Short Reviews of Recent Books

New Global Dangers : Changing Dimensions of International Security - An International Security Reader. *Edited by Michael E Brown, Owen R Cote Jr., Sean M Lynn-Jones and Steven E Miller (Cambridge, Massachusetts : MIT Press, 2004), xxv, 552p, $ 28.00, ISBN 0-262-524309.*

The end of the Cold War had important and positive effects on international security. Two things became clear about the prospects for national and international security in the 21st century. First, security problems will continue to be widespread and deadly. Second, the security agenda will be far more complex than it has been in the past. Security problems in the 21st century will be multidimensional, and they have to be studied in broad and inclusive terms.

The first part of the this book focuses on "Weapons and Security", including the strategic implications of the US military hegemony and the changing dynamics and dangers of weapons proliferation. The second part examines "Non-military Aspects of Security", such as environment change, resource competitions, migration of population and gender imbalances. The third covers "Transnational Actors and Security". It examines the roots and ramifications of contemporary international terrorism, the driving force behind the actions of non-governmental organisations, and the emergence of private military firms on the international security scene.

The book has articles that were published in the journal *International Security*, and three seminal articles that were published in the 1990s.

This book is a must read for all those interested in international security.

Shri I R Kumar

The Biological Weapons Convention: A Failed Revolution. *By Jez Littlewood (Aldershot, UK : Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005), 250p, £ 52.50, ISBN 7546-3854-5.*

Post-2001, there have been several analyses on the causes of the collapse of the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) Protocol negotiations, following the US withdrawal from the talks. In this book, the author asserts that, unlike popular perception, the action of the US was not the sole cause of the failure of the international community to strengthen the Biological Weapons Convention. In trying to fit the dynamics of a negotiating process into a framework predetermined by one's own views and convictions, distortions inevitably creep into an analysis, affecting its

very credibility. Littlewood has evolved a theory of "reformist" States, who are committed to biological disarmament, and "minimalist" States, those who used "intransigence, prevarication, and sophistry" to undermine the chances of successfully strengthening compliance with the objectives of the Convention. The former group has been identified as the EU and its western allies, except for the US, and the latter, as Russia, China, India, Pakistan and Iran.

He cites the US as a special case, with an objection on the effectiveness of verification. The objections of the "minimalists have been seen as "problems". According to Littlewood, the basic causes for the failure of the Convention Protocol, were, apart from the powerful role of the "minimalists", the emergence of "true multilateralism" i.e. participation by several States, and "the problem of compliance".

The distortions consequent to the simplistic categorisation of States are compounded by a welter of contradictions and non-factual statements– e.g. on the CTBT and the indefinite extension of the NPT. These have seriously flawed his analysis. Nonetheless, the book is worth reading by those interested in the twists and turns and shifting patterns in multilateral diplomacy. To an extent, the book is itself revealing of the mindsets which were brought to bear on the Protocol negotiations.

Ms Arundhati Ghose, IFS (Retd)

United Nations: Multilateralism and International Security. *Edited by C Uday Bhaskar, Uttam K Sinha, K Santhanam and Tanseem Meenai (New Delhi : Shipra, 2005), 616p, Rs. 1250.00, ISBN 81-7541-224-0.*

This book is a compilation of speeches given by various participants during the 6th Asian Security Conference organised by the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses in New Delhi from 27 to 29 January 2004. Based on different sessions of the conference, the book has been divided into five parts i.e. *"Current Challenges to Multilateralism and the United Nations," "Conflict Resolution and Post Conflict Management," International Cooperation in Tackling Terrorism, Drugs, and Organised Crimes," "United Nations and Weapons of Mass Destruction" and "Prospects of Strengthening and Restructuring Multilateral Institutions and the United Nations."*

In response to the current challenges to multilateralism, the general consensus is that no organisation other than the UN is better suited to address this important issue. The war in Iraq in March 2003 has raised a number of questions regarding the relevance of the UN. However, as a large number of countries joined the UN to wage peace even before the actual commencement of the war, the UN's status as the sole legitimate institution to handle international peace and security has been reaffirmed.

Inability of the Security Council to react to a crisis is grounded in its vintage organisational structures and politics of the powerful countries and not due to lack of will. Therefore, most organisational challenges can be met by carrying out reform of the UN, specially the Security Council rather than finding justification in pre-emptive use of force.

The section on "Conflict Resolution and Conflict Management" comprises simple description of some of the contemporary conflicts. However, while putting across an African perspective, Greg Mills has been able to recommend a clear and concise strategy for conflict resolution. This is worth considering.

Enormous challenges of terrorism, drugs, organised crime and weapons of mass destruction have turned out to be the biggest worry of nations. In order to combat these challenges, the need to have a concerted effort with targeted measures to strengthen the states and multilateral institutions has been clearly highlighted. Among many constructive recommendations, necessity to have a structural approach was underscored. As regards weapons of mass destruction, UN has been able to do very little in spite of useful work by the existing verification mechanisms and strengthening of non-proliferation regimes. For, when it comes to implementation, it completely depends on the nation states. Therefore, unless there is a collective display of unity of effort by the member states, this threat will continue to haunt the world.

