

Bruno Maçães, Dawn of Eurasia: On the Trail of the New World Order (Penguin Random House, 2018), 320.

Reviewed by Muhammad Nawaz Khan Research Officer Islamabad Policy Research Institute, Pakistan.

The book *Dawn of Eurasia* by Bruno Maçães is an attempt to explore a different way of thinking about the new world order of the Twenty-First Century. Maçães feels that the traditional way of analysing the world's power centres from a theoretical lens has lost its appeal

given the inability to understand ground realities. The author believes that ideas without travels or vice versa are empty and blind. In line with this idea, he develops his understanding, observation and analyses in the form of travelogue of his six-month journey across the greatest landmass, which he calls the 'supercontinent'.

The central point of his book is that today's world is not Asian, European nor American - rather, it is Eurasian, spreading from London to Beijing to Jakarta, without any specific identity and distinct culture. He observes that the three common threads in this 'supercontinent' are conflict, cooperation and competition.

Maçães argues that despite different visions of political and economic orders from China, Russia to Europe, globalisation has pushed these Eurasian great powers to live together heralding a new world order in which intraregional integration will play a central role. He quotes different political and economic experts such as Kupchan, Hegel and Tagore to explain his arguments.

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He observed that the push and pull factors, including regional interdependency and economic opportunities - offering venues of trade and businesses by the development of new interregional infrastructures – are persuading the great powers of Eurasia to live together in a new 'composite world.'

The volume is divided into two parts. The first part analyses origins of the divide between Europe and Asia. Maçães comments that the factors involving exchange of ideas, goods, knowledge and culture are the underlying reasons behind collapse of that divide. He considers Eurasia as a 'political term that offers a new integration model, which complements the political concept of universalism' (p. 51). The term rules out the old perception of having only a European model of regional integration. The second part covers his journey from Lisbon to Beijing via Vladivostock, Samarkand and Baku, highlighting the importance of Russia and China in playing a pivotal role in the politics and economy of the Eurasian age.

According to Maçães, Eurasia offers a concept where European and Asian forces (Russia and China) are trying to work in both directions from the East to West, and conversely, using their soft power influences under an integrated space. In this regard, each actor is carefully examining what political and economic policies to adopt at home to deal with international integration, and impacting the rest of the regions, and vice versa.

The author offers an interesting debate about the European countries' illusion that the world would embrace their socio-politico-economic and ethical rules and ideas. Whereas, the reality is that the old European model is being replaced by the more rational Eurasian model. During the Twentieth Century, Europe gave a new conceptualisation of the West signalling both the universal appeal of modern ideas and the binary opposition to old society (p. 25). At that time, it was expected that the world order would mirror the Western sociopolitical and economic system. However, Maçães estimates that European powers have lost their worldwide influence as once enjoyed in the colonial era. Parallel to this, their role in global politics has shrunk due to emergence of the Asian system, especially in terms of inclusive development, shared future, simultaneously perusing conflicting and cooperative policies with competitive states, peaceful rise, and interregional and intraregional development.

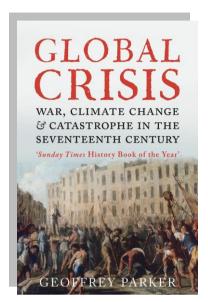
Maçães explains that the opportunity of exploiting the potential of geostrategic and coherent Eurasian landmass, for intraregional economic integration, was ignored owing to ideologically inspired political hurdles (Capitalism, Communism and Non-Aligned Movement) during the Cold War. However, in the wake of resurgence of Russia and China's economic rise, this lost opportunity is again starting with resurfacing of Eurasia as a distinct and adjacent entity.

The author believes that the 'supercontinent' is more than a geographical perspective. It is also about peoples' practices and experiences regarding history, politics, art and cultures that take shape over time. He is optimistic about the amalgamation of different cultures through cultural projects involving the Confucius initiative and transnational infrastructure projects like China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and Russia's Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) taking place between Europe and Asia for connecting these two different political spaces as a 'unified landmass'.

