

# The US Army War College Quarterly: Parameters

---

Volume 44  
Number 1 *Parameters Spring 2014*

Article 13

---

Spring 3-1-2014

## Review Essays

USAWC Press

Follow this and additional works at: <https://press.armywarcollege.edu/parameters>



Part of the [Defense and Security Studies Commons](#), [Military History Commons](#), [Military, War, and Peace Commons](#), [National Security Law Commons](#), and the [Public Affairs Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

USAWC Press, "Review Essays," *Parameters* 44, no. 1 (2014), doi:10.55540/0031-1723.2810.

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by USAWC Press. It has been accepted for inclusion in The US Army War College Quarterly: Parameters by an authorized editor of USAWC Press.

# Drones, Drone Strikes, and US Policy: The Politics of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles

Ulrike Esther Franke

© 2014 Ulrike Esther Franke

The use of unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) in military operations is currently among the most hotly debated topics in the national and international media. While at first few showed interest in this military technology, the increasing number of missile strikes carried out via UAVs in remote areas of Pakistan, Yemen, and Somalia by the United States Armed Forces and the CIA has raised public awareness. Today, reports on “drone strikes” are published daily; UAV names such as Global Hawk, Predator, or Reaper are on everyone’s lips. Criticism of the use of unmanned technology has equally gained momentum. Several organizations lobby for the complete or partial ban of drones, efforts which have resulted in a discussion on adding a protocol to the Convention on Conventional Weapons (CCW) to ban fully autonomous UAVs. High-ranking members of the US defense community have advised caution regarding the use of armed drones and propose moratoria on US drone strikes.<sup>1</sup>

Drones—unmanned, remotely piloted, aerial vehicles, short UAVs—are now used by the armed forces of approximately 70 countries around the world. The club of armed UAV holders remains more exclusive; for the moment, its members only include Israel, the United Kingdom, the United States, and most likely China and Iran. This situation, however, is likely to change sooner rather than later with many countries considering the procurement of armed drones.

The four books reviewed in this essay are all motivated by the belief that “the precipitous increase in drone use we have witnessed over the past few years represents just the beginning of the proliferation and widespread use of UAVs, across many contexts.”<sup>2</sup> Disagreement may reign over whether or not this development is positive; however, the authors agree on one point: drones are here to stay.

Many articles and papers have been written on UAV use, but scholarly debate has been surprisingly slow with academia only getting intensively involved in recent years. Accordingly, this review features works by a journalist, an anti-drone activist, and several academics.

### Winning the Battle but Losing the Hearts and Minds—The Importance of Drone Perceptions

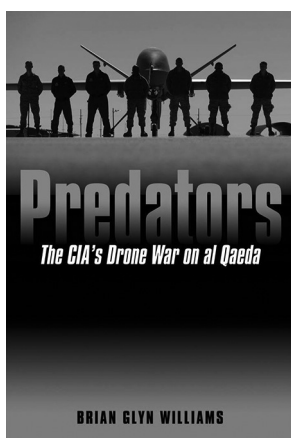
Perceptions matter, sometimes even more than reality. Drones certainly have a dreadful reputation—even though they may not necessarily

Ulrike Franke is a doctoral student in International Relations at Oxford University, supervised by Professor Sir Hew Strachan. She studies the military implications of the use of unmanned aerial vehicles and is interested in the Revolution in Military Affairs. Ulrike has worked as a research assistant at the International Institute of Strategic Studies. She holds a BA and MA from Sciences Po Paris and a second MA from the University of St. Gallen.

---

<sup>1</sup> David Kilcullen and Andrew McDonald Exum, “Death From Above, Outrage Down Below,” *The New York Times*, May 16, 2009.

<sup>2</sup> Bradley Strawser, ed., *Killing by Remote Control. The Ethics of an Unmanned Military* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 9.



Brian Glyn Williams, *Predators: The CIA's Drone War on al Qaeda* (Washington DC: Potomac Books, 2013), 281 pages, \$29.95.

deserve it. This is what Brian Glyn Williams tells readers in *Predators: The CIA's Drone War on al Qaeda*.

Williams, a professor of Islamic History at the University of Massachusetts at Dartmouth and an expert on the history of the Middle East, cofounded in 2009 UMass Drone, a research project and open-source online database on attacks carried out via armed drones.<sup>3</sup> With *Predators*, Williams aims at “record[ing] the history of what amounts to an all-out CIA drone war on the Taliban and al Qaeda.”<sup>4</sup> A historian by training, he claims wanting to stay neutral in the emotive drone debate: “Proponents and opponents of the campaign can do with this story what they will.”<sup>5</sup> His neutrality may be debatable; Williams clearly has his own opinion on

whether the use of drones in counterterrorism is effective. Nevertheless, *Predators* is recommended reading to those interested in how US counterterrorism efforts in Pakistan and elsewhere have affected civilian populations living in the targeted countries.

Williams studies the impact of the missile strikes by US drones in remote regions of the world, in particular in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). The book is clearly enhanced by Williams's deep knowledge of Pakistani politics and the Pashtun tribal areas. He ensures his readers get at least a general notion of its history, emphasizing that the FATA has always been an independent entity rather than a proper part of the Pakistani state.

Williams's main argument has three parts: (1) The US drone strikes in Pakistan are precise and succeed in killing high-value targets and lower-level Taliban operatives (some of whom have plotted against the United States and other Western nations); (2) The perception of the strikes is very negative in Pakistan and abroad; (3) The drone campaign may ultimately prove counterproductive as it alienates the public whose hearts and minds need to be won.

In Williams's words, the United States:

[C]ontinue[s] to wrestle with a paradox. While the war against the Taliban was transformed into a hunt for HVTs [high-value targets], it became obvious that America's most advanced weapon in the hunt for elusive terrorists might also be their worst enemy in the underlying battle to win the hearts and minds of the people of this volatile region;<sup>6</sup>

Perceptions can be more important than reality;<sup>7</sup> and

3 UMass Drone Home Page, <http://www.umassdrone.org/>.

4 Brian Glyn Williams, *Predators: The CIA's Drone War on al Qaeda* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2013), xi.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid., 38.

7 Ibid., 207.

Drone strikes are a public relations and strategic disaster in Pakistan.<sup>8</sup>

Williams argues the missile strikes by American UAVs are precise and kill comparatively few civilians because of six distinct factors: bureaucratic safeguards ensuring targets are selected properly; UAVs' ability to loiter for a long time, which increases intelligence and allows a strike at the most opportune moment; high resolution cameras; human intelligence on the ground thanks to a spy network and support by the Pakistani government and security services; the use of smaller missiles; and the tactic to target combatants while they are in vehicles.<sup>9</sup> By analyzing many strikes, he shows that although mistakes and accidents have caused civilian casualties, the majority of those killed are high-value targets and lower-level Taliban operatives. Williams's analysis of the strikes is thorough; his assessment and critique of some of those organizations collecting data on these strikes is at times, however, disproportionate and would have benefited from more extensive editing.

