

## Short Reviews of Recent Books

**Jihad and Co.: Black Markets and Islamist Power.** *By Aisha Ahmad, (New Delhi : Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 303, Price Rs 595.00, ISBN 9780190872656*

This exhaustively researched book provides insights into the Islamist world of Middle East, Africa and South Asia. Islamists consolidating wealth and power are reasoned as: success of business-Islamists alliance juxtaposed over the political-business-cum-mafia pedestal; nexus of Islamist and business elites creating Islamist proto-state albeit jihad waged by Islamists is not limited to creating political order.

The book begins with business tycoons in Peshawar servicing Afghan civil war; rise and remarkable success of Taliban; concurrent government collapse in Somalia; emergence of war-related business elite; and rise of the Islamic Courts Union (ICU). Traders and tycoons strategically support Islamists in civil war conditions because (a) Islamic identity increases cooperation, cuts transaction costs and enables access across factional lines, and; (b) Islamist ability to cut business community's security costs. The author narrates how Taliban and ICU established Islamist proto-states using business.

The book describes short-term strategic support to Islamists by business elite and long-term Islamisation of business class culminating in rise of Islamic power. Downfall of Taliban and ICU through international intervention is also covered. Rise of Islamic State in Iraq-Syria with collusion of business, as also financial origins of and ties with local business class of other Islamist groups like AQIS, AQIM, and TTP etc. are described, in addition to Pakistan's support to Taliban. Lower rates of business and security are offered by Islamist groups to oust competing factions but extortion continues against captive business community. Jihadist proto-state thrives in political vacuum with endogenous desire of bringing order.

The concluding observations are an interesting mix: despite Islamist proto-state success in controlling power at home, its future at international level is destined for failure; with jihadist movements springing up in civil wars, the phenomenon appears uncontrollable; international community has failed to effectively eliminate these groups that have multiplied engulfing regions in violence; world

faces a problem it cannot accept and cannot control but this impasse is unsustainable. The author offers new approach to resolve the problem: incentivising the business class, engaging with area experts, and exercising restraint in new interventions in the Muslim world.

The book is recommended to be read by all studying the spread of jihadism since it establishes for the first time the role of business in aggravating the problem. The solution recommended by the author, however, should be seen in backdrop of global powers using Islamists as proxy forces, country like Pakistan using terror as foreign policy and country like China supporting rogue regimes and terrorism generating countries.

**India's Coastal Security: Challenges, Concerns and Way Ahead.** By Brig Hemant Mahajan, YSM (Pune: Madhavi Prakashan, 2017), pp. 336, Price Rs. 600.

The development milestones in Indian coastal security, like many other security issues, were a response to specific attacks. The first effort occurred with the revelation that the explosives used for the 1993 Mumbai serial blasts came by the sea. The second effort was as a part of the border management, based on the recommendations of a Group of Ministers formed post Kargil War. The 26/11 Mumbai terrorist attacks of 2008 finally galvanised the Indian establishment to undertake holistic development of coastal security in substantial measure. Nine years into the effort, it is still work in progress and this book is timed to take stock of the jobs completed and those pending.

Coastal security management varies from land border management in three different ways. First, unlike a land border, the jurisdiction going seawards does not change abruptly but is a gradual change as mandated by UN Convention on Laws of the Sea (UNCLOS). Second, the number of government organisations involved is substantially higher, making co-ordination difficult. Third, there are numerous globally accepted norms, agreements and conventions that have to be complied with in co-ordination with global maritime agencies.

This book has been commissioned under the Maritime Research Fellowship Program of the Maritime Research Centre, Indian Maritime Foundation, Pune. It covers all aspects of coastal

security substantially. The author first narrates the history of the development of coastal security in India. Thereafter, he brings out the threats and challenges in coastal security. In the next chapter, he covers the global maritime environment, external threats and the doctrine and strategy documents of the Indian Navy that are not necessarily directly relevant to coastal security. The chapter dedicated to the Indian Coast Guard has a substantial amount of information about the force including its responsibilities, organisation, capabilities, budget and development plans. One of the chapters covers the tasks assigned to the Marine Police and the present state of the Marine Police in the respective coastal states. The next chapter narrates the status of the coastal security mechanism at the state level in respective coastal states. One of the chapters is dedicated to the Indian Navy and its activities relevant to coastal security. This includes the development of Maritime Domain Awareness (MDA) capabilities and the constabulary role undertaken by the Indian Navy. An overview is provided of all the other agencies involved in coastal security and the tasks being executed by them. The security arrangements for ports and offshore installations are covered next. The security of the island territories is covered in a separate chapter. The multiple intelligence agencies involved and the challenges involved in their co-ordination have been covered. The legal framework that is unique to the coastal/maritime environment is also discussed along with that of private maritime security companies. Finally, the author has undertaken a survey of best practices from agencies abroad. The recommendations of the author are provided at the conclusion of each chapter and summarised in the final chapter.

The book suffers from lack of tight editing and that has resulted in duplication and fragmentation in the narrative. Overall, it is a useful primer of information on all aspects of coastal security.

