that, though first-order destruction may be a requisite means, the functional effects thereof, are ultimately the desired outcome. The following statements reflect this mindset and preference for emphasizing functional effects over physical ones:

³⁰ William Mitchell, *Winged Defense: The Development and Possibilities of Modern Airpower—Economic and Military*, (New York: Dover Publications, 1988), 127.

³¹ Mitchell, “Air Service Tactical Application of Military Aeronautics,” staff paper, 5 January 1919, AFHRA 167.4-1, 1.

³² Contrary to Douhet though, Mitchell did not advocate direct attack of the civilian population.

Strictly speaking a vital centre is an organ in a man, an army, or a nation, the destruction or even interruption of which will be fatal to continued vitality. Note that actual *material destruction* of a vital centre is *not essential* in order to be fatal.³⁴ [emphasis added]

This then is the *object* of attack on production, the dislocation and restriction of output from war industry, not primarily the material destruction of plant and stocks.³⁵ [emphasis in original]

Even though Slessor saw airpower as potentially decisive at all three levels of war, he focused on its employment at the operational level. Two “not necessarily mutually exclusive” alternatives formed his mechanism for defeating an army: 1) subdue the actual ground forces and 2) disrupt its critical supply function. Importantly, he argued that if you could cripple a force’s fighting efficiency using functional means, then it did not require defeat in detail. Pursuing these thoughts on disrupting supply, Slessor proposed that airpower be used both in a strategic role, to interdict war production, and in an operational mode, to interdict essential supplies.³⁶ He suggested that commanders coordinate the use of land and air power, with land power stressing the enemy force, driving up its needs for communications, supply, and reinforcements, while airpower simultaneously isolated the enemy land force, starving it of sustainment and control.³⁷

Lastly, Slessor realized that identifying these vital centers on which to concentrate aerial attacks required comprehensive intelligence and meticulous analysis:

The method of attack on production . . . demands a detailed and expert knowledge of the enemy's industrial system, of the communications linking the different parts of the system, and of the installation supplying it with power and light. Detailed intelligence about the enemy must be supplemented by *expert technical advice* from representatives of our own supply and transport services . . .³⁸ [emphasis in original]

This would not be the last time the efficacy of airpower would be linked with an in-depth knowledge of the target.

³³ School of Advanced Airpower Studies lecture notes on “Mitchell” for course 631, Col Phillip S. Meilinger, Maxwell AFB, Ala., 1993.

³⁴ J. C. Slessor, *Air Power and Armies*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), 16.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 66.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 63.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 213.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 89.

ACTS

Nowhere was belief in airpower's inherent offensiveness and strategic potential stronger than at the US Army Air Corps Tactical School (ACTS), established in 1920. Here, lecture notes reveal a deep appreciation for the potential of creating cascading effects: "Interlaced social, economic, political and military divisions of a nation acquire a state of absolute interdependence during war. Offensive action in one of these spheres will produce sympathetic disturbances of varying intensity in all the others."³⁹ With these thoughts in mind, the ACTS went on to introduce a precursor to today's nodal analysis and developed a strategy, later dubbed the "industrial web theory," for targeting the enemy's national economic structure. One 1939 ACTS lecture posits that attack should concentrate "on those vulnerable elements having the greatest cumulative effect."⁴⁰ Again, the focus lay not in material destruction, but in disorganizing a society and crippling its economy—in essence, functional effects. Additionally, as with Slessor, the ACTS acknowledged that gathering complete target intelligence was "a study for the economist, statistician, or technical expert, rather than the soldier."⁴¹

Destroying the enemy's will to resist was the primary mechanism ACTS intended to employ:

If morale is high, a nation or army can carry on against great odds and severe reverses . . . if moral power is low, defeat is quick and certain. . . . The resources of a nation for the waging of war are contained in its social, economic, political and military systems. Pressure, or the threat of pressure, against these systems will break down morale and cause the defeat of a nation.⁴²

Thus, breaking down the enemy's will to resist was directly linked to collapsing the enemy's economy and reducing his military capability.

³⁹ ACTS lecture no. 5, "Air Force Objectives," 27 February 1935, 2. From the USAF Historical Research Agency (AFHRA), document no. 248.2016A-12.

⁴⁰ Maj Muir S. Fairchild, ACTS instructor, "Air Force: National Economic Structure," ACTS lecture no. AF-9 and 10-C, 5 April 1938. AFHRA 248.2019A-10. Based on pencil changes and marginalia, it appears this lecture was updated for presentation in 1939.

⁴¹ Fairchild, "New York Industrial Area," ACTS lecture no. AF-11-C, 6 April 1938. AFHRA 248.2019A-12. Based on pencil changes and marginalia, it appears this lecture was updated for presentation in 1939.

⁴² "Air Force Objectives," 159.

Eccles

Adm Henry E. Eccles believed logistics, on the national scale, had received inadequate analytical effort, and this perplexed him because he also believed that strategy largely evolves out of the economic situation. Moreover, his thoughts on affecting the enemy emphasized control and influence as well as destruction. Not surprisingly then, Eccles' means of control concentrated on the enemy's logistics, which he saw as the link between a nation's economy and its combat forces.

Both the enemy's armed forces and his economy become targets for destruction or control. His logistics system, being the bridge between his economy and his tactical ops, becomes a particularly important target.⁴³

Without naming specific targets, Eccles advocated denying the enemy his control functions and interdicting his control elements, which, if successful, made destroying those elements unnecessary.

Defining logistics as "the creation and sustained support of combat forces and weapons," Eccles, essentially, suggested that the best means to influence an adversary was through a systemic approach, by attacking the enemy's logistical control system at the operational level, thereby, influencing his functional ability to sustain the war.⁴⁴ Lastly, his overall approach to warfare was distinctly effects-based, reaching beyond even the systemic to the psychological, as his following statement reveals:

Not only must one think of how the enemy views the situation as it exists before one takes action, but one must think of how the enemy thinking will be influenced by the action one takes.⁴⁵

Eccles' psychological bent shares much with the next theorist who believed that real war takes place in the mind of the enemy.

Schelling

Thomas C. Schelling's often-cited *Arms and Influence* deals primarily with nuclear deterrence, yet it spends a great deal of time developing a theory of coercion

⁴³ Henry E. Eccles, *Logistics in the National Defense*, (Harrisburg, Pa.: The Stackpole Company, 1959), 30.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 25. Eccles offers no suggestions as to how best accomplish this lofty mental pursuit, and one cannot help after reading this, but to think of the 1943 staff planner's comment that to now have stated the problem, is not to have solved it.

useful in limited, conventional warfare. Schelling sees the conflict in terms of psychological influence and potential to modify behavior by employing both the threat and actual use of gradually escalated force. “It is not the pain and damage itself but its influence on somebody's behavior that matters” in the application of force.⁴⁶

Optimized at the strategic level of war, Schelling's strategy targets the enemy's government and its population.⁴⁷ He classifies the use of force in two categories, brute force and coercion, which he differentiates based on intent, purpose, and effect.⁴⁸ The intent of a brute force strategy is to *eliminate* behavior through outright destruction and extermination. Conversely, a coercive strategy seeks to *change* enemy behavior by manipulating risk through increased threat and, if required, using force selectively. Explicitly emphasizing influence (i.e., subsequent order effects) over destruction, Schelling characterizes “the importance of war and threats of war as techniques of influence, not of destruction; of coercion and deterrence, not of conquest and defense; of bargaining and intimidation.”⁴⁹

Thus, where Eccles only obliquely mentions war's psychological aspect, Schelling deals with it almost exclusively; yet neither theorist identifies specific targets. Importantly though, this concept of influence, or control over enemy actions, continues to percolate to the top of military and, specifically, airpower theory.

Warden

Col John A. Warden III, a retired Air Force fighter pilot, contends that all strategic entities can be analyzed as a system and broken down into five component parts.⁵⁰ His model arrays these in the form of five concentric rings—a targeting bullseye of sorts—with the system's most crucial element, its leadership, forming the innermost ring. Extending outward from the leadership center are rings of organic essentials,

⁴⁶ Thomas C. Schelling, *Arms and Influence*, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1966), 3.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 180.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁵⁰ John A. Warden III, “Strategic Warfare: The Enemy as a System,” in *Concepts in Airpower for the Campaign Planner*, Lt Col Albert U. Mitchum, ed., (Maxwell AFB, Ala.: Air Command and Staff College, 1993), 4. He is also known for his earlier work, which, without explicitly providing the five-rings model, strongly alludes to it. It is *The Air Campaign: Planning for Combat*, (Washington, D.C.: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1989).

infrastructure, population, and fielded forces in descending order of importance to the system's overall function.⁵¹

The central theme of the five rings model is that the most effective strategic plan always focuses on leadership, first and foremost. Even if leadership is unavailable as a target set, the air strategist must still focus on the mind of the commander when selecting targets from among the other rings. For within these rings lie “centers of gravity” (COG) which, when hit, impose some level of physical paralysis, thereby raising the costs of further resistance in the enemy commander's mind.⁵² The implicit message is that destruction or neutralization of the leadership COG(s) will produce total *physical* paralysis of the system, whereas successful attack upon COGs within other rings will produce partial physical paralysis and unbearable *psychological* pressure upon the leadership.⁵³

Though his primary mechanism is “strategic paralysis,” in which the functional loss of leadership is central, Warden also believes in the fabled “death of a thousand cuts” as evidenced by his statement that “Technology has made possible the near-simultaneous attack on every strategic- and operational-level vulnerability of the enemy.”⁵⁴ This type of “parallel war” has also become a defining pillar in the thoughts of our next theorist.

Deptula

Of all the theorists surveyed, Brig Gen David Deptula, a Warden protégé, speaks most directly to the campaign planner's pursuit of effects versus simple destruction. He proposes employing force most efficiently by linking efforts to objectives via effects-based planning.

Deptula repeatedly emphasizes targeting for effect rather than for destruction alone, and maintains that destruction is not an end in itself, but merely a means to achieve

⁵¹ Ibid., 6.

⁵² Note that Warden's use of the plural “centers of gravity” implies that a single entity has or may have multiple COGs. This is in conflict, not only with the physical science lexicon from which we borrow this term, but also with Carl von Clausewitz, who first used this term in discussing his thoughts on war over 150 years earlier than John Warden. Clausewitz retains the scientific use and implies only a single center of gravity per entity.

⁵³ Maj David S. Fadok, *John Boyd and John Warden: Air Power's Quest for Strategic Paralysis*, (Maxwell AFB, Ala.: Air University Press, February 1995), 25. From Fadok's personal interview with Warden, 17 Feb 1994.

⁵⁴ “The Enemy as a System,” 8.

the desired effect of disabling the enemy's vital control systems.⁵⁵ For these vital systems, he echoes Warden's five target sets and primarily seeks systemic rather than physical or psychological effects. In his words,

Action to induce specific effects rather than simply destruction of the sub-systems making up each of these strategic systems or 'centers of gravity' is the foundation of the concept of parallel war. . . . At the edge of the twenty-first century the significance of the evolution of change in warfare lies in the way we think about it.⁵⁶

Additionally, he emphasizes the importance of understanding "how time and space are exploited in terms of what effects are desired and for what purpose at each level of war."⁵⁷ Deptula argues that disabling the adversary's ability to control his essential systems at the operational level will paralyze his ability to function at the strategic level. "At that stage, the enemy has no choice but to acquiesce to the will of the controlling force or face ever increasing degrees of loss of control itself."⁵⁸

Pape

Robert Pape's "denial" strategy seeks to "thwart the enemy's military strategy" and deny the opponent his objectives.⁵⁹ Building on Schelling's contention that the goal of coercion is political change, Pape focuses on "strategic effectiveness, not combat effectiveness."⁶⁰ He maintains that once the opponent is convinced that he cannot achieve his military and political objectives, the cost of further resistance outweighs the benefits of that behavior, so he will concede to the coercer's demands. As he asserts that a hostile state's principal means of obtaining its objectives is via its military forces, we can classify his denial strategy as counterforce, setting him significantly apart from the other theorists in this survey. In fact, Pape would agree with the label, as he bluntly states that denial "entails smashing enemy military forces, weakening them to the point

⁵⁵ Ibid., 4, 8, 10, 12, and 17.

⁵⁶ Col David A. Deptula, "Firing For Effect: Change in the Nature of Warfare," *Defense and Airpower Series*, (Arlington, Va.: Aerospace Education Foundation, 24 August 1995), 12 and 5.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 4.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 6.

⁵⁹ Robert A. Pape, Jr., *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War*, (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996), 69-79.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 58.

where friendly ground forces can seize disputed territories without suffering unacceptable losses.”⁶¹

Summary

As one can see, each theorist conceived a different mechanism for forcing his will upon the enemy, yet each recognized that the ultimate determinant lay not in destroying targets, but in generating higher-order effects. Given their diverse claims and those of their disciples, let us now see what the crucible of war has taught us about planning for and generating these higher-order effects.

⁶¹ Ibid., 69-79.

Chapter 4

Operation Pointblank

*It is apparent . . . that the problem of bomb damage assessment involves more than a mere appraisal of physical damage . . .
To state the problem . . . is not, however, to solve it.*

Response to 1943 Chief of Staff tasking

The calculation of effects of bomb damage on an industry is largely speculative . . .

Opening line to intelligence report on results
of CBO operations, dated 1 November 1943

Historical Description

After annexing Czechoslovakia and a portion of Lithuania in early 1939, Germany invaded Poland on 1 September, beginning what we would come to know as World War II. Initially, the Allied powers of Britain, France, and later the Soviet Union fought without the aid of the United States, whose international policy was still isolationist, but that changed on 7 December 1941 when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor and the Philippines. Over the next year, America sent over men, money, and equipment building up military forces and beginning operations against the Axis powers. Then, in June 1943, the British and Americans launched the Combined Bomber Offensive, code named POINTBLANK, as the first large-scale, concerted, strategic air offensive against an industrialized nation. Planning, however, had begun long before the first bombs fell.

Prompted by the 1938 Munich crisis to believe a large air force could offensively deter further German aggression, Roosevelt spent the next three years preparing for war while simultaneously trying to prevent the same.⁶² Part of these preparations included an early 1941 secret conference in Washington to determine Anglo-American strategy should Britain and the United States find themselves at war with both Japan and the

⁶² Michael S. Sherry, *The Rise of American Air Power: The Creation of Armageddon*, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987), 22, 29, 49, 61-62, 79, and 81.

European Axis. The final report, later known as American, British Conversations (ABC)-1, provided the following assumptions: the European theater was primary, German defeat would probably entail an invasion of northwestern Europe, and offensive measures would include “a sustained air offensive against the German military power.”⁶³ These assumptions then guided changes to the US military’s current operations plan, RAINBOW-5.

On 9 July 1941, Roosevelt directed Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson to provide “the overall production requirements necessary to defeat our potential enemies.” This being the only national policy guidance given, the Joint Army-Navy Board tasked each service to develop its own requirements within the guidance of ABC-1 and RAINBOW-5. The Air War Plans Division of the Air Staff wrote Air War Plans Document (AWPD)-1, which established the basic strategy later employed in POINTBLANK.⁶⁴ This document tasked US air forces with conducting a sustained air offensive against Germany to destroy its capability and will to continue the war and make an invasion either unnecessary or feasible without excessive cost.⁶⁵ Other tasks, such as supporting land forces, followed. From these tasks flowed the strategic targeting priorities of disrupting German electric power, transportation, and oil/petroleum systems. Not to ignore German air defenses, the plan also included an “overriding intermediate objective” of neutralizing the Luftwaffe. As AWPD Chief of the European Branch Haywood S. Hansell would later note, “The key element in the entire plan was the proviso that the full bomber force should devote its entire strength to these targets for six months after it had reached maturity.” On 1 September 1941, Gen George C. Marshall and Secretary Stimson approved AWPD-1 without change.⁶⁶

⁶³ Arthur B. Ferguson, “Origins of the Combined Bomber Offensive,” in Wesley F. Craven and James L. Cate, eds., *The Army Air Forces in World War II*, vol. 2, *Europe: TORCH to POINTBLANK, August 1942 to December 1943*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), 209-210.

⁶⁴ For a personal account of this war plan’s development, see Haywood S. Hansell, Jr., *The Air Plan That Defeated Hitler*, (Atlanta: Higgins-McArthur/Longino and Porter, 1972), 61-99. The official account is found in James Lea Cate and E. Kathleen Williams, “The Air Corps Prepares for War, 1939-41,” in Craven and Cate, vol. 1, *Plans and Early Operations: January 1939 to August 1942*, 145-150.

⁶⁵ Hansell, 76-77.

⁶⁶ Haywood S. Hansell, Jr., *The Strategic Air War against Germany and Japan*, (Washington, D.C.: Office of Air Force History, 1986), 33-40.

Exactly one year later, in response to a presidential tasking for a statement of Allied requirements “to have complete air ascendancy over the enemy,” Army Air Force (AAF) planners issued AWPD-42, essentially a restatement of AWPD-1.⁶⁷ The most significant changes involved including the British Royal Air Force (RAF) in a nighttime bombing role to complement American AAF daylight attacks, providing air support for a land offensive in Northwest Africa and operations in the Middle East, and adding German submarine yards as a second priority behind Germany’s aircraft industry.⁶⁸ This guidance then served as the basis for AAF strategic planning until Roosevelt and Churchill met in January of 1943.

The American and British heads of state and their Combined Chiefs of Staff gathered to discuss Allied strategy. Seven days later, CCS 166/1/D, now known as the “Casablanca Directive,” tasked Allied bomber forces in England with “the progressive destruction and dislocation of the German military, industrial, and economic system, and the undermining of the morale of the German people to a point where their capacity for armed resistance is fatally weakened.”⁶⁹ Though directive in nature, this policy provided only general guidance without detailed objectives. Translation into specific taskings would fill the next few months.

Earlier in December 1942, the Army Air Force formed the Committee of Operations Analysts (COA) to select the best industrial objectives.⁷⁰ In March, the COA issued a report, which became the basis for a combined operations plan. Identifying Luftwaffe strength as “an Intermediate Objective second to none in priority,” it then listed the other priorities as: German submarine yards and bases, the remainder of the German aircraft industry, ball bearings, oil, synthetic rubber and tires, and military motor

⁶⁷ Arthur B. Ferguson, in Craven and Cate, vol. 2, 277.

⁶⁸ Hansell (1972), 103-104.

⁶⁹ “The Combined Bomber Offensive Progress Report, 4 Feb - 1 Nov 1943” (hereafter CBOPR 43), 7 November 1943, AFHRA 520.318, frames: 1196-1297, Appendix A.

⁷⁰ Prior to World War II, the “all-pilot Air Corps,” struggling for survival, had no time or inclination to train officers in combat intelligence. See Thomas H. Greer, “Other Training Programs,” in Craven and Cate, vol. 6, *Men and Planes*, 687. General Arnold’s COA became the first single organization responsible for collecting and analyzing intelligence for the express purpose of air target selection. See Arthur B. Ferguson, “The CBO Plan,” in Craven and Cate, vol. 2, 352-354.

transport vehicles.⁷¹ Presented in May 1943 to the Combined Chiefs of Staff at the Trident conference in Washington, this plan became the Combined Bomber Offensive.

From July to December 1943, while RAF Bomber Command terrorized German cities at night, US Army Air Forces launched daylight, precision attacks against German aircraft and anti-friction bearing industries. Though the attacks did not destroy much of the industrial machinery, they did force dispersal of those operations at a crucial point in the war.⁷² However, following excessively heavy losses in October, American authorities curtailed deep strikes until the P-51 Mustang began arriving in theater in December. As soon as industrial attacks resumed with P-51 escorts, the toll on Germany was unmistakable, and Big Week (20-25 February 1944) culminated a decisive tactical Allied victory from which the Luftwaffe never recovered, though there would still be Allied losses to the end.

Once the Anglo-American air forces achieved their “overriding intermediate objective,” it became apparent that, though many airmen believed airpower alone could strategically topple Germany, this view was not controlling the overall Allied strategic plan. In the months preceding D-Day, it became increasingly apparent to Allied air commanders what the Casablanca Directive authors intended when they wrote, “to permit initiation of final combined operations on the Continent.”⁷³ While Gen Carl A. Spaatz, commander of the US Strategic Air Forces in Europe, believed the AAF should exploit daylight air superiority by destroying vital German targets, namely oil, which would significantly shorten the war, Gen Dwight D. Eisenhower, Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Forces, was not completely convinced such targeting would yield the promised returns. Consequently, when the strategic air forces fell under his command in March 1944, the demands of the invasion received priority from all Allied air forces and he called for a transportation attack plan to directly support OVERLORD.⁷⁴ Even then, however, Eisenhower deferred to Spaatz’s judgment somewhat and allowed American bomber forces to devote a small number of their raids to oil production

⁷¹ Alan J. Levine, *The Strategic Bombing of Germany, 1940-1945*, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc., 1992), 85-87.

⁷² Walt W. Rostow, *Pre-Invasion Bombing Strategy: General Eisenhower’s Decision of March 25, 1944*, (Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press, 1981), 26.

⁷³ Hansell (1986), 78.

facilities during the invasion preparation. Following Normandy, these efforts became the primary aim of US strategic air operations. Combined with the on-going assault on German transportation and the unstoppable Allied ground offensive, this contributed to Germany's final collapse. On 16 April, Spaatz declared the strategic air war over and, on 8 May 1945, President Truman declared Victory in Europe.⁷⁵ Given this history, were the concepts of effects-based operations present in the air operations of the mid-1940s?

The Plans

Interestingly, the issue of how to employ the massive British and American bombing forces in the two months preceding D-Day dealt specifically with effects and especially the timing thereof. Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Tedder, Eisenhower's deputy in command of OVERLORD, argued that systematic devastation of the rail facilities in northwestern Europe would delay and hinder the movement of German reinforcements and supplies and was, therefore, the optimum method for assuring a successful invasion. General Spaatz responded that a systematic attack on German oil production would accomplish the same with the added benefit of luring the Luftwaffe airborne for subsequent attrition. Spaatz lost this initial confrontation due to the issue of timing. Most Allied leaders believed the effects of an oil attack would not manifest themselves for four or five months, which was not soon enough for Eisenhower.⁷⁶ Thus, effects were a key issue for commanders, but planners were interested also.

The Economic Objectives Unit (EOU) of the Economic Warfare Division in London acted as a target planning staff for the American bomber forces in Europe.⁷⁷ By conducting economic analyses of German systems, their work served as the basis for selecting broad target systems.⁷⁸ Additionally, one of their principal contributions to the CBO were aiming-point reports. By war's end, the EOU was credited with "the minutely detailed research into the operation, design, and construction of every individual target

⁷⁴ Levine, 128.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 188.

⁷⁶ Rostow, 4.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 15.

⁷⁸ John F. Kries, ed., *Piercing the Fog*, (Washington, D.C.: Air Force History and Museums Program, 1996), 74.

which the Eighth Air Force decided to destroy by bombing.”⁷⁹ Given their influence, it is enlightening to examine their mode of operations.

The EOU insisted on choosing targets in light of explicitly defined military goals, as opposed to attacks designed simply to weaken the German economy or cause political disruption in some general sense. Consequently, they sought systems in which destroying the minimum number of targets would have the greatest, most prompt, and most long-lasting, direct, military effect. Their aiming-point reports were analyses of particular German industrial plants, designed to establish the most vulnerable point of attack. Accompanying text would state:⁸⁰

- a) The effect on the plant if the vulnerable point was destroyed,
- b) How long it would likely take the Germans to repair the damage, and
- c) The effect on German war potential if the plant was out of action to the extent given in (a) for the period of time given in (b).

The EOU was very much aware that “a more difficult and more important problem is the measurement of impairment of the enemy’s war effort.” The answer, at least initially, seemed to be “that some arbitrary index must be set up if an answer in quantitative form is to be obtained.” They determined another solution would be to set a more specific objective, such as injuring enemy air strength, instead of impairing his effort.⁸¹ Given these discussions, it is evident that effects played a key role in target identification; however, selecting targets was one thing, actually hitting them from the air was something entirely different.

The Execution

Even when Allied aircraft finally established air superiority in the spring of 1944, “precision” bombing of a single target still required approximately a thousand aircraft. Over the duration of the Second World War, only about 20 percent of the bombs aimed at targets designated for precision attack fell within 1000 feet of their aimpoint.⁸² Moreover, the minimum bomb pattern bombers could deliver was typically larger than

⁷⁹ Ibid., 138.

⁸⁰ Rostow, 20-23.

⁸¹ Ibid., 104.

