

T.V. Paul, The Warrior State: Pakistan in the Contemporary World (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 272.

The Warrior State: Pakistan in the Contemporary World is written by T.V. Paul, Professor of International Relations, at the McGill University, Montreal. A product of the Professor's seven years' research the book discusses the relationship of war and the state in the developed and under - developed states globally, but its focus is on Pakistan. He maintains that Pakistan suffers from a "strategic curse" the way the Middle East suffers from a "resource curse". The flow of aid from the US and elsewhere has inhibited its development and progress. In addition, "unlike China and India, the warrior state in Pakistan has neither allowed nor encouraged its younger generation to globalize and benefit from economic liberalization. They are not given the necessary education, especially in science and technology. Instead, generations of Pakistanis, especially the poor are taught in archaic religious seminaries" (p.189).

He is right that Pakistan is lagging behind in education, but he makes a factual error there as the number of students who are studying in religious seminaries are only one per cent of the total. The remaining 99 per cent students are having general schooling.

He presents Pakistan as a "warrior state" whose economy is "dysfunctional" and whose political system is "corrupt". He claims that the Taliban forces "occupy 30% of the country" and it possesses "110 nuclear weapons" that could easily fall into "wrong hands" (p.2).

He is pessimistic about the future of Pakistan which "faces an uncertain future, with its economy in shambles, its civil society in disarray, and its future trajectory with Afghanistan and India in question. ... The Pakistan case is an exemplar for an unfortunate outcome in the contemporary world: intense war-making activity leading to the creation of a weak, insecurity-generating state." (p.183-4). Pakistan, he says, is a victim of twin fears. One is the fear of India and the second is the fear of Pashtun population "whose allegiance to the Pakistani state is suspect" (p.185). In addition, there is the threat of non-state actors in the region which the Pakistan Army has "partially created".

In this assessment he fails to see that the Pashtuns are a binding force in Pakistan because they have well entrenched economic interests in all the cities and towns of Pakistan, from north to south, from Peshawar to Karachi where they work and do business and own properties.

He has highlighted discontentment of ethnic units struggling for autonomy from the "Punjabi-dominated" country. He has ignored the 18th

Constitutional Amendment which was passed in 2010 granting autonomy to the satisfaction of the federating units.

He then moves on to what he calls “insecurity” that comes from the “strong corporatist interests of the military elite attached to the warrior state” (p.185). He blames the Army and the ISI for impeding the progress towards democracy. The reasons he gives are: one, they are the “parallel authority points”, (2) the political parties remain weak as they are afraid of military retribution, (3) the political parties are afraid of the Taliban, and finally (4) the Army and the ISI are playing a “double game” being outwardly in alliance with the US but covertly supporting its enemies. (p.191-2). There’s nothing new in this last argument which is commonly bandied about in western opinion and can be dismissed as a cliché.

He maintains that the “Majority of young Pakistanis” ... “strongly support an Islamic state and do not view terrorism as a leading problem facing Pakistan” (p.190).

As far as the Kashmir dispute is concerned he does not agree with the general belief that “if the Kashmir problem is solved, Pakistan can then focus on economic development.” Rather, he supports the Indian point of view for status quo when he says that “a change in borders is likely to cause more harm than good to regional security order and Pakistan’s internal development itself (p.193-4). Finally he recommends “discrediting of the military as the lead societal actor” (p.196). He predicts that “If the military and its intelligence agency persist in “double games” and keep supporting terrorism, Pakistan will eventually fall apart, causing unimaginable damage to itself and to the world.” Similarly, “a traditional warrior state built around an intolerant religious or political ideology is fast becoming an anachronism. It not only promotes ideas and values that are archaic, but is plainly dangerous to its society and the rest of the world” (p.19).

He says that unlike other Afro-Asian countries who became independent, Pakistan’s troubles lie in its becoming a “warrior state” having fought four wars with India. Why those four wars were fought, he does not explain. The first war (1947-48) was fought because India sent its regular forces on October 27, 1947 and occupied a major portion of Kashmir. The second war (1965) was initiated in Kashmir because India consistently refused to allow self-determination to the people of Kashmir under UN auspices as required in UNSC resolutions. But Indian forces instead of limiting the war in the disputed territories of Kashmir crossed the international border and invaded Lahore and other areas of Pakistan. The third war (1971) was fought because taking advantage of the insurgency in East Pakistan India invaded it, helping it to secede and emerge as an independent Bangladesh. The fourth war (1999) in Kargil (Kashmir) was in

response to the Indian occupation of Siachen Glacier in violation of Simla Agreement (1972).

He is right that Pakistan has not done enough in investing in “education, health care, quality infrastructure and land reforms” as was done by Japan, Israel, South Korea, etc. According to him Pakistan suffers from what he calls a “geostrategic curse”. Its strategic location helps it in getting aid from United States, Saudi Arabia, China, etc. This help forbids Pakistan, from “undertaking the painful economic and social reforms necessary for rapid and equitable economic and political developments” and eggs it on to warfare. The importance of war-making capacity is due to Pakistan’s “search for strategic parity with its larger neighbour”.

His assertion that Pakistan wants “parity” with India can be questioned. Pakistan cannot have parity with a much larger neighbour, but it does desire “equality”. It was in this frame of mind that the founders of Pakistan initially desired constitutional safeguards in caste-ridden India and when failed they struggled for Pakistan to escape the majority’s domination and hegemony to enjoy equality as a sovereign state.

He thinks that the concept of “strategic depth” into Afghanistan is meant to make that country a “vassal” of Pakistan (p.102). He overlooks the fact that all that Pakistan desires is that its western neighbours — Afghanistan and Iran — remain friendly so that there is no threat if there are hostilities on its eastern frontiers.

