

REVIEWS

The Iraqi Threat and Saddam Hussein's Weapons of Mass Destruction by Stephen Hughes, Trafford Publishing, Victoria, Canada, 2002, 436 pp., \$29.95 (soft cover).

"It is better to act quickly and error than to hesitate until the time of action is past." — Karl von Clausewitz (1832). Clausewitz could be describing both the benefits and drawbacks of this book and its "on-demand publishing" method. *The Iraqi Threat* is hopefully just the beginning of a new surge of specialized publishing for the military audience.

The author, a former Black Horse cavalry scout with an extensive military research background, used his expertise and experience to write a reference book specifically aimed at a military audience, and then had it published nontraditionally. By gathering public information, along with recently unclassified military and government intelligence, the author compiled a single source document. Due to the technical nature of the book and its narrow target audience, it is doubtful that a traditional publishing company would have taken the financial risk of this publication.

The book is an intelligence officer's primer into the Iraqi military at all levels. Covered in depth are the regular Iraqi army, the republican guard, air force, special operations forces, and other specialty units. In light of current world events, the book covers in great detail the Iraqi al-Qaeda connection and other terrorist links, as well as provides in-depth investigations into the Iraqi nuclear, biological, and chemical warfare programs.

Rather than providing a list of numbers and equipment types, the author explores the expected tactics, techniques, and procedures that are used by the Iraqi military. The type and use of chemical weapons is fully documented, which includes past use and any potential use of these weapons by Saddam Hussein. More importantly, the effects of each type of munition are detailed. Nuclear weapons are also reviewed, including their expected effects, delivery systems, potential targets, and limitations.

The author analyzes conventional weapons systems and equipment in great detail. By doing so, this should allow both officers and noncommissioned officers to appreciate the content and its applicability. The book describes unit distribution, effective ranges, and techniques of use for all weapons ranging from rocket-propelled grenades to antitank guided missiles. These are broken down into different categories, including missile systems, armored vehicles, artillery systems, and antitank weapons.

On-demand publishing allowed the author to quickly compile essential military information and publish it with very few delays. The rapidity of publishing, along with the

ability to print a book to a targeted audience, is critical to transmit time-sensitive information in today's uncertain world environment. However, it is important to note that the ease of publishing can also be a downfall due to the lack of editorial support that comes with a larger, more traditional publishing house.

The book lacks professional editorial review, graphics, in-depth footnotes, and organization. This inhibits ease of reading making the text difficult to follow at times. In addition, the information within the text is occasionally contradictory without proper explanation or discussion. Therefore, the reader is left to wonder which source of data is truly accurate.

Overall, the book is an outstanding tool for training and educating various U.S. military forces. It should be required reading for all intelligence and combat officers in the current threat environment as it is an incredible source of information on the Iraqi threat. I look forward to a second edition that would eliminate the distractions listed above. In conclusion, I recommend that combat leaders purchase this book and, more importantly, use the new medium, on-demand publishing, to write their own books to further educate and develop the military community.

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Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe by Norman M. Naimark, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 2001, 248 pp., \$24.95.

Naimark's *Fires of Hatred* is a fascinating study of how ethnic cleansing has become standard practice in much of the developing and post-communist world. Ethnic cleansing led directly to the United States' involvement in Bosnia, Croatia, and Kosovo. The ethnic cleansing we have seen in the late 20th century has strong antecedent roots easily traceable to the early 20th century. The National Command Authority increasingly relies on the Army to serve as a buffer during stability operations and support operations often as a deterrent against ethnic cleansing. The officers and noncommissioned officers that will carry out these missions must have more than just an historical sense of ethnic cleansing, but also an understanding of the conditions and preconditions necessary for it to happen. A reading of Naimark's book will enable the reader to grasp the broad outlines and preconditions necessary for ethnic cleansing. The book is easily readable, understandable, yet written in a compelling style. The historic examples Naimark chooses and his writing clarity make ethnic cleansing, a complex and horrific subject, understandable.

Naimark's central thesis is ethnic cleansing, which is dictated by modern nationalism and becomes mutated by the ideas and

politics of modern nationalism. He makes a compelling argument that without the advent of the modern industrial state, ethnic cleansing would be more of a spasmodic and episodic event rather than one that permeates into a culture of hatred and death. The rise of industrialism allowed the modern nation state to easily track, organize, and define that state and society in terms of ethnic criteria.

Naimark chose five examples from modern Europe as his case studies, as European history is his area of expertise, serving as a professor of East European Studies at Stanford University. Naimark is well credentialed to examine his chosen examples: the Armenian genocide in 1915 by the Ottoman Empire; the expulsion of the Greeks from Anatolia during the 1921-22 Greco-Turkey War; the events leading up to the Holocaust; post-World War II events in Poland and Czechoslovakia; and Soviet deportation of troublesome ethnic groups/nationalities under Stalin and Yugoslavia during the post-Tito era.

