

Short Reviews of Recent Books

Reconfigured Sovereignty : Multi-Layered Governance in the Global Age. Edited by Thomas L. Ilgen (UK : Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004), 224p, £ 47.50, ISBN 0-7546-3534-1.

The book consists of 10 articles dealing with various perceptions of sovereignty. The authors collectively represent an intense degree of analytic skill pertaining to the concept of the nation - state and sovereignty. The concept of nation - state, visible from the heydays of the Greeks, endured rigidly till World War I, after which old empires were swept aside. The Second World War and the collapse of the Russian empire put the existing world order under great pressure and brought about extraordinary changes.

Chapter 3 deals with Wales – it points out that as the UK weakened as a state, Wales tended to look increasingly to the European Union and to multinational companies for economic development thus creating possible conditions for devolution. The next chapter dealing with Anglo-Irish problem, highlights how the most complex of problems can be resolved if contending parties are willing to make sovereignty concessions and the enormous benefits that accrue from such concessions. The two following chapters cover Italy and Parma. These chapters highlight a truism which could be emphasised with advantage to Indian politics. History can build a fabric of trust across political communities. This can foster integrity in politicians, encourage participatory democracy and transparency. In this region, governance in Parma stands out in sharp contrast to the corrupt and at times dictatorial regimes of Rome. It is for reasons of history that the separatist movement in Punjab could not succeed. The chapter on Germany explains the financial relationships within the federal structures of Germany. Reunification of the two Germanys was done with great skill ensuring that the equalisation process caused minimal tensions, leading smoothly to a new fiscal federalism with equitable redistributive policies. The authors have explained as to why Turkey's European Union membership is delayed. European Union is already heavily saddled with some East European states which are carrying out complex transitions to market economy and European Union would not as yet like to add to its fiscal burden.

There is a study on water and sovereignty explaining the management and distribution of water, which is a complex and variable natural resource. The study is based on Wales, a water rich area and Southern California – an arid environment. The study examines the varied nature of problems faced by these disparate regions.

This book would benefit research scholars working on projects covering political science, governance, sovereignty and international affairs.

Brigadier MS Chowdhury, VSM (Retd)

New and Critical Security and Regionalism: Beyond the Nation State. Edited by James J Hentz and Morten Boas (UK : Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003), 216 p, £ 45.00, ISBN 0-7546-3027-7.

The book is essentially a part of academic debate about the 'Theory of Security Studies'. It maintains that the traditional focus on 'state' as the referent in international relations, does not and cannot explain the myriad threats prevalent in the post-Cold War world. For instance, the issues of failing states, threats posed by environmental degradation, global spread of diseases like HIV / AIDS, ethnic conflicts spanning across state frontiers, cannot be dealt with in the parameters provided by the traditional academic focus on state or nation. To illustrate, the contributors to this volume have taken up the above issues in Asia, Africa and Latin America. They suggest that these issues should be dealt with on a regional or sub-regional basis. The focus should be on region rather than state as a unit of study and include issues other than territorial integrity, i.e., issues which impinge on 'human security'. The essays on Africa draw attention to the role of transnational corporations and private security agencies in the affairs of the state and the region.

Implicit in this debate is justification of intervention in the affairs of a country (or region, where the issue extends beyond a single state), with or without its consent. The role of non-governmental organisations in seeking to act beyond the confines of the host state and its policy, is dealt with in the context of failure of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation to achieve its limited goals.

Shri SK Bhutani, IFS (Retd)

SIPRI Yearbook 2002 : Armament, Disarmament and International Security. Edited by AD Rotfield and Alyson J K Bailes (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2002), 810 p, Price not indicated, ISBN 0-19-925176-2.

The Thirty Third Edition of SIPRI's Yearbook, which covers the conflictual, disarmament and arms control spectrum for the Year 2001, provides detailed data and analysis of military information. Set in three parts, Part 1 is a survey of the security scenario and conflict trends including conflict prevention measures undertaken bilaterally and multilaterally. The conflict between the USA and Al Qaeda network is recorded as the only new conflict in 2001. Of the 24 major armed conflicts in the world, India and Pakistan have the dubious distinction of being listed as the only inter state conflict active in 2001. The chapter on security sector reform in this Part, throws up fresh ideas and denotes the shape of things to come.

Part II covers national spending on military and armaments. India is the 11th highest spending nation with two per cent of the world's share in arms expenditure and the fifth major recipient of conventional weapons. The

South Asian region is amongst the highest spenders on arms in the world and, ironically, also one of the most populous and poor. If a correlation of arms spending and poverty levels is attempted, it would highlight the travesty of inequities in South Asia which should make all right thinking people in the region take notice and seek a peace dividend.

Part III provides an overview of non-proliferation, arms control and disarmament measures. Indo Pak nuclear stockpiles and delivery means are covered in detail. India's nuclear stockpile is estimated at 30-35 nuclear warheads; lower than that of Pakistan. The South Asian countries, India Sri Lanka and Pakistan, due to their role in Afghanistan, figure prominently in the survey, highlighting the proclivities of this region to conflict. The *SIPRI Yearbook* provides effective data on a large range of security and disarmament related issues. It calls for a review of the current norms, procedures, mechanisms and institutions to deal with the emerging threat of terrorism and its off shoots. However, a greater analysis of issues such as international terrorism, unipolarity and its effect on conflicts, non-linear progression of arms control and disarmament agendas would have added to the value of this yearly exercise.

