

Short Reviews of Recent Books

Global Security Paradoxes 2000-2020. By Maj Gen Vinod Saighal (New Delhi : Manas Publications, 2004), 231 p, Rs 595.00, ISBN 81-7049-194-0.

The book portrays a picture of the geo-political and geo-strategic world in the coming 20 years. General Saighal visualises the US in a prime role in the world with an enlarged and United Europe moving increasingly towards an independent identity, military and economic self-reliance and freedom of action. Asia is forecasted to be developing economically with India, Japan and Russia becoming power centres and China aspiring to be a super power. The author, perhaps thinking wishfully, sees China, Russia, India and Japan helping geopolitical stability in Asia "as there need not be any insurmountable tensions between them."

An excellent book, with a convincing exposition of the likely forecast of geopolitics upto 2020. The clarity of thought and the force and flow of expression carry the reader to a ready acceptance of the conclusions of the author. National policy makers, think tanks, political scientists, defence institutions, universities and intellectuals can benefit by a study of the book.

Major General LS Lehl, PVSM, VrC (Retd)

Just War in Comparative Perspective. Edited by Paul Robinson (UK : Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003), 233 p, £ 45.00, ISBN 0-7546-3587-2.

When is war considered just? According to the popular literature of Western philosophic tradition, war is considered to be just if two sets of criteria are met : initiating it (jus ad bellum) and the actions that one may undertake during a war (jus in bello). This old question now is considered with fresh insights from Jewish, Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, Russian, Islamic, Buddhist, Hindu and Sikh perspectives in Parts I and II. Part III covers pre-modern perspective from China, Arabia including the Byzantine State, and Sub Saharan Africa. Part IV includes the role of the US Army Chaplains during World War II, the 1991 Gulf War and a feminist perspective of Ethics of Care.

The Hindu perspective, the Buddhist perspective in the backdrop of the ongoing insurgency in Sri Lanka and the Sikh view are of contemporary concern and would strike a familiar chord among students of South Asia. The Chinese and Russian views provide insights of the strategic cultures. The various versions of Islamic interpretation are educative when seen from Judeo-Christian perspective in the modern context of the war on

terror and jihad. This wide variety of religious and cultural experiences as recorded by the 14 authors of the book are essential reading to a better understanding of the concept of just war.

Colonel PK Gautam (Retd)

Strategic Survey 2002-03. Ed Jonathan Stevenson (London : IISS, 2003), 353 p, Price not indicated, ISBN 0-19-852705-5.

Strategic Survey is an annual exercise undertaken by the prestigious International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, to evaluate and forecast the state of world affairs particularly security affairs. It follows the familiar format focusing on policy and critical security aspects in each region of the world, the Americas, Europe and Russia, Middle East, Asia and Africa. This is rounded up by perspectives and strategic geography.

Counter terrorism and counter proliferation or forestalling mass casualty aggression were the main themes of the epochal security era of 2002-03 as an aftermath of the US war on terrorism and Saddam's regime in Iraq. Other topical issues covered are missile defence, state building and changing oil equation. The success of the US forces in evicting the Taliban regime in Afghanistan is denoted as the "American way of war", the main features of which are extensive use of Special Forces, the eyes and ears provided by electronic assets such as UAVs and harnessing local forces to fight on the ground.

In the survey of regional strategic issues, the run up to the War in Iraq and the South Asian security event, Indo Pak stand off popularly known in India as Operation Parakram have been analysed in detail. Crisis stability decided by mobilisations and escalation strategies of India-Pakistan are identified as an immediate concern. Forebodings of the strategic future for the region are, however, not encouraging due to continued nuclear and military rearmament by the states. This is fortuitous despite the seeming overground thaw in relations.

The US intervention in Iraq is considered in the overall interest of the international community though the US unilateralism and sidetracking of multilateral institutions is chastised. Continuing dissonance in international strategic discourse is predicted and building a strategic US-Europe consensus is deemed essential for the future. The strategic geography section provides graphical details along with maps of security critical regions, giving a bird's eye view of the survey. The survey provides a very succinct summary and analysis of the main strategic security events of the year 2002-03. A must for all defence libraries.

Brigadier Rahul K Bhonsle, SM

America's War on Terror. Edited by Patrick Hayden, Tom Lansford and Robert P Watson (Ashgate, England : Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003), 166 p, £ 55.00, ISBN 0-7546-3797-2.

11 September 2001, marked the beginning of America's war on terror. This book is a collection of essays that examine terrorism and analyse the policies adopted by the United States to fight this unconventional war.

