Review Article 1

Terrorism – Critical Concepts in Political Science*

Lieutenant General Chandra Shekhar, PVSM, AVSM (Retd)@

Much has been written on terrorism and low intensity conflicts. However, few authors have made comprehensive historical comparisons; and most which are available contain only an interest in the current events. David C Rapport has made an extensive research ranging from important government documents, academic journals and from the documents produced by various terrorist organisations; the FLN and the Palestine PLO. The editor has produced four volumes and in each volume he has examined one particular wave of terrorism as it originated.

Though terrorism gained recognition as a form of warfare in the Post World War II period, it is a fairly ancient mode of warfare starting with the American War of Independence. Modern terror began in Russia in 1880s and within a decade appeared in Western Europe, Balkans and Asia, although the most destructive day in the history of terrorism is 11 September 2001. It came in four waves. The first wave was due to the failure of democratic reforms in the form of 'anarchy' and adopted assassination campaign against prominent officials. The second wave was basically 'anti colonial' wars of liberation against former colonial powers. 95 per cent of these were fought outside Europe and resulted in creation of few new states such as Ireland, Israel, Cyprus and Algeria, among others. As Empires dissolved, the second wave receded, but was overtaken by the 'New Left Wave' prominent among them being Vietnam war, which brought out the effectiveness of Vietcong's radical nationalism even with the primitive weapons against modern technology. Vietnam also saw the introduction of helicopters, chemical agents to defoliate forests and the air power in combating low intensity wars. When the Vietnam war ended in 1975, the PLO replaced the 'Vietcong' as the heroic model. However, the second and third waves consisted predominantly of terrorism with a 'nationalist' and 'ideological' focus respectively.

The Irish Republican Army (IRA) has been the pioneer (1920s) for innovative use of technology at the tactical level for integrated use of explosive, detonator and time delay unit, now commonly used as IED for

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*__Terrorism – Critical Concepts in Political Science.__ *David Rapport (ed), Volumes I & IV (London : Routledge, 2006), ISBN 0-415-31651-0/ 31654-5*

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targeting symbolic targets with Lorry-bombs across international borders. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka perfected the concept of 'Suicide bombers' first used by the PLO in Lebanon. The fourth wave has 'religion' as the motivating factor, 'Islamic groups' being the most radical and fanatic. Al-Qaeda, Hamas, Hizbullah being few prominent movements.

Among all the waves, use of terror, assassination and kidnappings have been common. The three events that have made the terrorist movement a formidable one are the creation of Israel, the invasion of Afghanistan by Soviets - 1979, the Gulf war of 1991 and 2003 in Iraq. After 11 September 2001, the US switched to the 'Pre-emptive' doctrine, from the 'deterrence' doctrine. As deterrence does not work on the non state actors, who are 'underground' and hence not visible or accountable like the 'State'. The Iranian revolution of 1979, by the Ayatollah added another dimension where he propagated that 'Islam' has no frontiers and hence it became international. Religious terrorism with 'Jehadi' involvement or martyrdom operation has manifested in many parts of the world-Palestine, Chechnya, Bosnia, Afghanistan and post 2003 Iraq.

In the first wave, there were three crucial international elements beyond the terrorist organisations; those additional elements were foreign states, foreign publics and diasporic populations. So far as the terrorist movements in the first wave were concerned, the Russian *Narodya Volya* (will of the people) and the Irish nationalists were most active. Unlike the Russians, the Irish showed little interest in reaching other groups, and their influence was confined to the British island and the United States. The first wave largely completed its course by World War I. The transformation of professional police forces was a striking consequence of the wave.

Volume IV, which deals with the fourth wave, brings into focus, a conspicuous religious fundamentalism in many Islamic states. The Iranian Revolution of 1979 dramatically demonstrated the importance of religion in the Muslim world. The 'Camp David Accord' in 1979 (the peace treaty between Egypt and Isreal) and the Soviet's Invasion of Afghanistan were another two events that made 'religion' in the Muslim nations as a profound political force. The Soviet invasion produced an international resistance organized under religions auspicious, attaching volunteers from all over the Arab Muslim World and the Muslim countries from Asia and Africa. The most important terrorist organization that came into being were the 'Al-Qaeda' and the 'Taliban'.

The first significant act of terror in the fourth wave was a hostage crisis generated by the Iranian Revolutionary Guards who seized the

American Embassy in Iran, taking 90 hostages. The military effort to rescue was a dismal failure. After the crisis, the implication of the Aytollah's statement that 'Islam has no frontier' was not adequately understood, until the most destructive events of this wave, i.e. the attacks of 11 September 2001. The creation of 'Al-Qaeda' was a direct consequence of the Afghan War, where Muslim world stood united to defeat a superpower, solely by the cause of 'Islam'.

'Suicide bombing' reminiscent of anarchist bomb throwing tactics, was the most deadly tactical innovation of this wave. This was first employed by the PLO in Lebanon to throw out the Israelis. This tactics was later adopted by the Tamil tigers in Sri Lanka and perfected by the 'Jehadis' in Afghanistan. Today, suicide-bombing as a terror tool is being used by Muslim fundamentalists in many countries such as Chechnya, Israel, India, Indonesia and Iraq.

In Volume IV, David Rapport has compiled a very exhaustive and wide range of issues involving terrorism, including all its linkages. He has put together articles by many scholars for combating terrorism in all its dimensions. Issues such as 'role of the media', 'suicide attacks' or 'martyrdom operations' 'jihadi-terrorism, the nature of intelligence and terrorism, the legal aspects of terrorism, 'Jihad against Jews and Crusaders', the 'Al-Qaeda threat' and the 'international response' to terrorism have been examined in separate chapters.

These volumes on 'Terrorism' are an excellent collection of articles, with stimulating thoughts and ideas. The issues examined are vast and complex. The books examine not only the historical background on terrorism, but the contemporary issues of fighting insurgency and all the macro aspects related to low intensity operations. A must read for all those involved in the study of terrorism.

South Asia at the Crossroads*

Shri K K Mitra, IPS (Retd)**

The author teaches international history at Bath Spa University College. A fellow of the Royal Historical Society, he is associated with Wolfson College, Oxford. His academic qualifications are impressive. Unfortunately, however, this volume is a disappointment. As the blurb says, the author investigates the ideological onslaught on pluralism in South Asia with reference to what he calls "majoritarianism" which includes, in his view, Jihad, Talibanisation, Sunni Statism and Hindutva. The author calls them "radical ultra-right populist movements. According to him, the foot soldiers of these populist movements are all trained in madrassas or temples. A sweeping statement unsubstantiated by facts. One tries in vain to look for the basis of the remarks regarding alleged training activities in the temples in India or abroad.

