Chapter 3

Conducting the Campaign

"A prince or general can best demonstrate his genius by managing a campaign exactly to suit his objectives and his resources, doing neither too much nor too little."[1]

—Carl von Clausewitz

"We must make this campaign an exceedingly active one. Only thus can a weaker country cope with a stronger; it must make up in activity what it lacks in strength."[2]

—Stonewall Jackson

Because campaign design is continuous, there is no point at which campaign design ceases and campaign execution begins. In fact, design and conduct are interdependent. Just as our design shapes our execution, so do the results of execution cause us to modify our design even in the midst of execution. Only with this thought firmly in mind can we proceed to discuss campaign execution.

Reduced to its essence, the art of campaigning consists of deciding who, when, and where to fight and for what purpose. Equally important, it involves deciding who, when, and where not to fight. It is, as Clausewitz described, "the use of engagements for the object of the war."[3]

STRATEGIC ORIENTATION

The conduct of politics and diplomacy continues in all its complexity even when military operations are under way. Sometimes the political situation is simple, and military operations can proceed in a straightforward fashion. It is increasingly common, however, for commanders even at the tactical level to find themselves navigating on terrain as complex politically as it is physically—cluttered with a confusing array of enemies, allies, neutrals, nongovernmental organizations, private volunteer organizations, United Nations forces and observers, and the press.

The art of campaigning means understanding when military force is our main effort and when it is acting in support of some other instrument of our national power. Thus, in the conduct as well as the design of a campaign, the overriding consideration is an unwavering focus on the goals of our strategy. The aims, resources, and conditions established by strategy are the filter through which we must view all our actions. Joint force commanders who may function anywhere from the theater to the tactical level must make their operational and tactical decisions with the theater strategy in mind. Lower-echelon commanders must understand the strategic context of their tactical missions if they are to provide useful feedback to higher levels on the effectiveness of field operations. Consequently, our strategic goals must be communicated clearly to commanders at every level.

THE USE OF COMBAT

Because tactical success alone does not guarantee the attainment of strategic goals, there is an art to the way we use combat actions in pursuit of our larger objectives. We must view each envisioned action—battle, engagement, interdiction mission, feint, or refusal to give battle—as a element of a larger whole rather than as an independent, self-contained event.

While combat is an integral part of war, it is by nature costly. The flames of war are fueled by money, material stocks,

and human lives. As Eisenhower wrote, the word war "is synonymous with waste . . . . The problem is to determine how, in time and space, to expend assets so as to achieve the maximum in results."[4] Economy dictates that we use combat actions wisely.

We do this first by fighting when it is to our advantage to do so—when we are strong compared to the enemy or we have identified some exploitable vulnerability—and by avoiding battle when we are at a disadvantage. When we are at a disadvantage tactically, economy leads to refusing to engage in battle in that particular situation. When we are at a tactical disadvantage theater-wide, it leads to waging a campaign based on hit-and-run tactics and a general refusal to give pitched battle, except when local advantage exists. This can be seen in countless historical examples: Rome under Fabius versus Hannibal, the Viet Cong in Vietnam, Washington and Nathanael Greene in the Revolutionary War.

By the same token, given a theater-wide tactical advantage, we might want to bring the enemy to battle at every opportunity: Rome under Varro versus Hannibal, the United States in Vietnam, Eisenhower in Europe, or Grant versus Lee. Nevertheless, such an approach is generally time-consuming, and success depends on three conditions: first, and most important, there is something to be gained strategically by exploiting this tactical advantage as in Grant's series of battles with Lee; second, popular support for this approach will outlast the enemy's ability to absorb losses as was not the case with the United

States in Vietnam; and third, the enemy is willing or can be compelled to accept battle on a large scale as the Germans were in Europe in 1944, but the Viet Cong generally were not.

