

BOOK REVIEWS

Jimmy Carter, *We Can Have Peace in the Holy Land: A Plan that Will Work*

(New York: Simon & Schuster, 2009), 228.

Jimmy Carter, a former US President (1977-81) and Noble Peace Laureate (2002), is a man of peace and has been actively involved in reconciling the belligerents in Palestine. His earlier book on the subject *Palestine Peace Not Apartheid* (2006) had provided first hand information based on historical facts and data facilitating the understanding of the Middle East conflict. His present work under review goes into the past peace efforts, the key players, and his own personal involvement and explains the reasons why these endeavours were not successful. For instance, in 1977, the “most potent criticism” of his efforts for peace came from the “American Jewish community and fervent supporters of Israel with the US Congress” (p. 27). Even the US media, according to him, is not helpful. For instance, in an address to the joint session of the Congress, King Abdullah II of Jordan had observed that the “source of resentment and frustration” is the “denial of justice and peace in Palestine”. This important portion was barely mentioned in the US media (p. 108). He genuinely feels that the time for achieving peace with the help of US leadership, international and regional support is ripe and peace is possible.

The focus of the book is on the peace process. The Carter Center, founded by the author, is engaged in promoting this process. According to him there are three prerequisites for peace: one, recognition of Israel by her neighbours and her right to exist in peace; two, establishment of permanent border for Israel; three, Palestinians’ claim that Israel has no right to exist has to be abandoned (pp. 23-25). He might have included the fourth prerequisite, which is basic to the issue, i.e., the implementation of UN resolutions. He rightly takes credit for success in reaching Camp David Accords (1978) between Menachem Begin and Anwar Sadat and consequent Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty in 1979 (p. 41). This treaty improved Israel’s security a great deal. He praises formation of the Quartet (1991) and the resultant Oslo Agreement (1993) between Yasir Arafat and Shimon Peres (p.49). He praises the unofficial Geneva Accord (2003) signed by Israeli politician Yossi Beilin and Palestinian Minister Yasser Abed Rabbo.

He is forthright in expressing his assessment that Israeli settlements in the occupied territories are “illegal and an obstacle to peace” (p. 23). He considers that 500 Israeli check points and the separation barrier (which he calls “apartheid wall”) built mostly in the West Bank are “a major symbolic and practical impediment to peace agreements” (pp. 65 - 71). Referring to asymmetrical violence in the recent past in Gaza in June 2007, he tells us that Israeli defence forces killed 1787 Palestinians in West Bank as against 41 Israeli settlers killed during September 2000-September 2008. Qassan rockets launched from Gaza killed 580 Israelis whereas Israeli strikes in Gaza killed 2974 Palestinians (p.94).

He has criticized the Middle East policy of the US He brings out that the extended US occupation of Iraq has enhanced Iran’s influence in the region, because the US was seen as a greater threat than Iran (p. 101). But he supports the US policy of two-state solution. He rightly feels that, to achieve the desired results, bold decisions are required. He regrets that the leadership on both sides (Israel and Palestine) is too weak to take bold decisions. The facts on the ground continue to undermine the peace process based on two states (pp. 150-51). For instance, in Palestine, despite elections in 1996 and again in 2006 for a unified Palestinian Authority, there is *de facto* Hamas control over Gaza and that of an elected President not approved by Parliament in the West Bank (p. 167). Similarly within Israel, there is a struggle between two political forces: “those who wish to preserve the purity of Judaism and others who wish to increase the population of a “Jewish state” throughout the Holy Land” (p. 164).

He correctly pin points the divergence in approach on important issues between Israel and Palestinians. These mainly concern how to comply with UN resolutions concerning inter-state borders, status of Jerusalem, right of refugees to return to their motherland and security of the two states (p. 171). To ensure the security of the two states, the author has suggested deployment of an international peace keeping force backed by the US in occupied territories (pp. 168-9). Among other things, the author does give his own agenda for peace which is: a demilitarized Palestinian state and an international security force; mutually acceptable modifications with land swap to the 1967 border; a sharing of Jerusalem which would be the capital of the two states; the right of Palestinians to return to West Bank and Gaza; unity between West Bank and Gaza; and a specific time line should be set for the consummation of these goals (p. 181). This appears to be a compromise

and practical solution and deserves due consideration by all stakeholders for implementation.

Although the author's efforts, during the past more than three decades, to ensure peace in the holy land, have not been successful so far, he seems optimistic because, according to him, there is a "remarkable compatibility" among pertinent UN resolutions, previous peace agreements (Camp David Accords, Oslo agreement, Geneva Accord, etc.), declared policy of the US, the International Quartet's roadmap for peace, and the Arab proposal for reconciliation with Israel.