The author wonders whether it would be correct to decry "the ideological forces" that attract so many recruits amongst others without investigating their historical and politico-economic roots. So, the Taliban, the LET, the JEM, the LTTE, Maoists and the BJP, in the eyes of Malik, are all similar ideological groups and need to be discussed together. Much has been written already about the origin and recruitment base of the Islamist Jihadis which the author cannot be unaware of.

The author develops his flawed thesis regarding the so-called ultra right radical movements in South Asia in six chapters. He devotes forty six pages to the 'dangerous implications of Hindutva' for South Asia but when he comes to Pakistan, he refers to only the issues of governance in Pakistan and problems of nation building in two chapters without investigating or questioning the role of the Pakistan State and the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) in sponsoring, arming and exporting terror. As regards Bangladesh, the issue of stateless Biharis is discussed in detail but there is no attempt to investigate the rise of radical Islam and mushrooming of Islamist terrorist organisations in recent years in that country which has dangerous portents for the region.

The chapter on "Jihad, political Islam and, the Taliban" provides a reasonable overview of political Islam. The notion of jihad, especially, the practical interpretations of Jihad, its early revisionism, the revivalists, the

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*__Jihad, Hindutva and the Taliban – South Asia at the crossroads.__ *Iftikar H Malik (Oxford : Oxford University Press 2005), 298p; Rs. 495.00, ISBN-0-19-597790-4.*

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neo-classicists, madrasas and the jihadi culture have been narrated competently. But once again, the author's mastery over historical details notwithstanding, he invariably slips up when he attempts to pronounce definitive judgement on the Taliban, which he sees as just one more group in a line of Islamist groups that have been struggling for last three centuries to "revive lost Muslim glory" by taking up arms against more powerful foes. Does Malik really believe that Taliban would revive lost Muslim glory by executing civilians and innocent human beings belonging to other faiths?

It is Chapter 2 "Beyond Ayodhya : Hindutva and Implications for South Asia" where Malik tragically and absolutely fails to conceal his prejudiced view of recent events in India's history. Where did he see the growing menace of Hindutva with regional and extra-regional portents? Or the so-called marginalisation of the "constitutionalists" and the "secularists" in India? The support base of the BJP is limited to only a few states and that too amongst the higher castes of the Hindus (not even 20 per cent) a significant number of whom do not vote for the BJP. The myth of the rising tide of the ultra right allegedly occupying centre stage in Indian polity has been proved wrong. To prove his thesis, the author even invents the renewal of an emotional debate in India on the partition by apportioning blame to the Muslims and Jinnah who "vivissected mother India" and now planned to balkanise it. Actually there is no debate nor any scope for debate. As a student of history, the author ought to have known that the partition was a direct result of Jinnah's flawed two nation theory – a theory which has many believers even today – people who cannot still reconcile themselves to the reality that a Muslim majority and Kashmir can exist as a part of secular and democratic India which has rejected religion as a basis of statehood.

Without doubt, Muslim voices have been raised against the obscurantist hijacking of this great religion. Many Muslim scholars have called for reforms in the Muslim world and depoliticisation of Islam. Mushirul Hasan has argued that it is important to have a powerful internal critique, which will set the Muslim societies on the right course. The enemy, he says, is not Huntington, Rushdie or Naipaul, but those within their own ranks, who destroy Bamiyan statues, impose dress codes, execute innocent people and enforce a version of Islam that goes against the spirit and letter of Islam. As and when that reform takes place, Jihad in the sense in which Bin Laden or the terrorists in Kashmir use it, will lose its appeal and the historical tradition of accommodation and integration between religions can be restored not only in South Asia but many other parts of the world as well.

Review Article 3

Nuclear Deterrence in Southern Asia*

Ms Namrata Goswami**

The book explores the concept of "minimum credible deterrence" and the theory of limited war. The author contextualises his study by focusing on the case studies of China, India, and Pakistan. Most significantly, these three states have engaged in wars in the past; India-Pakistan, 1947, 1965 and 1971 and the India-China limited conflict in 1962. All these three nuclear weapon states also share territorial borders and, thus, possess the potential to destabilise the other's internal security. With regard to their nuclear weapons, the three states are more or less influenced by a historical baggage of distrust; China and Pakistan against India and, consequently, India's nuclear strategy has to account for potential threats from the two states at the systemic and national levels. The dominating variable of domestic public opinion is also an important factor in all the three states' foreign policies towards the other.

Nuclear deterrence signifies the ability of states in possession of nuclear weapons to dissuade each other from engaging in nuclear warfare. The perception of terrible consequences of a nuclear war is reason enough for states to deviate from such warfare; conventional wars between nuclear weapon states are also deterred as they could escalate to the nuclear threshold and, subsequently, the end result would be total destruction. However, the author asserts that the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 between the US and the USSR, the 1969 Ussuri river clashes between China and the USSR, and the Kargil conflict of 1999 between India and Pakistan contradicts the universal logic that nuclear weapons deter all wars. The author argues that nuclear weapons do not deter states from engaging in limited wars. But the contention of this reviewer is that nuclear weapons might have deterred the limited wars between states from accelerating to a point of higher escalation. Moreover, the chapter on nuclear weapons and the international system, which refers specifically to the above mentioned three cases, remains in the national level of analysis. The author has little to add theoretically on the linkage between nuclear weapons and the international system; the crux of the stability/instability debate with regard to the international system. When he asserts that the China-India-Pakistan nuclear triangle is more of a bilateral matrix with China supporting Pakistan against India, he fails to cite the reasons for China's refusal to support Pakistan during the Kargil conflict.