He charges that with the “connivance of elements of the state”, Pakistan has become the “world’s biggest hotbed of transnational terrorism (p.14).” Once again he fails to realize that it was after US bombing in Afghanistan, that the Mujahideen who had come in thousands from various countries to fight against the Soviet Union and were assisted by the US turned into al Qaeda terrorists seeking refuge in the adjoining territories of Pak-Afghan border which are administered through a Political Agent by Pakistan government. The Pak-Afghan border is porous without any check on human movement either way and it has been like this since time immemorial. They were supplemented by the Taliban. Since Pakistan was assisting the US, they turned both against the US and Pakistan. Due to their terrorist activities inside Pakistan, the state suffered more than any other country in the world resulting in the death of around 4,000 soldiers, 40,000 civilians and a cumulative loss of about US\$ 100 billion. Pakistan, therefore, had to fight against them as a result of which six out of seven tribal agencies have so far been cleared, and the fight in the seventh agency — North Waziristan, is raging.

He has bracketed Afghanistan with India to prove that Pakistan is a “warrior state” against both. He is absolutely wrong there as India and Pakistan have fought four wars but there has been none between Pakistan

and Afghanistan. Secondly Pakistan had assisted Afghanistan in its armed struggle against the Soviet Union. Thirdly, as a consequence of this struggle, both Afghanistan and Pakistan have suffered in many ways, such as, “Taliban-inflicted violence,” gun culture, and deteriorating law and order situation affecting the economy and development of both countries.

It is rather disappointing for a research scholar to yield to popular trends in western opinion and making use of clichéd judgments instead of bringing new insights on the situation in South Asia.

Reviewed by Dr. Noor ul Haq, Senior Research Fellow, IPRI

Natalia Bubnova, Missile Defence Confrontation and Cooperation

New York: (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2013), 379.

Missile Defence Confrontation and Cooperation was edited by Natalia Bubnova. It was published in 2013 by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. It has been produced within the framework of the non-proliferation programme of the Carnegie Moscow Centre, with the support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The book has three parts and seventeen chapters, spread over 379 pages. It is distributed free of charge.

The first part explores the main theoretical premise of missile defence as a special class of weapons. The principal characteristics and requirements for the construction and operation of missile defence systems are discussed in the first chapter. The second and third chapters make a detailed examination of the history of the development and deployment of missile defence systems in the Soviet Union and the United States. The fourth chapter traces the progress of negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States on the limitations of Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD) systems.

The second part of the book is dedicated to the technical characteristics of typical BMD systems and programmes, as well as to negotiations between Russia and the NATO states on cooperation in this field of military development. The fifth chapter offers an assessment of possible missile threats from a number of “problematic” regimes against whom the American BMD programme in Europe and the Far East is aimed at. The sixth chapter analyzes the current state and prospects of deployment of the US/NATO missile defence system as far as its technical aspects and operational capabilities are concerned. The seventh chapter covers the technical and strategic aspects of the latest precision-guided non-nuclear weapons that have aroused concern in Russia, and against which Russia’s high priority Air-Space Defence (ASD) programme is being developed. The airspace systems and forces are comprehensively studied in the eighth chapter and negotiations between Russia and the United States/NATO on joint BMD development are discussed in the ninth chapter.

The third part of the book examines BMD as a factor in the global strategic balance and the non-proliferation regimes of nuclear weapons and their delivery vehicles, as well as a possible sphere of collaboration for powers in their struggle with new security threats. The key question — whether the US/NATO BMD system is a threat to Russia’s nuclear

deterrence and her strategic stability in general — is studied in the tenth chapter. The eleventh chapter is devoted to the opportunities, challenges, and advantages of US/NATO-Russia cooperation in developing and operating BMD systems. The twelfth chapter analyses China's attitude toward the BMD systems of other states. The thirteenth chapter considers the impact of BMD systems on the non-proliferation regimes for missile technologies and nuclear weapons. The fourteenth chapter covers "Missile Defence Initiatives and Third Country Responses" — Iran, North Korea, China, Pakistan, India and France. The fifteenth chapter analyses regional missile defence programmes in the Middle East and Asia-Pacific region. The sixteenth chapter deals with the problems of cooperation in the field of missile defence in the context of military and political relations between Russia, the United States/NATO, and China. The seventeenth chapter analyses the strategic aspects of the contradictions between the positions of different states on missile defence.

The "Conclusion" contains the final findings of the authors and editors of this comprehensive study on missile defence issues, as well as policy recommendations to the major powers that would help establish mutually beneficial cooperation in this field in the future. Keeping the great complexity of the subject and the diversity of writers in view, the volume is not intended to present a homogeneous study based on some central theme. In the "Conclusion" therefore, the editors feel no hesitation in disagreeing with the authors of several chapters and offering their own divergent assessments and conclusions.

In the last fifty years, the United States and Russia have significantly surpassed the rest of the world in the development of ballistic missile defence (BMD) systems. Missile defence as a topic at intergovernmental military negotiations emerged at the end of 1960s (p.71). The idea, however, of collaborating in the development and use of BMD systems was adopted at the November 2010 NATO-Russia Summit in Lisbon (p.15). Despite their attractiveness the Lisbon proposals could make no headway and ultimately, the Russian president declared in November 2011 that the idea of a joint missile defence system in Europe had failed. At the same time, he announced that Russia would take countermeasures of a military nature.

Russia sees the United States' and NATO's plans to deploy BMD elements near its territory as provocative and "open-ended." Having failed to agree on a joint BMD system, the United States/NATO and Russia are developing their own systems. The unilateral deployment of BMD systems is exacerbating military and political tensions between the great powers, undermining their cooperation on nuclear non-proliferation and damaging arms limitation regimes.