Very ably edited by Patrick Hayden of Victoria University, Wellington, New Zealand, Tom Lansford of University of Mississippi-Gulf Coast, USA and Robert P Watson of Florida Atlantic University, USA; the book adequately covers America's war on terror waged under the leadership of President George W Bush, in all aspects. This book is in four parts. Part I comprising three essays depicts the origin of war and President Bush's approach to it. In Part II, various authors have covered evolution of US policy on war and role of President Bush and his Vice President Cheney in war, having domestic implications. Part III is devoted to international implications of US's war against terrorism. Having been published in the early stages of the war on terrorism, this book appears rather outdated.

The book takes hardly any cognisance of acts of terrorism other than those directly affecting the US, Israel and the UK. As the US seems to perceive all terrorist acts against India as our internal affair, this book is of little value to a reader with an Indian perspective.

Recommended for training establishments and higher formation libraries only.

Major General Yatindra Pratap (Retd)

A War of a Different Kind : Military Force and America's Search for Homeland Security. By Stephan M Duncan (Annapolis, Maryland : Naval Institute Press, 2004) 368 p, \$ 28.95, ISBN 1-59114-2202.

This book on homeland security written by an ex Assistant Secretary of State for Defence, is well worth reading. The national military strategic plan for the war on terrorism was documented in 150 pages and issued in October 2002. It forms the framework for commanders. It is to be spread over three phases. In the first phase plan is to deal with Al Qaeda and Hezbollah. The final phase pertaining to the eradication of terrorism, is expected to last for decades.

The Department of Homeland Security was established in the United States after the 11 September 2001 incident. In November 2002, a new post of Assistant Secretary for Homeland Defence was authorised. The Department initially had a budget of \$ 32 billion and Mr Tom Ridge was

nominated to head the Department. On 1 May 2003, a new Terrorist Threat Integration Centre (TTIC) was created. This Joint venture between the FBI, the CIA, the Department of Defence, and the new department of Homeland Security – was to be the coordinator of intelligence. The head of the TTIC, reports to the head of the CIA. A terrorist screening centre was also established.

The deployment of US Army's active brigades – five in Iraq, two in Korea and three as standby for Korea is a deviation from the earlier concept of deployment. General Frank testified before the Congress regarding Afghanistan and stated that the training of 60,000 strong Afghan Army would take a long time as only 13,000 were trained by end of the year 2003. Some 8,000 US soldiers would be required to stay there indefinitely. Seven army general missions or tasks identified are enumerated as under :-

- (a) Land Defence - e.g. border control.
- (b) Training and equipping units to support federal agencies, to counter incidents involving chemical biological, radiological, nuclear and high yield explosive incidents.
- (c) Testing, development and operation of land based anti missile systems.
- (d) Supporting domestic law enforcement agencies to combat terrorists World over.
- (e) Protection of critical infrastructure - e.g. telecommunications, electric power, Oil and Gas, transportation, banking and finance.
- (f) Attacking enemy information systems and protection of own.
- (g) Military Assistance - Aid to civil power in case of natural or other disaster situations.

The quality of the political appointees, whose numbers have been increasing e.g. in the Military Departments is also a matter of concern. The political appointees are generally rank amateurs administering large organisations, for which they do not have the experience. A contentious issue, this has been discussed briefly.

Finally a reference to FM Slim's difference between leadership and management is worth quoting. "Leadership is of the spirit", he said, "compounded of personality and vision; its practice is an art. Management is of the mind, more a matter of actual calculations, of statistics, of methods, timetables and routine; its practice is a science. Managers are necessary, leaders are essential."

Part of postscript is also worth repeating "In the new war, which has no front lines, will include fire fighters, police officers, mayors, public health and local emergency personnel. But the primary responsibility will continue to be of the men and women in military uniform".

Highly recommended - as a 'must read' for everyone involved in national security - in its new dimensions.

Major General Partap Narain (Retd)

Between Past & Future (Selected Essays on South Asia). Edited by Dohra Ahmed, Iftikhar Ahmed and Zia Mian (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 329p, Price not indicated, ISBN 0-19-579805-8.

The book contains important essays by Eqbal Ahmed, selected from his more than 30 years of writings, focusing in particular on Pakistan. It provides a good balance of events, views of hierarchy and random reflections on Indo-Pakistan relations and Pakistan's role in Afghanistan. It is hard to remain objective about issues emotive and closer home, but such contentious issues as Pakistan Army's role in East Pakistan, Kashmir problem and Pakistan's intervention in Afghanistan are tackled by Eqbal Ahmed with candidness and incisive look at both sides of the issues.

The book is set in four parts, containing 44 essays, articles and interviews on South Asia. Part 1 deals with ground-breaking analysis of the crisis of the Third World, suggesting a set of criteria for judging the extent to which the crisis is being faced in a manner that contributes towards the development of an even, equitable and democratic society, and also identify the attributes which best equip a government, party or a political movement to meet this unprecedented challenge.

