

Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri, *Neither a Hawk Nor a Dove-An Insider's Account of Pakistan's Foreign Relations including Details of the Kashmir Framework* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2015), 851.

The book is a treatise of Pakistan's foreign policy and its execution by a former Pakistani Foreign Minister, Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri (2002-07). First person narration throughout the text reinforces the autobiographic intent of the writer. President Musharraf appointed Kasuri to head the Ministry of Foreign Affairs when Pakistan was confronted with crucial quandaries on multiple foreign policy fronts. During his tenure as Foreign Minister, besides handling the post-9/11 quagmire, Kasuri ventured into (re)starting the peace process with India. The author has, ever since, publically owned this as a flagship achievement of his tenure, and termed its discontinuation as an unfortunate event for both the countries as well as for South Asia.

To set the context, Kasuri summarises Pakistan's security dilemmas and corresponding efforts for peace since the Partition till his assumption of office as Foreign Minister. While doing so, he, by and large, sticks to the mainstream official version of historic diplomatic processes (p.77-86). For his vision of foreign policy, Kasuri is indebted to and inspired by Henry Kissinger (p.119-120).

According to Kasuri, the objective of foreign policy is not to provide a shoulder for the people to cry over indignation, or be joyous over hope. Rather, it is to adapt to actual events as they happen or are likely to happen. And that in this context, foreign policy of a typical nation state is directly related to its domestic political and economic situation; and that no foreign policy can succeed unless it enjoys the support of the people. The writer is, rightly, of the view that there needs to be some connection between foreign policy objectives and ground realities, and that 'unless Pakistan and India resolved their differences on the basis of a just peace, both countries have developed major fault lines which could be exploited by others' (p.119). According to the author, Pakistan has been unable to capitalise on its strategic importance and the gap between public aspiration and official foreign policy has been a perpetual inhibitor of bold initiatives by the handlers of foreign policy, be it Kashmir or Pakistan-U.S. relations. Grand public standing in Pakistan is emotionally entangled in historic wrangling and anyone making the effort to cut lose from this is quickly termed as a sell-out. The Kasuri era's unsuccessful back channel initiative on Kashmir did not go down well amongst the Pakistani public, which 'Kasuri the politician' could not afford; hence, he might have ventured to write this

book in an attempt to clear the dust. If so, he has failed. Details revealed in the book indicate that Pakistan was well on its way to appease India without accruing worthwhile reciprocity. Notwithstanding, Kasuri drives home a pertinent conclusion that street mood and opposition parties, of both sides, yield impelling negative influence on forward traction of India-Pakistan relations; which is a formidable obstacle to circumvent. He is of the view that excessive partisanship of political parties, both in Pakistan and India, on core issues related to Indo-Pak relations has often averted the two countries from resolving their issues. He suggests that, for the sake of substantial and sustainable progress, both the governments should break open the straitjacket imposed by domestic blow-back effects.

While discussing the pre-normalisation process with India, Kasuri narrates details about the post-Kargil tensions, the inconclusive Agra Summit and attack on the Indian Parliament in 2001 leading to nearly a year-long deployment of over one million troops on the Pakistan-India borders. At that time, 'the BJP government found it expedient to blame Pakistan government out of domestic and political compulsions. The objective was to have Pakistan declared a terrorist state' (p.155).

Later, in a departure from its stance of not dealing with a military ruler, Prime Minister Vajpayee extended an invitation to President Musharraf for the Agra Summit, mainly on L.K Advani's urging. The Summit remained inconclusive because the Indian side had dug its heels that there could not be any significant movement on the issues that were of concern to Pakistan unless there was sufficient emphasis on terrorism and acceptance that it must end. Kasuri blames 'lack of sufficient preparation for failure of the summit. This failure highlighted necessity of bipartisan support for resolving major issues between the two countries' (p.161).

The 12th South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) Summit 2004 held in Islamabad, attended by Prime Minister Vajpayee, provided an opportunity for holding bilateral talks that led to the initiation of the Composite Dialogue (CD) process a month later. The CD framework with various brand names continues to be foundation stone of whatever peace process has or has not crawled forward since then. Kasuri points out, however, that:

When I assumed the Foreign Minister's office, the Americans were working behind the scenes to ease tension [between India and Pakistan] because of a nuclearised South Asia and their interests in Afghanistan (p.181).