The fact that the strikes are efficient has clearly not reached the Pakistani public, or rather, Williams argues, it was not communicated properly: "Without an American public relations campaign to counteract the critics' attacks on the drone efforts, they remained a mystery for most outsiders, who assumed the worst."<sup>10</sup> Misperceptions do not only exist regarding information on the number of civilian casualties. Many Pakistanis were and still are outraged by the apparent US drones' incursions into their national territory. Williams argues:

[B]oth their elected leaders (Musharraf, Zardari, and Gilani) and their military leaders have actively supported the drone campaign—so much so that they have allowed the CIA to run drone strikes on the Taliban and al Qaeda from the Shamsi Air base in Pakistan. If the United States is, or was, allowed to operate on Pakistani soil with Pakistani troops guarding the drone base at Shamsi, their operations cannot be termed a violation of sovereignty.<sup>11</sup>

But, Williams criticizes, neither the United States nor the Pakistani government has made real efforts to fight misperceptions or even deliberate misrepresentations, which is why these misperceptions have spread. Ultimately, the reader is left wondering whether this is all worth it: "Opinion in Pakistan, a country of 190 million people, is being turned against the United States all for the sake of killing hundreds of low-level Taliban fighters."<sup>12</sup>

### The Macro View

Mark Mazzetti's *The Way of the Knife* is not about the use of UAVs per se. Rather, Mazzetti, *The New York Times* national security correspondent and Pulitzer Prize winner, discusses more generally the new ways of US military action: the use of a "scalpel" rather than a "hammer"—a phrase coined by former chief counterterrorism advisor John Brennan and which inspired the book's title.<sup>13</sup> For Mazzetti, the "way of the

8 Ibid., 206.

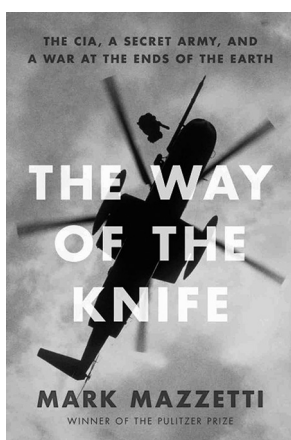
9 Ibid., 101-110.

10 Ibid., 86.

11 Ibid., 189.

12 Ibid., 212.

13 The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, Remarks by Assistant to the President for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism John Brennan at CSIS, May 26, 2010.



Mark Mazzetti, *The Way of the Knife. The CIA, a Secret Army, and a War at the Ends of the Earth* (New York: Penguin Press, 2013), 381 pages, \$29.95.

knife” is, however, not a positive metaphor but consists in “a shadow war waged across the globe” in which “America has pursued its enemies using killer robots and special-operations troops.”<sup>14</sup>

The book is based on hundreds of interviews with current and former government officials as well as members of the CIA and the military. Mazzetti opens the black box of some of the most secretive US organizations—the Central Intelligence Agency, the Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC), the State Department, and the Pentagon. Mazzetti describes, placing much focus on the story of individuals, how the context of the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the following military interventions have transformed the United States and its ability to wage wars.

In the book, the author explains how US intelligence and military work became blurred and how it militarized the CIA. In the early 2000s, “the Pentagon had the capabilities for hunting-and-killing operations, but the CIA had the authorities.”<sup>15</sup> After 9/11, and due to the workings of a number of influential officials, the CIA revived and JSOC came of age. The result was a jockeying between the Pentagon and CIA for supremacy in new American conflicts. Eventually, “the Central Intelligence Agency has become a killing machine, an organization consumed with man hunting,”<sup>16</sup> while JSOC became “the secret army . . . needed to fight a global war.”<sup>17</sup>

Mazzetti retraces the development of the CIA since the 1990s. He describes how the agency lost most of its power with the end of the Cold War and some embarrassing revealings of past activities. This changed with the Global War on Terror. The CIA is “no longer a traditional espionage service devoted to stealing the secrets of foreign governments, [it] has become a killing machine, an organization consumed with man hunting.”<sup>18</sup> The descriptions of the inner-CIA discussions about the role of the agency and their use of armed UAVs are particularly interesting. When the first missiles were strapped onto Predator aircraft in 2000, the CIA did not show much enthusiasm for them. The aircraft “looked like a gangly insect and had a loud engine that made it sound like a flying lawnmower.”<sup>19</sup> Also, in this pre-9/11 world, “the idea of the CIA establishing military-style bases anywhere in the world seemed crazy.”<sup>20</sup> Targeted assassinations were not an option: “We’re not like that. We’re not Mossad,” Richard Clarke is cited saying. A former head of the CIA’s Counterterrorist Centre later told the 9/11 Commission

14 Mark Mazzetti, *The Way of the Knife. The CIA, a Secret Army, and a War at the Ends of the Earth* (New York: Penguin Press, 2013), 5.

15 *Ibid.*, 81.

16 *Ibid.*, 4.

17 *Ibid.*, 75.

18 *Ibid.*, 4.

19 *Ibid.*, 91.

20 *Ibid.*, 92.

that in the years before the attacks, they would have refused a direct order to kill bin Laden.<sup>21</sup>

The JSOC is portrayed as the brain child of Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld—the chapter on JSOC is entitled “Rumsfeld’s Spies.” In it, Mazzetti describes how Rumsfeld “envied the spy agency’s ability to send its operatives anywhere, at any time, without having to ask permission.”<sup>22</sup> His answer? “[T]o make the Pentagon more like the CIA.”<sup>23</sup> Eventually, JSOC became “the secret army [Rumsfeld] needed to fight a global war.”<sup>24</sup>

Readers predominantly interested in UAVs will find chapter 5 particularly informative; in it, Mazzetti describes the initial stages of the CIA’s drone program. Equally enlightening are Mazzetti’s reports of several instances where drones were used because manned operations were considered too risky politically. Putting boots on the ground would be considered an invasion, while putting armed drones in the air to do the same job was considered less of an infraction.<sup>25</sup>

Mazzetti’s book is an interesting and even entertaining work, loaded with interview quotes and background information. He underlines the importance of the context in which the new US way of warfare was born as well as the role specific individuals played. Indeed, his focus on the individuals involved can, at times, be distracting. The author rarely mentions a person without giving his or her background—education, family situation, and career development. This, combined with the novel-like writing style, can at times distract from more important elements. Furthermore, there is no chronological and very little geographical or thematic order in Mazzetti’s writing—trying to find a specific piece of information can, therefore, be challenging. This critique notwithstanding, this book should lie on the nightstand of all those readers interested in the CIA and the inner workings of a nation at war.