⁸² *The United States Strategic Bombing Surveys (USSBS) Summary Report: European War*, (Maxwell AFB, Ala.: Air University Press, reprint 1987, originally published September 30, 1945), 13.

the area of the industrial plant being targeted. Thus, simply aiming for the plant's geographic center obviated any detailed selection of a specific component within the industrial plant.⁸³ Because influencing even a single target set required the Allies to repeatedly mass such large numbers of aircraft, the AAF typically attacked target sets sequentially over a period of months. For example, operations against the ball bearing and aircraft-production industries lasted seven months. It took five months to wreck the transportation system, and the oil system required six months. Focusing this much time on each target allowed other target sets to recover and amply demonstrated the German economy's resilience and robust nature.⁸⁴

Additionally, before the P-51 Mustangs established air superiority, large bomber formations were attractive and vulnerable targets for the German Air Force, as the Schweinfurt and Regensburg raids tragically demonstrated in August and October 1943. With loss rates of 15 and 16½ percent respectively, and 20½ percent on a second Schweinfurt raid, a total of 118 bombers failed to return from those three missions. At final tally, the raids succeeded in destroying a number of buildings, but not the heavy industrial machinery inside.⁸⁵ The destructive capability was just not present, but planners did not know this until after the war. So, how did analysts make real-time combat appraisals in 1943?

The Assessment

The short answer is photo intelligence. This chapter's opening epigraph, stating, "the problem of bomb damage assessment involves more than a mere appraisal of physical damage," alludes, however, to the longer, more accurate answer. In fact, intelligence collection in World War II involved economic studies based on pre-war statistics and extrapolated wartime production levels, elaborate networks of informants, well-placed observers, and analyses of system components and designs by technicians thousands of miles from any combat theater—all this in addition to photo intelligence.⁸⁶

⁸³ Rostow, 21.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 18. See also, Mancur Olson, Jr., *The Economics of the Wartime Shortage* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1963), 137-146.

⁸⁵ Hansell, (1986), 86.

⁸⁶ Kries, 57.

Not to be forgotten, however, is signals intelligence (SIGINT), which evolved into a primary source of air intelligence. But evolution takes time, if it occurs at all.

In the beginning, was the photograph and, for the strategic air operations of World War II, photo intelligence remained the backbone of air intelligence to a very great extent. Photographs were essential for planning, executing, and evaluating practically every aspect of air combat operations and were so essential for target folders that, for the majority of the war, missions were cancelled unless the proper photos were available. Photo reconnaissance provided the basis of bomb damage assessment (BDA), and Spaatz declared them to be “of utmost importance” because the “determination of [follow-up] operations depends on PRU [Photographic Reconnaissance Unit] reports.” Consequently, acquiring and interpreting the necessary photographs were “of the highest priority, over all other activity.”⁸⁷ To this end, a portion of every American bomber formation carried cameras to record their results real-time. Unfortunately, however, scenes of walls collapsing, fires blazing, and smoke rising were better for morale than intelligence as they often suggested greater damage than had actually occurred. Moreover, as if assessing the extent of physical damage to the target was not hard enough, analysts still had to assess how destroying the target impacted the system’s industrial output and, in turn, how that change in production capacity affected the enemy’s total military capability. As time would tell, interpreters, even when evaluating first-order destruction correctly, tended to overestimate second-order effects on industrial output.⁸⁸ Consequently, estimating cumulative and cascading effects on the enemy’s total war effort was simply a guess . . . sometimes educated, but still a guess. Thus, even when available, photos rarely, if ever, yielded complete intelligence, and sometimes, they simply were not available, such as when the weather over Europe precluded effective aerial reconnaissance. Fortunately, the Allies had another tool with which to complement photo intelligence; that was signals intelligence.

SIGINT, more specifically, ULTRA (interception and deciphering of highly classified German electronic transmissions) and Y-intelligence (interception of plain-language radio traffic) filled a great number of the intelligence gaps left by simple two-

⁸⁷ Ibid., 58 and 83.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 90 and 203.

dimensional photographs.⁸⁹ However, throughout 1943, many ULTRA reports were “too vague and general to be of importance operationally,” as the Germans sent most of their production information via landlines and civilian channels. Thus, aerial photography remained the assessment tool of choice. Nevertheless, by early 1944, ULTRA was contributing significantly to Allied analytical capability by supplying such information as a damaged facility expected “resumption of production in approximately 8 days.” No photograph, regardless of its level of detail, could provide that type of information. But Allied air commanders needed exactly that kind of post-strike information to decide whether to restrike the same target or move to another.

Unfortunately, this type of information was not always available and the following extract from a November 1943 CBO Progress Report indicates the results:

VIII Bomber Command have concentrated their attacks upon individual targets . . . selected in the light of their critical importance to the German war effort. Damage to such targets *must, therefore, have* proportionately greater effect upon the German military machine as a whole than damage achieved in the course of area attack, . . . Thus the attacks on the ball-bearing industry at Schweinfurt and the synthetic rubber plant at Hüls *have undoubtedly produced* far reaching effects throughout the range of German war industry. Similarly the ability to concentrate a series of day light attacks on a single vital system, as in the case of the attacks made upon the fighter factories . . . *are likely to have produced* effects within the industry far in excess of the sum of the visible damage.⁹⁰ [Emphasis added]

Sounding more like an optimistic argument than an objective assessment, the report demonstrates the difficulty Allied analysts had assessing subsequent order or systemic effects.⁹¹ In the end though, the report confidently concludes, “All evidence indicates that the Combined Bomber Offensive is achieving a profound effect upon Germany's war economy, and upon the morale of her people.”⁹²

Lastly, it is important to realize that World War II decision makers were much more interested in what effects the missions they tasked were causing than they were in what those missions destroyed. In March 1944, when forced to decide whether to focus

⁸⁹ For a significantly more detailed description of these, see Kries, chapter 2.

⁹⁰ CBOPR 43, 3.

⁹¹ Such difficulties are also evidenced in “Status of Air Prerequisites for Operation OVERLORD,” 29 March 1944, AFHRA 142.042-13 V.1, frames: 109-146.

on marshalling yards or oil refineries, Eisenhower wanted to know how to reduce the movement of military traffic. Nevertheless, two months after he decided to hammer the enemy's transportation system, intelligence indicated essential military movements were still taking place. Though the Allies delivered more than 45,000 tons of bombs on German rail centers and achieved great destruction, they failed to achieve the objective effect because the enemy was successfully repairing and redistributing traffic to avoid the most badly damaged areas.⁹³ Contrast this with a November 1944 appraisal of the impact of oil attacks:

Local shortages of fuel have frequently appeared and have been an important factor in limiting vehicular traffic and restricting German panzer and air force operations. In view of Germany's critical oil stock position, continued attacks against the industry will further restrict ability of German ground and air forces.⁹⁴

Consequently, when analysts determined that bombing was not achieving the desired effects, air commanders changed their plans.

The Feedback and Response

The incorporation of intelligence information in subsequent decisions, and the results thereof, ultimately determine the true value of any intelligence. From this perspective, ULTRA proved its value repeatedly. Its contributions lay not in aiding the initial selection of targets, but in its post-strike "proof" that the initial selection had been valid. It allowed airmen to prosecute their strategy, shifting from one target set to the next, with a degree of confidence that would have been unsubstantiated otherwise.⁹⁵

The usefulness of ULTRA was most evident with respect to the German Air Force, which, fortunately for the Allies, was notoriously lax in communications security. As a result, the Luftwaffe's message traffic and specifically its daily reports were absolute goldmines of intelligence. Almost every day, every combat unit of the German

⁹² Ibid., 11.

⁹³ Rostow, 60 and 93. For even more evidence showing concern over the enemy use vice the simple destruction of targets, see Rostow's Appendix F, which contains an interim report on German rail movement, dated 19 June 1944.

⁹⁴ "Strategic Bombing of Axis Europe: January 1943 -- September 1944, Bomb Damage to Axis Target Systems" (hereafter Strat Bombing 44) from the Assistant Chief of Air Staff, Intelligence, Analysis Division, European Branch, 15 Nov 1944, AFHRA 142.042-8, frames: 1062-1193.

⁹⁵ Kries, 75.

Air Force would report on the number of airplanes serviceable, the number of crews ready and fit to fly, and, if there had been combat the day before, on the casualties, and wins claimed.⁹⁶ This type of information regarding the Luftwaffe's attrition during Big Week produced a fundamental shift in operational planning the following month. Instead of avoiding German air defenses, operational planners designed missions so as to deliberately engage them. Subsequent results then formed the basis for Spaatz's March 1944 recommendation that the Luftwaffe was sufficiently weakened to permit air commanders to refocus their attacks on oil.⁹⁷

One of Tedder's responses to a piece of refinery strike intelligence exemplifies how influential effects-related information was in the Allied decision-making feedback loop. In April 1944, Fifteenth Air Force raided the oil refineries at Ploesti, Romania. Eighth Air Force followed several weeks later, substantially damaging a group of oil targets in central Germany. Intelligence, including ULTRA, revealed intense German distress concerning these losses. Tedder, an avid proponent of attacking German transportation, opposed making oil a priority because he felt the Americans could not deliver on their precision strike promises. Nevertheless, in response to the intelligence, he replied, "I guess we'll have to give the customer what he wants."⁹⁸ Future intercepts validated that decision.

As early as June 1944, the German operational staff informed individual units that because of "encroachment into the production of aircraft fuel by enemy action . . . it has been necessary to break into the strategic reserves." Less than a month later, Reichsmarshal Goering decreed: "Drastic economy [in fuel use] is absolutely essential." Shortly thereafter, the German High Command ordered fighters not to fly away from bases under anticipated attack, due to fuel shortages. Based on this progressively more revealing intelligence picture, Spaatz advised that the German aircraft industry no longer be the primary target because German air operations were being hindered, not by lack of

⁹⁶ Diane T. Putney, ed., *ULTRA and the Army Air Forces in World War II: An Interview with Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court Lewis F. Powell, Jr.*, (Washington, D.C.: Office of Air Force History, 1987), 20.

⁹⁷ Kries, 74 and 207.

⁹⁸ Rostow, 52.

airframes, but lack of fuel and qualified pilots.⁹⁹ Hindsight, via intelligence feedback in this case, once again proved to have greater acuity than foresight, and other results would confirm this finding.

The Results in Retrospect

According to the US Strategic Bombing Survey (USSBS), the Combined Bomber Offensive delivered almost 2.7 million tons of bombs while flying an equal number of fighter sorties and more than 1.4 million bomber sorties. The eventual costs included 79,265 American and 79,281 British lives along with more than 18,000 American and 22,000 British planes lost or damaged beyond repair.¹⁰⁰ Since Allied leaders made these investments based on real-time appraisals, how accurate were those initial appraisals, given the clarity of hindsight, and what else have we learned after the fact?

Working through the objectives established in the Trident's CBO Plan, the USSBS states that, by the spring of 1944, the German Air Force had ceased to be effective.¹⁰¹ Though confident enough to continue with the planned D-day invasion, Allied planners greatly overestimated the Luftwaffe's effective strength and its potential opposition to the Normandy landing. When asked the number of daylight air sorties analysts expected the Luftwaffe to fly against the invading forces on D-day, estimates varied widely from 200 to 2000.¹⁰² Looking back, as recorded by Craven and Cate, "one of the most remarkable facts of the entire war is that the Luftwaffe did not make a single daylight attack on D-day."¹⁰³ Though possibly based on worst-case assumptions, this overestimation typifies the Allies' early inability to forecast systemic effects without German self-assessment via ULTRA.

Conversely, the more planners incorporated ULTRA in the operational evaluations process, the more accurate their assessments became. Per the USSBS, attacks on the ball-bearing industry showed no measurable effect on essential war production due to German reallocation, equipment redesign, and use of unaccounted-for

⁹⁹ Kries, 239-240.

¹⁰⁰ USSBS, 5-6.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 19.

¹⁰² Rostow, 147.

¹⁰³ John E. Fagg, "Pre-Invasion Operations," in Craven and Cate, vol. 3, *Europe: Argument to V-E Day January 1944 to May 1945*, 166.

stockpiles. The Assistant Chief of Air Staff, Intelligence, disseminated this appraisal almost verbatim in a 15 November 1944 memorandum.¹⁰⁴ Once the Luftwaffe threat had been reduced, oil became the priority target and, from May 1944 on, German consumption exceeded production. Consequently, by the spring of 1945, gas shortages immobilized increasing numbers of the German tank force.¹⁰⁵ Again, Allied authorities made similar appraisals and predictions in late 1944.¹⁰⁶ Lastly, according to the USSBS, the attacks on German railways and waterways completely disorganized the enemy's economy, reducing war production in all categories and limiting the German ground forces' tactical mobility. An interesting observation regarding this target category is not in the appraisal of the situation, but in the Allies' unintended and unforeseen impact upon themselves. After successfully invading at Normandy, the Allies were unable to break out of the area rapidly via rail because they had previously destroyed the marshalling yards. As a result, they had to resort to less efficient truck convoys.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, in the end, Allied airpower proved decisive with complete victory in the air and substantial contributions elsewhere.

Summary

In the Combined Bomber Offensive against Germany, the Allies eventually succeeded in creating systemic effects that impeded the enemy's war-sustaining and war-making operations. This outcome tends to support interwar theories that airpower would create such effects by striking key points or vital economic centers; however, this success must be qualified. Combat experience revealed that it was very difficult, given existing technology, to deliver weapons precisely enough to execute strategic bombing doctrine. Wartime experience also revealed how critically dependent airpower strategists are on timely intelligence collection, interpretation, and assessment. Less than a quarter century

¹⁰⁴ Strat Bombing 44, section II-C.

¹⁰⁵ USSBS, 20-23.

¹⁰⁶ Strat Bombing 44, section II-D.

¹⁰⁷ Rostow, 156.

would pass before history would reiterate these same lessons in the jungles of Southeast Asia.

Chapter 5

Operation Linebacker II

To succeed, strategy must first of all be correct. If strategy is correct, but tactics happen to be wrong, the war will not necessarily fail entirely. On the other hand, tactics may well be correct, but if the strategy is wrong, in the long run, tactics will be of no use.

—Truong Chinh, Secretary-General
of the Vietnamese Communist Party

How can any man say what he should do himself if he is ignorant what his enemy is about?

-- Baron Antoine-Henri Jomini

Historical Description

It is difficult to establish when the United States first became involved in Vietnam. As early as June 1950, President Harry S. Truman, as part of his message committing forces to Korea, promised to help France in its Southeast Asian struggle, though the aid was minimal and would prove insufficient. During the late 1950s, American non-uniformed personnel were active in South Vietnam and, in 1961, military advisors began arriving officially. By 1963, more than 17,000 American “noncombatants” were in-country with many covertly participating in combat operations against the North.¹⁰⁸ The underlying reason several administrations chose to involve the United States in this region was to contain communism. Failure to stop Communist expansion in Vietnam would eventually lead to the domino-like fall of all Southeast Asia . . . or so it was believed.

On 2 August 1964, North Vietnamese patrol boats attacked the USS Maddox, a destroyer gathering intelligence in international waters off the North Vietnamese coast, and two days later, another attack allegedly occurred against the USS C. Turner Joy. Within a week, Congress approved the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution giving the president broad powers to act in Vietnam and setting the stage for direct US combat

¹⁰⁸ Col Dennis M. Drew and Dr. Donald M. Snow, *The Eagle's Talons: The American Experience at War*, (Maxwell AFB, Ala.: Air University Press, 1988), 262.

involvement.¹⁰⁹ President Johnson immediately ordered retaliatory air strikes, and the first ground combat troops, a Marine brigade, arrived in early 1965. The political objective of these actions was to ensure that North Vietnam did not forcefully overthrow the South Vietnamese political system.¹¹⁰ Nevertheless, as gradualism characterized America's initial involvement in Vietnam, so too would it characterize its military strategy there.

Concurrent with the deployment of ground forces, the United States initiated Operation Rolling Thunder and began air strikes against North Vietnam. Opening with attacks on enemy lines of communication just above the demilitarized zone, the operation slowly crept northward toward the major cities of Hanoi and Haiphong while gradually expanding its target list to include petroleum, oil, and lubricants (POL), electrical power, and some industrial targets. Lasting almost four years, political decision-makers dictated that Rolling Thunder be executed as a series of gradually escalating strikes, each followed by a bombing pause to permit the North Vietnamese to consider the consequences of future aggression.¹¹¹ This "signaling" never proved especially effective, and the enemy simply exploited the breaks as opportunities to recover, rebuild defenses, and re-arm. Following one of these pauses, the Vietcong sensed an opportunity and launched the 1968 Tet Offensive. Though a tactical military disaster for the Vietcong, Tet proved a psychological defeat and strategic political catastrophe for America. True to form, however, Lyndon Johnson halted all bombing of the North in October that same year in exchange for Hanoi's agreement to negotiate seriously. Rolling Thunder ended, having made, at best, a meager contribution toward achieving Johnson's political goal of an independent, stable, non-Communist South Vietnam. US air efforts then shifted to interdicting the Ho Chi Minh Trail.¹¹²

In the wake of Tet, America's objective in Vietnam clearly changed. Now the United States simply sought a way out with minimum damage to its prestige. Newly-

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 274.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 281.

¹¹¹ Herman L. Gilster, *The Air War in Southeast Asia*, (Maxwell AFB, Ala.: Air University Press, 1993), 1.

¹¹² For significantly more on the execution and problems of Operation Rolling Thunder, see Mark Clodfelter, *The Limits of Air Power: The American Bombing of North Vietnam*, (New York: The Free Press, 1989), 117-146. Also, see Robert A. Pape, *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War*, (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996), 176-195.

elected President Richard M. Nixon pursued this objective with his strategy of Vietnamization—turning the war back over to the South Vietnamese. Though deployment momentum continued briefly with the number of US forces in theater climaxing at more than half a million by early 1969, Nixon began reducing American troop levels at an increasing rate.¹¹³ By January 1972, only 139,000 Americans remained in Vietnam, and that number fell to 69,000 in April. Hanoi, again sensing the possibility of victory, launched its 1972 Easter Offensive on 30 March, guided by People’s Army of Vietnam (PAVN) commander General Vo Nguyen Giap. Viewing the massive invasion as a desperate attempt to forestall Vietnamization, Nixon saw an opportunity for “withdrawal with honor” if he could defeat the assault and counterattack the enemy homeland, thereby compelling Hanoi to sign a favorable accord.¹¹⁴

With ground forces in decline, Nixon turned to air power to blunt the enemy offensive, and air commanders obliged with Operation Linebacker. Designed to cripple North Vietnam’s ability to conduct offensive operations inside South Vietnam, its objectives were two-fold: 1) seal off North Vietnam from outside sources of supply and 2) cripple the North Vietnamese lines of communication with its 14 divisions in the South. Combined with ground operations conducted by the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN), Linebacker had significant effect. By May, the situation in South Vietnam was no longer critical and, by October, the immediate threat had passed. Washington’s objective returned to compelling North Vietnamese leaders to sign an acceptable peace agreement.¹¹⁵

With its offensive having failed and its territory and industry under increasing attack, North Vietnam came to the negotiating table and the formerly elusive peace agreement materialized quickly. Hanoi and Washington came to terms on 21 October 1972 and, two days later, Nixon suspended bombing north of the 20th parallel, thus ending Operation Linebacker. Three days after the bombing stopped, National Security

¹¹³ Drew and Snow, 295.

¹¹⁴ Clodfelter, 152-153.

¹¹⁵ Earl H. Tilford, Jr., *Setup: What the Air Force did in Vietnam and Why*, (Maxwell AFB, Ala.: Air University Press, 1991), 234-237, and Drew and Snow, 315. For more details on Linebacker I, see Clodfelter, 147-176, and Pape, 197-202.

Advisor Henry Kissinger informed reporters “peace is at hand.”¹¹⁶ Unfortunately, it was not. Saigon refused to accept the negotiated terms agreed upon by Washington and Hanoi, and when peace talks resumed and stalled in late November and resumed again in early December, the North Vietnamese recanted on the majority of their earlier concessions. With negotiations at a standstill on 13 December, Kissinger decided future talks were pointless and advised Nixon “to turn hard on Hanoi and increase pressure enormously through bombing and other means.”¹¹⁷ As Kissinger explained after the war:

We had come to the conclusion that the negotiations . . . were not serious; that for whatever reason, the North Vietnamese, at that point, had come to the conclusion that protracting the negotiations was more in their interest than concluding them. . . . At the same time, the more difficult Hanoi was, the more rigid Saigon grew. . . . And therefore it was decided to try to bring home, really to both Vietnamese parties, that the continuation of the war had its price.¹¹⁸

For the North, that price was Linebacker II.

On 14 December, President Nixon gave North Vietnam 72 hours to resume serious negotiations or face severe consequences. At 1945 hours on 18 December 1972, forty-eight B-52s making up the first of three such waves struck the Kinh No storage complex, the Yen Vien Rail Yard, and three airfields on the outskirts of Hanoi.¹¹⁹ Linebacker II had begun and would continue striking targets in and around Hanoi and Haiphong both day and night for the next twelve days. The single exception was a 36-hour stand down for Christmas. In the end, the operation succeeded. At 1900 hours Washington-time on the 29th, Nixon suspended all bombing north of the 20th parallel after Hanoi announced it was willing to resume serious negotiations. Representatives initialed the final cease-fire agreement on 23 January 1973; the last American combat troops left Vietnam two months later; and, on 1 April, the final American prisoner of war returned home.¹²⁰ What lessons concerning effects-based operations are present in this painful piece of American history?

¹¹⁶ Clodfelter, 172, and Tilford, 238.

¹¹⁷ As quoted in Clodfelter, 182.

¹¹⁸ As quoted in HQ PACAF, *Corona Harvest: USAF Air Operations in Southeast Asia 1 July 1972 – 15 August 1973*, Vol II, IV-208, (Top Secret). AFHRA, K717.0423-23. [Hereafter *Corona Harvest Air Ops*]

¹¹⁹ Clodfelter, 186.

¹²⁰ Drew and Snow, 320.

The Plans

Unfortunately, Linebacker II did not develop as the result of careful mission analysis tying strategy to specific objectives and supporting tasks with carefully constructed measures of merit and a definable end state. Simply put, there were no other politically or militarily feasible options available.¹²¹ Throughout the near-decade of offensive involvement in Vietnam, the United States never adequately translated its political objectives into workable, effective plans of action. Consequently, the history of military employment leading up to Linebacker II is a curious mixture of tried-and-failed attempts to support nebulous, mutating political objectives.¹²² In Kissinger's words, "[T]he American strategy produced what came to be the characteristic feature of the Vietnamese war: military successes that could not be translated into permanent political advantage."¹²³ By December 1972, the vast majority of American ground forces had returned home and Nixon faced a Congress poised to "pull the plug" on the entire Vietnamese operation. In fact, Congress did just that on 2 January 1973, when the House Democratic Caucus voted to cut all funds for the war in Vietnam. The Senate followed suit two days later.¹²⁴ With the writing on the wall, Nixon was in a corner and Linebacker II was his last opportunity. Frustrations ran high.

After Kissinger's 13 December announcement that talks had stalemated, Nixon spoke the following day with Adm Thomas H. Moorer, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (CJCS). The president ordered a three-day series of raids against Hanoi beginning 17 December and then, to clarify matters, added:

I fear that in the past our political objectives have not been achieved because of too much caution on the military side. I don't want any more of this crap about the fact that we couldn't hit this target or that one. This is your chance to use military power to win this war, and if you don't, I'll consider you personally responsible.¹²⁵

¹²¹ "Nixon chose the only weapon he had available." Henry A. Kissinger, *White House Years*, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1979), 1461.

¹²² For an excellent discussion of how the political and military objectives changed and interrelated throughout the Vietnam conflict, see Drew and Snow, 278-301.

¹²³ Raphael Littauer and Norman Uphoff, eds., *The Air War in Indochina*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972), 3.

¹²⁴ Clodfelter, 192.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 190.

That same day, operational units in theater received the first hint of Linebacker II in the form of a message granting authority to “resume tactical photo recce north of 20 degrees North in [North Vietnam] . . . not later than 160500Z.” In addition, the JCS called for photography of high threat areas such as Hanoi. The next day, 15 December, the CJCS sent the commanders-in-chief of Pacific Command and Strategic Air Command (CINCPAC and CINCSAC) an alerting message to prepare for “a three-day maximum effort [of] B-52/TACAIR strikes in the Hanoi and Haiphong areas.” The JCS also included a list of 31 targets authorized for the initial strikes.¹²⁶ After nearly two months of relative inactivity above the 20th parallel, the short notice given to commanders made planning difficult and hurried.¹²⁷ Consequently, some twelve hours after sending the alert message, the JCS directed a 24-hour delay to improve planning objectives and coordination.¹²⁸

Fortunately, commanders had begun contingency planning several months earlier, as they anticipated operations in the coming monsoon season; however, these plans did not address any specific objectives. In August 1972, CINCPAC asked Eighth Air Force Headquarters about SAC’s ability to wage an all-weather strategic bombing offensive in North Vietnam using the B-52.¹²⁹ This query triggered a planning process that ultimately produced the “Conceptual Targeting Plan for a Coordinated and Sustained Air Campaign Against NVN [North Vietnam],” which envisioned a 36-day effort against high-value targets in the North Vietnamese heartland. The plan called for airpower to *first* suppress enemy air defenses and *then* destroy North Vietnam’s ability to fight. The B-52’s all-weather radar bombing capability was central to the plan; however, Navy A-6s as well as LORAN-directed F-4s were also included. Importantly, these means of attack were only

¹²⁶ Corona Harvest Air Ops, IV-211.

