

Moving the Enemy: Operational Art in the Chinese PLA's Huai Hai Campaign

by Dr. Gary J. Bjorge

1. 为更好的改善中原战局，孤立津浦线^①，并迫使敌人退守（至少要加强）江边及津浦沿线，以减少其机动兵力，与便于我恢复江边工作，为将来渡江创造有利条件，以及便于尔后华野全军进入陇海路以南作战，能得到交通运输供应的方便，和争取华中人力、物力对战争的支持，建议即进行淮海战役，该战役可分为两阶段：

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敬启七时

Preface

The genesis of this book lies so many years in the past that it is hard to imagine that it is actually being published. In 1986, as a member of the Research Committee in the Combat Studies Institute (CSI) at the US Army Command and General Staff College (CGSC), I was tasked to study the Huai Hai Campaign as an example of large-unit maneuver. As part of that assignment, I asked for, and was granted, an invitation from the Chinese Academy of Military Science (AMS) to visit China to conduct research on the campaign. I was able to meet with military historians at AMS and the Military Museum in Beijing. I met with former Nationalist commanders such as Huang Wei, who commanded the Nationalist Twelfth Army during the campaign. I also traveled to Xuzhou, the main city in the campaign area and the site of the Huai Hai Campaign Memorial and Memorial Museum. While in Xuzhou, I visited the Nianzhuangxu area where the Nationalist Seventh Army was encircled and destroyed. I also met with former veterans of the campaign. This visit to China was of immense benefit to my research.

In early 1989, as I was writing my manuscript, an unexpected research opportunity arose when the Taiwan Armed Forces University invited me to come to Taiwan to meet with military historians and study the campaign. This I did in late April, and thanks to the arrangements made for me at the behest of General Lo Pen-li, President, Armed Forces University, I acquired additional valuable material and developed new perspectives on the campaign. Then my research and writing ended when, during summer 1989, the CSI research committee was abolished and all CSI staff members were assigned as full-time classroom teachers.

While teaching, conducting small research projects was possible, but writing on a topic as large as the Huai Hai Campaign was not. For several years my Huai Hai Campaign material sat on shelves at home while I pursued other projects such as writing a short study of Merrill's Marauders in northern Burma. In 1998 I became involved in an effort to develop a military history exchange program between the US Army and the Chinese army. As a result of that involvement, I visited Xuzhou, China, again and went to all of the Huai Hai Campaign's major battlefields. This rekindled my desire to complete my manuscript, but it did not solve the problem of not having the time to devote to the effort. In fall 2001 the Director, CSI, selected me to participate in CSI's Wagner Research Fellowship Program. This not only gave me time to refine my research work and write, but the Director, CSI, also supported me taking another research trip to China. In November 2001 I returned to Xuzhou for the third time and spent two weeks conducting research at the Huai Hai Campaign Memorial. There I had a desk in the office of the memorial's historian and was able, daily, to ask questions and more deeply understand how Chinese military historians view the campaign and the generals who led it.

The time the Wagner Fellowship Program gave me and my present position on a recently established research and publication team have made it possible for me to complete my manuscript. But I could never have done this without the support, encouragement, and assistance of many people. First, I wish to express my appreciation to Colonel (COL) Lawyn Edwards, the current director, CSI, for selecting me to be a Wagner Fellow; for believing in the value of this project; and for getting me to China in 2001. I would like to thank the former director, CSI, COL Jerry Morelock, for supporting my involvement in military history exchange activities with the Chinese army and for being the senior officer on the delegation that went to Xuzhou in fall 1998. I must also thank my current immediate supervisor, Lieutenant Colonel Kevin Farrell, for his patience and support beyond the call of duty. For their assistance in my research, I wish to specifically thank Zhou Hongyan, AMS's expert on the Huai Hai Campaign; Yu Shijing, former director of the Huai Hai Campaign Memorial Museum; Fu Jijun, historian, Huai Hai Campaign Memorial; and Zhou Liping, deputy director, Huai Hai Campaign Memorial Museum.

For their commitment to excellence, I wish to thank the two editors who worked on this book, Patricia Whitten, who edited the text and did layout, and Robin Kern who did the maps. For her understanding and patience as she deciphered my handwriting, I wish to thank my typist, Virginia Wright.

