

Short Reviews of Recent Books

Staying Together: The G-8 Summit Confronts the 21st Century.
By Nicholas Bayne (England : Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005), 251p,
£ 45.00, ISBN-0-7546-4267-4.

6/c The Book, gives a clear and comprehensive account of the G-Summit series. It explores the issues, the institutions and strategies of the participants in the G-Summit network of global governance and other action, processes, and the challenges that shape global order in the 21st century. It evaluates the achievements, the roles played by various world leaders and the fictions that exist between them due to domestic compulsions. It validates the belief of the heads of governments of major powers that their intervention was justified to resolve major economic and other issues like globalisation, terrorism and emerging political security challenges.


The first two chapters including the introduction contain an over view of the G-7 Summits from the inaugural meeting at Rambouillet (Paris) to the Denver Summit of 1997. The first G-8 sequence began at Birmingham (UK) in 1998. The next seven chapters constitute the core of the book and each chapter covers a single summit. The assessment chapters examine the groups of subjects that formed the principal themes from Birmingham onwards. These themes are judged against a consistent set of criteria. The last two chapters examine how the summit formats have changed over the first G-8 sequence to meet objectives and threats posed to the existence of this institution.

The author has given an authentic account in chronological order that facilitates clear understanding of the issues and developments. A lot of useful data is presented in a tabulated form to give an overall view of the G-7 and G-8 summits. According to assessment of the author, the G-7 summits held at Rambouillet (1975) and Bonn (1978) achieved the most; and France and Germany were good hosts. caps

According to the author, the G-8 summit faces three dangers to its continued life: the summit has become more costly and difficult to organise, the G-8 is no longer considered a rational grouping because no serious decisions can be taken without involving a wider circle of countries, and the summit could lapse because of a complete breakdown in cooperation among the participating heads. Notwithstanding these threats, the author feels that there is still a lot of merit in the G-8 staying together as a world without it would be increasingly dangerous. 5

The book is interesting and stimulating. It gives insight into the emerging threats to the world in the 21st century and is, therefore, a valuable addition to the library.

Major General Samay Ram, UYSM, AVSM, VSM (Retd)

Soldiering with Faith : The Sikh Light Infantry. Edited by Colonel Harjeet Singh (Retd) (Fategarh : Sikh Light Infantry Regimental Centre, 2006), 200p, Price not indicated, 

A remarkably well documented history of the Sikh Light Infantry presented in the form of a coffee table book. The concept and design of the cover in gold and silver is brilliant and will have instant appeal to book lovers.

4/c The story of the Regiment is well structured and the narrative well illustrated documenting its origins from the Corps of the Sikh Pioneers who were in the forefront of every campaign from 1857 to 1929 the world over and that includes China the North West Frontier, Tibet, and Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia and France during World War I. They were disbanded in 1933 as a measure of economy and were re-raised in 1941 as the Mazbhi and Ramdasia Regiment and renamed as the Sikh Light Infantry shortly thereafter. The Sikh Light Infantry took part in World War II as part of the British Indian Army on the battlefields of Burma where the newly raised Regiment did exceptionally well.

4/c The narratives are easy to read and the excellent photographs make the story of the Regiment more interesting. What comes through the narratives is the courage, resilience, tenacity and loyalty of the Sikh Light Infantry soldier who was and continues to be recruited from the Mazbhi and Ramdasia Sikhs well known for their indomitable will, matchless loyalty and dauntless spirit.

The book highlights the steadfastness of the Sikh Light Infantry soldier and reflects his integrity, valour and commitment. The Regiment was raised and re-raised in times of strife and continues to soldier on with the Indian Army in times of war and peace collecting honours and awards as they march to a glorious future. 4/c

4/c The book reflects the spirit of the Regiment and the regimental pride that shapes the recruit from the time of his joining till he retires and inspires him to acts of courage beyond the call of duty. The thirty five battle honours, the impressive array of honours and awards pre and post independence and the unit citations testify to the gallant record of this illustrious Regiment and showcase the part played by the Regiment, in every campaign from 1857 to the present day. 4/c

Major General Ian Cardozo, AVSM, SM (Retd)

Who Owns CBI - The Naked Truth. B R Lall IPS (Retd), (Manas Publications : 2007), 338p. Rs. 495.00, ISBN 81-7049-293-9.

Whenever a major scam comes to light or a gruesome crime hits the headlines, there is public demand for referring the case to the Central Bureau of Investigation. The CBI, as it is commonly known, has earned the reputation of being the ultimate investigative agency and a potent tool for eradication of corruption in public service. But is everything really all that good within the agency? Are its top leaders always free from manipulation by corrupt political elite? Are they fair, honest and impartial? These are questions BR Lall has attempted to answer by narrating his experience of working in the CBI as a Joint Director. Needless to say, the book is an eye opener and the author deserves credit for letting people know about what goes on inside the hallowed portals of the agency.

Mr Lall joined the IPS in 1967 and retired as DG Police, Haryana. He came to the CBI in April 1994 as Joint Director and piloted the investigation of several important cases such as the "Jain Hawala Case", "The Assam letter of Credit case", "V Krishnamurthy case" etc. In well documented chapter after chapter, Lall has revealed how the corrupt and the mighty successfully manipulated two Directors and managed to scuttle investigation of cases entrusted to the CBI. In fact, according to Lall, the agency connived with the guilty. When Lall resisted, he was drawn into a collision course with his superior officer. No wonder he was packed off from the CBI in less than three years.

The author has made public a number of letters sent by him to his Director besides giving details of day to day developments in connection with investigation of those high profile cases which, he felt, were being deliberately subverted with full knowledge of the agency's top brass. In chapter 11, Lall has outlined a framework for fighting corruption. He has made several useful suggestions but who will be seriously interested in rooting out corruption? The author has annexed the full text of Prime Minister Deve Gowda's address at the CBI conference on 22 November 1996 in which the PM ridiculed all those who are agitated over the issue of corruption in public life. Gowda even asked the officers of the anti-corruption agency "which country is free from corruption?" Although it may sound incredible, the Prime Minister even went on to say that the media should be blamed for raising the bogey of corruption. The fact of the matter is that the political leaders are interested in pursuing vote bank politics. They are least interested in ensuring corruption free governance.

The book should be read because people have the right to know how this premier agency is vulnerable to manipulative partnership between corrupt politicians and pliant police officers who are called upon to head the CBI.

Shri Kalyan K Mitra, IPS (Retd)

Spying on the Bomb. By Jeffrey T Richelson (New York : WW Norton & Company, 2006), 702p, Price not indicated, ISBN 0-393-05383-0.

Having mastered the genie of nuclear fission in the late 1930s, the United States determined that any other country acquiring the same knowledge could pose a threat to its national interests. So, from the 1940s onwards, it launched an extensive programme of espionage on not only its enemies, but on friends, allies and neutrals. The narrative in this book describes not only the efforts of the US to gain as much knowledge as possible of the nuclear programmes of different countries, but places these efforts in the context of what is known of the evolution of the programmes themselves. The author uses published sources, including newspaper reports and leavens this with records of declassified CIA reports and minutes of discussions within the US establishment.

It is remarkable how widely the US intelligence community spread its tentacles, using universities, scientists, diplomats and journalists to assist in information gathering and analysis. As sources, the intelligence community relied on refugees, defectors (by and large thought to be unreliable), POWs, published literature, and as technology improved, aerial filtering and satellite photography of higher and higher resolution. Other methods to track nuclear detonations were also used, later included in the text of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. (In fact, the Treaty envisages the analysis of all collected data by the International Data Centre in Arlington, Virginia, before being sent to the CTBTO.) The author also, in an enlightening description of the intelligence gathered on Iraq's nuclear programme, details the close interlinkages between the US intelligence efforts and the information gathered by the IAEA inspectors.