¹²⁷ HQ PACAF, *Corona Harvest: The USAF in Southeast Asia 1954-1973, Executive Summary*, Part II, p. II-209, (TS). AFHRA, K717.0423-22. [Hereafter Corona Harvest Executive Summary] In addition to the short notice, the Air Force was “woefully short of targeting personnel. By 1969, [the] Air Force had just about exhausted its cadre of experienced targeteers fighting the war. The void was filled with ‘CBPO’ targeteers with little or no experience.” See Thomas E. Lee and Samuel M. Taylor, “Air Force Intelligence Enhancement Program,” technical note, Bolling AFB, Washington, D.C., Air Force Intelligence Service, 1985, 4.

¹²⁸ Maj Calvin R. Johnson, *Project CHECO Southeast Asia Report: Linebacker Operations September-December 1972 (S)*, 31 December 1978. AFHRA, K717.0413-102 C.1. [Hereafter CHECO]

¹²⁹ Brig Gen James R. McCarthy and Lt Col George B. Allison, *Linebacker II: A View from the Rock*, (Maxwell AFB, Ala.: Airpower Research Institute, 1979), 26-27.

useful against *area* targets such as rail yards, airfields, and warehouse storage complexes.¹³⁰ The plan was completed in September and sat on the shelf untouched until 15 December.

The president's objectives for Linebacker II were to break North Vietnam's will to resist, demonstrate America's commitment to South Vietnam, and, perhaps most importantly, achieve an agreement permitting US armed forces to disengage before Congress reconvened in January 1973.¹³¹ Nixon believed that anything less than large-scale heavy bomber raids against "the most valuable and lucrative targets in North Vietnam" would "only make the enemy contemptuous."¹³² In addition to the B-52's heavy firepower, the president wanted its potential shock effect to signal the intensity with which he intended to pursue the war's conclusion.¹³³ He wanted maximum psychological impact on the North Vietnamese, and the B-52 was airpower's best tool for the job.¹³⁴

The CJCS transmitted these intentions to the operational CINCs via a 0010 Zulu 17 December execute message:

You are directed to commence at approximately 1200Z, 18 December 1972, a three-day maximum effort, repeat maximum effort, of B-52 /TACAIR strikes . . . *Object is maximum destruction* of selected military targets in the vicinity of Hanoi/Haiphong. . . . All B-52 aircraft will carry maximum ordnance loads. . . . Exercise precaution to minimize risk of civilian casualties [by] utilizing LGB [laser-guided bomb] weapons against designated targets. [Emphasis added.]¹³⁵

With these desires in mind, planners designed Linebacker II to inflict the utmost in civilian distress. CJCS Admiral Moorer told SAC Commander Gen John C. Meyer, "I

¹³⁰ Corona Harvest Air Ops, IV-21. See also Tilford, 253, and Dana J. Johnson, *Roles and Missions for Conventionally Armed Heavy Bombers—An Historical Perspective*, N-3481-AF, (Santa Monica, Ca.: RAND, 1994), 69, [Hereafter RAND].

¹³¹ Gen John W. Vogt, Commander in Chief, Pacific Air Forces, address to the Air Force Association, Honolulu, Hawaii, 15 November 1973, 15 [AFHRA, K168.06-234]; McCarthy and Allison, 40; and Clodfelter, 177-178.

¹³² Clodfelter, 182.

¹³³ Richard M. Nixon, *The Memoirs of Richard Nixon*, vol 2, (New York: Warner Books, 1978), 83 and 240.

¹³⁴ Clodfelter, 182, and William W. Momyer, *Airpower in Three Wars*, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1978), 240.

¹³⁵ Corona Harvest Air Ops, IV-213 and 214.

want the people of Hanoi to hear the bombs, but minimize damage to the civilian populace.”¹³⁶

On 18 December, less than twelve hours before B-52s began bombing the North Vietnamese capital, President Nixon stated that the purpose of the attacks was “to make clear that Hanoi could not continue to wage war in the South while its territory was immune, and that we would not tolerate an indefinite delay in the negotiations.”¹³⁷ While political and military leaders hoped physical destruction would generate psychological impacts and force “a return to the tables,” the aircrews that would have to execute this operation had far more immediate ideas in mind—like survival.

The Execution

On 18 December 1972, at 1943 hours Hanoi time, the first bombs of Linebacker II began impacting Hoa Lac Airfield, 15 miles west of the capital city.¹³⁸ One hundred twenty-nine B-52s, divided into three waves, struck that night with F-111s augmenting. F-4s and A-7s complimented the night strikers with offensive operations throughout the day.¹³⁹ The air forces repeated this scenario for two more nights and, though the operators did not yet know it, those first 72 hours constituted Phase I of the operation. Several hours before the originally envisioned deadline, the JCS notified field commanders to “continue until further notice.”¹⁴⁰ In Phase II (21–24 December), single waves of approximately thirty B-52s concentrated on the northeast rail line and, following a 36-hour Christmas stand-down, Phase III began. Post-holiday festivities commenced with C-130s and B-52s delivering psychological warfare (PSYWAR) materials such as leaflets, miniature AM radios, and inflation notes (full-size, full-color replicas of North Vietnamese two and five dong notes with propaganda attached). In Phase III, airpower continuously bombed authorized targets in Hanoi destroying, for example, the city’s power plants. The air attack attempted to isolate Hanoi

¹³⁶ Clodfelter, 184.

¹³⁷ Corona Harvest Executive Summary, II-316.

¹³⁸ McCarthy and Allison, 1.

¹³⁹ For a detailed discussion of each of the 11 days’ missions, see Maj Karl J. Eschmann, “The Role of Tactical Air Support: Linebacker II,” unpublished thesis, (Maxwell AFB, Ala.: Air Command and Staff College, 1985), 55-96. In addition, he includes a list of the specific targets categorized by delivery platform with details concerning the number of sorties fraggged against and the total number of bombs delivered towards each target on pages 112-115.

“geographically, electrically, and logistically” from the rest of North Vietnam.¹⁴¹ After four days of continued strikes, an unexpected JCS notification terminated all Linebacker II operations at 2359Z 29 December.¹⁴² Hanoi was ready to talk. Though the massive strikes successfully caused Hanoi to blink, the operation was not without problems.

First, a common end-of-tour critique of the Vietnam experience in general, but Linebacker II in particular, was the lack of unity of command.¹⁴³ There was no single unified command in theater charged with the overall responsibility of directing all US air strikes. There was no unified command structure within the Air Force, much less an equivalent of the present-day joint force air component commander (JFACC) to coordinate actions between services. Seventh Air Force commanded Air Force assets in South Vietnam and deployed Tactical Air Command (TAC) units in Thailand. It also had operational control of Thailand-deployed Thirteenth Air Force units from the Philippines, but it *did not* have control over SAC’s heavy bombers.¹⁴⁴ While Seventh Air Force tasked and planned fighter and support sorties, B-52 missions received planning inputs from several layers. Headquarters SAC determined the targets and level of effort, subject to JCS approval, as well as the axes of attack and flight routes north of the 20th parallel. This accounted for approximately two to three hours of the fourteen-hour mission, leaving the remainder to be planned by the Eighth Air Force staff and individual bomb wings.¹⁴⁵ “Changes in targets or times over target (TOTs) created enormous problems” due to the coordination involved.¹⁴⁶ However, changes were not the only source of trouble and frustration. In several instances, lack of coordination precluded the optimal

¹⁴⁰ Corona Harvest Air Ops, 223-225.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 233-236. For more on the psychological aspect, see Col Benjamin F. Findley, Jr., “U.S. and Vietcong Psychological Operations in Vietnam,” in *Psychological Operations: Principles and Case Studies*, (Maxwell AFB, Ala.: Air University Press, 1996), 233-241.

¹⁴² 42d Bombardment Wing History, 1972, vol 2, supporting documents, message file. AFHRA, K-WG42HI.

¹⁴³ For two of many, see Maj Gen Jack Bellamy, USAF Chief of Staff, *End of Tour Report*, 15 August 1974, AFHRA K712.131 and Maj Gen Eugene L. Hudson, operational assistant to HQ 7AF and Deputy Director of Intelligence to HQ MACV, *End of Tour Report*, 20 April 1973, AFHRA K740.131.

¹⁴⁴ Maj Peter A. Costello III, *A Matter of Trust: Close Air Support Apportionment and Allocation for Operational Level Effects*, (Maxwell AFB, Ala.: Air University Press, 1997), 19.

¹⁴⁵ McCarthy and Allison, 41. See also RAND, 70-72.

¹⁴⁶ Bellamy, 12.

mix of aircraft and ordnance resulting in less than desired damage.¹⁴⁷ Further critiquing the lack of a unified aerial command, Deputy Director of MACV Intelligence Maj Gen Eugene L. Hudson stated, “The existing command structure and its divided responsibilities . . . made a coordinated campaign impossible.”¹⁴⁸ Yet, not even proper coordination could solve all the problems of aerial targeting.

Reminiscent of World War II, American aircrews over North Vietnam still had some difficulty simply hitting the target; but problems began even before they released weapons as many never even knew what their target was. In Linebacker II, though the “object [was] maximum destruction” and no other effects needed to be specified, many mission briefers failed to describe the physical targets, but provided only a set of coordinates. Briefers “didn’t belabor the point of what the targets were because it didn’t make any difference—you were committed and you were going.”¹⁴⁹ Unfortunately, in several cases, these nondescript targets were surface-to-air missile (SAM) sites . . . with a longer destructive reach than the aircraft attacking them.¹⁵⁰

Nor was having the necessary information any guarantee of success, as there were still technological difficulties associated with even striking a target from the air, much less destroying it. As anticipated, weather played a major role. Out of the operation’s twelve days, only twelve hours were good enough to permit operators to employ the most precise weapons available—laser guided bombs (LGB).¹⁵¹ Barring the ability to employ LGBs or drop visually, fighter-attack aircraft bombed based on position fixes from long-range aid to navigation (LORAN) equipment. If required, a LORAN-capable F-4 led non-LORAN aircraft to the target and all released their bombs on the F-4’s signal.¹⁵² Analyses of targets attacked using LORAN delivery techniques indicated that the spread of bomb craters varied from a low of 100 meters to more than 6,000 meters. On one specific mission in which twelve F-4s and three F-111s attacked a radio communication

¹⁴⁷ PACAF (INT), *Lessons Learned Summary*, 9 April 1973, AFHRA K168.06-233, p. 13. [Hereafter *Lessons Learned*] For specific details, see CHECO, 70.

¹⁴⁸ Hudson, 21. MACV is Military Assistance Command, Vietnam.

¹⁴⁹ Clodfelter, 186.

¹⁵⁰ *Lessons Learned*, 14.

¹⁵¹ CHECO, 61.

¹⁵² Gilster, 78.

transmitter, post-strike photography revealed no craters or damage within 5,000 meters of the target area.¹⁵³

Along with tremendous payloads, the radar-capable B-52s brought significantly better foul-weather accuracy. However, that accuracy came at a price.

The stabilization systems for the bombing computers aboard the aircraft required a certain amount of straight and level flight to properly solve the bombing problem; otherwise, the bombs might be scattered outside the target zone. As the missions progressed, and analyses of accuracies could be made, this amount of straight and level flight might be reduced, if circumstances dictated. However, accuracy and assured destruction were overriding considerations. Bombers on the first raids were required to stabilize flight for approximately four minutes prior to bomb release.¹⁵⁴

Completely aware of their position over the heart of one of the world's best air defense systems, those four minutes must have seemed a lifetime. Indeed, for some, they were longer than a lifetime. During the first three days, nine B-52s failed to return from their missions over Hanoi. Given these costs, how did we measure the daily success of the flights that did return and the effectiveness of the operation overall?

The Assessment

Again reminiscent of the 1943 Combined Bomber Offensive, appraisal of aerial operations relied heavily on comparing pre- and post-strike photo intelligence.¹⁵⁵ Unfortunately, the same weather that hampered bombing operations also hampered reconnaissance attempts. Post-mission critiques such as the following were not uncommon: "The photo recce flight (Mustang) encountered no defensive reaction and had no problems with the exception of the target weather. They were ineffective due to cloud coverage."¹⁵⁶ Given these problems, many end-of-tour reports cited battle damage

¹⁵³ Lessons Learned, n.p. One reason offered for the poor performance of LORAN delivery was that the LORAN strikes deep into North Vietnam were made at the fringe of reliable reception in an area where there had been only limited prior reconnaissance to update target coordinates. See CHECO, 44.

¹⁵⁴ McCarthy and Allison, 46-47.

¹⁵⁵ HQ PACAF, *Linebacker II USAF Bombing Survey*, April 1973, AFHRA K143.054-1 v.34, p. 5; Corona Harvest Executive Summary, II-252 & 253; and Gilster, 76. Though there were signals intelligence (SIGINT) capabilities available, these focused primarily on the enemy air defense system and, in particular, on locating enemy SAMs.

¹⁵⁶ Memorandum from Gen Talbott to Gen Hargrove and Gen Blesse on Linebacker Mission Juliet V, December 1972, AFHRA K740.3391. A Linebacker II India Critique to Gen Vogt (AFHRA K168.06-230) likewise noted "the Udorn photo recce flights (Jaguar and Mustang) were unsuccessful due to weather."

assessment (BDA) and the lack thereof as major problems.¹⁵⁷ As it turned out, Vietnam frustrations were not limited to the president and his joint chiefs. As one general noted, “There is always the chance that an aircraft will be lost during combat air operations, but to lose an aircraft and crew while striking a target that has already been destroyed is senseless.”¹⁵⁸

As a result of these difficulties, many aircrews began returning with their own BDA such as “3 small secondaries” or “bombs [released] over target.” Other crews filed debriefs like “visual drop: crew estimates – good” and, after examining mission tapes, still other airmen offered feedback as innocuous as “cross hair positioning good.” Even when photographic reconnaissance was effective, analysts produced skeletal and generic BDA that provided only a broad description of heavy, moderate, or light damage.¹⁵⁹ In other situations, interpreters could not distinguish Linebacker II damage from that caused by Linebacker I strikes against the same targets; thus, they classified the results as unknown.¹⁶⁰ Therefore, even when photographs were available, the information airmen really needed frequently was not. With this in mind, the following end-of-tour remark is not surprising: “all intelligence sources, analytical formulas, and analysts’ judgments have been applied to the BDA problem, but it still remains an enigma.”¹⁶¹

Though efforts focused on the photographic evidence of physical effects, airmen demonstrated they were aware of functional effects and their temporal nature.¹⁶² According to one analyst, “The military impact of the strikes against storage facilities is significant, but not long range. The enemy can and has returned to open storage

¹⁵⁷ Three examples can be found in Col Clifford M. Beaton, 7AF Director of Operational Intelligence, *End of Tour Report*, 20 July 1972, AFHRA K740.131; Col Coleman L. Baker, 432 TRW Deputy Commander for Operations, *End of Tour Report*, 14 February 1973, AFHRA K717.131; and Lessons Learned, 15.

¹⁵⁸ Bellamy, 13. Specific reference to this type of repeated bombing due to lack of photo recce is given in Lessons Learned, 14.

¹⁵⁹ Summary of daily briefings of Linebacker II operations, 30 December 1972, (Top Secret), AFHRA K143.042-12 v.1. In a few cases, there was more, albeit still limited, detail provided as in “tracks [interdicted] at 3 pts.” For additional examples, see Linebacker II Juliet Critique, 29 December 1972, AFHRA K168.06-230.

¹⁶⁰ Gilster, 81.

¹⁶¹ Col Burton S. Barrett, 7AF Director of Targets and Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence, *End of Tour Report*, 11 June 1972, AFHRA K740.131. Though this quote refers specifically to operations in Linebacker I, it was still applicable in December as little changed in six months.

¹⁶² Though effects may indeed be, and often are, short-lived and transitory, the intent here is not to emphasize the brevity of certain effects, but rather to emphasize the broader aspect that time, whether short or long, is a necessary descriptor when considering ANY effect.

techniques as well as dispersal of critical items.”¹⁶³ With regard to electrical power facilities, analysts concluded that Linebacker II decreased the maximum power capability of Hanoi and Haiphong from 115,000 kilowatts to less than 30,000, a significant functional effect. This meant only priority users had power, and repairs would take from two months to a year.¹⁶⁴ Similarly, analysts used other technologies, such as infrared photography, to monitor thermal emissions and thereby assess airpower’s impact on other industrial functions.¹⁶⁵

Furthermore, reports such as the *Linebacker II USAF Bombing Survey* repeatedly address psychological effects; however, they rarely justify their claims by explaining their analytical bases. The following excerpts provide a representative example:

- [S]ome BDA was achieved against all of the F-111 targets providing a definite military impact in addition to the *obvious* psychological and harassment effect.¹⁶⁶
- [T]he massive destruction resulting from the large number of weapons expended against these targets near Hanoi *probably had a very serious* psychological impact on Hanoi’s population.¹⁶⁷
- [A] *significant* psychological impact on the North Vietnamese populace *may have been attained* by the high damage levels as well as the attacks on previously “off limits” targets and areas.¹⁶⁸
- F-111 strikes during nighttime hours contributed an *immeasurable* psychological effect by harassing nighttime repair efforts.¹⁶⁹
- *Undoubtedly*, the population suffered a decline in morale as a result of the sheer intensity of the strikes.¹⁷⁰ [Emphasis added in all cases.]

In the end, the survey does acknowledge that the psychological impact of air operations is extremely difficult to measure. Moreover, survey authors seem to anticipate the most crucial question when they conclude, “Despite this obvious decline in morale, there was

¹⁶³ Lessons Learned, 2.

¹⁶⁴ Gilster, 88, and HQ CINCPAC, *CINCPAC Command History*, vol. 1 – 1972, (Top Secret), AFHRA K712.01. For other details, see Hudson, 20.

¹⁶⁵ Corona Harvest Executive Summary, II-251.

¹⁶⁶ Linebacker II USAF Bombing Survey, 6.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 10.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 16.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 37.

no evidence indicating that the North Vietnamese leadership could not maintain control of the situation.”¹⁷¹

Given these diverse discussions on effects, it is instructive to examine how planners assessed Linebacker mission effectiveness. According to one Corona Harvest report:

An effective sortie was considered as one that (1) released at least 50 percent of its internal or external weapons load in an armed configuration; and (2) at least 80 percent of the released weapons impacted within the target area. During the period of Linebacker II, the latter criterion was difficult if not impossible to use. [Presumably because of the weather-related lack of BDA.] Thus, an effective sortie was one that released 50 percent of its external or internal load. However, this could mean that a B-52D from U-Tapao would be effective if it released only 12 M-117s of a B/A load of 24 M-117s and 84 Mk-82s.¹⁷²

Hopefully, this after-action commentary was speaking only of assessments in the sub-tactical world of aircraft maintainers. Unfortunately, at least one end-of-tour report corroborates this theme by sharing: “effectiveness certainly became secondary to the ‘bean count’ (sorties promised/planned for a given area).”¹⁷³ *Bombing Survey* authors at least considered the results of bomb detonations. They wrote, “Perhaps the most valid way to evaluate the bombing effectiveness of a campaign is to compare actual accomplishments against what one might reasonably expect to accomplish given the resources available.” Given this statement’s broad potential, the survey then, unfortunately, concentrates exclusively on numerical “predicted damage values.”¹⁷⁴

The *Corona Harvest Executive Summary*, also written after the war, takes a much broader view and addresses strategic effects in greater detail than any other document this author found.

As the bombing of North Vietnam progressed, it became evident that the correlative effects of the attacks—defined as the indirect effects on the enemy, additive to the immediate physical effects of the air strikes—were having a substantial, coercive impact on Hanoi. While the military value of the correlative effects produced by air operations has long been recognized, these effects have usually been considered as “side effects,” of

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Quoted in RAND, 76.

¹⁷³ Baker, 14.

¹⁷⁴ Linebacker II USAF Bombing Survey, 27.

secondary importance to more direct military effects. In the air campaign against North Vietnam, however, air operations had political, economic, and strategic impacts which were very important to the attainment of US objectives.¹⁷⁵

The report goes on to state that, though these effects cannot be quantified precisely, they are apparent from observer testimony (i.e., human intelligence (HUMINT)) and political countermeasures such as Hanoi's evacuations and internal propaganda campaigns. In order to assess how Linebacker II affected the enemy's economy, the summary attempts to measure the decrease in North Vietnam's gross national product, how much manpower Hanoi devoted to repair efforts, and how dependent the country was becoming on the Soviet Union and China for food imports.¹⁷⁶ The report determines that "the correlative effects [of US air operations] were felt in every segment of the North Vietnamese economy." The paper concludes, "Hanoi was able to sustain the war in the South only at a high cost and heavy sacrifice by the people of North Vietnam."¹⁷⁷ What is *not* addressed is how willing Hanoi was to make that sacrifice for the sake of national reunification.

The Feedback and Response

Though the conflict was costly to North Vietnam, it was far from cheap for the United States. During the first three days of Linebacker II, North Vietnamese SAMs downed nine B-52s, severely damaged three others, and took down a single F-111. Six of the heavy bomber losses occurred on night three as an equal number of the 220 SAMs the enemy launched that night found their mark.¹⁷⁸ Nixon, infuriated, "raised holy hell about the fact that [the B-52s] kept going over the same targets at the same times."¹⁷⁹

This tactical rigidity was a result of SAC's bureaucratic planning process. Inexperienced in the high-threat environment above Hanoi, airmen experimented with untried tactics on the first night of B-52 strikes. That night went relatively well (only 3

¹⁷⁵ Corona Harvest Executive Summary, II-309.

¹⁷⁶ For an in-depth look at using North Vietnam's propaganda to measure the coercive effects of airpower in Rolling Thunder, Linebacker, and Linebacker II, see Maj Forrest E. Morgan, "Big Eagle and Little Dragon: Culture and Coercive Uses of Airpower Against North Vietnam," (Unpublished thesis, School of Advanced Airpower Studies (SAAS), 1994).

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., II-309 through 335.

¹⁷⁸ Corona Harvest Air Ops, IV-225, and McCarthy and Allison, 83.

¹⁷⁹ Quoted in Clodfelter, 187.

losses out of 129 sorties), and, without changing the plan, there were no losses on the second night. Because of the long lead times between planning and execution, SAC Headquarters elected to continue once again with the same attack plan on the third night.¹⁸⁰ However, there was one significant difference—Hanoi was ready.

After six losses that night, many aircrews were outraged by the senseless loss of life and aircraft, while some senior “blue suiters” worried about the continued viability of airpower’s strategic doctrine. Meanwhile, the president believed that “a heavy loss of B-52s—America’s mightiest war planes—would create the antithesis of the psychological impact [he] desired.”¹⁸¹ Though other planes were lost, B-52s carried special significance. Something had to be done about the SAMs.

As a result, Phase II saw significant changes. Rather than three waves totaling nearly 200 bombers, the second phase employed a single wave of approximately 30 with their target areas shifted away from Hanoi toward other lower-threat regions. F-4Es with cluster bombs augmented the SAM suppression efforts and some of the B-52s targeted SAM storage facilities.¹⁸² The new tactics seemed to work as only two B-52s failed to return over the next four days. Following the 36-hour Christmas stand-down, Nixon ordered a massive strike on the 26th, and the Air Force responded with 113 B-52s converging on ten targets around Hanoi and Haiphong within a single fifteen-minute window.¹⁸³ Over the next few days, until operations terminated on the 29th, packages, routing, tactics, and timing varied daily as a result of the costly lessons learned during the first three days of Linebacker II.

From an effects-based perspective, these changes had nothing to do with proper target selection or destruction of assigned aimpoints. Rather, America’s commander in chief perceived the B-52 losses as an extremely powerful psychological counter to the operation’s overall objectives and responded accordingly. That response was a strategic choice: operational decision makers had not responded to feedback early enough in the

¹⁸⁰ McCarthy and Allison, 65, 67, and 77, and Clodfelter, 186. SAC planners required mission paperwork complete forty-two hours before take-off so they could coordinate it through the multi-branched command structure.

