



Royal Netherlands air force F-16A Falcon patrols skies over Kosovo during Operation *Allied Force* armed with AIM-9 missiles and cluster bombs

# Revisiting NATO's Kosovo Air War Strategic Lessons for an Era of Austerity

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**A**fter a decade of counterinsurgency operations, the 1999 Kosovo air war is a distant memory. Unlike the grueling, ground force–centric wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, Operation *Allied Force* was a case study in coercion conducted at a safe distance to achieve limited ends using limited means. Despite flawed assumptions and the friction of a coalition operation, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) achieved its objectives at a reasonable cost and without combat fatalities. The NATO intervention reversed ethnic cleansing in Kosovo and helped set conditions for bringing democracy to Serbia.

Operation *Allied Force* has already been analyzed in depth.<sup>1</sup> Yet revisiting it is

relevant as the United States prepares for future wars in an era of austerity. For such operations, when vital interests are not at stake, it is likely that coalition operations will be the norm, ends and ways will be limited, “small footprints” will be desirable, and the center of gravity will be the adversary’s will rather than its forces. These were all characteristics of the Kosovo air war.

This article analyzes the strategic logic of Operation *Allied Force* and draws lessons for future small footprint operations for limited ends using limited means.<sup>2</sup>

## Strategic Context

In 1998, the former Yugoslavia was already devastated and fractured by 4 years of brutal war. Slobodan Milosevic, as leader

of Serbia, was not only a prime instigator of the conflict but also a signatory of the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords that ended the war in Bosnia. As the crisis in Kosovo began, Milosevic presided over Serbia and Montenegro, which were all that remained of the former Yugoslav federation.

Milosevic had launched his political career in Kosovo, a province of Serbia that overflowed with symbolism and history for the Serb people. His repression of Kosovo's Albanian majority had initially been met with nonviolent resistance. An armed Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) eventually materialized, threatening Serb rule over Kosovo and the small Serbian minority living there. In 1998, Milosevic dispatched additional security forces into Kosovo to suppress the KLA. His interests, which were certainly vital to him if not to the Serb state, were to retain control of Kosovo, protect his autocratic grip on power rooted there, and maintain the international legitimacy he attained at Dayton.

NATO countries watched developments in Kosovo with a sense of foreboding. Milosevic was known as the "Butcher of the Balkans," and the heavy-handed tactics of his security forces in Kosovo gave rise to fears of another round of violence and ethnic cleansing. The United States and its NATO Allies, which had helped end the war in Bosnia after much hesitation, were committed to preventing a new conflict. If diplomacy failed, they were prepared to consider the early use of military force and shared an uncomfortable suspicion that only the threat of force or its use would move Milosevic. The countries of southeast Europe, aspiring to join NATO and the European Union (EU), were ready to cooperate closely with the Alliance. Russia, however, was wary of further NATO military operations and ready to veto a formal mandate from the United Nations (UN) Security Council.

President Bill Clinton was under increasing political pressure in the United States. While humanitarian groups and foreign policy experts fretted over a renewed prospect of war and ethnic cleansing, many in Congress and the Pentagon were pushing for an "exit" in Bosnia and reluctant to commit more forces in the Balkans. Indeed, in March 1998, the administration needed to work closely with Congress to defeat a proposed House of Representatives resolution that would have directed

the President to withdraw U.S. forces from Bosnia. To complicate matters further, the President was embroiled in a sex scandal and facing impeachment by the House and a subsequent trial by the Senate. In short, Clinton was not well positioned politically to commit military force to protect a part of the Balkans unknown to most Americans.

### NATO Interests

As winter approached in 1998, Kosovo Albanians, displaced from their homes, faced the twin threats of starvation and freezing. Backed by the threat of NATO air strikes, U.S. and European diplomats convinced Milosevic to withdraw Serb security forces and allow the introduction of Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) monitors. Diplomatic efforts, however, were unable to prevent a renewal of fighting when the snow began to melt in early 1999. A final push for a diplomatic settlement, conducted at a chateau in Rambouillet, France, ended in failure, though it did help unite the Kosovo Albanians and establish the broad outlines of an eventual settlement.

