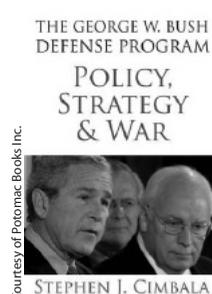


is value in this account. As critical analysis, it is incomplete and hampered by the author's repetitive broad-brushed attacks on senior leaders. Macgregor's obvious disdain for his immediate superiors quickly grows tiresome. The many issues he raises with operational and strategic leaders before, during, and after Desert Storm are well-documented elsewhere. Blaming these leaders and their successors for many issues in the current fight is new, but Macgregor fails to provide any detailed recommendations about what can be done in response. This lack of detailed recommendations is unfortunate, given Macgregor's previous writings on Army Transformation, where he provided numerous useful suggestions. Despite these issues, *Warrior's Rage* is worth reading, if only for the well-told story of 2/2 ACR's Desert Storm experience.



The George W. Bush Defense Program: Policy, Strategy & War

edited by Stephen J. Cimbala

Reviewed by Dr. John C. Binkley, Professor of History and Government, University of Maryland, University College

Dulles, VA: Potomac Books Inc., 2010

317 pages

\$60.00

Most examinations of the defense policies during the two terms of President George W. Bush tend to begin and end with Iraq, Afghanistan, and the Global War on Terrorism. These issues so overwhelmed all other aspects of the Bush defense program that one tends to forget there was a defense program prior to 9/11 and there were defense issues that continued to be addressed after 9/11 that were not directly related to the war on terrorism. To appreciate the long term impact of the Bush era, it is necessary to understand and consider the interrelationship of those major issues, i.e., Iraq, Afghanistan, and terrorism, with the other policies developed during this administration's eight years and place them within a theoretical and historical context. This was Professor Stephen Cimbala's intent as he brought together an impressive collection of experts to opine on various aspects of the administration's efforts in *The George W. Bush Defense Program: Policy, Strategy & War*.

A collection of essays, no matter the topic, presents certain difficulties for any reviewer. The first difficulty is usually the uneven quality of the essays. This reviewer is happy to write that Professor Cimbala and his ten other authors have produced a scholarly yet quite readable set of essays that generally fall into the following topics: military transformation, the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars, civil-military relations and how it affected the Bush defense program, nuclear weapons and arms control with a special focus on US-Russian relations, and the impact of the Bush defense program on American international relations. A second difficulty is the diversity of the essays. Too often editors do not identify the unifying themes that make a series of disparate essays a cohesive whole. Unfortunately, neither the introduction nor the conclusion pointed the reader to

the underlying themes that unified the essays and it is left to the reader to patch together the linkages. Consequently, this reviewer will note a few of the themes and relate them to some of the individual essays.

The first theme is the administration's failure to consider the possibility of unintended consequences, unexpected results, and generally to think through the ramifications of its decisions. These issues are raised in a wonderful essay by Colin Gray entitled "Coping with Uncertainty: Dilemmas of Defense Planning." Appropriately, this is the first essay presented in the book. Gray, one of the deans of western strategic theory, offers in a checklist-type format a series of pithy foundational thoughts that a defense planner needs to include in his or her cognitive processes—all with the understanding that much of what the defense planner does is guesswork, albeit based on certain historical, sociological, technological, or bureaucratic facts, but guesswork nevertheless. While Gray's ideas are generic in nature and do not specifically address the Bush policies, after reading the other essays, it is obvious that the ideas formed the foundation, whether intended or not, for the other writers' evaluations of the administration's policies. This essay should be required reading for those officers moving into or already involved in long-range planning assignments.

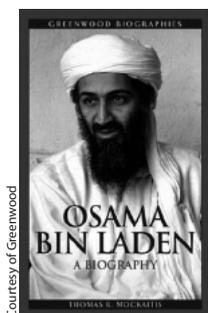
A second theme is how the Bush administration detrimentally affected its own programs by embracing unilateralism. The meaning here is the belief that the United States did not necessarily need the support of other nations nor did it consider the historical and political concerns of other states as we developed our programs. This theme is very evident in Peter Forester's article on "Sharing the Burden of Coalition War Fighting: NATO and Afghanistan" and Stephen Blank's "Cold Obstruction: The Legacy of US-Russian Relations Under George W. Bush." Blank clearly shows how the Bush administration never understood that its abandonment of the ABM Treaty, along with its efforts to place theater ABM systems in Eastern Europe, undermined its own rhetoric that Russia was no longer a Cold War enemy but a partner in the new war on terror. Over sixty years ago, George F. Kennan described how traditional Russian paranoia helped set the stage for the Cold War. The Bush administration's actions simply fed into that paranoia. Similarly, Forester's article explores the difficulties in fighting a coalition war, and particularly a NATO coalition that is Eurocentric, in the absence of "a clearly unified policy at both the strategic and operational level." The problem of unilateralism permeates a number of other essays as well. Larry Korb, Senior Fellow at the Center for American Progress, in his essay "An Exit Strategy from Iraq," points out the reality that any US exit strategy must involve other countries sharing some of the burden of political and social reconstruction. The Bush administration's unilateralism was a continuing obstacle to such international burden sharing.

A parallel theme to unilateralism is policy hubris. By this I mean the firm belief on the part of the Bush administration that they knew all the answers and ignored any dissent. Among the articles that address this theme are Dale Herspring's portrait of Donald Rumsfeld's management style, John Allen

Williams' analysis of civil-military relations, and William Martel's critique of the administration's efforts to define its policy in Iraq.

Military transformation, sometime referred to as revolution in military affairs, is another theme repeatedly addressed. Paul Davis's essay on military transformation is an excellent overview of the modern history of transformation theory, how that theory was applied by the Bush administration, and where does transformation seem to be going. It is worth reading as a stand-alone article for any officer interested in the evolution and direction of transformation. But the administration's view of transformation was directly related to its policy hubris. Secretary Rumsfeld and a number of other Bush appointees were so convinced in their vision of transformation that they ignored any advice to the contrary. This was most apparent in the post-military operational phase in Iraq, but it also had a detrimental impact on the administration's arms control efforts.

While there are other general themes one could identify, the limits of space prevent further discussion. As in the case of all collections of essays, different readers will find some articles of greater value than others, but taken as a whole, most readers interested in the defense policies of the Bush administration will find some if not many of these articles of great value. Obviously, as documents become more available, a more complete examination of the totality of the Bush defense program will be written, but in the interim, Professor Cimbala and his cadre of authors have certainly offered us an excellent first edition.



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152 pages

\$35.00

Osama Bin Laden: A Biography

by Thomas R. Mockaitis

Reviewed by Dr. W. Andrew Terrill,
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The personality and mental processes of Osama bin Laden were never easy for Westerners to understand. Too often he was dismissed as a villain who acts out of blind fanaticism without the capacity to develop a well-defined strategy or clear operational plan for reaching his goals. This sort of approach was a mistake. While bin Laden's ruthlessness was undeniable, he was nevertheless a thinking, planning enemy who needed to be treated as

such. Bin Laden and al Qaeda have often shown that they have clear strategies and coherent goals based on their own (admittedly warped) values systems. The development of effective counterstrategies for dealing with al Qaeda and then destroying it therefore depend upon understanding the background and mindset of this man in reasonably sophisticated terms. Moreover, since at least some aspects of how to deal with bin Laden are matters of public, media, and congressional discussion, a more sophisticated understanding of this individual among nonexperts may be of considerable value.

Thomas Mockaitis in his short and straightforward book, *Osama Bin Laden: A Biography*, clearly understands the difficulty of making bin Laden