The book also details Musharraf's much touted 'out-of-the box thinking'. His notion of setting aside the UN resolutions on Kashmir was indeed a *faux pas*. His 'four point proposal of (a) initiating a dialogue; (b)

accepting the centrality of Kashmir; (c) eliminating whatever is not acceptable to Pakistan, India and the Kashmiris; and (d) arriving at a solution acceptable to all the three stakeholders' (p.189), were mutually contradictory, and hence non-starters. Kasuri under the tutelage of President Musharraf followed a line of action that could have ended up in freezing the status quo on Kashmir. According to Kasuri, due to sensitivity of the issue, governments of India and Pakistan decided to add a preliminary back channel for maintaining confidentiality - away from media glare to preserve it from derailment attempts. The idea was to hammer out a draft, acceptable to the people of both sides. It was good idea as long as it did not deviate from the well-established parameters. However, the details of the draft agreement reveal horrific details to the peril of Pakistan:

It was therefore agreed that the level of self-governance [in Kashmir] will be same in both sides. With this objective in view, it was agreed that maximum self-governance would be granted in legislative, executive, and judicial areas to each of the units (p.337).

Indians made it clear that any solution would include all areas including Northern Areas of Pakistan and 'despite our desire to separate this region from the rest of J&K, we decided to show some flexibility on the subject' (p.339). The agreement also stipulated that J&K could not be made independent; borders could not be redrawn; the Line of Control should be made irrelevant; and a Joint Mechanism be setup comprising elected members from each of the two units of Kashmir (p.342). The writer claims that resolution of the issue of Jammu and Kashmir was just round the corner. If he is reporting the matter accurately, then the Indian side was grossly foolish not to cease the moment and capitalise on the Musharraf-Kasuri strategic *faux pas*. The duo giving strategic concessions to India without accruing a 'quid pro quo' was a gross error of judgment. In fact, the change of government in India, in 2007, came as divine intervention and saved the day for Pakistan since Congress had no interest in carrying forward the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) initiative.

The book also illustrates Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan in a candid way by stating that there is no country in the world that has greater stake in a peaceful stable and prosperous Afghanistan. Kasuri is of the view that 'there is recognition by all sides that Pakistan has the ability to help ensure a final settlement or to sabotage one. This imposes a great responsibility on Pakistan to do all that it can to bring about conditions of peace and stability in Afghanistan' (p.545). He narrates Pakistan's relations with Turkey, Iran, and Saudi Arabia (pp.713-738) in the context of common religious and cultural linkages; and nothing previously unknown is

revealed. He also handles relations with Russia (pp.705-712) and Gulf countries in a cursory manner (pp. 705-733). His narration of meeting with the Israeli Foreign Minister is interesting. He terms that encounter as 'A politically risky enterprise' (p.739). The meeting took place on August 31, 2005, under the good offices of Turkey. Pakistan's relations with the European Union, Japan, Bangladesh, and Britain (pp.749-775) also do not disclose anything new. He discusses Pakistan's relationship with China quite elaborately (pp.675-699), covering topics like provision of nuclear power plants, the silk route/economic corridor, China-India factor etc.

A chapter has been dedicated to the Pakistan-U.S. relations under the caption *Pakistan and the United States: 'The Odd Couple'*. After charting the chronology and complexities of this relationship, Kasuri is of the view that 'whenever the two countries have engaged with each other meaningfully, they have benefited; and whenever their relationship has been strained, the interests of both countries have been hurt. Thus, despite difficulties Pakistan and the U.S. are likely to find areas of convergence and the need to maintain a truly robust bilateral relationship' (p.669). This is indeed a realistic assessment since this relationship is destined to endure, though in a roller coaster manner.

There is a chapter dedicated to *The Foreign Office* elaborating the way diplomacy is conducted by Pakistan has sections on 'Media and Public Diplomacy' and 'Role of Personal Relationship in Diplomacy'. This chapter fairly illustrates what Pakistan has and has not been able to achieve through diplomacy, how and why. The chapter offers valuable insights into the ways this institution has evolved since Sir Zafarullah Khan's days.

