

BOOK REVIEWS

Ajeet Jawed, *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah*

(Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009), 273.

A number of biographies of the founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, have been written by Pakistani writers¹. A few were written by western authors² but no worthwhile study appeared from the Indian side until 2009. While Pakistanis have been all praise for Jinnah being the father of the nation, he was not seen in good light in India. It is only after a lapse of over six decades after the partition of India that some Indians have picked up the courage to evaluate the personality of Jinnah in an objective perspective as far as possible³. The first such pioneering work reviewing Jinnah's political career in a positive light, is by Jaswant Singh, a member of Indian Parliament in the Lok Sabha, a former Deputy Finance Minister and Minister for External Affairs, but he was expelled from his Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) as a punishment for daring to view his protagonist differently from the traditional trend. Next, B.R. Nanda, a historian and a biographer of Mahatma Gandhi, in his latest work *Road to Pakistan* has brought out that Jinnah was a straightforward nationalist and used the "Islamic Card" when Indian National Congress refused to give him his due place. His life-long relations with the Congress were reversed after 1937 when he saw

¹ For instance, A.A. Ravoof, *Meet Mr. Jinnah* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1944); M.H. Saiyid, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: A Political Study* (Lahore: Elite Publishers, 1945); Waheed-uz-Zaman, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Myth and Reality* (Karachi: National Book Foundation, 1976); Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (London: University Press, Cambridge, 1985); Sharif al Mujahid, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation* (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1981); and Sikandar Hayat Khan, *The Charismatic Leader: Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Creator of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008).

² For instance, Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan* (London: John Murray, 1954); Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); and William Stafford Metz, *The Political Career of Mohammad Ali Jinnah* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2010).

³ Jaswant Singh, *Jinnah, India-Pakistan Independence* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009); B.R. Nanda, *Road to Pakistan: The life and times of Mohammad Ali Jinnah* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2010); Ajeet Jawed, *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009); and A.G. Noorani, *Jinnah and Tilak* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Congress and Hindus as his adversaries and later when his junior Jawaharlal Nehru became its President. A.G. Noorani, an advocate at Mumbai, in his book *Jinnah and Tilak*, seems to have no bias against Jinnah.

The book under review entitled *Secular and Nationalist Jinnah* by Dr Ajeet Jawed, a reader in the Political Science Department of Satyawati College, University of Delhi, attempts to provide a scholarly assessment of the personality of Jinnah as a “secular and nationalist” figure as well as a towering and proud leader of Indian independence movement because, as he himself had said, “we are not going to be camp follower of any party. We are ready to walk as equal partners for the welfare of India” (p.153). The work is divided into six chapters: discussing Jinnah as a man; an ardent nationalist; an ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity; a staunch secularist; differences and disagreements with the Congress, and finally, the partition of India and human tragedy.

The author, citing both primary and secondary sources, refutes, his fellow Indians who had variously described Jinnah as a “communalist”, a “fanatic”, a “separatist”, an “egoist”, an “arrogant”, an “ally of the imperialists”, an “opponent of the freedom movement” and an “enemy of the Congress” and its leaders (p. ix). According to her:

He was one of the builders of modern India and the Indian National Congress. He characterized the British rule in India from its inception as the Dark Ages and gave the slogan ‘India for Indians’. The India of his dream was a united India with large-scale industrialization, scientific agriculture and education, enabling Indians, irrespective of caste, creed, region or religion to live in happy harmony. For more than forty years [1892-1937], he struggled to fulfil this dream through constitutional means (p.ix).

The crux of the book is to dilate upon the reasons why Jinnah changed that course leading to the partitioning of India. According to the author, briefly speaking, it was because (i) Hindu communal forces alienated him; (ii) Muslim communal forces wooed him; (iii) the British were the “final decision maker” and they agreed to the partition; (iv) the conducive international situation; (v) the “increasing economic power of Hindu bourgeoisie and its hold over the Congress leadership”; (vi) the hostile “attitude of some Congress leaders” towards him; (vii) his “disappointments, frustrations and failures” in achieving a secular

nationalist and united India; as well as (ix) “his legal mind” which aimed at winning his case.

On two major issues Gandhi and Jinnah took opposite stands. Gandhi’s non-cooperation movement was not supported by Jinnah because he was a constitutionalist and wanted to fight for independence through constitutional means. Second, Gandhi supported Khilafat movement but Jinnah opposed the movement because according to him religion should not be inducted into politics. Gandhi’s reasons were purely religious because:

He said that he supported Khilafat to save his own religion. He said, ‘... in laying down my life for Khilafat I ensured the safety of the cow, that is my religion, from the Mussalman knife’. *Young India*, October 20, 1920 (p.170).

Gandhi, being a religious man, had been acclaimed as a Mahatma and became the topmost leader of the Congress. Motilal Nehru and his son Jawaharlal Nehru sided with Gandhi. Jinnah left Congress in 1920, when during its session at Nagpur, “he felt that it was deviating from its principles” and during 1920-38 “he felt more and more disillusioned with the Congress policies” (p.206). After 1937 elections the Congress had won majority in six provinces and pursued discriminatory policies against Muslims. For instance, the author correctly points out:

The Congress attitude to tenancy legislation in Bengal and Bihar, Punjab and the UP was not devoid of insincerity and communal prejudice. In Bengal, where most of the landlords were Hindus and peasantry Muslims, the Congress opposed the Tenancy Bill. But in UP, where the majority of landlords were Muslim it insisted on tenancy law. In Bihar it entered in a compromise with the Hindu landlords over the tenancy question. In Punjab ... the Congress adopted an attitude of neutrality. (pp. 207-8).