Finally, it has been universally accepted that as fundamental changes in the world are inevitable, the UN structure of 1945 will not work and there is a definite need to have a re-look at the working of important organs of the UN, more specifically, the Security Council. Necessity for reform of the Security Council was felt as early as 1955. Even successive attempts to bring in reforms were not successful because of the selfish motives of the powerful countries. The Iraq War has only reinforced this need. Additionally, despite the reforms, possibility of pre-emptive use of force will always remain in a uni-polar world. What, therefore, remains for the international community is to seriously address the subject and issue some guidelines if pre-emptive use of force is also to be considered as an option under special circumstances.

Most of the views expressed, though claimed to have been made in individual capacity, could not have escaped the influences of the respective national positions. To this extent, this book provides a good insight to the burning topic of *multilateralism and international security* that has managed to keep the entire world pre-occupied since the American involvement in Iraq in March 2003.

Colonel AK Bardalai

Devolution and Development : Governance Prospects in Decentralizing States. *Edited by Mwangi S. Kimenyi and Patrick Meagher (England, UK : Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004), 345p, £ 55.00, ISBN 0-7546-3977-0*

The general theory on decentralisation postulates that it leads to better governance and provides stability to the political structure of a country. This is made possible by devolving powers to the sub-national governments and allowing participation of general public. Local government bodies are closer to the people and hence they have greater awareness about the preferences of its citizens leading to efficient resource allocation. Decentralisation is thought to promote accountability and reduce corruption.

Kimenyi and Meagher "aim to broaden the debate on decentralization, its purposes and outcomes, and the reasons why it succeeds or fails". This relationship between decentralisation and the quality of governance is highlighted through case studies of countries that are vastly different in size and political systems. In West Africa, the analysis largely focuses on Guinea and its comparison with Mali and Senegal. The analysis concludes by saying that decentralisation failed to deliver the benefits because it was poorly designed. In the Asian region, Philippines' experimentation with decentralisation was affected by high level of corruption. Nepal, through the Churia program of 1993-94, was able to reduce corruption and losses due to leakages and increase its rural infrastructure. In case of Russia, Leonid Polishchuk looks into the reasons for failure of decentralisation and arrives at the conclusion that "devolution in Russia was flawed, if not doomed, from the start".

Patrick Meagher says that plural societies in the developing world face greater problems in terms of governance.

Drawing from the case studies, the authors contend that the basic scheme of power sharing has to be different in every case. Decentralisation is not a one-size-fits-all-solution. The overall impact of decentralisation depends upon the existing institutional framework of the country. The authors suggest that decentralisation may work best in countries where local democracy exists and the population is socially and economically homogeneous.

While decentralisation bears many gifts we must be wary of those who bear them, for "decentralization reforms often seem to the designed to fail" because the reform process tends to be driven by political considerations.

Shri Mayank Singh

Global Population Policy : From Population Control to Reproductive Rights. *By Paige Whaley Eager (England, UK : Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2004), 234p, £ 49.95, ISBN 0-7546-4162-7*

The book emphasises on the "enormous benefits of globalization" in view of the "increased sharing of ideas, cultures, life saving technologies and efficient production processes. These benefits have not reached hundreds of millions of poor people. The developing world "need to decrease population" if economic growth is to be achieved. In 1994, after the world conference on population attended by 10,750 delegates from 179 countries in Cairo, there was a paradigm shift on global population policies. Until then, coercive methods for demographic control failed to acknowledge women's human rights.

A chapter on winds of change records that the North-South conflict permeated the population issues and had relatively little effect on the US Government's policy.

The author notes that in 1951, India became the first country in the developing world to initiate a state sponsored family planning programme. India did benefit from support by the American population control establishment. Even President Nixon decided in July 1974 to increase access to family planning services within the US in spite of staunch opposition by the Catholics after the Rockefeller Commission recommended that the US should "seriously consider a plan to stabilize its own population and recommended legalizing abortion and providing minors access to contraception without parental consent".

A well researched book of interest to the Indian people. A good book for research scholars.

Commodore R P Khanna, AVSM (Retd)

Crossing The Rubicon : Ronald Reagan & US Policy in the Middle East. *By Nicholas Laham (England : Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2004), 178p, £ 45.00, ISBN 0-7546-3961-4.*