Brigadier Rahul K Bhonsle, SM

Working Towards a Verification Protocol for Biological Weapons. Edited by PR Chari and Arpit Rajain (New Delhi : Tulika Print Communication Services Pvt Ltd., 2001), 85 p, Price not indicated, ISBN N.A.

The slimness of this monograph should not detract from the importance and depth of this study. It brings out an urgent need for verification of stockpiles and the nature of research in biological weapons. The great irony, however, is that the very nation that is effected most by the scare and fatalities from anthrax related postal-type of delivery system is hell-bent on throwing spanner in the works in international conferences devoted to the hammering out of protocols. This was evident from the stiff resistance to, and the ultimate scuttling of, the proposed verification protocol, by the US delegation, in December 2001, in the 144-nation Convention on a Global Ban on Germ Warfare, in Geneva.

The first chapter deals with historical perspective precipitating in the Biological and Toxic Weapons Convention (BTWC) of 1972; which by its conflicting provisions does not lend itself to foolproof verification norms. In this essay, Kalpana Chitranganan brings out the need for a verification protocol to ensure its credibility by giving it teeth. Laksman delves into the morass of red-tape that is encountered by anyone attempting to verify the convention. Roul outlines the present status of negotiations and the attitudes of nations, with Rajain reflecting on the Indian stand. The concluding essay addresses future problems; that are foreseen by Chari; and the manner in which they may impede the verification of the BTWCs provisions. He also

touches on the technical hurdles that need to be overcome. The BTWC is plagued by its inherent weaknesses, and the fact that nations with vested interests; which, apart from the United States, include China, Japan, Russia and Germany; take refuge in the duality of usefulness of BW materials and machinery.

The solutions lie in the value of the alternatives being proposed by the United States, and their acceptability to others. If this falls through, the Atlantic Group could even consider going ahead without the US's acquiescence as in the case of Kyoto Protocol.

Lieutenant Colonel AK Sharma (Retd)

Space Weapons Earth Wars. By Bob Preston, Dana J Johnson, Sean J Edwards (Santa Monica : Rand, 2002), 188 p, Price not indicated, ISBN 8330-2937-1.

This study by Rand, provides us an overview of how weapon systems can be deployed in space for engaging targets on ground.

The book includes a classification of space weapons, their attributes and explains the mode of employment. A history of space weapons including legal aspects of employment of space for warfare is covered in the initial chapter. The first class of weapons covered are directed energy weapons comprising laser, particle beam, radio frequency and jammers. Kinetic energy weapons are the second class deployed above the atmosphere against terrestrial targets which could be missile targets or surface targets. In addition there can be conventional weapons against conventional targets. Employment of space weapons in the military sphere is covered in detail including destruction of ballistic missiles pre-launch and boost phase and cruise missiles in flight to destruction of launch sites on ground. How the USA will acquire space weapons has been covered including a summary of advantages and limitations. How others to include peers, friends and adversaries will acquire space weapons has also been discussed. Space weapons are seen to provide significant advantages such as greater access and reach, responsiveness, range, survivability or defence from other weapons and difficulty of defending against them.

India and China are considered as possible contenders for possession of space based weapons, a flattering response for our space industry indeed. India would gain competitive advantage if she develops such a category of weapons and we seem to be having a reasonable capability for developing these though deployment is another issue as it involves diplomatic nuances. While the US vision documents give them an eventual inevitability of acquisition in 10 to 20 years, a realistic estimate for us would be, say, the year 2050. An important primer and source book on future warfare and space based weapons.

Brigadier Rahul K Bhonsle, SM

Armies Without States : The Privatization of Security. By Robert Mandel (Boulder, Colorado : Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002), 169 p, \$ 49.95, ISBN 1-58826-066-6.

Armies Without States presents an all-inclusive study of the diversity, reasons and cost of this trend, which, is a challenge to state security authority. The book deals with the entire spectrum from government outsourcing of military operations to the use of mercenaries, both in the sub-national and international contexts.

Mandel discusses the promising developments and concerns pertaining to security privatisation the world over. He does a marvellous job of linking this changed security concept with other changes in the post cold war security environment. Drawing from material put out on the World Wide Web, he has made his study largely conceptual, and over simplified. Brief case studies on Sierra Leone, Papua New Guinea, Colombia, and former Yugoslavia, which received privatised foreign security assistance; and those like the United States, the United Kingdom, South Africa and the Philippines which went in for domestic security substitution, demonstrate the ideas. The author gives his assessment of the intricacies and reactions to security privatisation. He discusses whether it should be sponsored rather than prohibited. Mandel recommends reduction in the demand of superfluous and inept employment of private security; upsurge in the use of these agencies in situations where state security is ineffectual; and need for proper supervision and accountability of the private operators.