### Stop the Drones—The Activist’s View

No review on drone literature would be complete without Medea Benjamin’s *Drone Warfare*, which has become one of the most-read books on UAV use. Benjamin is a political activist, best known for her interruption of President Obama’s counterterrorism speech at the National Defense University in May 2013 where she demanded to “take the drones out of the hands of the CIA” and to end signature strikes.

There is no ambiguity—Benjamin is an activist, and *Drone Warfare* is an activist’s book. It is not a book about drone use, but against it. Benjamin’s position is clear: “The drone wars represent one of the greatest travesties of justice in our age.”<sup>26</sup> For her, UAVs are “death robots,”<sup>27</sup> “killing machines,”<sup>28</sup> and “killer drones.”<sup>29</sup> The book is a pamphlet

---

21 Ibid., 88.

22 Ibid., 68.

23 Ibid., 68.

24 Ibid., 75.

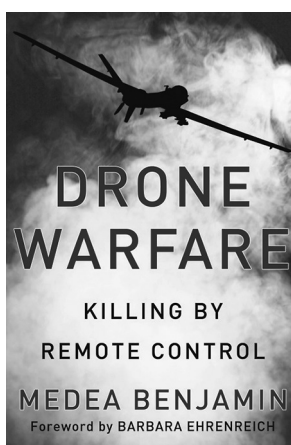
25 Ibid., 116, 133.

26 Medea Benjamin, *Drone Warfare. Killing by Remote Control* (London: Verso, 2013), 124.

27 Ibid., 53.

28 Ibid., 28.

29 Ibid., 15.



Medea Benjamin, *Drone Warfare. Killing by Remote Control* (London: Verso, 2013), 246 pages, \$16.95.

against armed drones, and parts of it could double as a pacifist manifest. Benjamin quotes President Eisenhower's famous statement that "Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed."<sup>30</sup> Following this same logic, she criticizes the procurement of US drones during a financial crisis which "led to the slashing of government programs from nutrition supplements for pregnant women to maintenance of national parks."<sup>31</sup> The book is permeated by emotional stories of maimed Pakistani and Afghan children and parents who have to bury their sons "in the dry cold soil of the village they had loved."<sup>32</sup> The last two chapters are dedicated to activism against drone use and US military policy.

This is one side of Benjamin's book. At the same time, *Drone Warfare* is also an informative, well-researched work that provides the reader with an extensive list of references. Benjamin tries to discuss the most important aspects of the use of armed UAVs: the history and development of drones, the drone market, the points of view of drone pilots, the legality and morality of their use, drone use by other countries, and the points of view of drone use by terrorists and victims. As informative literature on UAV use is still scarce and mainly comes in forms of newspaper reports, this in itself is laudable. Her discussion of the drone market and the UAV-"military-industrial-complex" is particularly enlightening. Even well-informed readers can be sure to find new pieces of information and good quotes. Readers new to the subject get an overview of the main points of discussion.

Unfortunately, Benjamin's generic opposition to the use of armed drones stands in the way of an academically rigorous discussion of the topic. Her critique is unfocused, as the object of her criticism is not clear. She often does not differentiate between the technology, i.e., unmanned weaponry, and policy, or using unmanned weaponry in specific ways in specific contexts. This is a general problem of the drone debate; for Benjamin it means that a lot of her criticism appears ill-directed.

At times, her critique of both the wars and drones appears a bit naïve, as no alternative is proposed. It is not clear what Benjamin argues in favor of. When she criticizes that "[w]hen military operations are conducted through the filter of a far-away video camera, there is no possibility of making eye contact with the enemy and fully realizing the human cost of an attack," the reader is left wondering what the alternative would be.<sup>33</sup> Returning to a type of warfare in which soldiers make eye contact with their enemies (a type of warfare lying long in

30 Ibid., 54.

31 Ibid., 17.

32 Ibid., 111.

33 Ibid., 160.

the past, not only since the advent of drones)? Benjamin fails to answer these questions.

Benjamin's book is a good introduction to the topic and interesting read even for those familiar with the debate. One should, however, be advised to counterbalance the biased view with other, preferably more academic and analytically rigorous accounts.

### Gut Instincts are not Enough—Academia's Contribution

*Killing by Remote Control: The Ethics of an Unmanned Military* adds academic and analytical rigour to the discussion. In the current drone debate—largely dominated by journalists and activists and often conducted on an emotional level—this book serves as a reminder of the merits of scholarly work. The volume was edited by Bradley Jay Strawser, assistant professor of Philosophy at the United States Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California. Strawser is best-known by students of drone warfare through his groundbreaking article “Moral Predator, The Duty to Employ Uninhabited Aerial Vehicles.”<sup>34</sup>

While Strawser, because of this paper, is sometimes considered a drone advocate, his agenda in *Killing by Remote Control* is to “push the scholarly conversation [over the ethics of drones] to a deeper analytic level.”<sup>35</sup> He believes the debate needs to move out of the “first wave” of journalistic attention: “those of us working and thinking seriously about these questions need to move out of those early phases [...]. *Killing by Remote Control: The Ethics of an Unmanned Military* is part of that deeper analytic push.”<sup>36</sup>

The book's chapters discuss the ethics of using remotely controlled weapons for lethal missions. The focus lies on armed UAVs, targeted killings, and autonomous systems. Many tricky ethical questions are addressed in the book:

- Can drone warfare be analyzed through the lenses of Just War Theory or are new theories and rules needed?
- Does the use of UAVs undermine military virtues?
- Does the use of UAVs imply the judgment that the targets of such weapons are expendable while the operators are not?
- Do UAVs make war more likely and is this necessarily a negative development?
- Should extreme military asymmetry in warfare be condemned?
- Are there ethical differences between remotely piloted and autonomous



Bradley Strawser, ed., *Killing by Remote Control: The Ethics of an Unmanned Military* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 296 pages, \$49.95.

34 Bradley Jay Strawser, “Moral Predators: The Duty to Employ Uninhabited Aerial Vehicles” *Journal of Military Ethics* 9, no. 4 (2010): 342-68.

35 Strawser, *Killing by Remote Control*, 5.

36 Ibid.



weapons?