In contemplating air strikes in early 1999, the United States and its Allies were conscious of three basic interests at stake. The first interest was humanitarian, to prevent another round of violence and ethnic cleansing. The second was to protect regional stability, minimizing the risk of a new Balkan war. The third was to protect the credibility of NATO, which had suffered during previous Balkan wars but rebounded with the Alliance's role in implementing the Dayton Accords. An alliance is arguably a "means" not an "end," and protecting credibility can be a slippery slope. That said, NATO was indeed an important part of Europe's future security architecture and a means of achieving U.S. regional objectives.

The threats to these interests were real. A massacre of Albanian men, women, and children in the Kosovo village of Račak was a vivid reminder of Milosevic's campaign of violence and ethnic cleansing in Bosnia. Ethnic conflict in Kosovo had the potential to rekindle ethnic tensions elsewhere in the region, sparking another round of violence and a breakdown of the Dayton Accords in Bosnia, where NATO had deployed a large peacekeeping force. There was also the threat, which the Alliance took seriously, of ruptured relations with Russia. Offsetting

these threats was an important opportunity to build on NATO's growing cooperation with the United Nations and OSCE to bring an end to the Balkan wars and help realize the vision of a Europe that was whole, free, and at peace.

### Ends, Ways, and Means

NATO launched Operation *Allied Force* in March 1999. As often happens in military operations, the ends, ways, and means evolved during the course of the campaign. Initially, NATO's ends were articulated as the "three Ds": demonstrate NATO resolve, damage the Serb military's ability to harm the people of Kosovo, and deter an even bloodier offensive.<sup>3</sup> The ways to achieve these ends were simple: limited air strikes on Serb forces in Kosovo and a readiness to negotiate a political accord. In the words of one senior administration official, the strategy had shifted "from diplomacy backed by air strikes to air strikes backed by diplomacy." Means were limited to tactical air strikes and diplomacy designed to keep NATO together as the United States and its Allies awaited a clear signal by Milosevic of his readiness to withdraw Serb security forces and negotiate a settlement.

This strategy was based on the flawed assumption that limited air strikes would compel Milosevic to back down quickly. Thus, initial political and military planning assumed an air campaign of days or a few weeks when, in fact, *Allied Force* lasted over 2 months—78 days. This mistaken assumption meant that NATO had neither planned the targets nor deployed the necessary forces for a sustained air campaign. It also meant that Alliance unity was put to a longer test than initially foreseen. Perhaps the only benefit of the extended campaign was that it afforded additional time provided to "plan for success" including the establishment of a UN administration and a NATO-led peacekeeping force.

There were a number of reasons for this flawed assumption:

- First, senior U.S. diplomatic and military officials assessed that Milosevic would back down quickly, based in part on their personal experience in dealing with him. After all, the threat of air strikes had caused Milosevic to withdraw security forces from Kosovo the previous fall.

■ Second, policymakers may have drawn the wrong lessons from NATO's Operation *Deliberate Force* in 1995, in which 3 weeks of limited air strikes helped bring Milosevic to the negotiating table at Dayton. There were, however, important differences: NATO's 1995 air strikes coincided with a Bosnian-Croatian ground offensive. In addition, and perhaps more importantly, Kosovo was a more vital interest to Milosevic than the Serbian parts of Bosnia were.

■ Third, while perhaps only subconsciously, a short war assumption may have eased the political decision to intervene. Intervention was already a tough decision for the allies in the face of opposition by Russia and the resulting absence of an explicit mandate from the UN Security Council. If allied leaders had also confronted the possibility of an operation lasting 78 days, they may have decided against air strikes and restricted their approach to diplomatic pressure and economic sanctions.

After several weeks of air strikes, U.S. and allied leaders realized the need to recalibrate their strategy. Milosevic was not only failing to back down, but his security forces had launched the ethnic cleansing that NATO sought to prevent, burdening neighboring countries with a growing influx of Albanian refugees. It was increasingly apparent that Milosevic thought he could outlast the Alliance. It was also increasingly obvious that there were two centers of gravity: the unity of NATO, which Milosevic hoped to defeat, and the will of Milosevic, which was more resilient than expected.

