

## Book Reviews

1. Gilbert Achcar, *Eastern Cauldron – Islam, Afghanistan, Palestine and Iraq in a Marxist Mirror* 137  
Noor ul Haq
2. Osamu Nariai, *Exploring the Japanese Economy: Historical Background, Current Topics and Japan's Role in the Global Integration* 139  
**Ahmad Rashid Malik**
3. **Usman Khalid**, *Authentic Voices of South Asia* 141  
**Ghulam Ali**
4. Rafiq Dossani and Henry S. Rowen, *Prospects for Peace in South Asia* 144  
Rashid Ahmad Khan
5. P. M. Kamath, *Courting Peace from the Corridors of War* 146  
**Rafeh A. Malik**
6. John Prados, *Hoodwinked* 148  
**Aly Zaman**

## BOOK REVIEWS

### EASTERN CAULDRON – ISLAM, AFGHANISTAN, PALESTINE AND IRAQ IN A MARXIST MIRROR

Gilbert Achcar

(London: Pluto Press, 2004).

Pages 287, Price Rs. 995.00.

The book under review contains Gilbert Achcar's<sup>1</sup> articles focusing on West Asia. It discusses Islamic fundamentalism, Afghanistan, Palestine and Iraq, all from a Marxist perspective.

Achcar rejects Huntington's theory of "clash of civilizations" between Islam and the West. In his view, the conflict is due to a "violent shock" resulting from the aggressive intervention of two "imperial barbarisms": the capitalist West and the Russo-Soviet empire. He thinks that this shock has provoked other barbarisms including fanatic Islamic fundamentalism. He correctly feels that the Islamic fundamentalism is an expression of popular resentment against Western domination that is identified with "hated despotic regimes" and the state of Israel.

He considers Afghanistan a "Quagmire of the Great Powers". According to him the Muslims believed that the Soviet Union wanted to impose "atheistic communism". He is of the view that the pro-Soviet Afghan regime had progressive characteristics as opposed to the reactionary character of anti-Soviet alliance.

He does not refute the theory that Russia's motive was expansionism heading for warm water ports but feels that their immediate objective in Afghanistan was to preempt the spread of Iranian fundamentalism. Instead, that brand of fundamentalism was aggravated by their presence in Afghanistan from 1979 to 1989. He equates the subsequent US intervention in Afghanistan with that of the Soviets in 1980s. To him the consequence is also the same *mutatis mutandis*, replacing the words "Soviet forces" with the words "U.S. and allied forces."

Achcar considers 1988 "a watershed year" for the Palestinian struggle. Yassir Arafat, the Chairperson of the PLO, proclaimed the establishment of the state of Palestine. Concurrent with this was the acceptance of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 242 (1967) and UN General Assembly's Resolution 181 (1947), thus recognizing the Zionist state within its pre-1967 War frontiers. The Oslo-Washington accords of 1993 were signed between Israel and the PLO under the patronage of Bill Clinton.

---

<sup>1</sup> Gilbert Achcar is a teacher of Politics and International Relations at the University of Paris.

The author argues that, during early 1960s, a weaker US position in the Middle East had increased the strategic importance of its alliance with Israel. The massive direct presence of US armed forces in the region since 1990 is likely to render Israel much less important for defending US interests. His assessment is open to question seeing the continued US support for Israel.

In Ehud Barak's (supported by Clinton) view, he had made a "generous offer" at Camp David. This offer was inspired by key Oslo accords negotiated by Yossi Beilin of the Foreign Ministry working with Shimon Peres and Mahmood Abbas, alias Abu Mazen (the current Chairman of the PLO and then a member of Palestinian leadership). The agreement visualized: (1) the territory of the Palestinian state would be cut up into separate enclaves controlled by the Israel army, which would maintain strategic positions; (2) Israel would keep the part of Jerusalem it had annexed in 1967 and the Palestinian capital would be Jerusalem suburb of Abu Dis; and (3) Palestinian refugees would receive international compensation and a right to return to the Palestinian state.