Maçães identifies underdevelopment in the Eurasian borderlands as one of the major reasons of disconnection between Europe and Asia. Therefore, he compares the history and developmental progress between the two. Asian countries have now started showing progress in achieving the same degree of historical development as Europe, while preserving their values instead of converging them with the European ones, something that the author considers the greatest challenge for Eurasia. He maintains that the world has entered the second age of globalisation, where borders are largely becoming diffused, but cultural and civilisational differences still exist which present an unstable and complex landscape for the new Eurasian world. The author acknowledges that the present political and cultural spaces in Eurasia are unorganised. However, various projects, ideas and people-to-people contact are already involved in organising these spaces, particularly through regional initiatives and programmes.

In view of rising geopolitics of the Eurasian great powers in enhancing their influence and assertiveness, the book is timely since it discusses the challenges and prospects that may lead to a well-connected single borderless continent. The strength of this travelogue lies in coherent knitting of the future of Eurasia with descriptive historic occurrences and

ground realities. He employs travel accounts to give true glimpses of the socio-politico-economic state of the Eurasian region and the underlying genesis of 'Eurasianism' that has not been done in the past. Here lies the uniqueness of the book. The volume also differentiates itself from existing literature by discussing 'Russia, China and Europe as parts of a same system under the Eurasian world instead of considering them in isolation' (p. 54). The book would be of interest to those trying to understand complexities of the Eurasian world in a simple and rustic fashion. It is also a useful travel guide for those having a spirit of adventure like Bruno Maçães.



Geoffrey Parker, Global Crisis: War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 643.

Reviewed by Adeel Mukhtar Assistant Research Officer Islamabad Policy Research Institute Pakistan.

Current worries about the potential effects of environmental change have provoked historians, archeologists, and different pundits to look for evidence of

how societies in the past adapted to climatic irritations. In light of the approaching dangers of climate change, Geoffrey Parker looks at history to analyse the impacts of natural and human catastrophes on the planet through the prism of available climate change scholarship. He purposely incorporates the 'natural' as well as 'human' archive of quantifiable climate data from Seventeenth Century Asia and Europe. In doing so, he particularly repudiates the doctrine of 'climatic determinism', an ancient string of chronicled literature from the time of Herodotus.

The purpose of this massive treatise is twofold. First, Parker highlights the historiographical development of the Seventeenth Century as a time of 'general crisis, assailed by fighting and societal crumple of different kinds.' The second is to try and comprehend why different states were so abnormally plagued by conflicts during this period. Similarly, he tries to show that climate played a much bigger role in historical events of the Seventeenth Century rather than being a spectator. Another motivation behind the book is to evaluate the models that endorse that environmental change can be anticipated. The author does not discuss whether environmental change is caused by human exercises or not, rather tries to accentuate that independent of the first reason, the Little Ice Age (1300)

and 1850) demonstrates that famines and floods caused abrupt deaths and misery.

No government in power could successfully alleviate the hopelessness caused to poor people. Lords/kings added to the mass deaths through clashes to settle scores with rivals. A very succinct table (p. 25) offers a synopsis of the wars and uprisings that shook Europe and the British Isles. There were similar uprisings in different parts of the world like China and India. Individuals revolted when pushed against the wall due to hunger.

Amid the Little Ice Age, glaciers near the North Pole extended and instigated abnormally extreme climate all over the world. Terrible conditions occurred in the Northern Hemisphere, which encountered incredibly cold climate from the 1640s through 1690s. Parker looks at how social orders reacted or neglected such varying climatic settings. He contends that:

Europe's 'General Crisis' was impacted by the immediate and indirect emotive of severe climate: poor harvests, dearth, famine, drought, fire, epidemic disease, economic and demographic decline, social unrest, revolts, and ongoing war.

By rejecting environmental determinism, he ascribes various emergencies to 'fatal synergy' between climatic change and elites of the time in particular areas which increased obliteration, viciousness, and misery. The opening segment of the book examines the instruments by which decreasing ecological quality influenced early modern social orders of different societies. Here Parker jolts together Tony Wrigley's investigation of the financial working of 'advanced organic' societies with a Malthusian examination of the ways such administrations controlled the balance between populace and resources. Parker contends that the Sixteenth Century's hotter conditions prompted expanded agricultural production, and consequently, augmented the population. Global cooling of the Seventeenth Century put pressure on this extended populace, and prompted war, famine, and disease. He proposes that any given society must come to a 'tipping point' before ecological burdens prompt political breakdowns, and contends that these 'tipping' indicators are as much due to social factors as natural ones.