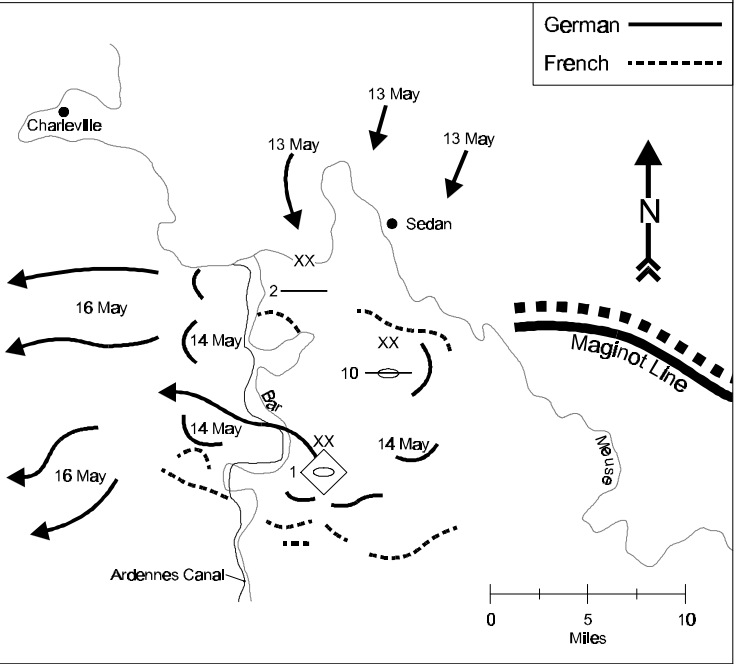
It is not sufficient to give battle simply because it is tactically advantageous to do so. It is more important that battle be strategically advantageous or strategically necessary. That is, there should be something to gain by fighting or to lose by not fighting. Strategic gain or necessity can be sufficient reason even when the situation is tactically disadvantageous. Consequently, it is conceivable that we might accept battle even expecting a tactical defeat if the results will serve the goals of strategy. For example, after running away from Cornwallis' British forces in the Carolinas for 6 weeks in 1781, Nathanael Greene could decide to give battle "on the theory that he could hardly lose. If Cornwallis should win a tactical victory, he was already so far gone in exhaustion it would probably hurt him almost as much as a defeat."[5]

Ideally, operational commanders fight only when and where they want to. Their ability to do this is largely a function of their ability to maintain the initiative and shape the events of war to their purposes. "In war it is all-important to gain and retain the initiative, to make the enemy conform to your action, to dance to your tune."[6] Retaining the initiative, in turn, is largely the product of maintaining a higher operational tempo, which we will discuss later in this chapter.

Even so, we must realize that we may not always be able to fight on our own terms. We may be compelled to fight because of strategic constraints (like Lee's requirement to defend Richmond) or by a skillful enemy who perceives an advantage and seeks battle. In such cases, we have no choice but to give battle in a way that serves our strategy to the extent possible and to exploit all possible advantage of the tactical results.

The conduct of a battle, once joined, is principally a tactical problem, but even the tactician should keep larger aims in mind as he fights. As an example, consider General Guderian at the Battle of Sedan in May 1940. (See figure on page 68.) Guderian's XIXth Panzer corps was attacking generally south with the strategic aim "to win a bridgehead over the Meuse at Sedan and thus to help the infantry divisions that would be following to cross that river. No instructions were given as to what was to be done in the event of a surprise success."[7] By 13 May, Guderian had forced a small bridgehead. By the 14th, he had expanded the bridgehead to the south and west but had not broken through the French defenses. Lacking instructions on how to continue the battle, Guderian opted to attack west in concert with the strategic aim of the campaign. "1st and 2nd Panzer Divisions received orders immediately to change direction with all their forces, to cross the Ardennes Canal, and to head west with the objective of breaking clear through the French defenses."[8] Guderian's forces broke through and sped all the way to the coast at the English Channel, cutting off the Anglo-French armies to the north.

Tactics Supporting Operations: Guderian, 1940



Guderian's tactical conduct of the battle of the Sedan bridgehead reflected an appreciation for the operational and strategic situations. In the midst of the battle he changed his direction of attack in keeping with the aim of the campaign: "1st and 2nd Panzer Divisions received orders immediately to change direction with all their forces, to cross the Ardennes Canal, and to head west with the objective of breaking clear through the French defenses."

PERSPECTIVE

The campaign demands a markedly different perspective than the battle. It requires us to "think big," as Field-Marshal Slim put it, seeing beyond the parameters of immediate combat to the requirements of theater strategy as the basis for deciding when, where, and who to fight. We should view no tactical action in isolation, but always in light of the design for the theater as a whole.

While the tactician looks at the immediate tactical problem and the conditions directly preceding and following, the operational commander must take a broader view. The operational commander must not become so involved in tactical activities as to lose the proper perspective. This broader perspective implies broader dimensions of time and space over which to apply the military art. The actual dimensions of the operational canvas vary with the nature of the war, the size and capabilities of available forces, and the geographical characteristics of the theater. Nonetheless, all the time and space subject to the commander's influence must be considered to create the conditions of success. In 1809, Napoleon carried with him maps of the entire continent of Europe, thereby enabling consideration of operations wherever they suited his purposes. Similarly, Rommel's intervention in the North African theater of war in

1942 successfully delayed American and British efforts to open up a second front in support of their Russian allies.