¹⁸¹ Clodfelter, 187.

¹⁸² CHECO, 59.

¹⁸³ Clodfelter, 188, and Corona Harvest Executive Summary, II-219. Though Clodfelter states it was a strike force of 120 B-52s, Corona Harvest indicates there were 120 scheduled, but only 113 actually flew.

effort. Planning, coordinating, and executing the first three days of B-52 operations left few people and little time to do anything else. Some of the items that fell into that “else” category were assessment of effectiveness, scrutiny of individual losses, and analysis of enemy reactions.¹⁸⁴ North Vietnam forced operational planners to re-prioritize these activities when they shot down six bombers on night three.

The Results in Retrospect

From 18 to 29 December 1972, B-52s flew 729 sorties against thirty-four targets north of the 20th parallel while delivering 15,237 tons of bombs. In addition, Air Force and Navy fighters combined for approximately 1,200 sorties and another 5,000 tons of ordnance. Targets included rail yards, storage facilities, radio communication equipment, power stations, airfields, SAM sites, and bridges. Targeteers put their highest level of effort against rail yards (36 percent) and focused the least on bridges (less than 1 percent). Regarding functional effects, bombers completely disrupted rail traffic within 10 miles of Hanoi by interdicting 500 cuts in rail lines, destroying nearly 400 pieces of rolling stock, and demolishing 191 storage warehouses. Systemically, strikes reduced POL supplies by 25 percent and electric power generating capacity by 75 percent.¹⁸⁵

We can qualitatively assess Linebacker II’s psychological toll by reviewing the comments of journalists present in the area and the reports of American prisoners interned in the “Hanoi Hilton”. Reporters witnessed numerous buses evacuating people to the countryside, and though North Vietnamese leaders had evacuated cities several times previously, this effort was more thorough and, for the first time, people were anxious to leave. Several sources suggest that individuals remaining in town managed to get only one to two hours of sleep a night, and one source reported that workers in the Gia Lam airport wandered around completely disoriented following a bombing strike.¹⁸⁶ Similarly, American POWs witnessed some of the most graphic examples of Linebacker II’s psychological impact. Commander James B. Stockdale, a prisoner for over seven

¹⁸⁴ Lessons Learned, 15.

¹⁸⁵ Clodfelter, 194-195; Linebacker II USAF Bombing Survey, 5-20; CINCPAC Command History, 165; and Corona Harvest Air Operations, IV-216. The numbers quoted are taken from Clodfelter. All sources available differed somewhat.

¹⁸⁶ Linebacker II USAF Bombing Survey, 37, and Clodfelter, 195.

years, believes that “true progress toward victory is . . . simply a direct function of the degree to which enemy “will” is being subdued.” Of Linebacker II, he says

[W]hen the ground shook, and the plaster fell from the ceiling . . . the guards cowered in the lee of the walls, cheeks so ashen you could detect it even from the light from the fiery sky. . . . The shock was there—the [US] commitment was there—and the enemy’s will was broken. You could sense it in every Vietnamese face. They knew they lived through last night, but they also knew that if our forces moved their bomb line over a few thousand yards they wouldn’t live through tonight.¹⁸⁷

NVA General Tran Van Tra, commander of Hanoi’s forces in South Vietnam, echoed these thoughts when he described the effects of Linebacker II this way: “Our cadres and men were fatigued, we had not had time to make up for our losses, all units were in disarray, there was a lack of manpower, and there were shortages of food and ammunition . . . The troops were no longer capable of fighting.”¹⁸⁸

The most immediate consequence of these combined effects was Hanoi’s 27 December request to resume negotiations. After President Nixon confirmed their willingness to negotiate seriously, he terminated all Linebacker II activity on the 29th. Within a month after US forces ceased bombing above the 20th parallel, the signing of the Paris Peace Accords signaled the end of American military involvement in Vietnam. Former-President Johnson’s goal of an independent, non-Communist South Vietnam was achieved . . . for nearly two and a half years. With Nixon no longer president and Congress precluding a US military response, Thieu’s army proved an insufficient barrier when Giap’s divisions crashed across the demilitarized zone (DMZ) in March 1975 and took Saigon the following month.¹⁸⁹

Summary

Perhaps the following conversation, which took place in Hanoi in April 1975, provides the most accurate, yet succinct, description of the American experience in Vietnam:

¹⁸⁷ Rear Adm James B. Stockdale, address to the Armed Forces Staff College, 9 April 1975, quoted in U. S. Grant Sharp, *Strategy for Defeat: Vietnam in Retrospect*, (Novato, Calif.: Presidio Press, 1998), 256-258. For similar experiences from five other POWs, see McCarthy and Allison, 174-175.

¹⁸⁸ Quoted in Pape, 204, and Phillip B. Davidson, *Vietnam at War*, (Novato, Calif.: Presidio Press, 1988), 735-736. Gen Tran Van Tra, *Vietnam: History of the Bulwark B-2 Theatre, Vol 5: Concluding the 30 years War*, (Ho Chi Minh City: Van Nghe Publishing Plant, 1982), 6 and 33.

“You know you never defeated us on the battlefield,” said the American colonel. The North Vietnamese colonel pondered this remark a moment. “That may be so,” he replied, “but it is also irrelevant.”¹⁹⁰

Yet, while this quote accurately describes America’s overall Vietnam experience, it fails to capture the success of Operation Linebacker II. In twelve days, American airpower did what the United States had failed to do in the previous eight plus years—extract serious negotiations from the North Vietnamese. Airpower was decisive in this situation. However, it is important to realize that the situation in which America waged war in December 1972 was vastly different than that of 1965 or even 1969. Over the course of the war, America’s objectives became much more limited AND much more aligned with North Vietnam’s—the most important objective being the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. Additionally, by late 1972, North Vietnam was fighting a conventional war, which created entirely new vulnerabilities for them and, for the United States, made previously ineffective targeting plans now viable.

As successful as this 12-day operation was strategically, there were still operational and tactical problems. The lack of a single, unified air command structure drastically complicated and, in some cases, precluded effective strike package planning, tasking, and execution. Additionally, precise aerial delivery of munitions was still an issue. Bad weather not only made accuracy more difficult, but made assessment of strike results via photo intelligence problematic, if not impossible, in many cases. However, the greater lesson with regard to assessing effects may have been that the most important effects are those most difficult to measure. As a result of its intensity and physical destruction, Linebacker II generated significant political and economic effects, many of which airpower, or the military for that matter, were incapable of measuring.

The “lessons” of Vietnam appeared repeatedly in subsequent decades as the painful memories of Southeast Asia kept resurfacing. However, lessons and memories are very personal concepts, and one person’s memories are never exactly those of another. Likewise, every crisis that leads to American intervention is unique, so strategists must tailor accordingly the lessons they choose to apply. On 9 January 1973, the *Washington Star and News* commented that

¹⁸⁹ Clodfelter, 188, 195, and 200-202.

the intensive bombing campaign against the Hanoi-Haiphong area in the final two weeks of 1972 may be seen by future leaders as proof that bombing can achieve maximum results at minimal costs. . . . Future presidents will certainly be able to draw the conclusion that bombing can be a “cheap” way of applying heavy military pressure in a very short period of time. Bombing may well appear, as they say, “an attractive option.”¹⁹¹

American actions in Serbia a quarter-century later would reveal this reporter’s true prescience and reiterate the lesson that airpower employment should be specially tailored to every situation. Moreover, in the earlier Gulf War, American leaders would apply their Vietnam lessons by working hard to ensure military operations were congruent with other US and coalition efforts as they pursued limited political objectives.

¹⁹⁰ Summers, 1.

¹⁹¹ Corona Harvest Executive Summary, II-226 and 227.

Chapter 6

Operation Desert Storm

At its most basic, war is psychological.

—Col Phillip S. Meilinger

The more important something is, the harder it is to measure.

—Lt Col Peter L. Hays

Historical Description

At 0100 local time on 2 August 1990, Iraqi Republican Guard divisions poured across the border and invaded the sovereign nation of Kuwait. Within hours, they were in Kuwait City and, by the second day, had reached the Kuwaiti-Saudi Arabian border. On the third day, President George Bush met with the National Security Council to discuss US options, and Gen H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of US Central Command (CENTCOM), briefed possible military responses. The plan chosen that day ultimately required nearly six months to deploy all requisite personnel and equipment, depended on using some twenty-five regional bases, and involved command relationships with military forces from thirty-eight countries.¹⁹²

On 8 August, President Bush addressed the world and outlined American objectives for the Gulf region as:

- 1) Secure the immediate, unconditional, and complete withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait,
- 2) Restore the legitimate government of Kuwait,
- 3) Assure the security and stability of the Persian Gulf region, and
- 4) Protect American lives.¹⁹³

Less than twenty-four hours prior, American forces had begun deploying to Saudi Arabia, and seventeen days later, General Schwarzkopf briefed Gen Colin Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on a four-phased operations concept to accomplish

¹⁹² Thomas A. Keaney and Eliot A. Cohen, *Revolution in Warfare? Air Power in the Persian Gulf*, (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1995), 1-2. See also *Gulf War Air Power Survey (GWAPS)*, vol. I, "Planning," (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1993), 83-84.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 22.

the military portion of the president's objectives. The CENTCOM commander's intent was that

[w]e will initially attack into the Iraqi homeland using air power to decapitate his leadership, command and control, and eliminate his ability to reinforce Iraqi ground forces in Kuwait and Southern Iraq. We will then gain undisputed air superiority over Kuwait so that we can subsequently and selectively attack Iraqi ground forces with air power in order to reduce his combat power and destroy reinforcing units. . . .¹⁹⁴

Powell and the president approved Schwarzkopf's concept, and five months of military preparation ensued, producing a detailed plan: Operation Desert Storm. The operations order implementing Desert Storm succinctly listed six theater military objectives: attack Iraqi political/military leadership and command and control; gain and maintain air superiority; sever Iraqi supply lines; destroy chemical, biological, and nuclear capability; destroy Republican Guard forces; and liberate Kuwait City.¹⁹⁵

The operation would still be a four-phased effort beginning with a strategic air campaign against Iraq. Almost simultaneously, Allied air forces would win air supremacy over the Kuwaiti theater. As the operation progressed, airpower would increasingly focus on attriting the Iraqi army to prepare the battlefield for the final phase, an offensive ground operation to liberate Kuwait. The targets of Phase I, the strategic air campaign, included:

Iraq's strategic air defenses, aircraft/airfields, strategic chemical, biological and nuclear capability; leadership targets; command and control systems; RGFC (Republican Guard Force Command) forces; telecommunications facilities; and key elements of the national infrastructure, such as critical LOCs (lines of communications) between Baghdad and the KTO [Kuwaiti Theater of Operations], electric grids, petroleum storage, and military production facilities.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ Briefing slide, "Offensive Campaign: Desert Storm," Headquarters, Central Command, 24 August 1990, GWAPS, NA 208. The briefing, as of 15 February 2000, remained classified and excerpted information required declassification. The authors of the GWAPS were able to obtain declassification approval for a number of excerpts, which the author of this paper was subsequently unable to duplicate. For this reason, GWAPS serves as the reference for this chapter in a large number of instances even though the original source documents are available in the Air Force Historical Research Agency (AFHRA).

¹⁹⁵ Keaney and Cohen, 32. The original source document, USCINCCENT OPORD 91-001 for Operation Desert Storm, 16 January 1991, GWAPS, NA 357, was destroyed following GWAPS completion.

¹⁹⁶ *Gulf War Air Power Survey* (GWAPS), vol. I, "Planning," (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1993), 5. The original source document, USCINCCENT, US OPLAN Desert Storm, 16 Dec 1990, GWAPS, CHC 18-2, 12, is no longer available at the AFHRA.

As Phase I objectives were met, planners intended Phase II, air supremacy in the KTO, to begin with the “priority of air effort shifting to the KTO to roll back Iraqi air defenses and sever supply lines” in order “to provide an environment in which B-52s, tactical air, and attack helicopters [could] operate effectively in subsequent phases.” Then Phase III, battlefield preparation, was to exploit the newly-gained air supremacy with increased attacks against Iraqi ground forces and a shift in tactical fires to interdict supply lines and destroy command, control, and communications (C3) systems in southern Iraq and Kuwait. This would serve to “open a window of opportunity” for Phase IV ground offensive operations to begin and ultimately secure the objectives of liberating Kuwait and destroying the Republican Guard.¹⁹⁷ Lastly, with regard to phasing, the Operations Plan (OPLAN) stated, “execution . . . is not necessarily discrete or sequential; phases may overlap as resources become available or priorities shift.”¹⁹⁸

At 0238 local time on 17 January 1991, a salvo of Hellfire missiles from Apache helicopters impacted an early-warning radar site in southern Iraq as B-52-launched conventional cruise missiles, naval-fired Tomahawk land-attacks missiles (TLAMs), and F-117 stealth fighters were already enroute to Baghdad.¹⁹⁹ Thirty-eight days later, at 0400 local time on 24 February, the now famous “left hook” of the Phase IV ground offensive began. Total Coalition forces in theater numbered in excess of 660,000. One hundred hours after the ground offensive commenced, the US-led Coalition declared a victorious cease-fire on 28 February 1991.²⁰⁰ Following “the end” of the Gulf War, aircraft supporting Operations Northern and Southern Watch began patrolling the skies to enforce the mandated Iraqi no-fly zones and, as of this writing, Allied air forces still periodically bomb Iraqi air defense sites.²⁰¹ Given these events, what effects-based concepts and practices were manifest in the 1991 American air operations over the Persian Gulf?

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 5-6.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 4.

¹⁹⁹ Keaney and Cohen, 10.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 21.

²⁰¹ “US Warplanes Bomb Iraq,” *Montgomery Advertiser*, Friday, 11 February 2000, page 10A. American planes bombed an Iraqi air defense site in retaliation for anti-aircraft gun and missile fire from Mosul, a city 250 miles north of Baghdad.

The Plans

According to then-Lt Col Dave Deptula, General Glosson's deputy of the highly-classified "Black Hole" planners, the Desert Storm offensive air campaign was "an effects-based operational plan." Intentionally shunning a "servicing the target list" approach, planners constantly questioned how to impose force against enemy systems so that every effort contributed directly to achieving Coalition political and military objectives. "Assessment of whether to continue or stop attack against a particular system's target set was dependent on achieving the effects desired on the system. . . . If the effects desired were achieved, it did not matter that individual targets may not have been hit."²⁰² This focus on creating systemic effects rather than destroying individual targets freed assets for strikes against other targets. Initially though, this economy of force was not a by-product of effects-based planning, but a driving factor in its implementation.

While top planners had sophisticated effects-based ideas from the outset, traditional destruction-based methodology served as the basis for initial attack planning as early plans to shut down the Iraqi air defense command and control system reveal. Initially, intelligence identified two major sector operations centers (SOC), and targeteers determined it would require eight F-117s delivering 2,000-pound precision bombs to destroy each of the hardened underground command and control (C2) bunkers. With sixteen F-117s available, this 8:1 aircraft to target ratio was acceptable. However, further intelligence analysis revealed not just two SOCs, but four, and associated with each were three to five interceptor operations centers (IOC), and with each IOC a number of radar reporting posts. There were simply not enough F-117s in theater to destroy each of the newly-discovered, air defense nodes; however, there were enough to achieve the same *effect*. Planners argued that even if a 2,000-pound bomb did not destroy a bunker, it would cause enough damage to force its occupants to abandon it. If the controllers were not present, the site, though not destroyed, was still inoperative. Thus, using effects-based logic and tasking no more than two F-117s per SOC, the air war opened with forty-two F-117s striking seventy-six targets rather than five.²⁰³

²⁰² Col David A. Deptula, "Firing for Effect: Change in the Nature of Warfare," 7.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 6.

Further evidence of an effects-based approach to Gulf War planning is shown in the phrasing of various campaign objectives, the layout of tasking documents, and post-war interviews of key commanders. OPLAN Phase I objectives include “*disruption of Iraqi command and control, loss of confidence in the government, significant degradation of Iraqi military capabilities, and isolation and destruction of the RGFC* [emphasis added].”²⁰⁴ Thus, the planners anticipated the ultimate effects of their actions and, only in a single instance, was physical destruction their primary goal versus simply an enabling means. One specific target shows this most directly: Iraqi telecommunications. Planners believed that destroying television transmitters, fiber-optic cable repeaters, and the like, and creating a communications vacuum of sorts, would help “incapacitate” President Saddam Hussein’s regime.²⁰⁵ The description of Phase II, to “provide a threat free environment allowing unhindered air operations in the Kuwait Theater of Operations” and “provide an environment conducive to the conduct of air to ground attacks,” further demonstrates this effects-based thought.²⁰⁶ Likewise, the desired effect of Phase III, battlefield preparation, was to reduce Iraqi combat *effectiveness* in the KTO by at least fifty percent.²⁰⁷

Additionally, the layout of a new planning tool, the Master Attack Plan (MAP), hints at the emphasis given to effects during early planning for Desert Storm. Planners used the MAP to translate the purpose, mission, objectives, and tasks of the OPLAN into a campaign plan. This tool subdivided each twenty-four hour plan into groups organized by functional effect or target category. Moreover, in addition to mission number, target, description, and aircraft, earlier versions of the MAP included a category labeled “effects,” which, for unexplained reasons, was deleted as planning progressed.²⁰⁸

Planners did not explicitly state certain less tangible effects airpower might achieve, but they and decision makers sought them nonetheless.²⁰⁹ Air operation

²⁰⁴ GWAPS, vol. I, “Planning,” 5.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 157.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 11.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 6. The difficulty of defining this nebulous concept of “effectiveness” is addressed later.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 13-14. For an example from Deptula’s personal combat log, see also GWAPS, vol. II, “Effects and Effectiveness,” 11, note 14. The “Execution” section of this chapter discusses the folly of removing this information from the MAP. For more information on the MAP from its creator, see Deptula, note 3.

²⁰⁹ Many of these desired effects do not show up in the specific Operations Plans and Orders, but were clearly stated in GWAPS interviews conducted immediately following the Gulf War.

designers hoped that some of the effects on military-related targets would fuel popular opposition to Saddam Hussein and, indeed, facilitate an overthrow of his regime. What was missing, in addition to explicit statements of this desire, were the exact mechanisms by which this was supposed to occur. According to Brig Gen Buster Glosson, chief CENTCOM air campaign planner, one purpose behind targeting the telecommunications network was to “make [every Iraqi household] feel they were isolated. I didn’t want them to listen to radio stations and know what was happening. I wanted to play with their psyche[s].” General Horner believed disrupting the electrical system would show the people of Baghdad that the Iraqi president was powerless to counter the US air offensive, and another air strategist thought the message to be, “Hey, your lights will come back on as soon as you get rid of Saddam.”²¹⁰ The targeting of an insignificant pilot training base near Tikrit serves as a final example. Though “there were no really lucrative targets in downtown Tikrit,” planners wanted to “make sure that people in Tikrit knew that war had come to their [hometown]” because Saddam and many of his inner circle came from that area.²¹¹ Thus, planners expected bombing operations to produce bonus psychological effects on the enemy population in addition to its physical effects on the Iraqi war-making capability. However, effects, both physical and psychological, require time to manifest themselves.

General Glosson was distinctly aware of this requirement as evidenced by his comment that once you have taken your action, “the only thing you have to do is have the *patience to wait out the effect of what you’ve already accomplished* [emphasis in original].”²¹² Nevertheless, being aware of the temporal nature of effects does not mean one can accurately predict *when* those effects will occur. Once planners decided what specific measures to use for defining the “effectiveness” of Iraqi ground forces, the key question became just how long would it take airpower to attrite fifty percent of this. After three months of analysis, the 16 January operation order left the duration of Phase III, battlefield preparation, “to be determined.”²¹³ This open-ended description not only

²¹⁰ GWAPS, vol. I, “Planning,” 93 and 157.

²¹¹ Ibid., 156.

²¹² Ibid., 171.

²¹³ Ibid., 171-173.

demonstrates the difficulty in predicting the timing of effects, but also the flexibility built into the coalition air plan.

This flexibility and awareness of dependence on future information manifested itself in other aspects of the air planning process as well. Sensitive to Von Moltke's warning that "no plan survives first contact with the enemy," General Horner chose not to prepare air tasking orders beyond the first two days. Judging the opening hours and days to be critical and the situation beyond that to be "too unpredictable," he reserved the right "to adjust to better intelligence."²¹⁴ Though planners created "shells" of subsequent plans, they resisted writing details until seeing results from the first strikes. Soon those results would show the world how devastatingly precise modern airpower had become.

The Execution

The Gulf War opened with more targets in one day's attack plan than the total number of targets the entire Eighth Air Force struck in all of 1942 and 1943. Those 144 strikes constituted more discrete air attacks in twenty-four hours than in any twenty-four hour period ever before in the history of warfare.²¹⁵ Furthermore, air assets struck fifty of those initial targets in the first ninety minutes of the Desert Storm offensive.²¹⁶ Parallel war had taken a giant leap forward. Moreover, the "precision bombing" the WWII Eighth Air Force had hoped for was now a reality. With the stealthy F-117, "one bomb, one target" became a reality and, in some cases, a single aircraft in 1991 achieved the same result with one precision guided munition (PGM) as had a thousand-plane raid in World War II with over 9000 bombs . . . without the associated collateral damage.²¹⁷

This lethal precision enabled coalition warfighters to achieve systemic effects—air operations against the Iraqi electrical power grid provide a textbook example. In the opening forty-eight hours, coalition aircraft struck eleven power plants and seven transformer/switching facilities resulting in a 60 percent power reduction in central and southern Iraq. While physical damage was limited, the immediate functional effects were both pervasive and profound.²¹⁸ However, while the precise lethality of America's clear-

²¹⁴ Ibid., 187.

²¹⁵ Deptula, 1. See also, GWAPS, vol. I, "Planning," 189.

²¹⁶ Ibid., 4.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ GWAPS, vol. II, "Effects and Effectiveness," 294-295 and 302-303.

weather laser-guided bombs (LGB) supported effects-based operations in the Gulf, there were other operational factors far less favorable.

“Long live the stove-pipe!” could easily have been the battle cry of American forces, and specifically airpower, at the beginning of Desert Storm. Not only did information fail to flow between the operations and intelligence worlds, but knowledge-transfer blockades were firmly in place between specific sectors within each of those areas as well. While satellites greatly improved imaging and other sensor capabilities, the “green doors” of security over who had “access” precluded many planners and warfighters from seeing very useful intelligence. The “work-around” became the day-to-day standard, and formal lines of communication withered due to lack of use.²¹⁹ This occurred in large part because of the highly compartmented nature of producing an air campaign within a specially-constructed planning cell, like the “Black Hole,” with all the secrecy that name implies, rather than relying on established theater organizations.²²⁰ Admittedly, though the Black Hole planners were effective, their closed, secretive nature exacted a toll on overall operations. Initial actions cast the mold for poor communications with the military intelligence community early on. During advance planning, the Black Hole Special Planning Group did not provide Central Command Air Forces (CENTAF) intelligence access to the air operations plan until 18 August, a week *after* the JCS blessed it and made it the de facto CENTCOM air plan. This effectively precluded any CENTAF intelligence input to the planning process.²²¹ This segregation and secrecy created a “we” versus “they” rift not only between Black Hole planners and

²¹⁹ GWAPS, vol. I, “Planning,” 87 and 231.

²²⁰ Ibid., 221. According to a CENTAF planner, the cell was dubbed the “Black Hole” “because we would send people in, and they would never come out.” As quoted in Col Edward C. Mann III, *Thunder and Lightning: Desert Storm and the Airpower Debates*, (Maxwell AFB, Ala.: Air University Press, 1995), 46. The Black Hole originated as a very tightly controlled, select group of planners organized into a Special Studies Division because of the political sensitivities concerning the planning of offensive operations against Iraq. While the Black Hole focused solely on offensive actions, using Warden’s Instant Thunder plan as a basis, the theater’s formal planning staff, the CENTAF Combat Plans Division, focused on a combined arms campaign for Saudi Arabian defense. This organization, with the Black Hole isolated for operational security, remained in place until mid-December 1990. Approaching the execution phase, General Horner reorganized the planning staffs and created the Campaign Plans Division of which one component was the Guidance, Apportionment, and Targeting (GAT) Division. Within the GAT, which subsequently became known as the “Black Hole,” the original Black Hole members formed the nucleus of the Iraq Cell with the old Combat Plans personnel forming the KTO Cell. For significantly more detail on the Black Hole, see GWAPS, vol. I, “Command and Control,” 157-204.

theater intelligence, but also between Black Hole planners and KTO planners working defensive issues.²²²

Another failure to communicate was highlighted in the inability of the air tasking order (ATO) to relay planner intentions to the operators tasked with executing those intentions. Attacks on the Iraqi electrical power grid provide the clearest example of this failure. Civilian authorities implied that military planners should avoid extensively damaging the Iraqi economy and its capacity for post-war recovery. In the electrical power example, this restraint manifested itself at the planning level in choosing to target transformers, which would take months to repair, rather than generator halls, which would require years.²²³ However, the ATO failed to communicate such specific guidance and, instead, often simply specified a target such as the Salah Al Din electric plant, leaving unit weapons officers to select specific aimpoints. Accustomed to seeking maximum damage, unit planners often selected the generator hall as the obvious electrical target.²²⁴ Such failures to transmit both the target and the intentions for that target affected not only delivery planning, but the next area as well.