The new negotiating format of Russia and the United States runs counter to the concept of a joint BMD system. In order to achieve progress in missile defence, the goal of a joint BMD system must be gradually and consistently made a part of the overall military and political cooperation between the two powers.

Some pertinent recommendations put forth by the authors are: Russia and the United States should engage in coordinated step-by-step rapprochement in the direction of joint defence, focusing on the compatibility of the US/NATO BMD system and Russia's ASD programme; they should promote a concept that discourages destabilizing and encourages stabilizing defensive programmes that could help enhance the survivability of their nuclear deterrence forces at much lower levels and protect urban centres and critical sites against single or group missile launches and aircraft attacks by rogue states or terrorists; instead of the usual stringent limits on BMD, the US and Russia should discuss the new roles that defensive systems will have in their bilateral strategic stability; after overcoming the impasse, the two countries could connect the Russian and US/NATO early-warning systems and BMD radars in Europe; they could also establish a joint centre staffed by Russian and NATO officers to coordinate the operation of the two BMD systems. On the contrary, if missile defence is set as a precondition during negotiations on other issues, then it will lead to an overall stagnation of the ongoing negotiation processes (p.356).

The book presents the multi-faceted issue of missile defence in its entire complexity, as an aggregate of its historical evolution and military and technical, strategic, political, and legal aspects. It tends to downplay the divergent opinions that exist even among the leading experts on the subject; nevertheless, it reveals them clearly. The book is an attempt to contribute to current research efforts in the BMD field and to the ongoing political and scientific debate about it. Hopefully, it will help interested readers to develop their own approach to the problem and draw conclusions about the best ways to address it.

Reviewed by Air Commodore (R) Khalid Iqbal, Consultant IPRI

Rai Sarfraz Shah, Shandur Durand's Security Boundary Violation
(Gigit: Hunza Printing Press, 2014), 12.

An interesting controversy between two neighbouring districts over the control of a slice of land where an annual polo tournament is held is the material of this book by an author who is a party to the dispute. Rai Sarfraz Shah belongs to Gilgit–Baltistan (GB) which claims that the famous mountain resort of Shandur is part of its district Ghizer against the territorial claims of Chitral district which falls in the jurisdiction of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK). The title of the book could have been simpler than the utterly confusing *Shandur Durand's Security Boundary Violation* which seems to assume the airs of an international dispute! Actually the old dispute came into local prominence when the Shandur polo festival started getting international attention as the game's highest arena in the world and the event received official status in 1982. Who should manage the Shandur Festival? That indeed was the main controversy between the locals of Laspur, a village in Mastuj area of District Chitral, and District Ghizer of Gilgit-Baltistan.

The people of Ghizer claim that both historically and topographically as supported by Survey of Pakistan Map Sheet no.42 D/12 of 1984 Shandur belongs to GB. Also that the people of Ghizer have proprietary rights over the *nalas* flowing through the land as well as the Gilgit-Shandur road whose maintenance is their responsibility.

The book has ten chapters of which the first contains reference to historical documents such as the Shimla Report of Lt. Col. A.G. Durand of 1892 and Survey Map Sheet of NWFP/USSR first published in 1903 then 1924, 1925, 1933, 1944, 1955, 1972, 1979, and finally in 1984 by the Survey of Pakistan. The Shandur Indus Watershed Boundary line was drawn in 1885 according to Col. Durand's Shimla Report of 1892.

The second chapter discusses the issue of deployment of Chitrali Scouts at the Shandur top during the festival days for security reasons though the entire management of the tournament was Ghizer administration's responsibility. But the Chitral Scouts using the opportunity built themselves a VIP hut adjacent to the polo ground giving their presence there a permanent shape. The next chapter adds more evidence in support of GB claim. The Gakuch-Shandur-Mestuj truckable metal road was built and telephone/telegraph lines laid up to Ghochar and Panji Lasht at Shandur top by the administration of Gilgit Agency which district administration of Ghizer has inherited.

Chapter four enters into further details and mentions even agreements reached between goatherds of the two sides. The author then produces the minutes of the Joint inter-provincial/regional meeting held on July 16, 2003 between Northern Areas/Gilgit-Baltistan and KPK governments on issues relating to Shandur Boundary violation.

Chapter six presents revenue documents of Nala Khukush, Shandur and Baha etc. and chapter seven discusses in detail the reference books about the decision and implementation of Shandur Boundary of 1885 and 1892. Two books, *Gilgit before 1947* by Gansara Singh and *History of Northern Areas* by Professor A.H. Dani have been briefly reviewed in this context.

Chapter eight reproduces the report of the Deputy Commissioner, Ghizer, about the Shandur Boundary covering all the important documents on the issue. They show that the Shandur lake inter alia falls within areas of District Ghizer. The next chapter presents the correspondence between the user community of Shandur with the Government and Administrations of Gilgit-Baltistan and the Federal Government.

Chapter ten discusses the boundary between Pakistan/China and Afghan Pamir. The author is of the view that any change in the Survey Map Sheet No.42D112 and Map Sheet of North West Frontier Province of 1903 and 1984 will adversely affect other international boundary lines around Pakistan, e.g. Pak- Afghan and Pak- China borders which will be against the security of Pakistan.

The book presents Gilgit-Baltistan perspective in a comprehensive manner. The author has not covered KPK Government's perspective and Chitral district administration's position on the issue.

In order to understand the issue in its true perspective there is a need to see the ground realities. Basically, Shandur is divided into two parts. On the one side, there is a lake and the polo ground and pasture settlements running east-west for about 10 kms along the main road. This area is undisputed property of Chitral. The pasture huts and settlements belong to the people of Laspur in Chitral. The second portion runs south-north and is called Langar or Kukush that had timber forest in the past and was jointly used by the people of Ghizer and Laspur.