The author details the US intelligence gathering on the nuclear programmes of Germany (during World War II), the USSR, China (in China's case, it appears that Kennedy even thought of military action to take out the Chinese facilities, and a 'mole' in the Chinese programme informed the US of Chinese-Pakistani cooperation.), France and India, the "pariahs", Israel, apartheid South Africa, and Taiwan, the "rogues", Iraq, North Korea, Iran and Pakistan.

In the context of the recent public uproar about a 'mole' in India's programme, the author's description of the 1995 'episode' lays that claim to rest. Indeed, he says, "...the Israeli, South African and Indian programmes apparently have proved immune from whatever human penetration attempts were made by the CIA."

Clearly, the author is a true believer, and his political judgments are coloured by his leanings. Yet this book is almost non-put-downable in its

flow and in the accumulation of information not only about the target countries, but about the US policies over a period of time.

Ms Arundhati Ghose, IFS (Retd)

The Labour Movement in Pakistan : Organization and Leadership in Karachi in the 1970s. By Zafar Shaheed (*Pakistan : Oxford University Press, 2007*), 350p, Rs. 550.00, ISBN 0-19-5473-95-0.

The first question that arises is why more than 20 years later the author and the publishers have not provided answers to this important topic? It is a seminal work for which the author earned a Ph D from the University of Leeds. Zafar Shaheed joined the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and later in 1979, the International Labour Office, also an organisation of the UN. A

The author was not on the scene in Pakistan for long periods to update his work. But, his scholarly friends insisted that he should bring his work in the public domain so that other scholars and labour experts could use his insights as a base for scientists exploration of Labour Movement in Pakistan and bring the picture up to date. That indeed has happened. As a follow up, the Oxford University Press has published some books, such as Chador and the Market Female Office Workers in Lahore by Jasmin Mirza and Taboo Hidden Culture of a Red Light Area by Fouzia Saeed. 2

The author has tried not to mention the names of labour leaders in his book so that they do not harm him in the limited democracy or near lack of it in Pakistan. But, they were the key sources of the author's research. He has tried to focus on women workers in Pakistan. But did so to experiment with democracy in mid 1970's as perhaps being done now in a restricted way. This aspect is a highly limited exercise but the new generation of educated and qualified entrepreneurs is open to ideas of labour welfare for research of better production. 15

The book covers mainly textile industries in Pakistan today. A well researched book of good value to the research scholars.

Commodore R P Khanna, AVSM (Retd)

SAPANA : South Asian Studies-SAARC, Volume XIII, Edited by Imtiaz Alam, Editor of South Asian Journal and Secretary General of South Asian Free Media Association (SAFMA), (Lahore : Free Media Foundation, 2006), 499p, price not indicated, ISBN 969-9069-12-3.

The book is a compilation of well researched articles by some of the best scholars on their respective subject in the South Asian region. It has

been prepared by members of the 14 research groups constituted under the South Asian Policy Analysis (SAPANA) Network based in Pakistan, to develop a virtual think tank which was to carry out research and propose policy alternatives on issues critical to the region. The group consisting of researchers from all member countries and some Europeans was assigned to examine the working of SAARC against the backdrop of the challenges that South Asia faces.

The sheer volume should not deter the readers as most of the authors have given their independent bibliography and the last 120 pages are devoted to the background papers on SAARC which one may browse. There are over 25 short articles, which virtually encompass all the major challenges that face the region in becoming the centre of gravity in global affairs. The articles are thought provoking and provide unbiased and genuine alternatives to the policy makers.

Majority of the writers have opined that although there is much greater demand within civil society for greater cooperation within South Asia, the idea of SAARC has remained just an idea! Action has been conspicuous by its absence. The single most important factor that is responsible for retardation of progress is the continued conflict between India and Pakistan. It has been unanimously agreed that it is the root cause of slow development of SAARC agenda. It is heartening to find a refreshing new approach in the book by many authors. Without the usual 'blame games', the approach of most writers is forward looking. It has been highlighted that for the regional grouping to become acceptable, meaningful and substantive, besides setting aside their tendency to politicise issues for reasons of domestic expediency, a number of other inadequacies need rectification to create more dynamic and efficient structures and institutions. Particularly the current SAARC secretariat, the purported backbone and main pillar of strength is powerless and ineffective. The Secretary General and Director's are nominated by the respective foreign officers and all the powers are concentrated in the hands of the Council of Ministers and Annual Summit meetings. All the above structures are constituted of ex officio individuals who are not selected on merit or open competition.

The authors have been successful in their attempt to shift focus from political dynamics and the long list of failed expectations of SAARC, to a vibrant dialogue and debate on looking at SAARC as a 'peoples' organisation and a dynamic vehicle for substantive development in the region.

Lieutenant General RN Kapur, PVSM, AVSM & Bar (Retd)

Crescent Between Cross and Star : Muslims and the West After 9/11. by Iftikhar H Malik (Karachi : Oxford University Press, 2006), 371p, Rs 595.00, ISBN 0-19-547286-1.

Enemy's friend is often seen as an enemy. In the USA before and after 11 September 2001, in the UK after 7 July 2005 and in India ever since terrorism raised its ugly head, an average mind fails to perceive execution of these subversive tasks in an alien country, without support from Islamic faithful in these lands. Muslim diaspora have been alienated from the peoples of their adoptive countries.

In an atmosphere charged with mistrust, the descendents of Abraham are finding peaceful coexistence a challenging task. Attacks on Islamic countries by the USA, the UK and Israel on some pretext or the other appear to have become the order of the day. This book is an unbiased study of alienation of Muslims from Christians, Jews and to some extent, from Hindus.

Iftikhar H Malik, a Fellow of Royal Historical Society, is currently teaching international history and politics at Bath Spa University, England. From 1989 to 1994, he was *Quaid-i-Azam* fellow at St Anthony's College, Oxford. The author of several volumes and research papers, his teaching and research have focused on modern South Asian history, civil society in the Muslim world and the relationship between Islam and the West. His recent publications include *Jihad, Hindutva and the Taliban: South Asia at the Crossroads* and *Islam and Modernity: Muslims in Europe and the United States*.

The seven chapters of the book are devoted to diverse issues like mutual acrimonies, the triumvirate's traditions in present era, stance of contemporary writers on Islamic subjects, Afghanistan, Iraq and Israel. The Epilogue is of particular interest to Indian readers as it acknowledges forces sensitive to Muslim predicament and gives a resume of Indo-Pak conflictive relationship. The book has been written in an academic language and flowing style. The font though larger than *Jihad, Hindutva and the Taliban* is not a comfortable read for the aged, who invariably form a large portion of readers.

Recommended for general reading in all formation libraries.

Major General Yatindra Pratap (Retd)

Followers of Krishna : Yadavas of India. By Major General SDS Yadava (New Delhi : Lancer Publishers & Distributors, 2006), 185p, Rs. 595.00, ISBN 81-7062-2160.

The author dwells on the folklore of the yadavas, originally Ahirs, not just protectors of the cow, not just deeply faithful, but also great warriors,

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a) who showed their mettle in World War II, prior to that in 1857, and in a bygone era. But their finest hour was in the third week of November 1962 at Rezang La in Ladakh above Chushul Valley when they beat back the Chinese and laid down more than a hundred lives. As part of the Kumaon Regiment, commanded by Lt Col T P Raina, who rose to be the Chief of the Army Staff later, their Charlie Company commander, Major Shaitan Singh, won the Param Vir Chakra posthumously for historic battle at an altitude of 18,000 feet above sea level. His platoon's soldiers won eight more Vir Chakras, five of them posthumous, almost an unparalleled record in world military history. How did they do it? The tale of valour reveals Rezag La as a locality isolated from the main sector and defended by five platoon positions. On the night of 17/18 November the Chinese subjected Rezag La to heavy artillery, mortar and small arms fire and followed it up with human wave tactics in overwhelming strength. Major Shaitan Singh and his men foiled the attack with the major inspiring his men even when mortally wounded. The Chinese left behind 1,310 dead with the last man of Charlie Company of 118 fighting valiantly. Of them one officer, two JCOs and 106 other ranks laid down their lives. In 1963, the bodies of Ahir soldiers were recovered, with most men still holding their weapons. A Chinese radio broadcast on 23 November confirmed that they had suffered their maximum casualties in the battle of Rezag La. It was a saga of indomitable courage, according to General Raina, himself a winner of Maha Vir Chakra.