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The longest segment of the book is given to a phenomenally intelligent overview of the whole globe and the societal breakdowns which climate-induced factors produced.

In every part of the book, Parker focuses on the general state of ecological pressure, and shuns any endeavor to guarantee that such occasions specifically caused war. There are instances when more particular connections between atmosphere and recorded causation wander, yet they are thoroughly grounded in contemporary records. For instance, the awful summers and fizzled harvests which plagued the British Isles in the Seventeenth Century were stresses which took Britain to its 'tipping' point. However, it was the outstandingly terrible climate of the late spring of 1640, the result of an El Niño, which forestalled Charles I mobilising his armed forces to strike back at the Scots - a defer which gave the latter time to re-gather their powers and extend the early clash.

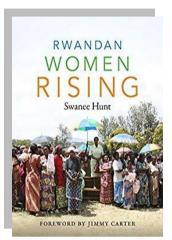
Parker, likewise, noticed those parts of the globe that, while confronting the same deterioration of environment, successfully avoided a parallel societal collapse - most notable being Japan under the Tokugawa empire. Though Europe endured an era of hostilities and financial breakdown, 'Japan experienced the Pax Tokugawa: rapid demographic, agricultural and urban growth - and no wars.' The phenomenal development of Japan in the Seventeenth Century, a distinct difference with Europe and China, did not emerge from considerate climate, evident from food revolts in 1637 and 1642. Be that as it may, amid the following 80 years, fights and uproars practically stopped. Parker's record of how Japan got away from 'General Crisis' of the Seventeenth Century opposes Twenty First Century solutions for environmental change, for example, emissions trading. Instead of emerging from marketing powers - 'the Tokugawa tossed out European traders in this period.' Japan's robustness against climate change impacts was, in fact, the result of storage strategy of agricultural production during the time of need through imperial authority. Such strength, Parker asserts, was the result of numerous politico-economic opportunities, such as privilege to venture out foreign states. Financially, the essential development of land under cultivation brought about broad deforestation, while pressing greater efficiency out of low quality soils required steady support and management.

The author contends that the Seventeenth Century appears to convey a unique significance and lesson to the contemporary world and its political leaders. The scores of wars and several encounters that were battled for succession to procure new domains or to settle old scores truly did not accomplish their objective, with the exception of instances of fratricidal clashes. The thousands who kicked the bucket battling or the regular people who were executed amid these wars died in futility. Indeed, even after the Peace of Westphalia in 1642, clashes between different states kept on occurring. The two World Wars battled in the Twentieth Century have not ended wars, rather have shown how to battle wars all the more fiercely, e.g., the Vietnam War, the Iran–Iraq war and the clashes in the Middle East. Wars have not halted wars rather have made man more imaginative in planning and developing weapons of mass destruction.

One striking element of the Seventeenth Century Europe enlightened by Parker is that delegates of the general population, in some sense, started to challenge the despotism which appeared to disregard their misery. There were numerous rebellions identified with yearning and hunger in states of poor harvest, billeting of warriors who devoured every one of the ranchers' sustenance. It is fascinating to take note that women took an active part in such uprisings, which changed with the hanging of Anne Carter of Essex who drove a rebel against the fare of grains, and was striven for rebellion. There were 72 food-related revolts in Britain alone in 1600 and 1649; and the well-known uprisings in France were in the hundreds. Germany, Switzerland, Japan and China had their share of uprisings.

Parker's examination of the Seventeenth Century history of each nation in every one of the mainlands of the world amid the Little Ice Age recommends that contentions at last end in a political arrangement. Peace comes after weariness - misfortunes have a tendency to exceed the gains. However, Parker has not satisfactorily managed to discuss the arrival of peace in the most recent decade of the Seventeenth Century. The climate did not enhance drastically as there were cold spells over the most recent years of the century. One critical perception of the author is that the significant revolts all emerged at a time of unparalleled climatic adversity (1618-23, and 1694-96).

Global Crisis is a tour de force of scrupulous literature on climate change in the Seventeenth Century, methodically knitting together politico-socio-economic and military developments to assert how decisions taken by the elites or government of that time were nothing more than knee jerk responses to longer-term problems. This also raises questions about the steps taken in the Twenty-First Century by the international community as well as national governments to climate change-induced problems, such as food shortages etc. The book's exquisite and clever writing should not only connect with researchers of climatology, it is an enticing effort that links worldwide environmental change with real issues for history specialists. A reader who does not want to plod through the whole book should only read Part IV as it encompasses an inquiry of all major events, their causes and how they amalgamate with what has ensued ever since.