The material I have used in my research has been almost exclusively written in the Chinese language. I have translated that material myself and assume responsibility for all errors in translation that may have occurred. However, I would like to give the readers some confidence that what they are reading is an accurate translation by saying that I have spent years studying Chinese and have received complimentary reviews on my published translations of Chinese literature. I hope readers find what appears on the pages of this work to be interesting and even stimulating. I know that has been my reaction to learning more about the Huai Hai Campaign throughout the considerable period that its study has been part of my life.

Foreword

This extensive and detailed study of the Huai Hai Campaign addresses a doctrinal concept that is of growing importance to the US Army—operational art. It does so by looking at a campaign that occurred over a half century ago on a relatively unsophisticated battlefield on the other side of the world. For some, that distance from the so-called modern battlefield may make this study seem almost irrelevant. I would argue that, to the contrary, it increases its relevance to the challenges we face today.

This study has great relevance because in this time of expanding commitments and deployments around the world, it is more and more important that we increase our understanding of how other people think. This is important politically, socially, economically, and, of course, militarily. As Dr. Bjorge correctly points out, operational art is not about technology. It is a product of imagination and creative thought, and this is where we can learn from the Huai Hai Campaign. This campaign contains examples of commanders who were imaginative and creative. More important even, the campaign, as the author argues, shows non-Western classical Chinese military thought as an important inspiration for that creativity.

Reading Sun Tzu's (Sunzi's) *The Art of War* has been in vogue in the Army for years. For too many readers, however, this book never becomes more than a collection of aphorisms—pithy to some, trite to others, but without much applicability to their real-life challenges. This study looks at the Huai Hai Campaign from the perspective of *The Art of War* and shows that many of Sunzi's concepts and precepts were part of the campaign vision and the operations that were conducted during the campaign. By doing this, the study not only increases our understanding of the nature of operational art, it increases our understanding of the thought contained in one of China's great military classics. We commend it to you for your education and enjoyment.

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Those who excel in war move the enemy and are not moved by the enemy.

—Sunzi, *The Art of War*

Forcing the enemy to react is the essence of seizing and retaining the initiative.

—FM 3-0, *Operations*, 2001

Introduction

Significance of the Huai Hai Campaign

Among the numerous wars of the 20th century, one of the largest and most significant was the Chinese civil war of 1946-1949 fought between the armies of the Nationalist government of China led by President Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) and Communist armies under the leadership of Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Chairman Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung).¹ During this war, military forces numbering in the millions fought across the vast space of China in a struggle that ended with the Nationalist government taking refuge on the island province of Taiwan and the Communists establishing the People's Republic of China (PRC) on 1 October 1949. For China this meant a radical new direction in economic, political, and social development. Externally, the result was a major alteration of world power bloc equations and new challenges for US policymakers.

The subject of this study, the Huai Hai Campaign, was the largest and most decisive campaign of the Chinese civil war. Beginning on 6 November 1948 and ending on 10 January 1949, this campaign was first conceived by Communist generals as an effort to push aside Nationalist forces positioned along the Long-Hai railroad east of Xuzhou and link together the Communist-controlled areas in Shandong and Jiangsu provinces.² Such a result, it was determined, would facilitate the mobilization of men and materiel in Jiangsu and create a situation favorable for further operations against Nationalist forces north of the Yangzi (Yangtze) River in eastern China. After the campaign began, however, Communist commanders, taking advantage of battlefield victories and Nationalist command decisions, decided to extend operations and attempt to destroy all Nationalist armies in this crucial area in one great campaign. The result was a smashing victory. Communist forces destroyed five Nationalist armies totaling nearly .5 million men, captured immense quantities of weapons and ammunition, and advanced into positions that directly threatened the Nationalist capital of Nanjing and the economic heartland of Nationalist China in the lower Yangzi Valley. With this defeat, the Nationalist government lost whatever chance it might have had of resisting a Communist thrust into southern China.