Part 2 of this collection of essays contains some of Eqbal Ahmed's reflections on independence and the betrayal of the promise of Pakistan by its ruling elite. This part contains a very honest and prescient analysis of the sharpening tension in Pakistan under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and political environment leading to the growth of a right wing military dictatorship under Zia-ul Haq. In his analysis on Indo-Pak nuclear interface he has raised the question whether the security interests of Pakistan were best served by nuclear ambivalence or by following India into rendering its capability overt. He firmly believes in the former option.

Part 3 of the book comprises a set of essays airing Eqbal Ahmed's views on India covering a period of almost 15 years, Kashmir problem and Afghanistan. Essays on India chart his deep disquiet about the 'abject poverty' of India's people, the indifference of its elite and the growth of Hindu fundamentalism.

About the BJP, he argued in 1991, that 'its agenda is to rid India of its secular commitment, and destroy Mahatma Gandhi's and Jawaharlal Nehru's finest legacy upon which rests the unity and solidarity of the Indian Union'. On the Kashmir question Eqbal Ahmed blames both India and Pakistan for sticking to age-old positions when the notion of sovereignty had changed, and gives concrete proposals envisaging a step-by-step progression from autonomy, to open borders to unification with divided sovereignty. His essay on Afghanistan reveals the tragic consequences when a society becomes trapped in war and conflict. His fears of the perils of civil war and of more 'bloody games' on the horizon have been realised in the years since then. Pakistan's support to Taliban's rise to power in Afghanistan prompted Eqbal Ahmed to warn that "if we keep going this way we cannot ensure peace or our place in Afghanistan. But ...we shall lose ourselves and what is left in Pakistan of decency and civilization".

In Part 4 there are three sets of essays dating from the early mid 1990s, which deal directly with Eqbal Ahmed's assessment of the growing danger to Pakistan in recent years from sectarianism and religious fundamentalism and warned that fundamentalist movements are known to have inflicted great damage upon countries and peoples.

The book containing essays and articles by an internationalist and public intellectual of Eqbal Ahmed's repute, presents a holistic view on the problems of South Asia and suggests some solutions. Anyone with an interest in the region will find the book informative, thought provoking and interesting.

Lieutenant General G K Duggal, PVSM, AVSM, VrC (Retd)

The New Afghanistan : Pawn of America. By Maj Gen Samay Ram (New Delhi : Manas Publications, 2004), 221 p, Rs. 595.00, ISBN 81-7049-189-4.

After a brief historical background, the author has recounted the events after the removal of King Zahir Shah. Being followers of orthodox Sunni Islam, any effort for modernisation was vehemently resisted by the tribal leaders. Just for this reason, their top leaders – US favoured Daoud and Amin and Soviet supported Taraki, Babrak Kamal and his proxy Najibullah – met their brutal end and the country stood ravaged.

Is the new Afghanistan a pawn of America? Being landlocked, and underdeveloped but strategically located, it has had many big brothers. After the Great Game, it was the British, during the 80s the Russians and thereafter the Americans to shape their destiny. The phenomenon has a history of its own.

Lacking a national outlook, the tribal warlords remain at logger heads with each other; however, their loyalty carries a price for supporting any outside power. To remove the Russians, President Reagan found a ready supporter in Zia of Pakistan albeit for a price – to overlook its nuclear agenda. With Arab largesse and US sophisticated weapons, the FBI and ISI trained large cadres of Mujahideens in Pakistan for a holy jehad to end the communist rule. After the Soviet withdrawal; American attention shifted to West Asian imbroglio thereby creating a vacuum. Pakistan seized the opportunity and established the rule by Taliban trained in its madarsas, thereby settling Durand Line and securing strategic depth. However, the northern part could not be wrested from the Tajiks and secure supply of oil and gas did not materialise from the Central Asian Republics.

Taliban provided a safe haven for Islamic terrorist groups including Al Qaeda to wage jehad in the J and K and other parts of the world. The US did not take a serious note of this till the 11 September 2001 incident. In spite of being a US protégé, Taliban refused to deliver Osama bin Laden and Mulla Omar who were indicted by the US intelligence; thereby inviting end of their regime. Musharraf was quick to jettison Taliban. The reward was lifting of the US sanctions and salvage from bankruptcy in spite of their engineered escape of Osama and Mullah Omar.

Given America's overwhelming fire power, the Northern Alliance easily wrapped up the despised Taliban but their cadres are still alive and pose a threat to the Karzai government established with King Zahir Shah's patronage. The problems of raising a national Army and Police force, neutralising tribal leaders, settling refugees, preventing narcotic trade which finances terrorists, demining and rebuilding the devastated country are gigantic in spite of international aid in which India has been liberal. The author believes that although the Indo-US relations are on the upswing, more visible Indian support was warranted and now an aggressive diplomacy is needed to secure its rightful place. Pakistan has a long term role which cannot be discounted as all aid has to pass through it. The author has adopted an analytical approach and has drawn lessons from each event. Good maps, tabulated data and Index add to the value of this well presented book.