In the particularly thought-provoking chapter 6, “Robot Guardians: Teleoperated Combat Vehicles in Humanitarian Military Intervention,” Zack Beauchamp and Julian Savulescu address the claim that armed drones will make war easier and, therefore, more likely—an assertion frequently brought forward by anti-drone activists. The authors argue that “lowering the threshold is not, as commonly assumed, necessarily a bad thing. In at least one case, the bug is in fact a feature: drones have the potential to significantly improve the practice of humanitarian intervention.”<sup>37</sup> In their opinion, often, “the wars states do not fight are the ones they most ought to,” namely, interventions to stop human rights abuses and crimes against humanity.<sup>38</sup> The reason for the reticence is casualty aversion. If drones make going to war easier as they minimize the risk to the intervening soldiers, this means that intervening for humanitarian reasons would equally be made easier. Furthermore, according to Beauchamp and Savulescu, when states grant significant weight to minimizing their own casualties, “they are more likely to fight in ways that result in significant—and preventable—loss of civilian life.”<sup>39</sup> UAVs could, therefore, help to reduce civilian casualties in humanitarian interventions.

Avery Plaw’s chapter “Counting the Dead: The Proportionality of Predation in Pakistan,” should become compulsory reading for anyone interested in the discussion of the effectiveness of targeted killing via drones. Plaw, a colleague of Brian Glyn Williams at UMass Drone, analyzes the numbers on civilian casualties in Pakistan gathered by the four “most rigorous and transparent databases” that track the impact of drone strikes, namely *The New America Foundation*, *The Long War Journal*, *UMass Drone*, and the *Bureau of Investigative Journalism*.<sup>40</sup> By meticulously studying their numbers, Plaw concludes the missile attacks have been “highly effective in eliminating enemy operations, including key leaders, particularly when these HVTs [high-value targets] are hidden in inaccessible and politically problematic locations like the FATA.”<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, Plaw shows that US nondrone operations in the FATA, such as precision artillery strikes or commando raids, have caused much higher civilian casualties than attacks via drones. Therefore, he argues that the issue of proportionality does not provide a basis “for claiming that US drone strikes in general are either unethical or illegal (although this does not preclude such claims on other grounds).”<sup>42</sup>

Not all of the authors see the development towards an increased use of UAVs positively though. David Whetham (chapter 4 “Drones and targeted killing: Angels or Assassins?”) warns the US strikes in remote areas of Pakistan, Yemen, and Somalia are establishing a norm which “doesn’t get used just by ‘nice people.’”<sup>43</sup> He criticizes the United States for not being more transparent with regard to its actions.

37 Ibid., 106.

38 Ibid., 114.

39 Ibid., 112.

40 Ibid., 126.

41 Ibid., 145.

42 Ibid., 127.

43 Ibid., 78.

Without transparency as to why an individual has been killed, a targeted killing carried out anywhere for the best of reasons and in the most careful, conscientious, and professional way might as well be considered an assassination or just plain murder. If a state is not prepared to provide any of that information at all or any reason or justification for a killing, then we should refrain from calling such an action targeted killing and instead call it what it effectively becomes—an execution.<sup>44</sup>

In “War without Virtue?” (chapter 5), Australian philosopher Robert Sparrow expresses concerns that the use of UAVs for military purposes poses a significant threat to martial virtues such as physical and moral courage, loyalty, honor, and mercy. In his view, the introduction of UAVs marks “a significant quantitative—and perhaps even qualitative—change in the nature of military combat.”<sup>45</sup> Because of the absence of risk to life and limb, and the fighting in complete safety, martial virtues are no longer required. For Sparrow, this is a “disturbing prospect.”<sup>46</sup>

It is impossible to do each paper of an edited volume justice in a short review. Each of the eleven chapters in *Killing by Remote Control* deserves more attention. The collection’s main contribution, however, does not lie solely in the quality of its chapters and well-made arguments. Rather, the volume in its entirety demonstrates the valuable contribution scholarly writing can make to the current drone debate.

As editor Bradley Strawser emphasizes, it is crucial to question one’s beliefs and intuitions. At first sight, there appears to be “something profoundly disturbing about the idea of a war conducted by computer console operators, who are watching over and killing people thousands of kilometers away.”<sup>47</sup> On closer examination, though, the views “that something is intrinsically wrong with this form of killing over other forms of killing, simply in virtue of being remotely controlled, across all possible circumstances . . . are surprisingly hard to articulate consistently and clearly.”<sup>48</sup> Strawser’s call to look closer and be more rigorous is particularly convincing since he admits “in following the arguments where they led, I ultimately arrived at several conclusions rather far afield from my initial ‘gut instincts’ that first got me interested in the topic.”<sup>49</sup> “Gut instincts” can and should not lead an academic debate. Rather, “such sentiments must be unpacked . . . ; an argument is needed, not mere assertion. At this point in the debate, we still await such an argument.”<sup>50</sup> *Killing by Remote Control* is an important step in this direction.

## Conclusion

Each of the four books discussed in this review has specific merits—*Predator* gives a fascinating account of the Pakistani perspective; *The Way of the Knife* allows an insight into the black box of US state agencies in their global fight against terrorism; *Drone Warfare* is an appealing example of activism literature; and *Killing by Remote Control* is a useful scholarly work

---

44 Ibid., 82, 83.

45 Ibid., 86.

46 Ibid., 104.

47 Ibid., 88.

48 Ibid., 10.

49 Ibid., xvii.

50 Ibid., 12.

on the ethics of drone use. While these books naturally have flaws, as a whole they form a comprehensive overview of the current drone debate.

The drone literature still suffers from shortcomings. As the four books show, the debate revolves almost exclusively around the use of armed UAVs for lethal operations. Unarmed UAVs, which have proliferated extensively over the last few years, are rarely, if ever, discussed. While “killer robots” may be more attention-grabbing than surveillance UAVs, the almost complete disregard of other UAV types is deplorable. The focus also predominantly lies on the US use of drones even though more and more countries procure and use UAVs. More research is needed with regard to these developments. In general, more data, official data in particular, is needed, such as the numbers of civilian deaths caused by missiles fired from UAVs.

One interesting fact that deserves more attention is touched on by several of the authors but not discussed in detail. It appears that operations—even lethal ones—carried out by UAVs are perceived as being less intrusive, less of an infraction of a state’s sovereignty. Brian Williams shows how the Pakistani public appears to accept UAVs more than boots on the ground: “The Pakistanis were willing to countenance the occasional civilian death or attacks on militants if they were administered by unmanned drones, US troops landing on Pakistani territory was essentially construed as an act of war.”<sup>51</sup> Mark Mazzetti makes a similar point. While most international lawyers would not support such a view, President Obama recently voiced the same idea when he discussed the drone program in May 2013. He warned about the risk that manned operations would “lead [the US] to be viewed as occupying armies, unleash a torrent of unintended consequences,” and “may trigger a major international crisis.”<sup>52</sup> Sending drones, the message was, is much less controversial.