Swanee Hunt, Rwandan Women Rising (London: Duke University Press, 2017), 448.

Reviewed by Fizza Mumtaz Former Intern Islamabad Policy Research Institute Pakistan

Swanee Hunt, the former US ambassador to Austria and Chairperson of Inclusive Security, is famous for her negotiation efforts in the Balkan States and support for women's leadership. Her publication *Rwandan Women*

Rising is an inspiring book that shares the experiences of remarkable women who survived genocide, and played a significant role in the reconstruction of Rwanda from the ruins. It provides readers with a pragmatic application of feminism. People know Rwanda for genocide, but this book explains how it became the only country that has 64 per cent women representation in parliament. At a crucial time when the world is finding ways to achieve the United Nations 2030 agenda - this book highlights key elements that can ensure sustainable development.

The manuscript is based on interviews of almost 90 Rwandan men and women working for/with government, business and civil society organisations. It consists of five parts: the first looks at transformation of women's traditional role due to genocide; the second explores the remarkable upsurge in public and political leadership from the catastrophic conflict; the third discusses efforts towards reconciliation and peacebuilding with neighbours; the fourth part reflects on the economic, health, educational and constitutional achievements that paved the way for the coming generations; while the final section highlights achievements by women despite all the challenges.

In Rwanda, gender division is based on traditional gender roles rather than the Western concept of equality. For centuries, women remained powerful and respected because the Tutsi King always shared authority with his mother/stepmother (p. 25); and women had a strong role in decision-making and children's upbringing. With arrival of the Belgian

regime in 1916, political identities were created along racial lines creating an ethnic divide between the Hutu and Tutsi. The Belgians used Caucasoid traits to distinguish kinship with Europe (p. 34) making the light complexioned Tutsi superior to the Hutu. This instigated a violent campaign against the Tutsi in the 1950s. Belgium gave independence to Rwanda in 1962 and moved their allegiance closer to the Hutu worsening the situation for the Tutsi. The Hutu marginalised Tutsi men/women from basic rights and the fierce situation compelled many into exile, mostly to neighbouring countries. Life became miserable for those who stayed and stood against systematic discrimination. A civil war emerged with the Hutu's vicious Ten Commandments, e.g.,:

1. Every Hutu must know that the Tutsi woman, wherever she may be, is working for the Tutsi ethnic cause. In consequence, any Hutu is a traitor who: acquires a Tutsi wife... 8. Hutu must stop taking pity on the Tutsi (p. 43).

When the conflict intensified in the 1990s, women from refugee camps started raising funds and awareness involving international bodies. The plane crash of President Habyarimana on April 6, 1994, brought horrific genocide on the Tutsi community. Hateful propaganda was at its peak and the Hutu militia was trained to use farming tools as weapon of killing and messages were delivered to hunt the Tutsi. Nearly one million people were killed in a period of just four months (April-July 1994). The Tutsi's political and rebel group, Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), entered Kigali on July 4, 1994, and one of the biggest challenges was to arrange a proper burial for the deceased. Families had to find their loved ones among piles of dead people.

Genocide ruined the social, economic and political structure of Rwanda, thus the RPF along with native leaders shaped a new political system based on 'unity, inclusiveness and democracy' (p. 71). Many women were appointed to administrative positions because of their capabilities. The post-genocide census showed that 'sixty per cent of the survivors were women' (p. 82) and the absence of men brought a dynamic shift in their traditional role making them 'active agents of change' (p. 72). Among these women were peacekeepers, mothers of homeless children, political leaders, activists and even builders.

Everyone was suffering from trauma in one way or another. Many reconciliation projects such as providing food to war criminals remained controversial, as people did not want to work for/with perpetrators, but eventually they realised that their needs outnumbered their differences. The Rwandan women initiated welfare projects at grassroots level with the support of international organisations, and the government started establishing new institutions for social uplift. Womens' organisations raised awareness about equal rights, responsibilities, ownership and ensured that policies were implemented and endorsed wholeheartedly. With gradual training by grassroots organisations, many women ended up in leadership positions and even in business.