Kasuri dispels the impression that the Pakistan Army is an obstacle to peaceful relations with India and reiterates that the 'Army wants a just and equitable peace with India' (p.470). About civil-military relations, he concludes that it is the non-institutional culture prevalent in running the government that causes irritants. He is of the view that a potent National Security Council under the Chief Executive could resolve the issue (p.486).

Kasuri says that the purpose behind writing the book was to 'correct perceptions' amongst the people of neighbouring nations. However, the work is mainly focused on Pakistan-India and Pakistan-U.S. relations; and is an effort to justify some of the controversial decisions made during the writer's tenure as Foreign Minister. The rest is fill-up material overshadowed by official narratives on various aspects of Pakistan's diplomatic outreach. The 225 page long obsession-driven account of his pursuit of 'peace' with India amply indicates his underlying guilt and repentance, which he does not wish to acknowledge. Unfortunately, instead of apologising to the nation on taking such a non-serious course on core

national interests vis à vis India, the writer remains adamant that progress achieved through backchannels should not go waste.

Since the scheme of the book is a collection of compact and exhaustive essays, and their division into chapters, sections and sub-sections, repetitions are not infrequent. Quality editing could have trimmed the volume substantially. Notwithstanding, the book fills a critical void in the literature regarding Pakistan's foreign policy and conduct of external affairs. Barring the portions of the text aimed at self-aggrandisement and absolvment, the book can serve as reference material for amateur as well as seasoned researchers.

Reviewed by Air Commodore (retd.) Khalid Iqbal, Consultant, Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI), Pakistan.

Marc Lynch, *The New Arab Wars: Uprisings and Anarchy in the Middle East* (New York: Public Affairs, 2016), 284.

Marc Lynch's new book, *The New Arab Wars*, gives a detailed account of the post-Arab Uprisings scenario. It covers the popular movements in the Arab world that transformed into dystopia of resurgent dictators, failed states, civil wars, military coups, proxy wars and international interference. While discussing each country, Lynch describes the revolutionary changes and upheavals that brought anarchy into the Arab world. He said that the epochal transitional wave of democracy in Egypt ended in a violent military coup. The civil wars in Libya and Yemen intensified and then collapsed. Bahrain suffered severe sectarian repression and Syria became the greatest victim of all under an authoritarian regime, foreign fuelled insurgencies and huge refugee influx that ripped it apart. Amidst such chaos, the emergence of the lethal extremist group the Islamic State (IS) that seized vast territories, brutally killed people and pursued its own ideology send a new terror wave across the globe.

According to the author, the Arab Uprisings and their defeat was an international phenomenon shaped by shifting global and regional power dynamics given the rapid changes in media and information campaigns (p.15). The simultaneous disruptions in the regional order due to the Arab Uprising and the Iranian nuclear deal intensified the Middle East proxy wars. The Gulf leaders in 2015 boasted of a new model for their military and political campaigns, breaking dependence on the U.S. and the West. But their military efforts failed to achieve the desired results in Yemen and Syria, their diplomacy failed to prevent the Iranian nuclear deal, their critical alliance with the U.S. was badly strained and the plummeting price of oil threatened the foundations of their domestic stability (p.17).

The Arab Uprisings challenged the American position and policies in the Middle East, with accelerated sectarianism led by the Saudi-Iranian ideological rift, intra-Sunni power struggle between the Muslim Brotherhood and Anti-Islamists in the fractured states. The divide between the U.S. and its traditional Arab Allies was not due to Obama's lack of engagement, but because of divergence in preferences. For Obama, the agreement with Iran over its nuclear programme remained the highest strategic priority (pp.24-25). According to Lynch, the Arab Uprisings by weakening key states and empowering diverse non-state actors had opened the gates to a dramatically new regional proxy war and competitive interventions (p.26). The proliferation of communications technology represents a profound structural shift in the nature of politics in the Middle East and globally. Information is a primary focus of the new Arab wars (p.31).