These policies were a clear demonstration that Congress represented mainly Hindus and worked in their interest. Jinnah considered that the Congress had become a Hindu communal party. In his address to the All-India Muslim League session at Lucknow in 1937, Jinnah said:

The present leadership of the Congress, especially during the last ten years, has been responsible for alienating the Mussalmans of India more and more, by pursuing a policy

which is exclusively Hindu, and since they have formed governments in six provinces where they are in majority, they have by their words, deeds and programme shown, more and more, that the Mussalmans cannot expect any justice or fair play at their hands.

The author has taken pains to prove her thesis that Jinnah did not want partition of India but accepted it as the “second best” choice. According to her, the Lahore Resolution of 1940 was a “tactical move” (p.244) to serve as a bargaining counter to get a reasonable settlement of the Hindu-Muslim problem. In 1943, Jinnah was “desperate” to have some honourable settlement with Congress, and if that was not possible, with Savarkar, the leader of Hindu Mahasabha (p.230). Jinnah resisted for long the proposal of partition and sought fair play and safeguards for the Muslim minority in a united India. She cites Rajmohan Gandhi⁴ who states “Pakistan was not Jinnah’s inflexible aim, and if Congress had been statesmanlike over the Mission, Pakistan would not and need not have come into being”. H.M. Seervai says that “It is reasonably clear that it was the Congress which wanted partition. It was Jinnah who was against partition, but accepted it as the second best.” (p. 229). Writing about Cabinet Mission, Brian Lapping⁵ writes that “The decisive step that at this stage led on towards the creation of Pakistan must be attributed not to Jinnah but to the Congress leaders (p.229). Agha Khan⁶ admits that “I myself am convinced that even as late as 1946 Jinnah had no clear and final idea of his goal” (p.227). C. H. Setalvad⁷ blames the Congress and writes “The Muslim League had accepted both parts of the United India scheme of the Cabinet Mission, but the Congress missed the opportunity of closing the deal” (p.229). She refers to Wilhem Von Poschamber, the High Commissioner of Germany to India, “who was witness to all that happened, stated that he was credibly informed that Jinnah was ready to delay freedom (transfer of power) by two years to avert partition” (p. 230).

She concludes that it was a tragedy for Jinnah that, in spite of his 40 years’ sincere efforts, he failed in his mission to have a secular united India. He also failed in Pakistan to achieve his ideals of equality and fair play, as enshrined in secularism, which he had pronounced in his first

⁴ Rajmohan Gandhi, *Eight Lives* (New Delhi, 1986), 175.

⁵ Brian Lapping, *End of Empire*, 1985, 66.

⁶ Agha Khan, *The Memories of Pakistan* (London, 1954), 296.

⁷ C. H. Setalvad, *India Divided: Who is to Blame for Partition?* (n.p., n.d.), 6.

speech as the first President of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on August 11, 1947:

You may belong to any religion or cast or creed — that has nothing to do with the fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one state. ... Now I think, we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time, Hindus would cease to be Hindus, and Muslims would cease to be Muslims not in the religious sense, because, that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense of the citizens of the state.

Her findings that Jinnah was secular and nationalist from the beginning of his political career as a young student can be accepted. It is correct that Quaid-i-Azam wanted equality of status for minorities in Pakistan similar to his desire for equality for Muslims in India. The scribe of this review was told by the then Mayor of Karachi that Quaid-i-Azam had called him twice in 1947 to tell him that he should ask Hindus not to leave Pakistan. Credence can also be given to the fact that he remained a secular leader till his death, but it may be difficult to accept her conclusion that Jinnah remained an Indian nationalist, even as the Governor-General of Pakistan, when he is stated to have said “I am looking forward to a time when I would return to India and take my place as a citizen of my country” (p.243).

It appears that there is a change in the thinking of some Indian writers, who, acknowledging the services and calibre of Quaid-i-Azam, want to own him as an Indian nationalist leader. This is an attempt to prove that he was not sincere in having Pakistan which was thrust upon him because of his differences with the Congress and its leaders especially Mahatma Gandhi and Nehrus. While approaching Jinnah in this manner may soften the antagonism of Indians against him it may, at the same time, weaken the faith of Pakistanis in the justification for their own country.

In any case, the author has worked hard to justify her thesis and has used new sources. It is a useful and interesting study for all, especially those interested in the personality of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the history of the subcontinent. ■

Dr Noor ul Haq, Research Fellow, IPRI.

Tatsushi Arai, *Creativity and Conflict Resolution Alternative Pathways to Peace*

(London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2009), 241.

Intractable conflicts need innovative solutions. Various scholars have defined the concept of creativity in the domain of conflict resolution. But on the whole these studies have lacked the comprehensiveness of systematic knowledge. Tatsushi Arai's book, *Creativity and Conflict Resolution Alternative Pathways to Peace* goes a long way in meeting this deficiency in the available literature.