As far as the Shandur festival is concerned it should be held regularly and no side should be allowed to boycott it. Thousands of polo enthusiasts around the world wait for the event. Historically both sides have brotherly ties with each other which external elements might like to despoil. This needs to be guarded against.

The book is a good resource of information for researchers interested in the history of Northern Areas of Pakistan. The Shandur controversy,

though a local matter between neighbours, provides occasion for digging into history and uncovering minutiae like agreements between goatherds.

Muhammad Munir, Research Fellow, IPRI

Medea Benjamin, Drone Warfare: Killing by Remote Control
(New Delhi: Harper Collins, 2013), 241.

The book under review, *Drone Warfare: Killing by Remote Control*, by Medea Benjamin, explores what she calls the nightmarish possibilities that the proliferation of drones have brought to the fore. It presents a comprehensive analysis of one of the fastest growing — and most secretive — fronts in global conflict, the rise of robot or machine warfare. Medea Benjamin is a co-founder of the peace group CODEPINK and the international human rights organisation Global Exchange. She has been an advocate of social justice for more than thirty years.

The comments on the book reveal that in 2000, the Pentagon had fewer than fifty aerial drones; ten years later, it had a fleet of nearly 7,500, and the US Air Force now trains more drone pilots than bomber and fighter pilots combined. It is estimated that today Drones are already a US\$ 5 billion business in the US alone. The interesting thing in this matter is the curious behaviour of the United States which introduces a deadly weapon into modern warfare, uses it against its enemies but when its use proliferates to other states, it gets annoyed and wants it proscribed. Today, armament factories are making lots of money from drone technology, according to the author. This is true as it is said that wars are not waged by governments but by the weapon manufacturers.

The human cost in collateral damage terms of this deadly technology is enormous as drone strikes are reported in to have killed more than 200 children alone in Pakistan and Yemen. Drones are simply killing machines with “no judge or jury” to make people accountable for a targeted murder that invariably involves innocent victims also. “Drone attacks leave behind trails of human suffering — grieving widows, orphaned children, young lives snuffed out, lifetime disabilities. They enrage local populations, stoke anti-American feelings and prompt violent acts of revenge”, says Ms. Benjamin.

Who is producing the drones, where they are being used, who controls these unmanned planes, and what are the legal and moral implications of their use are questions dealt in the book which also looks at what activists, lawyers, and scientists across the globe are doing to ground these weapons. Ms. Benjamin argues that the assassinations that are being carried out from the air will come back to haunt the US when others start doing the same thing to Americans. The fear factor created by these drones, according to the author, has gripped the people around the world. This has further

resulted in insecurity in the conflict zones making things much worse than ever.

Drones are a cowardly way to wage war through remote control. Targets in Pakistan and Afghanistan are hit by operators sitting thousands of miles away in the US. Drones have made targeted assassinations possible that the US justifies on the logic of its “war on terror” but such acts are clearly in defiance of both international and US laws. The author reveals that it is the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) not Pentagon that operates this inhuman technology in West Asia and other parts of the world. There are two types of drones, surveillance and war drones that the US operates. Their use has been extensive in Pakistan. President Obama “institutionalized the practice of targeted killings” (p.201). The writer further reveals that “the CIA’s partner, the military’s Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC) is even more cloaked in secrecy and less subjected to accountability than the intelligence agency”, and it “directly reports to the President” (p.61).

The author mentions that at first the US used the drones during the Iraq war on the pretext that the country (Iraq) possessed weaponized drones “that could be used to attack the West with chemical or biological agents” (55). The Iraq war provided the US military a platform for perfecting its own deadly drones. It was sold to the American and the Western public opinions on the same pretext of Iraq possessing drones but it was the US and not Iraq which used the weapon. It was later confirmed as a flat lie because at that time the drone technology was possessed only by the US. These days, the US military’s reliance on the drones (surveillance and weaponized) has spread to wherever it chooses to use them — almost everywhere, from Iraq, Syria, Pakistan to Afghanistan, in fact as the author puts it: “Here a Drone, There a Drone, Everywhere a Drone.”

Drones, used for both lethal and non-lethal purposes, are being used by Israel also for gathering intelligence and sometimes for targeted killings.

Discussing the legal and moral side of this secret weapon Ms. Benjamin says that even in a regular war civilian casualties are taken care of under international laws but in this stealth warfare no distinction is made between the criminals and the innocent civilians. One of the primary objectives of drone strikes is to save the lives of the attacking country’s soldiers who are away from the battlefield. So, “with drones substituting more and more for boots on the ground, the conflicts become even more obscure” (p.149).

The book is an interesting read and a useful addition to war literature as it critically evaluates the legal, moral and historical aspects of this deadly technology and its usage in the contemporary world. The danger that it would not remain confined to use by the US is a clear and present danger. The technology is bound to spread as most countries are now interested in

buying or developing it. Its proliferation that the US is now very keen on checking will not be that easy.

Reviewed by Khalid Chandio, Research Officer, IPRI

A. S. Nasir, The Phenomenon of Poverty and Bad Governance
(Karachi: Royal Book Company, 2014), 181.

The book, *Phenomenon of Poverty and Bad Governance*, by Dr. A.S. Nasir helps understand why there is poverty, both rural and urban and relates the phenomenon to bad governance. It also provides insights into how this critical issue can be addressed.

The book looks at poverty as a global issue and suggests effective guidelines to countries seriously involved in poverty eradication. It points out the varied causes of poverty which can be understood only in the context of the particular socio-economic and political system in which it occurs.