According to the author, deeper drivers of Arab political dysfunction lie with rapacious power-seeking regimes determined to preserve their own domination at any cost. One of those methods for retaining power has long been the manipulation of the sectarian divide and ethnic identities (p.32). The Arab Uprising, therefore, involved four different overlapping lines of conflict: a) The Iranian-Saudi conflict, that reinforced Israel's priorities; b) the battle for leadership of the Sunni Arab world between Saudi Arabia, Qatar, UAE and Turkey; c) challenges posed by different Islamists networks, from the mainstream Muslim Brotherhood and Salafi movements to the violent extremists of Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State; and d) broader struggle between autocratic regimes and mobilised societies (p.36). The Uprising leapt from Tunisia and entered Egypt, mobilised a protest wave across Jordan, Oman, Morocco, Yemen, Libya and Syria. The only Arab states that avoided significant popular mobilisation were the exceptionally small, wealthy and repressive Qatar, UAE and Saudi Arabia and traumatised quasi states of Lebanon, Palestine and Iraq. The synchronicity of these protests was their most striking quality. Social media provided a common language and narratives of popular mobilisation for democracy to all these protests (p.39).

The period between the fall of 2012 and the first half of 2013 was a tipping point in the Arab Uprisings when the arming of the Syrian insurgency escalated, the Egyptian democratic transition went off the rails, Libya's transition collapsed into an open struggle between armed militias, while the transition in Tunisia was destined to break down. In Iraq, the Iraqi Sunni protests spiraled into violent confrontation with the Maliki government, Israel attacked Gaza and was close to launching a unilateral military strike on Iran, while the U.S. had started negotiations with Iran (p.102).

Discussing the Syrian case, Lynch writes that the uprising turned into a competitive proxy war with heavy funding and arming of rebels and insurgent groups by the regional powers and the U.S. which radicalised the insurgency. The fall of 2012 and spring of 2013 were fateful months for the Syrian insurgency (p.117). The U.S. avoided direct intervention and adopted a restrained policy despite annoyance of its Gulf allies since an intervention would not have saved Syria, but would have only created new problems (p.146). Besides America's failings, the real responsibility for Syria's apocalypse lies with al-Assad and with regional powers which facilitated the war (p.147).

Regarding the Iran nuclear deal, Lynch opines that the nuclear deal has heightened the fears of the regional ruling elites, forcing everyone to recalculate alliances and positions within a rapidly shifting regional order. Over the long-term, the nuclear deal offers the prospect of a more

fundamental rewiring of the regional order in which Iran is incorporated into the broader American-structured security architecture in the Middle East (p.145). Commenting on America's role in the region, Marc Lynch believes that Americans have misunderstood the Middle East and that President Obama knew deeply that American military power could not solve the region's conflicts and that limited intervention would only pave the way to ever-escalating demands for more (p.146). Decades of imperium and intervention have produced a region where America is despised by both regimes and the public alike (p.145). He suggests that the U.S. should consolidate its retrenchment from the region and invest its support not in the brutal regimes, but in those Arabs who are seeking a more democratic future (p.149). Here the author also opines that the IS can be contained territorially, but the ideas of global *jihād* would not be so easily blocked (p.148). He also believes that there will be no possibility of meaningfully addressing the challenge of *jihādism* without addressing the core failures of governance which fuel popular discontent (p.148).

According to Lynch, the Uprisings have not failed, rather only just begun. While the protest wave has passed, the conditions or underlying problems which drove them have only strengthened and he believes that the wars afflicting the region continue to exist and their impact will continue for many years. There will be no return to stability anytime soon (p.143).

In short, this book is a very detailed and comprehensive study of politics in the Middle East, and highly recommended for scholars and policymakers who want to work on this region. It is an informative and analytical piece that broadens the reader's knowledge not only about the factors, actors, roots and implications of the Uprisings but also about the future of the region.

Reviewed by Aymen Ijaz who holds an MPhil in International Relations from School of Politics and International Relations, Quaid-i-Azam, University, Islamabad, Pakistan. Her areas of interest include nuclear non-proliferation, international security, arms control/disarmament, nuclear and strategic studies.

Vinod K. Aggarwal and Sara A. Newland, ed. *Responding to China's Rise: U.S. and EU Strategies* (New York: Springer International Publishing, 2015), 179.