The book gives a chronology of events from Prophet Abraham till the present time. The author surveys the peace keeping efforts in Palestine especially those which took place during the period he was the US President. His perspective is religious and focuses on peace-making. But he fails to discuss the religious issue pertaining to the dispute over the piece of land claimed by both Jews and Muslims owing to its being the site of the Temple Mount and Haram al-Sharif. He, however, gives a balanced account of facts and problems blaming both Israelis and Palestinians. He criticizes Al Fatah and Hamas for their infighting and not acting jointly. He is critical of the Jewish community living in US. Nevertheless, he gives a workable plan on which US President Barak H. Obama can work, if he can act to ensure peace in Palestine. In any case, the work, which gives a personal account of President Jimmy Carter's efforts for achieving peace, is both informative and interesting for all those interested in Middle East peace and resolution of Palestinian issue. ■

Dr Noor ul Haq, Research Fellow, IPRI.

Alexander Bennett, ed. & trns., *Budo: The Martial Ways of Japan*
(Tokyo: Nippon Budokan Foundation, 2009), 335.

With its all-encompassing modernization, sophisticated technology and unbeatable economic superiority, Japan is still a traditional society in all respects. Modernity and globalisation have not overtaken the traditional values of its society and culture. This makes Japan a unique society in modern times that opted for social, political, military, and economic modernisation along western lines at the dawn of the Meiji Restoration in 1868, after a long period of seclusion spanning over 250 years, without sacrificing its cultural identity. Ever since, Japan has maintained

equilibrium between modernity and tradition. The Japanese language has played a classic role in this transformation. It has helped integrate modern education and research, and maintained its own development at par with English and other European languages. The Japanese culture does not stand in the way of progress and modernisation; in fact globalisation is the most distinctive feature of Japanese society today.

With the emergence of Japan as an advanced nation of the world, the distinctive features of its culture have won admiration and even a growing following abroad. Among these the most popular are Japanese cuisine, ikebana, judo, karate, sumo wrestling, the tea ceremony, Japanese poetry like the haiku, cinema, calligraphy and ceramics. No other Asian culture can claim such influence outside its land of birth.

Though interest in Japanese martial arts or *Budo* abroad has been growing, within Japan itself it is felt the younger generation is losing interest in these traditional ways of self defence and personality development. To address this apprehension a number of institutions with country-wide branches sprang up to preserve and promote the martial arts among the youth in Japan. The book under review *Budo: The Martial Ways of Japan* is a comprehensive compendium of these arts and shows how a highly advanced modern society is making efforts to preserve and promote an important part of its culture in these difficult, fast changing times. The book is an across-the-board guideline and a handy reference work on the history, concepts, techniques, and organisations related to *Budo*. It reviews the various aspects and dimensions of *Budo* culture, values, and norms contributed by leading experts of the *Budo* arts.

The word "*Budo*" is composed of two Kanji characters i.e., "*Bu*" and "*Do*". The former means "go into battle" which was subsequently changed to signify "stop fighting". The latter, "*Do*" simply means "the way". In essence the word "*Budo*" refers to "self-defence". *Budo* is the Samurai's fighting technique. It is a time-honoured form of physical culture which evolved from the Samurai warrior's code, known as *Bushido*, which is to unify the mind, develop personal character, enhance the moral sense, and inculcate courtesy. In short, *Budo* leads to self-defence and self-perfection. (pp. 5-6). The concept of Self (*Khudi*) that Pakistan's poet-philosopher Allama Muhammad Iqbal has presented is completely in line with *Budo*, only that while *Khudi* offers a transcendental basis for enhancement of the Self, the latter furnishes practical and physical techniques for perfecting the individual's

personality so that he/she becomes an agent of peace and harmony in society.

Sociologically speaking, the rise of modern Japan to economic power without having any natural resources is embedded in the concept and principles of self-perfection, raising the whole nation to the level of self-respect, dignity, honour, peacefulness, discipline, hard work and independence from external forces and helpfulness towards others. This is in sum the objective of the *Budo* training.

Budo martial art techniques are many such as *judo*, *karatedo*, *jukendo*, *kendo*, *aikido*, *kyudo*, *sumo*, *shorinji kempo*, and *naginata*. The volume under review explains all these martial techniques in chapter 3. During the Meiji (1868-1912) and Showa periods, Japan encouraged *Budo* to strengthen the national spirit against its external foes in accordance with its nationalistic-militaristic ideology. According to one explanation, Japan's traditional weapons – the sword, knives, blades, and firearms that had been introduced by 1543 AD, have gradually lost their destructive purpose over the centuries, and have become objects of art and beauty (p. 9). After WW2 the Occupation authorities banned all militaristic teaching materials and *Budo* practices in public were abolished in 1945. In the wake of 1950's political normalisation, the soft image of *Budo* improved and the ban was removed. But *Budo* practices were now seen mostly as part of peaceful traditional Japanese sports and the use of the term *Budo* was not made. It is interesting to note that the term, *Budo*, was not officially used until amendments were made in the curriculum in 1989. Today, the Self-Defence Forces of Japan also use a number of *Budo* techniques in their training programmes to nurture the values of self-perfection among soldiers.

As has happened in other societies, modernisation, industrialisation, and globalisation have had a negative influence on the youth of Japan in a number of ways. It is believed that *Budo* has the potential to address such negative side-effects of modernisation. In order to promote *Budo* among the new generation, the Japanese Ministry of Education has decided to introduce *Budo* as a compulsory subject at junior high school level from 2012 academic year. This is interesting in the ageing Japanese society that finds itself fit to exercise *Budo* as suggested by Professor Sugie Masatoshi of the Osaka University (p. 28).