The author discusses diverse themes under seven chapters. The first describes different classifications of poverty based on different concepts and definitions. Poverty is not universally perceived on the same scale but is essentially determined by the social environment of the country where it occurs. It reflects the new world-view or new approach to understanding poverty. In the second chapter he identifies two major groups of the poor: those in the agriculture sector and those who make a living in the urban centres. The major factors behind poverty of these groups are lack of sustainable economic growth, absence of the trickle down effect of economic growth and misplaced priorities while in economic policies.

Chapter three reminds the rich and developed countries of the world of the international obligations undertaken to reduce poverty at the global level. The volume highlights two main developments which have led to this view of international obligations: first, the erosion of the nation-state as a result of increasing interconnection of national companies and second, the extension of the list of human rights that are worthy of protection. These aspects are also the result of interdependence whose global impact is also becoming increasingly obvious. These include global pollution, international migratory flows and health hazards resulting from the global or regional spread of diseases.

Chapter four discusses if development policies are fully committed to effectively combating and eliminating mass poverty. These must not only aim at achieving a change of economic and political structures in the countries concerned but must also insist that the international economic order is opened up to give fair opportunity to poor countries. Development policy experience demonstrates that programmes aimed at long-term reduction of poverty require an appropriate macro-economic and political framework. Moreover, economic growth in low income countries is a necessary condition to get anti-poverty programmes successfully underway.

Analysing how growth and development affect poverty, chapter five identifies that high economic inequality and conspicuous consumption do affect the balanced growth of precious resources. Without such balanced growth, large sections of population will remain outside the domain of development. No society can withstand such exclusion for long.

Discussing the strategies for reducing poverty, chapter six identifies three distinct pillars of poverty reduction: support of structural reforms, indirect reduction of poverty and direct reduction of poverty which eliminates the causes. These strategies create poverty reducing economic, political and social frameworks on international and national levels. On the international level, efforts are focused on dismantling protectionism, securing fair terms of trade and solving the debt crises. On the national level, the aim is to introduce structural reforms which benefit the poor: develop a democratic dispensation, extend the freedom to work autonomously, introduce agricultural reforms and decentralization.

In chapter seven the volume lists the factors that constitute bad governance including corruption, nepotism etc., as the major causes for failure of the governments in the least developed and developing countries in reducing the incidence of poverty in their respective societies. It requires the revamping of the existing judicial system to adequately punish those found foundering or tampering with the process of poverty alleviation.

The book also sheds light on the malpractices in decision-making process and dearth of honest policy-makers, who have the courage and capacity to project their plans in the complex structure of governance system which is essentially corrupt in nature. Therefore, the decision making approaches are not useful in developing countries in reducing poverty. The author notes that the amount of information that decision-making demands is usually unattainable in the developing countries. The available information might not only be inadequate but also could be unquantifiable. As a result, a degree of risk and uncertainty becomes inherent in the policy-making process, leading to miscalculations and misguided diagnosis.

In conclusion, the author feels that probably, in the whole of human history, no nation has attempted to eliminate poverty and the exploitation of the poor with determination. It requires redefining of the methodologies of reducing poverty all around the world. Education provides the best window of opportunity for tackling widespread poverty in developing nations, where the bulk of population is poor and illiterate. The benefits of education at the grassroots will target the population and will positively contribute to their self-help endeavours.

Reviewed by Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Assistant Research Officer, IPRI

Hassan Abbas, The Taliban Revival: Violence and Extremism on the Pakistan-Afghanistan Frontier
(Yale University Press, 2014).

The resurgence of the Taliban as a robust resistance force in Afghanistan after their fall in 2001 is a phenomenon that has intrigued military observers and scholars alike. Hassan Abbas who is Professor and Chair of the Department of Regional and Analytical Studies at the National Defence University's College of International Security Affairs in Washington, D.C., and a Senior Advisor at the Asia Society, presents a comprehensive account of this development in *The Taliban Revival*.

Tracing the genesis of the Taliban movement in the 1990s, he points out that initially their rule in Afghanistan had created a sense of security among the population who were fed up with the mayhem and anarchy created by the warlords but subsequently their poor governance and retrograde policies led to general dissatisfaction and total abhorrence of their regime. Following the US-led NATO attack that nearly decimated their force, the Taliban have regrouped and reestablished themselves as a credible opponent. They have not just survived but adapted to new technologies to be more proficient in the modern world and have developed expertise in making sophisticated arms.

Discussing the post 2001 Bonn process, he says it did not truly represent the Afghan society and created a sense of alienation in the Pashtuns which resulted in political marginalization of this major ethnic group in the post-Taliban Karzai government. Abbas identifies major issues that have the potential to undermine the political process in Afghanistan such as the neglected socio-political and economic fields and holds the Western as well as Afghan governments responsible for the lost opportunities that could have changed and transformed the Afghan society in which the Taliban could not have thrived. He also elaborates the divergent policy perspectives of the Afghan government and the United States Administration because of which President Hamid Karzai could not achieve reconciliation with the Taliban.

The author lays great stress on economic factors which together with political and ideological reasons facilitated Taliban resurgence in Afghanistan. He thinks that the Taliban are the main beneficiaries of the drug trade as the money earned by traders is taxed by the Taliban and used for harnessing their insurgency. He points out that organized criminal networks have also been supporting the insurgency as the nexus between terrorists and the drug mafia is not just sustaining the conflict but has also been hindering development work.

Abbas also explores Western policies and analyses military strategies that contributed to Taliban revival in Afghanistan. The insurgency is not controlled by the older Taliban leadership but a newer generation of militants has taken over command and it is they who define the “ethos of the Taliban” today. This new leadership is more uncompromising in its attitude.