When Arafat rejected it, Israel decided to suppress Palestinian resistance and their demands by force. Barak authorized Sharon to enter Jerusalem's Haram-al-Sharif on 28 September 2000 provoking a Palestinian uprising. The violent Israeli repression militarized the second *intifada* and thus the Palestinians fell into the trap.

Achcar feels that the Israeli onslaught against the Palestinians is a turning point destroying any prospect of US-sponsored Arab-Israeli peace. The destabilization of the whole region is detrimental to U.S. interests and the US often sows the seeds of rebellion against its own interests. Bush and Sharon are preparing future disasters for the United States and Israel, which might make September 11 appear as a mere starting point.

Achcar claims that Washington wanted Iraq to invade Kuwait in 1990. The US achieved two purposes: (1) drastically cut back Iraq's military strength, which threatened oil states including Saudi Arabia and not Israel; and (2) the presence of US armed forces in Saudi Arabia a quarter century after their withdrawal in 1962.

Iraq sits on the second largest oil reserves in the world after Saudi Arabia. Bush wanted to remove the embargo on oil production and for this "regime change" was necessary. According to Achcar, economic motives were fundamental in the two wars - in 1991 to expel Iraq from Kuwait, an oil rich country, and in 2003 to possess Iraq's oil. To increase oil production, the embargo had to be lifted, and concessions granted by Iraq to French and Russian oil interests were to be cancelled. Besides ensuring the lion's share of Iraqi oil, there is an enormous market for the reconstruction of Iraq, a country utterly ruined.

Achcar claims that September 11, 2001, came as a "terrific windfall for the Bush administration." It provided the opportunity to break the "Vietnam

syndrome.” It gave his administration an excellent pretext to implement policies that they had already planned to defend their vital interests. The same motives have led to the US military expansion into Central Asia, which holds 30% of the world’s natural gas reserves, and across the entire planet. The author considers it a “colonial enterprise of earlier times” and visualizes that the Rumsfeld team at Pentagon has “committed the monumental error” of underestimating the difficulty of the task and overestimating the means that they really have.

Acher concludes with a prediction: “Washington and London’s Problems Have Only Just Begun” and no just and lasting settlement is plausible. He calls Bush a religious person and “a visionary who has so much in common with Osama bin Laden.” He visualizes great danger for US and British troops if they continue to remain stationed for a long time in cities of Iraq.

It will be interesting and enlightening to view the events from the prism of a Marxist. ■

**Dr Noor ul Haq**

Research Fellow, IPRI.

## **EXPLORING THE JAPANESE ECONOMY: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND, CURRENT TOPICS AND JAPAN’S ROLE IN THE GLOBAL INTEGRATION**

By Osamu Nariai.

(Tokyo: Reitaku University Press 2005).

**Pages 245, price ¥ 2000**

The book under review is a comprehensive study on Japan’s rise to economic might over the last several decades from the Meiji Restoration in 1868 to the present time. Osamu Nariai, author of the book, is a Professor of international economics at Reitaku University, Tokyo, and he frequently writes on current issues related to the Japanese economy.

In this convincing account on the Japanese economy, he maintains that Japanese style free market economy was the outcome of the Government intervention that deserves praise due to high growth rate. Domestic economy learned lessons from the external turbulences such as oil shocks in the early 1970s and quickly recovered. The author then explains the ‘bubble’ in the 1980s and the financial crisis of 1997. Bubble was the extraordinary speculative economic boom that came to an end in 1989 and waved red signal to the phenomenal economic growth. He is of the view that Japan was not well prepared to tackle the bubble that eventually burst. Nariai argues that East Asian heavy dependency on the foreign capital and underdeveloped financial

market system were the main factors behind the East Asian economic meltdown. Japanese financial institutions were not dissimilar from the rest of East Asian financial institutions as they were declared bankrupt one after the other in 1997 mainly because of huge bad-loans and weak corporate governance. Many big corporations were squeezed. Both these crises demanded structural reforms and Japan, particularly under its present Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi, is working on full-scale structural reforms in consultation with the private sector and political actors along with the bureaucratic elite.