By virtue of its magnitude (more than 1 million combatants), duration, and strategic impact, the Huai Hai Campaign ranks as one of the major campaigns in world military history. The campaign is also important as the classic example of the type of fighting that Mao envisioned as the final stage of revolutionary war, the time when insurgent forces would concentrate and engage government forces in large-scale mobile operations. The Communist People's Liberation Army (PLA) committed more troops to the Huai Hai Campaign than it did to any other campaign it had fought before or has fought since. CCP organizations in Henan, Hebei, Jiangsu, Anhui and Shandong provinces mobilized approximately 5 million civilian laborers to move supplies to support PLA combat units. In villages throughout the Communist-controlled areas in eastern and central China, hundreds of thousands of women were organized to sew heavy cotton uniform jackets, make shoes, grind grain, and perform other tasks that aided the war effort. This was Mao's "people's war" carried out on a grand scale, a powerful example of what a large revolutionary army could accomplish with the support of the masses.

The Huai Hai Campaign and Operational Art

The Huai Hai Campaign could be studied as an example of a people's war or as part of the Maoist model for revolutionary war. This work, however, treats the campaign as an example of warfare at the operational level and focuses on the planning and execution of large-scale operations by PLA commanders; in other words, how the PLA commanders practiced what US Army doctrine describes as operational art. It will further validate the importance of operational art as a doctrinal concept, both in theory and in practice, and also increase the reader's understanding of the professional knowledge and skill of the PLA officer corps.

The concept of the operational level of war was introduced into U.S. Army doctrinal literature in the 1982 edition of Field Manual (FM) 100-5, *Operations*:

The operational level of war uses available military resources to attain strategic goals within a theater of war. Most simply, it is the theory of larger unit operations. It also involves planning and conducting campaigns. Campaigns are sustained operations designed to defeat an enemy force in a specified space and time with simultaneous and sequential battles. The disposition of forces, selection of objectives, and actions taken to weaken or to outmaneuver the enemy all set the terms of the next battle and exploit tactical gains. They are all part of the operational level of war. In AirLand Battle doctrine, this level includes the marshalling of forces and logistical support, providing direction to ground and air maneuver, applying conventional and nuclear fires in depth, and employing unconventional and psychological warfare.³

The 1986 edition of this FM introduced the term "operational art" to describe the effective use of military force at the operational level:

Operational art is the employment of military forces to attain strategic goals in a theater of war or theater of operations through the design, organization, and conduct of campaigns and major operations. A campaign is a series of joint actions designed to attain a strategic objective in a theater of war. Simultaneous campaigns may take place when the theater of war contains more than one theater of operations. Sequential campaigns in a single theater occur when a large force changes or secures its original goals or when the conditions of the conflict change. . . . A major operation comprises the coordinated actions of large forces in a single phase of a campaign or in a critical battle. Major operations decide the course of campaigns.

Operational art thus involves fundamental decisions about when and where to fight and whether to accept or decline battle. Its essence is the identification of the enemy's operational center-of-gravity—his source of strength or balance—and the concentration of superior combat power against that point to achieve a decisive success. . . . No particular echelon of command is solely or uniquely concerned with operational art, but theater commanders and their chief subordinates usually plan and direct campaigns. Army groups and armies normally design the major ground operations of a campaign. And corps and divisions normally execute those major ground operations. Operational art requires broad vision, the ability to anticipate, a careful understanding of the relationship of means to ends, and effective joint and combined cooperation. Reduced to its essentials, operational art requires the commander to answer three questions:

- (1) What military condition must be produced in the theater of war or operations

to achieve the strategic goal?

(2) What sequence of actions is most likely to produce that condition?

(3) How should the resources of the force be applied to accomplish that sequence of actions?⁴

The 1993 version of FM 100-5 basically repeated what the 1986 edition had said about the operational level of war and operational art. FM 3-0, *Operations*, published in June 2001, delved deeper into the mental demands placed upon an operational commander, refined the questions that operational art requires a commander to answer, and added a fourth question to the three questions listed in the 1986 and 1993 editions of FM 100-5:

2-5. The operational level of war is the level at which campaigns and major operations are conducted and sustained to accomplish strategic objectives within theaters or areas of operations (AOs). It links the tactical employment of forces to strategic objectives. The focus at this level is on operational art—the use of military forces to achieve strategic goals through the design, organization, integration, and conduct of theater strategies, campaigns, major operations, and battles. A campaign is a related series of military operations aimed at accomplishing a strategic or operational objective within a given time and space. . . . Operational art determines when, where, and for what purpose major forces are employed to influence the enemy disposition before combat. It governs the deployment of those forces, their commitment to or withdrawal from battle, and the arrangement of battles and major operations to achieve operational and strategic objectives.