Early in his writing, Naimark gives the reader an easy and clean definition of ethnic cleansing by first disabusing the reader that ethnic cleansing is by nature genocidal. Naimark defines ethnic cleansing as "the forcible removal of a minority group or a distinct ethnic group that is seen as hostile to that nation state." One could argue that ethnic cleansing can be seen in the roots of Wilsonian self-determination. The intent of ethnic cleansing is to remove a group of people and all traces of them, including their street names, monuments, and cemeteries.

The goal is to obliterate and erase all traces of those people from the land. The goal of obliterating all traces of the singled-out people often becomes genocidal in effect. Naimark notes, with some irony, that ethnic cleansing's greatest proponent in all these examples is the nations states' professional class — the lawyers, doctors, engineers, and professors. A good example is SS General Otto Olendorf, a noted barrister who, as commander of an Einsatzgruppen in the Soviet Union, murdered thousands in the name of racial purity.

All ethnic cleansings seem to possess certain characteristics, such as war, the transitory period after war to peace, religious differences, major cultural differences, ideologies, and the destruction of the historical past, which are intrinsic to the very nature of these "population transfers." Naimark pointedly states that no matter what the initial intent of ethnic cleansing is, it invariably involves violence. Each case study indicates these actions usually single out women and children by armed groups whose abuse turns into a frenzy of horror — unmarked graves, repeated gang rapes to impregnate the ethnically cleansed women, and torture. Rape serves to put the group on notice that the women are seen as chattel and that the men are powerless to protect their women.

War serves as cover for ethnic cleansing as shown by the Holocaust in Eastern Europe. The state of national emergency engendered by war often leads to the suspension of normal civil behavior and a disregard of law. Armies have become involved, but paramilitary and nationalistic groups seem to carry out this cleansing with a greater vengeance. Naimark unilaterally states that armies are routinely involved in this, but the research of his book does not readily support that assertion.

The destruction of the past is done to eradicate the memory of those who occupied the land before, much like the revision of history in Orwell's *1984*. In Chechnya, the Soviets bulldozed graveyards and used gravestones to pave roads. Homes are systematically razed and the cultural infrastructure dismantled — libraries destroyed, street names changed, and the language forbidden. American soldiers have found out how difficult this is — they rebuild an area during the day and at night, the dominant group will try to destroy the rebuilt areas.

Naimark does not see a great deal of hope for the future. He believes the concept of noninterference in the internal affairs of other sovereign nations contributes immeasurably to ethnic cleansing, without conversely recommending any mechanism within the current international order that can act to prevent and stop ethnic cleansing. Further, Naimark is somewhat off base in his assertion that the West's failure to bomb the rail lines that ran into the camps during World War II would have made a difference. Any logistician knows how easy it is to repair rail lines, but perhaps from a moral standpoint, Naimark makes a point. Naimark ends with the hope that American and international intervention against the Serbs has turned the tide, however, most of the ethnic cleansing under Milosevic occurred once concerted action had been taken against him. I readily recommend *Fires of Hatred* for any unit's bookshelf, as it serves as a primer to readily understand ethnic cleansing for anyone that could be deployed outside the continental United States to an area ravaged by ethnic cleansing.

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Warrior Politics: Why Leadership Demands a Pagan Ethos by Robert D. Kaplan, Random House, New York, 2002, 198 pp., \$22.95 (hardcover)

The future of warfare and global governance is behind us. In *Warrior Politics*, Robert Kaplan highlights major classical and contemporary readings of warfare and international relations to provide the framework for future foreign policy decisions. Kaplan's focus for this framework is not on utopian ideals, but on the reality of man's brutality.

Kaplan asserts that the reality of man's brutality is war. Moreover, war is subject to democratic control only when it is a condition separate from peace. He proposes that future wars will be unconventional and undeclared, fought within states rather than between them. He reasserts LTC (Ret.) Ralph Peters' idea that our future enemies will not be soldiers but warriors without material risk or a stake in civil order. Those cultures that do not compete well technologically will produce these warriors. These warriors will not be fragile to conventional warfare.

Therefore, Kaplan predicts that going to war will be less and less a democratic decision. He suggests that small groups of civilians and general officers will make the decision to use force. He asks what democratic restraints will remain on the resort to force.

Robert Kaplan is a correspondent for the *Atlantic Monthly*. He is the well-published author of *Balkan Ghost*, *The Coming Anarchy*, *The Ends of the Earth*, and *Eastward to Tartary*. A journalist by trade, *Warrior Politics* is an easy read. His firsthand experience in recent crises form a valuable base for his writing.

