

# Means

## National Military Strategy

(The recent evolution of war)

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# Overview

- Technology has improved both our and our enemies' technology
- Evolution of war across several campaigns
  - Kosovo
  - Afghanistan
  - Iraq
  - Al Qaeda
  - Cyberwar
- Rethinking our military strategy

# How has technology changed?

## Precision

- WWII, 9000 bombs to hit 1 target
- Vietnam, 174 bombs to hit 1 target
- Afghanistan, 1 bomb to hit 1 target



**WWII B-17**

3300 ft CEP



**Vietnam F-4**

400 ft CEP



**Current B-52**

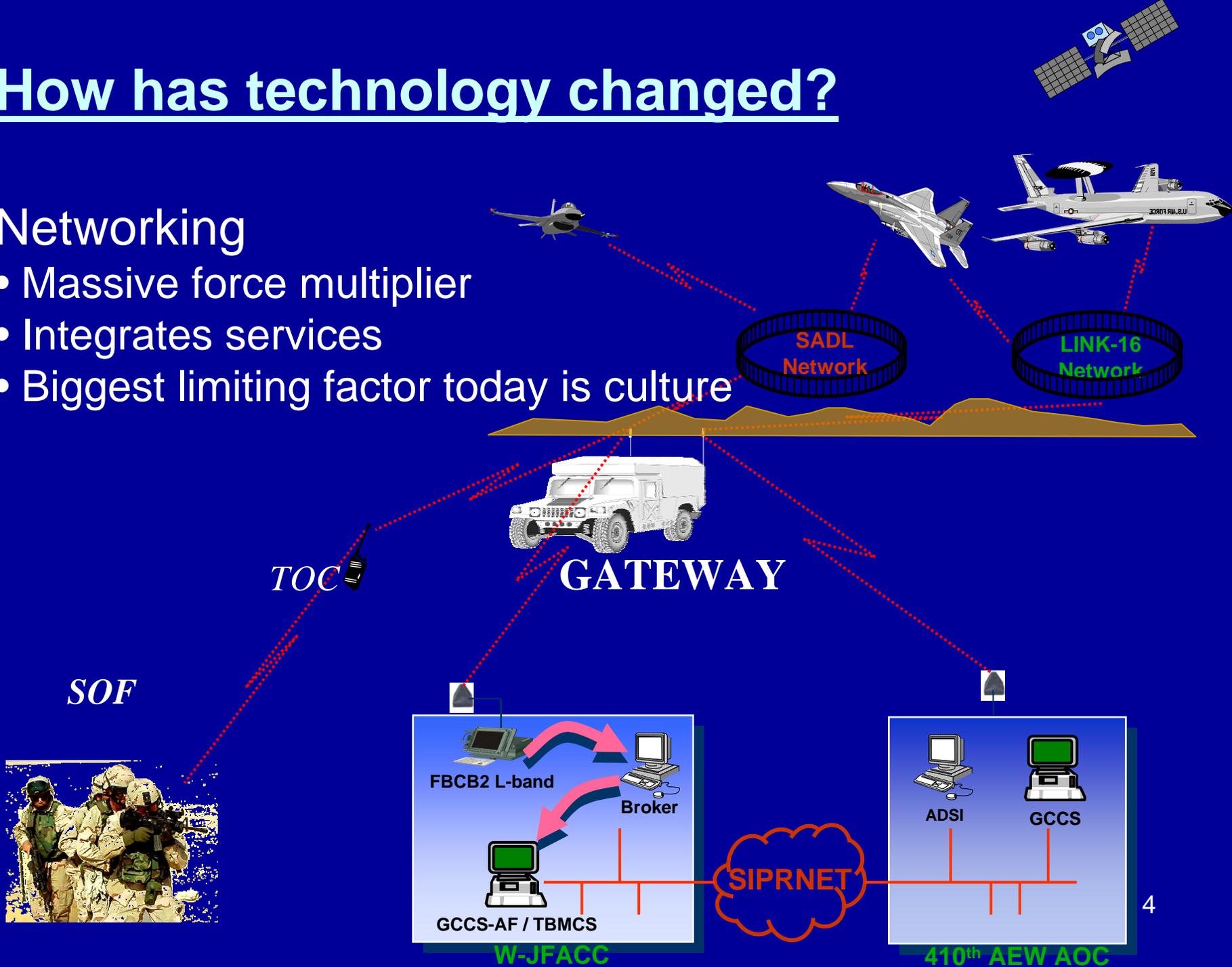
20 ft CEP

Today's airpower bears little resemblance to WWII airpower.