Based on this larger perspective, the operational commander's concern with military geography is on a different scale than that of the tactical commander. The operational commander is not concerned with the details of terrain that are of critical importance to the tactician in combat, such as hills, draws, fingers, clearings or small woods, creeks, or broken trails. Rather, the operational commander's concern is with major geographical features which can bear on the campaign: rivers and major watersheds, road systems, railways, mountain ranges, urban areas, airfields, ports, and natural resource areas. Patton believed that "in the higher echelons, a layered map of the whole theater to a reasonable scale, showing roads, railways, streams, and towns is more useful than a large-scale map cluttered up with ground forms and a multiplicity of nonessential information."[9] His concern was with the movement of large forces.

We describe activities at the strategic level as bearing directly on the war overall, at the operational level as bearing on the campaign, and at the tactical level as bearing on combat—that is, on the engagement or battle. Therefore, in designing and executing a campaign, we seek to focus on the attainment of strategic and operational objectives. At the same time, we adapt to the realities of the tactical situation.

SURPRISE

Surprise is a state of disorientation that results from unexpected events and degrades the ability to react effectively. Surprise can be of decisive importance. *Tactical surprise* catches the enemy unprepared in such a way as to affect the outcome of combat. It is of a relatively immediate and local nature. *Operational surprise* catches the enemy unprepared in such a way as to impact on the campaign. To achieve operational surprise, we need not necessarily catch the enemy tactically unaware. For example, at the Inchon landing in 1950, the need first to capture Wolmi-do Island, which dominated the inner approaches to Inchon harbor, removed any hope of achieving tactical surprise with the main landings. Operational surprise was nonetheless complete. Even though the assault on Wolmi-do Island was preceded by a 5-day aerial bombardment, the North Korean army, far to the south menacing Pusan, could not react in time. Wolmi-do was cut off and soon collapsed.

Surprise may be the product of *deception* that misleads the enemy into acting in a way prejudicial to his interests.[10] For example, the Normandy invasion succeeded in large part because an elaborate deception plan convinced the Germans that the invasion would take place at Calais. Long after Allied forces were established ashore in Normandy, vital German reserves were held back awaiting the real invasion elsewhere. A major factor in the success of the deception plan was that it was

designed to exploit a known enemy belief that General George Patton—in the Germans' opinion the best Allied operational commander—would lead the key attack.[11]

Surprise may also be the product of *ambiguity* when we generate many options and leave the enemy confounded as to which we will pursue. For example, prior to the Allied invasion of North Africa in 1942, Eisenhower's choice of a thousand miles of coastline from Casablanca to Tunis precluded the Axis forces from anticipating the actual landing sites.

Surprise may simply be the product of *stealth* where the enemy is not deceived or confused as to our intentions but is ignorant of them. Exploiting his knowledge of Japanese intentions and their total ignorance of his, Admiral Nimitz was able to strike a decisive blow against the Japanese invasion fleet at the Battle of Midway in June 1942.

Of these three sources of surprise, deception may offer the greatest potential payoff because it deludes the enemy into actions we actively desire him to take. However, because deception means actually convincing the enemy of a lie rather than simply leaving him confused or ignorant, it is also the most difficult to execute. This is even truer at the operational level than at the tactical. Due to the broader perspective of operations, operational deception must feed false informa- tion to a wider array of enemy intelligence collection means over a longer period of time than is the case with tactical deception. This

increases the complexity of the deception effort, the need for consistency, and the risk of compromise.

TEMPO

Tempo is a rhythm of activity. It is a significant weapon because it is through a faster tempo that we seize the initiative and dictate the terms of war. *Tactical tempo* is the pace of events within an engagement. *Operational tempo* is the pace of events between engagements. In other words, in seeking to control tempo, we need the ability to shift from one tactical action to another consistently faster than the enemy. Thus it is not in absolute terms that tempo matters, but in terms relative to the enemy.

We create operational tempo in several ways. First, we gain tempo by undertaking multiple tactical actions simultaneously such as the German blitzes into Poland and France in 1939 and 1940 which were characterized by multiple, broadly dispersed thrusts. Second, we gain tempo by anticipating the various likely results of tactical actions and preparing sequels for exploiting those results without delay. Third, we generate tempo by decentralizing decisionmaking within the framework of a unifying intent. Slim recalled of his experience in Burma in the Second World War—

> Commanders at all levels had to act more on their own; they were given greater latitude to work out their own plans to achieve what they knew was the Army Commander's intention. In time they developed to a marked degree a flexibility of mind and a firmness of decision that enabled them to act swiftly to take advantage of sudden information or changing circumstances without reference to their superiors.[12]

Finally, we maintain tempo by avoiding unnecessary combat. Any battle or engagement, even if it allows us to destroy the enemy, takes time and energy, and this saps our operational tempo. Here we see another reason besides the desire for economy to fight only when and where necessary. Conversely, by maintaining superior operational tempo, we can lessen the need to resort to combat. The German blitzkrieg through France in 1940 was characterized more by the calculated avoidance of pitched battle after the breakthrough than by great tactical victories. By contrast, French doctrine at the time called for deliberate, methodical battle. When the German tempo of operations rendered this approach impossible to implement, the defenders were overwhelmed. The French were unable to reconstitute an organized resistance and force the Germans to fight for their gains.[13] Liddell Hart wrote of the 1940 campaign in France—

> The issue turned on the time factor at stage after stage. French countermeasures were repeatedly thrown out of gear because their timing was too slow to catch up with the changing situations . . . .