Lieutenant Colonel A K Sharma (Retd)

Security in Oceania in the 21st Century. Edited by Eric Shibuya and Jim Rolfe (Hawaii : Asia Pacific Centre for Security Studies, 2003), 262 p, Price not indicated, ISBN 0-971941-6-1-0.

The island states of the oceans have generally been viewed by the developed nations as areas offering opportunities ranging from nuclear testing to exploration of natural resources. Drs Eric Shibuya and Jim Rolfe have edited a four-part book that admirably illustrates the really significant issues faced by the island states in the 21st century. Unfortunately for these small nations, while they have aspirations for a better life they lack leaders with steadfast vision to harness their resources and make steady progress. The changing world order and globalisation have impacted the emerging oceanic nations forever. The deleterious effects of international terrorism, fundamentalism, environmental pollution, illegal immigration, fishery issues, drug cartel and trafficking, money laundering, poor governance by corrupt politicians, climate change and rising seas combine to present a dark mosaic for these tiny nations. This book deals specifically with Pacific Ocean islands. The articles have been selected imaginatively, which highlight the Pandora's box of troubles, which is their unfortunate lot. The

general thrust of the articles is to urge the US, Australia, Japan and France, as also NGOs, to tackle problems in cooperation. The changing US policy for the region, the role of Japan, France and Australia, transnational crime, climate change and the concept of security in the island nations are of prime concern for the region. In South Pacific, Australia was the largest donor till 1983 and has now been overtaken by Japan. Incidentally, the former has been viewed as an overbearing 'big brother' by the concerned island nations! Preserving culture and character of the states, fostering education and material progress may yet be the best way. However, this may well be Utopian thinking since venal politicians look after the island nations' affairs. The concerns of donor nations are dictated by realpolitik.

An interesting and thought provoking book, it gives an insight into the conditions and problems of Pacific Island countries.

Major General Ashok Joshi, VSM (Retd)

Protecting Critical Infrastructure Against Cyber-Attack. By Stephen J Lukasik, Seymour E Goodman and David W Longhurst (UK: Oxford University Press, 2003), 98 p, Price not indicated, ISBN 0-19-853016-1.

The International Institute of Strategic Studies has brought out the 359th *Adelphi Paper* on national strategies for pre-empting breakdown in essential services, which in developed countries, are becoming more and more dependent on inter-connected computer controlled net-worked systems.

Infrastructure like electricity and power grids, telephone networks, transport links, water works, air traffic controls, financial institutions, emergency services and other utility information systems support the physical functions of advanced, IT-saturated societies like the United States, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Japan and Singapore. Any malfunctioning of these services severely affects economic well being and efficiency at the national level. It is, therefore, axiomatic that, these computer-driven networks are kept secure and operational at optimum levels. It has been established, that, cyber-systems are prone to shutdowns which could be owing to defective parts, accidents and also sabotage. The cyber down-time is further increased and complicated by three issues. These are – one, malevolent acts are not arbitrary, but pre-planned; two, a country's susceptibility to cyber-attacks increases with the number of likely entry gates for hackers; and, three, the specialisation of functions, outsourcing and authoritarian coercion which further make difficult the safeguarding of sustained infrastructures.

The cyber-warrior can cause large scale disruption, dislocation and damage with impunity and comparatively little endeavour. Cyber-security experts wryly appreciate, that, Al Qaeda terrorists would not waste time with NBC-based WMDs as they would rather hone their software

programming skills so as to effect 'back-door' entries for disabling servers and rendering the internet unusable.

The writers go on to further review the existing liability of infrastructures systems to cyber-attacks, and come up with a categorisation of protection options. They focus on the USA and the UK mostly, though Sweden is also dealt with in some detail in a separate chapter, as a case-study. They have assessed that their ability to deter attacks is limited. At best, they can manage to get hold of cyber-technology to thwart or deflect attacks. Limiting damage is also considered beyond their pale with the existing tools available.

In conclusion, it is surmised, that, apart from actions each nation may take, there is a need for a strategy of global norms and worldwide collaboration. Emphasis needs to be placed on terminal defence, including cooperative terminal defence, and emergency management and reconstitution.

Lieutenant Colonel AK Sharma (Retd)

The Mission: Waging War and Keeping Peace with America's Military.
By Ms Dana Priest (New York : W W Norton, 2004), 432p, \$ 15.00,
ISBN 0-393-32550-4.

This book is in three parts with the first part turning the spotlight on the US Defence Forces, the Commanders in Chief of the regional threats and the influence they have exerted on the shaping of the US foreign policy at the highest levels of the US Government in the hot spots of Asia, Africa, Europe and the Middle East in the past decade or so. It has also highlighted the conflict between the civilian bureaucracy and the military at the Pentagon at the start of Secretary Rumsfeld's tenure prior to the horrific attacks on the World Trade Centre. This book will be of particular importance and interest to students of foreign policy and decision makers for its insight on the manner in which the US military has assumed an increasingly dominant role in the making of the US foreign policy in the Clinton and Bush administrations, more so after the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks on the USA. For example, the close relationships that the US military developed over the years with the Indonesian Army ensured that it was able to overcome all serious objections raised by the State Department and even circumvent legislations by Congress against the brutal suppression of the independence movement in East Timor by the Indonesian Army and its para-militaries. In our context, the confusion that some foreign policy analysts suffer in attempting to understand the US policy in the region, especially towards Pakistan, now have a clearer picture that the long-standing and intimate relationship between the militaries of the US and Pakistan have been responsible for the pro-Pakistan perceptions of a string

of Commanders-in-Chief of the US Central Command. This in turn has ensured the warm, friendly and close relationship that both countries enjoy despite Pakistan's documented involvement in terrorism and nuclear proliferation.