# How has technology changed?

## Networking

- Massive force multiplier
- Integrates services
- Biggest limiting factor today is culture



# How has technology changed?

Cyberspace: global networking of voice and data

- Virtually all military systems vulnerable to attack
- Potential to instantly penetrate into enemy territory
- Virtual territory for non state actors

# Operation Allied Force

# How has war evolved?

## Kosovo: precision and countermeasures

- New airpower technology v. new Serbian tactics
- Airpower was most effective against fielded forces when the KLA intervened

“We couldn’t stop the killing in Kosovo from the air”

Lt. Gen. Michael Short, CFACC

“Assessment team confirmed destruction of only 14 tanks, 18 armored fighting vehicles, and 20 pieces of artillery”

Rand, Project Air Force



# How has war evolved?

## US response: deep attack

- US driven by fear of a ground war quagmire
- Employed crony attack
  - Used cyber tools to locate Milosevic's political supporters
  - Contacted cronies via cyber tools
  - Attacked dual use infrastructure with precision weapons
- Results
  - Cronies demanded that Milosevic concede
  - Milosevic stated that he conceded because of the bombing campaign

# How has war evolved?

## Operation Enduring Freedom

# How has war evolved?

## Afghanistan: and deep attack

- US attempts to replicate crony attack
- Taliban responded by dispersing
- Crony attack proved ineffective against Afghan regime type
  
- US countered by bribery and SOF/air campaign
  
- Results
  - In less than two months, 50 SOF defeated 50,000 Taliban troops
  - Indigenous government viewed by population as legitimate

# How the Afghan Model Worked



1. **Deep attack** disrupted enemy's communications and forced enemy to disperse throughout the theater
  - In the south the enemy dispersed (like the Serbs in OAF)
  - In the North they entrenched (due to the presence of Northern Alliance fighters)



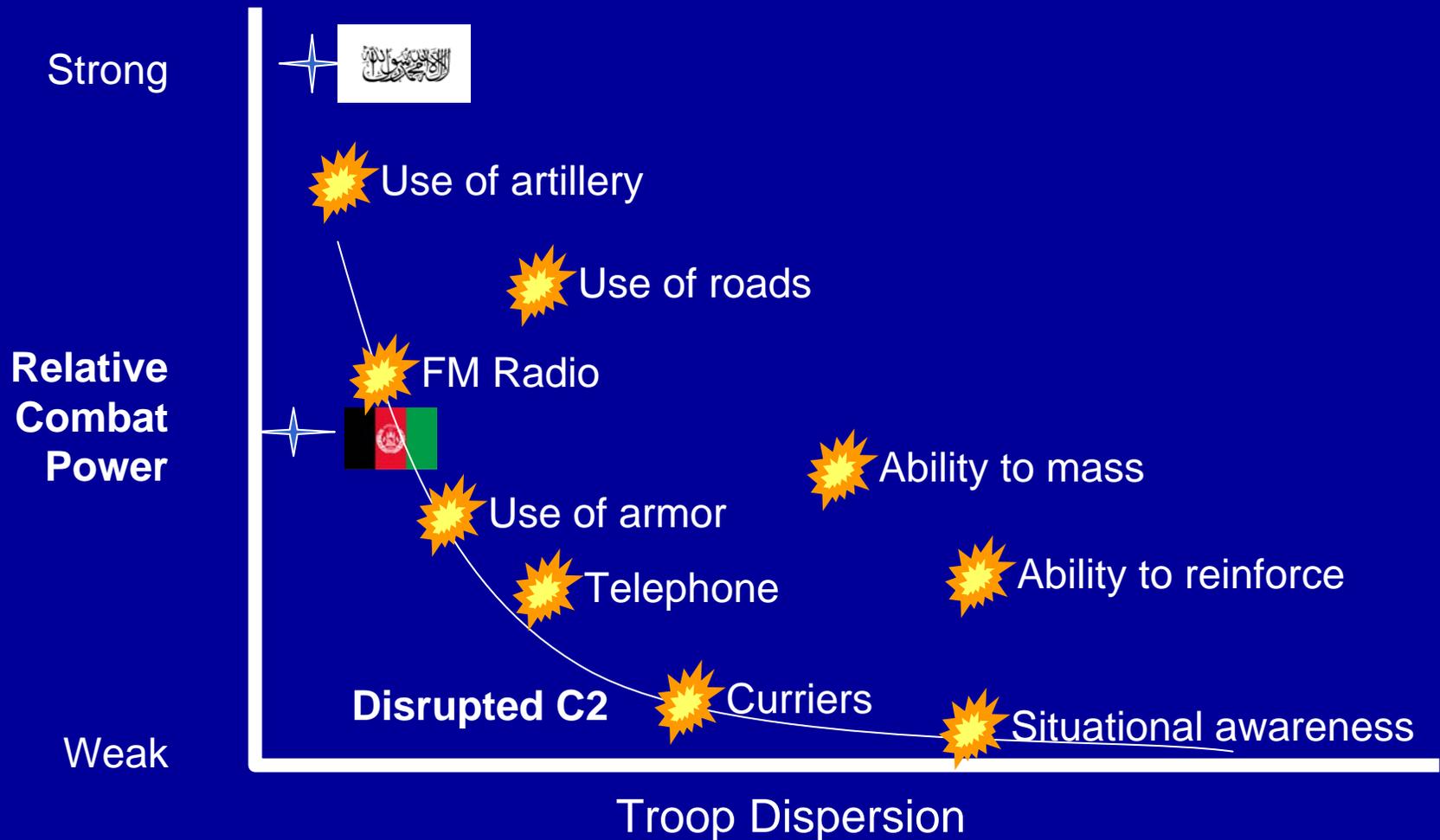
“We couldn't gather in large groups because that made us a target. We were waiting for our comrades to tell us what to do, but there was nothing to do but hide.”