He compares the genesis of the Afghan Taliban with the Pakistani Taliban and argues that continuous war, lawlessness and distorted religious education gave rise to the former. While the ideological and political roots of the Pakistani Taliban are not much different from those of their Afghan counterparts, a diverse but linked set of circumstances contributed to the rise of Pakistani Taliban such as Pakistan’s controversial role in the ‘war on terror’, lawlessness in FATA, disproportionate use of force, and religious radicalization. Unlike the Afghan Taliban, Pakistani Taliban are not a mainstream force and have been unable to transform into a political movement.

The Taliban ideology has been challenged by various religious scholars. He underlines political developments in Pakistan, particularly during the time when a wave of terrorism was unleashed by the terrorists against civilians and military personnel which promoted extremist forces. He discusses how the Red Mosque militants and terrorists in Swat helped the militants in fresh recruitment. He also sheds light on the various peace deals the government made with the militants in FATA.

Abbas presents various post-2014 scenarios in Afghanistan that range from a devastating civil war to the rise of Taliban on the scene giving rise to a new intellectual debate about what new norms are likely to govern the Afghan society. Will it accept war and conflict as part of life and adopt crisis management strategies rather than conflict resolution and peaceful settlement. He defines Afghan political transition through Presidential elections as a determining factor for future order in Afghanistan. He also assesses the impact of the Afghan situation on FATA and the Pakistani Taliban in the context of their previous coordination.

The initiatives taken by the United States and the Afghan government to reach conciliation with the insurgents and the mediatory role of Pakistan have been discussed at some length. How these efforts are viewed by political parties in Pakistan, and how political attitudes are affected by drone attacks get due mention. While describing regional states interest in resolving the issue he focuses on India-Pakistan rivalry for space in the troubled country.

The author recommends various initiatives to achieve sustainable stability. These range from legal to economic interventions to efforts for religious harmony to remedy the damages the social fabric has suffered. On

the political front he prefers a decentralized framework. Education must get top priority if the forces of ignorance and bigotry have to be defeated.

Reviewed by Saman Zulfqar, Assistant Research Officer, (IPRI)

Daniel S. Markey, No Exit from Pakistan: America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad

(United States: Cambridge University Press, 2013) 253 pages.

The book, *No Exit from Pakistan: America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad*, offers a critical assessment of Pak-US relations over the years. "No Exit" refers to a play by Jean-Paul Sartre in which three characters find themselves condemned to live together till eternity tormenting each other with no way out. Pak-US relationship share the same fate, tied together in a cycle of mutual accusation, that, over the years, has resulted in mistrust making the relationship vulnerable. Each side has the potential to threaten the other's interests. The US interests in Pakistan lie in countering terrorism, containing the threat of a nuclear catastrophe and maintaining regional stability; while Pakistan's interest is to get sustained US economic assistance. The author accuses Pakistan of being addicted to US aid. He quotes Congressman Gary Ackerman who is reported to have said: "Pakistan is a black hole for American aid, out of which nothing good ever comes out" (p.4).

Mr. Markey further identifies four complex and often contradictory identities of Pakistan: "the elite-dominated basket case," "the garrison state," a "terrorist incubator," and a "youthful idealist, teeming with energy and reform-minded ambition." The military continues to hold a deciding influence, the media still works under threat from the state and the youth is vaguely hopeful for the future.

The third chapter assesses the notion of hatred by Pakistanis towards the US and also focuses on new political trends and ideas in Pakistani popular culture that have been largely ignored in other accounts of the Pak-US relationship, as well as in the course of much of the policy making in both the states. For example, when discussing Pakistani notions of abandonment and national honour, he highlights the nationalist anti-American sentiment that grew from nuclear sanctions; both among the government and the Pakistani public. Liberal Pakistanis, rabid nationalists and jihadists have different public opinion about the US. He poses a question: why don't Pakistanis understand why does the US behave the way it does?

The author contrasts the Colin Powell and Armitage era at the State department as the "realist" era when the US, out of necessity, worked closely with the military government of General Pervez Musharraf and with the Condaliza Rice period marked by her freedom agenda promoting democracy in the Muslim world. Yet Pakistan is not able to build a lasting

beneficial relationship with the US. Condoliza Rice relates in a memoirs of hers: "I once described (Pakistan) as taking care of a critically ill patient; you got up every day and dealt with the symptom of the moment, hoping over time to cure the underlying disease of extremism" (p. 109).

The subsequent chapter, *Great Expectations to Greater Frustrations: US-Pakistan Relations after Musharraf* examines America's revised strategies and tactics after Musharraf's era.

The Raymond David Case was used by Pakistani officials as a bargaining chip for insisting upon the US to end its spy games in Pakistan. The case heralded the end of an era of great expectations for the Pak-US relationship. Differences of interest and perception continued even after the death of Osama Bin Laden (OBL). Pakistan's failure to meet US expectations in the fight against terrorism represented the core uncertain block in the relationship. In that political environment, the Kerry Lugar Bill (KLB) could not manage to find its footing while the US Drone attacks continued despite Pakistan's public protestations. In short the KLB failure, America's expanded counterterrorism operations on Pakistani soil and US signals regarding the war in Afghanistan all set the stage for the deterioration of dealings between the two countries.

The book mentions that Pakistan is of great geo-strategic importance to the US because of the latter's geo-political interests in the wider region. It assesses how its relations with Pakistan's neighbours will balance its ties with the latter since India and China occupy an increasing share in US attention. It acknowledges China's rise but does not intend to have a fight with it because of the Cold War experience. In American perception Pakistan has been acting as a spoiler in the region and Pak-China unity has often meant cutting down India to size. The US wants to build up India because of its democratic values but a breakdown in Pak-US relations could hurt that goal. However, Pakistan as a part of "Asia pivot" is a junction of South Asia, West Asia and Central Asia and as such it is directly or indirectly involved in balancing US interests in not only promoting India, but maintaining a non-violent relationship with China. Yet, the geopolitical future does not look good for ties between the US and Pakistan. "An unstable Pakistan that feels jilted by the United States would be an albatross around India's neck and a costly obstacle to America's ambition for a peaceful, prosperous region in which India plays a major, if perhaps independent-minded, role" (p. 198). On the contrary, it is also possible to envision a more optimistic future for Pakistan and its neighbours in terms of economic integration than strategic competition.