The Assessment

Though combat assessment at the tactical level is a prerequisite for assessing more complex strategic effects, Desert Storm analysts initially were unable to accurately perform even tactical-level assessments. For example, when coalition aircraft struck an intelligence headquarters building, battle damage assessment (BDA) reported the sortie as 25 percent effective because photographs revealed only one-quarter of the building destroyed. What the analysts failed to account for was that the precision bomb effectively shut down intelligence coordination operations from that building. Thus, in reality, the sortie was completely effective without requiring total obliteration, but analysts had applied the wrong metric.²²⁵ Perhaps knowing the planners' intentions behind the sortie would have prevented the assessor's mistaken appraisal—perhaps not.

²²¹ Ibid. This is not to imply there was no intelligence input to the Black Hole, only that what was given came from outside the established CENTAF intelligence community.

²²² Ibid., 229-230.

²²³ Ibid., 94.

²²⁴ GWAPS, vol. II, "Effects and Effectiveness," 294, and vol. I, "Planning," 117.

²²⁵ Col Phillip S. Meilinger, *10 Propositions Regarding Airpower*, (Air Force History and Museums Program, 1995), 24-25.

Nevertheless, a qualitative assessment of a functional effect was required, and a quantitative evaluation was submitted. This controversy over objective versus subjective and quantitative versus qualitative measurements proved to be an oft-recurring theme throughout Operation Desert Storm.

The difficulty of measuring the effectiveness of Gulf air operations was seen almost immediately in attempts to quantify the success of Phase II, air superiority. Planners wanted to drive the Iraqi integrated air defense system (IADS) to systemic failure and strikers accomplished this objective quite handily in the first forty-eight hours, forcing the enemy air defenses to operate autonomously, if at all.²²⁶ The problem lay in confirming the degradation with a level of confidence sufficient to warrant sending non-stealth strikers “downtown.” In the end, the JFACC had to rely on circumstantial evidence to make his decision. Based on a drop of more than 90 percent in the activity levels of Iraqi surface-to-air missile (SAM) and anti-aircraft artillery (AAA) radars, planners elected to send “Package Q,” ultimately the largest of the war, against Baghdad. The plan placed seventy-two F-16s in the heart of Iraqi defenses and, once the accompanying F-4G Wild Weasels departed after using their available fuel, the circumstantial evidence proved less than accurate. At one point, participants counted twenty SAMs in the air, with one pilot evading no fewer than six. Many engaged fighters jettisoned fuel tanks and bombs, significantly increasing the likelihood of completely unforeseen collateral damage, and, ultimately, Iraqi guided missiles took down two of Q’s fighters. This immediately resulted in a ban on further conventional packages overflying Baghdad.²²⁷ However, this did not solve the problem of assessing the requisite air superiority over the rest of the theater. In the end, assessment defaulted to an after-the-fact confidence. The most conclusive measure of effectiveness eventually turned out to be the Coalition’s attrition data and the number of friendly aircraft *not* shot down or damaged.²²⁸

Analysts were also forced to rely on circumstantial evidence to assess the functional effects of strikes on the Iraqi electrical power system. In the Coalition’s opening strikes, warheads filled with special carbon-fiber wire detonated over switching

²²⁶ GWAPS, vol. II, “Operations,” 145.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, 157 and 171-177.

stations and high-power lines at Iraqi electrical power plants. Though causing massive short circuits, these munitions posed a BDA problem by not producing the visible damage typically seen with traditional explosive munitions. Though planners observed certain functional effects, for example, the lights going out, they were not confident and subsequently targeted many Iraqi power plants with time-honored, explosive, conventional munitions to confirm their successes more directly.²²⁹ Post-war studies revealed that some power plant managers preemptively took their plants off-line in order to preclude damage. While fulfilling functional desires, this *virtual attrition* proved to be the bane of Gulf air intelligence.²³⁰ Though Deptula received high-level intelligence from Washington the next day (19 January) that both electricity and water were off in Baghdad, he required another four days without seeing electrical activity before he became convinced.²³¹ However, even tangible evidence can be misleading.

Post-strike BDA of the Umm al Aish radio-relay facility in Kuwait indicated heavy damage from Coalition air during the war. However, post-war examination by an Air Force ground team revealed that Iraqis had stripped the building of all essential equipment before it was hit. The facility had ceased to function prior to ever being targeted.²³² Similarly, reconnaissance photos of some Iraqi hardened aircraft bunkers (HAB) showed extensive destruction. However, post-war inspection revealed no apparent damage to the shelter's interior despite two direct, but off-center, hits that failed to penetrate. Conversely, the same type LGB penetrators precipitated other unforeseen analysis problems. In some HABs, with clean munitions penetration, there would be

²²⁸ GWAPS, vol. II, "Effects and Effectiveness," 106, 113, and 141.

²²⁹ Ibid., 37.

²³⁰ This comment should not be misconstrued as stating that virtual attrition is either universally good or bad. In fact, virtual attrition can be seen as either good or bad, depending upon one's position and responsibilities within an effects-based process. For the decision maker, virtual attrition can achieve the exact same results as physical attrition, but at a much lower price. Moreover, it may simplify war termination problems by substantially reducing post-conflict reconstruction and its accompanying costs. Conversely, for the assessor, virtual attrition can be a nightmare as it significantly complicates the assessment process. It removes the emphasis from physical objects, which can be photographed, analyzed, and, if destroyed, forgotten. Instead, it shifts the emphasis to enemy intentions—will the enemy continue not using the equipment or change his mind and subsequently resume using it because it is still fully functional? Moreover, assessors can no longer count targets as destroyed and forget about them. Rather, they must constantly monitor these inactive targets for later enemy use, and this monitoring imposes opportunity costs on surveillance assets, which now may not be available for other missions.

²³¹ GWAPS, vol. II, "Effects and Effectiveness," 303-304.

²³² Ibid., 50.

extremely little exterior damage beyond a small, neat hole. Observation from many angles might show the bunker intact and undamaged, even though detonation of the penetrating weapon inside had produced a functional kill.²³³

Given that these problems were so common during the “fog of war,” objective analysis with numerical indices was not always possible and General Horner’s perceptive comments reflect the need to act based on trends rather than perfect intelligence:

Bean counters are concerned about holes in runways. They are missing the point. The point is [that] there’s no power in Baghdad, no chemical attacks, and their nuclear capability is damaged. We’ve had [few] aircraft losses. Remember aircraft losses are wins for him. We are going to work on the Republican Guards now. We must keep the pressure on. We know the score is ninety-six to one, but we don’t know what inning we’re in.²³⁴

Assessing the outcomes of attacks on the Iraqi ground forces proved even more contentious than those on strategic targets, as the problem of BDA moved into the joint arena.

A specific objective of Phase III, battlefield preparation, was a 50 percent decrease in the effectiveness of the Iraqi Army. Aside from the difficulties of physically achieving this objective, arriving at a mutually agreeable means of measuring this effect was practically impossible. The theater Joint Intelligence Center (JIC), Army and Marine components, and the Central Intelligence Agency, each had a different means of estimating Iraqi attrition.²³⁵ These differences were never resolved during the war and General Schwarzkopf eventually refused to have estimated percentages of equipment destroyed displayed in his briefings. Instead, he opted to have each enemy division color-coded to indicate division effectiveness, as opposed to equipment effectiveness.²³⁶ He then directed Central Command JIC to base these collective estimates on equipment attrition, troop desertion rates, and several intangibles in an attempt to evaluate the target sets both objectively and subjectively. As ideal as that sounds, General Horner later

²³³ GWAPS, vol. II, “Operations,” 33-34. Planners eventually realized that video imagery from sensors on-board the delivery aircraft yielded vital (albeit not conclusive) clues that post-strike reconnaissance photographs did not. This discrepancy between on-board sensors and satellite reconnaissance developed into a major issue between theater and national-level BDA estimates before war’s end.

²³⁴ Ibid., 192.

²³⁵ See GWAPS, vol. II, “Operations,” 263, and “Effects and Effectiveness,” 209-210, for a much more in-depth discussion of the specifics involved.

²³⁶ Delineations included less than 50, 50-75, or 75-100 percent effectiveness.

pointed out that General Schwarzkopf was more inclined to use the number of air strikes against a unit as his prime indicator of effectiveness rather than the damage reported.²³⁷ Thus, as indicated earlier with the electrical power grid, commanders often defaulted to tangible indicators (regardless of their appropriateness) to boost their level of confidence.

The Feedback and Response

As previously discussed, General Horner built flexibility into the planning process by refusing to create more than the next two ATOs. This three-day cycle continued for the duration of the conflict. On the first day, planners cast the Master Attack Plan using current BDA, the ATO was coordinated on the second day, and units executed the plan on the third day. This approach encouraged flexibility, but planners were persistently hindered by a lack of timely BDA.²³⁸ Caused, in large part, by weather and a dearth of the appropriate types of reconnaissance platforms, there was little, if any, feedback regarding the air operation's first-order physical effects, much less their higher-order systemic effects. Without this feedback, the plan continued as originally developed. Later, however, when planners eventually received strike assessments, they were forced to reassess their plan and retarget accordingly.

During the opening hours and days of the campaign, air superiority operations explicitly focused on intimidating Iraqi fighter pilots into believing their chances of surviving against Coalition pilots were not high. In retrospect, this strategy worked only too well with the Iraqi Air Force requiring little encouragement to hunker down in hardened shelters. This virtual attrition solved the immediate problem concerning control of the air, but the enemy still retained a substantial number of modern combat aircraft. The potential for an air variant of the 1968 Tet offensive loomed large in the minds of Coalition planners.²³⁹ Consequently, based on an appraisal of the current Phase II effectiveness, they changed air superiority targeting. Early on, in addition to searching for air-to-air kills, Coalition aircraft had been denying Iraq the use of its airfields by cratering runways and covering ramps with area-denial mines. Planners realized this

²³⁷ GWAPS, vol. II, "Effects and Effectiveness," 210-211 and vol. II, "Operations," 262.

²³⁸ GWAPS, vol. II, "Operations," 160-161.

²³⁹ GWAPS, vol. II, "Effects and Effectiveness," 127-128.

served little purpose if Iraqi fighters were not going to launch anyway.²⁴⁰ As a result, by the sixth day of the war, planners began targeting the hardened aircraft shelters hiding the bulk of Iraq's combat aircraft. Numerous successes with 2,000-pound laser-guided penetrators triggered a mass evacuation and mad dash of Iraqi jets toward an Iranian sanctuary three days later. This enemy reaction, in turn, prompted Coalition air forces to mount continuous interceptor patrols between Iraqi bases and the Iranian border.²⁴¹

Friendly air operations against other aspects of the Iraqi IADS also demonstrated Coalition willingness to innovate based on assessments of overall effectiveness. In the case of hardened elements such as operations centers, air planners sought to disrupt their function rather than destroy them. If two or four GBU-27 LGBs "convinced" a given SOC to cease operations, then planners typically did not retarget it unless it subsequently showed operational activity. In at least one case, the sector operations center in Talil, post-war inspection revealed that, contrary to earlier assessment, the operations portion had not been penetrated; yet, the controllers inside had still abandoned the facility, providing a just-as-useful virtual attrition. This "functional-damage" approach helped conserve the low-density F-117s and precision munitions allowing Coalition fliers to prosecute a much wider array of high-priority targets.²⁴² On the other hand, tales of precision targeting did not always turn out so favorably.

In the early darkness of 13 February, two F-117s struck the Al Firdos bunker with one bomb apiece. Previously, a large number of the identified bunkers that could have served as possible command posts had remained inactive and, therefore, untargeted. By early February, intelligence reports indicated Al Firdos had been activated for use as a command post and, within a week, it made the Master Attack Plan. Unbeknownst to Coalition planners who viewed the structure as a perfectly legitimate military target, the Iraqis were also sheltering civilians on the bunker's top floor. The successful penetration and detonation of LGBs in *this* bunker generated far-reaching effects—both unforeseen and unpredictable. Iraqi sources claimed 200-300 civilians, including over 100 children, died in the bunker, and Baghdad was quick to exploit the human tragedy. Dramatic television coverage of children's bodies being recovered soon had US media insisting the

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 145-146.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 129.

Coalition curtail bombing within Iraqi cities. Consequently, General Schwarzkopf prohibited CENTAF from striking targets in Baghdad without his express approval, and, though the Black Hole subsequently tendered a number of requests to hit bridges and leadership targets in the Iraqi capital, approval never came. For all intents and purposes, the strategic air campaign “downtown” was over.²⁴³

The Results in Retrospect

After a 38-day air offensive and 100 hours of joint operations, the American-led Coalition declared a victorious cease-fire. During the 42-day war, nearly 2,800 aircraft conducted 111,500 sorties and burned 824 million US gallons of jet fuel to deliver 140 million pounds of air-to-ground munitions.²⁴⁴ Given the benefit of nine years of hindsight, what have we learned concerning the effects generated by Operation Desert Storm?²⁴⁵

First, even if first-order destruction is a primary objective, a living, reacting enemy can make this task difficult, if not impossible. With respect to air superiority, gaining control of the airspace to enable attacks with virtual impunity proved a relatively simple task. Conversely, destroying the Iraqi Air Force did not. Between Iraqi “shell games” with bunkers and surviving planes and a number of successful escapes to Iran, nearly 45 percent of Iraq’s aircraft emerged from the war unscathed.²⁴⁶ Likewise, the

²⁴² Ibid., 137.

²⁴³ GWAPS, vol. II, “Operations,” 206 and 220, and “Effects and Effectiveness,” 284 and 367.

²⁴⁴ Briefing slide, “The Conduct & Performance of the Air Campaign in Operation Desert Storm,” 21 March 1991, GWAPS, NA 112. The briefing, as of 15 February 2000, remained classified and excerpted information required declassification.

²⁴⁵ At the time of the GWAPS 1993 publishing, many questions remained open to dispute concerning the number of enemy tanks, artillery pieces, and other numerical indices of military power that 1) existed prior to the Gulf War’s onset and 2) that Coalition forces destroyed or damaged. This lack of closure, in and of itself, should indicate the difficulty involved even in the most seemingly simple assessments. (See GWAPS, vol. II, “Operations,” 1.) In looking for answers, one is tempted to compare the GWAPS with the encyclopedic US Strategic Bombing Survey of WWII. We must remember that the USSBS researchers had significantly greater and earlier access to individual targets, masses of German statistical records and government documents, and interrogations of literally thousands of Germans, including top-level political officials. Conversely, GWAPS data came from limited inspections in Kuwait and a portion of southern Iraq and enemy prisoner of war interrogations constrained by repatriation timetables. Lastly, virtually no Iraqi records were available and no large-scale open access is expected. (See GWAPS, vol. II, “Effects and Effectiveness,” 16.) Consequently, much of the retrospective analysis is still conjecture and open to debate.

²⁴⁶ GWAPS, vol. II, “Effects and Effectiveness,” 153-156. However, even after the conflict, Iran did not return many of the Iraqi aircraft that successfully sought refuge across the border. Though the exact number is questionable, these must be counted as physical attrition for the Iraqis even though the actual aircraft were undamaged.

“Great Scud Chase” left Saddam’s mobile launcher fleet intact and again brought into question Coalition (primarily US) BDA capabilities. A Defense Intelligence Agency report, written ten months after the war, reveals, “To date, we have yet to confirm an Iraqi mobile SRBM [short-range ballistic missile] launcher kill resulting from US aircraft attacks.” This post-conflict revelation contrasts sharply with the roughly 100 Scud launcher kills claimed during the war.²⁴⁷ As hard as it was to confirm first-order destruction, measuring higher-order systemic effects proved even more difficult.

Assessments, for the president and JCS, of airpower effectiveness against the leadership and C3 targets defaulted to quantitative presentations showing the percentages of relevant targets destroyed, damaged, and unstruck. Common sense suggests that 850 strikes (480 of which involved 2,000-pound PGMs), must have disrupted the Iraqi government to some extent, and the effects were probably significant. However, without access to detailed information from the Iraqis, the question of exactly how much functional degradation occurred as a result of the aerial attacks could be answered neither during the war nor after. The only known fact is that, when the Coalition ground offensive began rolling on 24 February, the Iraqi regime was *not* paralyzed.²⁴⁸

Equally frustrating from an effects-based standpoint were the apparent lack of higher-order systemic and psychological effects from the attacks on Iraq’s electrical power grid. As previously discussed, circumstantial evidence suggests planners achieved their desired systemic effect in shutting down electrical power. Nonetheless, did “turning out the lights in Baghdad” impose observable friction on Iraqi leaders or affect popular attitudes toward Saddam and his regime as planners had hoped? According to information available to GWAPS, there was no “hard evidence of such cross-category effects.”²⁴⁹ Again, just as Saddam’s regime was not paralyzed, neither was it overthrown.²⁵⁰ In addition to what did not happen, the electrical targeting scheme brought with it unforeseen consequences that did result in public criticism. When

²⁴⁷ GWAPS, vol. II, “Operations,” 179 and 189.

²⁴⁸ GWAPS, vol. II, “Effects and Effectiveness,” 288-289.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 291-292 and 304.

²⁵⁰ For an insightful look at the psychological effects of air operations against strategic targets in Iraq, see Stephen T. Hosmer, *Psychological Effects of U.S. Air Operations in Four Wars 1941-1991*, (Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND, 1996), 43-60. In this section, he addresses three issues: bombing failed to neutralize Iraqi leadership, Saddam was not overthrown, and there were no popular uprisings.

Warden developed the strategic air plan, he fully expected the loss of electricity to have a pervasive effect on both military and civilian activities; however, he did not consider its impact on public access to fresh water.²⁵¹ Following the conflict, critics blamed this “unnecessary” targeting with a significant number of postwar civilian deaths due to sicknesses resulting from inadequate water purification and sewage treatment.²⁵²

Before concluding with a retrospective assessment of airpower’s effects on the Iraqi army, we need to briefly review the failure to destroy Iraq’s nuclear capability, one of the Coalition’s six stated military objectives. By war’s end, the number of nuclear targets had grown from two to eight, of which the Defense Intelligence Agency assessed five destroyed, two damaged, and one operational. However, just two days after the war ended, the Black Hole received a list of eight other nuclear targets to hit in the event bombing resumed. Furthermore, by October 1991, UN inspection teams uncovered twenty-one different sites, sixteen of which were “main facilities,” involved in Iraq’s nuclear program. During the war, we simply had no idea of the program’s true scope and status. In short, Desert Storm’s air attacks no more than “inconvenienced” Iraqi plans to field atomic weapons. The lesson, of course, is that you cannot target what you do not know exists or what you cannot locate.²⁵³ This problem also plagued planners attempting to identify facilities housing chemical weapons—the Iraqis could store them in “virtually any secure building or bunker,” which narrowed the number of possibilities to slightly more than 3,000.²⁵⁴

To end on a higher note, airpower was substantially more effective against Iraqi ground forces . . . though not exactly in the ways anticipated. To review, two of the original air objectives were to sever Iraqi supply lines and decrease the Iraqi army’s effectiveness by 50 percent. With regard to interdicting Saddam Hussein’s ability to transport supplies to his fielded forces, General Horner summed up his lessons by warning, “Anybody that does a campaign against transportation systems [had] better beware! It looks deceptively easy. It is a tough nut to crack.” Even after successfully

²⁵¹ GWAPS, vol. I, “Planning,” 117.

²⁵² See GWAPS, vol. II, “Effects and Effectiveness,” 305-307, for further details on these accusations and the GWAPS response as to why the allegations are invalid.

²⁵³ GWAPS, vol. I, “Planning,” 225, and vol. II, “Effects and Effectiveness,” 57, 317, 328-330, and 343.

²⁵⁴ GWAPS, vol. II, “Operations,” 230.

targeting selected bridges and chokepoints, the Iraqis proved ingenious at using pontoon bridges, ferries, causeways, alternate routes, and underwater bridges to keep supplies flowing into theater. Though Coalition air substantially degraded supply capacities, Iraqi ingenuity and perseverance drove up the opportunity costs of interdiction by requiring near-continuous river and road “recce” to maintain the supply degradation.²⁵⁵

Yet, what defines “successful” interdiction?²⁵⁶ In the end, the Iraqi army had no urgent need for resupply. After achieving their initial objectives in Kuwait, they dug in and stayed put. A static force in a defensive position uses little, if any, POL or ammunition and, thus, has minimal resupply needs. Even given our best efforts, the Iraqi truck fleet remained “sufficient to resupply the theater.”²⁵⁷ Similarly, analysts believed the amounts of stockpiled diesel fuel to be sufficient for weeks, if not months, of combat.²⁵⁸ Finally, as discussed earlier, the government was far from decapitated, and communications with Baghdad were almost continuously available.²⁵⁹ All of this is not to say there were not distribution problems within the theater, however; there were—some frontline units experienced extreme shortages of food and water.²⁶⁰ In the larger picture, however, the Iraqi army was not defeated due to lack of supplies.²⁶¹ Nor did

²⁵⁵ GWAPS, vol. II, “Effects and Effectiveness,” 188, 192, and 200. These GWAPS references discuss specific calculations in “tons per day” and how the capacities varied over the course of the conflict.

²⁵⁶ For an indepth discourse on this topic, see Eduard Mark, *Aerial Interdiction in Three Wars*, (Washington, D.C.: Center for Air Force History, 1994). For a much shorter, but very insightful analysis of interdiction effects, see Maj Scott G. Walker, *Targeting for Effect: Analytical Framework for Counterland Operations*, SAAS thesis, (Maxwell AFB, Ala.: Air University Press, 1998), 29-31.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 184 and 192.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 311.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 224. Moreover, as with the earlier question of successfully interdicting a static army, we must also question the *anticipated* success of a strategy aimed at achieving “strategic paralysis” in such a scenario. If the enemy is determined to fight a static, defensive battle of attrition and has no urgent need for resupply, how much contact does that enemy army need with its capital city? Of course, in any wartime scenario, one cannot simply assume the enemy is determined not to maneuver. Yet, examinations of numerous Arab military operations suggest that Arab military leaders tend to pursue offensive actions for limited gains and then revert to static, defensive operations to consolidate those gains. See Kenneth M. Pollack, “The Influence of Arab Culture on Arab Military Effectiveness,” (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1996), 548-555.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 197-200.

²⁶¹ This is not to say the interdiction was inconsequential or that it did not preclude a more lengthy conflict; however, arguments of the “if the ground war had gone beyond 100 hours” variety, regardless of their merit, enter into the realm of the counterfactual and exceed the scope of this paper. See GWAPS, vol. II, “Effects and Effectiveness,” 194. Historically, armies have proven difficult, if not impossible, to defeat through interdiction alone and more typically are defeated most economically through coordinated joint operations. See GWAPS, vol. II, “Effects and Effectiveness,” 371.

physical attrition of Iraqi combat equipment spell defeat for its ground forces. Rather, it was the psychological attrition of its soldiers that finally beat Iraq's army.²⁶²

Ultimately, the Iraqi army's morale appears to have been the most vulnerable and consequential target of Coalition bombing. Repeatedly, prisoner of war interrogations revealed that Saddam's troops were overwhelmed by a sense of futility following weeks of sustained bombing. As soldiers became aware of how vulnerable their tanks and equipment were to Coalition airpower, they fled their fully-functional vehicles—again resulting in virtual attrition. When aerial punishment persisted beyond the anticipated few days to a week, the sustained air supremacy flaunted the Coalition's ability to attack with impunity. This insidiously, but pervasively, fostered feelings of futility, hopelessness, and inevitable defeat.²⁶³ Eventually, some 84,000 to 100,000 Iraqi soldiers (25-30 percent) succumbed to this psychological cancer and deserted.²⁶⁴ This surprising effect is even more incredible when compared with the mere 10,000 to 12,000 that died of injuries sustained in air attacks. Perhaps Colonel Meilinger is on to something—maybe war, at its most basic, is psychological.²⁶⁵

Summary

Events surrounding Desert Storm's opening volley of air strikes suggest that parallel war requires a tremendous amount of intelligence much earlier than does a comparable sequential operation, and it reveals a need for close coordination between operations and intelligence communities. Planners discovered the ATO provided a poor format for relaying their intentions. Yet, even when strikers hit the desired targets in the ways planners intended, commanders often found their analysts capable only of assessing

²⁶² Ibid., 263, and GWAPS, vol. II, "Operations," 283. As a side note to ground force attrition, the lesson that troops on the move are easier to kill than those dug-in was reiterated several times. See GWAPS, vol. II, "Effects and Effectiveness," 233-239.