Using different case studies, the author provides various methods and tools such as finding common grounds through comparative analysis, using analogies, combining known elements in a new way, envisioning unconventional resolution options, anticipating discoveries, and adopting flexibility to approach in handling complex situations (p.199).

The writer is an Assistant Professor of Conflict Transformation at the SIT Graduate Institute of Vermont, USA, having a doctorate in Conflict Resolution from George Mason University in Virginia, and has extensive international experience as trainer, mediator and dialogue facilitator. The book explores a subject with which political communities involved in social conflicts have always wrestled: creative ways of imagining and actualizing innovative solutions to problems that do not yield to classical methods. For the author "creativity" means "unconventional viability" (p.1-2) and the essential core of viability is the practical effectiveness of the novel solution. Creativity does not mean impracticality. It means finding a viable solution by taking a path breaking approach.

The book has five chapters. The foreword of the book has been written by Johan Galtung, who is a famous peace practitioner and founder of TRANSCEND, a peace and development network. Galtung says the book is a "piece of creativity", "a gold mine" of creative thinking and recommends it for becoming "wiser" in the field of conflict resolution and transformation.

The second chapter discusses "Sixteen episodes of creativity" through interviews with researchers and practitioners who have made use of some creative ideas in solving the respective conflicts. These peace practitioners were carefully selected based upon the diversity of their experience of "not less than ten years". All interviewees had firsthand experience in creative procedures and resolution outcomes in inter-group

conflicts (p.19). Among some of the conflicts which these experts resolved were the Helsinki process in the mid 1970s, the 1998 settlement of the Peru-Ecuador dispute and the Oslo Peace Process of 1993. In one episode during the Palestine conflict in 1985, one expert helped 500 Palestinian villagers in removing fences built by Israelis, with such determined peacefulness that the Israelis had to retreat. This reflected the power of organized resistance through public empowerment. The analysis of the interviews yields a broad range of empirical discoveries and theoretical insights. From these case studies and their comparative analysis as many as fifty-nine propositions on creativity have been drawn that the author uses to build the theory and argument in later chapters.

The third chapter deals with theory building around the empirical findings of the case studies discussed above. Comparison is made to identify common patterns in the sixteen episodes. The fourth chapter uses the experience of Gandhi's Satyagraha movement in South Africa during 1906-1914 to explore theoretical insights that the 16 episodes earlier mentioned did not illustrate. The reason why Arai chose this illustration is its unique theoretical significance in the history of conflict and peace research and applied practice. Its enduring relevance as a movement of strategic peacemaking by using non violent means has outlived the mass destruction and violence of the 20th century.

In the final and fifth chapter the writer provides some concrete lessons derived from the exercise of innovative thinking in conflict resolution and reiterates the concepts used in the study to "pose, reflect back, and look ahead". Arai discusses the areas of his future inquiry and the use of what he calls the "Cross-contextual case study" method. It would help in looking at conflict situations from a fresh perspective and find an alternative strategy. In conclusion the writer leaves five questions for future investigation in creativity that relate to matters such as the concept of justice, values, balance between unconventionality and viability, and culture.

The book reflects Tatsushi Arai's vast knowledge of the subject as a practitioner, educator and researcher. It is a must reading for students and practitioners of conflict resolution in a world where the pursuit of peace daily acquires new perplexities and no set principles are of avail in solving the problems communities and societies face. ■

Farhat Akram Mughal, Assistant Research Officer, IPRI.

Stanley A. Renshon, *National Security in the Obama Administration: Reassessing the Bush Doctrine*
(New York & London: Routledge, 2010), 291.

The book under review entitled *National Security in the Obama Administration: Reassessing the Bush Doctrine* (divided into 11 chapters and three parts) by Stanley A. Renshon is an attempt to analyse the doctrines of two US presidents - Bush and Obama.

The book focuses on the post 9/11 security situation in the US and the strategic doctrine that emerged from that crisis. The “Bush Doctrine”, which Renshon holds has been misunderstood, has five strategic elements: American primacy, assertive realism, ‘stand apart’ alliances, a new internationalism and democratic transformation. He dwells on the myths and criticisms of the doctrine and explains the role of the so-called neoconservatives in its framing. This discussion leads to the kind of the world the incumbent president has inherited with a resurgent Russia, emerging East Asia, the colossus that is China, a nuclear Iran and the uncertain future of the so called “war on terror” in the backdrop of severe economic recession at home. These factors are evaluated against available intelligence reports. The author suggests engagement in a realist world.

The second part of the book starts with new risks, their nature and the ways to manage these risks. The new risks include war on a global level with non-state actors with no home address and a divine mission. The current spate of terrorism has injected a new fundamental risk assessment phenomenon into the American national security decision process. Renshon thinks the US national security strategies are no stronger than the concepts on which they are based, like deterrence, reassurance, legitimacy, coercion, prevention, and democratic peace. The conceptual assumptions of national security policy and the tools of strategic psychology need to be re-thought in the current circumstances. The author also discusses the consequences of these risks and further argues that there is a range of possible losses and gains associated with each factor of the security dilemma. The prime element of national security decision is uncertainty, he adds. Previously deterrence and containment were the two most familiar US strategic tools in the Cold War era but these were also used in the post war period. But now the US employs other strategies like reassurance, legitimacy, coercion, prevention, and democratic peace. In this context two case studies of North Korea and Iran have been discussed.