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In World War II, Havildar Umrao Singh had won a Victoria Cross fighting the Japanese in the Kaladan Valley of the Arakans in Burma, now Myanmar.

Having migrated from Central Asia around 6000 BC, they faced invasions from Alexander, Persians and Turks and overcame adversities. Eventually, they established flourishing empires like Bhattis of Jaisalmer, Yadavas of Devgiri and Hoysala Yadavas of Mysore, according to the author.

Maj Gen Yadava would like the Indian Army to have a pure Ahir or Yadava Regiment, and just 25 per cent represented in the Kumaon Regiment as they are the single largest community of India. He would like a fitting memorial to Charlie Company in the heartland of India, not just at Chushul.

The author is to be commended for a well researched book of interest to all Army Officers and Jawans in particular those of infantry.

Commodore R P Khanna, AVSM (Retd)

While Memory is Fresh. By Major General Jagjit Singh (New Delhi : Lancer Publishers & Distributors, 2006), 259p, price not indicated, ISBN 817-0622-15-8.

The book "While Memory is Fresh" is an account of the varied situations that came in way of Major General Jagjit Singh (Retd), who spent forty glorious years in uniform. A full eventful life it had been for him, in its many manifestations - some pleasant and some not so pleasant. He has narrated the challenges that he was faced with. How he found himself on the cross-road of life, at times, and the decision that he made, which route to follow. Looking back, it was invariably an interplay between destiny, on the one hand, and his will, on the other.

As a front line sailor during the Second World War and later as a front line soldier in all post-independence wars fought by India, there were occasions when fear entered his mind. The General has dedicated his reminiscences to the youth of India, with befitting words of advice. He also expressed his views in the last chapter under the caption - "India on the Forward March" in which he dealt with subjects viz - India's placing on the International Chess Board, Defence Preparedness, Weaknesses to rectify and Service of Mother India. varied

Of equal relevance is a "Concept Paper" written by the General. He has made a strong case in advocating Voluntary National Service by the Youth of India, for a period of two years. The paper brings out the manner in which our youth can help in promoting national development, better discipline and furtherance of India's security both internal and external.

Coming straight from his heart, both young and old shall find Major General Jagjit Singh's autobiographical note to be informative, interesting and authentic. In chapters 16 onwards the General has made some recommendations which merit due consideration by the powers that be. This book is worth reading and recommended for all age groups.

Colonel S K Sharma (Retd)

Armed Conflicts and Peace Processes in South Asia : 2006. Edited by D. Suba Chandran, (New Delhi : Samskriti : In Collaboration with IPCS and KAF, 2007), 323p, Rs. 695.00, ISBN : 81-87374-89-9.

South Asia has been beset with a number of inter-states and intra-state armed conflicts, which started soon after the end of colonial rule in the Indian sub continent at the end of the Second World War. The conflicts have caused not only loss of human lives but more importantly their continuance has impacted very adversely on the development of this impoverished region and its fight against poverty, illiteracy, disease and ignorance. Peace processes initiated in the past have failed to bring the

conflicts to any peaceful resolution. This book purports to create a data base on the armed conflicts and peace processes in South Asia, which will facilitate the academic community, think tanks and policy makers to understand better the nature and implications of the armed conflicts and the reasons for the failure to peace processes in the past and the status of the current efforts. This book is the first attempt towards that end, which the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies plan to publish annually; the essays of the annual publication having a common format - short history, principal actors, conflict in the previous year, peace processes and finally conclusion.

L/c Fortunately, the possibility of inter-state conflicts in South Asia is slim. Despite Kashmir Being described as the possible flash point of war between India and Pakistan, the peace process that started in 2004 is holding. Having acknowledged it, the essay on Jammu and Kashmir draws attention to the ground reality and to a more pernicious kind of inter-state violence in the form of proxy war and externally sponsored terrorism.

An analysis of armed conflicts in South Asia reveals that most conflicts are intra-state. Three essays on armed conflicts in India - in Jammu and Kashmir, the Northeast and the developing left-wing extremism - trace their genesis, which are rooted in demand for autonomy and cessation, tribal assertion and deprivation, the violence in Jammu and Kashmir and the Northeast have significant external dimension. The essay on tribal troubles in Waziristan and Balochistan are particularly instructive as it points to the vanishing distinction between inter-state and intra-state conflicts in the context of the emergence of Taliban in Afghanistan.

g The essays on Sri Lanka, Nepal and Bangladesh are equally illuminating and give valuable insight in to the nature of conflicts, which have torn the peoples of these countries apart. There are, however, aspects of the conflicts that have not been addressed. For example, the self-destructive role played by Prabhakaran in continuing violence in the island state; is he the sole representative of Sri Lankan Tamils and what happens to the Tamil Eelam when he is no longer on the scene? Will the movement fall apart; these are some questions, which have not been explored. Similarly, in Nepal, is democracy a panacea for all their problems; recent events suggest that people are not immune to radicalism and violence even in mature democracies, and what has been the experience of democratic governance in the past; what difference will the replacement of monarchy with republicanism make to the lives of millions of impoverished Nepalese. These are worrisome questions that need to be explored. The emergence of 'Jehadi' fundamentalism in Bangladesh is a frightening possibility to which the essay on the armed conflict in that country has very correctly drawn our attention.

The book ends with a detailed chronology of events in 2005 in each of the conflict areas, which is a gold mine for researchers. All the essays in the book are well researched and informative and fulfill the aim the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies has set for the 'annual'. Researchers on South Asia will eagerly look forward to the next volume of the book.

Brigadier SP Sinha, VSM (Retd)

Divided Cities : Partition and its Aftermath in Lahore and Amritsar 1947-1957. By Ian Talbot (Oxford University Press : 2006), 224p, Rs. 495.00, ISBN-13 : 978-0-19-547226-4.

The British Government announced on 20 February 1947 their intention to complete transfer of political and administrative power into Indian hands by 30 June 1948, even if there was no agreement between the Indian political parties. This precipitated the resignation of Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana as Prime Minister of undivided Punjab on 2 March 1947. As head of a small group of Muslim legislators, he explained he could not negotiate political or constitutional arrangements with the representatives of other communities in Punjab. Swaran Singh, a leader of the Sikh community, told the Governor of Punjab, Sir Evan Jenkins, that the tactics of the Muslim League showed that it wanted to seize Punjab for the Muslims. The Sikhs, he asserted, would not let this happen. He added the decision of the British Government had destroyed the chances of any arrangement between the three religious communities in Punjab and he saw no alternative to partition of the province. Since the Muslim League could not muster the numbers in the legislature to form a government on its own, Governor Jenkins took over the administration.

Dr. Ian Talbot has studied and written extensively on this period in the history of the Subcontinent. In the present volume, he narrates the travails of Lahore and Amritsar, the two major cities of Punjab prior to Independence. He records the suffering and destruction visited on the two cities with sympathy and understanding. There is no denying that the Muslims and the Hindu and Sikh communities led separate lives even though they exhibited warmth in personal or neighbourly interaction. He notes that the experience of the upper strata, the lower strata and the middle class consisting of mostly traders and small industrialists, differed markedly in the communal violence which engulfed Punjab.

