

BOOK REVIEWS

Manzar Zaidi, *Insights on Insecurity in Pakistan*

(Islamabad: Narratives, 2012), 170 pages.

Dr Manzar Zaidi's work is a case study of radicalisation, terrorism, Islamism and counterinsurgency in Pakistan. He attempts to answer a number of questions: what is meant by radicalisation and terrorism; what are the objectives of terrorists; what are the drivers of terrorist acts; what is the role of education; why different Islamic terrorists identify themselves with each other although Islam has different trajectories in different states; and what is the best way to engage them?

Among the factors contributing to radicalisation in Pakistan he counts: youth bulge; economic disparity; polarization of education; democratic deficit; tribalism; poverty; globalization; and suppression of reason as well as religious policies and political use of religion by the ruling elite. He rightly points out that all Islamist terrorists do not come from poor class but he admits that poverty and illiteracy may be the motivating factors for recruits at lower levels where there is a certain amount of ideological support especially in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) and Balochistan.

The author has criticized the curricula being followed in public educational institutions, especially the changes made during Zia-ul-Haq's period. He has no objection to the right of religious political ideologues to present their viewpoints but he criticizes the distortion of history to justify their ideas. He, therefore, recommends that "the social studies curricula in Pakistan need to undergo an urgent objective transformation so as to stimulate intellect as well as counter radicalisation tendencies" (p.43).

He is not incorrect when he refers to the common belief that "Islam is not only a religion but also a blueprint for social order, governance and politics," (p.48) and "fundamentalism is both cultural and civilizational." (p.50) He also discusses Ibne Khaldun's concept of *Assabiyya* which means "group loyalty and cohesiveness." This gives unflinching authority to the leader, as in a tribal society (p. 64). In FATA, the religious leaders have replaced the traditional tribal chiefs. They consider Pakistan Army's presence as a challenge to their independence and also try to portray the army's fight against the terrorists as America's war (p.132).

The author is not wrong when he says that "Islamism should not be equated with Islam" (p.63), because in many Muslim countries it is a revolt

against modernity (p.65). Islam is a religion and Islamism is a political ideology while the Quran wants people to be Muslims and not Islamists. In fact, Islamism refers to political Islam. There are Islamists who “espouse an Islamic state”, others “espouse an Islamic society on particular sharia variant”, and still others have “transnational beliefs in an ummah”. He concedes that Islamism has both negative and positive connotations, i.e. “fundamental Islamism” and “progressive Islamism” as in South Africa” (p.77). The author, however, feels that when fundamentalism becomes inflexible and rigid, it breaks down into tyranny and the extremists, in order to justify their right or wrong actions, normally quote Quran out of context (pp.52,62).

He describes insurgency as a struggle to achieve political, economic and ideological agendas as also to have a political control over a region. Their success is partly dependent on the active support of an active minority (p.117), and the Taliban’s success in Pakistan is largely due to their “religio-cultural ideology”.

As for the “sectarian, ethnic, religio-militant and nationalist terrorists groups”, he says they are not Taliban. But, he asserts that they also have loose coordination among themselves and with the Taliban to target the state (pp.123,144).

As for suicide terrorism by militants, it is also to achieve their political objectives. At the same time, it is an expression of fanatical hatred. He substantiates, on the basis of surveys both local and foreign, that the Taliban movement is becoming unpopular. It can, therefore, be concluded that in Pakistan the strategy of suicide terrorism has backfired because of instances where the victims are the innocent people (pp.136-7). This has led them to shift their targets to exclusively against security forces (p.140).

As for anti-Americanism, based on various surveys, he concludes that it is because of their violence, human rights abuses and selfishness (p.85). He rejects the American perception that the terrorists hate their freedoms and their objective is to destroy it. But, as for Pakistan, the anti-Americanism is largely due to American unjust policies, and the curse of terrorism in Pakistan has emanated after the invasion of Afghanistan by the US. He criticizes the US Army concept to use “fire-power-intensive” approach against militants as a flawed policy because it results in alienating the target audience (p.130).

However, Pakistan military’s policy in FATA since its beginning in 2000 is to “engage, destroy and negotiate”. Officially, Pakistani army terms its *Rah-i-Rast* operation in Swat as “fish-out-of-water strategy”. He gives statistics to prove that most of the peace deals with the Taliban have had a

moderate impact (p.121). However, the Taliban became more unpopular after they had succeeded in gaining foothold in Swat (p.125). The escalating unpopularity of Taliban in Pakistan is, in fact, due to their terrorism (pp.78-9)

He calls the earlier operation *Rah-i-Nijat* in Waziristan in October 2009 as “mother of all battles” when pitched battles took place between about 30,000 soldiers and 10,000 hard core militants including foreign fighters causing 70 soldiers and more than 600 militant’s casualties.(p.127). Thereafter, the strategy of the insurgents changed from fighting battles to attacking areas which are not well cordoned off. They resorted to the technique of guerilla warfare (pp.128-9).