There are a number of organisations in Japan working for the promotion of martial arts among the youth and the general public. Notable among them are: the Japanese Budo Association, founded on

the eve of Tokyo Olympics in 1964, the National Prefectural Budokan Associations, the Japanese Academy of *Budo*, the Japanese Classical *Budo* Association, Japan Judo Federation, Nippon Kyudo Federation, Shorinji Kempo Federation, Japan Jukendo Federation, Japan Kendo Federation, Japan Sumo Federation, Aikikai Foundation, and Japan Naginata Federation. The International *Budo* University in Chiba principally devotes itself to the teaching of *Budo*. There are a number of other universities that teach courses in *Budo*. They include: Kokushikan University in Tokyo, Tokai University in Hiratsuka, Nippon Sports Science University in Tokyo, Chukyo University at Toyota, Tenri University in Nara, Tsukuba University in Ibaraki, and the National Institute of Fitness & Sports at Kanoya. The publication under review commemorates the 45th anniversary of Nippon Budokan Association with the aim of further promoting *Budo* culture in Japan as well as abroad.

Alexander Bennett, Associate Professor at Kansai University in Osaka, has both edited and translated the 335 page volume which was originally a report by the various federations outlining the inroads made over the last four decades in popularising the arts and the issues they face in the future. “The underlying theme”, says Bennett, “is one of urgency. How can the *Budo* world appeal to generations of people who potentially stand to benefit from what *Budo* has to offer?” The volume contains important details explaining *Budo* cultural traits through a number of paintings, illustrations and a large album of photographs that show the techniques in action. Obviously there is an occasional overlapping of explanations as parts of the volume were contributed by various writers. For those interested in understanding the goals of the martial arts of Japan and their relevance to Japanese society and culture, the book is an excellent source of information. ■

Dr Ahmad Rashid Malik, Research Fellow, IPRI.

Robert Hathaway and Michael Kugelman, eds., *Empowering Pakistan: Meeting Pakistan’s Energy Needs in the 21st Century* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009), 216.

This book is the product of a conference report on Pakistan’s energy needs over the next 20-30 years titled *Fuelling the Future*. The report was published under the auspices of the Woodrow Wilson International Centre for Scholars, Washington DC in 2007. Robert Hathaway and

Michael Kugelman's edited volume presents multi-disciplinary selection of papers on pointing out the energy problems, meeting Pakistan's energy needs and prospective energy requirements.

The introductory chapter notes that the energy crisis has disrupted industrial production and household routines provoking public demonstrations and mob anger which has caused destruction of public property and threatened political stability. Energy has become a major political issue in the country (p. x). Pakistan's proven coal reserves are the world's sixth largest but remain unutilised; construction plans to build large dams have been the victim of political wrangling among provinces and western help for developing civilian nuclear technology (p. xi). Hathaway gives recommendations based on all the essays in the book. These include comprehensive energy planning, institutional coherence and coordination between the public and private sectors, privatization, and encouragement of biomass energy. He also recommends diversification of energy resources rather than disproportionate reliance on natural gas and imported oil and suggests expanding the sources and supplies of renewable energy. A comprehensive energy strategy according to him will include creation of technology institutes and research centres to provide energy-efficient technologies in the long run.

The edited volume analyses thirteen different cases of Pakistan's energy problems drawing from different sectors and regions. Mukhtar Ahmed in his essay recommends development of the rich coal deposits of the *Thar* Desert as well as nuclear energy (p. 13). His essay is meticulously written with graphs and tables cited from the Pakistan Energy Yearbook and Planning Commission of Pakistan. Shahid Javed Burki, an eminent World Bank economist, gives a historical background of Pakistan's energy needs and poor planning in this sector. He praises the government of Ayub Khan for taking significant positive steps in institutional development by creating WAPDA (p. 31). He discusses a number of very cheap and accessible sources of energy. Robert Looney writing on Energy and Pakistan economy discusses some world models of micro-energy somewhat too generally and his assessment for Pakistan seems unrelated to these models.

Chapter five deals with power sector reforms in Pakistan. The authors of this essay, Vladislav Vucetic and Achilles Adamantiades, have done justice to the subject by focusing the discussion on Pakistan's energy problem and even its minor detail that helps in understanding the

issue. From Pakistan's power generation (p. 69), transmission system (p. 71) to distribution, every aspect of the power sector has been covered. The authors propose institutional reforms in the power sector (pp. 77-80) and the ways and means to implement them (pp. 81-86).

Parts two and three of the book however are not properly edited. Both parts lack scholastic details and reference/source citations. On page 133, author Saleem Ali of Chapter 8 claims that Karachi Nuclear Power Plant (KANUPP) was shut down for refurbishment in 2002 and opened five years later in 2007. However, he has not given any citation of this fact. Similarly on the same page, Mr. Ali also says Baghhalchur village provided nuclear cake to Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission for the country's nuclear programme. He gave such important information to the reader but surprisingly without any reference which is a scholastic weakness.