The country remained in a transitional phase from post-genocide to 2003. In the interviews, women shared that constitution-making was the turning point for Rwanda, as many provisions strongly supported power-sharing and gender balance. Many changes were brought. Some men supported these changes, while others blamed the RPF for such a cultural shift. A male Senator shared:

Diversity - both men and women in Parliament - contributes to the overall quality of the process...women are outperforming men. We're talking on and on about ideas, but women are tenaciously sticking to their points. They're determined, and they're a real added value (p.149).

Rwandan women shared that a massive change was brought just before the 2006 elections - power was shifted from the central to local government (p. 151). Initially, community women were hesitant to participate as they had no administrative skills. In few years with constitutional quota, leadership pull, women's council, gender ministry, decentralising and role modelling (p. 157), female representation increased at the local level. Women believe that if they had been in positions of power, they would not have let genocide happen (p. 157).

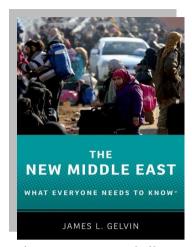
One of the challenges for the new government was to provide justice for genocide-related crimes. For example, between 250,000 and 500,000 girls/women had been raped (p. 184). In interviews, women highlighted that they had to protest to ensure that rape was classified as a 'category one' crime, instead of a minor crime such as stealing property.

This law did not remain within Rwanda - rape is now internationally considered a war crime. The government established 'Gacaca' (grassy place) courts in 2002, previously used for community issues, to prosecute genocide crimes. More than 12,000 courts started trials throughout the country, where community members actively participated and the transparency of the process was ensured. Women were elected as community judges since they were seen as honest and resilient (p. 203). The *Gacaca* courts ended in 2012 after resolving almost two million cases, whereas the UN-sponsored International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda could only try 75 cases from 1997 to 2013 (p. 217). While the *Gacaca* courts were criticised by some, they brought trust, hope and stability in the country and with untiring and continuous efforts, women achieved several milestones: security, justice, education, inheritance rights, young citizen rights, lesser mortality rate, malaria and HIV control, and decrease in malnutrition (p.270).

In the book, women further enunciated that marginalised rule had its roots in the Belgian Colonial period, and women's emancipation and influence had its origins in the pre-colonial period. The author writes that 'solidarity and sisterhood' (p. 296) is key in the remaking of Rwanda, as men-to-men cohesion developed institutions, but women-to-women collaboration brought unity at the grassroots level. Hunt also notes that there were a number of male economists, lawyers and parliamentarians who played a significant role in devising gender policies as they believed women's decisions to be more analytical, holistic and impactful (p. 302).

This book is not only a tribute to Rwandan women but a beacon for those countries ravaged by civil war and conflict towards a sustainable development path. Because the book is interview based, events are discussed in a rather haphazard manner. However, it provides a unique insight on gender dynamics - empowering women is not just about wellbeing, 'but a matter of life and death' (p. 359). This book also has important lessons for countries like Pakistan, where the concept of women empowerment is misunderstood:

The participation of women is transforming the new democracies. It's the key, it's the key. Every bright leader and bright nation will [need to] invest in their women (p. 376).



James L. Gelvin, The New Middle East: What Everyone Needs to Know (Oxford University Press, 2017), 224.

Reviewed by Iqra Mobeen Akram Former Assistant Research Officer Islamabad Policy Research Institute Pakistan

This book has six chapters and each addresses important questions related to changes taking place in the Middle East from 1845 to 2011. It encapsulates not

only contemporary challenges of the region, but is also concerned with future threats. James L. Gelvin sheds light on the impact of oil and how autocratic governments have shaped the Middle East in addition to debunking the popular myths on its so-called revolutions.

In the first chapter, Gelvin talks about the key characteristics of the modern Middle East, which for him constitute states in the West, from Morocco to the Eastern state of Iran (p.1). He attempts to discern the state system by tracing it back to the Sykes Picot Agreement (p. 4). Contrary to the perception that the Sykes Picot was one of the root causes of conflict in the Middle East and carving artificial boundaries, Gelvin notes the incomplete implementation of the agreement more than the artificial boundary issue since most of modern nation-states are also 'artificial'. He propounds two reasons for the stability of the state system: duration of time in formulating national identities followed by support of foreign states (p. 7, 8). The author underlines that autocratic rule has been infused into the Middle East since the beginning. He blames the military for nurturing autocratic rule in Turkey, Iran and Saudi Arabia. The monarchies in Morocco, Jordan, Bahrain, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates are seen as means of stability. However, post-colonial republics such as Tunisia, Algeria, Egypt, Iraq and Yemen were changed by people. To put it simply, Gelvin sees end of the Soviet Union in 1991, the American invasion of Iraq, as well as the Arab uprising as the most important events which shaped the new Middle East.