NATO's April 1999 summit in Washington, DC, was to have commemorated the Alliance's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary. Instead it became the venue for NATO to demonstrate its determination to prevail and to recalibrate its ends, ways, and means.

The Summit Declaration required Milosevic to:

- ensure a verifiable stop to all military action and the immediate ending of violence and repression in Kosovo
- withdraw his military, police, and paramilitary forces
- agree to the stationing of an international military presence
- agree to the unconditional and safe return of all refugees and displaced persons

and unhindered access to them by humanitarian aid organizations

- provide credible assurance of his willingness to work for the establishment of a political framework based on the Rambouillet Accords.<sup>4</sup>

These five requirements were effectively NATO's new ends, replacing the "three Ds" of a month prior. These new ends adapted to the growing exodus of Kosovo Albanians and added the prospect of deploying a NATO-led force in Kosovo once Serb security forces withdrew.

NATO also expanded ways of bringing pressure on Milosevic, recognizing that air strikes alone might not suffice. The summit declaration spoke of "additional measures" being undertaken by allied governments. The United States, for its part, developed and implemented an expanded "strategic campaign." This campaign, in combination with NATO air strikes, aimed to:

- degrade Serbia's capability to conduct repressive operations in Kosovo
- undermine Milosevic's pillars of power, which were identified as his security forces, state-controlled media, and close associates ("cronies")
- step up international pressure, isolate Serbia, and delegitimize Milosevic
- plan and prepare a postconflict civil and military presence
- sustain NATO solidarity.

This expanded set of "ways" was backed by a full range of diplomatic, information, military, and economic means.

Diplomatically, the Department of State worked closely with EU foreign ministers to bring pressure to bear on Milosevic and increase his isolation, using his indictment by the international war crimes tribunal in The Hague to undercut his legitimacy. The Secretary of State and her senior advisors were on the phone daily with their European counterparts to coordinate statements and diplomatic activity. The Deputy Secretary of State led negotiations involving the Russian prime minister and the EU president to back Milosevic into NATO's conditions while disabusing him of any impression that Moscow would come to his aid. These negotiations set the basis for the conflict's end game and shaped the UN Security Council resolution being developed

in New York to terminate the conflict on NATO's conditions and establish the basis for postconflict stabilization.

On the information side, public diplomacy backed diplomacy by highlighting NATO resolve and unity as well as the atrocities being committed by forces under Milosevic's command. Information operations directed at the Serb people, Serb security forces, and Milosevic cronies sought to undercut support for Milosevic's actions and encourage defections.<sup>5</sup> These messages were delivered by multiple media including a "ring around Serbia" of radio transmitters in neighboring countries. Transmitting broadcasts from Voice of America and the British Broadcasting Corporation, the ring was designed to break Milosevic's monopoly of the airwaves. In addition to delivering munitions, NATO F-16 fighters and B-52 bombers dropped leaflets targeted at Serb forces and the population more broadly. Those dropped to Serb forces warned of the lethality of NATO forces and sought to encourage defections by reporting on draftee soldiers leaving the fighting in Kosovo to protect protesters in their villages against military police.

Militarily, tactical air strikes were augmented by strategic air strikes into Serbia. These included raids against high-visibility targets such as the Ministries of Defense and Interior, government television, bridges, and electrical infrastructure. The strikes, particularly against targets associated with Milosevic's cronies, were carefully coordinated with information operations aimed at undercutting Milosevic's sources of power. Steps were taken to reduce the risk of civilian casualties in populated areas, though media images of a European capital being bombed shook European public support. Less visibly, NATO ships began monitoring a U.S. and EU oil embargo on Serbia, and the Alliance stepped up planning and preparations for the introduction of NATO-led ground forces after the air strikes. Some NATO forces were prepositioned in theater to allow for early introduction of a peacekeeping force.