Weak academic practices also undermine the credibility of the book. Inconsistency of energy units, for example, can be seen throughout the book. Table 1.3 on page 14 is noteworthy that confuses the reader by talking of various forms of energy resources in three different units. The reader cannot deduce anything from it unless he/she consults unit conversions. The last paragraph on page 8 talks of reserve to production ratio for various fossil fuels but does not mention if it is in weeks, months, years or centuries! A very strange analysis is observed in Chapter 2 on page 22 where Pakistan's data in 2005-06 has been compared with the 1970s and 1980s data of other countries. Another weakness of the book is its outdated information - the book was published in 2009 but most of the statistics it provides are up to 2004-05.

The problem of poor referencing is also quite noticeable. Quite often crucial statements have been furnished by various contributors without any reference. The opening sentence in Chapter 3 on page 39, for example, provides very important data but has no citation. In Chapter 2 on page 21, Lahore has been described as one of the most polluted cities of Asia. This is quite a significant statement but comes without any reference. As the first publication on an important issue such as energy- the life line of Pakistan and Pakistanis, the book will be widely discussed and used by scholars. ■

Syed Hussain Shaheed Soherwordi, The University of Edinburgh, Scotland, UK.

Alok Bansal, *Balochistan in Turmoil: Pakistan at Crossroads*
(New Delhi: Manas Publications, 2009), 296.

Straddling a now troubled cross section of South and West Asia, Balochistan has been drifting into focus of world attention increasingly plagued by activities of terrorist groups. With growing insurgency in Afghanistan and Pakistan military action against the Taliban in the troubled tribal areas, the situation in Balochistan has the potential to cast long shadows on the peace and stability of the region. It is the result of the crystallization of deep rooted ethno-nationalistic conflicts and half hearted attempts to decentralize power from center to provinces, outright oppression, feeling of alienation and marginalization, absence of genuine representation, and lack of social justice and development. Alok Bansal, a retired officer of the Indian navy and the author of the book, gives his “personal perception” of these underlying causes for political unrest in this strategically significant “piece of land” and its possible implication for Pakistan, India and the whole region.

Alok Bansal, during his naval career participated in Indian peacekeeping operations in Sri Lanka and is presently a doctoral candidate at the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University. He has edited two books: *Pakistan Occupied Kashmir: The Untold Story* (2007) and *Sri Lanka: Search for Peace* (2007). He has published a number of research papers and written for leading newspapers.

Balochistan in Turmoil: Pakistan at Crossroads is based on his analyses of the ongoing insurgency in Balochistan. The book has seven parts dealing with the various historical and political aspects of the problem. The first chapter, “Crisis in Balochistan: An Introduction” discusses the historical and political background of the conflict. The next chapter evaluates the developments in respect of the province’s status after independence and the various controversies on its accession to Pakistan. His account of the various events clashes with the facts that were presented by many insiders and eyewitnesses (see A.B. Awan, *Balochistan Historical and Political Processes*, (London: Kidford Limited, 1985) at the time of shahi jirga and the non-official members of the Quetta municipality at the time of partition in 1947.

“Current Revival of Violence” is the third chapter of the book which reflects the ongoing insurgency in Balochistan that flared up in 2004 after a gap of nearly three decades. It gives an account of the

December 2005 Military Operations to curb the insurgency. The role of the Baloch nationalist movement i.e. the Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) that has been the force spearheading the insurgent operations and attacks on national development projects has been chronologically discussed with subjective analysis. BLA is a Baloch nationalist militant secessionist organization that has been working for its causes since 2000.

The fourth chapter, "Balochistan after Bugti", comments on the circumstances in which the defiant Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti was killed during the military operation in August 2006 while he was hiding in a cave complex in Bhambhore Hills. The death of Bugti and the hard core Marri tribe chief, Nawabzada Ballach Marri, resulted in the soaring of violence manifold. There is lot of padding work which the author has had to do to fill the gaps in his version. The chapter also has a voluminous appendix detailing incidents of violence in Balochistan in 2008.

Ethnic marginalization, erosion of autonomy, mega infrastructural projects as tools of colonialisation, lack of representation, economic exploitation, lack of cultural and political freedom and external factors are discussed in the fifth chapter of the book, "Causes of Insurgency". The next chapter explains the "Implication of Turbulence in Balochistan" on India and Pakistan. In both these chapters the author tries to raise the level of blame game which is nothing new in our milieu. While strongly condemning and blaming Pakistan and its political structure for the sufferings of the Baluchi people, the author completely ignores charges of India's involvement in Balochistan insurgency which were recently confirmed by reports in the international media.