The first ten chapters of the book are rewritten and up-dated versions of author's earlier book titled *History of the Modern Japanese Economy* published in 1984. Last three chapters deal with the structural reforms from 1997 to the present, deflation, and the changing role of Japan in global economy. Deflation, recession, stagnation, and stagflation are hitting the present Japanese economy in one or the other way. This means that the economy is not moving forward or expanding. Rather it is depressed. This is a common feature among many advanced economies and they adopt measures to deal with such crises. Japan, for instance, is introducing reforms in the financial and tax system, regulations, and government spending to increase demand. There are even suggestions that government should print money to tackle bad-loans, to decrease interest rates, to put a charge on deposits, and take other measures including an increase in consumption tax. Deflation has told Japan that capital without utilization is useless, rather harmful and even threatening.

One may not agree with the conventional wisdom as argued by Nariai for tackling deflation in Japan and putting the economy on the right track. There is a need that Japan should tackle its deflation by pursuing a non-traditional course and reformist policies must be fundamentally different from the policies it adopted for several decades including policies that brought Japan at the zenith of un-challenged economic might.

In fact Japan has reached the stage of post-industrial capitalism where huge capital reserves are seemingly threatening its own financial system and manufacturing base due to falling public consumption demand and unprecedented capacity and zeal for production. The prescription lies in the shape of globalization. Japan should not narrowly look at the domestic side for tackling the plague of deflation and post-capitalist development. Rather doors must be 're-opened' to the outside world to share the benefits of Japanese industrial might and financial strength that would eventually help Japan to get out of deflation with rising demand world over for its capital, services, and technology.

Many developing countries are striving for foreign capital to meet the growing consumers' demand for goods and services. Japan needs to take risks and challenges and make bold decisions instead of 'identifying risks' in developing countries; and should not too heavily rely on 'strategic objectives'

such as huge return, forms of governments, human rights, anti or pro Western policies of the host countries, for trade and investment purposes, transfer of capital and technology, aid and economic cooperation, in case Japan ever wishes to come out of its deflation. ■

**Ahmad Rashid Malik**

Research Fellow, IPRI.

**AUTHENTIC VOICES OF SOUTH ASIA**

Usman Khalid (Edited)

(London: London Institute of South Asia, 2005)

Pages. 354.

The hegemonic tendencies in the Indian attitude towards its small neighbours have been the prime reason behind many lingering issues confronting South Asia. The most prominent among them is the Indo-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir, which led to three out of four wars between the two countries.. In 1971, India allegedly planted and promoted secessionist elements in East Pakistan that caused dismemberment of Pakistan. Surprisingly, even after playing a key role in its creation, India has nevertheless picked up many serious disputes with Bangladesh. In addition to tense relations with most of its neighboring countries, the ruling Indian class has been betraying its own people. Sikhs, Christians, Muslims and even untouchables, who have suffered tremendously because of the policies of the Indian ruling elite. These are the themes that have been comprehensively discussed in a book, *Authentic Voices of South Asia* edited by Usman Khalid. In this book, the author has also touched upon various aspects of the Two Nation Theory as well as pan-Islamic movements.

The book consists of 12 articles and has been divided into two parts. The contributors are veteran professionals and eminent scholars all of whom can be considered authentic voices of their people.

The first part begins with Khalid's article, "India in Search of Imperial Dynasty". According to him, India is composed of many nations. Besides Hindus, there are Sikhs, Muslims, and Christians etc. There is wide division within Hindu society based on caste and creed. It is an irony that India has been ruled by Brahmins who are less than 15 percent of the total population. Khalid exposes the atrocities of high caste Hindus against minorities and untouchables.