2-6. Operational art helps commanders use resources efficiently and effectively to achieve strategic objectives. It includes employing military forces and arranging their efforts in time, space, and purpose. Operational art helps commanders understand the conditions for victory before seeking battle. It provides a framework to assist commanders in ordering their thoughts when designing campaigns and major operations. Without operational art, war would be a set of disconnected engagements with relative attrition the only measure of success. Operational art requires commanders who can visualize, anticipate, create, and seize opportunities. It is practiced not only by JFCs [joint force commanders] but also by their senior staff officers and subordinate commanders.

2-7. Operations usually imply broader dimensions of time and space than tactics; the strategic orientation at the operational level requires commanders to look beyond the immediate situation. While tactical commanders fight the current battle, operational commanders look deeper in time, space, and events. They seek to shape the possibilities of upcoming events in advance to create the most favorable conditions possible for subordinate commanders, whose tactical activities execute the campaign. Likewise, operational commanders anticipate the results of battles and engagements, and prepare to exploit them to obtain the greatest strategic advantage.

2-8. Operational commanders continually communicate with their strategic superiors to obtain direction and ensure common understanding of events. Mutual confidence and communications among commanders and staffs allow the flexibility to adapt to tactical circumstances as they develop. Tactical results influence the conduct of campaigns through a complex interaction of operational and tactical dynamics. Operational commanders create the conditions for the conduct of battles and engagements, while the results of battles and engagements shape the conduct of the campaign. In this

regard, commanders exploit tactical victories to gain strategic advantage, or even to reverse the strategic effect of tactical losses.

2-9. Operational art is translated into operation plans through operational design. A well-designed plan and successfully executed operation shape the situation for tactical actions. Executed skillfully, a good plan increases the chances of tactical success. It does this by creating advantages for friendly forces and disadvantages for the enemy. A flexible plan gives tactical commanders freedom to seize opportunities or react effectively to unforeseen enemy actions and capabilities. Flexible execution maintains the operational initiative and maximizes tactical opportunities.

2-10. Without tactical success, a campaign cannot achieve its operational goals. An essential element of operational art, therefore, is the ability to recognize what is possible at the tactical level and design a plan that maximizes chances for the success in battles and engagements that ultimately produces the desired operational end state. Without a coherent operational design to link tactical successes, battles and engagements waste precious resources on fights that do not lead to operational goals. A thorough understanding of what is possible tactically, and the ability to create conditions that increase the chances of tactical success, are important attributes of an operational commander. Tactical commanders must understand the operational context within which battles and engagements are fought as well. This understanding allows them to seize opportunities (both foreseen and unforeseen) that contribute to achieving operational goals or defeating enemy initiatives that threaten those goals. Operational commanders require experience at both the operational and tactical levels. From this experience, they gain the instincts and intuition, as well as the knowledge that underlie an understanding of the interrelation of tactical and operational possibilities and needs.

2-11. Among many considerations, operational art requires commanders to answer the following questions:

- What military (or related political and social) conditions must be produced in the operational area to achieve the strategic goal (ends)?
- What sequence of actions is most likely to produce that condition (ways)?
- How should resources be applied to accomplish that sequence of actions (means)?
- What are the likely costs or risks in performing that sequence of actions (risk management)?⁵

As this lengthy excerpt from FM 3-0 indicates, operational art is now an essential element in U.S. Army warfighting doctrine. It is viewed as a way to bring coherence to military action, linking tactical ways and means to operational ways and means so that resources are used efficiently.⁶ It ensures that operations are directed toward achieving a strategic objective by requiring commanders to “continually communicate with their strategic superiors to obtain direction and ensure common understanding of events.”⁷ Operational art asks commanders to look ahead in time, space, and events and to try to “shape the possibilities of upcoming events in advance to create the most favorable conditions possible for subordinate commanders.”⁸ It requires that commanders “recognize what is possible at the tactical level and design a plan that maximizes chances for the success in battles and engagements that ultimately produces the desired operational end state.”⁹ Operational art has become an indispensable framework

for organizing a commander's thoughts as he analyzes a situation; visualizes what may be possible; and then plans, prepares, executes, and assesses operations designed to achieve strategic goals.