Nicholas Laham has done a deep and brilliant study of Reagan' s policy in the Middle East (ME) to arrive at eminently sound conclusions. In Laham's perception the Reagan Presidency was a critical watershed in the evolution of the US policy towards the ME where Reagan crossed the Rubicon and changed the dubious even-handed policy in the ME to one of unabashed open support to Israel. The pro-Israel lobby lost the battle of sale of AWACS but won the war of getting full and open support of the USA. A cornerstone of the book is that the US policy in the ME underwent

a transformation as a result of Reagan's political battle to sell AWACS to Saudi Arabia. The House of Representatives had rejected the proposed sale of AWACS by 301 to 111. President Reagan mounted an intensive lobbying campaign and succeeded. The Senate approved the sale by a narrow margin of 52 against 48. Simultaneously, Reagan assured the Jewish lobby by rejecting the Fahd Plan and by confirming the US commitment to pursue Camp David peace process. Reagan showed unbridled hostility against Yasser Arafat and denounced PLO as a terrorist organisation. This was *realpolitiks* at its best. In the event, Reagan failed to take any significant steps to advance peace process in the ME. However, the sale of AWACS removed the threat of another oil embargo against the USA. Laham has chronicled well the meeting of 19 November 1981 between Reagan and the Jewish supporters and Reagan's promise to adhere to a staunch pro-Israel policy. Israel's invasion of Lebanon highlighted their arrogance and the inability of the USA to restrain Israel from any offensive operations in the region. It is no surprise that Israel contemptuously rejected the Reagan Plan that demanded substantial political and territorial concessions to the Arabs. In fact, Reagan backed down from imposing any sanctions against Israel. The implications have been far reaching and no US president since Reagan has ever proposed a peace plan for the ME, which did not have a *prior Israel approval*.

While a number of analysts have underplayed the Reagan era, Laham considers Reagan to be the single most influential figure in articulating a decisive pro-Israel policy. He could well be right. It was Reagan's hawkish zeal that pushed Strategic Defense Initiative to centre stage with frightening consequences for the planet.

Major General Ashok Joshi, VSM (Retd)

Decision–Making in Great Britain during the Suez Crisis : Small Groups and a Persistent Leader. *By Bertjan Verbeek (England, UK : Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2003), £ 47.50, ISBN 07546-3253-9.*

The book provides an interesting and innovative study of the Suez crisis, which was prompted by Egypt's nationalisation of the Suez Canal company in July 1956. This act by Egypt led to a war between Great Britain, France and Israel – and Egypt. The conflict ended after about three months of fighting consequent to strong international pressure, especially from America.

The book is based on a radically different approach by the author on British foreign policy framework and decision making process concerning the genesis of the Suez crisis. It not only offers an analytical explanation of the factors and circumstances that led to the war but also uncovers

the then British Prime Minister, Anthory Eden's mind set and that of his close associates to cope with this critical event with international ramifications.

The author lucidly traces the role of individuals, groups and bureaucratic setups in a complex strategic decision making process. This concise volume amply examines the British foreign policy mechanism that culminated in a major international crisis.

It is a well researched study, which throws new light on how small-groups decision making process shaped the outcome of a critical international episode.

Students of foreign policy analysis, international relations and political philosophy will find the book worthwhile to go through.

Lieutenant General M M Walia, PVSM, AVSM, SM (Retd)

Negotiating the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership: Strategic Action in EU Foreign Policy. *Richard Gomez (England, UK : Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003), 209p, £ 50.00, ISBN 0-7546-1922-2.*

It is a book based on a doctoral research carried out at the University of Glasgow, between 1995 and 1999. A lot has happened since then due to the events of post 11 September 2001, particularly the Iraq war. According to scholars like Mette Eilstrup Sangiovanni of the University of Cambridge, amongst others, "the war in Iraq has focused renewed attention on what has long been a contentious issue in both transatlantic and European relations – the creation of a common European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). In an article in *Survival,* volume 45, number 4, Winter, 2003 it has even been argued that for the foreseeable future, ESDP carries no major benefits for Europe! He, however, comes to similar conclusions in that "a non military focus has better prospects of consolidating the fledgling common foreign and security policy (CFSP) than does a military strategy, which only fuels disagreements".

It is interesting how the author in a very penetrating analysis of the issues involved comes to almost similar conclusions in the book while discussing the 'civilian power concept'. In a prophetic declaration he argues thus : "The question remains, can an EU Mediterranean strategy be effective without an independent hard security dimension? Given time, and the benefit of several years of close cooperation between the northern and southern shores, the idea of a regional soft security community appears to be a realistic prospect. In this respect, a military empowered EU implementing its own defence policy in the Mediterranean might prove to be counter-productive".

It is not only the central argument of the book but in fact it is its unique feature. The author has successfully brought out the importance of 'soft power' and 'soft security'. Very often the decision makers do not recognise their strength and mistakenly use the wrong tools for their policy formulation. This book makes it abundantly clear that, "the emphasis on foreign economic policy as the platform for strategic action directs our attention to the methodology for the formulating strategies." The deep rooted asymmetry of European-Mediterranean relations has not been lost sight of. Some very useful analyses of the same is another great strength of this book, which with its scholarly treatment of the subject, and nearly nineteen pages of exhaustive bibliography in support, would become a useful reference book in the field of European Union's foreign policy.

Lieutenant General B S Malik, PVSM, AVSM (Retd)

Modern Chinese Warfare, 1795-1989. *By Bruce A Elleman (London : Routledge, 2001), 363 p, Price not indicated, ISBN 0-415-21473-4.*

The author's perspective in dealing with this interesting and important subject is a fresh outlook and is an attempt to provide radically different interpretations of accepted ideas about recent Chinese history. He tries to show that, far from being the victim of imperialistic western powers in the 18th and 19th century, China actually is the dominant imperialist power in Asia and always has been. Whether modern Chinese history lends itself to such an interpretation or not is a moot point.