The ferocity of clashes forced India and Pakistan to order exchange of population on religious basis - Hindus and Sikhs from Pakistani Punjab to Indian Punjab and Muslims in the other direction. He narrates the process of rehabilitation of the migrants in the two cities. He notes Lahore overcame the disadvantage of a frontier city due to its enhanced political importance; in contrast, Amritsar did not fare as well because the capital

of East Punjab was located in a new city and the trade and industry also moved further east.

By focusing on the plight of inhabitants of the two cities and their efforts to make a new beginning, Dr. Talbot brings in human dimension to the events leading to the independence of the Subcontinent. The book should be of interest to historians and social scientists alike.

Shri S K Bhutani, IFS (Retd.)

AK Bhutani

The Study of World Politics Volume I : Theoretical and Methodological Challenges. by James N. Rosenau, (London and New York : Routledge, 2006), 301p, price not indicated, ISBN 0-415-36338-1.

This collection of essays by one of America's best known scholar on the theory of international relations is a window to the stimulating debate on the uses and non-uses of theory as well as the patterns and paradigms within which to analyse contemporary international relations. The twenty-three articles of Prof Rosenau included in this volume range from those published in 1960 to those published in 2003, and some hitherto unpublished ones too. The articles represent, in the words of Rosenau, "a restlessness" with conventional approaches to the theories and methodologies used in the study of world politics, and a belief that the world is undergoing enormous changes and our theories and methods must be adjusted accordingly.

In an attempt to conceptualise the new dynamics that determine the shape of world politics today, Rosenau in his article, "Building Blocks of a New Paradigm for Studying World Politics", points out that the foremost amongst these is the "Skill Revolution". What it really means is that people all over the world, whether through the internet or otherwise, have evolved new capacities to "render distant events proximate", having acquired enhanced analytic, emotional and imaginative talents. In effect, people at all levels of community and in every part of the world have increasingly undergone empowerment. They know how to engage in collective action and thus contribute to the course of events. "Individuals have joined collectivities as central actors on the world stage", says Prof Rosenau. The truth of this dynamic is evident in the effectiveness of global civil society at various international fora. The other three dynamics to which Rosenau refers is the Organisational Explosion, the Disaggregation of Authority and the Bifurcation of World Politics, which has resulted in the emergence of a "multi-centric" world. He then examines the challenges of analysing such a world.

In another highly stimulating essay, "The Theoretical Imperative", Rosenau quite convincingly proves the relevance of theory in the study of international relations. To those who believe that theorising is "at best a

luxury and at worst, a silly counterproductive exercise", his answer is that world politics cannot be analysed properly unless you learn to differentiate between "the important and the trivial". In a sense, says Rosenau, we are all theorists, for we bring theory to bear every time we assess one or another aspect of world affairs. "Explication" i.e. an attempt to explain or interpret a phenomenon and the principles underlying it, constitute the core of the theoretical enterprise. No matter how crude the propositions or hypotheses may be, the very fact of explicating them means an endeavor towards theorising. The failure of most observers to anticipate the events of 1989-91 (end of Cold War) offers a classic case of the need for explicit theorising, says Rosenau. (FARE)

Theory and methodology have been the prime concerns of James Rosenau and this collection of articles offers us the choicest (fair) of his ruminations in these fields. It includes his famous article "Pre-Theories and Theories of Foreign Policy", as also an extremely interesting article on "The Birth of a Political Scientist" which dwells on the doubts, fears, trials and travails of a doctoral candidate. On the whole, it is a very valuable book for a student of International politics. 4/c

Professor Satish Kumar

Conflict in Jammu and Kashmir and Chechnya : Political and Humanitarian Dimensions. Debidatta Aurobinda Mahapatra and Seema Shekhawat (New Delhi : Lancer's Books, 2007), 209p, Rs 395.00, ISBN 81-7095-113-3.

The authors are currently associated with the Department of Strategic and Regional Studies, University of Jammu. They are also editor and sub-editor of the quarterly newsletter 'Across LOC' published from the University of Jammu. Dr Mahapatra holds a doctoral degree from the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi and has been a research fellow at the Institute of Asian and African Studies, Moscow State University, Moscow; Dr Shekhawat holds a doctoral degree from the Department of Political Science, University of Jammu. They are thus insightful as to the subject they have selected for this joint venture.

The authors rightly postulate that conflict in any part of the world is a complex issue, it can only end when peace returns to the minds and hearts of all the concerned parties. Every party to a conflict has a cause to espouse, be it state, ethnicity or terrorism. There can be a prospect of conflict resolution only when the parties involved agree on some common criteria. The incidents of 11 September 2001 brought the picture of international violence to the global agenda. Earlier violence was confined to pockets of certain regions. Now the terrorist menace has acquired an international character. The likes of Bin Laden, Mullah Omar, Basayev and Masood Azhar have played an active role in widening the terrorist network. 4/c

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The major brunt of the on-going conflict is borne by those residing in the conflict zone. The authors urge that the political dimension has over-shadowed the humanitarian side of these conflicts. The women have suffered most because of their vulnerability on account of their gender and as civilians, figuring in different roles – as victims, survivors, resisters, peace-builders and providing combat support, thereby making them more visible. Thus women have played an active role in coping, adapting and surviving against all odds.

While the authors extensively urge a similarity in the situation in Jammu and Kashmir and Chechnya, this reviewer is not in complete agreement as to such "perceptual convergence", mainly on account of the Pakistan factor in Jammu and Kashmir, as such an external instigator does not exist in Chechnya. Apart from this personal viewpoint of mine, the reading of this book is nevertheless a must for all who are associated with the current confidence building measures in Jammu and Kashmir.

To encapsulate at the macro-level, the terrorism virus is spreading; the world and its people are no longer safe. While the areas most affected have undoubtedly been till recently Chechnya and Kashmir, the mountains of the former North West Frontier Province (now in Pakistan) are no longer the ramparts that they had been for undivided India some 60 years ago. Today the molten lava of terror is lapping at the mainland of residual India. We can only relax our guard at our peril, notwithstanding the occasional human rights lapses in Jammu and Kashmir mentioned by the authors, which will be thoroughly investigated as the Prime Minister of India has assured. As this review went to press, the first ever session of the joint anti-terror mechanism, triggered by the Mumbai blasts had met in Islamabad, by circumstance with a backdrop of misgivings. Primarily, most of the terrorism against India, and Indian interests, has its origin in Pakistan.

To conclude, this book has its niche in the bibliography of the Jammu and Kashmir militancy, alongside books like Lieutenant General Arjun Ray's "Kashmir Diary" (Manas, 1998), not mentioned in the extensive bibliography appended to the book under review.

Lieutenant General S L Menezes, PVSM, SC (Retd)

The Fantastic Fifth : A History of the Oldest Indian Infantry Brigade.

By Colonel Anil Shorey (New Delhi : Force Multi Press, 2005), 152p, Rs. 495.00.

The book covers the operations carried out by the Brigade since its raising in 1939 at Jhansi, through the 2nd W W, 1947-48 Jammu and Kashmir Ops and 1962 Indo-China War. In the last chapters, it covers administrative and operational difficulties faced by the formation since its deployment in Arunachal Pradesh.