The writer highlights the fact that North Korea, al-Qaeda, and Iran are all entities that require the US to make critical strategic decisions without the benefit of certain knowledge. That was the situation during the Bush Administration after 9/11 with little change in it for Obama. The core debate about the strategic world during these two administrations lies in the critical decision about the use of force. Renshon admits that it has always been a dilemma for the US but does not say how often America has made impulsive choices.

The author contends that if the Bush doctrine is really dead then the Obama administration should work to replace it with a viable alternative strategy. Critics are unanimous that the Bush Doctrine must go, but the proposed substitutes are many and their recommendations contradictory. Seeking a viable replacement for the Bush Doctrine is no easy matter once one gets past the generalities. Yet it is unlikely that controversies surrounding the Bush Doctrine will be resolved by academic debates. They call for America's political leadership to show the light.

The third part of the book looks into three main areas and the changes which have taken place in their understanding, i.e. risk assessment, national security and new tasks for the Obama administration. During his discussion about the risk assessment, the author notes that intelligence and risk assessment is a key factor among many which are essential for decision making regarding national security. He believes that risk assessment in the case of Iraq harmed the credibility of Bush administration. This was a lesson for Obama who has not taken any uncalculated steps while dealing with Iran, and North Korea. The second important area is US assessment about the nuclear weapon states, Iran and North Korea.

Renshon peruses the existing views about the understanding of US national security and makes a very interesting comparison of positions taken by the Republicans and the Democrats. He regards the policies of Bush administration after 9/11 as realistic. Democrats on the other hand are treated as less rigid in their acts having had plenty of time since Iraq to come up with an alternative view. He quotes Richard Rose who believed that the Bush doctrine was influenced by the interdependence between the presidency and the international system. "The president's decisions were constrained by the views and interests of other international power centers" (page 196). If this is true one may well ask if Obama can be free of such influences?

The book analyses the challenges of the new world order and what responses can the new Obama administration come up with. He notes that “the unipolar world is over. The return of ‘great power’ rivalries is an evident fact” (page 199). He further identifies China and Russia as new threats to the US national security. The author believes that the Obama rhetoric might suggest distancing from the Bush Doctrine but the changes in international events can make him face situations worse than Bush had to. The author believes that though there had been a change in the US administration but the Americans are still living in the same post 9/11 national security world. He admires Obama’s stress on negotiations, but is skeptical if national security issues can be dealt with on the conference table.

The book provides new insights on the “Bush Doctrine” from someone who is inclined to offer justifications on its behalf. ■

Khalid Chandio, Assistant Research Officer, IPRI.

William B. Millam, *Bangladesh and Pakistan: Flirting with Failure in South Asia*

(London: HURST Publishers, 2009), 276.

Bhutto and Mujib were two prominent leaders of South Asia whose fall from power left irreparable scars on the history of their respective countries. Bhutto’s removal from power derailed Pakistan’s democratic future as did Mujib’s end in Bangladesh. These and other matters relating to politics, culture and religion have been discussed by William B. Millam in his book *Bangladesh and Pakistan: Flirting with Failures in South Asia*. The book is based on the personal experiences of the author who served as the US ambassador in both countries during the 1990s.

The author is witness to interesting periods in the history of the two countries as General Ershad resigned as president and General Pervez Musharraf took control during his tenure as ambassador in the two countries. He opens the discussion on the hot topic of national identity and asks whether the partition of the subcontinent was to secure a homeland for the Muslims of South Asia or was it intended to lay the foundation of an Islamic state. The author believes that both Pakistan and Bangladesh are facing a crisis of identity. Bangladeshis are divided into Bengali culturalism and Bengali patriotism while Pakistanis are still trying to resolve the place of religion in the state structure. Millam discusses these national dilemmas and other political and economic factors together

with Army interventions and a proactive civil bureaucracy that ultimately led to the secession of the Eastern wing.

He then discusses the impact of the division of Pakistan on the separated entities, the new Pakistan and Bangladesh. Against what is generally believed Millam thinks that the eastern wing's secession was a shock for Bhutto who must now revitalize a defeated army and a traumatized people. Mujib on the other hand is a national hero. But he is unable to retain that position and his role as national leader becomes controversial because of allegations of corruption, a shattered economy and his desire to seek more power for which he declared emergency in Bangladesh in 1974. This led to the murderous coup by a section of his army.

Bhutto on the other hand, Millam believes; did more for his people in the short span of time he got as government leader. He intended to reduce political and security dependence on the US and the western financial organizations. He wanted to become a key player in the Islamic world, and he laid the foundations of Pakistan's nuclear programme. Millam then discusses the reasons of Bhutto's downfall and the actors who brought that about. Discussing Pakistan's relations with India Millam also believes that Kashmir is the main hurdle without which normalcy in India-Pakistan relations cannot be achieved.

He then takes up and analyses the nature of military interventions in Pakistan and Bangladesh and contrasts the scenarios in the aftermath of the assassination of Mujib and hanging of Bhutto which saw the rise of the two Zia's, Zia-ur-Rehman in Bangladesh and Zia-ul-Haq in Pakistan. He notes that Zia-ur-Rehman was in favour of a democratic set up with civilian dominance. In Pakistan, Zia-ul-Haq wanted a set up in which he intended to make the military as the dominant political force. Though in the early days both these leaders adopted similar policies of crushing political parties and opposition leaders, Millam believes that the assassination of Zia-ur-Rehman was a set back to the democratic set up in Bangladesh.