In the second chapter The Arab Uprising and their Fallout, Gelvin expresses skepticism on two specific terms conventionally used to describe changes in the Middle East. First the so-called 'Arab Spring' which was not limited to Arabs, as the role of Berbers is often missed. Second, the Arab Spring cannot be narrowed down to one 'time period', as it has been brewing for a long time. While the Arab Spring is touted as a revolutionary wave, he notes it as a continuation of prior events such as the Day of Rage. Two reasons are mentioned for questioning the metaphor of 'wave' to describe changes in the Middle East, First, it provides currency to changes in the region as a state-to-state 'natural development' in addition to goals and styles. Second, the author believes that even though neoliberalism is usually cited as the precursor of changes, however, breaking the 'benefit of compliance' is the main factor which encouraged uprising of the population (p. 29). The author dissects myths about the Egyptian revolution and asserts that the role of tech-savvy youth in the downfall of Mubarak is flawed, as 59 per cent of the protestors were between 25 and 44 years of age. In other words, scope of the definition used for 'tech-savvy youth' is blatantly broad. Additionally, labour also played an important role in the Egyptian revolution which is conveniently ignored (p. 35).

In the third chapter titled *The Syria Imbroglio*, the author states that while March 15 is used popularly by Western media and the Syrian opposition to frame Syria's quagmire due to its alignment with the 'myth of the Egyptian revolution', however, a historian of the future will mark March 19 as the beginning of the uprising in Daraa, as Gelvin views the Syrian crisis genesis similar to the Libyan case rather than Egypt and Tunisia. First, the Syrian crisis does not have one common epicentre unlike the Egyptian case. Second, it has not been spearheaded by any one organisation, for instance, there are no independent associations of UGTT (Tunisian General Labour Union). Third, contrary to popular narrative, security services were not used in Syria until 2012.

In the fourth chapter *The Rise and Decline of ISIS*, the author explains the origin of Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), its formation and ideology. In 2014, ISIS was able to capture vast territories stretching from North/Central Syria to Mosul which augmented its emergence. Its political roots were linked with the Afghan *jihad* against the Soviet

invasion of 1979 (p. 84). Ideologically, ISIS is inspired by al-Qaeda in Afghanistan. Its strategy was 'vex and exhaust' similar to the al-Qaeda strategy used against the Soviets (p. 87). Intervention by the United States (US) is presented as a reaction to ISIS attempts to redraw the border as well as to protect the state system in the Middle East (p. 103). However, the author overlooks the questions related to what people of Middle East required as well as governance issues.

In the fifth chapter, the author elaborates on policies of the US during the Obama administration, especially its relations with Iran and other regional players (p. 124). The author believes that the policy of restraint at the international level was criticised by opponents of Obama (p. 125). Gelvin stresses how oil politics will not play a significant role in the new Middle East. The new technological advancements, developed by the US' biggest oil exporters, allow horizontal drilling and fracking in order to reduce America's oil dependence on the Middle East. In addition, the Saudi-Iran competition became intense in 2011 in the form of Bahraini uprising and Houthi backlash in Yemen (p. 128). The author views rivalry between Saudi Arabia and Iran dominated by politics as compared to sectarian lines (p. 129).

The last chapter is titled *Human Security in the New Middle East*. According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), human security can be defined as 'The liberation of human beings from those intense, extensive, prolonged and comprehensive threats to which their lives and freedom are vulnerable'. Increasing population has led to scarcity of resources in the region (p. 139), for example, shortage of water in the Middle East is a major threat to human security (p. 141). Likewise, war is increasing the amount of lead affecting quality of soil and water (p. 143). Lastly, good governance is one of the demands of the people explicitly manifested in the uprisings and protests in the Arab and non-Arab world (p.166).

This book is recommended for students interested in learning about the current situation and future of the Middle East as it succinctly provides an overview of different variables unfolding in the region, which includes fragmentation, sectarian politics, bad governance and the rise of non-state actors like ISIS.