That notwithstanding, the author's treatment of the subject is logical and thorough, starting from the eve of the 19th century when the Qing dynasty was already in relative decline, right upto Tiananmen Square episode of 1989. There are extensive footnotes for every chapter, which lend added authenticity and credibility to the text.

Apart from this, however, the author has not dealt in depth, with the unique relationship the PLA has with the Chinese Communist Party, as also the singular role the PLA has played in building a modern, industrialised and westernised Chinese society post-1948. Such an insight would have been invaluable in the context of this book. The doctrinal modernisation of the PLA is another important aspect treated a little perfunctorily. In fact the massive modernisation drive by the Chinese in the 1980s and 1990s was primarily aimed at shedding some of the Maoist notions of 'Peoples War' and adopting modern tactical doctrines based on superior firepower and manouvre capabilities.

In the final analysis, however, this book is a 'must read' for any serious student of military history. It is doubly relevant for us, given the

fact that India and China are 'natural adversaries' within the Asian geo-political context and as such, this book would go a long way in enhancing our understanding of Chinese military affairs.

Lieutenant Colonel Sanjay Vinod Pandya

China, Arms Control, and Non Proliferation. *By Wendy Frieman (London : Routledge, Curzon, 2004), 227p, Price not indicated, ISBN 0-415-70031-0.*

This book carefully documents China's participation and role in the seven specific arms control regimes and offers suggestions about how to gain China's commitment and compliance in the future. The book argues that policy initiatives grounded in the history of Chinese behaviour are more likely to be successful than those stemming from over statements and misconceptions.

The book consists of 12 Chapters. The seven "treaty" chapters address the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC), the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC), the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), the UN Register of Conventional Arms (ROCA) and the Convention on Conventional Weapons. In each of the Chapters, the reader will find the background on the treaty itself, a discussion of China's relationship vis-a-vis the treaty and an assessment of Chinese compliance with the treaty. Chapter 9 briefly examines the less formal regimes in which China has played a role. Chapter 10 summarises the role of China's arms control bureaucracy in negotiations and implementation of' treaties. Chapter 11 compares the costs imposed on China by all the regimes and then explores potential benefits that could offset them. Chapter 12 draws conclusions about the nature of Chinese participation to-date and what these suggest about future policy.

The study excludes consideration of China's attitude towards regimes in which she can not participate and the non official "Track Two" activities. It also excludes regional security regimes such as Sino-Indian and Sino-Russian confidence building activities. This book focuses on the nature of Chinese military power and the regimes that have attempted to constrain it.

An invaluable book for policy makers, defence analysts, and those interested in international relations, arms control and issues on disarmament.

Lieutenant General Chandra Shekhar, PVSM, AVSM (Retd)

South Asia Union. *By Ranjit Kumar (New Delhi : Manas Publications, 2005), 328p, Rs. 695.00, ISBN 81-7049-219-X.*

The author visited UK as a Press Fellow in the Wolfson College, University of Cambridge. He carried out research and completed the first draft of this book in a matter of ten weeks. The result is a strong plea for an organisation of South Asian Union – something very desirable to every right thinking Indian. The next logical step should be a regional free trade and an economic union of South Asian countries. For that the countries will have to put all their political differences at the back burner and concentrate in all sincerity at the economic well being of the member countries.

Mr Ranjit Kumar is a special correspondent with *Navbharat Times* (a Hindi Daily) in New Delhi. He has to his credit two more books - one on India's nuclear policy and the other on Kargil Conflict. A widely travelled writer, he has also worked in Beijing with foreign language press as a Hindi expert. Written in simple language this books suggests a positive approach to formation of a South Asian Union, yet highlighting difficulties likely to be faced by such an organisation. Although one is aware of circumstances under which the author has worked on the EU model, it is for consideration if a study of the ASEAN, bringing out lessons for SAARC countries, would not be more relevant.

Recommended for general reading.

Major General Yatindra Pratap (Retd)

Human Development in South Asia 2004 – The Health Challenge. *By Khadija Haq (Karachi : Oxford University Press, 2005), 265p, Rs 450.00, ISBN 0-19-547112-1.*

This Report has carried out a no-holds-barred analysis of health care in South Asia and its link to poverty. It covers all seven South Asian countries but the emphasis is on India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

The questions that the Report raises and addresses are : What has been the performance of South Asian Governments in providing quality health care to its masses? Why has there been a delinking of economic growth and improvement in health and human development? Have these governments played a fair part in this respect?

The plight of the poor of South Asia is well known. But when it is presented in a stark, statistical and tabulated form, the reader is able to absorb the enormity of the problem. The second chapter sets out laudable millennium development goals and targets, which prima facie appear unachievable, such as 'elimination of gender disparity in primary and secondary education by 2005'. The chapter on women incisively projects their plight. The disparities even within the region have a tale to tell.