This study uses US Army doctrine on operational art as presented in FM 3-0 as the basis for analyzing and assessing PLA generalship during the Huai Hai Campaign. Certainly, the great victory the PLA won in this campaign was a "desired operational end state" that contributed greatly to achieving Communist strategic objectives. By destroying five Nationalist armies, the PLA caused the military, social, economic, and political situation to shift dramatically in favor of the Communists. If results are a measure of effectiveness, the PLA commanders were indeed excellent practitioners of operational art.

Some may question the relevancy of the operational art practiced during the Huai Hai Campaign to current U.S. Army thinking about operational art. By present-day standards, the battlefields of the Huai Hai Campaign were unsophisticated. The forces the PLA employed did not have the air assets, the precision-guided munitions, the seamless communication architecture, and the other products of advanced technology that are available to the U.S. Army today. But as the doctrinal statements on operational art contained in FM 3-0 indicate, operational art is not about technology. It is about human thought—the mental process in which an operational-level commander decides on a course of action after evaluating information, considering many factors, and answering the four questions listed in paragraph 2-11 of FM 3-0. The instincts and intuition that are part of this process are not found in integrated circuits. The ability to visualize, anticipate, create, and seize opportunities does not reside in a computer data base. Because operational art is neither a product of technology nor dependent on it, the operational art of the Huai Hai Campaign will always be worth studying. In fact, as the U.S. Army continues to refine its thinking about operational-level warfare and operational art, the sophisticated practice of operational art by generals whose education and experience lie outside the so-called Western military tradition should be of special interest.

The Huai Hai Campaign and Sunzi's *The Art of War*

In addition to examining the Huai Hai Campaign in terms of "operational art as described in FM 3-0, this study also examines the campaign from the perspective of the military thought contained in Sunzi's *The Art of War*. This ancient Chinese military classic, probably written sometime during 400 to 320 B.C., clearly belongs to a non-Western military tradition. Furthermore, Chinese military historians have shown that the theories and principles contained in this work greatly influenced Mao, who played a significant role in planning and executing the Huai Hai Campaign, and also his generals in the field.¹⁰ Dr. Tan Yiqing, a researcher in the Academy of Military Science's Department of Strategic Studies, has written the following about how Sunzi's ideas helped shape Mao's thinking about war and how to conduct it effectively:

The primary source of Mao Zedong's military thought was the practical experience of the Chinese revolutionary war . . . [but he] also drew upon China's splendid ancient military heritage, most notably the essence of Sunzi's *The Art of War*. If one does not understand what Mao Zedong's military thought inherited from Sunzi's *The Art of War*, it will be impossible to understand its deep grounding in history, and it will also be very hard to explain the unique Chinese characteristics inherent in Mao's strategy and tactics.¹¹

Mao Zedong not only put Sunzi's theories about war into practice, he used the fine quintessence of Sunzi's thought to create strategic theories that fit the specific conditions of China's revolutionary war, pushing Sunzi into a new age.¹²

Non-Chinese students of Chinese military thought and military history have also established this link. Samuel B. Griffith's translation of *The Art of War* contains a chapter on Sunzi's influence on Mao and PLA commanders. Robert B. Rigg, a US Army attaché in China from 1945 to 1948, makes this statement in his 1951 book, *Red China's Fighting Hordes*: "The impact of Sun Tzu goes beyond his influence on Mao and Mao's direction of the PLA; it extends down to the combat action and reaction of many generals, and even of some battalion commanders. It provides the spirit, if not the letter of guidance."¹³

The distinctly Chinese origin of *The Art of War* and its enduring and profound impact on Chinese military thought for more than 2,000 years give this work special value as a framework for analyzing the Huai Hai Campaign. First, it provides a Chinese theoretical basis for explaining the decisions PLA commanders made. Second, it establishes a Chinese standard for evaluating the practice of operational art during the campaign. Third, it provides a basis for assessing whether or not there might be an operational art with Chinese characteristics. Finally, and perhaps most important, looking at the Huai Hai Campaign from the perspective of this work with ancient Chinese roots is a useful way to examine the universality of certain fundamental principles of war and tenets of military operations. Sunzi is not quoted in US Army doctrinal manuals, including FM 3-0, because he writes about a Chinese way of war. *The Art of War* has been integrated into U.S. Army doctrine and has become a part of U.S. Army officer education because the ideas it contains about war and the psychology of those who wage it transcend any specific space or time.