On the other hand Zia-ul-Haq wanted to form a Junta sort of government in which the military was viewed as the nation's saviour and guardian of its territorial integrity and centre of all political power. He allowed army to invade the civilian turf and make deep incursions into civil institutes. He had no trust in politicians. Millam maintains that Zia-ul-Haq's attempts to Islamize the society proved very harmful for the country and Pakistan was still suffering its consequences. Though his

main objective was to legitimize his status as national saviour, he also thought this would solve the old age question of identity of Pakistan. Parts in the book that deal with his interaction with General Musharraf throw much light on the nature of US-Pakistan relations in that period. Millam admits Britain's efforts to keep Pakistan under pressure.

Millam also throws light on social and economic development work by NGOs in both the countries. In the epilogue to the 11-chapter book, the author at last comes to contemporary times and analyses new developments and events in the region. Many things have changed since the two army operations against the militants; terrorists seem to be on the run, the frequency of their attacks is on the decline, the state of the economy is also getting better compared to Musharraf's era. The author lays much store by the peoples' rejection of religious politicians in the last elections. He calls it a revolution in Pakistan's mindset. However in this he fails to notice that in all the elections that have ever been held the people of Pakistan have consistently rejected religious parties and the 2008 elections were no different in that regard.

The author terms the politics of Bangladesh as poisonous since both the BNP and Awami League are pursuing the politics of revenge which in turn has severely damaged the development of Bangladesh. The author points out that though the interim government's efforts to eliminate corruption were well intended but the public reaction did not bode well for the intended reforms.

Millam's discussion of developments in the two countries does not provide a happy reading but in the end he sees hope in the functioning of democratic institutions. The epilogue is a kind of balancing act.

From the viewpoint of a career diplomat the study gives peculiar insights into the political culture of Pakistan and Bangladesh. The research is adequate and useful for further studies on the political dynamics of two Muslim countries that emerged as one nation through the subcontinent's partition and now drifting apart and set on their own different courses since breaking apart in 1970. ■

Aftab Hussain, Assistant Research Officer, IPRI.

Moonis Ahmer, ed., *Early Warning Systems: Potential for Crisis Management and Regional Cooperation*

(Karachi: Department of International Relations, University of Karachi, 2010), 213.

The book *Early Warning Systems: Potential for Crisis Management and Regional Cooperation*, edited and contributed by Professor Moonis Ahmar presents research articles on the concept of Early Warning (EW) and Early Response (ER) systems to respond to the threat of natural and man-made disasters. EW is defined as a system which can provide timely information to decision-makers on impending conflicts, natural disasters and emergencies like human displacement and mass exodus of people. ER refers to either preventive action or early response action involving the process of consultation, policymaking, planning and action to reduce losses or avoid violent conflict. These processes encompass a vast range of diplomatic, political, military, security-oriented, humanitarian, developmental and economic activities. However, without precise information, it is not easy to make judgments about EW and ER systems in preventing conflict at local, societal and global levels.

The initiation and implementation of Early Warning System (EWS) by state authorities and civil-societal forces have great potential in avoiding conflicts and managing crises in an effective manner by generating information system coupled with well-developed database, which can predict, forecast and extrapolate on future conflict scenarios. Based on systematic collection and analysis of critical information derived from the areas of crises, the EWS anticipates the escalation of violent conflict, develops strategic responses to these crises and presents a number of options to achieve the purpose.

Contributed by nine scholars, this study covers an array of challenges that disaster-prone South Asia faces in the shape of incidence of violence, terrorist activities, suicidal attacks, tsunami, inter-communal conflicts, regional disputes, insurgencies, overpopulation, threat of nuclear war, food and energy shortages, effects of climate change and unresolved conflicts. It makes a case for the establishment of an EW regime that would promote regional collaboration in South Asia.

Chalking out a mechanism to manage conflicts and disasters this unique literature identifies the role of technology, media, government and non-government organizations in establishing EWS that can help in

preventing or reducing the effects of disasters or reducing tensions in a conflict situation thereby preventing the likely threat of war.

Categorizing EWS into four broad themes, this work examines: firstly, the conceptual framework of EW, secondly, the role of organizations in EW, thirdly, EW and conflict prevention and finally, EW and crises management.

The first part of the book catechizes how institutionalized Early Warning Systems (EWSs) can be applied to diverse situations involving crisis management, regional cooperation and conflict prevention, mitigate the effects of natural disasters, strengthen international aid agency coordination, improve resource allocation, develop timely policy and help evaluate current humanitarian practices. With modern technology, data-gathering methods and analysis frameworks, EW mechanisms can help prevent the outbreak of conflict, social disorder, genocide and human sufferings.

