

Text, 2013 MORS Presentation on Korea
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(slide 1) In 1976-78 I commanded I Corps (ROK/US) Group in Korea. It was a Korean-American field army size formation defending the Western Sector of the DMZ.

I arrived there in March '76 from having been Commander of the Army Combined Arms Center and concurrently Commandant of the Command and General Staff College, where we had initiated the use of wargames in tactics instruction.

14 months later I was briefing the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the Pentagon on the results of the wargames that I had initiated. The first part of what you will hear today is what I presented to the JCS in May of 1977. The rest of my briefing covers air/land battle work done after that trip.

Here (slide 2) is Korea. The patch is the I Corps "bullseye."

(slide 3) This was the defensive sector of my command, the Korean-American First Corps Group. It was responsible for planning and executing Op Plan 5027, Defense of Korea. On our right was the First Republic of Korea Army.

(slide 4) This shows the terrain, the road net, and the Han River estuary.

(slide 5) This is the Joint Security Area near Panmunjon where meetings of the Armistice Commission are held. In the blue part are two U.S. guard posts.

(slide 6) Seoul, a city then of around 10 million people, is twenty-five miles away. The Han River is on its south.

(slide 7) In 1974-75 General Richard G. Stillwell, who was the U.S. commander in Korea, introduced the Forward Defense Concept. It was an electrifying turnaround in defensive thinking. We would not evacuate Seoul but would protect it, using strong positions and barriers and massive firepower. The U.S. would reinforce primarily with air and logistics.

(slide 8) This simplifies the Korea command structure of those days. General Stillwell -- and later General John W. Vessey -- had several hats. Essentially he was the full joint (U.S.) and combined (ROK/US) commander.

His air command was a combination of the ROK and U.S. Air Force, his naval command combined the U.S. and ROK fleets, and he had an eastern land command, 1st ROK Army, and a western land command, which was I Corps Group.

(slide 9) I shared my responsibilities with the Commander, Third ROK Army. I was responsible for the Han River estuary and DMZ activities, and for preparing for the defense of Korea under OP Plan 5027. He, with a headquarters south of Seoul, was responsible in peace time for construction, including fortification construction, troop programs, funding, and training. In both peace and in war he was responsible for logistics, personnel administration and civil affairs.

Kim Chong Won, the 3rd ROK Army commander, was an extraordinarily able three star Korean general. I worked with him to prepare my commanders to execute the war plans for Oplan 5027.

(slide 10) With his command's support, and with the support of U.S. and ROK tactical air, my mission under the Forward Defense Concept was: DEFEAT THE ENEMY ON OR BEFORE MAIN BATTLE AREA ALPHA.

Main Battle Area Alpha is behind Forward Area of the Battle Area Alpha (shown here as FEBA "A"). Stationed on it were units of the Korean Army. The I ROK Corps stationed three divisions forward and one division and an armored brigade in reserve positions. The VI ROK Corps had two divisions forward and one in reserve. V ROK Corps had two divisions forward and a division and an armored brigade in the rear, plus the Capitol Mechanized Division. The 2nd Marine Brigade was on the Han River estuary.

(slide 11) The U.S. part of my command, the 2nd Infantry Division, was mostly stationed at Tongduchon. Its 3rd Brigade, with one battalion backing up the DMZ, was in I Corps. Its division artillery was at Uijongbu.

My I Corps Group headquarters was located at Camp Red Cloud, near Uijongbu. About two-thirds of my headquarter's officers were Korean. My deputy commander was a Korean major general. I had a U.S. brigadier general chief of staff, and a ROK G3 who was also a brigadier general. The G4 was an American and the G2, G1, and G5 were Korean. Our command center was in an underground bunker on Camp Red Cloud.

(slide 12) This shows the total ROK weaponry and that of the 2nd Division.

(slide 13) These were the total North Korean forces.

(slide 14) North Korea had been building up its forces since 1968. This shows its increase in tank inventory

(slide 15) Facing us across the DMZ were two North Korean combined arms armies, organized Soviet style.

(slide 16) We believed that, Soviet style, North Korea would mass for attack. This could be a typical attack configuration.

(slide 17) We credited the enemy with these advantages.

(slide 18) We believed that in order to succeed...

We must **deny him total surprise**, using our own and higher headquarters means and constant intelligence vigilance, We could not be caught flatfooted.

We must **be ready, on position, with essential barriers installed, artillery deployed, and reserves in good order at the time he attacked**. Our periodic alert drills could give us confidence that thirty minutes after Defcon 2's call we could do so.

And, we must **master in advance the tactics, the logistics, and the command and control methods that the conditions of battle demand**.

(slide 19) What are those? When the war starts, we must...

see the battlefield,

determine the enemy main attack,

concentrate maneuver units, artillery, tactical air, and logistics to meet that attack, and

conduct an active offensive-defense and defeat the enemy on Main Battle Area Alpha.