Brigadier K Narendra Singh (Retd)

Fighting Corruption and Restructuring Government. By N Vittal and S Mahalingam (New Delhi : Manas Publications, 2004), 325 p. Rs. 495.00. ISBN : 81-7049-118-5.

The sheer dynamics of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and globalisation process make inevitable the continuation of India's reform

process. Indian companies will, therefore, have to cope with this new development and understand the dynamics of globalisation. It will be very essential for India to change the system of governance so that the velocity of business in the country is enhanced. This means India will have to do away with the obsolete laws cluttering the system.

Four major players – neta, babu, lala and dada – are dominating corruption in India. Even the criminalisation of politics can be directly traced to the corruption which flourishes because of the need for ever-increasing funds for political purposes.

This book focuses on a systematic approach for fighting corruption and restructuring the government in the context of globalisation and reform process in India, followed by creating a culture of excellence, changing the role of administrator, the importance of corporate governance in liberalised environment, challenges of global competition and managerial challenges for Indian industry, core competencies of India, and so on. It looks into the challenges faced by Indian industry in the emerging scenario. Each topic selects one aspect of the process of reforms, government and corruption and examines what solutions are possible after analysing the dynamics involved.

The vital issues raised in this book would be of great interest to the students of management, corporate executives and the readers interested in fighting corruption and restructuring the government.

Shri I R Kumar

Wired Indi@ -Threats and Opportunities. By Prashant Bakshi (New Delhi : Knowledge World, 2003), 202 p, Rs 495.00, ISBN 81-879660-25.

The trouble with writing on the current status of the Information Technology (IT) infrastructure, services, security or any of the myriad issues associated with this sector is that the currency is highly constricted in time in view of the blistering pace of IT. Issues and technologies that appear contemporary at the time of writing seem dated by the time the data is published. This book surprisingly manoeuvres this pitfall through a judicious mix of drawing heavily on reports and analysis published by leading consultants and analysts, and by relying extensively on contemporary literature on the subject. The author presents a well researched effort that analyses the current trends in the information domain both globally and within the country.

The section on "Advantage India" comprehensively details the strides made by *digital India* in the field of IT and IT enabled services - the collective rubric used to describe the gamut of operations related to

Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) Call Centres, Customer Relationship Management (CRM), Supply Chain Management and so on. The fact that the developed nations have started reacting to the pinch due to "offshoring" activities, to the extent that it could fundamentally impinge on the Presidential elections in the US, speaks volumes of the success story authored by India in this field. Bakshi's report on *E-India* condenses this account in a pleasantly readable format. He analyses the reasons for the tremendous growth in tele-density (including cellphone connections) and the internet. In particular, he is appreciative of the governmental efforts in the technology area at enhancing connectivity. The case studies on Gyandoot, Warana and the unique Pravara projects make for inspiring reading.

Sections II and III of the book concentrate on the threats to India's *e-infrastructure* and the author's viewpoint on securing it. While the technologies on ruggedising the infrastructure is dealt with in a composite manner, the same cannot be said of the manner in which the threats have been assessed. Specifically, the India-centric activities of our adversaries, their skill-sets, activities of non-state actors against the Indian *e-infrastructure*, would have lent a comprehensiveness to the report.

The book suffers from several typos, some really glaring, for instance, the Bar Chart for the year 2002 in Figure 2.1 on page 51, or the fact that the mobile subscriber base in India "increased exponentially from 3,00,000 in December 2001 to nearly 5.5 million in December 2001!" Similarly, Figure 1.5 on page 14 is incomplete as regards the headings and Figure 3.1 on page 85 is obviously erroneous on the years (19966,20001,20004). An additional burden on the reader is brought on by the repetitiveness of certain facts and analysis results, that make for laboured reading.

Recent aggressive attempts, successful ones at that, at removal of computers and hard drives from some really high-security government departments is yet another pointer to the innovative modes and mechanism adopted by information warriors at attacking our information assets. Increasing threats to the IT infrastructure can only be countered through a proactive and precautionary approach to information security. The first step towards this imperative is a better informed populace on the threats and vulnerabilities that exist.

The book by Prashant Bakshi does a fine job of informing the reader about this aspect. It has certain staggering revelations even for career IT personnel and is, therefore, a welcome read for every practicing IT and IT security professional.