His conclusion in the last chapter is full of dark forebodings for the state of Pakistan. The state would "unravel" if it is not able to handle the grievances of Baloch people, he predicts. The statement that Balochistan has never been under control of any invading army (p. 273) is factually incorrect as there are many accounts in history books about the region's conquest. The claim that the "Baloch were opposed to the idea of joining Pakistan" (p. 273) is again misleading based on reference to one sided accounts. This reflects the absence of deep study. The charge that the Baloch do not have ample representation in the army and other state institutions is also wrong as Baloch lack of representation is not on account of discrimination by the state but due to the province's thin ratio in total population, i.e., 5 per cent. In spite of this there have been several generals of Pakistan Army, including couple of Commanders in

Chief, i.e., General Muhammad Musa and General Waheed Kakar from Balochistan

The book is full of factual errors and allegations against Pakistan that show lack of objectivity and shallow reading of history. The book lacks analytical depth and is mostly based on media reports and opinions with few insights. Generally speaking it can be accepted as giving the reader the Indian perspective and propaganda on the current situation in Baluchistan. ■

Farhat Akram, Assistant Research Officer, IPRI.

Birthe Hansen, Peter Toft and Anders Wivel, *Security Strategies and American World Order: Lost Power*
(London & New York: Routledge, 2009), 186.

The 1989 change in the international system produced both winners and losers. The book, *Security Strategies and American World Order: Lost Power*, analyses security strategies of states in the changed scenario of the world order. It presents a systematic comparison of the Russian, Middle Eastern and European policies since all three regions were an integral part of the Cold War superpower confrontation.

The writers have presented a theoretical framework based on Kenneth Waltz' neorealist theory and "offers a general explanation for the strategy choices of otherwise very different loser states. The explanatory variables are relative power, relative security and relative ideology (p. 1)." The writers further argue that the United States of America has emerged as a big winner of the Cold War and the losers "share a common challenge, because their options are now fewer...Unipolarity exacerbates this problem (p. 5)." This explains the manoeuvres of the losing players to adapt their security strategies to the changed realities to ensure the stability of their geopolitical environment. At the same time the writers have warned the winning party "that the lack of relative power is likely to result in aggressive and violent security policies against the unipolar world order, particularly if the superpower is perceived as both a strategic and ideological threat (p. 152)." The winners are advised to follow the path of "pragmatic political pluralism and provide generous security guarantees for (a) successful winner strategy (p. 152)."

The authors of the book are Birthe Hansen who is Associate Professor at the University of Copenhagen, Peter Toft, Research Fellow

at the Energy Unit of the European Commission's Research Centre, and Anders Wivel, Associate Professor at the University of Copenhagen. The book comprises six chapters.

In the first chapter, the writers explain the loss of relative power by the loser states and the different strategies to overcome that loss. The second chapter gives an analysis of the hypothesis in the realist model.

The chapter on Russia gives an account of the country's strategic behaviour after losing the status of super power in the post-Cold War uni-polar world order. Viewing itself as the core of the former Soviet Union, it has struggled to strike a balance between areas of disagreement and collaboration with America and its camp followers. Russia adjusted to its new reduced international position by pursuing a bandwagoning strategy in the early post-Cold War years. But now Russia is reasserting its position in the international arena due to its status as the other major nuclear power.

In the chapter about Europe, the writers are of the view that "Europeans are as reluctant as anyone else to accept dependence and American hegemony, leaving them with little choice but to accept the actions of the unipole, whether or not they disagree" (p. 62). This opinion is supported by the different positions that the European Union has taken on certain global issues such as human rights, terrorism, Iraq war and non-violent resolution of disputes especially after the Cold War.

On the Middle East, the writers are of the opinion that the unipole (USA) is capable of scaring the weak states in the Middle East into following bandwagoning strategies.

The book presents different strategies that Russia, Europe, and the Middle East chose for adjusting in a unipolar world, because the initial years of the unipolar era were turbulent while most states were engaged in the transformation of their foreign and security policies. But this transition to new conditions has neither been a peaceful nor easy process. The book actually tries to explain this adaptation process. The main finding of the book is that the loss of relative power has decisive importance for the security strategies of states. Overall, the book helps us understand the viability of the unipolar world order and presents different arguments in its favour which have relevance in the changing scene of the post Cold War world seen from some aspects unexplored by other writers on the security paradigm. ■

Khalid Chandio, Assistant Research Officer, IPRI.

Naeem Salik, *The Genesis of South Asian Nuclear Deterrence: Pakistan's Perspective*

(Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009), 324.

Nuclear weapons in South Asia are there to stay. Keeping in view the prevailing hostile relations between India and Pakistan it is nearly impossible for any of them to roll back its nuclear programme. Brigadier (retd.) Naeem Salik discusses the circumstances and compulsions that led to the nuclearisation of South Asia in his book "The Genesis of South Asian Nuclear Deterrence, Pakistani Perspective" and purports to present the situation from the Pakistani perspective.

He argues that the dynamics of deterrence between India and Pakistan are different from that of the US and the former USSR. The South Asian neighbours do not fit into the Cold War model. Salik points out that there is plenty of material available on the nuclear programmes of India and Pakistan, but it gives either the Indian or the western perspective. The Pakistani perspective was needed to have a proper understanding of the situation which is the purpose of the book. The book has nine chapters and an epilogue.

The first chapter gives the historical background of the two nations leading upto the start of their nuclear programme, the war on terror and the criticism against Pakistan's nuclear programme.