In the second part of the book is an interesting account of the employment of the US Special Operations Forces that have, in conjunction with elements of the CIA, become the main instrument for implementing the US foreign policy objectives around the world. Of particular interest is the manner in which these forces were utilised and indeed continue to be used in Afghanistan and Iraq. The insight into the manner in which these forces have been used, primarily in the training and advisory role to assist units of friendly regimes and on clandestine direct action tasks on a few occasions, clears up much of the hype surrounding their operations. There is a need to take a realistic view of what such forces can practically achieve.

The final part of the book takes a close look at the manner in which the US military and NATO approached the crisis in the Balkans, including differing viewpoints at the highest levels of the military hierarchy concerning the conduct of operations in Bosnia and Yugoslavia. It has attempted to look at the crisis from the individual soldier's point of view, especially regarding the manner in which the Kosovo crisis has been dealt with and the continuing inability of NATO (KFOR) and the United Nations to limit the programme against Serbs being carried out by the Albanian majority.

All in all a well written and an interesting read, if one ignores the inherent bias that such close access tends to generate.

Brigadier Deepak Sinha

Security in the New Millennium : Views from South Asia. Edited by Rajesh M Basrur (New Delhi : India Research Press, 2001), 244p, Rs. 495.00, ISBN 81-87943-15-7.

Over the years, a new school of security studies, the human security school, is making its mark. Human security entails creation of an environment for cultural, environmental and economic development of the people of a state, by exercising softer options by state and non-state actors alike. A group of eminent scholars of South Asia, under the aegis of the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, Colombo, have attempted to identify the contours of human security for the subcontinent. The region with its myriad problems ranging from ethno-nationalism, ideological terrorism, environmental degradation to population explosion needs to adopt the holistic concept of human security, as the traditional forms of security have failed to lift the people not only out of the conflict conundrum but also out of underdevelopment. The eminent essayists drawn from all the countries in

the region provide a country-centric perception of the major issues which mar the security environment of each state. In the new dispensation, the authors unanimously agree that the state will not be the sole arbiter of security but will be one of the many adjudicators of power.

The all-encompassing vision of security envisaged by the writers needs to be adopted by security specialists in the region at the earliest, for the need of the hour is to lift the people of South Asia from a permanent state of poverty and depravation. This is, thus, a very propitious contribution to the security studies of the region, which hopefully will ensure focus of our attention on the much wider view of security rather than such archaic concepts as jihad, arms build up and state-centric security orientation.

Brigadier Rahul K Bhonsle, SM

Jammu-Kashmir-Ladakh. *By Parvez Dewan (New Delhi : Manas Publications, 2004), 723 p, Rs. 1495.00, ISBN 81-7049-179-7.*

Written in encyclopedia cum tourist guide style this book has emerged as the modern version of a *A Gazetteer of Kashmir* compiled by Charles Ellison Bates. The Gazetteer compiled in the late 19th century was hardly ever updated.

After well over a century Pervez Dewan, an IAS officer of the state, has ventured to collate authentic information on the present day Jammu and Kashmir. The book has chapters on history, places of tourist interest, culture, people, religion, nature, and trekking and adventure sports. The writer has made relentless efforts to portray Jammu and Kashmir three-dimensionally in a simple narrative form. It is a valuable book. He, however, intrinsically has avoided the portrayal of the peculiarities of the Kashmiri people. The production of the book, especially colour plates of Baramulla, gardens, lakes, waterfalls, religious places and places of tourist interest, printing of maps and other illustrations deprive the book of its finesse.

Shri V K Gaur, IG BSF (Retd)

The Dynamics of Soldering. *By Major General Kuldip Singh Bajwa (New Delhi : Har-Anand Publications Pvt. Ltd., 2004), 284 p, Rs. 495.00, ISBN 81-241-0940-0.*

The fraternity of Arms could perhaps be divided into two broad categories. Those who see it merely as a profession and a small minority who attempt to discover under the brass and camouflage of the military service something nobler, a philosophy of life as it were. Major General KS Bajwa apparently belongs to this core group. To such men the *izzat* or *ghairat* of *paltan* is more important than Self because when the Self merges into the whole it results in fine outcomes of valour that we have had in 1947, 1965, 1971 and 1999.