Operations

While the first seven chapters cover operations, the last four give details of NEFA. A number of photographs and a few maps support the narrative. The operations during the 2nd WW are well researched and described, as these have been extracted from books and war diaries already published, and cover western Desert, Italy, Egypt, Tunisia, Greece and other battle theatres. However, these would have added more value with more maps and sketches. The chapter on 1947-48 Punch Link-Up is well covered, and is backed by official and regimental histories. caps

The most important chapter is of the 1962 India-China War. In this, while the author has covered the events and operations in Walong in adequate detail and apparently relied on material provided by the formation, not enough maps or sketches indicating local landmarks (like Ladder, Steps, Knoll) have been included, which leave a military reader imagining features and result in disjointed narrative. Also, no worth-while lessons have been drawn from these actions, for students of military history. THAT

The last four chapters covering various aspects of Arunachal Pradesh, and Siang region will be of interest to those who have not had the good fortune of visiting that beautiful part of our country. J

The author, Colonel Anil Shoery (Retd) needs to be complimented for his effort.

Lieutenant General Y M Bammi (Retd)

Impact of Science and Technology on Warfare. KV Gopalakrishnan (New Delhi : National Book Trust, 2003), 146p, Rs 50.00, ISBN 81-237-4060-3.

Not many authors in India have delved into the topic of the impact of science and technology on warfare. Professor Gopalakrishnan, a former professor and authority on internal combustion engine at Indian Institute of Technology, Madras has filled this void admirably. His style is simple, and ideas and language coherent. The slim book under review has a very good "power to weight ratio" as it covers more than two millenniums of the historic growth of technology and warfare in just 146 pages. The book has both the hard core topic of science, military technology and dual use technology explained with the help of photographs and diagrams. It is interspersed with philosophical observations on the nature of humankind's primordial propensity to wage war which needs to be understood for controlling it for a peaceful world. The author posits that science and technology may achieve what centuries of moral preaching has failed to achieve - the abolition of war. "power"

The book has 12 chapters. Each chapter unfolds the relationship of a group of technologies with warfare over the ages. Aspects include the impact of metals, chemical explosives (ammunition), steam power,

industrialisation, communications, internal combustion engines (the author's forte), airpower, rockets, electronics, and nuclear energy on warfare. The final chapter is an analysis of the past impact and the future trends warfare. Here, the author argues that two features of technological development which can make big wars impossible in the future. The first is the progressively destructive nature of weapons and the second is globalisation which leads to interdependence.

(gap) WW II
The book also is about the nature of strategy like how the Japanese military leadership was doubtful on the end state of war with the US during WWII. The author's observation that navy and air force are technology oriented and no amount of enthusiasm or spirit can compensate for lack of its application is fundamental. Another insight by the author is how due to technology, fire power with less manpower is the logical choice but the military brass wants to continue with the status quo. The portion on rockets, missiles and nuclear weapon technology including the gun type and implosion type and thermonuclear are good primers.

In an era of rapid progress, inventions and discoveries, there is need for the military community to develop, update and sustain a scientific temper. The subject "Science and Military Technology" in Staff College competitive examination may be necessary but not sufficient. The challenges of the so called Revolution in Military Affairs demands a scholar warrior ethos. Similarly civilian academics and scholars need to grasp the essentials of science and military technology. The Israeli author Martin Van Creveld's "Technology and War from 2000 BC to the Present" (1991) was the logical first choice in understanding the topic. Now the book under review comes under the same category. in its present form

Colonel PK Gautam (Retd)

Operation Bangladesh. By Colonel P K Gautam, Retd (New Delhi : Manas Publications), 192p, Rs 495.00, ISBN 81-7049-273-4.

4/c
This book is a first person account of life in 24 Medium Regiment during the year 1971 by one of its young officers. The writer has given a vivid account of his final days of training as a cadet and young officer, his joining the Regiment on commissioning, under field conditions in Arunachal Pradesh and thereafter, the move of the Regiment to concentrate the areas opposite Eastern borders of East Pakistan now Bangladesh. The participation of the Regiment in the operations prior to and during the Indo Pakistan war 1971 has been covered in great details.

While the account of training as a cadet and a young officer is no different from that experienced by many young Artillery officers, its distinct value lies in the writer's ability to rationalise the purpose of such trg in a mature manner. The events and thoughts of this period have been recalled well.

TRAINING

The account of the officer's joining the Regiment clearly brings to mind the functioning of a good regiment with extremely professional systems. The recall of the author's interactions with various officers, JCOs and key NCOs further illustrates the excellent team work and esprit de corps, a war winning factor that existed in this Regiment during 1971. 4/c

The main value of this book lies in the actions of the Regiment in its support of operations on the Eastern front during The Bangladesh Operations of 1971. The accounts are detailed, with good accounts of the overall operational plans of formations on both sides and the detailed Artillery plans of 24 Medium Regiment in support of these operations. The narration covers the events which formed part of the border skirmishes and thereafter the fast moving operations leading to the surrender by Pakistan at Dacca. The accounts are very balanced and succeed in capturing the essence and the excitement of the war. The author has taken great pains to research and include additional material from Indian, Pakistani and British sources to come across as a very balanced narrator of events. This book will be of special interest to Artillery officers, both in India and Pakistan. 4/c

A number of maps, equipment charts and a detailed bibliography add value to the book.

← Brigadier N Bahri VSM (Retd)

Security and Nuclear Stabilisation in South Asia. Edited by Imtiaz Alam (Lahore : South Asian Policy Analysis Network (SAPANA) 2006), 265p, price not indicated, ISBN 96-9906-001-8.

Since 1998, when India and then Pakistan carried out nuclear weapon tests and declared themselves nuclear weapon States, there has been considerable anxiety, particularly in the west, on the impact of this status on the fragile relations of the two hostile countries and the emergence of a nuclear flashpoint. In the countries themselves, apart from some public saber rattling, there has been a more sober assessment of the implications. However, apart from very recent developments, nuclear CBMs, or even discussions between the two countries to understand each other's 'strategic language', have not taken place. The attempt in this collection of essays to address this lacuna is, therefore, timely, if inadequate. 4/c

In 2005, under the aegis of SAARC, the South Asian Free Media Association (SAFMA) and the South Asia Journal established a "virtual" think-tank comprising an interactive network of scholars from South Asia, the South Asian Policy Analysis Network (SAPANA). Of the 14 working groups set up by SAPANA to examine the gamut of relationships, one In Corps

was devoted to the issue of the implications of nuclear security in the subcontinent and the means of promoting nuclear stability. Clearly, this boils down to Indo-Pak relations rather than a SAARC-wide issue, though it would have been of interest to hear the views of scholars from the other countries, ^{who} which live in this dangerous neighbourhood. The only non-Indian or Pakistani scholar has drawn attention to another often neglected yet increasingly significant threat to South Asian security, ^{which is} that of small arms.

Unfortunately for the subject, only two of the authors have directly addressed the issue of South Asian nuclear stability Ejaz Haider and Moeed Yusuf. The Indian authors are dominated by peace activists, who have recommended disarmament as the means to achieve stability thus not really contributing to the core issue. As Haider says, it is unlikely that either country would roll back their weapons programmes: the issue has to be assessed from that perspective. Some other issues have been addressed from the point of view of India's foreign policy, and some appear to have been included, almost as an after-thought. Nonetheless, the book is worth reading, if for nothing else, to focus the attention of both countries on an issue of singular importance.

Ms Arundhati Ghose, IFS (Retd)

Economic Diplomacy. By Shri I.P. Khosla (New Delhi : Konark Publisher, 2006), 268p, Rs. 600.00, ISBN 81-220-0721-2.

The Association of Indian Diplomats during the last few years, has been making seminal contribution in fields other than geopolitics of international relations. The present volume on economic diplomacy edited by Shri I.P. Khosla is a collection based on a seminar conducted in early 2006. This follows the equally valuable seminar on energy security and the volume published in 2005. What economic diplomacy is all about and how it has become a dominant aspect of international relations, is comprehensively brought out by Shri Khosla in his introduction. This volume brings together all aspects of economic diplomacy - policies, instruments, multitrack diplomacy etc., in a scenario of what appears to be an irreversible process of globalisation.