Economically, NATO Allies surged humanitarian relief and economic assistance to the neighboring countries struggling with a growing number of Albanian refugees. NATO deployed a task force to Albania to help with relief efforts, and its peacekeeping force prepositioned in Macedonia also

helped to construct refugee camps. The United States and European Union targeted sanctions, including asset freezes and travel bans, on key Milosevic supporters. Targeted individuals, who were used to a luxurious lifestyle, were suddenly unable to travel outside Serbia and grew concerned about accessing their bank accounts in London or Paris. Economic sanctions typically take a long time to have an impact. In the case of Kosovo, their main effect was probably psychological, increasing pressure on Milosevic's cronies and encouraging them to disassociate themselves with his regime.

### Fog and Friction

NATO's realignment of its ends, ways, and means was essential to its ultimate success when the war grimly ground on longer than anticipated. That said, its longer duration gave added opportunity for fog and friction to play their inevitable role, complicating operations and adding unforeseen developments.

One unwanted surprise was NATO's inadvertent bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade. This precise raid against precisely the wrong target disrupted diplomatic efforts to negotiate a UN Security Council resolution to terminate the conflict on NATO's terms. In doing so, it undoubtedly renewed the hope of Milosevic and his supporters to outlast the Alliance. Together, these two effects probably added 1 or 2 weeks to the armed conflict. The strike also tested the unity of the Alliance, as did other strikes that accidentally killed both Serb and Albanian civilians. NATO ambassadors implored the military commanders to avoid collateral damage—as though wars could be conducted without human cost.

Alliance decisionmaking was a source of friction. Key targeting decisions were subject to consensus decisions by all Allies. The President needed to make multiple phone calls to other leaders before NATO agreed to augment the air strikes with more strategic targets. Two Allies pushed for “pauses” despite no sign of willingness by Milosevic to meet NATO's stated conditions. Coalition politics and indecision circumscribed the allied ability to escalate air strikes and deliver the “shock and awe” that might have decisively shaken the will of Milosevic and his supporters. NATO unity was indispensable to success, but the price of unity was time and agility.

### War Termination

Despite fog and friction, the mounting pressures on Milosevic had a cumulative effect:

- Milosevic was increasingly isolated with no obvious way out. NATO's unity was holding, its conditions were not changing, and its air strikes were increasing in scope and severity. The EU and UN Secretary-General had aligned themselves with NATO. Countries in the region were supporting NATO politically and militarily. Russia was delivering NATO's message and not offering an alternative course.

- Milosevic's own political survival was increasingly at risk. He had lost international and domestic legitimacy including through his international indictment for war crimes. His wife, Mira, was worried about the safety of their family. His advisors were divided and his cronies were fleeing the country.

- Milosevic's control of Kosovo was increasingly at risk. Serb military and police forces were under growing pressure from NATO as the weather improved and U.S. A-10 ground attack aircraft arrived. There was mounting concern in Serbia about a NATO ground invasion, prompted in part by the repositioning of NATO peacekeeping forces in the region. The Kosovo Liberation Army had launched offensive operations under the cover of NATO air strikes.

- Milosevic was also offered some ways to help justify his acceptance of NATO conditions domestically. One important “face saver” was Moscow's involvement in the final diplomacy and prospect of Russian forces in a follow-on peacekeeping force. Other face-savers included public emphasis on the post-conflict role of the UN rather than NATO and recognition that Kosovo, while substantially autonomous, would remain within the territory of the Yugoslav federation.

Milosevic conceded to NATO's conditions after 78 days. It can be a matter of debate whether NATO needed that long to bring the right elements of power to bear or whether Milosevic needed 78 days before he was prepared to meet NATO's conditions. Ultimately, the war ended because the will of NATO overcame the will of Milosevic. NATO did not defeat Serb forces militarily; rather, the Alliance and its members applied a wide range of power that eventually compelled Milosevic to meet its demands.