America's Options, the last chapter, outlines three routes for US policy in the years ahead. "Defensive insulation", is isolating Pakistan while protecting the US by putting up political and military barriers to the threats

from there. The other two options, “engagement” primarily with the military and “comprehensive cooperation” are closer to the policies US has already pursued over past decades. He concludes that for now US needs to tilt toward the isolation option until Pakistan is willing to address its own internal problems and to accept the US as part of the solution.

No Exit from Pakistan presents a relationship management strategy than policy recommendations. The book not only describes how the US and Pakistan are bound by ties that cannot be broken without great peril to both, but it also recommends a hopeful path that both countries must tread if they are to overcome the corrosive distrust of the past. The author, however, fails to suggest which specific path the countries should take or even how the US and Pakistan might prioritize the management or mitigation of threats over time.

Moreover, the author blames Pakistan without taking into account the reason behind Pakistan’s internal troubles and fails to trace the line back to US which shares a responsibility for the ongoing conundrum. Secondly, the US campaign in Afghanistan has been responsible for increasing Islamist insurgency and terrorism since 2001 and resulted in a myriad loss of life and money. Nevertheless, in spite of this on-again off-again relationship both sides move forward together and in the words of Markey “this is not a friendly game, but out of it both sides can still benefit”. In short, the book suggests that understanding Pakistan is critical to developing a long term strategy in the US.

Reviewed by Gulshan Bibi, Assistant Research Officer, IPRI

Haroon K. Ullah, “Vying for Allah’s Vote: Understanding Islamic Parties, Political Violence and Extremism in Pakistan”

(Washington: Georgetown University Press), 272.

The book under review, *Vying for Allah’s Vote: Understanding Islamic Parties, Political Violence and Extremism in Pakistan* by Haroon K. Ullah discusses the religious parties of Pakistan in respect of their aims and objectives and how religion plays a role in politics. The author is a staff adviser to the US State Department and was part of Richard Holbrook’s team on Pakistan and Afghanistan. His work focuses on democratization, security studies and political party dynamics. In the book, he discusses religious politics in Pakistan with reference to the parties operating in the country.

The author has broadly categorized the Islamic parties of Pakistan into “Islamist” and “Muslim Democrats”. The Islamists are staunch supporters of Sharia, the Islamic legal code. Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) and Jamiat-Ulema-e-Islam fall in this category. The Muslim democrats are described as those who support religious diversity. Among them is the Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) — PML(N), a mainstream party with its bastion of power in Punjab. The Islamists themselves are not a solid entity; there are divisions among them for instance, Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan and Islami Tehrik Pakistan are both Islamists, but the former is a traditionalist Barelvi group while the latter belong to the Shiite sect. (p.3-13). Currently, Pakistan is being governed by PML(N), while Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is being run by Tehrik-e-Insaaf, another right of centre party. This manifests the dominance of the centre-right approach in the country’s politics.

Discussing the impact of elections on Islamist parties, Haroon thinks that some factions of the religious parties become more radical after contesting the elections, while some become moderate, and others remain stuck to their ideological path. To explain this trend the examples of Islamist parties in Jordan and Yemen are cited. Jordan’s main Islamist party became moderate while a parallel group in Yemen — the Islah party, continued with its radical approach. The Islamist groups whose popularity primarily derives from their reputation as social service providers will enter politics as relative moderates because for them social service network is a source of votes (p.40-41).

The author has also analysed the strategy of Islamist political parties in elections. Like any other political party, the Islamists also aim to win the elections and towards that end often deviate from their ideology and trim their election mandate accordingly. If it’s a Sharia friendly constituency, the party would stress on its Sharia policies. On the other hand, if the audience

is business oriented, the party would focus on business issues. When found helpful the Islamist parties have also joined hands and formed coalition with secular groups (p.45). Jamaat-e-Islami's alliance with the Pakistan People's Party, a mainstream progressive party, against the PML(Q), a right of centre pro-religious group, is a case in point. This pragmatism/ flexibility is also apparent within the religious parties. For instance, under the umbrella of Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA), Sunni and Shia groups got united.

Haroon also highlights the Islamist parties' pro-West tilt. The Muttahida Majlise Amal (MMA) due to its religious outlook opposed Pakistan's support to the international campaign against terrorism. However, in sharp contrast to this policy, the Islamic coalition did not object to the US bases in Pakistan (p.98-99). Such behaviour in which the Islamist parties take up positions contrary to their ideological agenda, primarily to maximize public as well as international support, has been called 'strategic extremism', i.e. moving "back and forth along Sharia and secularism" (p.12,43&137).

In their pursuit of achieving power the extremist elements among the Islamist groups have not spared violent means and inflicted grievous harm to the country's political life and history. The author mentions the brutal removal of popular leaders like Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, his daughter Benazir Bhutto and Punjab Governor Salman Taseer, from the political scene. This has not only changed the course of events but also strengthened the forces of extremism in the country. Haroon cites how the murderer of Salman Taseer was glorified by the Islamists including a group of lawyers who garlanded him when he appeared in court. The moderate political groups kept silent for fear of their lives. (p.2).