VT Rajshekar in his articles entitled, "Aryan Aggression on Indian Culture" and "Fight to Finish Brahmanism" says that India is home to many peoples with their distinctive features; and Indian society is extremely unequal in many ways. Majority of it is comprised of downtrodden castes living in the slums and villages. They have made little contribution to the Hindu culture, which is predominantly represented by the elite class namely Brahmins. Caste-

system in India has drastically polarized its society. He states that social system in India determines the status, wealth and profession of individuals. Dr Gurmit Singh Aulakh and Dr Awatar Singh Sekhon in their articles entitled, "The Sikhs are a Nation" and "The Sikh Nation and Khalistan" respectively throw light on various aspects of Sikh community living in India and prospects of the success of Khalistan movement.

Part II of the book deals with Pakistan and Afghanistan. It contains six articles by eminent scholars. Syed Ali Geelani, Chairman All Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC) in his articles entitled, "Kashmiri Struggle for Freedom" throws light on the long and untiring struggle of the Kashmiri people against the India occupation of their land. He appreciates Pakistan's support for the Kashmiri people but also adds that Islamabad should extend its support to the Kashmiri people beyond moral and political backing. He rightly observes that the people of Kashmir have a natural right to accede to Pakistan. His argument is based on historical, geographical, religious and political factors. If one analyzes the history of 'peace process' between India and Pakistan one hardly differs with Geelani that India uses it either to divert world attention from the Kashmir or to get some breathing space to further intensify use of brutal force against Kashmiris. In his opinion the solution of Kashmir lies only in strong resistance movement.

Usman Khalid has adequately elucidated Two Nation Theory and arguably proves its relevance in the modern times in his article entitled, "The Two Nation Theory Revisited". As a matter of fact, Pakistan came into being on the basis of Two Nation Theory, which states that the Muslims of India were distinctively different from Hindus in all walks of life. Once the British withdrew from the subcontinent, the Muslims feared that they would be at the mercy of Hindu majority. In Usman's opinion, the creation of Bangladesh is not an end of Two Nation Theory, as India tries to project it. He has addressed a number of concerns, which hover in the minds of Muslims with regards to the relevance of Two Nations Theory in the present times. In fact he has given a fresh interpretation to this theory. He considers China the most trust-worthy friend of Pakistan. The Muslim population in Chinese province Xianjing can work as a bridge between China and the Muslim world. At the same time, he warns Pakistan not to become part of US policy of encircling China.

The separation of East Pakistan and emergence of Bangladesh was a great set back to the people of Pakistan. There is a need to understand those factors, which led to division of Pakistan into two parts. Dr. Abdul Mu'min Chowdhury, a former Professor at Dhaka University, has observed in his article entitled, "The Creation of Bangladesh" that it was an oversimplification of history to term the fall of Dhaka as the failure of the Two Nation Theory. He further elaborates his argument in his second article entitled, "Politics of Partition and Secession". Chowdhury argues that many Bangladeshis were

unhappy at this imposed division and even tried to revert it. The military coup against Mujeeb's government in 1974 was an attempt in that direction. India, which is till not fully reconciled to the existence of Pakistan as a separate state and had been persistently trying to fan secessionism in East Pakistan, finally succeeded in its attempt. The traumatic events of 1971 were part of greater conspiracy whose roots lie in the history. Chowdhury states that the creation of Bangladesh is not an end in itself. Many Bangladeshis question the legitimacy of its separation from Pakistan. Furthermore, overall conditions have deteriorated there over the years. It is ill suited to guarantee its freedom, economic well being and cultural attainment. He stresses upon the idea of rapprochement between Bangladesh and Pakistan. In his opinion, India has been working on the project of *Aekband Bharat Mata* (united mother India), why not Pakistan and Bangladesh can reunite.

The critical importance of the Kashmir issue is evident from the fact that it led to three wars between Pakistan and India and nuclearization of South Asia. Dr Syed Inayatullah Andrabi, the Convener in exile, of Mahaz-i-Islami, addresses this issue in his contribution entitled, "Kashmir: the Problem and the Solution". He discusses the Kashmir issue in wider context. He explores the genesis of the issue, its different phases and the present situation. He presents several proposals for the final settlement of the Kashmir dispute. However his views may not be acceptable to Indian intellectuals/scholars but it is a fact that New Delhi's inflexible attitude on the issue is main hurdle in its solution.