> The French commanders, trained in the slow-motion methods of 1918, were mentally unfitted to cope with the panzer pace, and it produced a spreading paralysis among them.[14]

As with almost everything at the operational level of war, controlling the tempo of operations requires not only speed, but a solid understanding of the operational and strategic goals of the campaign. During Desert Storm, for instance, the Marine Corps' drive on the main effort's right flank rolled forward much faster than higher commanders had anticipated. Although this fast pace unquestionably offered tactical advantages within the Marines' area of operations, from the standpoint of the overall Allied plan it posed problems. Rather than fixing the Iraqi forces in place, as planned, the Marines were routing them. This created the possibility that major Iraqi forces would flee the trap before other Allied forces could close the envelopment from the left. Had the primary objective been the destruction of the Iraqi army, it might have been necessary to slow the Marines' advance even though this might have increased their casualties in the long run. The main objective, however, was to free Kuwait of Iraqi occupation. Given that the Iraqis had already broken and started running, there was no guarantee that slowing the tempo on the right would have the desired effect. Therefore, the wisest course—and the one that was taken—was to let the Marines maintain their high tempo, while expediting the movements of other Allied formations.[15]

SYNERGY

The conduct of a successful campaign requires the integration of many disparate efforts. Effective action in any single warfighting function is rarely decisive in and of itself. We obtain maximum impact when we harmonize all warfighting functions to accomplish the desired strategic objective in the shortest time possible and with minimal casualties.[16] Within the context of the campaign, we focus on six major functions: command and control, maneuver, fires, intelligence, logistics, and force protection.[17]

Command and Control

No single activity in war is more important than command and control. Without command and control, military units degenerate into mobs, the subordination of military force to policy is replaced by random violence, and it is impossible to conduct a campaign. Command and control encompasses all military operations and functions, harmonizing them into a meaningful whole. It provides the intellectual framework and physical structures through which commanders transmit their intent and decisions to the force and receive feedback on the results. In short, command and control is the means by which a commander recognizes what needs to be done and sees to it that appropriate actions are taken.[18]

Command and control during the conduct of a campaign places unique requirements on the commander, the command

and control organization, and the command and control support structure. The scope of activities in the campaign (both in time and space) will likely be vastly greater than in a battle or engagement. The number of organizational players will also influence the effective conduct of command and control. In any modern campaign, the commander must be concerned with more than just the higher headquarters and subordinate elements. A wide range of participants must be informed and coordinated with, both military (such as other units of a joint or multinational force) and civilian (such as other governmental agencies, host nation authorities, and nongovernmental organizations). Information management is a key function since communications and information systems can generate a flood of information. It is important to ensure that this flood of information does not overwhelm us but provides meaningful knowledge to help reduce uncertainty. Finally, the nature of these factors can make it difficult to ensure that the commander's intent and decisions are understood throughout the force and implemented as desired.

In implementing command and control during the campaign, we seek to reduce uncertainty, facilitate decisionmaking, and help generate a high operational tempo. Through effective information management and a well-designed command and control support structure, we attempt to build and share situational awareness. Planning is another essential element of command and control. Campaign design is largely the result of planning, and planning continues throughout the campaign as the campaign plan is modified and adapted based upon the changes in

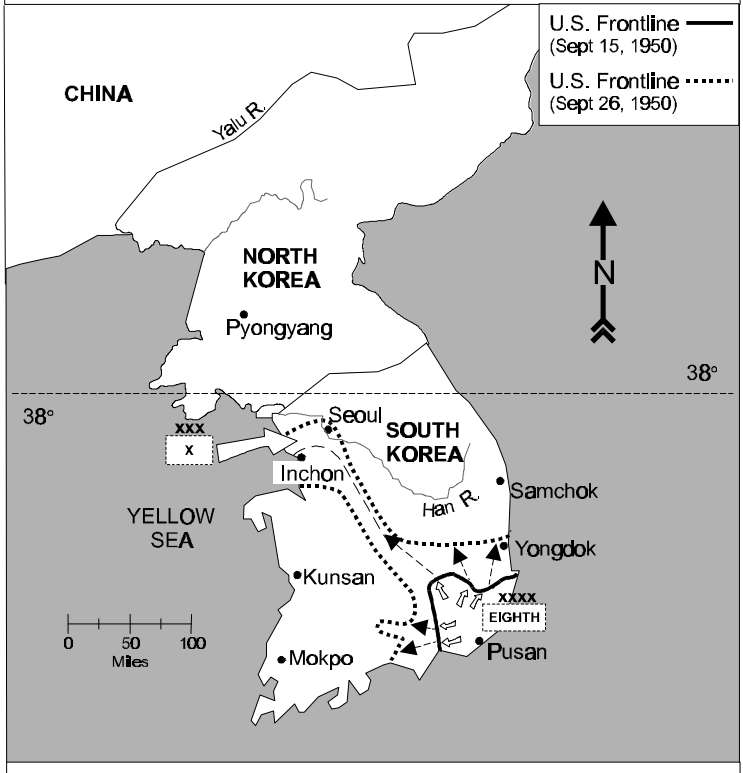
the situation and the results of campaign activities. We must prepare to function or even thrive in an environment of uncertainty and to make decisions despite incomplete or unclear information. A clear statement of intent that is understood throughout the force, flexible plans, an ability to adapt to unforeseen circumstances, and the initiative to recognize and seize opportunities as they present themselves permit us to generate tempo and perform effectively despite uncertainty.