(slide 20) I determined that I Corp (ROK/US) Group would exercise its battle plans with **Battle Simulation**. Two-sided, real-time, battle simulation would seek to test our actual commanders and staffs, executing their actual oplans, with realism as close as we could come to battle, without actually fighting.

I had come to Korea from Fort Leavenworth. There we had developed a wargame called First Battle for use in College instruction. In the 2d Division I found Captain Hilton Dunn. As a 1974-75 Leavenworth student he had developed the Dunn-Kempf wargame. I moved him to our headquarters. I gave him the First Battle material that I had brought with me. We began building "Korea First Battle."

(slide 21) This was our first war game board, built by 8th Army training aids, three inches to the mile, terrain vertically exaggerated.

(slide 22) Using counters representing both enemy and friendly units, player/controllers are at work. Using look-up tables and rolling the dice in thirty minute game turns they arrive at battle outcomes. Acting as battalion commanders they report the results by telephone to their regimental headquarters located elsewhere. They speak as a subordinate in the language of combat.

(slide 23) This is a wargame in action.

(slide 24) These were our routines. Some, including intelligence, were rudimentary. We tracked artillery fire, ammo usage and stockage, and requisition and hauling times. When a battery's ammo was out, a unit did not receive artillery support. If a firing pin wore out, a replacement had to be on hand, or no fires

(slide 25) We claimed these characteristics.

(slide 26) Striving for authenticity.

(slide 27) Through September 1977 I Corps (ROK/US) Group conducted six Caper Crown exercises.

Caper Crown I, in April 1976, was a division--level trial. We learned that we could not handle a free-play wargame around the clock, with actual commanders and player controllers in real time. After 12 hours we had to break, allow commanders to go back to their units at night, and resume battle the next day.

(slide 28) We developed procedures and trained controllers. In October we ran Caper Crown II...

(slide 29) ...with this enemy attack into the I ROK Corps sector.

(slide 30) Oplan 5027 dispositions were as shown. Forward divisions each had one regiment deployed in combat outpost configuration, and two regiments on FEBA Alpha, with reserves positioned as shown.

(slide 31) These were the lessons of Caper Crown II.

The Capitol Mech, the only mechanized division in the ROK Army, had long been billeted in the rear of V Corps, and stayed there at DEFCON 2.

(slide 32) We changed its DEFCON 2 position to I Corps, leaving one brigade in V Corps.

(slide 33) In February 1977 we ran Caper Crown III in VI Corps.

(slide 34) With this attack.

(slide 35) And 5027 dispositions as shown.

(slide 36) These lessons were learned.

(slide 37) A Caper Crown exercise, being a command post exercise made realistic by wargame results, proved to have a third benefit: "Identify deficiencies in operations plans."

(slide 38) By this time we had arrived at the essential actions necessary to improve our defense. Although we had to rely on others for many of these actions, I assigned each to a member of my staff for tracking.

In 1976, Jimmy Carter was running for President; in January 1977 he was President. He had run for that office pledging that he would remove all U.S. ground forces from Korea -- and he had not spoken of reciprocal measures from the North. This raised serious anxieties in the South.

After Caper Crown III I went to see General Vessey with our wargame results.

He decided to ask the Army to send a wargame expert to validate our routines. With that done, I put together a briefing for the Koreans, along with General Vessey and his staff.

(slide 39) These were its conclusions.

(slide 40) These were the essential actions we believed were required.

General Vessey sent me to the JCS with the briefing, and with...

(slide 41) Two basic conclusions.

(slide 42) One.

(slide 43) and Two.

I am unable to report what action was taken by the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

(slide 44) When I came home, we got to work on our essential actions, the last four being those that we could really do something about.

(slide 45) Concentrating first on this one.

(slide 46) The Air Force Korea presence in the Western Sector included: Air Liaison Officers at I Corps Group, our three corps, and the 2d Division; Direct Air Support Center (DASC) with us at Camp Red Cloud; and jeep-mounted Tactical Air Support Parties for assignment to regiment or battalion.

(slide 47) Airpower was managed by single- or multi-sortie missions, by means of an air tasking order (ATO) issued nightly by the joint ROKAF/USAF Tactical Air Control Center (TACC) at Osan Air Base for the next day. The ATO went to USAF and ROKAF wings (and to US Navy and USMC squadrons in-theater), and to the I Corps Group DASC. During the day the TACC continuously ordered required missions as immediate tasking. Wings and squadrons tasked each sortie. Sorties were guided en route through the Tactical Air Control System and by Air Liaison Officers and Tactical Air Control Parties with units. The aim was that air and land forces fight a single battle.

MG Bob Taylor, Commander Air Forces Korea, ran the TACC on behalf of the Republic of Korea's Air Force whose personnel made up much of it.

(slide 48) With his enthusiastic participation we exercised this system in battle simulations -- Caper Crowns IV, V, and VI.