The challenges facing India in economic diplomacy are well brought out by Abid Hussain Asra, Arjun Asrani, Suman Bery, Manmohan Agarwal and Nagesh Kumar, Indra Nath Mukharji, Mahendra Lama and Saumitra Chaudhury. Arvind Virmani's masterly theory and hard data on global power and concept of power potential needs to be taken seriously by policy makers involved in short and long term economic diplomacy. Viewed against his perspective, the emphasis on economic segment of diplomacy assumes even greater importance.

One subject not covered is trading in defence equipment which of late has acquired very large economic dimensions with features such as offsets, buyback etc. and marking a distinct shift from the postwar partners in arms trade.

Reproduction of number of important documents on the importance of economic diplomacy adds value to this volume. Overall, an extremely useful volume for those interested in international relations.

book

Shri PR Shiva Subramanian

South Asia in World Politics. Edited by Devint Hagerty (Karachi, Pakistan : Oxford University Press, 2004), 311p, Rs 495.00, ISBN-13 : 978-0-19-547328-5, ISBN-10 : 0-19-547328-0.

A very timely book when Asia in general and South Asia in particular has been drawing world attention. South Asia is a very complex region due to its shared cultural history, inherently interdependent economic activity, very skewed geographical distribution of water, flatlands, forests, desert, seacoast and wetlands. It is to the credit of the editor to have included a chapter on Afghanistan since happenings in and through this area have greatly influenced South Asia over the years.

Over all structuring of the book appears to have been inadvertently influenced by a hangover of the Cold War paradigm of foreign relations and international power play of great powers based on the good old principle of the 'balance of power'. This said, inclusion of post Cold War problems of ethnic conflicts, democratisation, economic liberalisation, globalisation, terrorism, religion and politics has added to the value of the book for readers not knowing enough about the region. In this context, it may be appropriate here to recall the description of the region by Morris Jones calling South Asia a "fractured region of fractured states, an enticing world of little cohesion."

HAVE

This theme could have been developed further for a better understanding of various underlying currents in South Asia. Contributors could have linked the geographical reality of South Asia demanding economic cooperation, with the political reality of attempts by some countries to develop linkages with far off powers and trade blocks resulting in continued economic deprivation, thriving unofficial trade and migration causing perpetual tension. This could then have helped discussion of the region based on the new paradigm of comprehensive national power (CNP) attributed to the Chinese. This includes natural resources, domestic as also external economic, scientific and technological capability. Social development level, military, governance, foreign affairs or diplomatic capability are also part of CNP.

Undoubtedly, the best contribution is by Devin T Hagerty himself in the introduction and while describing 'India's foreign relations' in chapter one with Herbert G Hagerty. The issue of the boundaries of South Asia and that of the book have been well covered, setting a perfect stage for other contributors. However in chapter one, there are certain long held beliefs like India and Pakistan being very close to a flash point during exercise Brass-Tracks in 1986-87, and that the Chinese restraint in 1971 war between India and Pakistan was because of the US 'opening' to China being worked around that time (p27). Later, statement of movement of a US aircraft carrier task force toward the Bay of Bengal (p29) does not sit comfortably with the theme and yet it did not deter the author to call India's nonalignment as 'tilted'!

As rightly explained in the introduction, the book is meant to introduce the region "as the first rather than the last word". However, to sum up centuries of evolution of religions in Indian subcontinent and explaining politics of it all by David Taylor could do with more study and analysis of the subject. To explain third century 'BCE', in terms of political rise of Buddhism betrays the origin of Buddhism in India. Similarly the birth of Sikhism could have been better handled (p214). On the same page Islam's spread has been explained, 'not by forced conversion but by the action and examples of Sufi saints'. It is little wonder that an article should appear in the Times of India of 10 January 2007 by Pankaj Jha, "Obscured by Myth : Wrong Questions Confuse Muslim History". This phenomenon is best explained by BH Liddell Hart explaining 'why do we not learn from history,' in his book.

← Lieutenant General BS Malik
PVSM, AVSM (Retd)

Kashmir in Comparative Perspective – Democracy and Violent Separatism in India. by Sten Widmalm (Karachi, Pakistan : Oxford University Press, 2006), 226p, Rs 350.00, ISBN 10-0-19-547005-2.

An exciting book for those wanting to further explore Kashmir yet again, which to many is best, described using the Churchillian formulation of being a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma. Sten Widmalm has been remarkably successful in his attempt to unwrap part of the mystery by simultaneously applying and exploring through multiple theories, as interpreted by political scientists, on 'ethnicity', 'identity and culture' 'economic deprivation' and 'voice and exit'.

Quoting Horowitz, the author of 'Ethnic Groups in Conflict', written in eighties, Widmalm explains Horowitz's proposition saying 'economic theories' cannot explain the extent of the emotions invested in ethnic conflicts", Widmalm feels "culture and identity per se are neutral, and act as a

vehicle rather than a cause for political conflict". He even rejects Pakistan and religious factors as the main cause of conflict by citing well-researched examples. His case on separatism is logically built on denial of the channels of 'voice and exit'.

Widmalm's theory is brilliantly explained in the chapter '*rise and fall of democracy*'. Various connected models are well presented and argued convincingly citing data from 1977 to 1989 and a series of incidents and actions of the main players starting from the eve of Independence, ie, 1947 to the election and installing of the present state government. While building up his case he tellingly quotes from Prem Shankar Jha "In Kashmir, militancy is not born out of poverty or economic deprivation but of the despair of /... / a class that was trained to wield power, but denied the opportunity to do so".

However, Widmalm, buoyed by making a successful case on "Kashmir in Comparative Perspective", goes on to add another chapter on '*avoiding violent separatism in India*' to justify the second part of his book's title, ie, "Democracy and Violent Separatism in India". Use of examples from developments in Tamil Nadu and West Bengal appear to be less convincing and consequently the high voltage used, burns the very essence of the argument of 'voice and exit'. Fall of the high and mighty after imposing emergency and well-entrenched governments in the states has made foreigners describe Indian democracy variously, but not so far convincingly, through any contemporary political theory or a model.

Similarly, ambitious attempt to include and analyse many other events from 1990 to 2004 in India and Pakistan, though useful only incrementally add to the central argument presented in the book. Not surprisingly, an optimistic conclusion arrived midway through the book is able to best capture the essence of Widmalm's painstaking effort, .. a careless usage of the term ethnic conflict easily creates the impression that we are dealing with a specific phenomenon of an utmost mystical nature /.../ Ethnicity as a concept is easily hijacked into the political language and this makes it all the more difficult to use in social science analysis/.../ And, therefore, the Kashmir conflict must not be seen as a zero sum game even if this is what some of the main political actor would like us to believe. There are political force even in this conflict, that are willing to both negotiate and make compromises. These observations are relevant when we look at the expansion and proliferation of the Kashmir conflict which followed in the 1990s and which continues to this day."

← Lieutenant General B S Malik

PRSM, AVSM (Retd)

Bejewelled Heritage : History of the Rajput Regiment Volume III (1970-2005). By Colonel Anil Shorey (New Delhi : Force Multipliers, 2005), 258p, Rs. 790.00.