As the passage from *The Art of War* that appears at the beginning of this introduction and the version of that passage that is used in the title of this work indicates, Sunzi emphasized the importance of initiative and freedom of action. His statement that knowing oneself and one's enemy ensures victory while not knowing about either ensures defeat expresses the critical value he placed on information. *The Art of War* addresses the need to effectively combine sustaining, shaping, and decisive operations to accomplish missions and achieve desired results. Sunzi, simply speaking, understood "the fundamentals of full spectrum operations" as expressed in FM 3-0 and advocated what has become known as operational art. Looking at the Huai Hai Campaign through the lens of his ideas not only provides a Chinese perspective for assessing the campaign, it also provides a way to probe more deeply into the basic nature of operational art.

Organization of the Study

The Huai Hai Campaign was long and very complex. For more than 2 months the East China Field Army (ECFA) and the Central Plains Field Army (CPFA) coordinated operations across a large theater of operations against Nationalist forces that, at one point in the campaign, consisted of seven armies. Most of the major operations the ECFA and CPFA executed were offensive, but both field armies also carried out defensive operations aimed at creating opportunities for subsequent attacks.¹⁴ At any given time, each of them was simultaneously conducting both decisive and shaping operations within their own areas of responsibility while providing shaping support for the other field army.¹⁵ This helped make it possible for the field armies to take turns conducting the main effort for the campaign. During the campaign, both the ECFA and the CPFA continually carried out large sustainment operations that may have actually been the operations that decided the outcome.¹⁶

In Chinese histories of the campaign, a certain amount of order is brought to what was a very fluid situation by dividing the campaign into three sequential phases, each centered on a battle of annihilation against surrounded pockets of Nationalist forces. In this organizational scheme, phase one focuses on the ECFA destroying the Nationalist Seventh Army; phase two focuses on destroying the Nationalist

Twelfth Army; and phase three primarily involves destroying the Nationalist Second, Thirteenth, and Sixteenth Armies. This is the standard approach Chinese military historians use when they describe or analyze the campaign. The exhibits explaining the development of the campaign in the Huai Hai Campaign Memorial Museum in Xuzhou are also organized according to these three phases.

Dividing the campaign this way does reflect what happened in a general way. However, it is an organizational framework formed by looking back at what occurred. The three phases were not envisioned during the planning for the campaign, and even three weeks into the campaign they had not yet taken shape. This study, instead of looking at the campaign in three phases, looks at it as two major offensives—the first by the ECFA and the second by the CPFA—and the subsequent exploitation of the opportunities that these two offensives created for both armies.

The first offensive that the ECFA launched in the Huai Hai Campaign on 6 November 1948 sought to destroy the Nationalist Seventh Army as a step toward achieving other objectives. It was conducted as the main effort in what later came to be called the “little” Huai Hai Campaign. The second offensive that the CPFA carried out from 12 to 16 November resulted in capturing Suxian and cutting the rail line connecting Xuzhou with Bengbu, thereby isolating the Nationalist Second, Thirteenth, and Sixteenth Armies in Xuzhou. It was the first major operation of the “big” Huai Hai Campaign, and it placed the CPFA in the central position of the area of operations. Viewed at the time as a shaping operation in support of the ECFA’s main effort east of Xuzhou, it set the stage for a series of battles in which the central position was defended and the conditions for a great decisive victory were created. Employing these two field armies in these two major operations and their sequels over a period of several weeks was operational art on a grand scale. Thinking of the campaign as three sequential phases that were set to follow one another in a natural order would mute the command artistry that emerged in response to a very fluid situation.