(slide 49) A description of our wargames.

(slide 50) Complicating factors were...

(slide 51) The problem...

(slide 52) A complex undertaking.

(slide 53) We were not the only one.

(slide 54) Recent developments in air-ground doctrine called for Battlefield Air Interdiction responsive to the corps commander. We adopted that idea.

(slide 55) So Bob Taylor and I redefined “emergency” Close Air Support to include “Battlefield Interdiction.”

(slide 56) We agreed that, when the enemy chooses the time and place of attack, this “preplanned” SOP does not work.

(slide 57) So we developed a “New Frag” (fragmentary order) and ATO (air tasking order).

(slide 58) We arrived at our common Air Forces Korea/I Corps Group principles.

(slide 59) In October 1977 we were ready for Caper Crown VII.

(slide 60) It would exercise the oplans of these units in a two corps wargame.

(slide 61) We brought all the playing command posts from regiment to corps together in a field at Camp Red Cloud

(slide 62) We built a larger game board...

(slide 63) ...which we populated with the required trained player/controllers.

(slide 64) This enemy attack concept...

(slide 65) ...struck at our vulnerability, the boundary between I and VI Corps. I had earlier told my commanders my view on this vulnerability, and had ordered a revision of this corps boundary to the dotted line.

(slide 66) With this main attack.

(slide 67) This was the enemy supporting attack.

(slide 68) AFK's participation before the exercise included an air battle analysis...

(slide 69) ...addressing these questions.

(slide 70) During the exercise we tracked the close air support environment.

(slide 71) For each close air support mission we recorded this...

(slide 72) ...and this.

(slide 73) This was the enemy air attack plan.

(slide 74) The enemy attacked at 1700 with this.

(slide 75) AFK had declared DEFCON 1 30 minutes earlier; its readiness was...

(slide 76) AFK's 1700 response was...

(slide 77) Its initial apportionment was...

From the outset of combat, tactical air executed close air support and battlefield air interdiction missions, both preplanned and on call. Player/controllers calculated each mission's effect on the unit. Both sides air effects were calculated.

(slide 78) The outcome of the first hour of the air war was...

(slide 79) At 1800 the fighter order of battle (slide 99), both sides, was...

(slide 80) At 0400, the CINC's J-3 reapportioned the air effort.

(slide 81) Results of daylight action...

(slide 82) The situation at H+24...

(slide 83) Total air sortie utilization...

(slide 84) With these results...

(slide 85) I had issued a Draft concept of operations for use in this exercise...

(slide 86)...continued.

(slide 87) Here it is in Korean, to foster understanding.

(slide 88) Shortly after midnight the enemy had penetrated to here.

(slide 89) By 0430 they were here.

(slide 90) Later that morning exercise time (because we played 12 hours on and 12 off, this was during the second day of play) the enemy was here.

We were licked, so I suspended the game rules. We successfully “counterattacked” to end the exercise, after 36 hours exercise play.

From our wargame records we then built for each corps situation maps at 30 minute intervals. Two weeks later I invited each corps commander to come to my headquarters to go through with me an “If We Had,” with a situation maps display.

(slide 91) This is the “if we had” for the Commander I Corps.

(slide 92) This is the “if we had” for the Commander VI Corps.

(slide 93) This is where our front could have been.

My commanders were not at all happy with the outcome of Caper Crown VII. Some lessons...

(slide 94) This is what we learned about logistics.

(slide 95} This is one lesson about air/land battle readiness.

(slide 96) was my conclusion. I wanted my commanders to share this “lesson learned”.

(slide 97) They had had the concept in Korean. I hoped they would think on it.

My next four slides show what Major General Bob Taylor, Cdr AFK, got out of it.

(Slides 98, 99, 100, and 101, one at a time.)

The word got around about our wargame. No one was happy. The enemy had defeated us. People questioned the validity of the wargame, saying that it did not give the defenders full credit.

(slide 102) When when I briefed Korean generals, I showed them this.

(slide 103) I told them that in real life a battle is a one-time event, with a single outcome that can be placed on a scale of 1 to 9.

(slide 104) I told them that the dotted line shows the distribution of possible outcome of a single battle. And the solid line is where we want that distribution to be in the Western Sector.

(slide 105) I told them that the way we get there is this.

(slide 106) I said that these were the purposes of Caper Crown VII...

(slide 107) ...and that Caper Crown VII was...

A couple of months later, I left Korea.

(slide 108) Before I left, Bob Taylor visited my headquarters and gave me this. It is a fighter aircraft's cockpit stick handle.

(slide 109) It was inscribed:

LTGEN JOHN H. CUSHMAN
MR. "AIR-LAND BATTLE"
WITH SINCERE APPRECIATION
FOR YOUR SUPPORT
BOB TAYLOR, MGEN USAF
COMAFK

Thank you.