The idea of the unity of the Muslims, pan-Islamism, has lived throughout history. Jaml-ud-Din Afghani, an Afghan scholar, is considered to be trailblazer of this idea. Abidullah Jan, an eminent journalist and prolific writer, rejuvenates this idea in his articles "Union of Pakistan & Afghanistan: Impossible or inevitable". He stresses upon the need of Pak-Afghan unity. In his opinion Islam does not accept the geographical boundaries. Muslims all over the world are equal irrespective of their colour, creed or national identities. Based upon this thought, Abidullah Jan states that under Durrani rule, Pakistan and Afghanistan were a single entity. They are already members of Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) along with Central Asian states, which leads to the unity of these Muslim states and formation of an economic bloc. In his opinion, unfolding of the regional and international events has been leading in this direction. All those who are working for Durrani Empire, Pashtun unity or Islamic solidarity are complementing each other. His thesis stresses upon the unity between Afghanistan and Pakistan. In his opinion, unfolding of the events is taking the two countries in this direction.

The book represents the opinion of the people who hold influential positions in the academic and political world. For this reason the work is



useful and relevant for those who are interested in different perspectives on important issues confronting Pakistan. ■

### **Ghulam ALI**

Assistant Research Officer, IPRI.

## **PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN SOUTH ASIA**

Rafiq Dossani and Henry S. Rowen, Ed.

(Stanford: Stanford University press, 2005)

Over the years, South Asia has increasingly attracted the attention of policy makers, scholars and academicians. Three developments have primarily contributed to this enhanced level of interest: nuclear testing by Pakistan and India in 1998; the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and heightened tension between Pakistan and India symbolized by the Kargil crisis of 1999; and the military stand-off between the two countries during 2001 and 2002.

In the context of these momentous developments, which carry implications not only for peace and security in South Asia but also for US policy towards the region, Stanford University has published a book entitled *Prospects for Peace in South Asia*. The book, which has drawn contributions from well-known experts on South Asian political and strategic issues, is edited by Rafiq Dossani and Henry S. Rowen.

In his chapter on “Islam, Extremism and Regional Conflict in South Asia”, Vali Nasr, while discussing the role of Islam in Pakistan’s domestic and international politics, concludes that Pakistan became an integral part of the radicalization of Afghanistan’s politics in 1990s. The author also examines the position of the MMA on the Indo-Pak peace process. However, it is difficult to accept his contention that Pakistan turned to Islam after 1971. Instead, he should have said that Pakistan “turned its back to the east” and faced towards the west (West Asia), as Bhutto said, not for Islam, but purely for economic and strategic reasons.

In his chapter on “Constitutional and Political Change in Pakistan: The Military- Governance Paradigm,” Charles H. Kennedy gives an overview of various phases of Pakistan’s political and constitutional developments from 1947 to 1999 together with a detailed analysis of what he calls the “ten-stage cycle of Pakistan’s civil-military relations” from Ayub Khan in 1958 to General Pervez Musharraf in 1999. The chapter, however, lacks an assessment of the impact of the military government’s responses to the governance challenges facing the political culture of Pakistan.

The chapter on “The practice of Islam in Pakistan and the Influence of Islam on Pakistani Politics” by C. Christine Fair and Karthik Vaidyanathan is an interesting study on the causes of anti-US sentiments in Pakistan and the

prospective role of religious parties, particularly the MMA, in Pakistan's politics.

In his chapter on "Pakistan's relations with Azad Kashmir and the Impact on Indo-Pakistan Relations," Riffat Hussain has made an important contribution to academic literature on an area that had so far remained largely unexplored. But it is surprising that he does not mention some of the major irritants between Pakistan and Azad Kashmir, like share in the royalty from Mangla Dam power generation and the row over raising the height of the Dam.