It is clear that much research remains to be done with regard to the study of UAV use for military purposes. The works reviewed here provide a useful basis for further research and are a good step in this direction.

---

51 Williams, *Predators*, 74.

52 The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, *Remarks by the President at the National Defense University*, May 23, 2013, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2013/05/23/remarks-president-national-defense-university>.

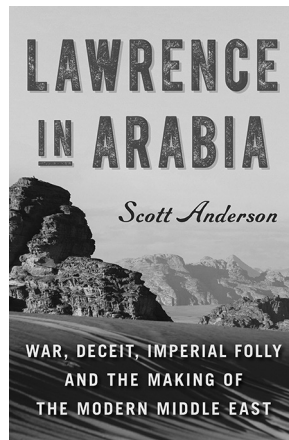
## T. E. Lawrence: Enigmatic Military Visionary

W. Andrew Terrill

**T**.E. Lawrence is the most well-known British national hero of World War I. In the Arabian Desert, Lawrence waged a war of movement against Turkish forces that contrasted starkly with the gruesome deadlock on the Western front. In pursuing his own version of desert combat, Lawrence was an early and important advocate of modern guerrilla warfare tactics, and his exploits during the 1916-18 desert war showed significant military gains for his highly inventive and unorthodox form of combat. Geopolitically, Lawrence's actions had a direct bearing on the formation of the modern Middle East, and his controversial legacy is still important today. Under these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that a number of Lawrence biographies have been published during and after his lifetime. More recently, there has been a notable increase in such works in the years following the US invasion of Iraq in March 2003. As the United States encountered ongoing difficulties in that country, Lawrence's actions throughout the Arab world may have seemed relevant to the important strategic and operational questions that needed answers. These questions revolved around not just guerrilla warfare but also finding ways in which Arab and Western troops could build mutual trust and function effectively as partners.

### Lawrence as a Military Thinker: Amateur Among Professionals

Former war correspondent Scott Anderson has some interesting insights about Lawrence's understanding of military culture and the conduct of military operations, including his willingness to challenge conventional wisdom. Anderson notes that Lawrence was well-read on military topics, but he had no formal officer's training prior to receiving a 1914 direct commission as an acting second lieutenant. As a junior officer, Lawrence was assigned to intelligence duties in Cairo due to his understanding of Middle Eastern cultures and the Arabic language. He developed these skills over his four years as a junior field archeologist, primarily based in Syria. In his early army career, Lawrence was a brilliant intelligence officer, but he also had a rebellious personality and maintained a dismissive attitude toward higher authority. His sometimes uncomfortable encounters with military bureaucracy and various doctrinaire senior officers also gave him serious doubts about the future of the war. Early in his military career, Lawrence provided strategic briefings to a number of senior officers assigned to the Mediterranean Expedition (MED-EX) and was appalled when he found out about their plan for an invasion at Gallipoli, Turkey, which he



Scott Anderson, *Lawrence in Arabia: War, Deceit, Imperial Folly and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (New York: Doubleday, 2013), 57 pages, \$28.95.

viewed as a “despicable mess.” While Lawrence expected the landing at Gallipoli to be a disaster, even he was probably surprised by the scale of the catastrophe. The young officer was further disillusioned as evidence began to pour in that the alternative invasion site advocated by the Cairo intelligence office appeared to have been a golden opportunity for an easy victory. This alternative plan called for an invasion of Alexandretta (now called Iskenderun) which was defended by a garrison of mostly Arab conscripts on the verge of mutiny against their Turkish officers.

Lawrence had an even closer view of the next Middle Eastern disaster following Gallipoli. This was the effort to seize Baghdad from the east with an Anglo-Indian army. This force advanced deep into the Iraqi hinterland without properly protected supply lines and the Turks correspondingly surrounded and isolated it in the city of Kut. As with Gallipoli, proper military procedures were disregarded due to a prevailing belief that the enemy was “tough but slow-witted” and, therefore, did not need to be treated in the same way as a European adversary. Also like Gallipoli, there was a high price for this arrogance. Lawrence was called in from Cairo in late 1915 to help British Major General Charles Townshend negotiate with the Turks for the release of his surrounded troops. Through Lawrence and other intermediaries, the best the British commander could do was to seek to bribe the Turkish general with gold. This treasonous offer was quickly and contemptuously rejected and the entire British force of 13,000 was compelled to surrender. As a mediator brought in for the specific task of negotiating with the Turks, Lawrence was not made a prisoner of war, but he had a firsthand view of the fruits of poor planning and lofty British disdain for the enemy. Closer to the Cairo headquarters, British offensives to break through the Turkish line at Gaza failed twice. Lawrence was also deeply unhappy with what he called the “staggering incompetence” on the Western front in Europe where two of his brothers, Frank and Will, were killed in 1915 and 1916 respectively.

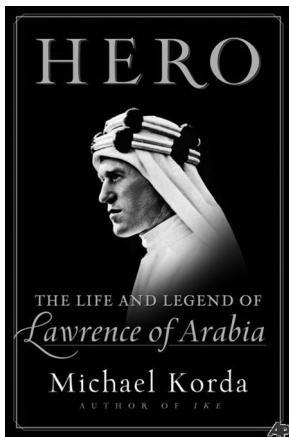
In generating his own strategic vision, Lawrence believed the British should embrace the “Arab way of war” as the organizing principle for the “Arab Revolt” against Turkey. This uprising had originated with Sherif (later King) Hussein of the Hejaz (in what is now western Saudi Arabia). In Lawrence’s view, warfare in Arabia bore a striking resemblance to the medieval warfare he had studied at Oxford with its use of multiple decentralized forces under various autonomous nobles. Arab raiders had no military discipline, no NCOs, and numerous debates among themselves over just about everything they did. In evaluating their potential against the Turks, Lawrence believed that Bedouin forces fought effectively in small groups of raiders while they were usually extremely poor raw material for training as conventional troops. In particular, he saw the potential for Arab forces to play an effective role in the war through hit-and-run strikes, long-range sharpshooting, and a tradition of surprise attacks. Lawrence felt that the Arab forces could make their greatest contribution by avoiding large battles and striking unexpectedly at weak points in the Turkish defense, particularly logistical units and facilities and most especially the Hejaz railway. Lawrence also hoped (as most competent military leaders do) to find ways to inflict the absolute maximum damage with the minimum loss of life.

Lawrence gained the trust of the Arab Revolt’s leaders in ways that went beyond simply being polite and knowing the Arabic language.