The International Early Warning Programme (IEWP) was first proposed at the second International East-West Conference in 2003 in Bonn, Germany, in the wake of 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami. Yet the concept, which took an advanced shape in the West, still lacks the capability to effectively deal with threats through coordinated efforts at the international, regional and national levels. A human security approach adopted by the Foundation for Coexistence (FCE), Colombo, Sri Lanka, presents a holistic and comprehensive visionary method, integrating EW and ER with conflict prevention through intervention strategies based on human security, multiple engagement and multi-track approach to address sources of violence. The FCE's citizen-based EW and ER system can be termed as a third generation EW and ER system, giving a unique tool to civil society capacity-building to prevent violent conflict, and provide operational systems to intervene in conflicts at any point in the conflict cycle.

Most of the criticism of EW and ER systems has been that the so-called warning-response gap is usually not filled. But there are also two underlying arguments against them — first, that they consume scarce resources and, second, that they still place too much attention on invoking a mid- and top-level response when there is only time for a local one. As third generation EW systems have gained credibility, there is an assumption that if events data are structured in a tailored way for a specific conflict, and if patterns of conflict escalation and de-escalation are identified mathematically, that data with computerized pattern of

recognition will be of practical utility to field staff in an information-saturated environment. Thus, endeavours are made to assess the costs and benefits of computerized pattern recognition to EW and ER systems.

Examining the role of organizations in EWS, the second part of the work centralizes on efforts of the United Nations and regional organizations - the EU, African Union, ASEAN, SAARC, etc - in pursuing the integrated mechanisms by which they can have greater expertise in EWSs regarding global-regional crises and humanitarian issues.

Analyzing the EW and conflict prevention grid, the third part of this volume discusses the role of the state and civil society in understanding and resolving conflicts. The primary concern of EWS is any occurrence that has a geophysical component: floods, droughts, landslides, volcanic eruptions, tsunamis, wild-land fire, locust plagues, famines or geophysical hazard storms. The focus of this work is to look into the aspect of social disorder and EW: to analyze how societal breakdown and anarchy can be prevented by EW and to view how EWSs in case of Pakistan can be useful and what lessons can be drawn from similar experiences and examples elsewhere in the world. In order to have effective EWSs, it is necessary to have pro-active and strong political commitment on the part of government and durable institutional capacities, which in turn depend on public awareness and an appreciation of the benefits of effective EWSs.

In making a case for EW and crises management, the final part of this volume terms EWS as a sine qua non for effective conflict prevention and crisis management by focusing on the linkage between EWS and crisis management and potential for regional cooperation. The study postulates that with advances in knowledge and sophisticated technologies, the EWS grid could be effective in forestalling conflicts and situations which could entail loss of life, economy and property. The final theme of this study dwells on meta EWS comprising intra-state, inter-state and intra-region arrangements to manage drought in South Asia.

The study presents Pakistan as the classical example of a society that is in dire need of an EWS at the grass roots level so that effective measures could be taken to deal with the acts of terrorism, wide-spread violence, suicidal attacks, chaos and disorder. ■

Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Assistant Research Officer, IPRI.

Jamal R. Nassar, *Globalization & Terrorism: The Migration of Dreams and Nightmares* (2nd edition)

(New York: Roman & Littlefield Publisher, 2010), 147.

Terrorism has become a permanent feature of life in the 21st century. Palestinian born Jamal R. Nassar in his book *Globalization & Terrorism: The Migration of Dreams and Nightmares* attempts to link this issue to the advent of globalization and points to the ambiguous nature of the phenomenon in the context of the difficulties in containing it. He thinks that the attacks such as 9/11 of New York, 7/7 of London and 26/11 of Bombay have changed the international security environment. The “war on terror” resulting in US invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan has caused civilian casualties that far outnumber the total tally of lives in terrorist acts the world over.

The writer digs up the historical roots of terrorism in the soil of colonialism. The exploitation of the economic resources of the colonized countries created not only poverty but the sense of deprivation in the local people. With resentment grew the strong feeling of national identity in which religion figured prominently. After WW I & II, the bloody revolution of communism and the Cold War resulted in millions of deaths but that became a forgotten chapter of history at the end of the Cold War. The September 11 attacks opened a new volume in which a little known entity like al-Qaeda replaced the might of the erstwhile enemies. However the extremist ideology of al-Qaeda is not the single source of violence and terrorism in the world. There are multiple reasons and consequences of terrorism in the contemporary globalized world.

While discussing the reasons of violence in different regions, the writer explains the Palestinian conflict of Middle East which started with the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and became in the present times the nursery of terrorism in which both Arabs and Israelis used terror as a means of self assertion.

The violence continued for decades till it assumed the size of conventional wars and led to the creation of freedom movements like the PLO and the Hamas. The hope that efforts and resolutions of the United Nations would solve this perennial issue failed. The Zionist organizations of Israel and Hamas from Palestinian side are not ready to compromise. The Palestinians with no state or armed force of their own and with their land occupied answer Israel’s state terrorism by sporadic acts of terrorism including suicide attacks inside Israel.

According to the study, terrorism is not limited to a single region. Just like Palestinian conflict, the violence in Irish struggle also has a religious basis. The author provides detailed history of Northern Ireland starting the discussion from 6000 BC. The conflict led both Catholic and Protestant groups to acts of terrorism when the British occupied Northern Ireland. But the cycle of violence forced the British government to settle the dispute through the initial Anglo - Irish agreement of 1985. Then Tony Blair's administration gave new life to the peace process and concluded the Good Friday agreement which was accepted by both the rebels of Southern and Northern Ireland as under the pact the rival populations enjoyed equal rights.