Wahid Ahmed, a captured Taliban soldier

Dispersed Taliban troops lost most of their ability to conduct conventional operations, rendering them all but ineffective in their main mission of fighting rebel forces

OEF Air Strategy Cell Chief

# Operational Effect of theater wide air strikes



# How the Afghan Model Works

## 2. New precision CAS tactics

- Allies located enemy
- Precision CAS destroyed
- Allies screened US SOF
- Allies occupied territory



- However, precision CAS has weaknesses
  - Requires enormous C2
  - Ground troops must have the initiative

## Post combat

- Allies controlled the country, few US troops needed
- Arguably, three years later, prolonged occupation and the Coalition's interference with tribals' opium caused them to become pro-AQ



# How has war evolved?

## Operation Iraqi Freedom

# How has war evolved?

## Iraq: cyber attack

- Pre-war cyber/bribery campaign to cause coup
- Saddam countered with Stalinist regime C2
  - Commanders not allowed to communicate
  - All significant decisions must come from Saddam
  - Baathist politicians oversee commanders
- During the war precision destroyed Iraq's C3
  - We largely controlled Iraq's C3 during war
- Results
  - No coup occurred
  - Iraq's C2 became brittle
  - Iraqi forces operationally ineffective

# Strategic Attack: C3 disrupted



We “were all fighting in a separate pattern, as if there are no unified armed forces....Everybody was just waiting for orders”

General Al-Hamdani, Iraqi Rep. Guard Corps Commander

Once large-scale operations began, the Iraqi command and control system was not effective.

General Tommy Franks, CC



The regime's situational awareness was destroyed. They didn't know where we were; they didn't know where their own forces were.

General McKiernan, CFLCC

# How degraded were Iraq's forces?

- Saddam deployed 13 of his 23 divisions in the North
- 600 SOF and small bands of untrained Kurds defeated all of these in 16 days of heavy fighting



# Competing Forces

- Iraq North
  - 13 divisions (2 Republican Guard) 120k troops
  - Tanks, artillery
  - On the tactical defensive



- Coalition North
  - 600 US SOF
  - Kurdish Peshmerga
  - U.S. Airpower

# Precision Attack: forced dispersion

- Enemy largely destroyed or deserted under aerial attack across theater
  - “The percentage of forces that really fought was simple. I don't have exact numbers, but I can say almost 15 percent.”  
General Al-Hamdani, Iraqi Rep. Guard Corps Commander
- Republican Guard divisions were able to move, but...
  - Al Nida Republican Guard division destroyed while moving to Baghdad
  - Two thirds of Nebuchadnezzar Republican Guard division made it to Baghdad after leaving its artillery and logistical units behind
  - Medina Republican Guard division largely destroyed by air

# Outcome

- Iraqi units rapidly destroyed
  - Two Iraqi divisions, disperse, disappear, and then disintegrate on the way to Baghdad
  - Mosul falls 10 April



Fighting begins



# Kurdish Iraq



# How has war evolved?

**Al Qaeda**

# How has war evolved?

## Al Qaeda: three campaigns

- Original plan to suck the US into a guerrilla war in Afghanistan
  - US responds by refusing ground forces in OEF
- AQ counters by working with Sunnis in Iraq against US occupation forces
  - US counters with COIN campaign
- AQ responds with global cyber campaign
- Results
  - COIN campaign counterproductive?
  - AQ support in Iraq thin?
  - AQ cyber campaign effective

# How has war evolved?

## Cyberwar

# How has war evolved?

## Cyberwar

- AQ has transformed into cells connected by the Internet
  - Principle means of recruiting, fund raising, coordinating
  - Mainly located in countries we are at peace with
- Cyber methods have become one of our most successful means of finding terrorists and insurgents
- China and Russia appear to be regularly launching attacks against our cyber infrastructure
- Cyberwar is currently costing the US billions of dollars each year

# Rethinking our military strategy

- The methods of war are rapidly evolving
- The main hitting power in MCO now comes from precision and cyber
- We are not good at occupation
- Our most pressing defense need is to find a counter to enemy cyber ops

# Questions