Commander A Anand

Lethal Games – Nuclear Security, Arms Control and Leadership in Indo-Pak Relations. by Anindyo J Majumdar (New Delhi : Lancer's Book, 2004), 270 p, Rs. 580.00.

The animosity between India and Pakistan was clear right from the day Pakistan came into existence. The ink had not even dried on the agreement of partition of the two countries when Pakistan attacked Jammu and Kashmir with the help of the *Kabailies* (tribals). However, Nehru declared cease-fire when India was on the verge of capturing the whole of J and K. It created another border known as Line of Control (LoC) between the two countries. This is the biggest problem that India has been facing from Pakistan as cross border terrorism is continuing unabated since 1989 even after the two indecisive wars of 1965 and 1971.

With the perspective of the changing world at the beginning of the 21st century shaping the background, this book explains the nature of India, Pakistan nuclear relations drawing lessons from the American policies of the cold war days. The burning issues of hard times have been lucidly explained in this easily readable book without any deeper academic analysis.

The author has said it is in the interest of, both, Pakistan and India that peace process continues and a formal decision is taken on Jammu and Kashmir. The book is a must for all readers who are interested in nuclear security, arms control and leadership in Indo-Pak relations. It has been written lucidly and in simple language so that every reader can understand.

Colonel P K Vasudeva (Retd)

A to Z of Law in Management. By Maj Gen Nilendra Kumar and Neha Chaturvedi (New Delhi : Manas Publications, 2004), 320 p, Rs 595.00, ISBN 81-7049-181-9.

The very idea of putting together in one publication the Law incorporating therein the relevant and applicable Acts and the Rules etc., for the managers, is, indeed, novel. It may, perhaps, be a trend setting publication.

The book is set in two parts. Part II has been devoted to that branch of the Law which is not yet well known with its nuances as it is in the process of evolution and has to be delved and commented upon by experts in the field. Thus, in the present day scenario of our society rapidly developing into "Electronic Society" in the world getting transformed into a "cyber world", the incorporation of the "Information Technology Act, 2000" with the "Information Technology (certifying Authorities) Rules, 2000",

framed by the Central Government, with certain amount of commentary, would be found useful by the readers.

The first Chapter of Part I has been devoted to outline the need for the managers to know the law and the benefits likely to accrue to them on that count. In the wake of the vastness of the fields of both the management and the law, the authors had a tough task to cull out as to what all and how much of the Law must a manager know to be of use to him without, in any manner, overburdening him. In Chapters 2 to 11 of Part I, the authors have quite systematically put forth various principles of jurisprudence and law and the legislative enactments on the manager's "need to know" basis. It would, undoubtedly, be too unrealistic to expect a manager to know the entire gamut of law governing his field. Thus, the introduction to the relevant and applicable enactments giving out their respective scopes, effect and relevance, would fully equip the managers with the knowledge of the particular enactment for detailed reference and perusal to tackle a specific issue or the problem. It must be said that the authors did succeed in keeping and sticking to the scope and dimension of the book, as per the Preface, "..... to familiarize today's managers with essential outlines of legal procedures and judicial framework to enable them to discharge their tasks effectively."

Chapter 9 titled "Law Lexicon", bearing the meanings, explanations and connotations of often used terms, even in the day to day dealings has substantially enhanced the usefulness of the book to the readers.

However, the authors should, advisedly, have covered some of the following :-

- (a) Dealt with Lok Adalats (Legal Services Authority Act, 1987), in Chapter 5, in some details.
- (b) Apprised the readers in detail of the relevant aspects of Section 138 of the Negotiable Instruments Act, 1881 – Chapter 5 refers.
- (c) Discussed the topic of child labour, in Chapter 8, at a greater length, in view of the importance and sensitivity of the subject for the concerned managers.
- (d) Laid more emphasis on editing and proof reading to eliminate errors and mistakes, including the omission to incorporate / print Schedule IV, referred to in Rule 23 on Page 260 of the book.

In the final analysis, the authors have brought out a fairly comprehensive book incorporating the law for the managers in a simple and lucid manner. The book will be of great help to the reader, particularly managers, as it would assist them in effectively discharging their obligations

towards the management as also the personnel serving under them. Indeed, a work of great significance, which is commendable.

Major General SK Sanan, AVSM, VSM (Retd)

The Emergence of Bangladesh : Class Struggle in East Pakistan. By Badruddin Umar (London : Oxford University Press, 2004), 372 p, Rs. 695.00, ISBN 0-19579-571-7

This scholarly book by a Bangladeshi professor, takes a leftist view of the events that led to the emergence of Bangladesh. Professor Badruddin Umar has analysed Pakistan's neglect of the eastern wing as well as the political developments in the whole of Pakistan. He has quoted a number of declassified official documents and has tried to write what he calls a "factual as well as analytical history" from 1947 to 1971. The author provides a "fresh account, from a people's perspective of the political struggles in East Pakistan which culminated in the emergence of an independent Bangladesh". He draws upon original documents as well as his personal experience as he was directly involved in these struggles.