There is a brief discussion of other crisis spots like the American - Colombian case, Russian - Chechen conflict and the situation in the Congo. The author then picks up the main theme of "war on terror". The Bush administration invaded Iraq to eliminate the threat of the WMDs and described Saddam Hussein's Iraq as part of what he called the "Axis of Evil". Continuing the same campaign the American troops entered Afghanistan to eliminate al-Qaeda and Taliban.

Finally, after explaining the historical background of Muslim rule, al-Qaeda and its operators Osama Bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri, the writer concludes the discussion on globalization and terrorism. According to him "war on terror" brought hardships to the people of the world and promoted anti - Americanism internationally. The author advocates that it would be more useful to understand the sense of economic deprivation and roots of frustration rather than involving troops to counter terrorism because the sense of inequality leads to disappointment, anger and frustration which result in violence and produce terrorism as a reaction of the people of the third world. On the other hand, the powerful countries of the first world are also committing terrorism in the name of protecting national security. Therefore to stop terrorism, it was essential that the powerful and the weak started a dialogue among themselves instead of continuing the power struggle globally.

Nasser concludes his study by stating that while globalization is a process of interdependence, the phenomenon of terrorism without any acceptable definition to locate it will continue to complicate the threat perception and security situation in the world. As such in the globalised world the treatment of the disease will require a new approach. ■

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Ali Raza, *Religion and Politics in South Asia*

(London & New York: Routledge, 2010), 203.

Religion plays a significant role in politics in South Asian countries. The partition of British India in 1947 is attributed to this factor. Almost all political parties in South Asia, right, left or center, use or misuse religion for advancing their objectives. More recently its use in politics seems to have increased.

Edited by Ali Raza, *Religion and Politics in South Asia* is a collection of essays by different scholars that present an interesting account of the interplay of religion and politics in the countries of South Asia.

In the first chapter, Abdulkader H.Sino discusses the role of religion in the political life of Afghanistan where Islam has been used by Afghan political leaders to legitimize their actions, mobilize support, undermine rivals, attract foreign aid and control the population. It has been successfully used to unite the people against the big powers who have had to beat a retreat. In the present day Afghanistan, it is a handy weapon that the Taliban are using in their fight against the US and Nato forces as well as against the government of Hamid Karzai which they tell the people is an accomplice of the western infidels.

The second chapter by the editor himself discusses the recent religious tilt in political trends in Bangladesh which was founded in 1971 as a secular republic in opposition to its erstwhile Muslim identity in the framework of Pakistan. But it did not take long for the religio-political forces to emerge on the national scene. The military rulers after overthrowing Mujib's Awami League government in a bloody coup scrapped secular provisions from the constitution. In 1988, Islam was made the state religion but by then the Islamic political parties which had emerged after the lifting of the ban in 1977 had created considerable space for themselves in the political life of the country. In 2001, the largest Islamic party and smaller groups became the coalition partner of the ruling party. This process of creeping Islamization of politics has its roots in the legitimacy crisis of the military rulers. Yet the small share in the popular vote of the Islamists and little sympathy for the Islamic militants shows that the Bengalis are not comfortable with the mix of religion and politics. At the same time, the rise of political Islam and the pull of external factors like the Afghan war and the large body of Bangladeshi expatriates in Gulf countries have created an environment in which the trend of Islamization will continue in the future.

Amalendu Misra, in the third chapter analyzes the role of religion in Indian politics and the resulting communal violence. He reminds us that India is a multinational, multiethnic, multicultural, multi-religious society as well as the birth place of many religions i.e. Buddhism, Jainism, Hinduism, and Sikhism. He argues that mixing Hinduism with politics started in the post mid-nineteenth-century India with two contradictory mindsets within the Hindu political ideology. One referring to the separatist 'us' and 'them', i.e., Hindus and others - the Hindus being all those of Indian origin irrespective of religious denomination. The other mindset comprises the Hindu nationalists who oppose the country's largest minority (14 per cent) of Muslims and want them out or merge in the Hindu mainstream through conversion. They blame Muslims for the decay of Hindu society, its identity, religion, culture and most importantly, the Hindu nation. It is not likely this trend would weaken soon despite majority aversion to this kind of extremism.

In chapter four, Subho Basu discusses the key role religion played in the process of state formation in Nepal. The monarchy was based on religion and the monarchs openly promoted Hindu culture to organize the society and the state. But gradually the religious basis of state lost its legitimacy and the democratic political parties, Maoist revolutionaries, international non-governmental organizations and associated social movements rose up to demolish the monarchic regime and bring democracy in the country. These pro democracy movements also demanded the separation of religion from the state. In April 2006, when the democratic forces came to power, Nepal was declared a secular state. Thus the secularization process is part of the transition from monarchy to democracy.

Farhat Haq, discussing the role of religion in Pakistani politics stresses the country's origin on the basis of the two nation theory. There was a tussle from the beginning between the democratic and the religious forces, the latter stressed upon the so called Islamic ideology factor. Haq says there are three issues central to the understanding of this relationship between Islam and politics. First: the conflict over the identity of the Pakistani state, second: the inability of the Islamic parties to win popular support in elections and take over power via the democratic process, third: the impact of Pakistan's foreign policy on the dynamics of religion and domestic politics. The history of Pakistan's politics shows that domestic and regional politics have played an important role not only in

bringing religion in mainstream politics but also contributed to religious extremism in the country.