The chapter on HIV/AIDS makes for depressive reading. Here the stigma and discriminatory aspects of this scourge are emphasised. There is a chapter each on health care in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. All three have their peculiar problems but the common refrain being: women's liberties are abused, they have very low quality of care and overall there is negligence of their health needs. The significant data in case of Pakistan is that public expenditure on health is not just low – it has not shown any significant increase in the last three decades. Another point that emerges is that even the limited health care goals that are set, are rarely achieved in these countries. The common theme throughout is of staggering statistics of deprivation in a region which is òtherwise doing fairly well in terms of its GDP growth. It is axiomatic that macro-economic policies have to be combined with the policies for poverty alleviation and human development. Successive governments in this region have faulted here. Cogent points have been made against commercialisation in health sector.

Findings of the report empirically confirm what is generally known. Economic growth has not been translated into better health care and that there is a delink between growth and human development including health; inequity in health care continues to exist based on class, gender and location; fiscal mismanagement, inefficiency and lack of accountability abound and health sector reforms have been largely unsuccessful.

This painstakingly researched book is a statistical marvel. Data has been collected from international and national sources and from various surveys. Principal sources being UNDP, World Bank, UNICEF and WHO. A major achievement of this report has been the harmonisation and standardisation of data and collection of statistics from disparate sources, to a common denominator to enable a reader to draw comparisons. The report suffers from some infirmities, however. Like lack of reliable data, non-availability of latest data and sparse data on the activities of NGOs in social sectors.

This remarkable work will be invaluable to research scholars investigating human development profiles and health care.

Brigadier M S Chowdhury, VSM (Retd)

Religious Radicalism and Security in South Asia. *Edited by Satu Limaye, Mohan Mullick and Robert G Wirsing (Honolulu : Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, 2004), 525p, Price not indicated, ISBN 0-9719416-6.*

Papers presented during a workshop on issues relating to religious radicalism and security in South Asian countries conducted by the Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies of Honolulu during August 2002 have

been compiled in this voluminous publication. Each study is an in-depth review of trends and attitudes of the peoples and governments – state policies and institutions in the concerned countries and their sub-regions (Jammu and Kashmir, Ladakh and northeastern states in the case of India),

Robert Wirsing in his introduction sets out the theme and framework of the book and an overview of the religion-based tensions prevailing in countries of South Asia, and how these may pose a threat to global security environment. Initially, he has projected terrorist ventures against American and Western democracies, the war against terrorism in Afghanistan and Iraq, and the results of public opinion surveys in fourteen countries, which seem to suggest apprehensions of the American people about Islamic confrontation against the Christian world – particularly the United States.

The authors have critically examined the fundamentalist intrusion into national policies and institutions – the expansion of Madrassa culture and Shariat tradition. The first three chapters and later Saroosh Irfani (chapter 7) provide a comprehensive historical perspective, in respect of Islamic nations while Arun Swamy offers a critical study of the Indian Panorama and fundamentalist Hindu institutions and parties. In conclusion. Swamy gives a broad view of Hindu nationalism versus Indian nationalism. He and Yoginder Sikand after him, have also discussed the Islamic madrassas in India.

Sudhir Das (Chapter 11) explains the classical scenario of the North East India where Christians, neo – Islamic immigrants from Bangladesh and the orthodox Hindus face mutual dissention. As a refreshing variant he differentiates between radicalism, communalism and fundamentalism as detrimental factors to security. Haggani, Charles W Kennedy and Ravi Nair as also other contributors have projected the impact of Islamisation and the madrassa cult on security in South Asia.

Internal politics have played a major part in religion based conflicts in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. As Rodney W Jones states (Chapter 12) "On the role of religion and religious extremism or radicalism, in this South Asian set of security problems, one must conclude that the real issues are deeper social and political grievances which make it possible to use religion as a tool...The Islamic world has more than its share of this problem but the fires of Hindu extremism are being fanned by politics in India too".

Major General S K Talwar (Retd)

China-India Economic Engagement : Building Mutual Confidence. *By Swaran Singh, Centre de Sciences Humaines Occasional Paper. Publication of the French Research Institute in India (New Delhi : Raman Nahaan, 2005), 205p, Price and ISBN not indicated.*

The rise of Asia in world politics began exactly one hundred years ago when the Imperial Japanese Navy's main battle fleet commanded by Admiral Heihachiro Togo comprehensively defeated Russia's Baltic Fleet led by Admiral Z. Rodhdestvensky to end the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5. By the middle of the last century a defeated Japan began its rise once again, just as India and China were awakening from the long night of colonial domination. By the turn of the century the contours of a new world order was visible.

The lines of those contours are now well etched. Just as Japan led the charge fifty years ago, China and India are fast transforming themselves as the world' s main engines of growth. Current trends indicate that by mid century China and India will be among the world's top three economic powers and will continue to grow faster than most for the remainder of the century. Coupled with this a new contour is visible in the ASEAN region with Vietnam and Indonesia rising to become the major economic powers of the grouping. The rise of Asia will be complete then. Asia is already the USA's main business partner and this relationship will be further strengthened as the demographics of Asia and the USA will largely coincide to create great growing markets.