The second chapter discusses the nuclear programme of India from its early phase to its materialization into a nuclear weapons programme. The role of Dr. Homi j. Bhabha is discussed in some detail. Salik claims the US knew about it but deliberately ignored the developments (p. 18). In fact the US Central Intelligence Agency till 1964 kept on insisting that there was no sign that India intended to develop nuclear weapons and all her nuclear activities were for peaceful purposes (p. 19).

Salik explains that the Chinese nuclear tests speeded the Indian quest for a nuclear weapon and used the Cold War logic in telling the US she would seek Soviet help if America opposed her programme. Further that it would affect the US desire to raise India as a counterweight to China (p. 24).

After the PNE (Peaceful Nuclear Explosion) by India in 1974, the reaction by the international community was mixed. The US public reaction was mild and the Soviet Union accepted the "Peaceful" nature of the explosion (p. 34). Pakistan condemned the explosion.

India did not have a credible delivery system till the mid-1970. She also lacked a sophisticated command and control system and the requisite surveillance and early warning system, without which the Indian nuclear deterrence could never achieve credibility (p. 43). India therefore initiated the (IGMDP) Integrated Guided Missile Development Programme, and by 1974 Indian scientists claimed possessing the ability to produce medium range missiles (p. 43).

India detonated its nuclear bombs on 11 and 13 May 1998 claiming the tests were for national security and to counter China but in the same breath the Indian home minister Advani warned Pakistan that India's nuclear status had changed the balance of power in the sub-continent and Pakistan had better revise its traditional policy on Kashmir or she will have to pay heavily (p. 55). Summing up, Salik says though the Indian motivations were China specific, the Pakistani nuclear programme was no small factor. Moreover India went nuclear to lay claim to a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council (p. 61).

The third chapter discusses the genesis of the nuclear programme of Pakistan. The 1971 war and the loss of the eastern wing forced the realisation on Pakistan that conventional defence was not enough to deter India. (p. 69). The PNE by India in 1974 was the point when Pakistan decided to go nuclear and the international community fearing Pakistan's response started a campaign to stop Pakistan in its nuclear quest. The author praises the role of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto for encouraging the scientific community of the country by establishing a separate ministry of science and technology (p. 77) His "talent pool" programme brought back Munir Ahmed Khan, and Dr. Abdul Qadir Khan to Pakistan who played a key role in making Pakistan a nuclear power (p. 78).

The US opposition in the shape of sanctions was thwarted by the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan which "compelled President Carter, who had twice suspended military and economic assistance to Pakistan, to change his policy and for once make non-proliferation take a back seat" (p. 96). India tested her nuclear device in 1998. Once again international pressure built up to stay Pakistan's response but even US assurance could not stop Pakistan from going ahead with what it thought was in its national interest, "There has also been a speculation about whether the decision to test was taken by the political leadership or was it thrust upon it by the Pakistan military" (p. 141).

The fourth chapter discusses the Indian and Pakistani policies towards nuclear non-proliferation. In the author's view, Pakistan was forced on the nuclear path by Indian hegemonic designs. "Pakistan, which had been an active participant in the international non-proliferation efforts culminating in the formulation of Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), decided not to join it because of India's refusal to do so" (p. 164). Naeem Salik analyses the future prospects and asks what will be the utility of the non-proliferation efforts in South Asia when India has been recognized as a nuclear weapons power outside the NPT (p. 187).

The fifth chapter is about the nuclear delivery systems which India could develop only after it started its ambitious Integrated Guided Missile Development Programme (IGMDP) with the declared objective of developing five missile systems" (p. 195). The author explodes the myth of the indigenous nature of Indian missile programme that owes its genesis to the adaptation of foreign supplied civilian space technology.

In the sixth and seventh chapters Salik discusses the nuclear command and control structure, deterrence, stability, confidence building measures and restraint regime of both the countries. The author has looked closely into the undeclared nuclear doctrines of the two countries. The Indian draft nuclear doctrine denies "first use" but outlines the situations for the first use option. Pakistan's nuclear policy gauged from the statements of policy makers and scientists is assumed to be of minimum credible deterrence. Salik has also discussed the Indian thinking on limited war and the so-called cold start strategy. He suggests that "by propounding a limited war doctrine the Indian leadership was trying to justify the need to maintain a large conventional force, and sending a message to Pakistan that the nuclearization of South Asia has not completely foreclosed India's options for the use of force (p. 242)."

The 8th chapter deals entirely with Dr. A. Q. Khan episode. The author argues that the issue of proliferation had been there as long as Dr. A. Q. Khan remained the chairman of KRL (Khan Research Laboratories) and while there was no command and control structure in the country. He emphasizes that raising the question regarding the safety and security of nuclear weapons now is irrelevant as Pakistan has taken sufficient measures for their safety and security such as the National Command Authority, and Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority set up for the purpose.

In the epilogue Salik concludes that nuclear weapons are here to stay in South Asia and the two hostile neighbours should move beyond confidence building measures and try to resolve their outstanding disputes through negotiations (p. 292). He says that US wants to see India as a counterbalance to China, but India is not in a position to catch up with China but in her efforts to do so might aggravate Pakistan's security concerns and upset the regional security balance (p. 297). He suggests that international community should recognize Pakistan, along with India; as a nuclear weapon state in the interest of regional stability and non-proliferation efforts.