Maneuver

Maneuver is the movement of forces for the purpose of gaining an advantage over the enemy in order to accomplish our objectives. While tactical maneuver aims to gain an advantage in combat, operational maneuver seeks to gain an advantage bearing directly on the outcome of the campaign or in the theater as a whole.

A classic example of operational maneuver was General MacArthur's landing at Inchon in 1950. (See figure.) The bulk of North Korea's army was well to the south, hemming the U.S. Eighth Army into the Pusan perimeter. Using the sea as maneuver space, MacArthur conducted a classic turning movement. By landing X Corps at Inchon, MacArthur threatened the enemy's lines of communications and forced the overextended enemy to shift fronts. This maneuver not only cut the North Koreans' flow of supplies and reinforcements but also forced them to move in a way that exposed them to a counterattack from the south.

Operational Manuever: MacArthur, 1950



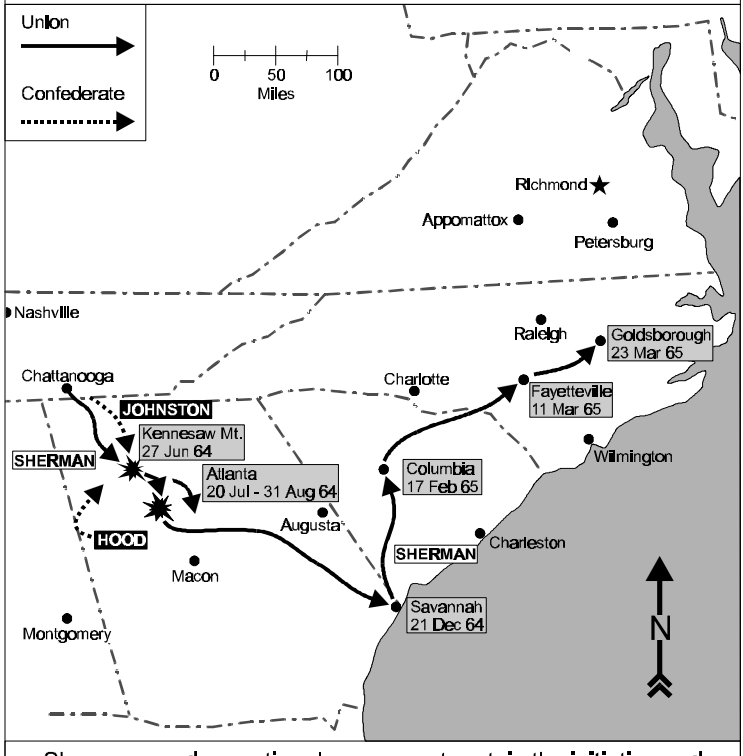
Using the sea as maneuver space, MacArthur conducted a classic turning movement by landing X Corps at Inchon. This cut the North Koreans' flow of supplies and forced them to manuever in a way that exposed them to counterattack from the south by Eighth Army.

Operational maneuver allows us to create and to exploit opportunities. It affords us the opportunity to develop plans which employ multiple options, or branches.[19] A branch plan helps us to anticipate future actions. Operational maneuver provides the means by which we can assess the situation, determine the branch which offers the best opportunity for success, and implement the decision. By skillful use of branches, we add to our flexibility and speed.