Dr Swaran Singh's book is, therefore, timely as it throws an insightful light on the great transformations that are underway in the world's two great giants. Right now much energy is being expended on discourse about a supposed race between India and China, and how China is pulling ahead and so on. Countries do not race each other. They grow differently at different times. It just so happens that China's transformation into a modern nation began a couple of decades earlier and demographics rather than economics and politics played a major role in this. The important thing is that the transformation is underway and the world is not going to be the same again. As India's growth picks up momentum the shift in the global balance of economic power will be complete.

Against this backdrop Swaran Singh draws attention to the increasing economic engagement between India and China. Already the bilateral trade has risen exponentially to over US$13,000 million and has been practically doubling every year. The bitterness of the 1962 War is being replaced by a new sweetness of economic engagement and mutual profit. Swaran Singh has done a great service to focus on aspects of this economic engagement and not on the supposed race in which India is supposed to be left behind. This is a thoughtful, well-reasoned and, above

all, well researched book and hopefully it will help us leave behind some of our natural jingoism and learn to expand on our hopes rather than exaggerate our fears.

Shri Mohan Guruswamy

India and Japan : Blossoming of a New Understanding. *Edited by Rajaram Panda and Yoo Fukazawa (New Delhi : Japan Foundation and Lancers Books, 2004), 246p, Rs. 580.00, ISBN 81-7095-107-0.*

The book's title and the contents are misleading. One-third of the book is devoted by Dr Panda (Chief Programme Officer of the Japan Foundation, New Delhi) to recount the history of Japan Foundation's existence in New Delhi and Japan's cultural diplomacy. Two chapters dwell on the tools of teaching Japanese language in India. The remainder of the book has chapters on the publishing industry in Japan and India (no relevance to the book), traditional performing arts in both countries and the global relevance of Japanese art.

This book, at best, can be said to be a "commemorative volume" of the Japan Foundation, New Delhi (1994-2004). The contents of the book do not highlight how cultural exchanges have helped in blossoming of a new understanding between Japan and India.

The Japan Foundation has a critical role in promotion of a new understanding between the two countries. To achieve this, it must "break-out" and "extend its reach" beyond Jawaharlal Nehru University and Delhi University scholars and art critics. It needs to embrace India's strategic community with a greater emphasis on exploring the geo-strategic and politico-military convergences that can bond Japan and India in the cause of Asian peace and security.

Brigadier Subhash Kapila (Retd)

The Idea of Pakistan. *Stephen Philip Cohen (New Delhi : Oxford University Press, 2004), 382p, Rs. 495.00, ISBN 10:0-19-567350-6.*

This book focuses on the internal dynamics of Pakistan, with a comprehensive, thorough and balanced assessment of Pakistan's struggle to find stability and successful modern identity. The book also answers a critical question that most Indians ask themselves – what makes Pakistan so important in the United States' regional calculus?

The book is an interesting read and has been set out in nine chapters. Chapters 1 and 2 examine the historical evolution of both the 'idea' and 'state' of Pakistan, and Chapters 3 to 6 make a survey of Pakistan's major political and social institutions – notably its military, political, Islamist and regional ones. Chapter 7, discusses critical demographic, economic and educational constraints in Pakistan. Chapter

8 is devoted to Pakistan's range of plausible "futures". The book closes with some policy options for the United States in Chapter 9.

The author has done a remarkable analysis of Pakistan, which is frank and objective, describing its identity, logic and future. The book brings out a realistic assessment of Pakistan; and the impact of its leadership (the establishment), the military, the Islamic extremists, the collapsing education system, the sliding economy and nuclear capability as also possible resurrection, with reasonable prospects for the future. The author argues that the policies pursued by Musharraf may be able to repair the economy, contain the radicals, maintain good relations with powerful states while avoiding a new confrontation with India in the near future. It is felt that Pakistan will be a state lodged between a weak democracy and a benevolent autocracy. Although Pakistan as a state would 'survive' yet its status relating to the 'idea' of Pakistan as a modern Muslim State of South Asia has so far met with 'partial failure'.

The author concludes that the US should pursue the long term goals of 'combating terrorism' by eliminating 'Al Qaeda' elements, investing in economic development, modernising the education system and encouraging 'democratisation' of Pakistan. The US should also promote cordial relationship between India and Pakistan, by encouraging confidence building measures leading to eventual accommodation on Kashmir and restraints on "nuclear arms' build up. Finally, the author states that an optimal American Policy would be to support the present regime, whether or not Musharraf heads it, but at the same time press Pakistan very hard for political, economic and even ideological changes including a new approach towards India.

An excellent book, important not only for political scientists and strategic analysts but also for policy makers, diplomats, journalists, defence personnel and the informed general readers.