4/c The Regiment has a history of more than two hundred years of a martial tradition and heritage, which continues to nurture the present. In keeping with the changing times, the Regiment has transcended its past recruitment pattern; the new battalions have been raised on a mixed class basis since 1976. Today, the Regiment is an amalgam of many castes, but retaining its distinctive regimental ethos. g

g The chronicler of regimental history is invariably faced with a dilemma: the accounts of battles and counter-insurgency operations must remain the focus of the narrative, but how and to what extent to highlight the peace tenure and 'no war, no peace' situations, which prepare the battalions for the rigours of war. The author has achieved this balance creditably. The chapters on 'Aid to Civil Authority', 'Winning the Hearts and Minds of the people', 'Sports and Adventure Activities', and 'Other Fronts', have given the book a fine balance. cop3

4/c The present volume narrates the accounts of battles fought by the battalions of the Regiment in the lightening campaign of 1971, in erstwhile East Pakistan that gave birth to Bangladesh. Nine battalions of the Regiment fought in the eastern and seven in the western Front. The contribution of the Rajput battalions can be gauged by the many Battle Honours awarded to them in the campaign. The narratives would have been better grasped if sketches illustrated the important battles.

The accounts of counter-insurgency operations in Jammu and Kashmir and the Northeast have been described adequately. To the uninitiated, the accounts may be repetitive, but each situation was different and the results were achieved at great human cost. The number of COAS Unit Citations and individual gallantry awards bear testimony to their valour.

The book has an interesting chapter on the Fatehgarh fort, which houses the Regimental centre.

4/c The author has produced a comprehensive history of the Regiment covering a tumultuous period in post-independent India. The narratives are in simple readable style that captures the spirit of the regimental traditions. However, the photographs could have been of better quality and more illustrative. g

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Brigadier S P Sinha (Retd)

Jinnah : Creator of Pakistan. By Hector Bolitho (Karachi : Oxford University Press, 2006), 222p, Price Rs. 295.00, ISBN 0-19-547323-X.

First published in 1954, this reprint makes interesting reading in the current context. Three threads run through the book: cold and inflexible personality of Jinnah in public and in private life, his unshakable commitment to a homeland for the Muslims in India and his commitment to non-discrimination. The author quotes from his speech on 11 August 1947: "Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State." The inherent contradiction could not have escaped Jinnah's astute mind.

The author makes no reference to Jinnah's statements in 1945 and 1946, visualising transfer of population on religious basis. *Dawn*, the newspaper founded by Jinnah, reported on 26 November 1946 that he told a press conference held in Karachi, the previous day that the authorities, both Central and Provincial, should take up immediately the question of exchange of population."

The author quotes with approval Sarojini Naidu's assessment of Jinnah's personality made in 1917: "...Jinnah is essentially a solitary man with a large political following but few intimate friendships; and outside the twin spheres of law and politics he has few resources and few accomplishments...the true criterion of his greatness lies... in a lofty singleness and sincerity of purpose and the lasting charm of a character animated by a brave conception of duty and an austere and lovely code of private honour and public integrity."

← Shri S K Bhutani (FS (Retd.))

Energy Cooperation in South Asia. Ed. Imtiaz Alam (Lahore : Sapana 2006), 280p, Price not indicated, ISBN 969-9060-03-4.

This volume, a compilation of papers by South Asian experts is most timely, because authorities are only lately coming to realise that energy is the foundation of all development. The subject is comprehensively dealt with from the perspective of the individual countries and adequate statistical data are provided. The benefits of cooperation are well elucidated. It, however, is a work by scholars for scholars and would hardly hold the attention of decision makers who are usually birds of passage in political and bureaucratic space. The executive summary does not address this problem and there is scope for a separate paper in which basic statistics are provided but relegated to appendices.

g It is correctly recognised that energy is the sum total of oil, coal, gas, nuclear, hydro, etc. but individual authors have often used the terms, energy, electricity and power interchangeably. It must be stressed that electricity is only a minor subset of energy. Many of the projections refer to India Hydrocarbon Vision 2025 but a related document envisages that by this year India would have achieved the world's fifth rank in "Per Capita GDP". This requires the availability of energy in quantities many magnitudes larger than any of the papers suggest.

All discussions on energy trade have broken down on the question of pricing. Maybe the answer is to let the market decide. For example, there exists a huge international infrastructure based on crude oil and its derivatives with no idea of what oil is going to cost on a day to day basis. There is enough venture capital available worldwide to lay a similar infrastructure for gas and electricity. However, sellers and buyers should come away from the US dollar and denominate the trade in convertible local currencies because most of the capital and operating cost will be in local currency.

Shri Chudamani Ratnam

Military Law Lexicon. Major General Nilendra Kumar and Kush Chaturvedi (New Delhi : Universal Law Publishing Co.), 237p, Rs 250.00, ISBN : 81-7534-573-X.

The book is a welcome addition to the Indian military legal literature. The necessity for a Military Law Lexicon containing all statutory definitions and words and phrases, short explanatory notes on all provincial terms and peculiar words relating to military terminology and customs, legal maxims of relevance to military law have been felt by the Services and lawyers. An authentic military law dictionary is a prerequisite for legal fraternity. It would be put to real use once the Armed Forces Tribunal is established by the government.

The Military Law Lexicon is the first of its kind in India. A perusal of the book shows the labour bestowed on it by the authors. However, an annotation by the authors, editors and publishers that "the information, comments and views contained in the book are merely for guidance and reference and must not be taken as having the authority or being binding", has reduced its authenticity.

The authors have included few non-military terms like access, accident, annex, autopsy, consent, crime, damage, deficient, will etc., however, the meaning assigned to these terms is not exhaustive. While defining words like "concept of violence", 'court of military appeal', etc.,

their references have not been properly explained. Lengthy definitions assigned to terms like 'armed forces', 'armed conflict', 'indiscriminate attack', 'international humanitarian law', 'military judge', 'misconduct', 'non international armed conflict', 'peace keeping and peace keeping operations' could have been avoided. Proper editing could have ensured a concise definition of the terms like 'customs of war', 'general order', 'good order', 'rules of engagement', 'treason' etc. The terminology used in the Air Force Act, 1950 and Air Force Rules, 1969 has not been included in the Law Lexicon. Notwithstanding the above comments, the book would be of help to the student of military law as well as the practicing lawyers.

Wing Commander U C Jha (Retd)

The Air Force Chief of Staff Logistics Review. Edited by John G Drew (et al), (Santa Monica : RAND, 2005), 178p, price not indicated, ISBN 0-8330-3658-0.

Rand Corporation is an independent think tank and has undertaken many studies independently for the USAF under Project Air Force. However, this study differs from the others in two ways. Firstly, Rand Corporation's role was as an analytical advisor to the USAF and it developed the analytic approach for this review with the total data being provided by the latter by sourcing the same from active major commands. Secondly, the conclusions arrived at as a result of the review were validated by actual field testing.

The report describes the evolution of various maintenance concepts within the USAF right from the time the aircraft was introduced into the US Army. It also examines centralised versus decentralised execution, gathers insight from both logisticians and operators; develops and examines changes and adjustments within constrained funding boundaries; thereafter develops metrics to compare solution option against the Air and Space Expeditionary Force's operational goals after identifying accompanying benefits, costs and risks for each of the options.

The methodology of the review was as follows. Firstly, inputs for the review in respect of ten published major processes were gathered from the major commands. These processes were supply management, transportation management, logistics plans, maintenance management, maintenance inspections, maintenance repairs, sortie generation, ammunition storage and management, training, and officer development. These inputs, called targets of opportunity (there were over 600 initially but were reduced to 423 by Rand Corporation), identified common problems and solution options. These options were divided into three groups: near-term tests, long-term evaluation, and continuous refinements. The first group solutions were implemented at the test sites and evaluated for their efficacy before arriving at the conclusion. These have been included in the report. The

second category i.e. long-term evaluation could not be fully tested but have been included in the report. The continuous refinement group solutions were those initiatives which were either already underway or were part of policy revisions accomplished routinely.

Indian Air Force has faced similar problems in the past and has followed various wing level maintenance organisations from time to time. These reorganisations took place based on perceptions of the decision makers and not as a result of any scientific study. For optimum utilisation of resources, greater operational preparedness and higher mission success rate, the IAF should carry out a similar review to validate its earlier decision. This review can thus serve as an ideal guide line for the maintenance and operational decision makers for greater operational efficiency.