"Who speaks for India? The Role of Civil Society in defining Indian Nationalism" is the title of the chapter contributed by Ainslie Ambree. The chapter contains a graphic and illuminating account of the rise of Indian nationalism as articulated by various political parties, including Congress, RSS, VHP and BJP. In his view democracy cannot exist without the activities of civil society.

Professor Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr., in his chapter on Hindu Nationalism and BJP: Transforming Religion and politics in India," discusses the rise of Hindu fundamentalism in India as a counter force to the All India National Congress. He rightly observes that the constraints of coalition politics restrained the BJP from implementing its aggressive election agenda with focus on *Ram Mandar*, uniform civil code and elimination of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution, which gave a special status to Kashmir. He calls the BJP defeat in May 2004 elections a "stunning surprise", asserting that the party's leaning on *Hindutva* was largely responsible for this set back.

In the chapter entitled "Hindu Ethnonationalism, Muslim Jihad and Secularism: Muslims in the Political Life of the Republic of India," Barbara D. Metcalf focuses on the growth of Hindu ethno-nationalism as a theme within Indian nationalism. The author holds British colonialism responsible for creating a context in which religiously defined sub-nationalism (communalism) emerged

In the chapter on "Jammu and Kashmir in the Indian Union: The Politics of Autonomy," Chandrashekhhar Dasgupta discusses various phases of relationship between the state and India. The author analyses various political developments during these phases from an Indian perspective. He argues that Jammu and Kashmir needs optimal autonomy rather than maximum autonomy. The author, however, fails to mention that the autonomy option has been rejected by Pakistan and the APHC.

Micheal Krepon in his chapter on "The Stability-Instability Paradox: Misperception and Escalation-Control in South Asia," discusses two camps of deterrence thoughts -deterrence optimists and deterrence pessimists-on nuclearized South Asia. Krepon tends to agree with the deterrence pessimists by asserting that tensions between India and Pakistan have intensified further since both nations tested nuclear weapons in 1998.

In his chapter on Pakistan's Nuclear Doctrine, Peter Levoy describes how Pakistan's civilian and military officials view their country's nuclear weapons. He also discusses political, military and even commercial uses of nuclear weapons by Pakistan. Peter Levoy should have also mentioned the stringent measures Pakistan has taken to prevent the smuggling of nuclear technology and equipment.

In his chapter on "Coercive Diplomacy in a Nuclear Environment: The December 13 Crisis," Rajesh M. Basrur identifies and discusses two elements-deterrence and compellence-in the Indian strategy of coercive diplomacy against Pakistan after 13 December attack on the Parliament. In his opinion Indian strategy based on compellence succeeded in what he calls "putting Pakistan under spotlight and forcing it to retreat from its uninhibited use of terrorists to further its cause" but not in changing its policy completely. Many strategists not only in Pakistan but also in India and outside the region, however, dispute his view.

The Chapter on "US Interests in South Asia" is authored by Howard B. Schaffer. In this chapter, the author observes that US assessment of its interests in South Asia has changed markedly over the years, and policy makers in Washington now see the region highly important to the US global interests. According to the author, peace, stability, nuclear proliferation, narcotics, terrorism and arms race between Pakistan and India are the main concerns of the United States in South Asia. ■

### **Rashid Ahmad Khan**

Senior Research Fellow, IPRI.

## **COURTING PEACE FROM THE CORRIDORS OF WAR**

P. M. Kamath (Edited)  
(Promilla & Co. Publishers, 2005).  
Pages 333.

P.M.Kamath succinctly edited the up-dated version of papers on various aspects of Indo-Pakistan relations and published them in a book titled *Courting Peace from the Corridors of War*. The book provides the reader with the information on developments related to the resolution of disputes between India and Pakistan.

Mahesh Bhatt, a noted Indian film producer and director while explaining the on-going Indo-Pak peace process in his personal observations made the point that the ordinary people on the street in both countries were in favor of disappearance of distances between the two countries, and emphasized the need to promote 'good memories.'

In his keynote address, Jasjit Singh divided the factors affecting India-Pakistan relations into two categories: "structural" and "situational".