Exactly why Milosevic conceded is unlikely ever to be known. He did not explain his decision and, having died while on trial in The Hague, never will. While different theories exist,<sup>6</sup> it seems reasonable to conclude that the cumulative effect of diplomatic isolation, military strikes, information operations, and targeted sanctions left Milosevic increasingly uncertain of his grip on power and on Kosovo. He probably concluded that meeting NATO requirements, with the face savers provided, better served his own vital interests than continuing to try to outlast a still-unified Alliance.

### A War of Limited Ends Using Limited Means

Air strikes disrupted but did not defeat Serb ground forces operating in Kosovo. Some have thus criticized NATO's decision, announced at the outset of the operation, to exclude the use of ground forces in combat operations. At a minimum, some critics argue, the prospect of ground attack would have forced Serb forces to mass and become more vulnerable to air interdiction. The buildup of ground forces might also have kept Milosevic from thinking that he could merely hunker down and outlast NATO air strikes.

However, allied leaders had valid reasons for their decision. In the United States, the Clinton administration was concerned about securing domestic support for another military intervention in the Balkans when Congress was already pressing to remove ground forces from Bosnia. Indeed, shortly after Operation *Allied Force* began, the U.S. House of Representatives adopted a resolution prohibiting funds for the deployment of ground forces. The administration was similarly concerned about securing support from allies whose own parliaments would be reluctant to commit ground forces to combat. The administration recognized that airpower gave NATO forces an asymmetric advantage while substantially reducing the risk of casualties. While important interests were at stake, none were so vital, in the judgment of senior policymakers, as to recklessly endanger American lives.

NATO's ends, like its means, were also limited. Operation *Allied Force* sought to compel Milosevic to withdraw Serb forces from Kosovo and permit the return of refugees and the establishment of an international presence. The operation was



A-10 Warthog is prepared by maintenance personnel at Gioia del Colle Air Base, Italy, for mission over Kosovo in support of NATO Operation *Allied Force*

not aimed at making Kosovo independent of Serbia or removing Milosevic from power. It is unlikely that allied governments would have agreed to either end or that they would have committed the necessary forces. It is also unlikely that Milosevic would have conceded to his own political demise or that Russia would have cooperated to the limited extent it did.

Nevertheless, NATO Allies increasingly recognized that peace in the Balkans would require democracy in Serbia, which was code for the ouster of Milosevic. An unstated goal of NATO's intervention was to leave Milosevic weaker politically rather than stronger. Undermining Milosevic's legitimacy and his pillars of support encouraged his capitulation and also hastened the day he would depart.

Sixteen months after the air strikes ended, Milosevic was out of power, ousted by the Serb people with international support.<sup>7</sup> Military means helped set the condition for regime change. However, regime change was neither the established end nor the direct consequence of *Allied Force*.

### Relevance to Future Operations

In January 2012, President Barack Obama and then-Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta issued a new defense strategy that looks beyond the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq.<sup>8</sup> The strategy calls for armed forces capable of conducting a broad range of missions, in a full range of contingencies, and in a global context that is increasingly complex,

all with more limited resources. Opportunities for savings come from reducing the ability to fight two regional conflicts at the same time and from not sizing the force to conduct large-scale stability operations for prolonged periods.

In implementing this strategy, General Martin Dempsey, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has promulgated a concept for joint operations that calls for "globally integrated operations" able to "seize, retain, and exploit the initiative in time and across domains."<sup>9</sup> Part of this concept is a more pronounced role for "small-footprint" capabilities such as cyberspace, space, special operations, global strike, and intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance. These represent unique sources of U.S. military advantage that do not entail large or long-term ground force commitments.

This strategy and concept suggest a return to limited military operations such as *Allied Force*, particularly when our vital interests are not directly threatened. NATO's Operation *Unified Protector* in Libya provides a recent example in which the administration limited the scale and duration of the U.S. contribution and excluded the use of ground forces entirely. As we consider such operations, NATO's intervention in Kosovo offers the following lessons.