The author has researched on the creation of Pakistan itself and the status of the Muslim League and other parties which were formed in the two wings as well as the attitudes of their leaders, including Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan and repeatedly looks at the class struggles in the two wings. Professor Umar does not hold Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in much esteem. In fact, he is quite critical of Sheikh Mujib. The book covers the period from August 1947 to October 1958 as well as political developments prior to that.

Commodore R P Khanna, AVSM (Retd)

Contemporary Pakistan : Political Processes, Conflicts and Crises. By Veena Kukreja (New Delhi : Sage Publications, 2003), 348 p, Rs 295.00, ISBN 81-7829-147-9.

Pakistan has proved to be an eternal dilemma for Indian politicians and intelligentsia alike. The state structure of Pakistan has inherent contradictions for which Islam provides a unifying edifice. In contrast India has succeeded in fusing a much more diverse state through a common Indic culture. However, Pakistan is seen to survive its geographic, economic, ethnic and social diversity, lack of democracy and elitist governance. This is the enigma, which the author, a Delhi University Professor and Pakistan specialist, has attempted to unravel.

The full course of Pakistan's political history has been covered from its formation in 1947 to the present times. The emergence of Pakistan's military, as the principal arbiter of power in Pakistan has been analysed

in detail exploring its historical and contemporary context. So is the Pakistan economy where macro mismanagement has led to lack of general prosperity. However, a facet frequently missed is the micro level strength of the Pakistani economy based on its agrarian structure.

Little known factors such as the ethnic divide between Punjabis and the rest have been covered well. The phenomenon of Islamic fundamentalism receives due attention and appears to be the most demonic threat faced by Pakistan. The role of narco power in Pakistani polity has also been analysed in a structured manner perhaps for the first time. Bringing us to present times and the growth of Musharrafism, essentially continuing efforts of the existing military-bureaucratic structure to retain its hold over power. The author prescribes development of civilian institutions as the solution to Pakistan's political ills. An important contribution to understanding of Pakistani polity which gives a bird's eye view of Pakistani political history with a contemporary viewpoint. A must read for policy planners and students of political science alike.

Brigadier Rahul K Bhonsle, SM

Internationalizing China: Domestic Interests and Global Linkages.

By David Zweig (New York : Cornell University Press, 2002), 291 p, Price not indicated, ISBN 0-8014-8755-2.

China over the past two decades has undergone major transformation from a sleeping and an isolated Dragon to a major economic and military power in the region. The nation's polity despite its radical ideological leanings has been able to undertake this transition by identifying the key issues which has helped them in internationalisation of China. The process though slow and laborious has been tackled very well through a multi-pronged approach involving political, bureaucratic and societal institutions and at various levels. It has also been smooth and successfully pursued by ensuring that the interests of various segments of society and institutions in this transition are not jeopardised.

The key to China's success at internationalisation is primarily its opening up to the world and providing a deregulated environment, which created conducive conditions for increased foreign investment. The Chinese were able to maintain a fine balance in preventing the country from external dependence which could have resulted due to economic integration vis-a-vis opening up, so as to gain access to resources, capital and technology, which was urgently required for its modernisation programme. The benefits that have accrued to the nation through this process of internationalisation and modernisation are evident from its unprecedented economic growth.

The author has analysed and described the path chosen by the Chinese in achieving their goals in great detail. He has also tried to enunciate the methodology adopted by the Chinese in overcoming the problems which would have been encountered in this transformational process.

It is an educative book which could help in comparing China's progress with India's economic reforms in the pipeline towards becoming a regional power.

Colonel Rajiv Bhalla

Nationalism, Democracy and National Integration in China. Edited by Leong H Kiew and Shaoguang Wang (London : Routledge, 2004), 268 p, £ 65.00, ISBN 0-415-20750-3.

Leong H Liew, Associate Professor in Griffith University, Brisbane and Shaoguang Wang, Professor at the Chinese University of Hongkong have jointly edited this scholastic volume. The 13 contributors are eminent China watchers from Hongkong, Taiwan and Australian institutes of learning of universities, except for Chia-Lung Lin who is a senior advisor for the National Security Council in Taiwan.

In Parts I to IV, the book analyses debates between liberals and "new left", Chinese nationalism in Sino-US relations and finally Taiwanese nationalism in light of the efforts made by People's Republic of China (PRC) at reunification. In Part V are explored issues of market and democracy vis-a-vis national identity and national integration. In Part VI two key institutions – China's system of fiscal transfers and PLA – are discussed that impact national integration.