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*__Nuclear Deterrence in Southern Asia : China, India and Pakistan.__ *Arpit Rajain (New Delhi : Sage Publications, 2005), 495p, Rs. 480.00, 0-7619-3284-4.*

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In his chapters on China, India and Pakistan, the author traces the strategic culture of the three nations. He quotes Jack Synder, who defines strategic culture as the sum total of "ideas, conditional emotional responses and patterns of habitual behaviour that members of national strategic community share with each other". While defining China's grand strategy as inclusive of hard power, soft power, coordinated power and environmental power, the author rightly indicates the Chinese belief that economic power is the most essential component of comprehensive national power. China's nuclear strategy, according to the author, is geared to preclude nuclear blackmail; that nuclear capability would deter the enemy because of fear of massive retaliation. However, despite its rising power potential, China does not possess a publicly stated nuclear doctrine. Coming to India, the author explains India's strategic culture as hazy, its military strategy largely reactive. Quoting George Tanham, the author states that military matters in India have been marked routinely by a passive, or at best a reactive approach, that is further located in the hierarchical nature of society...Moreover, the early Indian nuclear path was influenced by the Nehruvian school of thought. Nehru was opposed to nuclear weapons, but was not against the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. In those early years after independence, India championed hard for the abolition of nuclear weapons. The author laments that this kind of posture reflected a crippling pacifism and was informed by India's past history of passivity and tolerance. The choices India made at the world forum were determined by a moralistic brand of politics during the Nehru years. One should refrain from offering such a simplistic analysis of Nehru's choice of non-alignment. India's fledgling status as a nation-state augmented such positioning to ward off great power balancing at that time, driven by the rationale of forming blocs by the US and USSR to balance each other. It was realistic to non-align, given the constraints at the systemic level.

Coming to India's nuclear posture, the author refers to the Exercise Brass Tacks crisis, 1986-87, when a large military exercise by India in Northern Rajasthan was perceived by Pakistan as a launch posture and led to it deploying troops on the international border. The nuclear dimension of the crisis emerged when Dr A Q Khan "father" of Pakistan's nuclear bomb informed Indian journalist Kuldeep Nayyar that Pakistan had enriched uranium. It was a veiled threat to use nuclear weapons, but the "nuclear signalling" did not deter India from carrying on military exercises. Herein, comes the question of credibility of a threat in a nuclear scenario. He also refers to the 1990 crisis between India and Pakistan with regard to cross border terrorism. India released its draft nuclear doctrine in 1999 in the immediate aftermath of the 1998 Pokhran nuclear tests. The author argues that India, in order to establish its status as a responsible nuclear weapons

state, declared in its draft doctrine a unilateral moratorium on testing, no-first use, minimum credible deterrent, and securing the survivability of tactical nuclear weapons. The establishment of a Command and Control structure institutionalised India's nuclear weapons. However, Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee in justifying the Pokhran explosions in a letter to the US President Bill Clinton cited the Chinese threat as the rationale. This did considerable damage to India-China relations. Moreover, India's status as a "responsible nuclear weapons state" is outside the ambit of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and, thus, the author's arguments do not carry legal weightage, given the context. It is too speculative and futuristic. The Indo-US Nuclear Deal has the potential to accept India's unique status within the global nuclear order but it remains to be seen how the US Congress and the Nuclear Supplier's Group (NSG) react to it.

Towards the end, the author asserts that in the triangular matrix of China, Pakistan and India, it is not possible to establish nuclear stability given the different motivations and nuclear ambitions of the three actors. Though he does write that nuclear weapons have "limited the military extent, geographical scope and strategic aim of war among states, that possess such capabilities", the author indicates that deterrence is a myth and would not stop nuclear states from engaging in limited wars over borders and other emotive issues. In that context, he quotes Thomas Schelling who warned that "limited war can get out of hand by degrees" and that the risk is enormous in nuclear states fighting each other. Yet, the contention of the reviewer is that nuclear deterrence is a rational strategy and a practical policy in an anarchical world order infested with suspicious and hostile states. Why? The unique nature of nuclear weapons and its ability to assure mutual destruction limit the choice of policy makers of nuclear weapons states to use the deadly weapons they possess. Ultimately, nuclear deterrence has worked for so many decades because it is a bloodless strategy and rational state actors would not use them in wars for fear of Mutuall Assured Destruction (MAD).

The book is well sourced and instructive on the nuclear deterrence debate. The author succeeds in capturing the essence of certain core issues. However, the author could have avoided repetition of similar arguments in certain sections.

Short Reviews of Recent Books

International History of the Twentieth Century. *By Antony Best, Jussi M Hanhimiki, Joseph A Maiolo, Kirsten E Schulze (London : Routledge, 2004), 531p, ISBN 0-415-20740-1.*

The years between 1900 and 2000 witnessed some of the most dramatic developments in the history of international relations. The two World Wars; eclipse of Europe and rise of United States; proliferation of new states in Asia and Africa; the Cold War and finally détente defined the contours of this century. The authors have attempted to provide a detailed treatise of this history in their book. Covering events in Europe, Asia, the Middle East, Africa and the Americas, the book offers an authoritative account of relations between states as well as the ideological, economic and other factors that have shaped the key developments of that century. Intended to "offer students a one-volume, clear and wide-ranging account of the twentieth century and to explain why world politics followed this complex and violent course", the book partially succeeds in this task.

The authors, all prominent professors of international history at the London School of Economics at the time of writing this book, have used their expertise to produce a thoroughly researched, clear and comprehensive chronicle of tumultuous events. The book treats the century as a whole rather than as disjointed by the two World Wars and the Cold War. All chapters follow in chronological order and are related to each other making it reader friendly and accessible. A detailed glossary, illustrations, maps as well as suggested readings at the end of each chapter make the book more endearing for students of international history.

A drawback of the book, however, is that it uses a narrow lens to review events and does not reflect the concerns of colonial, post colonial, subaltern or feminist schools, which are now increasingly trying to understand the manner in which culture and gender influenced international history. It is necessary to engage these disciplines to produce a work that adds to the academic discourse.

On the whole, the book offers undergraduate students the necessary tools to comprehend international history of the 20th century and is a valuable addition.

Ms Anisha Kinra

Leadership : Field Marshal Sam Manekshaw. *By Major General Shubhi Sood (Retd) (Noida : SDS Publishers, 2006), 282p, £ 19.00, ISBN 81-902828-4-0.*

In a market saturated with books on leadership, this heartwarming addition on a multi-faceted personality must surely create a niche of its own.

The Field Marshal is an epitome of an officer and a gentleman. A man marked for ascendancy, he exhibited traits of a great leader very early in his career. Perhaps no Commanding Officer could have erred more grievously than the one who wrote in FM's first annual report, "... this man may one day become an officer".