**Understand the Enemy.** In limited wars such as *Allied Force*, the center of gravity is likely to be the will of the adversary rather than the adversary's forces. Success thus results from redirecting the

enemy's decisions rather than routing its military. Said differently, forceful coercion takes the place of brute force. Forceful coercion requires in-depth understanding of the enemy leadership and its worldview and interests. It also requires a sound understanding of how the enemy makes and carries out its decisions and which individuals and factors play in that process. In *Allied Force*, mapping influence networks within the leadership was just as important as mapping supply routes for the military. A mistaken assumption, such as how quickly an adversary leader would back down, could have a significant impact.

**Recognize the Limits of Coercion.** Even with a solid understanding of the enemy, forceful coercion has limits. While the United States and its allies had important interests at stake in the Kosovo conflict, they were not as vital as Milosevic's interests in political survival and control of Kosovo. Such an asymmetry of interests may work against the United States when it is prepared only to use limited means against a resolute adversary. Academic research warns of the risk of failure in coercion when the stakes are asymmetric and an adversary thinks, as Milosevic probably did for a time, that our will is more vulnerable than his.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, without employing overwhelming force to defeat adversary forces, the impact of forceful coercion may be more cumulative than decisive. Building up over time, and hence taking more time, the cumulative effect of coercion may provide less certainty of success and

more opportunity for fog and friction to take their toll. Like *Allied Force*, most wars, and particularly limited wars, take longer than the generals plan and the politicians hope.

### **Bring a Broad Range of Power to Bear.**

With military means limited, success will be even more dependent on employing a broad range of nonmilitary means, from overt diplomacy to covert action. As with Kosovo, air strikes alone are unlikely to suffice. In many cases, military force may play a supporting role, such as deterring provocations or reassuring allies, while the main attacks on the adversary's will are conducted through diplomatic, informational, and economic means. Good strategic sense counsels against ruling out the use of the full range of military capabilities including ground forces; however, as with Kosovo (and Libya since), domestic and international conditions may make this unavoidable. In such cases, the United States may need to build up a reliable partner on the ground not only to win the war but also to influence the peace. In some cases, allied forces may fill this gap. In others, the United States might be forced to confront the inevitable risks of relying on indigenous forces such as the Kosovo Liberation Army that are not well known to us and may not share our ends or our view of acceptable means.

### **Limited Ends to Reflect Limited**

**Means.** Limiting means may be necessary to build and sustain domestic and international support, as was the case with *Allied Force*. This will often require limiting the ends. Thus, in the case of Kosovo, NATO's ends were limited to protecting the population in Kosovo and did not extend to making Kosovo independent or ousting Milosevic from Belgrade. Either would have substantially complicated support for the operation and the associated diplomacy, and the second would have likely required a major ground component. In coercive operations using limited means, changing a regime's behavior may be more feasible than changing the regime. Even then, the behavior changes sought may need to be limited in the absence of a sustained presence on the ground or in the vicinity to ensure compliance. Political leaders will need to exercise discipline to ensure that the political dynamics of building domestic and international support do not cause ends to outpace the means. Political leaders may not want, for example, to draw "red lines"

or declare behavior "intolerable" if they and their nations are not ready to commit the means necessary to enforce the red lines or stop the behavior. Ends must reflect means, and strategy should drive declaratory policy, not the reverse.

### **Be Ready for Adversity and Surprise.**

Kosovo was complex politically and militarily. Future wars of limited ends and means may be even more complex. Many potential adversaries are developing capabilities to undercut the asymmetric advantages demonstrated by the United States and its allies in Operation *Allied Force*. Imagine conducting the same air operations in an antiaccess/area-denial environment against an enemy with more sophisticated air defenses and capable of jamming our satellite communications and navigation. Imagine operating against an adversary who can respond asymmetrically with cyber or terror attacks on our homeland. Future wars may also not benefit from the coalition unity demonstrated by NATO or the political and logistical support from neighboring countries. Sanctuaries, weak and ambivalent governments, and transnational forces may create a more challenging regional context. Finally, like all wars, future conflict will suffer from fog and friction and the element of surprise. Small footprints do not necessarily translate to small risks. It may not take many accidents like the strike on the Chinese embassy to break a fragile coalition or domestic consensus.