²⁶³ Ibid., 225. Two studies, which specifically address airpower's psychological impact on enemy ground troops, are Group Captain Andrew P. N. Lambert, RAF, *The Psychology of Air Power*, London: Royal United Services Institute for Defense Studies, 1995, and Maj John Huss, "Exploiting the Psychological Effects of Airpower: A Guide for the Operational Commander," *Aerospace Power Journal* 13, no. 4 (Winter 1999), 23-32. For examples of printed material used in formal psychological operations, see the 4th Psychological Operations Group Pamphlet, *Leaflets of the Persian Gulf War*, AFHRA NA-209.

²⁶⁴ Hosmer, 153, claims "no fewer than 160,000 (40 percent of those deployed) deserted before G-day." Regardless of actual desertion numbers though, Hosmer presents an excellent look at the psychological effects of Coalition air operations against Iraqi deployed forces in his Chapter 10, pages 141-176.

²⁶⁵ Col Phillip S. Meilinger, "Air Strategy: Targeting for Effect," *Aerospace Power Journal* 13, no. 4 (Winter 1999), 48-61.

levels of physical damage versus determining how much the attacks had impacted enemy functions. Analysts and planners alike struggled with an inability to confirm effects of non-destructive attacks, and post-strike photos often failed to reveal the destruction caused by PGMs. Lack of timely BDA was a consistent theme throughout the operation; yet commanders insisted on basing their decisions on tangible, objective indicators, rather than relying on subjective indicators or circumstantial evidence.

The Coalition's air offensive against Saddam Hussein and his Iraqi military showcased the technological prowess of the American armed forces. In several cases, however, inexpensive countermeasures defied our most sophisticated gadgetry. Ironically, strategic success was often most evident not in physical or even systemic damage, but the psychological impacts thereof. Yet these effects defy objective, quantitative analysis, so planners and decision makers were constantly challenged in their efforts to shape and manage the operation. While Desert Storm was extremely successful, the experience challenged certain theories about how to employ airpower for maximum effect. For instance, air strikes succeeded in taking down electrical power in Baghdad in the first minutes of the war, and most of Iraq was blacked out soon afterward. Yet, there is no evidence that "turning out the lights" had any operational impact on the Iraqi military or psychological effect on Iraqi leaders. Moreover, while Desert Storm was the most intense and precise aerial bombardment to date, the outcome fails to confirm assertions that airpower can decapitate a modern state or paralyze its military forces.

Regardless, while there were some problems and deficiencies, overall, the successes far outweighed the failures and, in the end, clearly stated political objectives set the stage for congruent, supporting, coordinated military operations.²⁶⁶ Regrettably, the stage could not have been more different less than a decade later in the Balkans.

²⁶⁶ For a contrary view of the Gulf War, see Jeffrey Record, *Hollow Victory*, (New York: Brassey's (U.S.), Inc, 1993).

Chapter 7

Operation Allied Force²⁶⁷

We hope that if military action is used, . . . that relatively quickly the Serbs will realize they've made a mistake . . .

Mr. Kenneth H. Bacon, Pentagon spokesman
DoD News Briefing, 23 March 1999

Hope is not a plan, nor a course of action!

Maj Gen Ron Keys, USAF
USEUCOM J-3 during Operation Allied Force

Historical Description

In February and March of 1999, Serbia intensified its protracted campaign to repress its Kosovar Albanian minority despite numerous attempts by the international community to resolve the issue through diplomacy. Under orders from President Slobodan Milosevic, the Serbian army stepped up its brutal attacks, killing people, burning villages, and creating a flood of refugees—over 60,000 in a five-week period and an estimated quarter of a million altogether.²⁶⁸ In order to avert humanitarian disaster and prevent the spread of instability in Europe, US forces, acting in concert with North American Treaty Organization (NATO) allies, commenced air strikes against Serbian military targets just after 2000 GMT on 24 March 1999.²⁶⁹ Warning that “if President Milosevic will not make peace, we will limit his ability to make war,” US President William J. Clinton cited three objectives for the Allied strikes:

²⁶⁷ **Note:** Because Operation Allied Force occurred so recently, the examination conducted in this chapter cannot meet the evidentiary standard set in previous chapters. Analysts are still exploring “lessons learned,” and the bulk of the story concerning Allied Forces’ execution remains classified. Moreover, officers involved in the Kosovo conflict still serve in the military, making it difficult to get objective testimony concerning their actions. Nevertheless, this case offers operational effects-related lessons that the author would be remiss for not including. These lessons point to problems that, if not corrected, portend great difficulties in future effects-based airpower operations. Consequently, Allied Force is an essential part of this study; however, to include it, the author had to withhold the identity of several sources. Nonetheless, the validity of all information herein was verified through multiple channels.

²⁶⁸ President William J. Clinton, televised national address, 24 March 1999; on-line, Internet, 22 Feb 2000, available from <http://www.pub.whitehouse.gov/uri-res/I2R?urn:pdi://oma.eop.gov.us/1999/3/24/5.text.1>.

²⁶⁹ Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen, DoD news briefing, 24 March 1999; on-line, Internet, 22 Feb 2000, available from http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Mar1999/t03241999_t0324sd.html.

First, to demonstrate the seriousness of NATO's opposition to aggression and its support for peace. Second, to deter President Milosevic from continuing and escalating his attacks on helpless civilians by imposing a price for those attacks. And, third, if necessary, to damage Serbia's capacity to wage war against Kosovo in the future by seriously diminishing its military capabilities.²⁷⁰

The following day, NATO Secretary General Dr. Javier Solana echoed the president's second objective as NATO's sole objective—"to halt the violence and to stop further humanitarian catastrophe."²⁷¹ To support these political objectives, CJCS Gen Henry H. Shelton succinctly stated NATO's military objective as diminishing "the ability of the Serbian military forces to continue their offensive operations against the people of Kosovo."²⁷² NATO Supreme Allied Commander in Europe (SACEUR) and Commander-in-Chief of US European Command (CINCEUCOM), Gen Wesley K. Clark, was slightly more verbose in his assertion that:

The military mission is to attack Yugoslav military and security forces and associated facilities with sufficient effect to degrade its capacity to continue repression of the civilian population and to deter its further military actions against his [sic] own people. We aim to put its military and security forces at risk. We are going to systematically and progressively attack, disrupt, degrade, devastate, and ultimately destroy these forces and their facilities and support, unless President Milosevic complies with the demands of the international community. In that respect the operation will be as long and difficult as President Milosevic requires it to be.²⁷³

Early on, President Clinton announced there would be no ground offensive, and he repeated that assurance several times during the crisis. Consequently, the military objectives became, by default, the *air* objectives of Operation Allied Force.

To achieve these objectives, Allied airpower first struck the Serbian integrated air defense system (IADS), command and control (C2) facilities, and infrastructure. Then, in

²⁷⁰ Clinton, 24 March 1999.

²⁷¹ NATO Secretary General Dr. Javier Solana, press conference, 25 March 1999; on-line, Internet, 22 Feb 2000, available from <http://www.eucom.mil/operations/af/nato/1999/march/99mar25.htm>. For a greater look at the widely differing US and European objectives, see Dick Diamond, "Kosovo Lessons Learned Study Group Final Report," Raytheon Systems Company PowerPoint briefing, 27 July 1999, slide 5.

²⁷² Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen Shelton, DoD news briefing, 24 March 1999; on-line, Internet, 22 Feb 2000, available from http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Mar1999/t03241999_t0324sd.html.

²⁷³ NATO Supreme Allied Commander in Europe and Commander-in-Chief of US European Command, General Wesley Clark, NATO press conference, 25 March 1999; on-line, Internet, 22 February 2000, available from <http://www.eucom.mil/operations/af/nato/1999/march/99mar25.htm>.

early April, NATO expanded its air operation to include simultaneous attacks on two generic target sets—fixed targets of “unique strategic value” and Serbian fielded forces.²⁷⁴ On 10 June 1999, 78 days after the first missiles fell, NATO suspended bombing after Serb military leaders signed a Military Technical Agreement that laid out terms for Serb withdrawal and entry of a NATO-led force.²⁷⁵ President Clinton celebrated this achievement by noting that “from the beginning, we had three clear objectives: the withdrawal of Serb forces, the deployment of an international security force with NATO at the core, [and] the return of the Kosovars to their home to live in security and self-government.”²⁷⁶ Ten days later, NATO Secretary General Solana officially terminated Operation Allied Force.²⁷⁷ Given these events as they unfolded, what role did effects-based operations play in this drama?

The Plans

Three issues weighed heavily on the effects-based potential of the Kosovo operation: 1) the lack of a long-term strategy to guide employment decisions, 2) the initial absence of formal objectives, and 3) conflict within and political intrusions into the targeting process. On 25 March, SACEUR General Clark described the opening strikes as “very well planned . . . very well rehearsed . . . [and] the culmination of a long period of planning.”²⁷⁸ Unfortunately, these comments were only true about the opening salvo. Senior commanders initially assumed that no more than two, at the outside three, days of airstrikes against approximately fifty Serbian targets would coerce Milosevic into

²⁷⁴ The targets of “unique strategic value” included national command and control facilities; infrastructure such as bridges, POL production, and communications; and, later, Serbia’s electrical power grid. See Rebecca Grant, “Airpower Made It Work,” *Air Force Magazine* 82, no. 11 (November 1999): 30-37. See also “General Wesley K. Clark on NATO’s Air Campaign,” 28 May 99; on-line, Internet, 22 Feb 2000, available from <http://www.eucom.mil/operations/af/usis/99may28.htm> and General Wesley K. Clark, press conference on the Kosovo strike assessment, 16 September 1999; on-line, Internet, 22 February 2000, available from <http://www.eucom.mil/operations/af/nato/1999/meabriefing.htm>.

²⁷⁵ DoD News Briefing with Secretary Cohen and USD Slocombe, 9 June 1999; on-line, Internet, 22 Feb 2000, available from http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Jun1999/t06091999_t0609kos.html.

²⁷⁶ Interestingly, though President Clinton did, indeed, cite three objectives on 24 March, the clarity of which are debatable, they were NOT the same three, now-clear, objectives cited on 10 June. President William J. Clinton, televised national address, 10 June 1999; on-line, Internet, 22 Feb 2000, available from <http://www.pub.whitehouse.gov/uri-res/I2R?urn:pdi://oma.eop.gov.us/1999/6/10/7.text.1>. Additionally, see the North Atlantic Council statement of goals dated 12 April 1999 (19 days after strikes began); on-line, Internet, 22 Feb 00, available from <http://www.defenselink.mil/specials/kosovo>.

²⁷⁷ “Operation Allied Force,” on-line, Internet, 22 February 2000, available from <http://www.eucom.mil/operations/af/index.htm>.

agreeing with NATO demands.²⁷⁹ Far from simply a military miscalculation, political officials deceived themselves as well. On 23 March, Pentagon Spokesman Kenneth Bacon confidently asserted, “We have plans for a swift and severe air campaign” and “the United States is not planning to deploy any more planes.”²⁸⁰ Within several weeks, requests for strike aircraft tripled in size.²⁸¹ This seems to indicate the United States was shortsighted and underestimated enemy capabilities. Unfortunately, other military problems were equally evident.

Planning efforts, organizational structures, and coordination processes proved inadequate when the conflict extended well beyond the anticipated two to three days. In the words of a prominent Air Force four-star general, the USAFE Combined Air Operations Center (CAOC) experience was that of a “pick-up team with ad hoc training.”²⁸² Commander of allied forces in southern Europe (CINCSOUTH) Admiral Ellis’s staff shared a similar view of the *short war syndrome*:

We called this one absolutely wrong . . . [It] affected much of what followed: JTF [Joint Task Force] activation, staff composition, facilities, command and control, logistics and execution; lack of coherent campaign planning; lack of adequate component staffing; the race to find suitable targets. . . . [The] OPLAN focused on brief, single-dimension combat . . . We failed to plan for branches and sequels. [Emphasis in original.]²⁸³

²⁷⁸ Clark, NATO press conference, 25 March 1999.

²⁷⁹ Grant, 30. See also the comments of Air Vice Marshal Mason and General Jumper in “Operation Allied Force: Strategy, Execution, Implications,” *An Eaker Colloquy on Aerospace Strategy, Requirements, and Forces*, Ronald Reagan International Trade Center, Washington D.C., 16 August 1999, pages 3 and 11; on-line, Internet, 26 February 2000, available from <http://www.aef.org/eak16aug99.html>. The senior leadership’s “short-war” mentality may have been caused, at least in part, by overly optimistic lessons derived from the fifteen-day Operation Deliberate Force less than four years earlier. Still, there *were* other plans developed, which outlined a comprehensive, long-term, phased air strategy; however, these were never accepted at the highest levels of USEUCOM and SHAPE. From personal interview with Lt Col L. T. Wight, USAF, Operation Allied Force C-5 Strategy Cell, 7 March 2000.

²⁸⁰ Kenneth H. Bacon, DoD news briefing, 23 March 1999; on-line, Internet, 22 February 2000, available from http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Mar1999/t03231999_t0323asd.html.

²⁸¹ Grant, 36. See also the comments of AVM Mason in the Eaker Colloquy, page 3.

²⁸² The general’s name is withheld to comply with Air University’s policy of non-attribution.

²⁸³ Draft briefing prepared for Commander-in-Chief, US Naval Forces, Europe; Commander, Allied Forces Southern Europe; and Commander, Joint Task Force NOBLE ANVIL, Adm James O. Ellis, USN. Following Operation Allied Force, Admiral Ellis’s London-based staff drafted an extremely candid after-action PowerPoint briefing entitled “A View from the Top,” from which these quotes are taken. After the draft was created, e-mail facilitated its widespread, but unauthorized, distribution. Though his staff did not disavow the contents, Admiral Ellis declined to personally deliver the briefing following its premature proliferation.

The operation's after-action report to Congress described the initial CAOC as a "hodgepodge of unique systems" and cautioned that, in the future, "such centers cannot be set up from scratch."²⁸⁴ There was no strategy cell and no guidance, apportionment, and targeting (GAT) process until well after the first month of the conflict.²⁸⁵ The ultimate impact of this shortsightedness was that no one could develop a consistent targeting strategy during the first half of the operation. Yet, not all of the blame should fall on this one area.

Much of Allied Force's early operational struggle and inefficiency occurred because planners had no formal objectives to focus their actions. Following President Clinton's assurance there would be no ground offensive, the overall military objectives did become, by default, the *air* objectives. The problem lay in a disconnect between the logical "by default" inference and what actually transpired within the military chain of command. In reality, "objectives were never formally passed to those entrusted with planning the air operations." Moreover, those objectives that were elucidated tended to change regularly. Those officers tasked with defining the combined force air component commander's (CFACC) strategy-to-task plan for achieving Higher Headquarters (HHQ) objectives did not have a definitive statement of that HHQ's mission, intent, and objectives, and, consequently, were unable to plan a coherent campaign. This was especially true with respect to associating specific targets and target sets with CFACC tasks.²⁸⁶ Other hurdles hindered effective targeting as well.

Target selection and targeting approval became two of the alliance's greatest challenges. First, CFACC Lt Gen Michael Short and SACEUR General Clark disagreed throughout on the basic targeting scheme as far as the weight of effort devoted towards bombing for strategic effects versus attacking Serbian fielded forces.²⁸⁷ Beyond this,

²⁸⁴ Kosovo / Operation Allied Force After-Action Report, Report to Congress, 31 January 00, 45 and 49-50.

²⁸⁵ Wight, 7 March 2000.

²⁸⁶ Lt Col Patrick Shaw, USAF, Operation Allied Force Guidance, Apportionment, and Targeting (GAT) team chief, interview by author, 28 March 2000. The vast majority of information on this subject remains classified, however, numerous Allied Force participants have corroborated these statements. In fact, comments such as, "there was no strategy, goals, objectives, tasks until much later in the war" came up in every interview the author conducted.

²⁸⁷ John A. Tirpak, "Short's View of the Air Campaign," *Air Force Magazine*, September 1999, vol. 82, no. 9, 43-47. Also, see Linda D. Kozaryn, "Air Chief's Kosovo Lesson: Go for Snake's Head First," *American*

alliance politics and concerns for collateral damage played a tremendous role. The nineteen-nation North Atlantic Council had to give unanimous authorization to strike each category of target, and targets in certain categories required individual approval by leaders in Washington, Paris, and London. General Clark vetted every target and, initially, the ordnance used against them; yet, political leaders frequently rejected even those targets the theater CINC personally chose.²⁸⁸ Such political rejections did not always occur early in the process as one or two nations could veto a target literally up until moments before ordnance release. More than once this caused air commanders to recall packages already airborne and enroute to their assigned targets.²⁸⁹ Acting in concert, the shortsighted planning, lack of objectives, target selection conflict, and collateral damage concerns made it impossible to execute a coherent, coordinated, and integrated air strategy. Consequently, effects-based operations at the operational and strategic levels of war were largely a moot point.

The Execution

Recalling the targeting tension between SACEUR and CFACC and this chapter's epigraphic thoughts on "hope," the execution of Allied Force seemed to *hope* for the success of a more sophisticated strategy aimed at creating strategic effects by striking key targets, but *rely* on a classic attrition strategy. Jamie Shea provides the clearest evidence of this dichotomy in a 4 May NATO press conference.

[W]e are able to turn off and on the light switch in Belgrade, and *hopefully* also thereby to turn the lights on . . . in the heads and minds of the Belgrade leadership as they realize that they have no option but to meet the essential demands of the international community. [Emphasis added.]

Forces Press Service news article, 21 October 1999; on-line, Internet, 24 Feb 2000, available from http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Oct1999/n10261999_9910264.html.

²⁸⁸ Karl Mueller, "Deus Ex Machina? Coercive Air Power in Bosnia and Kosovo," paper presented at the Program on International Security Policy, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL, 16 November 1999. See also Grant, 33; Tirpak, 47; and Report to Congress, 16. Of the nineteen nations, only thirteen had forces present and most acquiesced to whatever was agreed upon. In reality, after the United States nominated a target, "France, Germany, the UK, and Italy were the real NAC target approval team." Shaw, 28 March 2000. Lastly, though political leaders often rejected targets due to concerns about collateral damage, there were cases where independent economic considerations also influenced the target approval process.

²⁸⁹ Grant, 35.

And now our emphasis . . . will be on grinding the forces down in the field in Kosovo until such time as they realize that they have no option but to depart.²⁹⁰

Within this strategy, NATO commanders demonstrated they understood the need to create functional effects when they made statements such as “a tank stuck in its tracks because it has no fuel is far less of a tank” and “a command-and-control network [with] no [electrical] power means no runway lights, no computers, [and] no secure communications.”²⁹¹ However, efforts to apply this knowledge faced quite an uphill struggle through the fog and friction created by ad hoc organizations plagued with internal communication gaps and lack of clear direction.

In the end, “this was NOT an objectives-based war.”²⁹² In one specific example, planners targeted the enemy command, control, communications, computer, and intelligence (C4I) network for takedown, anticipating such a strike would decrease enemy capability for 6 to 12 hours. However, they planned no follow-on actions to exploit this brief period of vulnerability. In essence, they had decided to destroy select facilities within the network simply because they were C4I-related. They had not considered what specific effects they wanted or how those effects might contribute to a larger plan.²⁹³

When considering the entire military effort, not to mention the political interactions, the term “effects-based operations” does not accurately describe the actions planners took during Allied Force. Nevertheless, the conflict did provide a showcase for improvements in US intelligence operations that have potential for supporting future effects-based efforts. One of these was the Joint Warfighting Analysis Center (JWAC) based in Dahlgren, Virginia.²⁹⁴

²⁹⁰ Jamie Shea, NATO Spokesman, NATO news backgrounder, 4 May 1999; on-line, Internet, 22 Feb 2000, available from <http://www.eucom.mil/operations/af/nato/1999/may/99may04.htm>.

²⁹¹ Jamie Shea, NATO Spokesman, NATO news backgrounder, 3 May 1999; on-line, Internet, 22 Feb 2000, available from <http://www.eucom.mil/operations/af/nato/1999/may/99may03a.htm>.

²⁹² From a Navy Commander who must remain anonymous, but had confirmed access to the highest-level military video teleconferences during Operation Allied Force. Emphasis in original statement.

²⁹³ Though only a single example, this is representative of many discussed in several briefings given to the School of Advanced Airpower Studies between September and December 1999. Specific sources are withheld due to the school’s stated policy of non-attribution; however, details have been corroborated by multiple individuals with access to the highest levels of planning and execution.

²⁹⁴ Discussing the vast majority of the JWAC’s capabilities requires classified access. Likewise, discussion of specific support provided by JWAC during Operation Allied Force is beyond the classification of this paper. Therefore, what follows is an extremely brief and skeletal look at the JWAC’s

Established in May 1994, the JWAC is a conglomerate of military personnel, engineers, and scientists who provide effects-based precision targeting options for selected networks and nodes of designated regions or countries.²⁹⁵ As capabilities for precisely employing force have evolved, so has the need for precise intelligence and targeting analysis. The JWAC is attempting to fill that need by coupling multi-source intelligence and imagery with human and computer-aided analysis to generate intelligence on the material basis of an enemy's war effort. The four main core competencies of JWAC's analytical efforts—electrical power (EP); petroleum, oil and lubricants (POL); lines of communication (LOC); and telecommunications (TELECOM)—focus on infrastructure networks. To these, the JWAC is adding three other competencies (critical industries, commodities, and military logistics) with the goal being to consider these seven areas as an integrated whole. Upon tasking by a supported CINC, the JWAC assesses the designated state, region, or group for potential targets within the seven areas of analysis. Then the JWAC evaluates these prospective targets in terms of potential effects on the state's elements of national power: military, political, economic, and social.²⁹⁶ In addition to providing planning support to the combatant commands, functional components, and the Joint Staff, the JWAC assists in developing battle damage indicators (BDI) and conducting combat assessments to include battle damage assessments (BDA) and reattack recommendations on infrastructure networks.²⁹⁷ Therefore, the JWAC is involved throughout both the planning and execution phases of an air operation. As ideal as that sounds, however, the JWAC could not provide all of Allied Force's assessment needs. By virtue of the core competencies comprising JWAC's analytical efforts, it should be obvious that such detailed analysis requires significant forethought and study prior to employment. In fact, such effects-based analysis of Serbia did take place in mid-1998, however, once briefed to NATO, "it was

generic capabilities. The author's intent is simply to ensure the reader is aware of the JWAC's existence and the role the Department of Defense intends it to play.

²⁹⁵ Joint Warfare Analysis Center homepage; on-line, Internet, 7 April 2000; available from <http://www.jwac.ic.gov>.

²⁹⁶ Maj Jay M. Kreighbaum, "Force Application Planning: A Systems-and-Effects-Based Approach," (Unpublished thesis, School of Advanced Airpower Studies (SAAS), 1998), 38-39.

²⁹⁷ JWAC homepage.

less than warmly received,” much like the earlier comprehensive, long term air strategies that were never approved.²⁹⁸

As pre-strike analysis had its difficulties, so too did post-strike assessment. Recalling the C4I attacks, if planners simply wanted to destroy targets, then they could measure their results easily enough via overhead imagery and cockpit video. Higher order effects, however, required other means of appraisal.

The Assessment

By and large, appraising effects and effectiveness falls under a category labeled operational assessment (OA). On day three of the conflict, the 32nd Air Operations Squadron (AOS), Ramstein Air Base, Germany, was tasked to provide daily mission results to the USAFE Director of Operations and USAF air campaign planners on B-52 conventional air-launched cruise missile (CALCM), F-117, and B-2 strikes.²⁹⁹ Ill-equipped for the assignment, the squadron could only allocate a few people and those tasked had no connections with any of the participating organizations such as the CAOC, JTF Noble Anvil, or any of the air wings. As the conflict extended well beyond the originally anticipated two to three days and the scope of the assessment mission expanded likewise, the small contingent became overwhelmed. On day eleven, senior USAFE leaders apparently realized the scope of their assessment request and tasked the Warrior Preparation Center (WPC) to collect data and provide analysis on the air campaign. This second tasking did a much better job of aligning requirements with capabilities. Additionally, the WPC could supply significantly more people to the job, and, in fact, simply replaced the vast majority of original analysts, who then returned to other taskings. Upon arrival at the 32 AOS, the WPC team discovered no mechanism or tool in place to either collect or analyze the necessary data. “Although there were numerous spreadsheets and briefings, no comprehensive, real-time system existed to capture data and then perform analysis.”³⁰⁰ With sufficient numbers of personnel and the proper hardware and software now present, operational assessment significantly

²⁹⁸ Col Kevin Kenkel, USAF, Operation Allied Force Operational Assessment Team Chief, interview by author, 24 April 2000.