In an anecdotal account the varied and colourful traits of this icon have been delightfully encapsulated by the author with the advantage of proximity and the skill of expressive language. The attribute of 'being lucky' – so necessary for a leader – has been highlighted. The Field Marshal survived 'sudden death' both in the field and in his career several times. The other attributes which stand out are his Churchillian gift of repartee, his ready wit and his ability to interact with natural ease and charm at any level from a jawan to the Prime Minister. Bucking the prevailing trend the FM was genuinely averse to flatterers and flattery. Possibly the most remarkable aspect of this kaleidoscopic personality is his concern for and loyalty to his subordinates. In an era in which the two way flow of loyalty is more preached than practiced, he gave more loyalty than he expected.

On the professional front the author has explained how the Field Marshal gave impetus to modernisation, procured the latest equipment, his role in the IGMDP and the circumstances under which the somewhat sluggish Vijayant Tank was purchased.

Certain contentious issues needed greater coverage. Though the author has quoted from Lieutenant General J F R Jacob's book, he has not retorted to some sensitive points raised therein. On the much debated issue of Dacca not being specifically nominated as an objective, the reasons given by the author are not wholly convincing.

Good photographs have added value, though some needed to be of a larger size and some, like 'Pioneer Course' (page 9) would improve with annotation. Maps definitely needed to be of larger scale to aid comprehension. Some printer devils have crept in, such as 'Riana' (instead of Raina) or rights (instead of rites).

Quite understandably a slight degree of hero worship is discernible. Were there really no chinks in the armour? They were there in case of all great captains through ages, from Hannibal to Napoleon to Rommel to MacArthur.

Given the quality of production, the book is reasonably priced for institutions and libraries. However for individual possession a less expensive edition is recommended.

Brigadier M S Chowdhury, VSM (Retd)

The Young Warriors : A History of the Rashtriya Indian Military College, Dehra Dun. *By Arun Prakash (Dehra Dun : Rashtriya Indian Military College, 2004), xxix, 555p, Rs. 999.00, ISBN 81-7525-513-7.*

You may admire them, or you may dislike them; but you most certainly cannot ignore them! Anyone who has served in the Indian Armed Forces will agree that the ubiquitous Rimcollians, as alumini of the Rashtriya Indian Military College (RIMC) are commonly known, permeate every fibre of the military fabric of the subcontinent.

Commander Arun Prakash Bhattacharya, himself an alumnus of the RIMC and now an honorary faculty member, has written history of one of India's premier military schools. It is rare to come across a work of this nature that is as thoroughly researched as this volume.

The RIMC traces its roots back to the early attempts by Lord Curzon to commence 'Indianisation' of the officer corps in India, starting with the foundation of the ill-starred Imperial Cadet Corps (ICC) in 1901-02. The ICC was formed primarily from the sons of ruling princes and chiefs, from various parts of the country, who were considered fit to be commissioned into the Army. While commissioning itself was the desired and stated object of the ICC, the British authorities had not clearly worked out as to what was to be done with the young Indians who were commissioned.

The book is divided into three sections. The first deals with the initial ICC period from 1902 to 1921. While the RIMC was not directly connected with it, the ICC was housed at the Rajwara Camp in Dehra Dun, which location was later passed on to the RIMC. The RIMC itself came into being as the Prince of Wales' Royal Indian Military College in 1921. The second section of the book is devoted to the period, 1922 to 1947 during which the college sent a number of its alumni into pioneering positions as officers in the Indian Armed Forces. During the first ten years after its inception, the RIMC sent as many as 57 cadets to Sandhurst, three to Woolich, and one to the RAF College, Cranwell. After the formation of the Indian Military Academy (IMA) in 1932, till a year after independence, 159 RIMC cadets joined the IMA, 29 joined the Indian Air Force and 82 joined Officer's Training Schools. When India attained independence, approximately three-fourths of the officers of the rank of Brigadier and above in the Indian Army were ex-cadets of RIMC. During the Second World War many ex-cadets of the College had distinguished themselves, winning the coveted Victoria Cross (Prem Bhagat, the first Indian Officer to be so honoured), four Distinguished Service Orders, two Destinguished Flying Cross and thirteen Military Cross, one among them getting a bar a few days later. The third section deals with the period from 1948 till date. Following independence, the College retained its 'Royal' title during the Dominion

period, but gave it up, as did all army units, when India became a Republic in 1950, becoming the Rashtriya Indian Military College, thereby managing to retain its original 'RIMC' link. The author has taken great pains to include accounts and details of ex-cadets who migrated to Pakistan on partition of the country in 1947.

There are a number of detailed and useful appendices. The book suffers from lack of an index and would have benefitted from a professional editor. However, it is a comprehensive 'labour of love', and an important addition to the available literature on the history of military education in the sub-continent. Strongly recommended for all Service libraries and for anyone with an interest in Indian military and social history.

Squadron Leader RTS Chhina (Retd)

Strategy for Chaos : Revolutions in Military Affairs and Evidence of History. *By Colin S Gray (London : Frank Cass 2003), 310p, price not indicated, ISBN 0-7146-5186-9.*

This book explains the hypothesis on revolution in military affairs (RMA) theoretically and historically. Prof Colin S Gray gives important insights into the RMA which emerged from the demise of the Soviet Union and emergence of the United States as the sole super power in the early 1990s. He goes on to examine the idea that RMAs have been occurring throughout history and that we are on the brink of another period of revolutionary change in the means with which men and women wage war.

In this book Professor Gray provides analysts and policy-makers an understanding of history, strategy and even the process of policy making. He creates a larger framework for thinking about RMAs and in so doing he has brought historical record to bear on both the specifics of the processes that have contributed to RMAs in the past as well as creation of a theoretical framework on how we need to think about future RMAs. He has linked strategy in the picture of understanding how to think about RMAs. Without a strategic framework that actually relates to the problems the success in creating an RMA would become meaningless.

I would strongly recommend to the serving military brass of Indian Armed Forces to study carefully chapter 3 pertaining to RMA Dynamics, to develop the joint architecture of Network Centric Warfare. This will greatly facilitate the understanding of the theory of developing an RMA in order to avoid pitfalls in the process of development.

Finally, we must complement the author on producing a book which will be of immense value not only for the historical and political science communities but also for the strategic and military policy makers.