His intention of not making it a lesson on the classics themselves, but on their relevance to today and tomorrow's foreign policy dilemmas, makes this an accessible read to all. For those who have read *Thucydides*, *Sun Tzu*, *Machiavelli*, *Hobbes*, *Churchill*, or the others highlighted by Kaplan, it offers a contemporary perspective on the classics. For armor soldiers, it highlights the importance of reading military and political history.

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Allies at War: The Bitter Rivalry Among Churchill, Roosevelt, and De Gaulle by Simon Berthon, Carroll & Graf Publishers, New York, 2001, 356 pp., \$26.00 cloth.

Scheduled to be a BBC/PBS television series, *Allies at War* explores the discord the world did not see hidden behind the allied leader's united front. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Charles De Gaulle held the destiny of the Free World in their hands as Nazi forces stormed through Europe in the 1940s. Inspiring their troops and their nations with confidence in victory, these three statesmen stood firmly together against the axis powers in public. In private, however, their relationships were marked by contention, distrust, duplicity, and ruthlessness.

Berthon neatly traces the steadily escalating political environment that made the disputes inevitable. Roosevelt was a rigid anti-imperialist. Aside from defeating the enemy, his long-term aim was to disband all of Europe's empire, including the British and the

French. Churchill, caught in the middle, was determined to preserve the British Empire and resist the Nazis, but had to have the cooperation of his two allies. De Gaulle fanatically wanted to regain all of France and maintain her empire as it had been before the Nazi occupation and the Vichy collaborator government. In his view, cooperation was secondary to his main goals. Opposition between the three increasingly eroded negotiations that not only significantly colored allied policy during the war, but also colored relations of De Gaulle's France with Britain and America.

With the fall of France in 1940, the Nazis would occupy two-thirds of the country and the remaining one-third would be governed by the collaborating new state based at the Spa town of Vichy. Two Frances would emerge, the Vichy France and the Free France of De Gaulle. Vichy France broke off relations with Britain in July 1940 when the British navy attacked a portion of the French fleet at Oran in Algeria to end the possibility of it falling into German hands. Not yet in the war, the break with England made it more important for the United States to maintain relations with Vichy France. This was an effort to reduce Germany's influence to a minimum, prevent the surrender to the Axis of the French Fleet or French bases in Africa, and serve as a channel of intelligence to Axis plans and activities. De Gaulle, starting from nothing in England, gradually built up the forces of the Free French, but could not convince his allies that France could be restored to the status of a major power.

Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt so doubted the loyalty of General De Gaulle that they kept the Anglo-American invasion of North Africa a secret from him, as well as the Normandy landings, and excluded him from the Yalta Conference. Nevertheless, De Gaulle had 1,300,000 men under him at the end of the war. This earned him a place in the peace settlement, with a little help from Churchill. Britain knew that France would be a power to reckon with during the post-war period. Prophetically, Charles De Gaulle would become President of France. He lost no opportunity to chastise the United States and even blocked Britain's early attempts to join the European Common Market. This legacy, that affected both Britain and the United States at crucial points of their post-war development, is rooted in the extraordinary relationships between three titanic figures that became allies at war.

This clearly written and solidly researched work would have been enhanced by footnotes or more extensive endnotes. It would also eliminate confusion for the reader if foreign phrases were translated. Nevertheless, this book has much to offer for those interested in international relations.

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No End Save Victory: Perspectives on World War II edited by Stephen Ambrose and Robert Cowley, Berkley Books, New York, 2001, 688 pp., \$16.95.

Robert Cowley has compiled an outstanding collection of essays about World War II into a single volume that will impress both the general reader and the military historian. *No End Save Victory* consists of 46 essays written by such prominent military historians as Stephen E. Ambrose, John Keegan, Robert A. Doughty, Alistair Horne, and Caleb Carr. Interspersed among these authors are several firsthand accounts by American, British, and Japanese participants. Cowley has assembled works from nearly all aspects of World War II to include the European Theater, Pacific Theater, Africa, Russia, the Far East, and an interesting collection of biographies.

By far, this book's strength is not simply rehashing stale essays on World War II; it contains new insights, new material, and completely differing perspectives on events. The book is not a definitive history of World War II, nor is that the editor's intention. It is not only an anthology of well-known events, such as Guadalcanal, Stalingrad, and Bataan, but includes several accounts of many lesser known events, actions, and personalities of World War II. Anthony Bailey provides an interesting perspective on Dunkirk by presenting it as a success, rather than a failure. Caleb Carr writes a masterful essay on Field Marshal Gerd von Rundstedt, while Stephen Ambrose gives an excellent account of bridging the Rhine. Likewise, "The Right Man," by Victor Hanson shows the controversial figure of General Curtis LeMay in a much different light than that of which most readers are familiar. However, some of the more interesting articles are about the lesser known events such as, "Decima Mas," about an Italian unit specializing in naval sabotage, and "Beachhead Labrador," which is an account of the only landing on North American soil by the crew of a German U-boat.