George S. Yip and Bruce McKern, China's Next Strategic Advantage: From Imitation to Innovation (Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 2016), 304.

Reviewed by Usama Nizamani Junior Consultant Islamabad Policy Research Institute Pakistan.

The book is a timely intellectual and applied contribution by Yip and McKern. Yip is

serving as Professor of Marketing and Strategy at Imperial College Business School in London, and earlier served as Professor of Strategy and Co-Director of the Center on China Innovation at the China Europe International Business School in Shanghai. McKern is an educator and advisor on business innovation and strategy, other than having served as a fellow at prestigious institutions such as Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Carnegie Bosch Institute, and at Oxford University's Technology and Management Center for Development.

In this book, they have synthesised empirical and academic acumen with applied business analytics to challenge a global and often occidental stereotype about China's ability to innovate. To establish their claim, the authors have attempted to explore, and in so doing, reconfigure perceptions about the, often ignored or under-reported, rapidly developing innovation ecosystem and culture in China. They do so by looking at innovation, research and development (R&D) initiatives by multinational corporations (MNCs) in China.

The premise put forth by Yip and McKern centres around four Cs, customers, culture, capabilities and cash as inextricable drivers of innovation in China. The first two chapters of the book are dedicated to making persuasive and compelling cases about the rise of innovation in China is at par with Europe and the United States (US). For example, the number of patents that were registered with China's State Intellectual

Property outnumbered those in the US. In 2012, the number of patents stood at 648,219 in China, whereas in the US, 571,612 patents were registered. 82 per cent of Chinese applications were filed by domestic firms.

The book brings to light the different kind of innovations and R&D taking place in China. It educates readers by discussing R&D across three themes: cost-driven, market-driven and knowledge-driven. While companies that are interested in reducing their operational costs opt for cost-driven R&D, companies seeking to customise imported products or technologies fall under market-driven R&D. Knowledge-driven R&D covers academic and applied ideas. As a recurring theme, the authors guide readers about knowledge-driven R&D activities in China. The book persists with counseling MNCs on how to benefit from China's official National Innovation System.

While discussing open innovation, Yip and McKern highlight collaboration with suppliers and customers to promote innovation. The book includes case studies on essential and non-essential technologies which come about through collaboration with suppliers, e.g., DSM, which localised its innovation to meet demands of the local market. Similarly, Philips, brings to fore, its initiatives through crowdsourcing in China, and at the global level for promotion of commercial and knowledge-driven innovation. There are also examples of corporations such as Xiaomi maintaining online platforms to generate customer-centric input on product and solutions innovation.

Given the mammoth size of the Chinese market and rapidly maturing culture of innovation, an incremental rather than radical approach to innovation is advised. Due to the developing taste of customers, MNCs are intellectually nudged to Reverse-Innovate (not to be confused with reverse engineering). RI entails developing products that are 'good enough' and 'fit for purpose'. Such products, on the one hand, reduce cost of production, and at the same time, allow room for 'fast trials' to 'fail fast' to re-adjust products with improvements. Moreover, some products need only be introduced in a section of the local market for this purpose. The rationale cited is psyche and preference of Chinese customers to forgive and forget the 'good enough' products, when they fail them.

An entire chapter is dedicated to Intellectual Property Laws in China offering strategising ingredients to approach the practice of Intellectual Property Protection (IPP) and what can be done about it by MNCs. *Culture* is invoked as a catalyst to contextualise particular interventions for ensuring IPP in China. It also stresses registration of intellectual property by MNCs that do not have a presence in the country. Similarly, it outlines means to strengthen trust with local partners to prevent spillover of intellectual property. Although, in this part, examples are rife with Western companies' experience and their best practices, little is done to incorporate local Chinese firms in strengthening IPP practices in the market. However, it provides sound advice on how to go about legal litigation, and builds investor confidence about the legal regime and developing rule of law regarding IPPs in China.

Emphatic focus of the authors remains on MNCs, and small and medium foreign business enterprises are not considered. This could have served a larger section of the global market. This book also does not venture into contemporary political debate about China which is a judicious choice. The reading can serve as a guide for developing and emerging economies that envision stimulating a culture of innovation and economic growth by understanding the strategic nature of structural interventions that are essential to realise such goals.