²⁹⁹ Joe J. Puckett, “Operational Assessment Team’s Analytical Support for the Kosovo Air Campaign,” *PHALANX* 32, no. 3 (September 1999).

improved.³⁰¹ However, once again, lack of operational and strategic objectives complicated any OA usefulness. Without stated objectives, there was nothing against which to assess any results.³⁰² While most of the operational assessment team (OAT) remained at Ramstein, a small, two-person element forward-deployed to Italy on 17 April. Upon arrival, it too found itself in a completely unfamiliar situation as the Vicenza CAOC had never before used an operational assessment team. The OAT-forward found “no plan, no strategy, no operational assessment in place, no feedback loop to the CFACC, [and] no data gathered.” In short, operational assessment had been grossly overlooked in the beginning of Operation Allied Force.³⁰³

Once assessment was underway, two topics with effects assessment implications came up repeatedly—Allied air superiority against the Serbian air defense system and the morale of enemy ground troops. The air superiority issue revolved around disagreements between planners about exactly what Allied commanders wanted to achieve. Most believed Allied airpower leaders simply wanted the ability to conduct air operations “without prohibitive interference by the opposing force.”³⁰⁴ If that was the objective, then NATO aircraft achieved this capability within the first month of combat, and ultra-low Allied loss rates confirmed that accomplishment.³⁰⁵ This freed strike aircraft to destroy other key targets, but repeatedly charged an opportunity cost in terms of

³⁰⁰ Kenkel, OAT Chief, “Introduction to the Operational Assessment Team’s Analytical Support for the Kosovo Air Campaign,” *PHALANX* 32, no. 3 (September 1999).

³⁰¹ Besides the integration of JWAC, another highlight for Operation Allied Force was the development and employment of the Mission Analysis Tracking and Tabulation System (MATTS). A multi-user relational database, MATTS archived the operational execution of Allied Force by compiling and correlating strike mission data from planning through execution to assessment. For the first time, analysts had a tool that combined ATO tasking information and aircrew mission report (MISREP) details with aimpoint imagery and mission assessment comments—all in a single database. The Warrior Preparation Center prototyped MATTS in the conflict’s opening weeks and then employed and upgraded the software throughout the remainder of the conflict. For further details concerning MATTS, see Joe J. Puckett, operations research analyst for the WPC/Analysis Directorate, “Operational Assessment Team’s Analytical Support for the Kosovo Air Campaign,” *PHALANX* 32, no. 3 (September 1999).

³⁰² Shaw, 28 March 2000, and Kenkel, 24 April 2000.

³⁰³ Capt Mara Dowling, USAF, Operation Allied Force OAT Chief of Data Collection and Research, interview by author, 28 March 2000.

³⁰⁴ Joint Pub 1-02, Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms, 23 March 1994 as amended through 10 January 2000 ; on-line, Internet, 22 February 2000, available from <http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/ref.htm>.

³⁰⁵ “Allied Force Chief Cites Success,” 24 April 1999; on-line, Internet, 22 February 2000, available from http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Apr1999/n04261999_9904262.html. “We have achieved air superiority

suppression of enemy air defense (SEAD) assets. Regardless of Serbian IADS inactivity, Allied forces still had to maintain protective SEAD assets in place because, even though Yugoslav air defenses may not have been active, they were not dead, either.³⁰⁶ Consequently, other planners, such as those on Admiral Ellis's staff, maintained that Allied leaders wanted to decimate Serbian air defenses. However, NATO's ability to do that depended heavily on the enemy's willingness to engage, and "after 78 days of hard campaigning, we [had] effected little degradation on a modern IADS system [with] redundant systems and well-trained operators with the discipline to wait for a better opportunity."³⁰⁷ Ultimately, though, most planners concede that airpower did achieve what it set out to do in the area of air superiority. Guidance, Apportionment, and Targeting team chief Lt Col Patrick Shaw asserts, "One of the CFACC objectives was to 'Enable' air operations. We didn't seek to destroy the IADS, just to make it unable to prevent us from doing other things."³⁰⁸ This position is consistent with the decision air leaders made early in the conflict to operate at altitudes negating most Serbian anti-aircraft systems, thus enabling Allied aircraft to attack with virtual impunity. Yet, as the CINCSOUTH staff comments indicate, the air superiority objective was either not completely agreed upon or not completely understood by all involved.

The second area that challenged the Allies' effects assessment capabilities was measuring the morale of enemy ground troops. Allied leaders devoted considerable effort to physical and psychological operations aimed at achieving enemy demoralization. Heavy bombers targeting ground formations with substantial numbers of "dumb bombs" created great physical and, hopefully, psychological effects, while the more formal psychological operations (PSYOPs) consisted of leaflet deliveries and TV and radio broadcasts. MC-130H Talon IIs and F-16 "Vipers" disseminated over 100 million leaflets with 37 different messages over 82 Serbian target areas, while the EC-130E

at mid to high altitudes throughout Yugoslavia. The air defense forces there are ineffective against NATO aircraft."

³⁰⁶ Grant, 33. The actual expense of these opportunity costs must be weighed in the context of how many assets were available and what, if anything, else these assets could be "freed" to do. For example, F-16CJs and EA-6Bs were specifically designed as SEAD platforms. These assets were in theater specifically to provide SEAD and if there were enough to provide the requisite coverage, then there were no opportunity costs. Other situations and numbers of platforms yield different answers.

³⁰⁷ Ellis draft. As further corroboration, Grant, 34, states, "Overall, NATO did not destroy as many SAM batteries as air planners would have liked."

Commando broadcasted over 1,300 hours of radio and TV messages.³⁰⁹ Throughout the campaign, analysts measured the effects of these operations via troop desertion rates and the increasing numbers of Yugoslavs evading reserve call-ups.³¹⁰ In one briefing, Rear Adm Thomas R. Wilson, J-2, director of Joint Staff intelligence, cited a report of 300-plus deserters in a single day, but cautioned that assessment must focus on the trend and not the number.³¹¹ Unfortunately, CAOC planners often had neither the numbers nor the trends. Though the author was unable to determine which analysts measured morale effects, it was not the CAOC operational assessment team. CAOC planners were unaware of this demoralization objective, much less any developed measures of effectiveness, and they received their first “feedback” on this portion of the operation from televised press conferences.³¹² Again, the lack of formal objectives combined with an ad hoc organizational structure greatly nullified the effects-based potential of Operation Allied Force.

The Feedback and Response

The inability to get timely BDA was a problem. As BDA is a subset and, therefore, precursor of combat assessment (CA), this problem had significant impacts on the feedback and retargeting process. Much of the difficulty arose because there was no single point of assessment authority designated, and, over time, several agencies began offering their own versions of assessment without coordinating with each other. JTF Noble Anvil provided a high level “thermometer-like” assessment (red-yellow-green sliding scale), while the CAOC operational assessment team conducted more detailed assessments looking at individual missions, bombs, and impact points.³¹³ Phase one

³⁰⁸ Shaw, 28 March 2000.

³⁰⁹ USAFE Directorate of Studies and Analysis, “Air War Over Serbia (AWOS) Fact Sheet,” 31 January 00, 6 and 8.

³¹⁰ Among the numerous articles addressing this issue, see “NATO Cracking Serb Army, Police Morale, Cohen Says,” 12 April 1999, on-line, Internet, 22 February 2000, available from http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Apr1999/n04131999_9904132.html, and “Air Campaign Pounds Yugoslavs, Milosevic; Withers Morale,” 22 April 1999, on-line, Internet, 22 Feb 2000, available from http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Apr1999/n04231999_9904232.html.

³¹¹ Rear Adm Thomas R. Wilson, DoD news briefing, 30 April 1999; on-line, Internet, 22 February 2000, available from http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Apr1999/t04301999_t0430asd.html.

³¹² Wight, 7 March 2000.

³¹³ Dowling, 28 March 2000. Initially, there was considerable uncertainty as to whether NATO would have sufficient political will to become involved in offensive operations or whether there would be a unilateral US response. Therefore, General Clark stood up JTF-Noble Anvil around the USNAVEUR staff

(physical) BDA came from the OAT and often the GAT team itself.³¹⁴ The CAOC generally received phase two (functional) BDA after approximately a week, which was too late for GAT use. Likewise, phase three (systemic) BDA, when available, also arrived too late for the GAT to use, and the strategy cell never saw any at all.³¹⁵ The GAT team made a concerted effort to avoid “making rubble bounce” and, accordingly, created two categories for questionable targets. The team affixed the label “GAT hold” to targets on which they were awaiting further BDA, while “revalidate” described targets they deemed unnecessary to meet CFACC objectives and, subsequently, returned to the tasking agency. A third category, “effects achieved,” designated targets that had been struck, with self-explanatory results. By war’s end, the GAT team had few appropriate targets remaining. However, as the end approached, the number of “revalidates” grew as various agencies came under pressure from SACEUR to produce targets. General Clark directed that 2000 targets (or “T2K,” as insiders called them) be made available. There was no reason for the number given, and, apparently, it was arbitrarily chosen without regard for specific effects.³¹⁶

An inability to get accurate BDA was also a problem. In one situation, BDA reports listed a critical target as having only “light damage.” Knowing the target had been struck a week prior, a planner retrieved the associated cockpit video and watched as two GBU-27 laser-guided bombs penetrated the target leaving only two small holes with

as a preparatory step to US-only operations. As events unfolded, NATO forces executed the vast majority of the operation while the US-only JTF structure remained in place to control assets such as the B-2 and F-117 that did not have operational control given to NATO commanders. For a detailed look at this convoluted organizational structure, see Kosovo / Operation Allied Force After-Action Report, Report to Congress, 31 January 00, 16-21.

³¹⁴ For a review of BDA’s three phases, see footnote number 8 of chapter 2. Having the GAT team provide its own BDA is not the way the airpower employment process was intended to function. Therefore, the team had neither the numbers nor qualifications of personnel to accomplish this task. The actions taken by the Allied Force GAT team were over and above their official charter and driven by the fact they were not receiving their doctrinal support from other agencies. The GAT team is primarily responsible for developing the joint integrated prioritized target list (JIPTL). Additionally, they develop the daily JFACC apportionment recommendation, planning guidance, and intent, to include objectives as well as operational constraints and restraints for each ATO period. For a detailed discussion of GAT responsibilities, see Air Force Instruction (AFI) 13-1 AOC Volume 3 *Operational Procedures—Aerospace Operations Center*, 1 June 1999, Chapter 6.

³¹⁵ Phase three (systemic) BDA was federated, meaning that numerous agencies participated. Usually, the agency responsible for developing the targets within a particular target set was also responsible for determining attack effectiveness against the enemy systems those sets comprised. Shaw, 28 March 2000, and Wight, 7 March 2000.

³¹⁶ Shaw, 28 March 2000, and Wight, 21 April 2000.

smoke billowing out of them. The planner elected not to restrike the target.³¹⁷ In another case, the objective had been to “destroy” a certain building. When post-strike photography revealed one and a half walls still standing, the analyst sent the target back up to be restruck—so much for functional kills.³¹⁸

Due to Allied leaders’ “short war” mentality, the need for a GAT process was initially overlooked. Even when such a requirement was recognized, developing a team with an effective process and integrating that process into CAOC operations required time. Once the GAT process was underway in the final month of the conflict, the team attempted to strike only those targets necessary to achieve a specific CFACC objective or task. They also tried to determine what was required to achieve the desired effect on each particular target. Unfortunately, that type of analysis was often impossible because many of the agencies nominating targets typically had no specific effects in mind when they selected those targets.³¹⁹ More often than not, targets were nominated simply “because the target may have had some military significance at one time or another.” These effects-irrelevant nominations were largely an attempt to fill Clark’s “T2K” directive. Due to lack of support, the GAT team ended up doing a lot of this “analysis,” but found itself improperly equipped for the task.³²⁰

Operation Allied Force did provide airpower operators an opportunity to employ some innovative new concepts such as using real-time reconnaissance imagery to detect mobile targets and “flex” already-airborne assets against them. However, given the operational and strategic problems discussed earlier, that is, conflicting guidance and lack of a long-term strategy, not to mention complete absence of a guidance, apportionment, and targeting (GAT) process or operational assessment team early on, the overall value of this new tactical capability as employed in this operation is questionable. Who, using what guidance, determined whether a “flex” target, even if militarily significant, was 1)

³¹⁷ Shaw, 29 March 2000.

³¹⁸ Wight, 7 March 2000.

³¹⁹ According to Wight, 8 May 2000, a number of agencies provided target nominations throughout the conflict. The US Navy nominated TLAM and some information operation (IO) targets, while the US Army nominated primarily Kosovo engagement zone (KEZ) targets, such as artillery and counter-battery fires. “Flex” target nominations came from a variety of sources including tactical reconnaissance platforms and national intelligence sources and agencies. The CAOC strategy cell internally nominated a few targets, and EUCOM/SHAPE nominated a significant number. Finally, the CIA nominated at least one.

³²⁰ Shaw, 28 March 2000.

aligned with CFACC priorities and intentions, and 2) more or less valuable than the target originally assigned? Unfortunately, because this operation occurred so recently, little of the operational experience describing this tactic has been recorded in an unclassified format. Consequently, these questions cannot be answered in this paper. What can be said, however, is that these types of doctrinal questions needed to be addressed before the associated tactics were employed, and they were not.

The Results in Retrospect

Allied Force was a remarkable operation in several respects. Over a 78-day period, NATO allies flew over 38,000 sorties (14,000 strike and 24,000 support) and delivered over 28,000 munitions on more than 9,800 separate aimpoints, of which 75 percent suffered moderate to severe damage. Even with this level of activity, there were less than twenty incidents of collateral damage and NATO experienced an unprecedented zero combat casualties, while suffering only two aircraft losses.³²¹

Overall though, these results allude to two important lessons. First, airpower is an extremely powerful tool even when shackled with all of the employment problems discussed previously. Second, despite this impressive capability, substantial operational and strategic shortcomings persist. Numerous examples continue to demonstrate that, regardless of our desire for quantified solutions, numbers do not answer our most important questions. At the operational level, for instance, our ability to achieve air superiority appears amazingly impressive from a numerical standpoint. Even though less than ten percent of the strike missions targeted the Serbian air defense system, the resultant effect was a friendly aircraft loss rate of less than 0.1 percent.³²² The problem, again, lies in the opportunity cost imposed by an IADS that is inactive rather than destroyed. This issue is magnified further when viewed in the context of President Clinton's original objectives for Operation Allied Force. On 24 March 1999, his third objective was "to damage Serbia's capacity to wage war against Kosovo in the future by seriously diminishing its military capabilities."³²³ If you consider the Serb air defense

³²¹ Kozaryn, "Air Chief's Kosovo Lesson: Go for Snake's Head First." See also AWOS Fact Sheet, 6.

³²² AWOS Fact Sheet, 5. The interim fact sheet promises an expanded section on "Effects" in the more detailed AWOS One-Year Report.

³²³ Clinton, 24 March 1999.

system to be a component of future military capabilities, then virtual attrition hardly suffices to achieve the president's objective. Another example that demonstrates the frequent irrelevance of impressive numbers to important questions lies in the targeting of the Serb electrical system. While only two-tenths of one percent of all targets struck were electrical power facilities, these few strikes effectively denied electricity to 85 percent of Serbia.³²⁴ The broader point of contention, however, is that we still do not know how or even whether the loss of electrical power influenced Milosevic into capitulating.

In the end, these broader effects-related questions are the most troubling because answering them so often requires cooperation from our vanquished foes. As Schelling said, a coercive strategy works primarily in the mind of the enemy. Consequently, while it may be possible to modify adversary behavior, rarely do we know what psychological influences triggered the change. In retrospect, from a strategic perspective, we still cannot definitively state what caused Milosevic to capitulate; whether it was Russia's threatened withdrawal of support, the Kosovo Liberation Army's actions as a surrogate ground force, Clark's targeting the Serbian fielded forces, Short's strikes against targets of "unique strategic value," or some aggregate of all these things. Perhaps, Milosevic had simply achieved his objectives.³²⁵ Without the Serb president explicitly telling us why he yielded when he did, we simply do not know for sure. Ultimately, we can only be sure of one thing: NATO did achieve its principal military objective of a Serbian withdrawal from Kosovo; however, it was not able to halt ethnic cleansing before it was essentially complete. Perhaps airpower, even with all its capabilities, was not the instrument of choice to generate this specific effect.³²⁶

³²⁴ AWOS Fact Sheet, 5.

³²⁵ Grant, 31-32, shares the comment of a Pentagon official that Milosevic's campaign was basically complete by 3 April.

³²⁶ Mueller. Additionally, as Grant, 31, relates the thoughts of US Air Force Chief of Staff Gen Michael E. Ryan, "[T]here was no way that airstrikes alone could halt the door-to-door killings that had been under way." Taking a less critical view, Secretary of Defense Cohen claims, "The United States and NATO achieved all goals set when the operations over Kosovo began in March." See William S. Cohen, "DoD Studies Kosovo Lessons Learned" news brief, 14 October 1999; on-line, Internet, 22 Feb 2000, available from http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Oct1999/n10141999_9910144.html.

Summary

Although NATO finally achieved capitulation and “victory,” there were significant problems in Kosovo other than those perpetuated by Milosevic. From having only a two-day plan on the shelf, to prolonged conflict between the SACEUR and CFACC over targeting plans, to objectives written after the fact, there appears to have been no strategy, much less a coherent one, guiding the initial execution of this air operation. Admittedly, during the second half of the conflict, after the strategy cell *found* some objectives, operational assessment had begun, and the GAT process was underway, the CAOC’s operational efficiency and effectiveness improved considerably. In the main, however, any consideration of effects-based targeting at the strategic and operational levels was, at best, an afterthought. Yet, even given these criticisms, Operation Allied Force was a success, and there were a number of high points besides Milosevic’s eventual capitulation. During 78 days of operations, NATO conducted more than 38,000 sorties with zero friendly combat casualties.³²⁷ Demonstrating post-Desert Storm improvements in lethal precision, virtually all air-to-ground strikers had some precision capability, and the B-2 with the Joint Direct Attack Munition (JDAM) demonstrated that weather was no longer an inhibitor. On balance though, without a clear strategy and specific, pre-defined objectives with well thought through measures of effectiveness, “effects-based operations” was simply a pleasant phrase implying an operational coherence not truly present.

³²⁷ James A. Kitfield, “Another Look at the Air War That Was,” *Air Force Magazine*, December 1999, 42.

Chapter 8

Conclusions, Findings, and Implications

Those who seek to plan the future should not forget the inheritance they have received from the past . . .

—Sir Winston Churchill

This study set out to determine how effectively the US Air Force has incorporated the concept of effects-based operations into its procedures for targeting and combat assessment. It began by introducing the concept of effects-based operations and a variety of taxonomies with which to consider and analyze that concept. Next, it reviewed the ideas of nine theorists and found that effects-related theory has existed at least as long as airpower theory. Following this review, the study examined how well effects-based operations were planned and executed in four case studies occurring between the early 1940s and 2000. This chapter culminates the study by looking for relevant lessons across those four military operations.

The conclusion begins with a focused comparison of the four cases to assess how well the US Air Force has incorporated effects-based operations into its actual combat employment. The analytical framework used within the case studies (planning, execution, assessment, feedback, and response) appears once again to facilitate the cross-study comparisons. From there, the paper offers a number of additional observations concerning other effects-related lessons evident from the case studies. These conclusions and findings suggest several areas in need of improvement, and the study concludes by looking at the actions necessary to make those improvements.

Conclusions

Senior decision makers have always been interested in creating specific effects rather than simply destroying targets; however, as a whole, the USAF has been inconsistent in employing effects-based operations across the spectrum of conflict. American airpower has accomplished its most significant improvements at the tactical level of war. Though technological advances have made airpower more capable in many regards, the Air Force has focused its greatest efforts on developing more precise, more

lethal munitions that can destroy targets most reliably with the lowest risk to friendly life. While additional advances have been made in areas besides munitions, the Air Force has not, for the most part, formally integrated these improved capabilities into its tactical operations. Where integration has occurred, it has usually been ad hoc. Consequently, the air service has failed to fully exploit the synergistic effects that operational integration of these capabilities offers. The ability to conduct effects-based operations at the strategic and grand strategic levels depends greatly on the context of the specific international situation requiring armed intervention and what senior-level personalities are in place at the time. In a similar vein, airpower's performance along the physical-systemic-psychological spectrum of effects seems to parallel its performance at the three levels of war. Airpower has become very effective at producing direct, physical effects, and it is becoming increasingly capable of creating certain widespread systemic effects. Generally, though, the ability to even predict, much less generate, specific psychological effects remains yet a hope and may, in fact, act as a virtual ceiling on the potential of effects-based operations. The following sections discuss these conclusions and others in greater detail.

Planning

Much of airpower's inconsistency in employing effects-based operations was due to weaknesses in planning. First, the USAF could not control the formulation of political and strategic objectives, both of which dictated, to some extent, the focus of subsequent, supporting air operations.³²⁸ Second, airmen were never completely free to select the targets they deemed necessary to accomplish their given objectives. Lastly, targeting intelligence was never perfect, and as the nature of the target moved from the physical to the systemic and psychological, available information became even more incomplete.

Objectives are the key to any effects-based operation. The earlier decision makers clearly articulated specific objectives, the more precisely subordinate commanders and staffs were able to craft supporting strategies and tasks. Additionally, the higher these objectives were stated, the more far-reaching and coherent were the supporting effects. Limited, unambiguous, political objectives that directly translated

³²⁸ Nor should the military preside over civilian policy makers. This section does not argue for change, but rather simply acknowledges the practical limitations of our chosen form of government.

into military objectives and strategies made it significantly more likely that the United States would achieve its ultimate objectives. However, the ability to articulate these types of political objectives depended heavily not only upon the type of conflict in which the United States was involved, but also upon what senior-level personalities were present at the time.

The case studies also suggest that airpower must have a unified and clearly delineated chain of command. This ensures a unity of effort focused on achieving the stated objectives in priority order. In Desert Storm, unity of command ensured official coordination rather than hopeful cooperation. Unfortunately, the air operations over North Vietnam relied upon the latter and, though Linebacker II was strategically effective, its tactical and operational execution suffered from the confusion caused by multiple command structures. Following Vietnam, the Air Force made significant progress in unifying the command of theater airpower by creating the joint force air component commander (JFACC) position. Nearly two decades later, Desert Storm clearly showed the advantages centralized control offers in terms of unifying the air effort. However, Operation Allied Force subsequently revealed that even a JFACC has difficulty overcoming the problems caused when US and allied leaders have only a vague notion of what they want to achieve and even less an idea of how to achieve it. Thus, with regard to objectives, much of the USAF's difficulties in effects-based operations can be laid at the feet of those outside and above the airpower chain of command. This problem also manifested itself in airpower target selection.

At some point in every operation, senior officials became heavily involved in selecting the targets for strategic effects. Airpower commanders were never given free reign throughout to strike the targets they deemed necessary. In the CBO, Eisenhower initially decided to target the German transportation network rather than their oil system as Spaatz advocated. The JCS actually provided "strategic target" lists for Linebacker II, and, following the Al Firdos incident in Desert Storm, Schwarzkopf effectively eliminated targets in downtown Baghdad as an option. Lastly, in Allied Force, political leaders dominated the targeting process, precluding the targeting airmen thought necessary to achieve the desired effects. However, outside influences were not the only

ways planners were limited in their efforts to exploit the potential of effects-based operations.

Even when leaders clearly stated militarily-achievable objectives and allowed planners to select their own targets, choosing the right targets still required vast amounts of intelligence, not all of which was readily, if ever, available. The Combined Bomber Offensive vividly demonstrated this. It also revealed that collecting this intelligence must begin long before the actual conflict. Moreover, it taught that analysts must understand more than simply the physical layout of an enemy system. They must also appreciate how the enemy employs that system. World War II analysts failed to recognize the resilience of a robust German economy and lacked the knowledge to accurately extrapolate how attacks would affect national industrial productivity. Desert Storm planners were able to dissect the Iraqi electrical system and C2 network, but had almost no information on another primary target—Iraq’s nuclear capability. Additionally, Desert Storm demonstrated how much more planners needed to know about targets and target systems in order to fully exploit the capability of precision munitions. In order to carry out the large number of near-simultaneous strikes that commenced the Allied offensive, vast amounts of targeting information had to be available, processed, and incorporated before night one. With the stealthy B-2 operational, Allied Force drove the intelligence requirement up even further by employing significantly greater numbers of precision weapons from individual aircraft, thus permitting even more targets to be struck in any given attack.