Some may criticize the book for its lack of comprehensiveness or varied writing styles, however, I find it difficult to find any fault with this book; it is interesting, captivating, and informative. Cowley has comprised a wonderful collection that is highly readable, and difficult to put down once started. I would recommend it for everyone from the professional historian to the casual reader.

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Eisenhower: Soldier-Statesman of the American Century by Douglas Kinnard, Brassey's, Inc. Washington D.C., 2002, 98 pp., \$19.95.

Douglas Kinnard has done a masterful job of covering the entire life of one of the

greatest 20th-century Americans in only 98 pages. Part of a series of military profiles, including those of Farragut, Santa Anna, Drake, and Semmes, edited by Dennis Showalter, *Eisenhower: Soldier-Statesman of the American Century* is an excellent source for anyone. Kinnard has managed to condense Eisenhower's life into a very readable, concise, accurate, and brief book that provides the reader with everything most people will ever want or need to know about Dwight David Eisenhower. Not necessarily a book for the serious student of history or the military professional, but an outstanding overview of an intriguing career of a great American that are useful to most people, including youngsters.

Eisenhower's early days in Abilene and his attendance at the U.S. Military Academy are covered in sufficient detail to paint a picture of the last U.S. President born during the 19th century and capture the reader's attention. From Eisenhower's lack of opportunity for combat service during World War I and the death of his first child, to his education and mentoring by Generals Fox Conner, MacArthur, and Marshall, lead to his commanding U.S. forces in Europe in World War II — arguably the highest point in his career. His post-war service as Chief of Staff of the Army, president of Columbia University, and SACEUR are covered, but only as a lead-in to his presidency or as waypoints along the road to the White House.

The last third of the book covers the Eisenhower presidency, or waging of peace. Serving as the first Republican president in 20 years, "Ike" was a strong, active, and effective president during what was one of the most dangerous decades of the Cold War. In January 1961, Eisenhower, the oldest person to have served as president, was succeeded by John F. Kennedy, the youngest ever elected to that office. He then retired to his farm at Gettysburg, wrote four books, advised presidents, and died on the 28th of March 1969. Kinnard points out that when Mamie was asked what she would like people to remember of Ike, she answered, "His honesty... integrity, and admiration for mankind."

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Wellington As Military Commander by Michael Glover, Penguin Books Ltd., London, England, 2001, 276 pp., \$15.00 (soft cover)

A master military leader is once again brought to light with the reissue by Penguin Books of *Wellington as Military Commander*. Written by the well-known Napoleonic and Victorian warfare expert Michael Glover in 1968, *Wellington* explores the vast military career of Sir Arthur Wellesley (later the Duke of Wellington), from his initial military

service in India through the Peninsular campaigns and climaxing with his defeat of Napoleon at the Battle of Waterloo.

This gripping narrative pays tribute to the outstanding leadership skills of Wellesley. Glover does a very thorough job of describing the trial and tribulations that the British icon faced during his time of command in both the Peninsular War and the 100 Days War. From working with the confusing bureaucracy of the British government to leading allied armies, Wellesley's ability to make the best of any situation made him one of the best generals of his time. In the age before cell phones, fax machines, and e-mail, Wellesley made numerous critical decisions, like pursuing French forces from Portugal into Spain in 1812. His ability to take calculated risks enabled him to succeed on the battlefield and win the respect of his men.

A major strength of the book is Glover's ability to intersperse the action of conflict with quotes from the common soldier and Wellesley himself. Of particular note is Glover's ability to present the relatively unknown compassionate side of Wellesley. Several excellent quotes support the author's contention that Wellesley was not a detached general consumed with victory at any cost, but rather a man who wanted to commit troops when absolutely necessary. Glover further highlights Wellesley's genius by focusing the latter half of his book on the offensive, defensive, and siege campaigns that resulted in victories for the allied effort in Portugal and Spain.

The main drawback of this book is the lack of detailed maps, particularly of the many battles during the Peninsular War. I found myself constantly referring to my atlas of Europe, especially the Iberian Peninsula, when Glover named the various cities and towns encountered by Wellesley and his armies from 1809 to 1814. Also, Glover's first chapter forces the reader to endure a confusing tour through the British military and government bureaucracies of King George.

Wellington As Military Commander is an excellent biography of a man whose keen military intellect influenced much of Europe during the early 19th century. This book is a great companion piece to *Wellington And His Army* by Godfrey Davies, especially for those leaders interested in the inner workings of multinational armies. While some leaders of today may refrain from reading a book about a 19th-century general, I contend that many valuable lessons can be gleaned from this work. Triumphs in the face of adversity, leading from the front, and looking out for soldiers are but a few that I found. This book is a great addition to any armor or cavalry leader's library.

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