In this moving feast where examples from war and peace are interwoven with military aphorisms, Major General Bajwa successfully tackles almost the entire spectrum of dynamics that affect soldiers and leaders. It is an excellent attempt by an insider to open a window so that those not initiated in the mystique of this unique profession may get some idea what makes a soldier and his leader tick. The intensity of purpose and the courage of his convictions enable the author to call a spade a spade and to give specific instances of valour and cowardice. The author has used with good effect real life scenarios to vividly illustrate his statements whether on combat management, managing human resources, qualities of soldering or the nature of military leadership. The reader practically becomes an eyewitness to the battlefield scenarios where he can empathise with the warriors and their leaders performing heroic deeds as for example the graphic description of the Battle of Dograi by 3 JAT. The tendency to over centralise authority while happily delegating responsibility has been the bane of military organisations and Lenin's adage quoted by the author would be music to the ears of those considered Olive Green to the extreme. Major General Bajwa has taken note of the changing social ethos, material aspirations and the crass consumerism that has befallen all sections of our society, and he makes valuable suggestions how we can minimise their effect. Throughout the book the author has taken pains to ensure that he does not sound sanctimonious. The author does suggest remedial measures including a Green Light System. However, all that is contingent on a changed mindset and the inflexibility of some military minds is legendary.

Maps have been placed at the end. Pullout maps opposite relevant text would have added to the reader's pleasure. A few well chosen photos would have brought another dimension and added to the value of the book. Notwithstanding the foregoing, this is an excellent book that should be read by all those who have an interest in the profession of Arms. Equally, the book should form part of all libraries.

Major General Ashok Joshi, VSM (Retd)

Courts Martial Under Scrutiny. By Major General Nilendra Kumar (New Delhi : Universal Law Publishing Company Private Limited, 2003), 184p, Rs. 195.00, ISBN 81-7534-336-2.

Through this book, the author has attempted, successfully, to discuss and highlight various complex issues pertaining to current topics of international law, inter-alia, human rights, its interface with terrorism, and military law vis-a-vis torture. Having made out a case for an apparatus to assess "disciplinary health" of our Army in the opening chapter, the author, in the following 13 chapters, has discussed the legal implications and inadequacies of the UN peacekeeping operations; pragmatic measures and humanitarian approach for these operations to be smooth and successful,

the role of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) with particular reference to the Kargil conflict and their motivation and reasons, valid or otherwise, to act or not to act in a manner desired by the affected and concerned country. Having posed a few pertinent questions in the context of the ICRC's role, the author, rightly, did not embark on suggesting any measures since finding answers to the tricky problems really lies in the realm of the concerned wings and agencies of the comity of nations.

The treatment, at length, of the topic, which has recently shocked and horrified the world at large, i.e. "torture" in Chapter 10 in the light of the related and well known International conventions, would furnish, equally a reader and a critic, the requisite information and knowledge on the subject, including the legal refrains.

The topic of terrorism, a major challenge to the world, has been aptly dealt with in Chapters six to nine, including the difficulties encountered in bringing the terrorists to law and, certain measures and the methodology to overcome these problems. The need to follow the law even in the prosecution of a "terrorist" has been brought out with the help of relevant judicial pronouncements on the subject.

The reader is likely to find the discussion on "Natural Justice in Procurement Processes", in Chapter 12, interesting, illuminating and innovative. A topic of relatively recent origin in military law, it has been handled with great competence by the author. The co-relation between procurement processes, and natural justice has been established.

Initially, it may appear to a reader that the "title" of the book does not represent or portray what he may expect within. Though the author seems to have justified the title by way of correlating the subject matter in certain chapters with discipline and a few aspects of courts-martial, he would have done well by assigning a more representative title to allay any doubts.

The book makes an interesting reading and furnishes sufficient and useful information on the topics therein. The text read with the bibliography would, indeed, serve as a useful and handy reference material to a discerning reader.

Major General SK Sanan, AVSM, VSM (Retd)

People On The Move: Punjabi Colonial and Post-Colonial Migration.
Edited by Ian Talbot and Shinder Thandi (Karachi : Oxford University Press, 2004), 238 p, Rs. 350.00, ISBN 0-19-579956-9.

The Asia Committee of the European Science Foundation supported a workshop held at Coventry University from 19 to 20 February 2000, which brought together scholars from Pakistan, India, Europe and North America to reflect on the theme of Migration, Urban Development and Demographic

Change in Punjab during the period 1980 to 1990. This volume, brought out as a part of 'The Subcontinent Divided: A New Beginning' series, draws on the deliberations of the workshop. It focuses on the long-term social, political and psychological impact of partition.

The period began with the movement of Sikh farmers from the central districts to new canal colonies in West Punjab. Recruitment in the Army also established an early tradition of overseas migration. The upheaval of the 1947 partition sparked off massive migration across the new international boundaries of India and Pakistan that divided East and West Punjab.

The further partition of the Indian Punjab in 1966 transformed it into a Sikh majority state. It has also been altered by migration of educated Sikhs both to Delhi and beyond in search of non-agricultural employment and by the influx of landless labourers searching for work following the Green Revolution. Sikhs have continued the tradition of overseas movement from their homeland. Pakistani Punjabi Muslim overseas migration is less extensive. By the close of the 20th century, overseas Punjabi diaspora had emerged in Britain and North America leading to the development of what has been termed as the 'three' Punjabs.

This volume attempts to contribute to the existing literature on migration and to suggest ways in which its Punjabi case study experience can be deepened and broadened. An interesting book.