Situational factors are current and evolving but are also conditioned by structural factors. He was emphatic in stating that a weak and internally unstable Pakistan was not in India's security interest.

Dr. Rajesh Basrur, outlined the hurdles in the way of bringing normalization between Pakistan and India. He pointed out that coalition politics in India was a hurdle in the process. He suggested three alternatives: First, keep the conflict over Kashmir on the backburner and improve relations on other areas. Second, divide Kashmir. Third, start with the first approach and then move gradually to the second. For all we know, with the successful confidence-building measures (CBMs), the second option might turn out to be redundant.

Dr. Kshitiji Prabha discussed the issue of cross border terrorism in his discourse. He discussed how long -ignored acts of Pakistan promoting cross-border terrorism against India has become the part of global problem for the US since 9/11.

V. Balachandran provided a "Twenty Year Calendar for India-Pakistan Relations." Balachandran stated that any crystal-ball-glazing on what was in store for the next twenty years in Indo-Pakistan relations could not escape taking into consideration certain factors unlikely to change in the next twenty years, against the backdrop of the experience of the last fifty-seven years. These factors were the lack of democratic leadership: absence of a civil society with a strong middle class, the domination of security issues in governance: and lack of Pakistani identity which had resulted in growing fundamentalism and sectarian violence.

Dr. Avandhoot Nadkarni, began with an assumption that trade would help improve political understanding between Pakistan and India.. He opined that there was a need to have free trade between the two countries under the WTO rather than the SAFTA arrangement, to bring about a rapid increase in India-Pakistan trade.

Similarly R.G.Gidadhubi drew attention to the consumer interest in India and Pakistan in getting quality goods at cheaper prices.

Dr.Pushpa Trivedi, argued that the Pakistani economy has to be more open than that of India. She said that political will was required for it, and history of the two countries showed that whipping up political hysteria by blaming the neighbor for one's economic ills was easier than pursuing consistent economic policies and showing good performance..

Dr. P.M.Kamath focuses on educational exchanges between the two nations. He is of the view that both countries should allow students to study in each other's country, as they would act as cultural ambassadors.

Dr. Maneesha Tikekar argued in her paper that the conflict between India and Pakistan was not merely territorial one but a cultural conflict. She also stated that that was not a clash of civilizations. She strongly pleaded for

increasing cultural contacts between the people of the two countries to improve their mutual understanding of each other's culture.

Dr. Ramesh Babu went into the historic background of US engagement with South Asia to prove how the US active presence in South Asia had been an important factor in aggravating India-Pakistan relations ever since the British withdrawal in 1947. He examined the equation change in relation to US policy goals on three issues- terrorism, nuclear proliferation and global capitalist integration.

Bharat Karnad built a case against demilitarization of the Line of Control (LoC) and drew an interesting parallel between the division of Korea with the division of Kashmir as a result of a limited war in both cases. He was of the view that the division of Korea was based on political ideology, whereas Kashmir's was on religious.

Brig. S. C. Sharma analyzed the ongoing composite dialogue between India and Pakistan. He pointed out the adverse consequences of rising fundamentalism and terrorism, the risk of nuclear war and pressure from the international community, especially from the US and the European Union on Pakistan and India to start moving on road to mobilization.

V.M. Patil in his valedictory address recalled the dictum that there were neither permanent friends nor permanent enemies in international relations but only permanent interests.

This book should be of immense value to scholars, students of international relations, journalists and policy makers alike to build on peace between India and Pakistan from the corridors of war. It contains useful views of eminent scholars on the various issues of concern to the people of the region. ■

**Rafeh A. Malik**

Assistant Research Officer, IPRI.

## HOODWINKED

By John Prados

(New York: The New Press, 2004).

Pages 375.