General Sherman's campaign in Georgia in 1864 illustrates the use of operational maneuver to retain the initiative and keep the opposition off balance. (See figure.) During his march through Georgia, Sherman ingeniously sought to keep his opponent constantly on the horns of a dilemma. His line of advance kept the Confederates in doubt whether his next objective was first Macon or Augusta, and then Augusta or Savannah. Sherman was ready to take whichever objective conditions favored. Campaigning through the Carolinas Sherman repeated this approach—

> so that his opponents could not decide whether to cover Augusta or Charleston, and their forces became divided. Then after he had ignored both points and swept between them to gain Columbia . . . the Confederates were kept in uncertainty as to whether Sherman was aiming for Charlotte or Fayetteville. [Finally, when] he advanced from Fayetteville they could not tell whether Raleigh or Goldsborough was his next, and final, objective.[20]

Operational Maneuver: Sherman, 1864



Sherman used operational maneuver to retain the initiative and keep his opposition off balance during his march through Georgia and the Carolinas. His line of advance kept the Confederates constantly in doubt as to the location of his next objective.

If tactical maneuver takes place during and within battle, operational maneuver takes place before, after, and beyond battle. The operational commander seeks to secure a decisive advantage before the battle is joined by rapid, flexible, and opportunistic maneuver. Such action allows us to gain the initiative and shape the action to create a decisive advantage.

The operational commander also uses maneuver to exploit tactical success, always seeking to achieve strategic results. The commander must be prepared to react to the unexpected and exploit opportunities created by conditions which develop from the initial action. By exploiting opportunities, we create in increasing numbers more opportunities for exploitation. The ability and willingness to ruthlessly exploit these opportunities often generates decisive results.

Our ultimate purpose in using maneuver is not to avoid battle, but to give ourselves such an advantage that the result of the battle is a matter of course. In the words of Liddell Hart, the "*true aim is not so much to seek battle as to seek a strategic situation so advantageous that if it does not of itself produce the decision, its continuation by a battle is sure to achieve this.*"[21]

If the classic application of maneuver is movement that places the enemy at a disadvantage, then superior mobility—the capability to move from place to place faster than the enemy while retaining the ability to perform the mission—is a key ingredient of maneuver. The object is to use mobility to

gain an advantage by creating superiority at the point of battle or to avoid disadvantageous battle altogether. [22]

Operational mobility is the ability to move between engagements and battles within the context of the campaign. It is a function of range and sustained speed over distance.[23] Patton recognized the importance of distinguishing between tactical and operational mobility when he wrote: "Use roads to march on; fields to fight on . . . when the roads are available for use, you save time and effort by staying on them until shot off."[24] If the essence of the operational level is deciding when and where to fight, operational mobility is the means by which we commit the necessary forces based on that decision.

An advantage in operational mobility can have a significant impact. In the Second World War in the Pacific island-hopping campaign, the Allies used operational mobility that allowed them to shift forces faster than the Japanese. The result was that Japanese forces were cut off and allowed to wither while the Allies consistently moved towards the Japanese home islands to bring them under direct attack.

Although we typically think of shipping as an element of strategic mobility, it may be employed to operational effect as well. In many cases, an amphibious force can enjoy greater operational mobility moving along a coastline than an enemy moving along the coast by roads, particularly when the amphibious force has the ability to interfere with the enemy's use

of those roads. The same use can be made of airlift. Such an advantage in operational mobility can be decisive.

Fires

We employ fires to delay, disrupt, degrade, or destroy enemy capabilities, forces, or facilities as well as to affect the enemy's will to fight. Our use of fires is not the wholesale attack of every unit, position, piece of equipment, or installa- tion we find. Rather, it is the selective application of fires to reduce or eliminate a key element, resulting in a major disabling of the enemy system. We use fires in harmony with maneuver against those enemy capabilities, the loss of which can have a decisive impact on the campaign or major operation.

During the conduct of the campaign, we use fires to shape the battlespace. By shaping, we influence events in a manner which changes the general condition of war decisively to our advantage. "Shaping activities may render the enemy vulnerable to attack, facilitate maneuver of friendly forces, and dictate the time and place for decisive battle."[25] Through those actions, we gain the initiative, preserve momentum, and control the tempo of the campaign. Operation Desert Storm provides an excellent example of a successful shaping effort. Our extensive air operations destroyed facilities, eliminated the Iraqi navy and air force, reduced the effectiveness of ground forces within Kuwait, and shattered the enemy's cohesion. An elaborate deception plan also confused the Iraqis as to the size and location of ground attacks while intense psychological operations helped undermine their morale. The end result was an

enemy who was both physically and mentally incapable of countering the maneuver of Coalition forces.

Campaign planners must analyze the enemy's situation, keeping in mind the commander's mission, objectives, intent, and our capabilities available for employment. We seek to target those enemy vulnerabilities that, if exploited, will deny resources critical to the enemy's ability to resist.[26] These targets may range from military formations, weapon systems, or command and control nodes to the target audiences for a psychological operation. However, the nature of these targets is situationally dependent and is based on an analysis of the enemy and our mission.