Shri I R Kumar

The Pakistan People's Party: Rise To Power. By Philip E Jones (Karachi : Oxford University Press, 2003), 543 p, Rs. 625.00, ISBN 0-19-579966-6.

The rise of Pakistan People's Party to power is required to be understood in the backdrop of political and social system that dominated the scene of Pakistan at the time of partition. In 1947, the power passed into the hands of rural feudals, landowners and chieftains. The mass of the population of Pakistan remained un-empowered and by default the reins of the Pakistan state came in the hands of culturally alien urban Muslim elite that migrated from India to Pakistan. In the review at hand, the author has brought out at micro level the aspect that led Pakistan People's Party to rise with exhaustive facts and figures. For reader's interest it is brought out that Philip Jones was born in Jhansi in India and spent his formative years, both in India and Pakistan, and later learnt Urdu in Pakistan.

The volume is divided into two parts with epilogue and appendices that contain rather valuable and interesting facts. The author endeavors to explain how Mr Bhutto was able to ignite fire in the masses of Pakistan against the martial law rule of Ayub Khan. It is worthwhile to appreciate the vision that Bhutto envisaged as founding chairman of the Pakistan

People's Party (PPP) while laying the foundation of the party. A close look into the book reveals that initially the party had 'Bolshevik' type organisational base and a 'Fuhreist' ideology. At the inception of the party, the goals were egalitarian democracy and the application of socialistic democracy to realise economic and social justice. In a narrative style, the book further explains the inroads that the party made in centre Punjab and urban centres of middle Punjab. Sindh, however, remained under the big feudals while North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan remained under the influence of regional and religious parties. The concluding part of the book deals with elections that were held in 1970 which enabled Mr Bhutto to be at absolute helm of affairs in Pakistan.

A well researched book, it should evoke interest in scholars who are engaged in understanding political institutions and the very polity of Pakistan.

Colonel Sunil Chandra

Political Leadership in a Global Age: The Experiences of France and Norway. Edited by Harald Baldersheim and Jean-Pascal Daloz (UK : Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003), 280 p, £ 45.00, ISBN 0-7546-3556-2.

This is a fascinating study of the impact of globalisation on two developed countries in Europe and the responses demanded of the political leadership at various levels of authority, local or municipal, national and regional. The authors contributing to the volume point out how leadership is constrained by historical circumstances, ideological predilections and the attitude of the populace.

The experience of these two countries, differing from each other in many ways, illustrates there can be no uniform, single, response to globalisation. This conclusion would be even more valid in case of developing countries who are much less equipped to respond to speed and volume of "transactions involving the exchange of information, culture, finances and goods across continents and national borders" – the essential elements of globalisation.

Some contributors to the volume have attempted to explore the impact of globalisation on voter participation at different levels of government. A falling level of participation may not augur well for democratic countries if it reflects voter perception of the inability of the political authority to protect the citizen from vagaries of the marketplace. Such a perception will be strengthened if insensitive management techniques, motivated solely by financial considerations, come to control the provision of welfare services.

Shri SK Bhutani, IFS (Retd)

A National Challenge at the Local Level. By Thomas R Cusack (UK : Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003), 249 p, £ 50.00, ISBN 0-7546-37387.

This book is based on a study conducted in cooperation with an international network of scholars who have carried out 20 national studies of local governments and political elites. An attempt has been made to examine if the inter-regional economic disparities in the East and West Germany have undermined the creation of a real political community after integration, due to gaps in political and economic values. The book is based on two comprehensive surveys conducted in mid and late 1995. Consequently, the book is rich in analytical data.

One may understand the need to examine the elites better, if one considered what the American President, Ronald Reagan, had to say on the subject : "I think there is an elite in this country and they are the ones who run an elitist government. They want a government by a handful of people because they don't believe the people themselves can run their lives." It is in the context of what the world is experiencing, as a consequence of this remark, that the book must be valued as a unique contribution. It has relevance not only to political but social sciences for it examines in great depth how the elites, their background, affiliations and beliefs affect policy making at the local government level, which in turn decides the direction of national policies in a federal structure of democratic governance.

A seemingly dry subject has been made interesting through an empirical approach. An ideal reading to discover the growth of institutions and political value systems in reunified Germany, turning their difficulties into opportunities for economic vitality.

Lieutenant General BS Malik, PVSM, AVSM (Retd)

Civil Society in the Baltic Sea Region. Edited by Norbert Gotz and Jorg Hackmann (UK : Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2003), 273 p, £ 50.00, ISBN 0-7546-3317-9.

This is an extremely well structured book dealing with the problems of a civil society in the Baltic region. All of the nineteen contributors have impeccable credentials and they have written on various nuances of the problem with complete authority. After giving the reader an insight into the concept of civil society, the necessary background is provided by a historical perspective. These are followed by preconditions in the Baltic region. Thereafter the limits of civil society are analysed and the very obvious need for trans-national cooperation.