Over the course of these cases, the USAF substantially improved its intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) collection capabilities. This evolution enabled planners to better identify and analyze enemy physical structures and systems, such as energy generation or industrial production. However, in virtually every case examined in this study, airpower planners failed to do any detailed analysis of the enemy himself. There was no concerted effort to study the enemy’s culture or history in an attempt to understand him psychologically. This failure occurred even though psychological effects were often among the most important objectives sought. Overall, while planning for physical and some systemic effects significantly improved, planning for psychological effects remained more hope than calculation.

Execution

Over the 56-year period these cases span, the United States developed and substantially improved the ability to employ airpower to destroy known physical structures. Accuracy has improved steadily since the days of WWII when hundred-bomber formations aimed for the center of industrial complexes. The USAF introduced laser-guided bombs in Vietnam, and, 20 years later, Desert Storm pilots routinely delivered improved versions through specific windows and doors of assigned targets. By Operation Allied Force, further technological improvements removed weather as an inhibitor to effective targeting. Over cloud-covered Serbia, a single B-2 could deliver sixteen 2,000-pound JDAMs with each independently destroying a pre-specified aimpoint.

Thus, the targeting problem evolved beyond the original concern of simply trying to hit the target. In short, “precision bombing” evolved from rhetoric to reality. Now the issue shifted to what specific aimpoints to hit within a given target complex. Moreover, further technical innovations actually permitted planners to choose how to strike those specific aimpoints. For example, blanketing Iraqi and Serb switching stations and power lines with special carbon-fiber wires caused massive short circuits and power outages without permanent damage. Although destruction was rarely ever the ultimate objective, technology now permitted airmen to precisely apply measure amounts and types of force. This improved capability created a flexibility that required operators to know more than the target’s location alone. Unfortunately, planners frequently failed to tell operators what effects they wanted to create. This failure affected not only aimpoint selection, munitions choice, and weapons delivery, but other aspects of effects-based operations as well.

Assessment

A lack of timely, accurate BDA and combat assessment was consistent throughout the four cases. The ability to assess physical damage improved the most, but was still not completely reliable as recently as 1999. Functional damage assessment improved less and, while the ability to assess system-level effects also improved, the procedures used to communicate requisite information to the planners needing it were no better at the end of the period than they were in the beginning. As Maj Mark G. Sopko recently noted, “The

years that followed the Vietnam Conflict witnessed an explosion in intelligence collection technology. Damage assessment, however, was overlooked during this intelligence revolution.”³²⁹

In order to be effective, assessors needed to understand what they were assessing. This entailed not only knowledge of the enemy and, in particular, the system or object being targeted, but also the results planners sought in striking that target. Several examples indicate that, either planner intentions were not provided in the tasking, or those tasked with assessing strike effects were untrained or incapable of making such assessments. For example, the 25 percent effectiveness BDA ascribed to a Desert Storm sortie, because bombing had destroyed only 25 percent of the intelligence headquarters building, ignored the effect subsequently created by personnel evacuation, which fully achieved the “functional kill” that planners intended. Likewise, this error was repeated in Allied Force when analysts appraised a target as “not destroyed” because there were still one and a half walls standing after the strike. In short, these examples illustrate how difficult it is to assess any effects more sophisticated than simply determining how much of the physical target was destroyed.

In all of these cases, assessors relied heavily on visual photography, that, even when available, only revealed a portion of the entire “picture” at best and was sometimes completely misleading. Overall assessment required more than merely appraising physical damage. There is evidence of this not only in the examples above, but also in the 1943 attacks on German industry. Allied 500-pound bombs heavily damaged building exteriors, and this showed well in post-strike photographs, but they failed to destroy the industrial machinery inside. The result, based on the photographs, was an overly optimistic appraisal of mission success. Yet, even when analysts accurately assessed mission results, the Allies had difficulty extrapolating those results to predict systemic effects and their ultimate impact on enemy war efforts. To assess functional and systemic (not to mention psychological) effects, analysts needed a broad knowledge of the enemy that even the highest-resolution photographs did not provide. Though signals intelligence filled in some of the missing information, much remained unknown

³²⁹ Maj Mark G. Sopko, *Analyzing the Results of an Air Campaign*; on-line, Internet, 8 April 2000, available from <http://www.airpower.maxwell.af.mil/airchronicles/cc/sopko.html>.

and required “educated” guesses. When required to speculate, analysts tended to overestimate airpower’s effect on industrial output. They often greatly underestimated enemy repair capability, resourcefulness in finding work-arounds, and the flexibility of a robust economy.

As the information analysts really wanted could not be gleaned from photographs, piecing together the desired intelligence required more knowledge of the enemy than was often available. This was especially true of attacks designed to affect the enemy’s will. Each case revealed that analysts and planners knew very little about enemy psychology, and this precluded their ability to estimate in any reliable way what effect an action, such as loss of electricity, might have on enemy will or morale. Lacking this knowledge, analysts simply defaulted to ethnocentric mirror-imaging, asking themselves: “how would I feel in this case?”

Lastly, the timeliness of post-strike assessment reports was an issue from the beginning. In the Combined Bomber Offensive, every fifth or sixth bomber carried camera equipment to record its attack so that unit commanders could view strike results immediately upon landing. Eventually, commanders realized that simply viewing real-time photographs of a strike did not always equate to accurately assessing its effects. In Linebacker II, weather often precluded post-strike photography altogether, forcing planners to develop subsequent missions without knowing the results of earlier efforts. Though not always due to weather, lack of timely feedback drove Desert Storm planners to bypass national-level analysis and personally review on-board sensor film of precision strikes. As a minimum, they could determine whether the target had been struck and surmise the near-term functional effects. Though not always completely accurate, it was the best intelligence available when planners needed to decide the next move. Nearly a decade later, this scene was repeated many times in the Allied Force CAOC. Assessors and planners reviewed aircraft tapes to evaluate physical damage and amend the next ATO accordingly. It took approximately a week for other agencies to provide functional damage assessments, and some CAOC planners never saw system-level assessments throughout the 78-day conflict. These assessment times lay in stark contrast to those depicted as typical in the *BDA Reference Handbook*, which maintains that phase one

BDA reports are available within one to three hours, phase two reports within four to six hours, and phase three reports are provided on a daily basis.³³⁰

Feedback and Response

Decision makers wanted objective details and chose to infer effects from quantitative facts, regardless of appropriateness, rather than base decisions on more subjective, circumstantial evidence. Desert Storm's battlefield preparation objective of decreasing Iraqi army effectiveness by 50 percent provides the clearest example of this tendency. Because General Schwarzkopf's component staffs were unable to reach a consensus on how to measure effectiveness, he was more inclined to use the number of air strikes against a unit as his prime indicator of effectiveness rather than the damage reported from those strikes. Often objective analysis based on numerical indices was simply not available. This forced commanders and planners to make decisions without quantifiable feedback. Achieving air superiority was often an after-the-fact assessment that commanders made once sufficient numbers of aircraft returned without being attacked. The more frequently this occurred, the more their assurance of air superiority grew. In essence, lack of enemy success defined friendly success. This inability to confidently claim air superiority without first proving it was seen in every case from Germany to Vietnam to Iraq to Serbia. Feedback on other systemic and psychological effects was even less measurable. In many cases, such feedback was simply pure optimism without any basis of evidence other than a heavily ethnocentric interpretation of what *should* have happened.

In the majority of the cases, information that gave decision makers confidence, either to continue with their plan or alter it, came not from photographic evidence of physical damage, but from signals or human intelligence concerning indirect effects of airpower's destructive bombing. In some cases, SIGINT essentially provided an enemy "self-assessment" on which to base combat decisions, while HUMINT offered other clues as to bombing's effects on the enemy. Among other things, the four cases saw HUMINT

³³⁰ See Defense Intelligence Reference Document DI-2820-2-99, *BDA Reference Handbook*; on-line Internet, 7 April 2000, available from http://dia.ic.gov/intel/oicc/twj/twj4/bda/DI-2820-2_sec1.html. Admittedly, this is a draft copy of an update, but it is a final draft in which the "typical" report timing agrees with that contained in JP 2-01.1. Regardless, it is apparent that we are far from having the capability to do, in practice, what we proclaim as typical in doctrine.

provide an internal look at mass evacuations, troop desertions, failing popular morale, and failure of local personnel to report for reserve call-ups. Though the goal had been to meld all of these resources into a coherent picture of the enemy, this fusion still had not occurred, at least for air planners, as late as 1999.

Additional Findings

Often, strategic success is less the result of physical or even systemic damage than it is the way those things impact enemy decision makers psychologically. Unfortunately, the human psyche routinely defies objective examination. Multi-spectral imaging and analysis significantly improve our ability to measure physical damage, but the effects we often want most are psychological and cannot be photographed at any wavelength. Accordingly, the most pertinent feedback on operational and strategic effects often come from atypical measurements, such as changes in the enemy nation's gross national product, analysis of enemy manpower devoted to repair efforts, and varied enemy dependence on imports. Likewise, subjective sources, such as HUMINT, analysis of internal propaganda, and enemy self-assessments collected via SIGINT, also provide important feedback on operational and strategic effects. Except for the final source, none of these resources provide conclusive evidence of direct effects; rather they serve as indicators of indirect effects. Lack of access to enemy records following the last three operations further complicate our analysis of effects-based operations by precluding conclusive answers as to what specific effects friendly actions generated on past enemies. We can only surmise these causal linkages using the facts available, and this leaves much room for subjective interpretation and disagreement. However, we should not give up because the process is difficult. While advocates have made extensive improvements in certain areas of effects-based operations, there remains room for much more.

Planners need to give assessment considerably more forethought than they have in the past. There is historical precedent to devoting significant planning time to weapons delivery. We need to apply this same attitude of forethought to the area of assessment. The USAF must dedicate the time, personnel, and equipment necessary for developing the ability to effectively conduct BDA and overall combat assessment before these skills are needed on the battlefield. Commanders must provide analysts the opportunity and the

information to plan the assessment at the same level of detail as operational planners do the execution.

Specific weapons may influence the type of sensor required to record resultant effects. PGMs and non-lethal weapons increasingly create unique assessment problems. Likewise, subsequent restrikes on the same target may dictate a different type of sensor in order to distinguish between strike results. Similarly, intelligence collectors may have to focus a completely different type sensor on something other than the original target at some time after the original strike in order to measure functional effects.

Regardless of the specific type, ISR sensors are all, to some degree, limited in availability and require advance coordination and planning in order to position and configure them properly. The point is that commanders, planners, executors, and analysts must work together and think through all of these issues *before* execution. They must decide who measures what how and communicates the assessment to whom before operations begin. Combat assessment is not, or rather should not be, a separate, post-attack activity. On the contrary, in order to be effective, it must be an integral component of the targeting, planning, and execution processes.

Implications

Contrary to the early history of aerial warfare, the immediate requirements for improving the effects-based employment of airpower lie outside the realm of technology. A recent RAND study asserts that, although military technology is increasingly available, technology alone does not determine military effectiveness. With inflexible command structures, inappropriate doctrine and tactics, improper training, and insufficient support, there will be “integrative deficiencies” that preclude realizing the full potential of innovation.³³¹ This accurately describes the USAF’s current position with respect to effects-based operations. This study’s conclusions and findings suggest four areas in which relatively minor adjustments might leverage significant overall improvements in US airpower’s effects-based capabilities.

³³¹ J.A. Isaacson, C. Layne, and J. Arquilla, *Predicting Military Innovation*, (Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation, 1999), vii, 1, 7. A similar discussion of what is required for innovation is found in Williamson Murray and Allen R. Millett, eds., *Military Innovation in the Interwar Period*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 268 & 305.

Doctrine

In short, there needs to be some. The only document the author found that discusses, at any length, strategic effects as opposed to operational and tactical effects is a joint publication in draft.³³² To the author's knowledge, there is no Air Force equivalent even being written. One of the reasons behind this lack of Air Force doctrine and guidance is, no doubt, the fact that combat assessment, as a process, belongs to the joint force commander (JFC) and not the JFACC.³³³ However, if airpower is targeting, targeting is intelligence, and intelligence is analyzing the effects of air operations, then where is the evidence of Air Force thought directed towards improving this analysis?³³⁴ The level of effort directed toward improving the precise delivery of lethal munitions is obvious. We have gone from targeting the Schweinfurt ball-bearing plant to the Paul Doumer bridge in North Vietnam to the ventilation shaft of the Iraqi air force headquarters to the same type Serbian target through thick cloud cover. A corresponding level of effort to improve our ability to assess the effects of those deliveries is much less obvious, if it exists at all. We must review and rigorously analyze our operational heritage before we can begin the critical thinking required to synthesize effects-based doctrine. Without well-publicized doctrine that clearly articulates what airpower intends to achieve and how it will assess those achievements, practice will continue to rely upon ad hoc cooperation, and many operational and strategic decisions will continue to be made based on hope rather than analysis.

Training

An effects-based operation is less a process than a strategy-to-task mindset. The US military must articulate this mindset in doctrine and then teach, train, and exercise it. Only education and training can break the lineage of destruction-based targeting and avoid the trap described by Marshal Maurice Comte de Saxe, who in 1757 observed, "in default of knowing how to do what they ought, [they] are very naturally led to do what

³³² Second draft of Joint Publication 3-60, Doctrine for Joint Targeting; on-line Internet, 8 April 2000, available from http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/ddrraaffit_pubs/3_60sd.pdf, VII-1 to VII-3.

³³³ Air Force Pamphlet 14-210, 70.

³³⁴ Col Phillip S. Meilinger, *10 Propositions Regarding Air Power*, (Air Force History and Museums Program, 1995), 4 and 20. It is repeated again in Lt Gen Buster C. Glosson, "Impact of Precision Weapons on Air Combat Operations," *Aerospace Power Journal* 7, no. 2 (Summer 1993), 4-10. Or for the official repetition, see Air Force Pamphlet (AFP) 200-17, *An Introduction to Air Force Targeting*, 23 June 1989.

they know.”³³⁵ As this is really a top-down operation, ideally, this mindset would begin with the president, our commander in chief, and extend downward through the operational chain of command. However, more realistically, we must first inculcate it in the thoughts of each theater CINC or, as an absolute minimum, each JFACC and then downwards to every targeteer, operator, and analyst involved in employing airpower.

We need interactive training in effects-based operations for all echelons and agencies involved in airpower employment.³³⁶ In order to be effective, assessment must occur at all levels and specialized assessment requires specialized training. However, effects-based operations require more than simply specialized assessment. They require a new mindset for commanders, planners, operators, and analysts. Commanders must be able to articulate specific objectives that accurately convey their desired effects. Planners must learn to focus on these effects and avoid the historical trap of managing a target list. Operators must appreciate their commander’s intent before they can most skillfully execute their assigned missions. Lastly, analysts must know what they are supposed to be analyzing before they can supply appropriate feedback.

Providing these skills requires more than academic instruction or stove-piped exercises that emphasize only one level of the process and assume all others work and will be provided as doctrinally advertised. In particular, assessment, like logistics, is often “assumed away” or “simulated” in peacetime exercises and training. This cannot continue.³³⁷ In combat, people default to what they know, how they have been trained, and what they have done in the past. A new mindset requires new training. Moreover, because communicating intent and getting agencies and people to cooperate is so important, Air Force, joint, and interagency training must exercise these interactive processes. We must integrate, train, and position the people, parts, and processes before the next conflict if we are to fully exploit the potential of effects-based operations.

³³⁵ Maurice Comte de Saxe, *Mes Rêveries; or, Memoirs Upon the Art of War* [1757], (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1971), 162.

³³⁶ This may be problematic as, according to Commander of Air Combat Command Gen John P. Jumper, the USAF has difficulties preparing its senior officers for combat. “[T]he Air Force does a poor job of training its top leaders . . . Most of those in the Air Force leadership trained ourselves, because our system did not train us.” See John A. Tirpak, “Kosovo Retrospective,” *Air Force Magazine*, April 2000, vol. 83, no. 4, 30.

³³⁷ As Murray and Millett, 325, say, “the ‘muddy boots’ business of exercises and realistic war games lay at the heart of effective innovation.”

The Air Tasking Order

The current ATO needs to become more like a Mission Type Order (MTO).³³⁸ Everyone involved in planning, executing, assessing, and providing feedback must understand the plan. They must know the objectives and comprehend the tactics that planners want employed to strike targets in ways that achieve desired effects. The current ATO format fails to transmit this information to all the players who need it.

The Joint Warfighting Analysis Center

We must also change our organization to correct existing intelligence collection and analysis deficiencies. We are quite capable of measuring physical effects and, increasingly, systemic effects, but we are severely limited in our ability to collect, understand, and assess data to measure the psychological effects we seek to achieve. Before we can accurately assess this kind of information, or even prepare an initial strategy, we must appreciate the enemy and his strategic culture. Unfortunately, far too often, the United States and, specifically, the US military does not. As the nationally syndicated columnist Georgie Ann Geyer recently wrote, “The most crucial element is still being left out of our military and foreign policy planning. This is cultural knowledge of the enemy . . .”³³⁹ Although we often quote Sun Tzu’s mantra “Know your enemy,” we rarely acquire knowledge in the detail necessary to permit a truly effects-based operation.³⁴⁰ We have greatly improved our ability to see and hear the enemy, but if we

³³⁸ For an examination of the requisite preconditions necessary for the JFACC to employ mission-type orders, see Maj Michael E. Fischer, *Mission-Type Orders in Joint Air Operations: The Empowerment of Air Leadership*, (Master’s thesis, School of Advanced Airpower Studies (SAAS), 1995).

³³⁹ Georgie Anne Geyer, “Domain of Many Challenges,” *Washington Times*, 26 April 1997, D-10. Robert Steele echoes her thoughts with, “the US defense and intelligence communities rush to spend billions on technology, while routinely ignoring the challenges and opportunities inherent in human collection, open-source collection, foreign area expertise, and human all-source analysis. . . . [T]he United States continues to give short shrift to the critical intelligence challenges associated with sociological and ideo-cultural intelligence; [and] demographic intelligence . . .” Robert D. Steele, “Information Peacekeeping: The Purest Form of War,” in Lloyd J. Matthews, ed., *Challenging the United States Symmetrically and Asymmetrically: Can America be Defeated?*, (Carlisle Barracks, Penn.: US Army War College Strategic Studies Institute: 1998), 144.

³⁴⁰ For significantly more detail on this subject see Wray R. Johnson, “War, Culture, and the Interpretation of History: The Vietnam War Reconsidered,” *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 9, no. 2 (Autumn 1998): 83-113 and Forrest Morgan, “Compellence and the Strategic Culture of Imperial Japan,” (PhD diss., University of Maryland – College Park, 1998).

know nothing of his culture, are we not, as the Bible says, “ever seeing but never perceiving, and ever hearing but never understanding”?³⁴¹

An expanded JWAC, with increased emphasis on the social sciences, could dramatically improve our knowledge of enemy culture and, thereby, help us determine not only what systemic and psychological effects are possible, but, ultimately, how to achieve them. Professor Karl Mueller echoes this theme when he states:

The complexity of coercion, like modern warfare, requires strategists and decision-makers who are expert in more than the military arts narrowly defined. In order to anticipate the effects of air attack not just on individual aim points and targets, but on the enemy's behavior, it is necessary to understand a great deal about how political systems, national economies, and armed forces function, react, and interact. Thus the strategist, if not personally an expert in politics (including warfare), economics, psychology, sociology, and organizational behavior, at least must be sufficiently conversant with the fields to recognize what he or she does not know, but needs to find out in order to make sound policy and effective strategy.³⁴²

The JWAC is already organized to perform effects-based analysis on infrastructure networks. Additionally, the organization has recognized ties with combatant commands, functional components, the Joint Staff, the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), and the National Security Agency (NSA). It also maintains liaison with the senior service schools, joint and service doctrine centers, and Department of Defense policy research centers.³⁴³ With these connections and established infrastructure, the JWAC is the ideal organization to plan and assess efforts to create psychological effects. However, taking on this role requires adding other academic disciplines and regional expertise.

The vast majority of JWAC analysts and planners are physical scientists and engineers; few are social scientists.³⁴⁴ This staff performs objective, material-based systems analysis focused on generating and assessing physical and systemic effects.

³⁴¹ Mark 4:12, *The NIV Study Bible*, (Grand Rapids, Mich.: The Zondervan Corporation, 1985), 1500.

³⁴² Karl Mueller, "Strategies of Coercion: Denial, Punishment, and the Future of Air Power," *Security Studies*, vol. 7, No. 3 (Spring 1998): 182-228.

³⁴³ JWAC homepage; on-line, Internet, 7 April 2000; available from <http://www.jwac.ic.gov>.

³⁴⁴ Currently, of the 352 civilians who comprise nearly 70 percent of the JWAC staff (the military fills approximately 12 percent and agencies, detachments, and on-site contractors the remainder), sixteen are described as “Other Science & Engineering.” Under this “other” grouping fall the unspecified number of resident social scientist(s) along with a corresponding number of experts in economics, geography, nuclear,

Because the JWAC does not perform behavioral analysis, it is unable to advise warfighters on what targets might create the most beneficial psychological effects. Gaining this ability requires adding behavioral experts such as political scientists, psychologists, social scientists, and individuals specializing in regional studies and cultures. Importantly, because of the diversity of the world's populace and the uncertainty of the specific location of future conflict, these regional experts would not necessarily need to be permanent members of the JWAC staff. On the contrary, the center could arrange to have regional expertise "on-call" for consultation when military conflicts do flare up.

This "expanded JWAC," working in conjunction with operational staffs and the intelligence community, would substantially improve our ability to analyze adversaries in a truly holistic manner. This analysis, in turn, would help airpower professionals develop and execute more coherent strategies for influencing adversary thought and behavior. That, in turn, would enable the United States to achieve its national objectives more effectively.

We Must Act Now.

Twenty-first century war will be a "come-as-you-are" affair. Therefore, any capability we intend to employ in wartime must be developed and exercised now in peacetime.³⁴⁵ Prior to Desert Storm, USCENTCOM planners tested OPLAN 1002-90 in a three-phase command post exercise in July 1990. Exercise Internal Look 90 identified significant logistical and operational shortfalls in the military's current war plan for the Persian Gulf.³⁴⁶ We must apply this same learning tool of peacetime exercise and evaluation to all aspects of effects-based operations in order to identify shortfalls while there is still ample time to correct them. If we wait until we actually need these capabilities, it will be too late. As Bertolt Brecht sagely noted, "The house will be built with the bricks that are there."

aerospace, petroleum, and cartography. See JWAC Command Brief; on-line, Internet, 7 April 2000; available at <http://www.jwac.ic.gov/information/CmdBrief/sld014.htm>.

³⁴⁵ Stephen Peter Rosen, *Winning the Next War: Innovation and the Modern Military*, (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991), 38, states that "wartime innovation will be limited in its impact where it does occur at all, because the time necessary . . . is likely to be too long relative to the length of the war."

³⁴⁶ See GWAPS, vol 1, 41-54, for specific details.

Summary

Effects-based operations are most effective as a top-down process. The higher up it begins, the more far-reaching its supporting effects can be. Ideally, these operations begin with the president providing clear, coherent national objectives against which those decision makers wielding the various instruments of national power adopt supporting or supported roles as appropriate. The armed services each contribute specialized capabilities as required to generate predetermined effects and achieve specific objectives. Interestingly, many strategic and grand strategic effects generated by the use of one instrument of power require assessment by another. This is especially true of effects generated through the use of military force. This relationship necessarily entails increased communication, cooperation, and coordination not only between the services, but with and between other federal departments and agencies as well.

Due to the fog of real-world operations, complete and perfect intelligence will never exist. Even if perfect knowledge of the physical battlespace did exist, many of the most sought-after effects reside only in the enemy's mind and will never be fully known. We must be ever cognizant that the logical beauty of effects-based theory tends to mask its practical limitations at the higher levels of war. Still, the continuing challenge is to improve our ability to measure and assess those things that are important, and not simply dub important those things easily measured.

Mao Tse Tung said, "The only way to study the laws governing a war situation as a whole is to do some hard thinking."³⁴⁷ Effects-based operations are extremely complex. Unless we "do some hard thinking" about past performance and specific future foes, the concept of effects-based operations is likely to remain just that . . . another concept to be tossed into the airpower zealots' bin of empty promises.

³⁴⁷ Mao TseTung, *Six Essays on Military Affairs*, (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1972), trans. from the *Selected Works of Mao TseTung* (People's Publishing House, Peking).

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