Intelligence

Intelligence is crucial to both the design and conduct of the campaign. Intelligence underpins the campaign design by providing an understanding of the enemy and the area of operations as well as by identifying the enemy's centers of gravity and critical vulnerabilities. During the conduct of the campaign, intelligence assists us in developing and refining our understanding of the situation, alerts us to new opportunities, and helps to assess the effects of actions upon the enemy. Intelligence cannot provide certainty; uncertainty is an inherent attribute of war. Rather, intelligence estimates the possibilities and probabilities in an effort to reduce uncertainty to a reasonable level.

Because the operational level of war aims to attain a strategic objective through the conduct of tactical actions, operational intelligence must provide insight into both the strategic and tactical situations as well as all factors that influence them. The differences among the tactical, operational, and strategic levels of intelligence lie in the scope, application, and level of detail associated with each level. *Operational intelligence* pertains broadly to the location, capabilities, and intentions of enemy forces that can conduct campaigns or major operations. It also is concerned with all operational aspects of the environment that can impact on the campaign such as geography, the national or regional economic and political situation, and fundamental cultural factors. Operational intelligence is less concerned with individual enemy units than it is with major formations and groupings. Similarly, it concentrates on general aspects of military geography such as mountain ranges or river valleys rather than on individual pieces of key terrain or a specific river-crossing site. Operational intelligence should be focused on patterns of activity, trends, and indications of future intentions. It should examine the enemy as a system rather than as individual components in an effort to determine how the entire enemy organization functions and as a means to identify the enemy's strengths, weakness, centers of gravity, and critical vulnerabilities.

During the execution of the campaign plan, intelligence strives to provide as detailed and accurate a picture of the current situation as possible while updating the estimate of the enemy's capabilities and intentions. Intelligence is a key

ingredient in gaining and maintaining situational awareness and makes an essential contribution to the conduct of the campaign through its support to targeting, force protection, and combat assessment. Intelligence operations are conducted throughout the campaign. Just as campaign plans are based on intelligence, intelligence plans are grounded in operations. The intelligence collection, production, and dissemination efforts are integrated with planned operations to support modification of ongoing activities, execution of branches and sequels, exploitation of success, and shaping the battlespace for future operations.

The successful use of intelligence at the operational level was illustrated in the dramatic victory achieved by U.S. naval forces in the Battle of Midway in June 1942. Japanese naval successes during the months following their attack on Pearl Harbor had provided them enormous advantage. In particular, their significant aircraft carrier strengths provided them with tactical warfighting capabilities far superior to those of the Allies. The questions facing Admiral Nimitz, Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Pacific Fleet, were: What would the Japanese do next? Would they continue, and if so, where?

Intelligence helped provide the answer. U.S. naval intelligence succeeded in breaking the codes used by the Japanese fleet to encrypt radio messages. The resulting intelligence reports, codenamed "Magic," provided significant insight into Japanese operations. Analysis of Magic reports combined with other intelligence uncovered the Japanese intentions to strike at Midway in early June. Using this intelligence to obtain an

operational advantage, Nimitz concentrated his numerically inferior forces where they could ambush the main body of the Japanese invasion fleet. U.S. forces achieved complete surprise and sank four Japanese carriers. Their overwhelming success in defeating a numerically superior enemy proved to be the major turning point in the Pacific theater of operations, dramatically altering the balance of naval power in a single decisive engagement.[27]

Logistics

At the operational level much more than at the tactical, logistics dictates what is possible and what is not. "A campaign plan that cannot be logistically supported is not a plan at all, but simply an expression of fanciful wishes."[28]

Logistics encompasses all activities required to move and sustain military forces.[29] *Strategic logistics* involves the acquisition and stocking of war materials and the generation and movement of forces and materials to various theaters. At the opposite end of the spectrum, *tactical logistics* is concerned with sustaining forces in combat. It deals with the feeding and care, arming, fueling, maintaining, and movement of troops and equipment. In order to perform these functions, the tactical commander must be provided the necessary resources.

Operational logistics links the strategic source of the means of war to its tactical employment.[30] During campaign execution, the focus of the logistics effort is on the provision of resources necessary to support tactical actions and the

management of resources to sustain operations throughout the course of the campaign.

The provision of resources to the tactical forces requires a procurement of necessary material as well as the creation and maintenance of an effective theater transportation system. Procurement is usually accomplished through the strategic logistics system. However, when capabilities or assets cannot be obtained from strategic-level sources, our logistics system must be able to obtain the necessary support from host nation, allied, or other sources. The transportation system must have sufficient capacity and redundancy to sustain the necessary level of effort. Transportation requires sufficient ports of entry to receive the needed volume of resources, adequate means of storage, and lines of communications (land, sea, and air) sufficient to move those resources within the theater of operations.