The Baltic sea region comprises societies with different histories. The Nordic societies have rightly been depicted as 'state friendly societies' while the post communist countries bordering the Baltic share the experience of state party controlled societies. Civil society, as the historical section of

the volume reveals, has a tradition in the Baltic, which is quite different from that in northern and eastern Europe. This book shows that civil society and the state do not have an antagonistic relationship particularly in the Nordic states and sub regions. Citizenship is essential for a civil society. The Saami People (formerly called Lapps of Norway, Sweden and Finland) have built up a new trans-national identity and corresponding network. Although it is not clear where trans-nationality will lead in this case. Minority issues in Estonia and Latvia are predominantly discussed with state-central perspectives focusing on civil rights. The case most debated where the civic traditions of democracy are concerned is Russia and Volkov feels that only a reconstructive cultural approach is able to provide the framework for the interpolation of civic traditions. The impact of Russian mafia on civil society is well brought out. The authors do not suggest that the Nordic civil society model be superimposed on the rest of the Baltic Sea region. Their intention is to enhance a process of mutual understanding. While the East European countries might be interested in Nordic institutional arrangements, the Nordic civil society might benefit from reflecting on maintaining a certain distance from the 'civil society friendliness' of the state in order to utilise the potential of civic engagement. The two main lines of development in the region – the crisis of the welfare state and the post communist transition – ask for different approaches to the problems of a civil society.

The book presents a holistic approach to the problem through a series of painstakingly researched yet lucid articles. Anyone with an interest in the region will find the book informative and interesting.

Major General Ashok Joshi, VSM (Retd)

Japan From War to Peace : The Coaldrake Records 1939-1956. Compiled and edited by William H Coaldrake (London : Routledge Curzon, 2003), 530 p, £ 22.99, ISBN 0-7007-1722-6 (Pbk).

This book has researched in great detail for the first time a treasure of unpublished documents on Japan during war and the immediate post war period of Allied occupation, and recovery thereof. These documents consist of newsletters, newspaper articles, texts of radio broadcasts and letters written by Frank William Coaldrake, an Anglican priest and pacifist and the first Australian civilian to enter Japan after the war.

The Coaldrake mission was a mission to fight prejudice and hatred of Japan in Australia. It was carried out in two ways. First, there were the *Newsletters*. These were addressed to Australians as well as to international audience, who fought the Japanese in the war. The unhappy experience during the war of many of the recipients could become a collective prejudice after hostilities ended. The prejudice was shaped by racist wartime propaganda and by a popular mood demanding justice after the war. It found psychological security behind the barriers of the restrictive immigration. The

second part of the mission was intended to inform the Australian Church and the Australian public about Japan, the Japanese, and their Church. It challenged people to confront their fears and hatred. It has been brought in the book that despite efforts the mission against prejudice in Australia was less successful than the mission of reconciliation to Japan.

This is a rare and comprehensive collection of first account of Japan by two astute observers. The daily struggle against starvation is interspersed with issues of war atrocities, the atomic bombing, the status of the Imperial family and labour unions. The text is widely explained with photographs taken by Frank Coaldrake. A useful book for all the peace lovers.

Colonel P K Vasudeva (Retd)

Strategic Implications of HIV/AIDS. By Stefan Elbe (UK : Oxford University Press Inc., 2003), 78 p, Price not indicated, ISBN 0-19-852912-0.

The book has raised five key questions regarding the long term strategic dimensions of the AIDS pandemic - what is the current scope of the spread of AIDS in civilian and military population; what is the impact of HIV/AIDS on the Armed Forces in countries with high prevalence rates; how does HIV/AIDS affect international peacekeeping operations; what is the impact of the AIDS pandemic on the political stability of the affected states?; how should the polity respond to the strategic dimensions of AIDS?

This book constitutes an exploratory 'think piece'. It argues that the starting point for a mature and responsible debate on the strategic dimensions of HIV / AIDS has to be a candid admission that an insufficient amount of reliable information is available in the public domain. The absence of reliable data is a major impediment to fully understand the strategic dimensions of the illness. Such dimensions of HIV/AIDS are unlikely to emerge in a uniform and generic fashion around the world. There is a need for two-fold approach. First, it will be necessary to identify the key variables. This in fact is the objective of this Book. Second, future research will need to focus on country specific studies that analyse and assess these variables on a case-by-case basis. AIDS pandemic presents new and serious challenges to the stability of governments as well as for the militaries responsible for implementing any decision to deploy. According to the author, this dimension is already emerging in Africa and to some extent in Asia and its magnitude is likely to grow considerably.

The author concludes by outlining how the security sector can make an important contribution to wider international efforts to reduce the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Colonel PK Vasudeva (Retd)

No Gun Ri : A Military History of the Korean War Incident. By Robert L Bateman (USA : Stackpole Books, 2002), 302 p, \$ 22.95, ISBN 0-8117-1763-1.

This book is an investigation and analysis of the events that occurred around a railroad overpass, near a small village of No Gun Ri in South Korea, in late July 1950. This incident involved the opening of fire by American soldiers upon a group of civilian refugees. In September 1990, the Associated Press of America published the story of the incident and was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for investigative journalism. The story caused a huge furore among the American public and the rank and file of the American military establishment, particularly since it involved the 7th Cavalry, a highly decorated Regiment of the American Army.