Lieutenant General V K Kapoor, PVSM (Retd)

Understanding Security : A New Perspective. *By TK Oomen (New Delhi : Macmillan India Ltd. 2006), 174p, Rs. 320.00, ISBN 1403-929424*

'Security' encompasses diverse threats to the nation, ie external, internal, economic and socio-political. However, many states organise their security against external aggression, ignoring issues such as was evidenced in the disintegration of the former Yugoslav republic. Professor TK Oomen an eminent social scientist has examined the non-traditional security threats by introducing the sociological dimension to the security perspective.

The author recommends a re-examination of the conventional concept, that the state should be fully secure and is the sole provider of security needs. Prof Oomen argues that several of the responsibilities earlier shouldered by the state are being taken over now by the civil society and the corporate institutions. Therefore a tri-sector approach, wherein conjoint responsibility of the state, civil society and the market institutions in today's context, is a more relevant theme. Chapter two of the book makes a historical sweep through the colonial era, the Cold War and the current global age so as to understand how the institution of state was implicated in security. In chapter three, the author while mapping the security scenario concludes the wars in the Third World were necessitated because of the artificial divisions created by the colonial powers by promoting ethnicity and separate religious identities. These were further supported by selling cheap arms to the developing world largely in Asia and Africa and sustained by endorsement of the emerging nation states. In chapter four, these issues have been examined with special reference to South-Asia, which has differing socio-cultural complexity, unresolved border issues and differing political systems. Many of the South-Asian states have diverse cultural societies and in most cases the political and cultural boundaries do not coincide. To a major extent the present security problems of the developing world are the creation of their colonial masters, as the concept of nation states and loyalty to separate religious and linguistic identities were made competing, and irreconcilable.

The author highlights the importance of good governance in providing security in chapter five, and further recommends a shift from the prevailing "governmentalisation" of security to governance of security. In chapter six the very important aspects of environment and the role of technology have been discussed. The degradation of the environment by unplaned development, the unprecedented increase in population, migration to the urban centres and economic disparities has brought in its wake social conflicts. Finally in chapter seven, Prof Oomen has provided a new blueprint for security analysis, conceptualising a secure society free of genocide, "culturoscide" and "ecocide". A very interesting and stimulating book on

these security issues from an entirely new and innovative perspective wherein the focus has been on non-traditional security aspects – internal socio-political economic and environmental fields.

Lieutenant General Chandra Shekhar, PVSM, AVSM (Retd)

Twisting Arms and Flexing Muscles : Humanitarian Intervention and Peacebuilding in Perspective. *Edited by Natalie Mychajlyszyn and Timothy M Shaw, (UK : Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2005), 151p, £ 49.95, ISBN 0-7546-1671-1.*

This book has eight chapters, each written by a different author. The writers have used empirical analysis and case studies to explain the dynamics and complexities associated with application of military force in local conflicts and international politics with focus on Africa and the Balkans. It questions the use of military force in humanitarian interventions and peacebuilding and recommends out of the box thinking to evolve alternative solutions to the problems being faced by the international community.

The book, however, does not make fluent reading as too much jargon has been used in a complicated and complex manner for easy understanding of issues by layman.

Lieutenant General M R Kochhar, PVSM, AVSM (Retd)

Terrorism : Critical Concepts in Political Science, Volume II. *Edited by David C Rapoport (Oxfordshire : Routledge, 2006), 362p, Price not indicated, ISBN: 0-415-31652-9.*

Book comprises three parts. Part 1 is General and International Context containing essays on terrorism as it affected different parts of the world. The first essay, by J Bowyer Bell is on British approach to Indian struggle for freedom, the Irish revolt for Home Rule and the Marxist matrix. John Dugard in his essay studies the just war in order to demonstrate its influence upon litico-legal thought in the Third World, and its contribution to the justification of wars of national liberation and acts of terror committed in the furtherance of these wars. Robert Kumamoto examines American response to the Jewish rebels in Palestine and to the FLN in Algeria. Maurice AJ Tugwell describes how guilt transfer justifies the original act, turning it from a psychological liability into an asset, while simultaneously stripping the opponent's actions of moral righteousness and practical utility. Martha Cranshaw Hutchinson, examines revolutionary terrorism as a part of insurgent strategy. Of particular interest to Indian readers is Bhikhu Parekh's essay on Gandhi's Theory of Non-violence: His Reply to the Terrorists. Although the Indian example given in the British Imperial stage

pre-empts this essay to a degree, the author retains his originality by describing Mahatma's changing views on terrorism. Gandhi considered Indian anarchists' zeal as totally misplaced, since violence had no place in his brilliant strategy of dealing with the British. Much later he said, "God would not excuse me if, on the Judgment Day, I were told to plead before him that I could not prevent these terrible things from happening because I was held back by my creed of nonviolence." In Terrorists Tales, Gerald Cromer tackles Lehi's anti British movement in Palestine.

Part 2 is on Movements and Participants' Statements describing terrorism in Ireland, Israel, Algeria and Cyprus. Part 3 is devoted to counter-terrorism describing actions of regimes in Algeria, Ireland and Malaysia.

Although Rapoport has been very judicious in his selection of essayists, this book on political science is of little interest to military readers. He has been orthographically perfect.

Major General Yatindra Pratap (Retd)

Sea Power : A Guide for the Twenty First Century. *By Geoffrey Till (London : Frank Cass, 2004), 430p, £ 18.99, ISBN 0-7146-8436-8.*

The author analyses the traditional Mahanian and Corbettian concept of sea power as it existed till the pre-Second World War era and expounds radical changes and concludes that adaptations are necessary in the priorities of world navies.

The author has put forward a very exhaustive agenda to form the basis for full discussion on matters maritime, in the evolving strategic configuration. He correctly asserts that the bench marks of sea power that had been the domain and preserve of the West will require a sea change in the emerging scenario, post Cold War.

He sees 'maritime power' and 'Sea Power' as interchangeable as both entail interaction with civilian maritime field and/or air and ground forces to influence results. Sea power, the author says, is a "tight and inseperable system in which naval power protects the maritime assets that are sources of its effectiveness". He advocates that maritime power, liberalisation, trade and prosperity have to be fully interwoven to have continuing advantage in the context of information revolution.