Lieutenant General Chandra Shekhar, PVSM, AVSM (Retd)

East Pakistan : The Endgame; An Outlooker's Journal 1969-1971. *By Brigadier A R Siddiqui (Karachi : Oxford University Press, 2004), 260p, Rs. 395.00, ISBN 0-19-5799933.*

For over a decade determined efforts have been made by several retired Pakistani Army officers to remodel the history of 1971 War in East Pakistan that culminated in emergence of Bangladesh. Almost all the writers have admitted that tragedy in East Pakistan was not just a failure of the military establishment but also the collapse of civil society in West Pakistan. They accused and blamed India for the uprising in East Pakistan.

Brigadier A R Siddiqui is no exception. He as Director Public Relations was responsible for collecting, collating and processing domestic and foreign information and reactions with regard to East Pakistan. He has also tried to shift blame on India on many counts. The chapter captioned "India Intensifies Propaganda/Military Campaign" is relevant for Indian readers. In an effort to ridicule Indian propaganda, he questions the authenticity of the stories circulated by India about Pakistan's military atrocities and the figures of East Pakistan refugees in India. The book could provide food for thought for the present day Pakistanis on what went wrong with their system and the religious affinity. However, the portrayal of military crackdown against unarmed civilians and the atrocities committed on women folk are conspicuous by their absence.

Shri V K Gaur, IG, BSF (Retd)

Pakistan to Burma : Re-Birth of India. *By Dr Arvind Dayal (New Delhi : Manas Publications, 2005), 236p, Rs 495.00, ISBN 81-7049-212-2.*

All confidence building measures can at best lead to complacency on the part of India. There may not be a political solution to Kashmir problem. To an average Indian mind there can be only three possible solutions. First, both India and Pakistan accept the Line of Control as International Border. Second, both India and Pakistan withdraw from Kashmir and accept it as an independent sovereign country. Third, both countries fight to the finish and the winner keeps Kashmir. Fortunately (or unfortunately), no political or military leader in either country is capable of seeing any of these alternatives to its logical end as it calls for absolute confidence of their masses. Dr Arvind Dayal in his seemingly incredible attempt at future suggests a modified third solution and consequent resurgence of India as a world power in this book.

The book comprises archives from newspapers the world over and dispatches sent by a young reporter, who once went to the National Defence Academy and was withdrawn from there on medical grounds. In the bargain he had developed a keen interest in matters *militaire*. Written in simple language and interesting though unconventional style, this book catches and maintains the reader's interest right through. Although, the author underestimates the destructive forces and gives overpowering supremacy to anti-terror armies, his aptly brought-in 'reasons why' make the reader pause and say 'why not'. A prescient book that must be read by every one who is proud to be an Indian. Recommended for general reading in all formation and unit libraries.

Major General Yatindra Pratap (Retd)

Local Government Finance - Some Political Aspects: A Case Study of Punjab. *By Professor Ayaz Muhammad (Karachi : Oxford University Press, 2004), 240p, Rs. 300.00, ISBN 0-19-5799178.*

A very interesting book, which covers the evolution of local government finances in Pakistan through a case study of Punjab. The strength of the work lies in a detailed study of the subject in hand against the backdrop of socio-political scene of undivided India to establish the historical context. Professor Ayaz Muhammad has quoted extensively from English, Indian and Pakistani authors to establish the step by step changes that came about in the decision-making process of local government revenue by incorporation of the changing socio-political, economic and administrative norms in the subcontinent, before and after the creation of Pakistan. He has fearlessly raised the level of discussion to such a high academic standard that some of the observations can serve as a key to local government reforms applicable to the whole subcontinent, across national boundaries, for the common good of the people.

The fundamental point that has been convincingly established in the book is that "in most countries local governments manage many essential services". It is further argued in chapter four on finance that the growth in prices, population and economic activity in rapidly urbanising countries imposes demands on public expenditure that can only be met by both substantial and buoyant resources. The challenge is to "identify sources that combine these characteristics with an equitable incidence and encouragement of efficient use and narrow the gap between resources and needs by increasing the revenue and / or decreasing the level of obligation".

It is interestingly argued that both in democracies and dictatorships, ultimately it boils down to a "process of equalisation", which is a precondition for decentralisation or devolution. Governments are shy of recognising this for the fear of losing control and hence resort to grants to exercise patronage distorting the system where some councils get more than their fair share of the finances. An interesting statistics states that the dependency of district councils and the urban authorities, on central or provincial grant accounted for 3.29 per cent of the total income in 1981-2, and 3.85 per cent in 1985-6. It stood at 8.98 per cent of their total expenditures in 1990-91; in some cases it rose to 9.1 per cent of total income by 1999-2000 !

The recommendations like paying attention to constitutional status and financial aspect of local councils, at chapter six, detailed arguments

supported by a vast bibliography and 44 pages of appendices make this a highly valuable book of reference on local government finance in the subcontinent.

Lieutenant General B S Malik, PVSM, AVSM (Retd)

A Judge Speaks Out. *By Ajmal Mian (Karachi : Oxford University Press, 2004), 393 p, Rs. 595.00, ISBN 0-19- 579984-4)*

The book, an autobiography, is replete with interesting anecdotes and poignant moments. It emerges as a useful chronicle of judicial evolution (or degradation) in Pakistan. It provides a valuable insight into historical events like contempt of court proceedings, imposition of emergency, military courts and freezing of foreign exchange accounts.