He advises that the counterinsurgency (COIN) regime should be prepared for a prolonged operation and need to provide equipment for low-intensity conflict such as night vision devices, communication sets and bullet proof jackets to every soldier. He suggests that beyond tactical policing against “zealots”, there should be serious effort to block their supply routes and it should be ensured that they are isolated and marginalized (p.135). He supports the concept that COIN should be a coordinated civil-military effort and it should be 80 per cent civil and 20 per cent military (p.27).

The author’s conclusions are mostly based on surveys carried out by various agencies and several works on the subject of radicalism, insurgency, Islamism and terrorism. It is a useful study which objectively highlights facts, most of which are known to scholars. He rightly says that the motivation for radicalism, insurgency and terrorism varies from place to place. He advises that there is a need to study, in each case, the individuals prone to radicalisation and potential recruits for terrorism should be targeted. The study is useful for those who are interested to know the state of radicalism in Pakistan and would add to the knowledge of a general reader.■

Dr. Noor ul Haq, Senior Research Fellow, Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI), Islamabad.

William T. Tow and Brendan Taylor, *Bilateralism, Multilateralism and Asia-Pacific Security: Contending Cooperation*

(London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 240 pages.

The book titled *Bilateralism, Multilateralism and Asia-Pacific Security: Contending Cooperation* is an edited volume by two eminent scholars - William T. Tow, Professor and Head of Department of International Relations at the Australian National University; and Brendan Taylor, Associate Professor and Head of the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, College of Asia and Pacific at the Australian National University, Canberra. It focuses on the contending role of bilateralism and multilateralism in approaches to security in Asia-Pacific. The study argues that the two are not mutually exclusive, and that bilateralism is likely to grow even as multilateralism strengthens. It explores a wide range of issues linked with this finding.

The book's 13 chapters are grouped under four parts: 'Setting the context', 'The nexus and America's Asian Alliances', 'The nexus and Asian multilateralism', and 'The nexus and Asian security order'. In his essay, "Conceptualizing the bilateral-multilateral security nexus", Mr. Brendan Taylor examines the nexus between bilateral and multilateral modes of security cooperation in the Asia-Pacific at a time when both are apparently flourishing. He outlines four possible conceptual approaches to it — that bilateralism and multilateralism are mutually exclusive; that synergies between the two modes can and do exist; that bilateralism is largely a "stepping stone" or "building block" to multilateralism; and finally that greater complementarity and perhaps even convergence can ultimately be realized between the two processes. Taylor illustrates the four approaches from regional security politics.

In the second part, discussing "Bridging alliances and Asia-Pacific multilateralism", Ajin Choi, Associate Professor (Yonsei University, Seoul) and William T. Tow go into the recent evolution of multilateral security politics in the Asia-Pacific and examine the concept of "inclusive but qualified" membership as the basis for pursuing multilateral security in the region, that South Korea typifies. In "Stretching the Japan-US alliance" Rikki Kersten, Professor at Australian National University, presents an analysis of Japan-US alliance that the US often refers to as a key player of Security in Asia-Pacific. The author questions the capacity of this longstanding strategic relationship to accommodate Japan's increasing desire to engage more deeply with Asia multilaterally. While exposing the interplay and inherent tensions between Japan's emerging bilateral and

multilateral policy choices, the author concludes that these choices ultimately cannot be accommodated within the Japan-US alliance. In “The US-Philippines alliance: moving beyond bilateralism? Renato Cruz De Castro, Senior Professor at De La Salle University, Manila, examines the revitalization of the US-Philippines alliance since 9/11 partly due to the threat of global terrorism, but also due to the more recently perceived security challenges that China’s rise poses to both Manila and Washington. Mr. Chulacheeb Chinwanno, Associate Professor at Thammasat University, Thailand, discussing “Thailand’s security policy: bilateralism or multilateralism?” provides a case study of Thailand’s policy of “balanced engagement” seen in its three-dimensional approach of continued bilateral engagement with the US, defence cooperation with China and active support for multilateral security arrangements such as the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and the Alternating Directions Method of Multipliers (ADMM).