Managing the often limited resources necessary to implement the commander's concept and to sustain the campaign is just as important as providing and delivering the resources to the tactical commanders. At the operational level, logistics demands an appreciation for the expenditure of resources and the timely anticipation of requirements. This requires both the apportioning of resources among tactical forces based on the operational plan and the rationing of resources to ensure sustainment throughout the duration of the campaign. While failure to anticipate logistical requirements at the tactical level can result in delays of hours or days, the same failure at the

operational level can result in delays of weeks. Such delays can be extremely costly.

Finally, the provision of logistics in conduct of the campaign demands adaptability. We expect our plans to change. Flexibility in planning and organization coupled with the logistician's continuous situational awareness can foster the innovation and responsiveness necessary to meet these challenges. A dramatic example of adaptability in the provision of logistics occurred during Operation Desert Storm. Just before the start of offensive ground operations, a change in the Marine Forces' concept of operations created the requirement to reposition a significant portion of the logistics support structure. Early recognition of the requirement and flexibility of organization permitted the reconfiguration of support capabilities and the timely movement of necessary resources. An immense hardened forward staging base covering over 11,000 acres was constructed in just 14 days. Fifteen days of ammunition for two divisions; 5 million gallons of petroleum, oils, and lubricants; a million gallons of water; and the third largest naval hospital in the world were positioned before the assault.[31]

Force Protection

We need to take every possible measure to conserve our forces' fighting potential so that it can be applied at the decisive time and place. We accomplish this through properly planning and executing force protection. These actions imply more than base defense or self-protection procedures. At the operational level, force protection means that we must plan to frustrate the

enemy's attempts to locate and strike our troops, equipment, capabilities, and facilities. Force protection actions may also extend to keeping air, land, and sea lines of communications free from enemy interference.

Force protection safeguards our own centers of gravity and protects, conceals, reduces, or eliminates critical vulnerabilities. When we are involved in military operations other than war, force protection may include the additional task of protecting the supported nation's population, infrastructure, and economic or governmental institutions. Force protection also encompasses taking precautions against terrorist activities against our own forces and noncombatants.

Successful force protection begins with the determination of indicators that might reveal our plans and movements to enemy intelligence systems. By identifying these indicators and then taking appropriate steps to reduce or eliminate them, we can significantly decrease the potential for the enemy to disrupt our operations.

Aggressive force protection planning and execution improves our ability to maneuver against the enemy and to achieve our operational objectives. By safeguarding centers of gravity, protecting our troops and equipment, and ensuring the security of our installations and facilities, we conserve our combat power so that it can be applied at a decisive time and place.

LEADERSHIP

Leadership is the ability to get human beings to put forth their efforts in pursuit of a collective goal. Strong leadership creates an understanding of goals and a strong commitment to them among all members of the organization. At the higher levels of command, leadership is much less a matter of direct personal example and intervention than it is a matter of being able to energize and unify the efforts of large groups of people, sometimes dispersed over great distances.

This is not to say that personal contact is unimportant at the operational level, nor that charisma and strength of personality do not matter. In fact, we might argue that an operational commander who must influence more people spread over greater distances must be correspondingly more charismatic and stronger of personality than the tactical command- er. The commander must see and be seen by subordinates. As the Supreme Commander in Europe, Eisenhower spent a great deal of time traveling throughout the theater partly to see and to be seen by his men. Nor does this imply that the operational commander does not intervene in the actions of subordinates when necessary. Just as planning at the operational level requires leaders who can decide when and where to fight, campaign execution requires leaders who can determine when and where to use personal influence.

Leadership at the operational level requires clarity of vision, strength of will, and great moral courage. Moreover, it requires the ability to communicate these traits clearly and powerfully through numerous layers of command, each of which adds to the friction inhibiting effective communication. British Field-Marshal Sir William Slim, who in early 1945 retook Burma from the Japanese in a brilliant jungle campaign, noted this requirement by saying that the operational commander must possess "the power to make his intentions clear right through the force."[32]

Operational commanders must establish a climate of cohesion among the widely dispersed elements of their commands and with adjacent and higher headquarters as well. Because they cannot become overly involved in tactics, operational commanders must have confidence in their subordinate commanders. With these subordinates, commanders must develop a deep mutual trust. They must also cultivate in subordinates an implicit understanding of their own operating style and an explicit knowledge of their specific campaign intent. Operational commanders must train their staffs until the staffs become extensions of the commanders' personality.

The nature of campaigns places heavy demands on a leader's communications skills, demands that are quite different from those experienced by tactical unit commanders. Operational commanders must coordinate units from other services and nations. Operational commanders must maintain effective

relationships with external organizations, which is particularly difficult when other cultures are involved. Operational commanders must be able to win consensus for joint or multinational concepts of operations and represent effectively to higher headquarters the capabilities, limitations, and external support requirements of their forces.