Geoffrey Till brings out how ancient naval powers like China and Japan suffered by insulating regimes, from prevailing maritime powers and fell behind global developments. He analyses Corbett's thesis on "limited maritime wars, which were more political than most... allowed country's

rulers carefully weigh the costs of war in order to compare them with the benefits." Naval strategy, the author says, has to be related to land strategy.

The book puts together the maritime and sea power debate that confronted the land focused countries like France, Germany, Russia and China in the background of the Mahanian and Corbettian concepts, which did not suit their geopolitical configurations.

The author dwells extensively on what are the 'Constituents of Sea Power'. These could be candid words of wisdom for our policy makers, a chapter worth reading. He categorises the Indian Navy as a medium naval power after the US Navy, Soviet Navy of 1990, French and British Navies and brackets us with the Chinese and Japanese Navies. The difference is lack of strategic deterrence and compellence.

All in all, a must read contemporary book, which should find place in all libraries of academies and colleges of higher military and strategic learning, naval or otherwise.

Vice Admiral IJS Khurana, PVSM, AVSM (Retd)

Air Navigation Systems. *By P S Dhunta and K Ramalingam (Mumbai : Nirvan Publications, 2005), 376p, Rs. 1750.00.*

Air Navigation Systems is a book by professionals for avionics engineers and aircrew. The coverage is comprehensive, the text is lucid and diagrams clear. The mathematical treatment is exhaustive and demanding. A simpler treatment would have been more accessible to the average aircrew and engineer, but clearly at the cost of thoroughness.

A point that is of some importance is the purpose of air navigation as enunciated in Chapter 2: "The final purpose of navigating the aircraft is to know its position, altitude and speed at all times during its movement." Actually, the object of air navigation is to ensure that the aircraft follows a planned flight-path within a desired timeframe – implying the progress of the aircraft in a four-dimensional complex. Determining the position is obviously an important means to that end, but it is not in itself the end.

One feature that detracts from the value of this excellent volume is the absence of an index. This would be most useful for a serious student.

Air Marshal Vir Narain, PVSM (Retd)

The Future of Europe : Integration and Enlargement. *Edited by Fraser Cameron (London : Routledge, 2004), 170p, Price not indicated, ISBN 0-415-32483-1.*

This book is an insightful overview of the European Union's (EU)

expansion process from 15 to 25 Member States in 2004. The authors indicate the significant implications of the historic agreement in April 2003 at Athens when 25 Heads of States and Governments signed on the Treaty of Accession, which brought an end to division of Europe. These divisions were deepened by the tragic history of the two World Wars, which affected Europe in the 20th Century. The authors assert that the prime motivation for European integration and enlargement of the EU is peace. The concept of European peace is like a recurrent leitmotif. As a result, the political and economic destinies have been woven tightly together, creating an inextricable dependency. The intergovernmental conference (IGC) deals with the process of EU enlargement.

The growing complexity in both the systemic and national levels of functioning, the fallout from the devastating Balkan Wars, the collapse of communism, terrorism, transnational crime and the rising crescendo of immigration pressures have added impetus to an enlarged role for the EU. The EU established a Convention dealing with Europe's future in 2003. The first chapter by David Allen provides an assessment of the background leading to the establishment of the Convention. The negotiations for EU's difficult process of enlargement have been analysed by Graham Avery. The author focuses on the issues of governance, legitimacy, identity and democratic accountability, which dominated this process. He states that the EU institutions, however, suffer from "overstretch", created as they were to deal with six member-states at the time of inception of the EU in 1958. These institutions now deal with 25 member-states. Andrew Scott in his chapter examines the "political economy" of the enlarged EU. Simon Serfaty reflects on the US attitudes and policies towards further European integration. Given the compulsions of the Cold War politics, the US favoured an integrated Europe as it helped contain the erstwhile USSR. With the break up of the USSR, the coming down of Berlin wall on 9 November 1989 and the 11 September 2001 attacks on the US, the US and Europe seem to be on separate paths. The author argues that the US is apprehensive that a united Europe could play the role of a counterweight to US global power. Such a posture could seriously damage the transatlantic connection and the EU's progress.

The book ends with a radical conclusion that the European view of an all powerful European superstate is but a figment of imagination.

This book is an excellent study on the challenges to EU enlargement, and provides insightful propositions on the issues of Euroscepticism, the impact of ICG treaty changes on the functioning of the EU, and the implications of reforms within the Lisbon agenda on the EU.

Ms Namrata Goswami

Trust in Public Institutions in South Africa. *Edited by Steinar Askvik and Nelleke Bak (UK : Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005), 268p, £ 50.00, ISBN 0-754643530.*

This book deals with people's trust in public institutions in South Africa in the spheres of local and federal government, land, housing, water issues, health services, tax collection and education. It goes on to examine the performance of these institutions in the ten years of their existence.

Notwithstanding that South Africa is inherently a low trust society due to history of racial oppression, people had high expectations from the government and the public institutions. In the initial years, these institutions were given the benefit of doubt but as time wore on and people learnt more about their functioning, faith and hope gradually gave way to frustration and distrust. The book has dissected several case studies to unravel the reasons for erosion of trust which the people had reposed in these institutions. Their trust in government and satisfaction with political performance has declined sharply since.

The findings of the book are pertinent not only for South Africa but for many other developing countries also. They appear to be very familiar as they bear great resemblance to the happenings in our country too. The book has great relevance for the people of India who, it seems, are not alone in their agony in so far as the functioning of government and public institutions is concerned. I strongly recommend this for enlightened reading.

Lieutenant General M R Kochhar, PVSM, AVSM (Retd)

Bangladesh : The Next Afghanistan. *Hiranmay Karlekar (New Delhi : Sage Publications, 2005), 311p, Rs. 320.00, ISBN 0-7619-3401-4.*

This is the first comprehensive book on the developments in Bangladesh after the elections of 2001, that brought the Government of Mrs Khaleda Zia into power in alliance with two Islamic Fundamentalist parties, the Jamiat-e-Islami (JEI) and the Islamic Oikhya Jote (IOJ), that led to a wave of attacks on the minorities, the Hindus, Christians and the Buddhists in that country. These attacks were mainly targeted against the supporters of the Awami League and since the minorities were their supporters, they were singled out for vicious retribution.