In the third part, Ralf Emmers, Associate Professor at Nanyang Technological University Singapore, analyses the role of the Five Powers Defence Arrangement in Southeast Asian security architecture and suggests that bilateral alliances and multilateral operations can coexist as one finds in the ASEAN arrangement. Ms. Aileen S.P. Baviera, Professor at University of the Philippines, writing on “Territorial and maritime jurisdiction disputes in East Asia: comparing bilateral and multilateral approaches” conducts her analysis at two levels: first at the “claimant-centred” level to examine territorial and maritime jurisdiction disputes in the South China and East China Sea and second, at the “security architecture centred” level to know if US bilateral relationships can either coexist or eventually integrate into more comprehensive multilateral security approaches in direct response to these disputes. David Copie, Senior Lecturer at Victoria University of Wellington, writing on “The bilateral-multilateral nexus in Asia’ defence diplomacy”, traces the evolution of Asia’s defence diplomacy and identifies the factors that have led states to prefer bilateral or multilateral approaches. He notes the rapid rise of high-level multilateral defence diplomacy in Asia over the past decade and suggests measures to further encourage synergies between the two approaches in defence diplomacy in Asia.

In part four of the book, writing on “The rise of China and the transformation of Asia-Pacific security architecture”, Ryo Sahashi, Associate Professor at Kanagawa University thinks that the emerging order in Asia is passing through a great transformation largely due to the rise of China. The uncertainties of the situation are driving small and middle powers to deepen their interaction with China as well as the US, through

both bilateral and multilateral avenues since Beijing and Washington are also competing for security cooperation in the region. The author concludes that Asia's security will ultimately be influenced by the balance of competition and cooperation in US-China relationship. Hugh White, Professor at Australian National University, in his paper entitled "Alliances and order in the Asian Century", examines the diminishing role of US alliances in shaping Asia's emerging security order. He bases his thesis on three assumptions: first, that alliances historically have had little role in creating international order; second, that America's Asian alliances will likely weaken in the face of China's rise; and third, that unless China's foreign and security policies take a significantly more aggressive turn, the prospects for any "multi-lateralisation" of America's present bilateral alliances are extremely remote. Evelyn Goh, in her essay examines the place of bilateral and multilateral modes of cooperation in the security strategies of the US, China and Japan. In contrast to the other two writers in this section, Goh's analysis leads her to challenge the continued utility of the distinction between bilateral-multilateral nexus itself on the grounds that a marked convergence between these two modes of cooperation is occurring in the individual strategies pursued by Washington, Beijing and Tokyo. She regards it as a natural outcome of the emerging big power strategic competition.

It is an excellent selection of analytical pieces on Asia-Pacific and should be of interest to scholars who are watching the emergence of a new world order from the rise of China in the face of a contending America. ■

Muhammad Munir, Research Fellow, Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI), Islamabad.

Ghani Jafar & Shams-uz-Zaman, *Iran & the Bomb: Nuclear Club Busted*

(Rawalpindi: Pindori Books, 2013), 258 pages.

Middle East oil and Iran's nuclear programme drew world attention in the 1970s. A bulk of literature has been published on Iran's nuclear programme. Most are Western-led analyses. The publication under review, however, presents a different perspective on the issue. The book opens up a new vista for the strategic community. There are many answers that have hardly been summarized in similar volumes. In this book while 10 chapters were contributed by Jafar, the last one was authored by Zaman.

Being an expert on Iran and having lived in that country, Jafar's thoughts on Iran are strikingly different from the Western narratives. He has

made a comprehensive scrutiny of Iran's nuclear programme and thinks that the Western view is of 'more political nature than technical' (pp.3,19). He debunks the charge that Iran could be a potential proliferator (p.12) and in that respect mentions Israel and other 21 countries who also have the potential for proliferation but are never mentioned in that respect. He examines the role of Western powers in this respect beginning from the days of the Shah. The concerns of the Arab States have also been explored besides investigating nuclear links between Pakistan and Iran.