This book is a collection of papers edited by Vinod K. Aggarwal and Sara A. Newland. The experts attempt to tackle questions regarding China's rise in the current political and economic system regarded as a triumph of liberalism, democracy and capitalism led by the United States and other Western countries. The rise of China has disturbed the system and countries in the European Union and the United States are faced with the dilemma how to respond to it. The book comprises of four sections, the first gives a brief introduction of China's economic and political rise and how it challenges the existing order. The second section describes the historical perspective of China's rise. The third part gives the Chinese perspective about China's current rise. The fourth section talks about European and American responses to China's emergence, as well as the implications of China's rise for U.S.-EU relations.

The first section gives a brief introduction of China's importance in global politics and trade. It brings in empirical evidence to understand the current rise of China and its political implications for the U.S. and the EU. Although both share common concerns, they differ in their approaches towards China. U.S. concerns are centered around geopolitics, while the EU is challenged with domestic instability.

The second section that covers two chapters by David C. Kang and Yuan-kang Wang gives a historical perspective of China's rise. Kang in *China, Hegemony, and Leadership in East Asia* believes that it is not correct to draw analogy between China's current rise with Germany's ascendance in the Nineteenth Century since Germany was never as powerful as China has been; and China's neighbours have accepted its dominance unlike Germany's (pp.31-37). He also compares China and the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Despite intense competition, China, he believes does not pose an economic, military or ideological threat to U.S. supremacy since its rise was made possible when it opened up its economy and embraced the market principles enunciated by it. Moreover, East Asian countries have more economic stakes with China, thus, have not reacted against it. However, if China continues its assertive position, it can cause anxiety to its neighbours compelling them to ally against it (pp.39-43). In the chapter by Yuan-kang Wang, the notion of 'Chinese exceptionalism' has been challenged. Wang asserts that under the Ming Dynasty, China's regional hegemony was maintained by its military might. This 'exceptionalism' was not because of its shared beliefs or

cultural norms, rather because of its military superiority. The author exposes myths about Chinese 'exceptionalism' through case studies. First, the myth that China is not expansionist is exposed by discussing the repeated attacks against the Mongols, annexation of Vietnam and maritime power projection (pp.54-59). Secondly, he argues that the seven voyages of Admiral Zheng He were not peaceful, rather he used military force as a 'power projection tool' to compel/'shock and awe' others into submission. This contributed to Chinese expansion beyond the Ming areas (pp.59-62). Another myth regarding 'exceptionalism' is that Chinese military strategy was defensive in nature and not offensive. Wang negates the idea and suggests that defence was pursued only when offensive power declined. The Great Wall which epitomises defence was a product of insufficient offensive capabilities (pp.62-65). Lastly, he rejects the notion that China served as a cultural and political leader in East Asia. Instead, he argues that military superiority contributed to the position China held in the region. Thus, it was power and not historical or cultural legacy that shaped China's foreign policy (pp.65-70).

The third section of the book moves beyond history and follows a more theoretical path. The chapter by Jisheng Sun *The Construction of Uncertainty and Threat: Theoretical Debates on China's Rise* begins with tracing the authenticity of Chinese intellectual Zheng Bijian's concept of 'China's Peaceful Rise' (p.79). This concept carries discursive significance and creates a social reality advocated by the Chinese. However, Americans perceive China as a threat and have adopted an aggressive and competitive posture, which in turn threatens China. Thus, the skepticism is mutual with doubts on both sides impacting Sino-U.S. relations. Thus, the U.S. needs to downplay the China threat theory as it has potential to become a 'self-fulfilling prophecy' as highlighted by Joseph Nye and merely increase the probability of conflict. In order to develop friendly relations, both need to resort to 'constructive language and actions' (p.95). The chapter *Rising China: Political Leadership, Foreign Policy, and 'Chineseness'* by Yinhong Shi bridges the historical approach with the current Sino-U.S. relationship. He clarifies the term 'Chineseness' - distinctive Chinese characteristics developed over the years and how it shapes the Chinese foreign policy today (p.99). This term is a mix of equality and hierarchy in China's relations vis à vis other great powers. He suggests that relations with the U.S. should be based on coexistence, with China checking U.S. power and gaining greater shared responsibility in international affairs. This can be done by the U.S. relinquishing its military dominance to China's military parity in East Asia (pp.99-110).