A clearly discernible feature of the Chinese people is their strong sense of national pride. The Chinese have actually been stoking xenophobic nationalism from the Boxer Rebellion to Chiang Kai-Shek's neo-fascist manifesto in 1930 to Mao's Cultural Revolution. As faith in Maoism declines, nationalism, if properly handled, can justify the political legitimacy of Chinese leadership. In effect, nationalism can become the basis of a transitional regime that is moving away from totalitarianism but is not yet democratised. The three issues that have sharpened Chinese nationalism are the bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade in 1999, the collision between the US spy plane and Chinese fighter aircraft on 1 April 2001 and the important issue of Taiwan. Incidentally, in the 17th Century, the Chinese government regarded Taiwan as '*huawai zhidi*' - outside of Chinese civilisation! Post Sino-Japanese war in 1895, Taiwan was ceded to Japan and remained a Japanese colony for 50 years. It was retro ceded to China following Japan's defeat in 1945. CL Chiou argues that Taiwanese

nationalism is neither anti-Confucian nor anti-Han but is anti-authoritarianism, anti-communist and anti-Chinese-irredentist. The PRC has made considerable concessions to its minorities but tensions remain. Separatist sentiments are held by a number of ethnic minorities in Tibet, Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia and Ningxia. So, China has to reach out to Taiwan yet retain others. Probably this explains why the Chinese leaders post Deng Xiaoping, have stressed national integration while delaying full scale decentralisation.

Most Chinese believe that building nationalism cannot be separated from building a powerful PLA. The PLA has been made a guardian of Chinese national interest rather than a revolutionary tool that serves the interests of the working class. The present crop of officers of PLA is more educated and more professional. It has altered its military strategy from Mao's People's War to RMA. PLA officers are nationalist par excellence. They regard themselves as custodians of China's sovereignty and are highly committed to reunification with Taiwan.

A thought-provoking book that gives an insight into China's phenomenal progress as a nation in almost all spheres despite domestic problems.

Major General Ashok Joshi, VSM (Retd)

The Korean Peace Process and the Four Powers. Edited by Tae-Hwan Kwak and Seung-Ho Joo (Hampshire, UK : Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003), 168 p, £ 45.00, ISBN 07546 36534.

The book consists of essays contributed by seven leading scholars on Korea. The two editors of this book are renowned specialists in Korean affairs. The release of this book coincides with the 50th anniversary of the Korean armistice agreement which failed to bring peace to the Korean people.

The second chapter deals with the inter-Korean joint declaration, 2000, which aimed to provide a framework for institutionalising peaceful coexistence between the two Korean states. The author believes that reactivation of the South-North Korean Joint Military Commission as well as the four party talks (the US, China and the two Koreas) would prove fruitful. The USA is not supportive of the latter because of North Korean insistence on withdrawal of the US troops. It is clear that no progress is possible unless both sides show great deal more flexibility than has been shown hitherto.

The book covers June 2000 Joint Declaration which was the outcome of the first summit between leaders of North and South Korea. The divide

between conservatives and progressives within South Korea is examined. The former sees no change in North Korea. While the latter group is convinced that North Korea has changed for its own survival and the change has contributed to improvement in relations. Significantly this 'South-South' divide is becoming an obstacle to the Korean peace process.

North Korean motives are unclear and form the basis for North-South engagement as well as the US-Japan-South Korea axis. North Korea's violation of the Agreed Framework raised doubts afresh, with contesting powers unable to agree if North Korea was actually willing to trade its nuclear and ballistic missile capabilities for economic assistance. The realists point out that despite North Korea not being a reliable negotiator, it would realise that the long term economic benefits of engagement outweigh the adjustments involved. In this the divergence in interests and varying priorities among the USA, Japan and Korea are being fully manipulated by North Korea.

The author covering the United States stance towards Korean reconciliation covers a variety of possible United States options ranging from pro-reconciliation or pro-unification in the hope of creating a new Korea under the United States guidance to anti unification mode in the fear of the loss of the United States strategic access to and leverage over Korea.

Professor Zhao, a well known author and a professor of repute, has covered the Chinese involvement in the Korean peace process. Evolution of China's policy towards Korea has taken place in tandem along with changes in top Beijing leadership, the most significant of these being the establishment of official diplomatic relations with Seoul. The author states the obvious in mentioning that resolution of conflicts in Asian-Pacific region including Korean peninsula would be dependent on the relations between China and the United States.

The author covering Japan has made cogent points on Japanese historical concern on the peninsula. It was the end of the cold war which turned the peninsula to a primary security concern for Japan – which was further convulsed by North Korea's missile development and nuclearisation. Revival of Japan's military, contrary to its post war Constitution, was but a natural response. Pyongyang's secretive uranium enrichment programme has muddied the waters further. The author ventures to suggest that Tokyo should closely cooperate with Washington and Seoul to send appropriate messages to Pyongyang.