Judged by every recognized canon of international law, the US invasion of Iraq in 2003 was an illegal act committed by a country, nay, empire, intoxicated by the heady fumes of imperial hubris. The *raison d'être* for the invasion was that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction (WMD) that could, at some future stage, be used against the US, an eventuality that, according to decision makers in the US, justified the use of preemptive action against Iraq, with or without the sanction of the UN. As it transpired, the US invaded Iraq without the authorization of the UN, in spite of the fact that comprehensive

inspections in Iraq by UN weapons inspectors had failed to reveal any trace of an extant WMD programme.

A considerable number of books have appeared since the invasion examining the motivations behind it and the methods employed by the Bush administration to sell the Iraq war to the American people. One such book is *Hoodwinked* by John Prados, an analyst with the National Security Archive who has spent two decades observing the CIA. Prados has made an invaluable addition to the existing literature on Iraq by publishing primary source documents that show how intelligence on Iraq was consistently distorted, manipulated and ignored by the US administration in its manic rush to war. These documents are reproduced, fully annotated, and placed in the context of a detailed narrative of the events leading up to the invasion of Iraq. Expanded sections examine the four most contentious issues: the Iraqi nuclear programme, unmanned aerial vehicles, uranium from Niger, and the question of Saddam Hussein's links to Al-Qaeda and 9/11.

At the core of the book is an analysis of the documents and a paragraph-by-paragraph annotation of where and how they are misleading. Amongst the most important of the documents examined are a CIA white paper on Iraq's alleged WMD; an October 2002 letter from then CIA Director George Tenet to Senator Bill Graham, the chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence; a December 2002 State Department/CIA fact sheet; a May 2003 CIA/DIA paper on biological warfare production plants; and a June 2003 Pentagon press briefing. Prados proves that official statements often went far beyond the existing evidence, relied on suspect sources such as defectors of the ilk of Ahmed Chalabi, suppressed dissent and ignored alternative explanations. Perhaps the most incisive episode in the book is Prados's critical examination of Colin Powell's infamous UN speech, in which Prados identified thirty-five instances where the then Secretary of State had been misleading.

Prados makes it abundantly clear that the American people, subjected by their own leaders to a systematic effort to mislead, confuse and frighten, have been duped into a Middle East maelstrom from which extrication is becoming increasingly difficult. The hoodwinking of the American people was no accident or coincidence; it was meticulously planned and implemented by the White House and the National Security Council. Prados identifies the leading culprits behind the hoodwinking of an entire nation. President Bush is held responsible, amongst other things, for directly participating in the deception, the outcome of which was to precipitate an illegal war on a nation that posed no threat to America. Vice-President and key neo-con front man Dick Cheney played an extremely influential role in getting Iraq to the top of the Bush agenda and keeping it firmly in place there. Cheney was also instrumental in propagating certain groundless allegations, especially the claim of Iraqi-Al Qaeda contacts in Prague. National Security Advisor Condoleezza

Rice facilitated the hoodwinking of America by participating in the deception through speeches, in numerous television interviews and by exerting direct pressure on a UN weapons inspection activity to ensure a predetermined conclusion. US Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld contributed to the hoodwinking through his Pentagon press conferences, appearances before Congress and public speeches. Prados charges Rumsfeld with responsibility for much of the current situation in Iraq. As mentioned before, Colin Powell participated in the hoodwinking process through his totally misleading presentation before the UN Security Council in February 2003. And finally, the Director of the CIA, George Tenet, contributed to the hoodwinking of America by failing to preserve the integrity of the intelligence process and sacrificing it at the altar of political expediency.

An aspect of *Hoodwinked* that is both a strength and a weakness is its synthesis of journalism and scholarship. While undoubtedly thorough and rigorous in its analysis, it does not, however, draw on relevant theories or test conflicting or alternative hypotheses. It also lacks footnotes, which is a serious deficiency. However, the advantages are that the story flows so smoothly that it can have a wide audience and the material is so skillfully handled that both scholars and laymen can derive substantial benefit from it. Thus, while the book may not be adequate from a purely scholarly and academic perspective, it is of inestimable value as a rigorous analysis of the flaws in the arguments made by the Bush administration to lead America into war. ■

**Aly Zaman**

Assistant Research Officer, IPRI.