Historically, United States wanted its ally, Iran, to get nuclearized for strategic purpose in the Middle East in the 1950s. During those days, Iran was known as the 'US policeman in the Middle East'. Jafar says that the genesis of Iran's nuclear programme goes back to 1957 when the United States signed an agreement with Iran during the heyday of the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) (p.16). Americans had just reinstated the Shah after the CIA-led coup in 1953. The programme was peaceful and under the safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Nevertheless, the Shah regime did not provide any guarantees that it would not weaponise. In fact the Shah wanted to manufacture nuclear weapons, too. He refused to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). The Iran-US nuclear cooperation continued till upto the revolution in 1979. Jafar mentions a 'Ford strategy paper' in this connection which "mentioned that the introduction of nuclear power will both provide for the growing needs of Iran's economy and free its remaining oil reserves for export or conversion to petrochemicals." (p.17). An experimental nuclear reactor, enriched uranium, and plutonium with the fissile isotopes were provided by the Americans to the Iranians (p. 18). Up to the mid-1970s, eight nuclear reactors were provided by the Ford Administration. No one at that time questioned as to why oil and gas-rich Iran needed nuclear technology? After 1979, IAEA terminated its cooperation in uranium enrichment and the United States not only rolled back but fiercely opposed Iran's nuclear programme. Iran was included in the infamous 'axis of evil' bracketed with Iraq and North Korea. Jafar reveals how the CIA used various tactics to malign Iran for its nuclear programme (pp.26, 8). The fact remains that the leaders of the Iranian Revolution have signed the NPT and voluntarily submitted to international inspection. Preventing Iran from working on its nuclear programme would itself be a violation of the NPT. However, Jafar also indicates that some quarters in Iran were opposed to its nuclear programme and their opposition has contributed much to the controversy after the overthrow of the Shah regime.

Jafar gives an interesting account of Israel's campaign against Iran's nuclear programme after Iran reversed its ties with Tel Aviv in 1979. Israel vehemently opposes any rapprochement between Tehran and Washington (p.83). Influential pro-Israeli lobbies keep on building pressure on US Administration against Iran.

After 9/11 Iran's relations with the US touched a new low despite the fact that at that time Iran was ruled by a moderate Mohammad Khatami who was willing to help the United States in overthrowing the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. In 2003, Iran even agreed to stop its enrichment process. The author goes on to narrate many of the opportunities lost by the United States in which Iran has shown its cooperative hand. Jafar blames it all on Israel. The US-Iran showdown on the nuclear issue has serious ramifications for the non-proliferation regime the world over. The European Union and Russia have offered help in solving the impasse but all efforts have been of no avail as the US sees everything from the Israeli perspective. A separate chapter deals with the UN Security Council debate in detail.

Jafar discusses the differences between Iran and the Gulf States and calls it a 'nuclear dilemma' between them. Syria vehemently supports Iran's nuclear programme and has developed special ties with Tehran. In the backdrop of the on-going Syrian crisis one cannot ignore the hostility of adversaries against Iran-Syrian ties. Unlike the Gulf States, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) back Iran's nuclear programme. Iran receives constant support from Pakistan, too, based on the OIC and NAM stances and terms and conditions of the IAEA. Undue pressure on Iran's nuclear programme would ultimately harm denuclearization itself. The Indo-US nuclear deal has already given a serious blow to denuclearization as India is not an NPT signatory. Japan and Australia also have revised their policy and now they are providing technology and uranium to India. The final nail was hammered by the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) in 2008. Is it not the end of denuclearization? Jafar maintains that it is precisely such a mixture of well-calculated half-truths and outright lies that characterizes the corporate Western media's reporting and commenting on Iran (p. 220). He concludes that there was no possibility that Iran would roll back its nuclear programme.

The author does not seem to have access to first-hand sources including the top echelon of Iran's nuclear club. He builds his analysis on the basis of arguments and counter-arguments. This is in line with the academic tradition than investigative stories. The authors did not find it appropriate to write a conclusion of their observations and analyses at the

end. Moreover, a bibliography of selected works used in this volume is also missing. The work makes liberal use of web references. In spite of these shortcomings, the book presents a thought-provoking insight into Iran's nuclear programme by highlighting the discriminatory policies of the nuclear club. ■

Dr. Ahmad Rashid Malik, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad.

Dr. Umbreen Javaid, *Pakistan Fights Extremism and Terrorism*
(Lahore: Vanguard, 2013), 210 pages.

The book under review entitled *Pakistan Fights Extremism and Terrorism* by Dr. Umbreen Javaid is an analytical study of the terrorist phenomenon in Pakistan. The writer is a professor of Political Science at the Punjab University, Lahore.

The overall focus of the book is on the genesis and rise of extremism and terrorism in Pakistan. The post 9/11 security situation in Pakistan has been discussed in detail in the context and backdrop of Pak-US relations which during this post 9/11 phase have seen many ups and downs. Pakistan has been insisting on the sacrifices it has made in the “global war on terror (GWoT)” and the US has been complaining its ally was not doing enough.