Lawrence also passionately identified with Arab aspirations for independence. While this fervor is well known, Anderson goes further than many authors and suggests that Lawrence became more loyal to Arab independence than to anything else in the war. He notes that Lawrence told the leading Arab field commander, Prince Feisal, about the Sykes-Picot Agreement for British and French domination of post-war Arab lands, while it was still a state secret and by doing so technically committed treason. This act was the beginning of what Anderson calls “a quiet war against his own government” where he “arguably betrayed his country” (486). Anderson also notes that Lawrence attempted to convince an American intelligence officer, Captain William Yale, to speak to his superiors in favor of Arab independence and push against British and especially French policies for dominating the post-war region. Viewed in this light, it is difficult to see how Feisal or the other Arab leaders could have found much fault with Lawrence. He had their political best interests at heart and he served as their strongest advocate in British circles especially when vying for British military resources including weapons and gold.

Anderson’s charge of possible treason seems vastly overblown since the future of the Arab world was yet to be decided at the Paris Peace Conference where British policies on such issues were to be finalized in coordination with the other allies. The Sykes-Picot Agreement was mostly a place holder that did not represent final or fully formed policy. Additionally, General Allenby later made it clear that Feisal should have been told about the Sykes-Picot Agreement at some point and expressed surprise in 1918 when Lawrence (dishonestly) told him he had not done so. Moreover, the British leadership knew of Lawrence’s commitment to Arab freedom, and always saw it as an asset (but not a guide for policy). Lawrence himself gave his own take on the loyalty issue in a more indirect manner. The former guerrilla leader, who was famous for his monumental self-recrimination (bordering on masochism), never indicated that he felt the slightest bit disloyal to the United Kingdom as a result of his wartime conduct. Rather, for the rest of his life, he brutally blamed himself for lying to the Arabs on his country’s behalf over the issue of Arab independence. While Lawrence was torn by conflicting British and Arab interests and priorities, he inevitably defaulted to British interests while trying desperately to help the Arabs within the constraint of these priorities. If Lawrence betrayed his country, he never knew it and never felt it.

In a departure from other Lawrence biographies, Anderson’s book also devotes considerable attention to the activities of British intelligence units in the Middle East and the various spy networks in the Middle East. The book also follows the activities of American oilman, soldier, and government official William Yale, Zionist leader Aaron Aronson, and German “orientalist” and spy Curt Prufer. These individuals were important to the history of the Middle East but mostly peripheral to the story of T. E. Lawrence. One cannot help suspecting that Anderson included their activities in such depth in order to distinguish it from the numerous other Lawrence biographies. Readers will probably view this approach as either a useful innovation or a mistake, depending on their interest in these people.



Michael Korda, *Hero: The Life and Legend of Lawrence of Arabia* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2011), 762 pages, \$17.99.

### Lawrence's Personality: Strengths and Weakness

A different kind of book is *Hero* by best-selling author Michael Korda. This work serves as a comprehensive biography of T. E. Lawrence from his childhood until his death in a 1935 motorcycle accident. The title clearly indicates Korda's reverence for Lawrence, whom he refers to as both a hero and a genius. In contrast to the evaluation put forward by Anderson, Korda states, "It is worth noting that even though Lawrence wanted the Arabs to win, and hoped by getting to Damascus first to invalidate the Sykes-Picot Agreement, he never forgot that he was a British officer first and foremost" (400). In a slightly more equivocal statement he also claims, "No man ever tried harder to

serve two masters than Lawrence" (400). This argument may be more defensible than Anderson's technical treason argument for reasons already discussed. Additionally, Lawrence was certainly hostile to the Middle Eastern aspirations of the United Kingdom's French ally, but he would hardly be the first Briton to view the interests of the United Kingdom and France as divergent. He further assumed some sort of post-war association between the Arabs and the United Kingdom and saw this as good for both parties.

A recurring point in this study is that Lawrence, by purpose or happenstance, had something approaching the perfect background for his role as a driving force for the revolt in Arabia. Lawrence's credentials included his years in the Arab world, understanding of Arab social structure, language, and culture, and wide-ranging reading on military topics. Lawrence's undergraduate passion for medieval fortifications gave him a "feel for topography," which he developed even further as an intelligence officer and mapmaker for British intelligence in Cairo. While still an undergraduate working on his thesis, Lawrence walked over 1,000 miles throughout the Middle East visiting 36 castles dating back to the crusades. Lawrence was even a crack pistol shot, although he later fell short on this count when he accidentally killed his own camel while participating in a charge against Turkish forces around 40 miles from Aqaba. Lawrence also had a high tolerance for hardships and a dismissive attitude toward creature comforts that served him well as a guerrilla leader. He had no trouble existing on small amounts of bad food and was able to go without sleep for days at a time. He tolerated repeated bouts of malaria, dysentery, infected boils, and other ailments. According to Korda, Lawrence, "lived at some point beyond mere stoicism and behaved as if he were indestructible" (198). This endurance gave him the ability to inspire others and earned him the respect of very tough Bedouin leaders such as Auda Abu Tayi of the Howitat tribe.

Korda's detailed consideration of Lawrence's personality and pre-war background may be especially useful for military audiences interested in questions of leadership. Lawrence had a great deal to offer the military

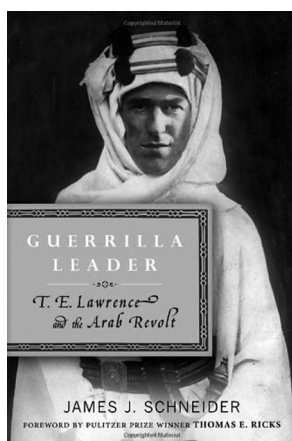
but was sometimes a difficult officer to manage. He often assumed (correctly) that he knew more than his superiors and had very little regard for military rank. Yet some leaders, including Brigadier General Clayton of the intelligence service and especially General Edmund Allenby commanded Lawrence's deep respect and loyal service. General Allenby, and Lawrence maintained an especially strong relationship based on mutual trust. Lawrence made significant promises to Allenby and then endured tremendous hardship to keep them to the extent he could do so. Lawrence was always attentive to the danger of disappointing Allenby and on occasion took very serious personal risks to avoid letting his commander down. Allenby in turn "rode Lawrence on the loosest of reins" (196). He provided him with goals and objectives and then allowed the young commander to reach them in his own way. In first meeting with Lawrence, Allenby was clearly on the same page as the emerging guerrilla leader. As a former horse cavalry officer, he quickly saw the potential of Lawrence's mobile force for conducting hard-hitting raids. Allenby's support for the Arab Revolt remained unequivocal, although London showed uneven interest, and the British government in India was concerned about its potential to inspire rebellious Muslims in India.