*Commander Subhasish Sarangi*

**India, Europe and Pakistan.** Edited by Rajendra K Jain, (New Delhi: Knowledge World 2018), pp..291, Price Rs 960, ISBN 9789386288882.

This collection of 13 essays is the product of a seminar held in India in March 2015 with funding from the European Union (EU). Despite the inclusion of India in the title, the bulk of the essays deal with Pakistan from the perspective of EU states.

The predominant theme of the book is that the EU's relations with India and Pakistan are driven by ground realities. Most of the essays look at various aspects of Pakistan's relations with the EU in the context of India's status as an emerging power. Pakistan's domestic and external challenges are highlighted as major factors impacting negatively on the prospects of greater engagement with the EU.

Pramit Pal Chaudhuri's pithily written essay on how the EU has endorsed India's policy of dealing with the Kashmir issue in its bilateral engagement with Pakistan is meticulously researched. The Editor, Rajendra K Jain, has written comprehensively on the interaction between the EU and Pakistan through the prism of Pakistan's attempt to sustain democracy, emphasising the role of its domestic players. The essay by Shanthie D'Souza on NATO and Pakistan is useful for those interested in how bordering states like India should respond to Pakistan's "major non-NATO ally" status. Hartmut Elsenhans' perception of Pakistan is pessimistic, highlighting the pitfalls ahead for Pakistan's policy of exploiting its "geopolitical rent" due to its location in the region. Ajay Darshan Behera, writing on Pakistan at the crossroads, concludes that the current dominance of Pakistan by its military will continue. The focus of EU concerns regarding radicalisation and terrorism emanating from Pakistan are well brought out in the essays by Jean-Luc Racine and Christian Wagner, written from the perspectives of France and Germany.

Stefano Gatto poses an interesting question about the relevance of the EU for Pakistan following China's emergence as a major player in Pakistan's economic development paradigm. Most of the essays see more promise for EU trade and development, rather than political, engagement with Pakistan.

Three of the essays, by BK Krishnamurthy, Sheetal Sharma and Bhaswati Sarkar, deal with the role of the Pakistani diaspora in influencing EU policy to the region. All these essays illustrate the current concerns regarding migration and integration in the EU.

The book is a timely and useful addition for the library.

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**Securing India the Modi Way – Pathankot, Surgical Strikes and More.** By Nitin A Gokhale, (Bloomsbury, New Delhi, 2017), pp..226, Price Rs 499, ISBN 9789386643872

The book is a must read for not only the defence and strategic experts, but for all interested in national security, especially the military and foreign policy makers and contributors. There has been a definite shift in the Modi Government's outlook towards national security issues and the way it conducts business. In a first of its kind, Nitin Gokhale analyses the key events in the last three years of the Modi Government which have contributed to a risen and responsible India wherein the nation has asserted its rightful place, especially in the security domain, both external and internal. He has carried out extensive research with obvious access to certain official accounts and detailed interviews with policy makers and executors.

The book details the surgical strikes from the decision of the executive to the execution by the Special Forces, both in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (PoK) and Myanmar. The surgical strikes, especially in PoK, are a game changer at the strategic level. Gokhale, with an easy to understand narrative, describes the strategic implications, the decision to go public, avoiding escalation as also the execution. This should help put to rest the ongoing debate on the conduct of the surgical strikes and the strategic pay offs. It is also the first time that an authentic account of the Pathankot terror attack with the role played by various stakeholders including the NSA, NSG and the *Garuds* has been highlighted, however, the narrative absolves all for the prolonged operations and avoidable casualties suffered. The terror attack has also been compared with similar attacks in Sri Lanka, Pakistan and the US Air Base in Afghanistan.

Modi's China policy is aptly discussed and described as "Standing up to China". DOLAM (not Doklam) is for once mentioned with the established and correct name - a sure indicator of the authors on ground feel and knowledge of the terrain and its strategic importance. The Dolam standoff is detailed, from the initiation by the PLA in May 2017 to its peaceful resolution on 28/29 August, covering the essential geopolitical and geostrategic manoeuvring and implications. The India-China relations are also discussed in the backdrop of the Chumar and Depsang intrusions, the SCO and China's three warfares.

In the internal security domain, the book covers the Left Wing Extremism and Jammu and Kashmir. Surprisingly the various internal security challenges in the northeast have been left out, especially any mention of the historic Naga Peace Accord inked by the Modi Government in August 2015.

The author has also analysed the re-engagement with the 'Middle East', harnessing space for defence and securing the cyber domain. Gokhale details the various defence reforms essential for a secure India, from promulgating the Defence Procurement Policy (DPP) 2016, analysing the Government's decision to eventually procure 36 Rafale *vis-a-vis* 126 MMRCA, taking the India-US relations to a different level and signing of the Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA).

This book is by far one of its kind making for easy but compulsive reading and details PM Modi's approach to national security and foreign policy initiatives, as also style of functioning and decision making. The author has achieved a fine balance by giving out adequate details but remained within the confines of confidentiality that could have jeopardised strategic and operational security.

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