Discussing the genesis of extremism in Pakistan the writer ascribes it to the failure of the orthodox sections of society to understand and meet the challenges of the modern world. She also ascribes it to frequent disruption of the democratic process. According to her, “The orthodoxy made inroads into state structure during the General Ayub's era” (p.106) and “reached its zenith under General Zia (p.109).” The role of Madrassas remained crucial in spreading religious extremism and it was only during President Musharraf's government that efforts were made to reform Madrassas and make them a part of the formal educational system of Pakistan (p.111).

The writer highlights the fact that “the true image of Pakistan as a pre-dominantly moderate polity is under relentless stress from the cohorts anti-Pakistan lobbyists in the US and India” (p.59). There can be no two opinions about this that the growth of extremism has given Pakistan a bad image abroad, particularly in the West which fails to appreciate its own role in contributing to this menace. The brave fight Pakistan is waging against the extremists and the terrorists can be seen in the number of casualties both the civilian and law enforcement agencies have suffered over the years

since the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and the subsequent war that began there under the auspices of western powers exposing the whole region to the phenomenon of extremism. The West's obduracy in not owning its contribution to the growth of extremism in this region is hard to understand.

The author suggests relentless engagement in countering extremism, fundamentalism and terrorism by the government of Pakistan and society at large. Almost all the institutions i.e., civil society and the media have to come forward in fighting this menace which is blocking the country's social and economic growth. The author contends that if the growth of fundamentalism and extremism was not checked "it may burst into destabilization of the country." She holds the view that the "present radical views are altogether different from the religious notion and the role religion in the national politics conceived by the founding leaders of Pakistan" as "they did not want to make it a theocratic state" (p.3).

The book also discusses the historical evolution of extremism and fundamentalism in Pakistan. Dr. Umbreen analyses the current narrative about the origin of extremism in Pakistan and agrees with the commonly held view that it was during the former Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan and the subsequent role of Pakistan under General Zia that paved the way for further penetration of extremist ideology in the society. Pakistan could not handle the Afghan war and its implications in an organised way as an increased role of religious fanatics was witnessed in the society. "The Afghan war...left intrinsic [and] deep impressions on the psyche of the people of this region because it was more than a military conflict for the Muslim community; it was a Jihad or religious struggle against the atheist Red army" (p.87). This led to strong divisions, religious hatred, violence and intolerance in the society; the extremists got a new lease of life in the wake of 9/11 and America's 'war on terror' frenzy which Pakistan, willy-nilly, had to become a part of. Actually, Pakistan has suffered more than any other country being the neighbour of Afghanistan, where two super powers of the day fought the last phase of their Cold War. However, there is no use crying over spilt milk. The need of the hour is to correct the path. Pakistan has to diversify and rather revisit its regional and foreign policies pragmatically by keeping in view its own national interests. According to the author, in the long term, Pakistan's security will be predicated upon Pakistan's economic viability as Talibanisation has become a menace and militant extremism can only be controlled and checked by sustained economic growth whose benefits reach to the lowest sections of society. Dr. Umbreen points to lack of coordination among intelligence

agencies and asserts that without better intelligence sharing between military intelligence agencies and police, as well between civilian intelligence agencies, the terror outfits cannot be dislodged from their safe havens and strongholds. The war against extremism and fundamentalism can only be won by employing all the resources available at hand i.e., political, legal, economic, security, and social etc.

Literature on the present worldwide scourge of terrorism abounds but there is very little from the perspective of Pakistan, which is indeed odd given the ‘worst victim’ picture the country likes to paint of itself. In this respect, Dr. Umbreen’s book will be read with interest by those who may like to know how Pakistanis themselves look at the problem and what they are doing to fight the menace. ■

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Muhamad S. Olimat, *China and the Middle East: From Silk Road to Arab Spring*

(New York: Routledge, 2013) 199 pages.

The book under review *China and the Middle East: From Silk Road to Arab Spring*, discusses China’s relations with the Middle East in the historical and political perspective. The author gives an account of China’s contacts with this region prior to and after the birth of Islam. It is in fact an overview of Sino-Middle East relations specially focused on events that harmed or promoted ties between two very distant regions of the world connected through an ancient path known as the Silk Road that went as far as Europe.

This history is given in the first chapter. China’s encounter with the Muslim forces marching towards China under the leadership of Kutiba was a very important event which laid the foundations of China’s relations with the Islamic world. Later on when the Mongols invaded China and the interaction between Muslims and Mongols grew, ethnic Han’s perception about Muslims started to change. This negative image became the reason for ethnic clashes between the Chinese and the Muslims in the 18th and 19th centuries. Nonetheless, the importance of the region in Chinese perceptions did not diminish. Chairman Mao, the founder of modern China is known to have said that “the control of this area [the Middle East] by hostile powers would not only precipitate a third world [war] but also endanger the survival of the PRC” (p.17).