Another important aspect highlighted in the book is the Western perception (and fear) that Islamist parties have links with terrorist outfits (including al Qaeda, the Lashkar-e-Tayyaba (LeT), Sipah-e-Sahaba); their rule would abet militancy, leading to the ultimate 'Talibanization' of Pakistan. The author has tried to answer the Western concern and has reiterated that the origin of Islamic parties in Pakistan can be traced to pre-Partition history and it is not an outgrowth of militant Islam. He argues that Pakistan is a Muslim country (97% Muslims), wherein Islamists as well as Muslim democrats hold political and moral influence. He advises that the West instead of criticizing the Islamist functionaries and linking their teachings to extremist ideology, should adopt an engagement policy. This may include education as a priority field in which Western assistance can help cash strapped Pakistan in extending literacy programmes particularly to areas where extremist influences are strong due to backwardness. (p.176-181).

In the wake of the US/Western-led war against terrorism, an environment conducive to extremist ideologies has emerged. Besides, many Westerners have started viewing Islam as a violent religion. Due to this, Muslims the world over are being viewed as extremists. Pakistan is also being seen with the same lens. The current study gives an insight into the political culture of Pakistan; the link between politics and religion and the country's shift towards the right wing parties. The book can be useful for those who wish to understand a Muslim country like Pakistan and the challenges it faces today.

Reviewed by Aymen Ejaz Rafi, Assistant Research Officer, IPRI

Kenneth M. Pollack, Unthinkable: Iran, the Bomb and American Strategy

(New York: Simon & Schuster, 2013), 303.

The book under review, *Unthinkable: Iran, the Bomb and American Strategy* by Kenneth M. Pollack discusses some important aspects of Iranian domestic politics, its foreign relations and American efforts to have Tehran shut down its nuclear programme. The author explains the nature of the ongoing negotiations on the nuclear issue in the context of US strategic policy towards Iran. The book has three parts: part one examines Iranian politics, its decision making bodies, their policies and goals. Part two discusses US strategies to counter the Iranian nuclear programme and how the American policy making circles are handling the issue. The last part considers and examines the best policy options for the US towards Iran.

Discussing the various aspects of Iranian social, political and cultural life Pollock observes that due to its mountainous terrain and cultural heterogeneity there's a kind of individualism that defines the Iranian character. He relates this individualism to the Iranian political system also and describes the Supreme Leader of Iran as the "highest manifestation of personalized function of Iranian culture" (p.11). While discussing the office of the Supreme Leader of Iran, he argues that Ayatollah Ali Khamenei works in secrecy with regard to the methods of decision-making. Due to his reluctance to disclose his views on the public platform, the West is unable to predict his future plans. The author admits that the US knowledge about the Iranian leader and about Iran is imperfect, which is a big impediment for the US strategists in formulating the right approach to dealing with Iran.

Pollock believes that Iranian foreign policy is based on pragmatism. "Iranian leaders are aggressive and anti-American but whenever threatened with severe retaliation they have pulled back." (p.41). Then, the goals of Iranian foreign policy are determined by its resolve to preserve its territorial integrity, defend its national spirit, acquire and maintain regional hegemony, spread the Islamic revolution and undermine the status quo in the Middle East. These goals seem to define its approach to external policies but their order of priority is not exactly known to US policy makers.

In the second part of the book, Pollock describes the dilemmas that confront US decision making class in its dealings with Iran. The biggest is what the US should do next to prevent Iran becoming a nuclear power? He highlights two basic problems in this respect. Firstly, that whoever climbs the power ladder in the US uses his/her own perspective, preferences and

assumptions in dealing with Iran. Secondly, Americans have tried various approaches in a very short span of time to prevent Iran from acquisition of nuclear weapons, and are now left with only four options — plan a regime change by toppling the current religious leadership, an Israeli military strike backed by US on the main Iranian nuclear facilities, an American limited military operation and pursue a ‘carrot and stick’ policy. He says that the rightists in America are convinced and frequently advocate an attack on Iran, but the lobby on the left trusts the bitter experiences in Iraq and Afghanistan and reject war as an option.

Iran which has consistently denied it is developing nuclear weapons and maintains its programme is being developed for peaceful purposes finds the US and other Western powers adamant to believe its assurances. Prodded by Israel the US is after shutting down Iranian nuclear facilities and is engaged in efforts to subvert the Iranian programme. Attempts have been made to infiltrate the nuclear facilities through computer viruses and spy drones have been keeping surveillance. In one such case a drone was recently downed by Iranian forces. However, Pollock makes no mention of the Iranian position and all through his book sticks to the views of Washington and its Western allies in holding that the Iranian programme is weapon oriented and on this assumption considers it as a great threat to US interests since it would further help in nuclear proliferation in the region that might provoke Saudi Arabia to try to get nuclear weapons besides posing a persistent threat to Israel.

Pollack discusses the costs and benefits of war and containment in the third part of the book. He holds that the policy of containment would be more suitable and yield better results. He does not favour any other belligerent option including surgical strikes and intervention in Iran. He compares the Iraq experience in this regards and considers Iraq’s invasion in 2003 as the greatest foreign policy mistake since Vietnam. The US is advised not to commit the same mistake in Iran and continue with containment which has made Iran weaker, friendless and poorer. Furthermore, it has created internal chaos which may lead to regime change without any attack by American forces.

In conclusion, Pollock suggests that the US should support Iranian opposition groups who want a regime change. He also advocates supply of modern weapons and missiles to Israel to create deterrence in Middle East forgetting that Israel is a nuclear weapons state. He is in favour of a regional military alliance with the support of US towards containment of Iran. That such a defence alliance already exists between the US and Israel is also not mentioned. Pollock’s contention seems devoid of balance.

Reviewed by Khurram Abbas, Assistant Research Officer, IPRI