Operation *Allied Force* lasted longer than planned and for a time helped precipitate the ethnic cleansing it sought to prevent. Yet NATO achieved its objectives at reasonable cost and, in retrospect, in reasonable time. Allied cohesion held and Milosevic's will broke.

As the United States looks beyond Iraq and Afghanistan, *Allied Force* offers cautionary lessons about the efficacy of future operations for limited ends using limited means. Modesty of means requires modesty in ends. Imperatives to success include understanding the enemy, recognizing the limits of coercion, employing a wide range of national power, and being ready for adversity and surprise. Even then, policymakers need to think long and hard about the employment of military power and not be "beguiled"<sup>11</sup> by hopes of quick success free of cost and adverse consequence. **JFQ**

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> For thoughtful analysis of Operation *Allied Force* and associated lessons learned, see Wesley K. Clark, *Waging Modern War* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2001); Ivo H. Daalder and Michael E. O'Hanlon, *Winning Ugly: NATO's War to Save Kosovo* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2000); Robert A. Pape, "The True Worth of Air Power," *Foreign Affairs* 83, no. 2 (March/April 2004); Daniel L. Byman and Matthew C. Waxman, "Kosovo and the Great Air Power Debate," *International Security* 24, no. 4 (Spring 2000); Adam Roberts, "NATO's 'Humanitarian War' over Kosovo," *Survival* 41, no. 3 (Autumn 1999).

<sup>2</sup> The analysis uses elements of strategic logic taught at the National War College.

<sup>3</sup> President William J. Clinton, Statement on Kosovo, The White House, March 24, 1999.

<sup>4</sup> Statement on Kosovo issued by North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Heads of State and Government, NATO Press Release S-1(99)62, April 23, 1999.

<sup>5</sup> Information operations subsequently helped deter an attack on Montenegro. See Gregory L. Schulte, "Deterring Attack: The Role of Information Operations," *Joint Force Quarterly* 33 (Winter 2002–2003), available at <[www.ndu.edu/press/lib/pdf/jfq-33/JFQ-33.pdf](http://www.ndu.edu/press/lib/pdf/jfq-33/JFQ-33.pdf)>.

<sup>6</sup> These are the author's best judgments. Other theories can be found in Stephen T. Hosmer, *Why Milosevic Decided to Settle When He Did* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2001); Barry R. Posen, "The War for Kosovo: Serbia's Political-Military Strategy," *International Security* 24, no. 4 (Spring 2000).

<sup>7</sup> Gregory L. Schulte, "Overthrowing Milosevic: Lessons for Syria?" *The American Interest*, August 15, 2012, available at <[www.the-american-interest.com/article.cfm?piece=1307](http://www.the-american-interest.com/article.cfm?piece=1307)>.

<sup>8</sup> *Sustaining U.S. Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defense* (Washington, DC: Department of Defense, January 2012), available at <[www.defense.gov/news/Defense\\_Strategic\\_Guidance.pdf](http://www.defense.gov/news/Defense_Strategic_Guidance.pdf)>.

<sup>9</sup> *Capstone Concept for Joint Operations: Joint Force 2020* (Washington, DC: The Joint Staff, September 2012), available at <[www.jcs.mil/content/files/2012-09/092812122654\\_CCJO\\_JF2020\\_FINAL.pdf](http://www.jcs.mil/content/files/2012-09/092812122654_CCJO_JF2020_FINAL.pdf)>.

<sup>10</sup> Alexander L. George and William E. Simons, eds., *The Limits of Coercive Diplomacy*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994); Alexander L. George, *Forceful Persuasion: Coercive Diplomacy as an Alternative to War* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2009). For a good analysis of the challenges of coercion with air power, see Daniel L. Byman, Matthew C. Waxman, and Eric Larson, *Air Power as a Coercive Instrument* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1999).

<sup>11</sup> Alexander George wisely warned about the "beguiling" attractiveness of coercive diplomacy in George and Simons, 9.