Chapter 1 places the campaign in its historical context with a short chronology of events before the campaign, an examination of the growth of Communist capabilities between 1927 and 1948, and a review of Communist strategies during the civil war before the campaign. Chapter 2 examines the emergence of the operational vision that led to the proposal for the Huai Hai Campaign and describes the development of the Huai Hai Campaign plan. Chapter 3 describes Nationalist strategy in summer and fall 1948. Chapter 4 describes the area of operations and the opposing forces. Chapter 5 examines the start of the campaign, the encirclement of the Seventh Army, and Nationalist efforts to retrieve the situation. Chapter 6 examines Su Yu’s proposal to expand the campaign, describes the CPFA’s seizure of the central position, and discusses the process in which PLA commanders decided on what course to take in developing the campaign. Chapter 7 looks at the CPFA-ECFA efforts to hold the central position against Nationalist attacks. Chapter 8 discusses the battle in which the ECFA destroys the last encircled pocket of Nationalist forces and ends the campaign. The conclusion reviews what the campaign accomplished, analyzes the command decisions that were made, and relates the conduct of the campaign to the concept of operational art.

Notes

1. This study uses the pinyin romanization system to represent the pronunciation of Chinese characters. Pinyin was developed for use in the People's Republic of China, and during the 1980s, it was adopted by the Library of Congress, the Board of Geographic Names, the news media, and other organizations for use in the United States, supplanting the Wade-Giles romanization system and a number of common nonstandard romanizations based on regional dialects. When this happened, Peking became Beijing; MaoTse-tung became Mao Zedong; Sun Tzu became Sunzi; Canton became Guangzhou; and Chu Teh, People's Liberation Army chief of staff in 1948, became Zhu De. Changing romanization systems has created confusion because many readers of books about China and Chinese people are unaware of this change. In the text, the previously used common romanization of the names of these two leaders is presented in parentheses to help readers make the connection between the pinyin romanization and a romanization that may be familiar to them. This practice will be followed throughout the study wherever the name of an important person or place first appears.

2. At the time of the Huai Hai Campaign, there were few railroads in China, and they were known by the province, city, or other geographic feature at each end. The Long-Hai railroad was the east-west rail line running from the sea (hai) near Haizhou to Gansu (single character name: Long) Province. It was also common practice to refer to a segment of a railroad by the towns (cities) at each end of the segment. For example, the Xu-Beng railroad would be that portion of the Jin-Pu (Tianjin-Jiangpu) railroad lying between Xuzhou and Bengbu.

3. US Army Field Manual (FM) 100-5, *Operations* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office [GPO], August 1982), 2-3.

4. FM 100-5, *Operations* (Washington, DC: GPO, May 1986), 10.

5. FM 3-0, *Operations* (Washington, DC: GPO, June 2001), paragraphs 2-2 to 2-5.

6. *Ibid.*, paragraphs 2-6 and 2-10.

7. *Ibid.*, paragraph 2-8.

8. *Ibid.*, paragraph 2-7.

9. *Ibid.*, paragraph 2-10.

10. Tan Yiqing, "Mao Zedong junshi sixiang yu Sunzi bingfa" ("Mao Zedong's Military Thought and Sunzi's *The Art of War*"), *Junshi Lishi (Military History)*, 1999, No. 1, 17.

11. *Ibid.*, 18.

12. *Ibid.*, 19.

13. Robert B. Rigg, *Red China's Fighting Hordes* (Harrisburg, PA: The Military Service Publishing Co., 1951), 49.

14. FM 3-0 defines a major operation as "a series of tactical actions (battles, engagements, strikes) conducted by various combat forces of a single or several services, coordinated in time and place, to accomplish operational and sometimes strategic objectives in an operational area." 2-3.

15. FM 3-0 defines decisive and shaping operations as follows: "*Decisive operations* are those that directly accomplish the task assigned by the higher headquarters. Decisive operations conclusively determine the outcome of major operations, battles, and engagements." "*Shaping operations* at any echelon create and preserve conditions for the success of the decisive operation. . . . They support the decisive operation by affecting enemy capabilities and forces or by influencing enemy decisions," 4-23.

16. FM 3-0 defines sustaining operations as "operations at any echelon that enable shaping and decisive operations by providing combat service support, rear area and base security, movement control, terrain management, and infrastructure development," 4-24.