The book has three appendices in which information about the estimated fissile material stocks of India and Pakistan is given. In appendix 3 a model for minimum credible deterrence has been suggested.

The book tells the Pakistan side of the story at a time when the big powers are favouring India and questions are being raised about the safety and security of Pakistan's nuclear programme and its weapons. ■

Aftab Hussain, Assistant Research Officer, IPRI.

Moonis Ahmar, eds., *International Relations Today: Theories, Methods and Areas of Research*
(Karachi: University of Karachi, 2009), 220.

The book "*International Relations Today: Theories, Methods and Areas of Research*", edited and contributed by Professor Moonis Ahmar, is the latest in the literature that has been published in 2009. It presents an eclectic examination of theories and methods of International Relations (IR) from a Pakistani perspective through essays contributed by known scholars in the field.

The study highlights the limitations of the discipline in addressing the major issues of the 21st century – global warming, environmental degradation, mass forced migration, exploitation of women and children, nuclear proliferation and weapons of mass destruction, poverty, scarcity of water and depleting natural resources in the face of world population growth. It emphasizes multi-disciplinary approaches to broaden the scope of analysis.

The study of International relations is a relatively new discipline having mostly originated in Western universities producing scholars who generally toe the American line becoming the handmaiden of its policies. Drawing on their US-Western based research experiences, most of the

returnee scholars tend to employ imported concepts in the Pakistani setting without taking into account the ideological underpinnings of these alien models. The uncritical acceptance and application of these IR theories in South Asia, especially in the spheres of national security and strategic affairs may have been responsible for perceptions that have over the years promoted a costly arms race in the region, affecting development prospects and endangering democratic norms and civil liberties.

The compilation dwells at length on the variability of the IR studies in spite of their heavy West-centric bias and recommends that research in IR must keep pace with the dramatic transformation that is taking place in the security and strategic situation of the world.

Divided into five broad themes, this compendium highlights the theoretical and conceptual dimensions of IR; the linkage between globalization and IR; interdependence between IR and Strategic Studies; IR in Pakistan with emphasis on research and mentoring modes; and finally IR and Area and Regional Studies with particular reference to Pakistan.

The first half of the book discusses changes in the post-cold war era that affect both policy-makers and social scientists, leading them to search for new paradigms of world politics reflecting different theoretical frameworks that make the emerging order understandable. Five major theoretical paradigms enunciated by American scholars during the last decade, "End of History", "Clash of Civilizations", "Complex Interdependence", "Multi-polarity" and "Criminal Anarchy" are evaluated in the light of the views of non-western scholars. This trans-cultural evaluation of the post-cold war world order shows that IR is no longer an "American Social Science" but is expanding to become a wider discipline in contemporary times.

Deliberating in some detail on the definition of IR, the study concentrates on state-centric and non-state dimensions of IR, the latter including national and international organisations, both governmental and non-governmental, as interpretative categories. For a reasonable development of theories of IR, useful material can thus be collated from different shades of opinions on liberal internationalism, realism, neo-realism, post-positivism (including constructivists and post-modernists), et al and how these paradigms continue to influence the course of dealings among nation-states.

The second half of the book assesses the “Spectre of Subaltern Globalisation”, reflecting the response of the powerless of the world to the might of super powers including “reverse” globalization. It provides a new dimension to the issue of inter-faith relations in the context of extremism, radicalism and terrorism our society is faced with. There is an interesting discussion on issues like narco-terrorism connected with narcotics production and the peculiar nature of relationship between Indians and Pakistanis in the background of the tense interstate relations, together with activities of non-state actors, narcotic mafias, money launderers, terrorist combines across borders, suicide bombers and at a more innocuous level, of diaspora cultures – Bollywood and biryani – assuming global popularity.

Discussing the state of the study in Pakistan, the book warns against keeping social sciences clinically free from and immune to moral concerns of society. To counter the western influences in the IR study and writings, a multi-pronged indigenization of the discipline has been suggested to give its models a local orientation. In the aftermath of 9/11 developing nations need to give greater attention to research methodologies and theory formation for a review of stereotyped definitions and concepts.

The third part is mainly concerned with the state of strategic studies in Pakistan, which has remained pegged to realist approaches due to its singular focus on threat perceptions from India. Yet there is a dearth of hard core expertise in the field due mainly to government control and poor resources.

In the fourth section, teaching methods in the discipline are discussed underlining the need for making the study and its theories more Pakistan-specific with regard to problems of peace and war, internal conflicts and economic disparity in the region. The performance of the Area Study Centres in major universities of the country has also been critically examined.

The fifth and the last section of the collection studies the Institute of Regional Studies (IRS), Islamabad, as an area research centre in the field of IR, for developing understanding on the issues confronting various states within the region (Southwest Asia, China, Central Asia, South Asia as well as the Indian Ocean rim states) and their relationship with the outside world.

By bringing together an eclectic review of what covers the major aspects of International Relations studies, in the context of Pakistan

specifically and the changing chess board of world politics generally, this collection of essays adds some insightful material to the existing literature. ■

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Dr Ajeet Jawed, *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah*
(New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 350.