The final chapter deals with Russia and the peace process. The author recapitulates in considerable details the well known historical,

ideological and economic background. In pursuance of his pragmatism, Putin became the first Soviet or Russian leader to visit North Korea. While Russia advocates a multilateral security mechanism for Korean peace and security, it cannot accept a unified Korea that poses a threat to the Russian Far East.

There is no gainsaying the fact that North Korea's nuclear weapons development has become the main hindrance to the peace process. Ultimately an internationally guaranteed Korean peace treaty under the aegis of the four party peace talks could lead to a resolution of this vexed problem.

Brigadier MS Chowdhury, VSM (Retd)

Political Islam in Southeast Asia: Moderates, Radicals and Terrorists.
Angel M Rabasa (Oxford, London : OUP, 2003), 82 p. Price not indicated, ISBN 0-19-852911-2 .

Southeast Asia has the most populous Islamic state in the World, Indonesia. The Muslim Umma though large had been identified with the soft face of Islam till the Bali bombings on 12 October 2002 and subsequent strikes by radical Islamic terrorists. The spread of Islamic fundamentalism to this region far removed from its vortex in the Middle East may appear inevitable in hindsight but as this Paper by a senior Rand policy analyst has brought out, its portends were far from obvious.

The region came to be affected by Islamic radicalism over the years due to external influences such as the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979, rise of Wahhabi fundamentalism, Middle Eastern finance networks and the training ground as well as context provided by the Aghan war to transnational terrorist organisations. Domestic factors, examined separately for each country of the region are also considered relevant by the author. The collapse of the moderate and secular Suharto regime in Indonesia, competing Islamic groups in Malaysia and centripetal tendencies of the Islamists resulting in a majority-minority dyad clash in Philippines and Southern Thailand are cited as the main reasons for rise of Islamic fundamentalists in the region. Penetration of international networks as Al Qaeda in jehadi organisations in Southeast Asia acted as a catalyst.

The varieties of Islam in Southeast Asia demonstrate the geographical, ethnic and religious intermingling of communities across the states as well as complexity of the problem needing a multi pronged solution. The Paper covers a wide ambit from the propagation of Islam in South East Asia, to the impact of September 2001 attacks on the US and subsequent US war on terrorism and concludes with suggestions to strengthen moderate Islam in the region. The insight provided on rise of

Islamist terrorism in Southeast Asia makes the book an useful addition to the subject.

Brigadier Rahul K Bhonsle, SM

Imperial Warriors : Britain and the Gurkhas. By Tony Gould (London : Granta Books, 1999), xv, 480 p, UK £ 20.00, ISBN 1-86207-284-1.

The initial reaction on hearing about yet another book on the Gurkhas is the thought "Not again!" This reviewer approached the task of thumbing through this book with some trepidation. After all, what possibly could the author say on the subject that has not been said before?

The answer to that question came as a pleasant surprise. The author, who served with the British Gurkhas as a National Service officer, has managed to tell the story of these doughty soldiers in a gripping, easy to read narrative. The tale predictably starts with Ochterlony's campaign of 1816 – the first contact that the British were to have with 'Johnny Gurkha' – and then departing from the normal course runs through a backdrop of Anglo-Nepalese diplomacy and politics before moving on to Gurkha recruitment and the 'martial races' discourse. The reader is presented with a picture of regimental life in the old Indian Army – always a fascinating canvas to muse upon. Yet, where the book differs most from other similar accounts is its fairly detailed treatment of social and political questions relating to Gurkha military service both before and after independence.

Of particular interest to the Indian readers is the manner in which the British saw and treated the questions of Gurkha service at independence. At the sun set on the British Raj in India, the British were very keen to retain the Gurkhas, with whom Britain had enjoyed a unique relationship, in the military service of the crown. The author provides a balanced narrative of the events as they unfolded, and does not gloss over the petty-minded behaviour of some departing British regimental officers who, loath to hand over regimental silver and funds to the incoming Indian officers, preferred to disburse or even pilfer regimental assets rather than pass them on to the new incumbents.

In the event, time healed many wounds, and retired British officers continue to be honoured guests at regimental reunions. This book chronicles the fascinating tale of Indians, British and Nepalese, bound together by a unique blend of history and circumstance. The story continues past independence to Gurkha service under the Crown, until the final downsizing of the Gurkha element in the 1990s. It is a balanced tale well told, and the book is a 'must-have' for those with an interest in the military history of the sub-continent, and will be a worthy addition to all military libraries.

Sqn Ldr RTS Chhina (Retd)