← Air Marshal Bharat Kumar

India and South East Asia - The Security Cooperation. By Lt Gen Y M Bammi (New Delhi : Gyan Publishing House, 2006), 275p, Rs 540.00, ISBN 81-212-0880-7.

A very painstakingly researched book on the South East Asian region, which is comprehensive and thorough. Starting with historical facts and progressing through the various periods of foreign domination and influence in different countries; the author has set up an excellent background against which the modern power plays can be studied and understood.

The strengths and vulnerabilities of every country as also the interests of outside powers and how they impact on the region have been clearly analysed. The different bones of contention, primarily to do with the South China sea and the varied interpretations of historical claims and the laws of the sea relating to territorial waters and economic zones have been narrated. The problems persist and for the time being indicate a jockeying for advantageous positioning by different parties to these disputes. The author has indicated the major threat as China's intentions and actions in the future. Also mentioned in detail are the terrorist activities and their local motivations. Against this threat the primary shield at present is the USA, its interests and presence. To what extent ASEAN has wielded together a security network exploiting common economic and trade factors is the urgent question. How Japan and India can contribute towards this is also relevant.

In the past, India showed limited interest in this region. But since 1992, a greater realisation of India's interests in South East Asia resulting in the 'Look East Policy' has occurred. While dealing with the security

interests, various factors have been covered including military training and cooperation. Perhaps the potential for welding the region together, by integration of sea communications, better ports and mutually benefiting facilities, integrated road, rail and air links, leading to much greater volumes in movements of goods, services and human talent as also mutually beneficial trade against international barriers could have received greater attention. The potential for enhanced tourism, flow of cultural influences also leads to greater regional understanding, integration and consequently a larger stake in peace and security. The final part of the book indicates less of a policy and more of an action plan for the region upto the year 2035.

A bit repetitive at places, the book lacks proper and helpful maps, perhaps due to costs involved. Overall a very good presentation of the region; a must read for students of geopolitics and geostrategy.

VSM (Retol)
← Brigadier N Bahri

Learning Large Lessons : The Evolving Roles of Ground Power and Air Power in the Post-Cold War Era. *David E. Johnson, Santa Monica, (RAND : 2006), 23p, Price not indicated, ISBN 978-08330-3876-0.*

The United States Armed Forces have been involved in four major operations during the last two decades viz. Operation Desert Storm in Iraq in 1991, Operation Allied Force in Kosovo in 1999, Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan in 2001, and Operation Iraqi Freedom in Iraq in 2003. Each Service has studied and analysed these operations with a fine tooth and comb and drawn the lessons. It is said that the beauty lies in the eyes of the beholder. In a similar fashion, the US Army and the USAF have reached almost totally different conclusions and have claimed that their Service was the most dominant and decisive factor in these operations. The doctrine, strategy, re-equipment, and organisational structures are based on and influenced by the lessons learnt and the consequent battles for the budget to effect these changes. These differences in the lessons learnt and their consequent fall out have fuelled a debate which has been acrimonious and vocal. David E. Johnson, in this Rand Study, lists out the perceptions of each service of the role played by the ground power and air power and his own conclusions after the study.

It is a well accepted fact that air power has proved to be capable of performing deep strike operations that the army long believed that the Air Force either could not or would not reliably perform. The US Army doctrine envisions deep operations as a key element in its corps-level campaigns at the operational levels of war. However, Apache and Army Tactical Missile Systems—the two systems for execution of these tasks - have been less effective than the fixed wing aircraft. The Air Force's

operational efficiency has been adversely affected in this large area of operation beyond the frontline battlefield. These differences, in turn have had their effect on the prosecution of the overall joint campaign. On the other hand, the ground power has proved to be far more effective in military operations other than war. Further, except for the Operation Desert Storm, the other operations did not have a satisfactory conclusion and ended up in military operations other than war in which the air power has a restricted role and it is the ground power which has to bear a major brunt. The effective combination of ground and air power in an integrated theatre campaign is not a single service issue; it is a joint warfighting issue. It is not only the perceived differences in the dominance of ground power and the air power in these operations that has been high lighted but also the doctrinal divide that exists between the various services. Johnson has highlighted these differences and has brought out that the US Joint Doctrine is not a consensus document but is amalgamation of doctrines of individual Services resulting in major differences during the conduct of any operation^g. For example, the concept of individual^g as propounded by the US Army is that it must be supported by the other Services, which is not accepted by the USAF. Johnson has highlighted these problems and has given his conclusions regarding what has not been learnt in these operations. He sees the role of air power increasing in the future operations with the other Services playing the supporting role and not the vice versa as has been the case so far.

This Rand Study is a must for all the analysts and military brass involved in the formulation of doctrine, structure and the new technologies for the armed forces. There is an ongoing debate in India on the creation of the post of Chief of Defence Staff, theatre commands and other joint organisations. Though individual is a necessity but the concept of individual varies with each individual. This Rand Study will help clarify most of the issues from lessons learnt by the United States which has been the role model in introducing these joint institutions.

PVSM, AVSM

Air Marshal Bharat Kumar (Retd)

Air Power Against Terror : America's Conduct of Operation Enduring Freedom. By Benjamin S. Lambeth (RAND National Research Institute (<http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/MGI66>), 1776 Main Street, P.O. Box 2138, Santa Monica, California 90407-2138), 2005, 411p, \$35.00 (soft cover) ISBN 0-83303724-2.

This is a thoroughly professional, and detailed, report on Operation Enduring Freedom prepared for United States Central Command Air Forces. The research is exhaustive and impeccable; and no detail of the air effort has been left out. In some respects, however, non-aviators are likely to

see it as a largely cockpit-centric view. One reviewer (an Air Force Major-General) says: "...it is one of the few accounts that properly approaches the effort as fundamentally an air operation, not a special-forces action supported by air, as some revisionists assert. It provides a level of detail and insight about the air war which actually was the bulk of the conflict that is simply unavailable elsewhere." The point, regardless of who could be said to have supported whom, is that this was an air operation in concert with elements on the ground in the hostile area. Claiming autonomy for such operations may not be justified.

The study assesses the conduct of *Operation Enduring Freedom* during the period October 2001 through late March 2002. The book was published in 2005. Perhaps, at the time of writing, Lambeth's triumphal note could be justified: "Once again the chronic doubters of air power's capability and potential were proven wrong," Enduring freedom "reaffirmed that when the United States leads, others follow." "As The Economist put it", he says "President Bush "matched forcefulness in Afghanistan with an unexpected delicacy in statecraft" and achieved a military success without doing so in a way that would turn others away." By 2006 it was clear that, apart from regime-change, none of the objectives of Enduring Freedom was achieved. The experience in Iraq did nothing to reinforce the optimism generated by the early phases of *Enduring Freedom*.

The lesson for military planners is clear. Armed action (and least of all, action-at-a-distance as in bombing and missile attacks) can only play a limited role in counter-insurgency, and even less, in counter-terror roles. Ian Johnston, writing in the Canadian journal, 'Humanist Perspectives' (Autumn, 2006), has summed up the issue neatly: "After all, when one is up against a fiercely committed enemy united by a passionate ideology and prepared to sacrifice thousands of young men and women to the cause, to kill indiscriminately in the most horrific ways, and to continue the conflict indefinitely, what has one to offer by way of a countervailing force or belief? Precision-guided missiles and bomb-detection devices are clearly not enough, to say nothing of short-term "Mission Accomplished" invasions or massive injections of cash to support unpopular, repressive governments who will keep the oil flowing."

Air Marshal Vir Narain, PVSM (Retd)