The author of this book Dr Ajeet Jawed is a Reader in Political Science Department of Satyawati College, University of Delhi.

Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah is the most misrepresented political leader in the political history of the subcontinent. While in Pakistan a common man takes him as the “saviour of the Muslims”, Indians have dubbed him as an “evil-genius, a die-hard communalist, a separatist, egoist, opponent of the freedom struggle, enemy of the Congress, particularly of Gandhi, an ally of the British imperialists and the one man responsible for the partition of the country”. In the absence of authentic well researched documents by any Pakistani scholar on his life and politics, it is easy for Indian writers to suppress facts and interpret them according to their viewpoint. The reviewed book, “Secular and Nationalist Jinnah” is no exception to this trend in as much as very well researched material has been interpreted through biased assumptions to arrive at conclusions that clash with the personality and policies of Mr Jinnah.

In her preface Ajeet expresses her interest in exploring Mr Jinnah’s personality and political struggle leading one to expect an objective presentation of facts and their fair treatment. However the author takes an interesting turn contrary to her stated position and exposes her bias that grows by the page. Yet in holding that Pakistan was Mr. Jinnah’s fall-back position upon failing to get a fair share for the Muslims in governance from the hard line Congress leadership, Ajeet has history on her side that Indian scholars generally have been trying to deny blaming him for Partition.

One virtue of the book is its smooth narrative. It has six chapters that are arranged in the chronological order of the Quaid’s political journey.

The first chapter gives an account of his early life and the way his political ideals were influenced during that formative period. This is perhaps the most favourable piece on Mr Jinnah the reader would find in

the book that shows him as “an apostle of unity and united India”¹. Ajeet thinks this was the real Jinnah, the Jinnah who tragically got transformed into a “communalist” by 1947.

The second and third chapters are written with great care for the promotion of Mr Jinnah as an ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity and a nationalist Indian who loved his motherland. No doubt he spent the initial years of his political life as an agent of unity but political developments in the course of time brought changes in his perception as he began to see the parochial mind of the Congress leadership which was not ready to relent on issues of interest to the Muslims. Towards the end of the third chapter the author is found collecting evidence of the Quaid’s efforts for a last reconciliation with Congress.² She doesn’t mind if that contradicts her opinion of the Quaid as an “arrogant egoist”.

Chapter 4 is all about Mr Jinnah’s secularism and covers his political career from 1906-37. The examples of his secular personality are taken mostly from his personal life and individual choices, for instance his unveiled Parsi wife or his sister going to a convent school for studies³.

The next chapter descends into trouble territory. It tells us of his differences with Jawahar Lal Nehru and Mahatama Gandhi. The events narrated are correct historically but their interpretation leads one to believe that Mr Jinnah was gradually being sucked into the communal politics of the Maulvis. While the Quaid was against any form of community-based secularism which was being practised by the Congress leadership, he also could not become a part of the Hindu nationalism that was being projected in the garb of Indian nationalism.

The book has a store of information from varied sources and biographical accounts and the author does not hesitate from questioning the propaganda that surrounds his personality as a leader of the freedom struggle and as an uncompromising enemy of foreign rule from the very inception of his political career, but her favourable stance becomes a victim of her ingrained prejudice in the end. The Quaid fought for Indian interests in the Imperial Legislative Assembly more vigorously than any other Indian representative but he was bypassed by leaders like Gandhi and Nehru in many of his fair suggestions and appeals. But Dr. Ajeet’s claim that he changed holds no substance as the Quaid did not change his basic values and political ideals. All he changed was his

¹ Page,11.

² Pages.102-105.

³ Pages.110-115.

political party, the credit for which goes to the petty mindedness of the Congress. He refused any title from the British and struggled for united India for forty years of his life. He resisted for long the proposal of partition and sought fair-play and safeguards for the Muslim minority in united India, and when Pakistan was won, he advocated the same for the Hindu minority.

Mr Jinnah firmly believed in constitutional struggle but he refused to condemn Bhagat Singh. Singh was a socialist and nationalist who had thrown a bomb without life-threatening parts in the parliament (when Jinnah was present) and later given himself up to police so that he could use the courtroom to oppose the colonial power. He supported his cause though he opposed his method. Mr Jinnah was offered several high profile jobs during his political career to compromise his integrity but he refused them. These offers included opportunities to become a Judge in the Bombay High Court, a member of the Central Legislative Council, Knighthood ("I prefer to be called Mr. Jinnah"), and Governorship of Bombay etc.

The book refers to Muhammad Ali Jinnah's 11th August Speech as evidence of his commitment to secularism even after championing the Muslim cause and winning a separate country on its basis. The Quaid being a secularist could not be a communalist. Indian historians fail to go into the causes of the Quaid's switch to Muslim League. But her book and that of Mr Jaswant Singh are indicative of a change in the thinking of Indian scholars who are now seeing the blunders made by leaders like Nehru and Patel more objectively. And this would raise the stature of Quaid-e-Azam as a secular liberal leader of the freedom struggle.■

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