The book throws light on judicial approach to the martial law and the state of judiciary therein. After coup d'etat, General Zia-ul-Haq imposed martial law throughout Pakistan on 5 July 1977 and held the Constitution in abeyance. On 13 July 1977 all the permanent Chief Justices of Sindh, Balochistan, Punjab and the NWFP were appointed as acting Governors of their respective provinces.

The narration reveals a significant coincidence. On 11 and 13 May 1998 India tested five nuclear devices. This generated a great deal of anxiety in Pakistan. Pakistan conducted five nuclear tests on 28 May 1998, despite pressure from international leaders including Bill Clinton, Tony Blair and Jacques Chirac not to carry out tests. On the same day Proclamation of Emergency was made followed by an order by the President suspending fundamental rights.

Members of higher judiciary in Pakistan are involved in groupism, intrigues and sectarian politicis trying to outdo each other in currying favours from politicians in power. The book demonstrates Ajmal Mian's differences with Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharief.

The book focuses on evolution of judicial system in Pakistan and the role of courts to check totalitarian tendencies during military regimes. An interesting addition to the collection of Pakistan Studies.

Major General Nilendra Kumar, AVSM, VSM

Additions to the USI Library for the Quarter - Ending September 2005

(The books reviewed in April-June 2005 issue have been added to the Library during this quarter but not shown in this list)

AIR POWER HISTORY

Air Power History: Turning Point from Kitty Hawk to Kosovo. Edited by Sebastian Cox and Peter Gray, London, Frank Cass, 2002, 362p, £ 20.00, ISBN 0-7146-8257-8

ANNUAL REPORT – DEFENCE

Ministry of Defence: Annual Report 2004-2005. New Delhi, Government of India, 2005, 242p, Rs. 150.00, ISBN NA

BIOGRAPHY

Who Killed Daniel Pearl? By Bernard Henri Levy, New Delhi, Rupa & Co., 2003, 454p, Rs. 295.00, ISBN 81-29107-08-2

FITNESS

Think Positive Rest Will Follow. By Mohinder M Walia, Noida, Yogi Foundation, 2005, 56p, Rs. 150.00, $4.99, ISBN NA

Total Fitness Management. By Mohinder M Walia, New Delhi, Anugraha Creation, 2005, 97p, Rs. 200.00, $4.99, ISBN NA

Power of Prayer. By Mohinder M Walia, Noida, Yogi Foundation, 2005, 64p, Rs. 150.00, $4.99, ISBN NA

Stress Free Living. By Mohinder M Walia, New Delhi, New Dawn Press, 2005, 95p, Rs. 200.00, $5.99, ISBN 1-84557-125-8

GLOBALISATION – ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS

The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Globalized World in the Twenty-First Century. By Thomas L Friedman, London, Allen Lane, 2005, 488p, £ 20.00, ISBN 0-713-99878-4

INSURGENCY – INDIA

Insurgent Frontiers: Essays from the Troubled Northeast. By E N Rammohan, New Delhi, India Research Press, 2005. 190p, $ 39.95, ISBN 81-87943-80-7

Crossing the Frontiers of Conflict in the North East and Jammu and Kashmir: From Politik to Ideal Politik. By V K Nayar, New Delhi, Shipra Publications, 2005, 312p, Rs. 650.00, ISBN 81-7541-218-6

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Grave New World: Security Challenges in the 21st Century. Edited by Michael E Brown, Washington DC, Georgetown, University Press, 2003, 342p, ISBN NA

IRAQ – HISTORY

The Creation of Iraq, 1914-1921. Edited by Reeva Spector Simon and Eleanor H Tejirian, New York, Columbia University Press, 2004, 181p, $19.95 ISBN 0-231-13293-X

ISRAEL

Bad News From Israel. By Greg Philo and Mike Berry, London, Pluto Press, 2004, 315p, £ 10.99, ISBN 0-7453-2061-9

MIDDLE EAST – HISTORY

The Modern Middle East: A Political History Since the First World War. By Mehran Kamrava, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2005, 497p, $24.75, ISBN 0-520-24149-5

TERRORISM

Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism. By Robert A Pape, New York, Random, 2005, 335p, $ 25.00, ISBN 1-4000-6317-5

Imperial Hubris: Why the West is Losing the War on Terror. By Sr. US Intelligence Officer (Anonymous), New Delhi, Manas Publications, 2005, 307p, Rs. 595.00, ISBN 81-7049-262-9

UNITED STATES – FOREIGN RELATIONS

Colossus: The Price of America's Empire. By Niall Ferguson, New York, Penguin Press, 2004, 384p, $25.95, ISBN 1-59420-013-0

WAR

The Behavioral Origins of War. By D Scott Bennett and Allan C Stam, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Pres, 2004, 289p, $ 24.95, ISBN 0-472-06844-X

Intelligence and the War against Japan: Britain, America and the Politics of Secret Service. By Richard J Aldrich, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000, 500p, £ 30.00, ISBN 0-521-64186-1

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