A professional infantryman and academic historian Robert Bateman researched the history of 7th Cavalry to which he had been assigned. Using his knowledge as a soldier and with an academic training as a historian, Bateman decided to investigate the story of this event and place it in context to arrive at an understanding what went beyond the simple elements of who, what and when. His purpose is to expose the journalistic misrepresentation of military history and thereby educate the readers about the truth of this tragic incident.

Bateman's account is a hard-hitting critique of the misuse of power of both the sword and the pen. While he indicts the dubious credentials of the Associated Press report, he is equally critical of the poor training, poor communication and inadequate readiness for war which led to the outbreak of this and similar incidents during the Korean War. The book is in two sections. 'The History' details the situation in the period following the end of the Second World War and the circumstances that led to the Korean War. He discusses the organisation of the 2nd Battalion of the 7th Cavalry Regiment and the contributory factors that made this Regiment what it was in July 1950. The next three chapters appropriately called 'A Distant Thunder', 'Erosion' and 'Washout', attempt a revealing reconstruction of incidents in the months preceding and leading up to what happened at No Gun Ri. In the second section of his book, called 'The Story of the Story', Bateman scrupulously details his painstaking investigation following the breaking of the AP story. He gives a fascinating account of his uncovering of the fraud perpetrated by those who claimed the status of eye-witnesses, but were not even at No Gun Ri between 26 and 29 of July 1950, when the incident took place. What he finds out not only acts as a shocking revelation, but also throws light on the conflictual and adversarial relationship between the military and the media. In the Afterword, Bateman details the

primary and secondary sources used by him and the steps he took to put all the pieces together.

Bateman's is a well-researched and fascinating exposure of the pitfalls of historical reconstruction and a plea for unflinching reliance upon verifiable evidence in all such sensitive enterprises. The text is illustrated with maps, photographs and exhaustive notes that lend credibility and credence to all that the author says. The book is an invaluable resource for soldiers, historians and journalists and for all those interested in the construction of history, both military and national.

Dr Anjana Neira Dev

Memoirs of a Rebel Princess. By *Abida Sultaan* (Karachi : Oxford University Press, 2004), 315 p, Rs. 595.00, ISBN 0-19-579958-5.

On 28 August 1913, a female child was born in the royal family of Bhopal. As the mother was not even thirteen; the child was immediately taken over by her grandmother, the overdominating Sultan Jahan Begum, fourth of the famous Begums who had ruled the princely state for over a century. The child was brought up in the mould of traditional, devout but independent Begums of Bhopal. Without lifting the draconian discipline, the Begum indirectly saw to it that she was not only trained in manly pursuits but excelled her male counterparts in whatever she did.

This book is a biography of Abida Sultan, extracted from two large trunks full of daily diaries kept by her since 1930 when she was a girl of 17. Written in simple language and lucid style, this book makes a very interesting study of princely states of pre independence India. The book carries a very well written Introduction by Siobhan Lambert-Hurley and a very touching Epilogue by her son, Shaharyar M Khan. The author has been very candid in exposing her inner most thoughts and feelings except may be her reasons for migration to Pakistan. Would she have still gone over in search of a bright future for her son had she not perceived an unbridgeable chasm between her father, HH Hamidullah Khan, the Nawab of Bhopal and his family, on account of his very late second marriage? Of course, she has vindicated her stand by the fact that her son rose to become the foreign secretary of Pakistan and later Ambassador to the UK, Jordan and France on his own merit, being a very bright, decent, humane and a caring individual.

Recommended for formation and unit libraries for general reading.

Major General Yatindra Pratap (Retd)

Adventure Sports. By Brigadier TPS Chowdhury (New Delhi : National Book Trust, 2003), 366 p, Rs. 110.00, ISBN 81-237-4111-1.

The author points out that even for the domestic traveller and the busy urban dweller, the choice for tourism is enormous. The author has emphasised that India, in both summer and winter, provides the most economical adventure tourism in the world with unbeatable range of options from the Alpine regions of Himachal Pradesh to the icy watersheds of the Himalayas onto the rain-forest foothills in the east and into the stinging desert.

The book consists of 29 chapters, each covering a different aspect of adventure activity. Virtually every type of sport is covered, except perhaps stalking game. Chapter 26, covering upcoming adventure sports, is eye catching. The author has brought out that a power chute can traverse upwards of 50 kilometres while an autogiro (the type used by James Bond in the movie, 'You Only Live Twice') has a range of over 400 kilometres. The last chapter covers North and South Poles. The author has explained how a visitor can reach the two Poles (even birds do not venture out this far). To arrive at South Pole one may charter an aircraft, or from the edge of the Antarctic continent, one could join a ski expedition which would cover the most hostile 600 nautical miles on this planet with no back up support of any kind.

The book is well illustrated with sketches that are simple to follow. The quality of print is good. The book is easy to read and very reasonably priced. This book is recommended for schools, colleges and Service libraries. Even a mildly adventurous individual would need a personal copy for constant reference.

Brigadier MS Chowdhury, VSM (Retd)

ERRATA : January-March 2004 Issue

Short Reviews of Recent Books at page 144 for title "Afghan Wars in a Hostile Land : 1839 to the Present" should read "Afghan Wars – Battles in a Hostile Land : 1839 to the Present."