The book is thorough and the author has done excellent research following the history and the growth of Wahabi Islam in East Bengal and later Bangladesh. The historical prelude is particularly interesting, explaining the roots of the anti minority feelings that gradually developed, because of British rule, the avaricious Hindu business community and the Hindu

Bhadralok who oppressed the Muslim peasantry. There is a short sketch of the creation of Pakistan and the alienation between the West Pakistan leadership and the Bangladesh people. The interlude of the short secular period after Bangladesh was born then leads to the return of Islamic fundamentalists to Bangladesh under the leadership of General Ziaur Rehman and the rehabilitation of the killers of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, and the leadership of the Awami League who were killed in the Dacca jail on 3 November 1975 by a group of army officers. This was followed by the return of the JEI leaders who had sided with Pakistan in the liberation of Bangladesh.

The next chapters have been excellently researched by detailing all the press reportage by neutral publications of Bangladesh. The sending of cadres from the Madrassas of Bangladesh to Pakistan and Afghanistan for the jihad against the Russians, the consequent import of the Harkat-ul-Jihad-e-Islami (HUJI) the rise of the vicious Jagrata Muslim Janata Bangladesh (JMJB) and the Jamiat-ul-Mujahideen (JUM) make vivid reading. The author has also brought out the subversion of the bureaucracy, civil, police and judiciary of Bangladesh by the ruling party in the crusades conducted by the communal oraganisations by well-researched quotes from the neutral press of Bangladesh.

The book is a valuable addition to the literature on Islamic fundamentalism in our neighbourhood and must be read by all officials dealing with national security, civil, police or military.

Shri EN Rammohan, IPS (Retd)

Additions to the USI Library for the Quarter - Ending June 2006

(The books reviewed in January-March 2006 issue have been added to the Library during this quarter but not shown in this list)

ANNUAL REPORT – MINISTRY OF FINANCE – 2005-2006

Economic Survey 2005-2006. *New Delhi, Ministry of Finance Economic Division. 2006. 292p., Rs. 225.00, ISBN NA.*

CENTRAL ASIA – CONFLICT PREVENTION

Exploring Subregional Conflict: Opportunities for Conflict Prevention. *Edited by Chandra Lekha Sriram and Zoe Nielsen. New Delhi, Viva Books, 2006. 209p., Rs. 495.00, ISBN 81-309-0077-7.*

CHINA – POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The Anatomy of Political Power in China. *By Guoguang Wu. Singapore, Marshall Cavendish International, 2005. 365p., $ 30, ISBN 981-210-366-X.*

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

Heaven's Light Our Guide: The Genesis of Indian Police. *By Kuldip Sharma. Delhi, Macmillan, 2006. 384p., Rs. 645.00, ISBN 1-403-92857-6.*

CONSTITUTION REFORMS - INDIA

Perspectives on the Construction. *Edited by Subhash C Kashyap. Delhi, Shipra Publications, 2003. 302p., Rs. 650.00, ISBN 81-7541-276-3.*

DIRECTORY - DIPLOMATIC - 2006

Directory of Diplomatic Missions in India & Abroad 2006. *New Delhi, Delhi Information Bureau, 2006. 368p. Rs. 300.00, ISBN 81-88274-02-X.*

ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY - CHINA

The River Runs Black: The Environmental Challenge to China's Future. *By Elizabeth C Economy. Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2004. 337p., $ 17.95 ISBN 0-8014-8978-4.*

INDIA - ECONOMIC RELATIONS - ASEAN

India-ASEAN Economic Relations: Meeting the Challenges of Globalization. *Edited by Nagesh Kumar , Rahul Sen and Mukesh Asher.*

New Delhi, Research and Information System for Developing Countries, 2006. 313p., Rs. 595.00, ISBN 81-7122-095-9.

INDIA - NORTH EAST

History, Religion and Culture of North East India. *By T Raatan. Delhi, Isha Books, 2006. 319p., Rs. 900.00, ISBN 81-8205-178-9.*

INDIA - REFERENCE YEARBOOK - 2006

The Penguin India Reference Yearbook 2006. *Edited by Derek O'Brien. New Delhi, Penguin Books, 2006. 975p., Rs. 130.00, ISBN 0-14-400064-4.*

INDIA - PAKISTAN RELATIONS

India – Pakistan Relations: The Story of a Fractured Fraternity. *By M P Ajithkumar. Delhi, Kalpaz, 2006. 308p., Rs. 750.00, ISBN 81-7835-493-4.*

INDIA – TRADE RELATIONS – CHINA

China and India: Towards Global Economic Supremacy? *By Rita Dulci Rahman and Jose Miguel Andreu. New Delhi, Academic Foundations, 2006. 249p., Rs. 595.00, ISBN 81-7188-424-5.*

INDIAN ARMY - BIOGRAPHY

Leadership : Field Marshal Sam Manekshaw. *By Shubhi Sood. Noida, SDS Publishers, 2005. 290p., $ 34, ISBN 81-902828-4-0.*

INDO - PAK WAR 1965

Missed Opportunities Indo-Pak War 1965. *By Lachhman Singh Lehl. Dehradun, Natraj, 2005. 402p., Rs. 450.00, ISBN 81-8158-005-2.*

INFORMATION WARFARE

Security, Strategy and the Quest for Bloodless War. *By Robert Mandel. New Delhi, Viva Books, 2006. 209p., Rs. 495.00, ISBN 81-309-0079-3*

IRAQ WAR

The New Western Way of War: Risk Transfer War and Its Crisis in Iraq. *By Martin Shaw. Cambridge, Polity, 2005. 183p., £ 13.99, ISBN 0-7456-3411-7.*

In the Name of Democracy: American War Crimes in Iraq and Beyond. *Edited by Jeremy Brecher, Jill Culter and Brendan Smith. New York, Metropolitan Books, 2005. 332p., $ 13.50, ISBN 0-8050-7969-6.*

ISLAMIC COUNTRIES – RELATIONS – UNITED STATES

Devil's Game: How the United States Helped Unleash Fundamentalist Islam. *By Robert Dreyfuss. New York Metropolitan Books. 2005. 388p., $ 21.50, ISBN 0-8050-7652-2.*

JAMMU AND KASHMIR - PROBLEMS

The Great Disclosures: Secret Unmasked. *By Hilal Ahmad War . New Delhi, Manas, 2006. Rs. 595.00, ISBN 81-7049-247-5.*