In the second chapter, “A Five Dimensional Paradigm”, the author gives an analysis of the importance of energy, trade, arms sales, cultural

relations and political cooperation. Beijing needs the Middle East for its huge energy requirements and its security in this commodity is presently dependent on its firm relations with the oil producing Muslim lands. Identifying impediments in China's energy security the author mentions three areas — insufficient domestic oil production, price fluctuation and lack of control over transport routes (p.43). In terms of trade, China has established trade bodies in almost all the Middle Eastern countries and Chinese goods have a notable presence all over the region, even in small towns and villages. The expanse of present cooperation includes the sale of arms.

Chapter three “Walking on thin Rope: A Tridimensional Perspective,” is about Chinese diplomacy and balancing of its relations with conflicting countries of the Middle East. To strike a balance between Sino-Arab and Sino-Israeli affairs is one of the most challenging aspects of Chinese-Middle East relations. China is a traditional supporter of the Palestinian cause but maintains strategic relations with Israel since 1950 (p.66). China is wisely balancing its relations with Saudi Arabia and Iran, despite their ideological differences. Neither Jeddah nor Tehran has any objection over Beijing's engagement with the other. However, while discussing China-Saudi Arabia and China-Iran relations, the author has focused more on Iran and less attention has been paid to Saudi Arabia. The United States is discussed whenever Beijing's ties are discussed with any major Middle Eastern country. Despite the fact that Pakistan remained a US ally during the Cold War while India was a Soviet ally, “One of the ironies of the post-Cold War era has been the growing strategic partnership between India and United States” (p.78). China has become more active in the region and is involved in negotiations with Iran on its nuclear programme. In Syria also China is playing a special role as a Middle East Special Envoy.

The subsequent chapters discuss China's reaction to and understanding of the Arab Spring and China's relations with important countries of the region including Israel, Saudi Arabia, Iran, United Arab Emirates and Algeria. These chapters give detailed accounts of how Beijing maintains its relations with these countries in terms of arms sale, energy, trade, cultural and political cooperation. The author thinks that China's foreign policy has remained reactive rather than proactive towards the Arab Spring, which is understandable for various reasons.

Relations with Israel are of great importance to China despite its strong support for the Palestinian cause. China wants to have good relations with Israel because Israel is its source of modern military technology. Most

of the US-made modern military equipment has reached Beijing through Israel. Similarly, Israeli enterprises are involved in Chinese markets for financial benefits.

In the concluding chapter, the author suggests that the reason why China has managed to have good relations with all the important Middle Eastern countries is the five dimensional approach it has adopted. China is also playing its part in other sectors of those countries. For example, Israel is not only a defence partner of China, it is also cooperating in agriculture and clean energy technology. In Iran, China is building highways and other infrastructure; in Saudi Arabia China is involved in the most important Railway project which connects North of the country to the South.

The book is an important addition to literature on China. By going into ancient history, it deepens knowledge about the evolution of China's diplomacy and how its relations have been tailored over the centuries with countries of the Middle East. ■

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Tomislav Delinic and Nischal N. Pandey, *Regional Environment Issues: Water and Disaster Management*
(Kathmandu: Modern Printing Press, 2012), 147 pages.

All South Asian countries face the risk of natural disasters of one kind or the other. These concerns are common and the interests are collective. Environment is a collective good that implies attaining shared benefits through compromising conflicting interests. The book under review provides useful insight into the environmental problems South Asia faces. It is a compilation of papers delivered by South Asian scholars at a conference on regional environmental issues. It has been co-edited by Tomislav Delinic and Nischal N. Pandey. Dealing with a range of case studies, the book is divided into nine chapters.

Mr. Krishna Gyawali in his address discusses the all-encompassing nature of environment as a cross-national concern that demands integration of national efforts with regional ones. In Mr. Dipak Gyawali's view environmental problems are complex and their solutions even more complex. He discusses the erratic behaviour of nature due to climatic changes and the challenges South Asian countries face in obtaining appropriate technologies to deal with disasters. However, he emphasizes

that strategies should be kept simple and flexible and designed to address uncertainties.

Major General ANM Muniruzzaman (R) in “Climate Change and Regional Security” explains that “climate change acts as a threat multiplier”, (24) where a number of factors reinforce each other and unleash manifold crisis and conflicts such as internal instability — large scale displacement or violent conflict; and can also lead towards inter-state tensions over resource sharing. He notes that the regional security dynamics are already threatened by water tensions between Pakistan and India; and between Bangladesh and India.