A. R. M Imtiyaz argues that in Sri Lanka political elites often use religion and religious symbols to win popular support and position in politics. The Sinhalese political class gave disproportionate concessions to Buddhists who comprise 70 per cent population of Sri Lanka. This politicization of religion resulted in the erosion of the secular state and its institutions and the disturbance and distrust of marginalized minorities, particularly Tamils. This distrust resulted in extremism. The main political parties, the SLFP and the UNP, competed in assuaging this trend. Religion was used to gain short term political gains that eventually led to a long and bloody civil war.

The study shows that though the countries of South Asia did try to keep religion away from politics, religion was able to make inroads into this sphere through the short sighted policies of the politicians. Religion has remained an important factor in the politics of South Asia and tended to weaken the democratic future of the concerned states. Political use of religion has heightened religious antagonism and acrimony; has made room for religious militancy and extremism. More importantly, recent years have witnessed a resurgence of religious militancy in South Asia which threatens the stability and security of the entire region. ■

Tehmin Azeem, Interne, IPRI.

Ali S. Awadh Asseri, *Combating Terrorism: Saudi Arabia's Role in the War on Terror*

(Karachi: Oxford Press, 2009), 196.

The author, Ali Asseri, was appointed Ambassador to Pakistan in 2001 where he served till 2009. During his eight years tenure he witnessed terrorist violence spreading in the region and the rest of the world.

Combating Terrorism describes the efforts made by the government of Saudi Arabia in its fight against terrorism with special reference to the innovative three-pronged Saudi strategy that has been successfully employed in the kingdom, and is practised within its domestic, regional and international dimensions, including the military and non military instruments. It also explains why the counter strategy has been successful and how it has been used in other Muslim countries.

The author also discusses terrorism in practice and highlights its purposes and goals, defines it in its historical perspective and concludes

with terrorism practised in the name of religion. The reasons behind terrorism are diverse as the type of people who commit terrorist attacks. Terrorists often believe that they have exhausted all efforts for change through legal, religious or political means and have no other option to bring recognition of their cause and change in the society they live in.

However, they intentionally target civilians in order to gain publicity. Political oppression, religious abuse, prejudice, discrimination, and ignorance are some of the other factors motivating terrorists. The ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, Herzegovina, or the mass murder committed in Rwanda are examples of ethnic terrorism. It is, therefore, amply clear that reasons for terrorism are diverse and complicated. One cannot explain terrorism by linking it solely to the economic situation.

The most interesting part of the book deals with the Saudi strategy to fight terrorism which follows a three pronged strategy comprising prevention, cure and care. The strategy of prevention is aimed at making the society understand the dangers of deviant thinking, encourages moderate thinking and rectifies wrong concepts. The strategy of cure is taken by the ministry of interior; it comprises four sub-committees for its implementation: the religious scholars' sub-committee, the social and psychological sub-committee, the security sub-committee and the media sub-committee. The purpose of the strategy of care is coordination. Its efforts include interacting with those released from detention and their families in providing financial and moral support to them. Besides helping former detainees and their families financially and morally, Saudi Arabia has initiated a reform programme in prisons which provides social and economic incentives, such as employment and houses, for prisoners who are willing to cooperate. Through this strategy more than 1000 prisoners have been released.

This de-radicalization process has been particularly effective and has contributed to the overall success of the Saudi counter terrorist strategy. Indonesia is following the Saudi approach by creating a network of former militants working to persuade hard liners to change their beliefs.

The Egyptian government is also heavily involved in Saudi based de-radicalization programme that has proved to be successful since no major attack has occurred since the tragic 1997 massacre of 62 tourists in Luxor.

The author also describes Saudi Arabia's regional and international efforts in the fight against terrorism. He also underlines the interfaith dialogue initiated by King Abdullah in March 2008. The interfaith

dialogue was organized by the Muslim world conference under the patronage of King Abdullah in Makkah in June 2008. This conference “is another pioneering initiative for bringing various religions of the world together with the intention of forging unity and harmony among them”² says Asseri.

The conference in Makkah was followed by another conference in Madrid, Spain. The participants considered dialogue as the best way for mutual understanding and cooperation in human relations as well as for peaceful co-existence among nations.

The conference in Madrid was followed by another conference in New York .Under this initiative of King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz, the general assembly convened a high level meeting during its 63rd session held in New York. The recommendations contained in these three interfaith conferences held in Makkah, Madrid, and New York are, undoubtedly a timely initiative that would provide a stable and consistent basis for promoting unity among the people of the world regardless of their religion, culture or ethnicity.

This book is not just another about terrorism; it also highlights the wisdom of the Saudi strategy against terrorism. He explains the legislative structure and programme set up by the Kingdom to wipe out terrorists. The author handles the subject with great clarity and sensitivity while referring to causes of terrorism in Muslim countries with special reference to Palestine, Iraq and Afghanistan .He also illustrates the Kashmir dispute but has not narrated its whole picture which he describes in the case of Palestine. ■

Huma Shahid Qureshi, Interne, IPRI.