As noted, Korda's book is the only study under review that provides a comprehensive examination of Lawrence's post-war activities. In the years following the war, Lawrence moved forward some important tasks before seeking obscurity. He played a key role at the Paris Peace Conference as an advisor to Feisal and advocate of Arab goals. He further served for a year as a senior official of the colonial office working with Winston Churchill and others to help establish the new states of Iraq and Transjordan (later Jordan). The part of his life that is more difficult to understand is his decision to serve in the Royal Air Force, and more briefly in the Royal Tank Corps, as a junior enlisted man for a number of years. Surely his efforts to help the Arab people achieve greater autonomy and eventual independence could have continued after the war with him serving in progressively more responsible positions. In some ways, Lawrence seemed more interested in atoning for his perceived sins than seeking to mitigate them. Korda has more difficulties with this part of the book, sometimes maintaining that Lawrence's decision to seek obscurity was rational, understandable, and based on wartime trauma. He also somewhat defends the way in which Lawrence rode his motorcycle ("motorcycles always appear suicidal to those who don't ride one" (590), while also noting that many of Lawrence's friends were mortified at what they saw as his daredevil ways. Lawrence had already had two potentially fatal accidents with his motorcycle before a third accident claimed his life in 1935.

### **Lawrence and Guerrilla Warfare**

James Schneider's book is an examination of Lawrence's role in revolutionizing irregular warfare. It deals almost exclusively with the desert war and gives no attention to Lawrence's activities before or after the war. This is not a book based on newly uncovered information or sources on Lawrence's life. Rather, it is a commentary and elaboration on the reasoning behind Lawrence's military theories and actions by a professor emeritus of military theory at the School of Advanced Military Studies of the US Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth.





James Schneider, *Guerrilla Leader: T. E. Lawrence and the Arab Revolt* (New York: Bantam, 2011), 328 pages, \$28.00.

This analysis is often conducted effectively with Schneider teasing out the implications of Lawrence's views and analyzing why they were effective in directing desert warfare against conventional adversaries. He also indicates the ways in which the Arab guerrilla forces were able to support General Allenby's conventional army as part of the overall campaign. Schneider considers Lawrence's ideas about guerrilla warfare to be a revolutionary reframing of the Arab revolt. This reframing involved turning the uprising into a war designed to exhaust the Turkish enemy rather than seize territory or capture cities such as Turkish-held Medina.

Throughout this study, Schneider displays a recurring interest in the concept of military leadership. He provides a particularly good critique of General Allenby, who despite early difficulties in Europe became one of the war's best generals. Schneider also considers the role of Prince Feisal as a leader, although his most detailed consideration is naturally directed at Lawrence. Lawrence served as a key decisionmaker on the distribution of British gold, weapons, and other forms of support. Such responsibility creates leverage and opportunities but only makes one a transactional military leader if it remains the sole source of authority. Lawrence, however, quickly emerged as an inspiring leader through his intelligence, bravery in battle, soaring oratory, and total identification with their struggle against the Turks. Additionally Schneider states that Lawrence increasingly relied on outstanding tribal leaders for tactical leadership, thereby freeing him to provide purpose, direction, and motivation to the Arab Revolt.

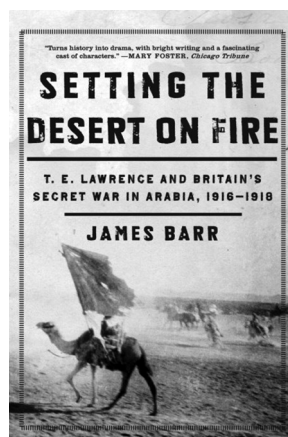
Schneider maintains that Lawrence was an effective leader because he empathized with not only the wider goals of the Arab revolt, but also with the needs of his own troops. Lawrence was sometimes reckless with his own life, but never wasteful of the lives of the fighters who served with him. The casualties inflicted on his forces troubled him deeply, especially high among his personal bodyguard, who fought beside him and were also needed due to the price on his head of twenty thousand pounds alive or ten thousand dead. Schneider maintains that Lawrence's sensitivities dovetailed closely with the Arab view of warfare. He notes that in Western militaries, the mission assigned by higher headquarters almost always takes precedence over efforts to keep casualties low. In contrast, among Arab raiders the welfare of the unit is almost always more important since the fighters were often irreplaceable. If a mission becomes too potentially costly in human lives, it is simply abandoned. While Lawrence never willingly abandoned important missions set by higher authority, he was careful to avoid striking well defended areas and may have missed some lucrative targets of opportunity to protect his own forces.

Schneider also states that Lawrence failed as a leader near the Arab village of Tafas when, according to his book *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, Lawrence issued a "no prisoners" order to Arab forces moving against

a retreating Turkish force after it had committed atrocities against Arab villagers. Schneider maintains that at this point, Lawrence had lost his “moral compass” and, therefore, his capacity for leadership. There are, nevertheless, some uncertainties about this incident that Schneider does not seem to consider. As is well known, Lawrence was a man of extremely strong views about the Arab Revolt to the point that some scholars view his writings as “sanitized” to portray the Arab army in the best possible light.<sup>1</sup> At no time was his version of events more suspect than in the Tafas incident where he had been accused of being “transparently tendentious and misleading” for such factors as overemphasizing the innocence of the Arab villagers, who were most likely well-armed and in open rebellion against the Turks.<sup>2</sup> James Barr (see below) has additional reasons for doubting Lawrence’s account of Tafas based on other eyewitness descriptions of the events there. Lawrence’s empathy, which Schneider repeatedly notes as an asset, makes his acceptance of the blame for this incident at least somewhat suspect. Events in Tafas may have occurred despite Lawrence’s orders, and avenging Arab tribal forces may have been uncontrollable by any one person at this point regardless of leadership skills.

### The Meaning of the Arab Revolt

Former journalist James Barr’s *Setting the Desert on Fire* is a focused and thoughtful consideration of both the Arab Revolt and Lawrence’s role in the uprising. More than any of the other books under review, Barr considers the context and geopolitical consequences of Lawrence’s actions by noting overlapping and clashing interests among a variety of individuals, groups, and countries associated with the Middle East theater. Like Anderson, Barr spends considerable effort sorting out the motives and disagreements of a variety of nations and individuals. Imperial powers like the United Kingdom and France had a number of global interests and priorities, and many of them were in contradiction. Adding to the richness of the work, Barr is particularly nuanced in his understanding of Arab tribal, regional, and other differences. He also notes Lawrence’s own subtlety of mind when considering intersecting political and cultural/religious problems that came up during the war. An important example of Lawrence’s good judgment was his opposition to sending a British brigade into the heart of the Hejaz. Non-Muslims are not welcome in the Hejazi cities of Mecca and Medina, but Lawrence believed that British troops in this region were more of a political than a religious problem for the Arabs. While religion might offer a strong religious justification for excluding Western troops, Lawrence also knew that even Muslim troops from the British Empire would be



James Barr, *Setting the Desert on Fire: T. E. Lawrence and Britain's Secret War in Arabia, 1916-1918* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2009), 362 pages, \$27.95.