Sangay Thinley and Dendup Chopel in “The Natural Order: People’s Faith and Environment Management in Bhutan” share the experience of Bhutan where peoples’ faith in Nature has become the source of a successful environment policy which emphasises protection of environment that the constitution guarantees. As a result, 72 per cent of Bhutan’s land remains forested with high bio-diversity; it’s a carbon neutral country. These are significant achievements for a small nation like Bhutan.

Prof. Dr. Rhiddi Bir Singh in “Climate Change and Energy Structure of Nepal”, draws attention to the fact that Nepal is meeting 90 per cent of its energy needs through renewable energy resources. It has low per capita CO₂ emissions. Its contribution towards natural disasters through climatic change is zero.

Yet the unfortunate fact is that both Bhutan and Nepal face the threat of natural disasters due to living in proximity to giant neighbours, India and China. The climate in Nepal is at their mercy.

In “Renewable Energy Cooperation in South Asia: Perspectives from India”, Nitya Nanda advocates regional cooperation on renewable energy resources which are huge in wind power, solar energy, biomass energy, ocean energy besides hydel power.

D. Suba Chandran in “Disaster Management in South Asia: A Regional Approach” discusses the 2009 floods in Pakistan and the cloud burst in Ladakh in 2010. The South Asia region has no early warning systems; no arrangement for immediate relief and long term rehabilitation; there is poor planning and scant infrastructure and hardly any physical connectivity at the regional level. Despite these issues, he adds ironically, South Asia is “one of the most reluctant regions in terms of regional cooperation.” (p.83).

In “Natural Disaster Management in Nepal: Problems and Response from the State” Dr. Jan Sharma says that preoccupation with political transition has deflected attention from disaster management. In the

following essay, “Early warning system to Minimize Glacial Lake Outburst Flood (GLOF) risks in HinduKush Himalayan Region: A Case Study from Nepal”, Pragati Shahi underscores the need for developing early warning and climate forecasting systems and spreading awareness among the people.

In “Disaster Management and 2005 Earthquake”, Salma Malik narrates how Pakistan dealt with a devastating earthquake in 2005. Amongst other grave challenges, there was institutional vacuum and absence of early respondents that was filled in effectively by the military.

Chaminda Hettiarachchi in “Managing Disasters in South Asia: Sri Lankan Experience” points out the collaboration among various ethnic and religious groups and more significantly between the military and Tamil rebels for relief efforts “against the common enemy of Tsunami” (p.138). Unfortunately, the opportunity was lost as the fighting resumed between them.

The narrative is more or less similar in all countries. The South Asian governments’ were caught off guard by major natural disasters. In the aftermath of major natural catastrophes in recent years, national institutions have been formed in Bhutan, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The approach is more proactive now than before. The international community has come forward and certainly lent a helping hand in hard times. Above all, people have shown the spirit of resilience and demonstrated the ‘power of social capital’.

The book offers policy recommendations that can rectify the approach to disaster management and help garner cooperation among South Asian countries. These include: adopting regional environment policy; emulating best environmental practices; cooperating in renewable energy resources; developing culture of cooperation in disaster management; sharing disaster management experiences and so forth.

In South Asia meaningful cooperation remains elusive; barred by historical legacy and mutual distrust. However, the natural disasters are regional in nature and hence demand a regional response. Since disaster management is a less politically-sensitive issue, as one author also notes, it could be a good starter for regional cooperation. The existing environmental treaties can also be invoked in this regard. Cooperation on these common issues can help overcome existing trust deficit among them that could eventually make SAARC a viable regional body. There is no dearth of goodwill but there is a need to channelize this goodwill on regional basis through working for collective interests. ■

Maria Syed, Assistant Research Officer, Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI), Islamabad.

Yasser Latif Hamdani, *Jinnah: Myth and Reality*

(Vanguard Books, 2012 Pages: 183).

Few attempts have been made to understand the personality and vision of Quaid-e-Azam, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, by local historians. Those who have written have been unable to take account of Jinnah's endeavours. Among his many foreign writers too none has been able to capture his true personality.

The book under review *Jinnah: Myth and Reality* is written by Yasser Latif Hamdani. The cover page has a picture of Mr. Jinnah in hat and suit. The author wants to portray him as a westernised person. The book has nine chapters, an introduction and an appendix.