MANOEUVRE WARFARE

The Maneuver Warfare Handbook. *By William S Lind. Dehra Dun, Natraj Publishers, 2005. 226p., Rs. 295.00, ISBN 81-8158-041-9.*

MEMOIRS

A Spy's Journey: A CIA Memoir. *By Floyd L Paseman. New Delhi, Manas, 2006. 315p., Rs. 695.00, ISBN 81-7049-281-5.*

Kashmir 1947: A Survivor's Story. *By Krishna Mehta. New Delhi, Penguin Books, 2005. 168p., Rs. 200.00, ISBN 0-14-400017-2.*

An Angel in the Cockpit: The True Story of a Death Defying Flight Across Miles of Land and Sea. *By Vijaypat Singhania. New Delhi, Roli Books, 2005. 288p., Rs. 395.00, ISBN 81-7436-427-7.*

V K Krishna Menon Remembered. *New Delhi, Indian Society of International Law, 2005. 212p., Rs. 600 .00, ISBN 81-7827-133-8.*

MIDDLE EAST COUNTRIES – FOREIGN POLICY - SECURITY AND STABILITY

International Interests in the Gulf Region. *Abu Dhabi, Emirates Centre for Strategic Studies and Research, 2004. 204p., £.24.50, ISBN 9948-00-658-5.*

The Gulf: Challenges of the Future. *Abu Dhabi, Emirates Centre for Strategic Studies and Research, 2005. 516p., £ 24.50, ISBN 9948-00-704-2.*

MILITARY - MEDIA RELATIONS

Military and Media. *By Anil Kumar Singh. New Delhi, Lancer Publishers & Distributors, 2006. 261p., Rs. 595.00, ISBN 81-7062-230-1.*

INDIA – SECURITY AND MILITARY STRATEGY

Emerging India: Security and Foreign Policy Perspectives. *Edited by N S Sisodia and C Uday Bhaskar. New Delhi, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, 2005. 376p., Rs. 795.00, ISBN 81-86019-51-0.*

India and the World: Selected Articles. *From IDSA Journals v.1 Strategic Thought the Formative Years 1965 -1985 Edited by N S Sisodia and C Uday Bhaskar. New Delhi, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, 2005. 575p., Rs. 1175.00, ISBN 81-86019-50-2.*

India A Rising Power. *By Naunihal Singh. New Delhi Authorspress, 2006. 264p., Rs. 650.00, ISBN 81-7273-277-5.*

Minimum Deterrence and India's Nuclear Security. *By Rajesh M Basrur. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2006. 245p., $ 24.95, ISBN 0-8047-5256-7.*

India's Nuclear Policy, Disarmament and International Security. *Edited by S K Mishra. New Delhi, Radha Publications, 2006. 284p., Rs. 595.00, ISBN 81-7487-430-5.*

Security Management. *By O P Sabharwal. Delhi, Alpha Publications, 2006. 257p., Rs. 350.00, ISBN 81-7948-029-1.*

NUCLEAR RISKS – SOUTH ASIA

Nuclear Risk Reduction Measures in South Asia : Problems and Prospects. *By Upendra Choudhury. New Delhi, Manohar, 2006. 122p., Rs. 250.00, ISBN 81-7304-661-1*

PEACE BUILDING

Building Sustainable Peace. *Edited by Tom Keating & W Andy Knight. New Delhi, Academic Foundation, 2006. 439p., Rs. 895.00, ISBN 81-7188-500-4*

PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY

The Chinese Army Today: Tradition and Transformation for the 21st Century. *By Dennis J Blasko. London , Routledge. 228p., £ 20.99, ISBN 0-415-77003-3.*

SOCIAL CONDITIONS – INDIA

Postconflict Development: Meeting new Challenges. *Edited by Gerd Junne and Willemijn Verkoren. New Delhi, Viva Books, 2006. 371p., Rs. 695.00, ISBN 81-309-0128-5.*

SOUTH ASIA ASSOCIATION OF REGIONAL COOPERATION

SAARC at Crossroads: the Fate of Regional Cooperation in South Asia. *By Anasua Basu Ray Chaudhury. New Delhi, Samskriti, 2006. 412p., Rs. 750.00, ISBN 81-87374-46-2.*

SOUTH ASIA – REGIONAL SECURITY

Comprehensive Security in South Asia. *Edited by Nishchal Nath Pandey. New Delhi, Manohar, 2006. 261p., Rs. 695.00, ISBN 81-7304-663-8.*

SOUTH ASIA - SUB CONTINENTAL – POLITICS

Triumph of Will : Sonia Gandhi. *By Yusuf Ansari. New Delhi, Tara India Research Press, 2006. 327p., Rs. 695.00, ISBN 81-87943-93-9.*

SRI LANKA – POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Sri Lanka: A Dangerous Interlude. *By Apratim Mukarji. New Delhi, New Dawn Press, 2005. 294p., Rs. 800.00, ISBN 1-84557-530-X.*

TERRORISM

Global Terrorism : A Beginner's Guide. *By Leonard Weinberg. Oxford, Oneworld, 2006. 182p., Rs. 250.00, ISBN 1-85168-358-5.*

Bioterrorism. *By Ranjana Arya. New Delhi, Deep & Deep, 2006. 371p., Rs. 1150.00, ISBN 817629-794-1.*

TERRORISM – GOVERNMENT POLICY – UNITED STATES

Defeating the Jihadists : A Blueprint for Action. *By Richard A Clarke. New York, Century Foundation, 2004. 172p., £ 8.99, ISBN 0-87087-491-9.*

TERRORISM – PREVENTION

Prevention of Terrorism Act: Myth and Reality. *By V P Srivastav. Delhi, Indian Publishers' Distributors, 2005. 417p., Rs. 995.00, ISBN 81-7341-387-8.*

TERRORISTS – NETWORKS - OPERATIONS

Fulcrum of Evil: ISI, CIA, Al Qaeda Nexus. *By Maloy Krishna Dhar. New Delhi, Manas, 2006. 402p., Rs. 795.00, ISBN 81-7049-278-5.*

UNITED NATIONS – PEACEKEEPING FORCES - OPERATIONS

Peacemonger. *By Marrack Coulding. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003. 393p., $ 29.95, ISBN 0-8018-7858-6.*

Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping : A Gendered Analysis. *By Sandra Whitworth New Delhi, Viva Books, 2006. 225p., Rs. 495.00, ISBN 81-309-0081-5.*