1 John D. Grainger, *The Battle for Syria, 1918-1920* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2013), 176.

2 *Ibid.* p. 166.

equally unwelcome in such large numbers. His judgment was allowed to prevail in this instance because of the agreement of a number of senior officers.

Barr notes that one of the first guerrilla raids against the Hejaz railway was conducted by Arab forces accompanied by Major Herbert Garland, a British explosives expert, who eventually taught Lawrence about techniques for using mines and bombs. Garland's raid was a success, destroying an irreplaceable Ottoman locomotive and seriously disrupting rail traffic between Anatolia and the Hejaz. Yet Garland returned to the base at Wajh hating everything about working with Arab forces. In particular, he viewed Arab raiding forces as insufficiently committed to the missions they were given, unwilling to move quickly, constantly diverted by efforts to find forage for the camels, and democratic to a fault so that nothing gets done until considerable squabbling is worked out. A variety of other British officers were equally appalled by the Arab propensity for looting and belief that they were entitled to go home after they had acquired a sufficient level of booty. British complaints are easily understood, but the culture clash also presented a serious problem for British-Arab unity of effort. Lawrence, in contrast to many of his contemporaries, attempted to immerse himself in Arab culture, accepting delays and other problems as the cost of doing business. Lawrence stated that he wanted to "rub off his British ways." He endeavored to act according to tribal values even when, as a foreigner, he would have been easily forgiven for not doing so, at least in small matters. He also dressed in Arab clothing, unlike other British officers.

Barr further displays a strong understanding of the nature of the Arab military campaigns and probably does the best job of explaining the evolution of Arab tactics in this conflict. Lawrence started by attacking trains with explosives, destroying train tracks, and demolishing telegraph wires and poles. He also attacked Turkish patrols, and Arab raids became larger and struck at more important targets over the course of the war. On one important occasion, he changed his approach to defend the town of Tafileh which was threatened by conventional Turkish attack. Lawrence's victory at Tafilah gave the Arab army some increased credibility, but it never really outgrew its raiding heritage or developed into an effective force for seizing and retaining territory. It was not easy to guide an Arab army during this period, even when many differences could be overcome with liberal amounts of gold. Among the "regular troops" who had defected from the Ottoman army, Syrian and Iraqi factions were often angry with each other and required constant mediation. Likewise, the inexhaustible capacity of Bedouin troops for looting often made this a higher priority for them than externally imposed military objectives. Some would even seize booty while they were under fire. Accountability for British-provided gold and supplies was often maddeningly nonexistent.

Barr agrees with Anderson who states that Lawrence was a "booster" and an "apologist" for the Arabs with whom he served. The most striking example of this behavior occurred during the previously noted incident near the village of Tafas shortly after a Turkish brigade committed a number of atrocities, including the murder of children. Furious Arab leaders, and especially the Howeitat chieftain, Auda abu Tayi, demanded revenge and wiped out the entire force, killing the

wounded where they had fallen and refusing to allow enemy troops to surrender. According to Barr, and in contrast to Schenider's analysis, Lawrence seems to have had nothing to do with the decision to kill the wounded Turks, although he did take responsibility for it. Barr quotes Lawrence as stating, "We ordered 'no prisoners' and the men obeyed" (287). Other witnesses do not remember it that way. Ali Jawdat, a future Iraqi prime minister, described how Lawrence attempted to save a group of prisoners but was unable to do so in the face of Arab forces bent on revenge. Another British officer, Frederick Peake, who worked closely with Lawrence stated that he was certain Lawrence did all he could to stop the massacre but the tribal force was "beyond control." As overall victory approached, Lawrence may simply not have been prepared to see the Arab army criticized or portrayed as an avenging mob so he changed the story to assume the blame himself.

In the final campaigns of the Middle East theater, Allenby continued to view Lawrence as indispensable. The squandering of vast amounts of gold by Prince Feisal's younger brother Zaid convinced him that while the Arabs had been doing "pretty well," they were also an "unstable lot" who needed British leaders "they know and trust" (224). In Allenby's scheme of action, Lawrence not only had to cut important railroad links and destroy key bridges, but he had to do so at precise times so the Turks would lose capability to move troops exactly when these troops were needed. Often he accomplished these goals, although setbacks occurred. The Arab army was also important in supporting Allenby's deception plan, which sought to convince the Turks that the main allied force arrayed against them would not strike on the coast. In late 1918, Arab forces severely disrupted railroad activity at the important railroad hub of Deraa and moved on to play an important role in the liberation of Damascus.

## Conclusion

Obviously, one will find a tremendous degree of overlap in four recent books on T. E. Lawrence, although the same story can appear quite differently from alternative vantage points. Scott's book may annoy some readers by its continuous biographical forays into the lives of people Lawrence barely knew, but it is exceptionally strong in other respects including the discussion of Lawrence's personal growth as a strategist and leader. Korda's book is outstanding as a childhood-to-grave biography, although the author's great regard for Lawrence may have caused him to appear a little too apologetic for some of Lawrence's more eccentric decisions. The Schneider book is interesting as an intellectual exercise, but Barr's study is probably most valuable for a military audience due to its detailed description of the military campaigning associated with the Arab revolt and the political context in which this struggle was conducted. The strong link between military actions and political outcomes is clear in all these books but is especially nuanced in Barr's study.

Surprisingly, US military personnel seeking answers about contemporary problems through the prism of Lawrence's life may find such answers elusive when examining what Korda presents as his almost perfect background and preparation for his task of supporting the Arab Revolt. Beyond Lawrence's linguistic skills and his understanding

of Arab history and sociology was his total identification with Arab goals. Lawrence believed in Arab independence and was continuously searching for ways to achieve this goal through Arab battlefield accomplishments. Without this total commitment, Lawrence would never have been fully trusted by leaders such as Prince Faisal no matter how well he could conjugate Arabic verbs. As fearless and knowledgeable as he was, T. E. Lawrence could never have become Lawrence of Arabia if he felt his mission was to convince the Arabs that they had no interests apart from those of the United Kingdom. He knew better, they knew better, and this understanding was the basis of brilliant wartime collaboration.