As the title suggests, the book aims to explore the truth about Mr Jinnah. The author says that the Quaid had a secular vision for Pakistan. It was not his intention to build a religious state by using Islamic slogans. He wanted an inclusive democracy in Pakistan and an impartial state — without a state religion — that ensured the rule of law and equality. In fact, Mr Jinnah's idea of Pakistan was not the partition or disintegration of India, but an arrangement of power sharing between disparate ethnic and communal groups in a multinational state. The system is generally known as "Consociationalism."

Hamdani believes that it was only Mr. Jinnah's Muslim name that reflected his religious connection to Islam. He belongs to a Muslim minority sect, i.e., the Shiite sect; he would have been unable to unite Muslims if he had been more religious. Ironically, Pakistan -whose creation was opposed by religious activists — was hijacked by bigots and fanatics. During Zia's regime, Islam lost its spirit. Mr Jinnah was no "*Sipah Salar*" of the Muslim community. Unlike the traditional Muslim leadership, he was a liberal democrat, with some kind of a socialist vision, whose politics was parliamentary in nature. He certainly was a critic of the British rulers in India but he was not a rebel. He distinguished himself as a man for the people, not of the people. Contrary to the common perception he respected Mahatma Gandhi as a man of conviction. In fact, it was Gandhi who made religious identity non-negotiable.

Hamdani argues that Iqbal's views were contradictory to the Muslim League's official position, as Iqbal was primarily concerned about the Muslim majority areas and not about the Muslims living in Hindu majority areas. The writer points out that there were schemes for partition of India even before Allama Iqbal's idea of Pakistan.

Enumerating the 'mistakes' of Mr Jinnah, Hamadani makes a rather odd charge against him of having been ignorant of Kashmir till October 1947. He asserts that if he had acted on time the Kashmir issue would not have got complicated. Hamdani says that Mr Jinnah idealistically hoped that the Maharaja of Kashmir would sign a document of accession in Pakistan's favour: "he had thus, imagined Kashmir a ripe apple, which would naturally fall in his lap." (p.122).

Appreciating Turkish secularism and considering it as a reason for Turkey's progress and prosperity, Hamdani avows that Jinnah's political approach was influenced by Ataturk. Both of them were secular and highly impressed by Europe and Western civilization. Hence they conceived their states on European modern principles and constitutional pattern but their approach to achieve the goal was different due to their different background.

Hamdani is certain that the solution to the ideological perplexity of Pakistan, which according to him has been created by the Pakistan army, is to detach the army completely from politics. The absence of commitment in the army to the secular ideology of the founding fathers of Pakistan ultimately resulted in the introduction of state religion and consequent ex-communication of the Ahmadiyya community. On the other hand, he gives space to the army in politics on condition that the role of the army should be restricted to safeguarding the constitutional order and to ensure the rule of law in the country.

Hamdani makes a comparison between the Turkish and the Pakistani army and appreciates the Turkish army for remaining committed to the Ataturk's secular ideology. He castigates the Pakistan army for allegedly placing its own interests above the interests of the state. "The Pakistan army [is] woefully short of the kind of achievements that Turkish army is justifiably proud of (p.142).

Besides this, Hamdani is apprehensive about the constitution of Pakistan, particularly with regard to the definition of a Muslim. He asks the law makers in Pakistan to raise some fundamental questions and to "reconsider" the constitution that exists in Pakistan in line with Pakistan's founding document, i.e., the Lahore Resolution. He thinks that many issues of federalism could be resolved through the 18th Amendment.

The writer seems to be highly sensitive towards the religious minorities and the problem of sectarianism. To him the introduction of state religion in the constitutional scheme is the only obstacle the Pakistani nation is facing. He believes that Pakistan has to be secular in order to survive because there is so much division in Islam.

Hamdani places emphasis on Jinnah's secular ideas but fails to appreciate the unity and struggle of the Muslims for a homeland. One has expected to read more about Mr Jinnah but the book revolves around his secularism. Hamdani forwards immature arguments in support of his views. To say that Jinnah would never have sent his daughter to Western institutes if he were a man of faith is a very puerile argument.

Hamdani has made contradictory statements regarding the idea of Pakistan. At one place he writes that "Pakistan, like any other state, is an accident of history, determined by force and events that had little to do with a poet dreaming a millennial dream about Muslims" (p.29) but at another place he states that "the belated conversion of Muslim league and Mr. Jinnah to the idea of Pakistan was the final phase of an idea that was offing for at least half a century if not more." (p.123)

Hamdani also makes irrelevant comparisons of Aurangzeb with Shiva Ji and Bhagat Singh with Ghazi Ilm Deen Shaheed. The book suffers from lack of historical evidence and objective analysis. Hamdani's Jinnah too is not very much convincing. ■

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