The fourth section of the book deals with the contemporary Sino-U.S. and China-European relations with a focus on economic and security

policies. The sixth chapter *U.S.-China Economic Integration and its Implications for U.S. Policy in the Taiwan Strait* by Scott L. Kastner makes a link between global economic trade and its prospects for peace. The burgeoning trade and its effects on U.S.-China relations is measured with the variable of the Taiwan issue. He writes that interdependence between the U.S. and China has affected the U.S. policy options towards Taiwan. Few issues are significant: the visit by U.S. governors to Taiwan and U.S. Senate advocacy for weapons sale to it and membership in the U.S. Senate Taiwan Caucus. Kastner gives a quantitative analysis of the dependence of various American states on China and concludes that increased economic ties have not deterred conflict in terms of Taiwan (pp.113-126). Chapter seven by Jonathan Holslag explores the same correlation of conflict and economic interdependence. He concludes that economic interdependence has actually led to increased prospects of conflict as both try to defend their markets. The economic policies adopted in this endeavour have been contrary to the liberal economic order. He gives several reasons for the increasing tensions, from China supporting its domestic firms over the Europeans to Europe's concerns about its economy in the wake of the financial crisis. Lastly, he discusses the views held by China and EU towards each other which have deteriorated despite economic interdependence, triggering a sense of 'economic security dilemma' (pp.131-147). The last chapter *China's Rise: Towards a Division of Labor in Transatlantic Relations* by Øystein Tunsjø is focused on the likely future with the U.S. balancing against China's rise, and the EU continuing to avoid it. The future can be either multipolar with Asia as the centre or bipolar with the U.S. and China collaborating on several issues. One factor that can tilt these power plays would be whose side Russia takes, the EU and U.S. or China (pp.151-170).

There is variation in perception of the U.S. and EU towards China, with the former focused on global repercussions of China's rise, and the latter concerned with China's domestic stability and the effect on its economic relationship with it. This variation hampers a unified transatlantic approach towards China. These chapters conclude that both history and current events have contributed to China's rise. The book is a good brief for scholars concerned with China's domestic and foreign policy.

Reviewed by Huda Khalid, Intern, Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI), Islamabad, Pakistan.

Stuart Wexler, *America's Secret Jihad: The Hidden History of Religious Terrorism in the United States* (Berkley: Counterpoint, 2016), 417.

The book under review *America's Secret Jihad: The Hidden History of Religious Terrorism in the United States*, written by Stuart Wexler, is an attempt to explore and analyse America's history of domestic and religious terrorism, which according to Wexler is a 'race war'. The book is interesting since America is waging a war against religious terrorism around the world, but very few know that the country itself experienced waves of religious extremism and terrorism during different phases of its development. Stuart Wexler is from New Jersey and has a degree in history. He exposes startling new data on the history of religious terrorism inside America and discusses the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., the white knights of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), neo Nazis, anti-Semitism and Jews, the dubious role of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), white supremacists, civil rights issues, racism, the Islamic State, Hamas, and terrorism.

Wexler's script starts by describing a forgotten yet unprecedented wave of anti-Semitic violence in the late 1950s by describing at length a synagogue bombing during 1957–1958 in the United States (U.S.) when the fear of American Jews was visible and raised questions about their lives in the country, which claimed to be a champion of human rights. Wexler persuasively makes the case about how American domestic terrorism dominated the country for over half a century, much of it prompted by Christian identity (white supremacy), a theology that 'identifies Jews as the spawn of the devil.' A more orthodox manifestation of terrorism that emerged after the American Civil War ended the practice of slavery. In the preface of the book, the writer points out that President Thomas Jefferson actively participated in a system of compulsion in the Southern states that relied upon violence, fear, torture and killing in order to maintain the white supremacist social order.

The author negates the conventional narrative that acts of terrorism are solely the domain of Islamic extremism, especially following the attack of September 11, 2001 on the twin towers. America has been faced with Christian religious terrorism for decades before 9/11 which resulted in the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. Since 9/11, more people in the U.S. have been under pressure by far right extremists than those linked or sympathetic to Al-Qaeda. A different group of *jihadists* exist within the U.S. borders even today. The far right extremists having a long, but concealed history and possess an ideology similar to the one possessed by

Al-Qaeda, the writer opines. These *ihadists* have stockpiled weapons, even tanks, and plotted chemical attacks that could have wiped out thousands, if used. Yet few even recognise, much less admit, their existence. Wexler's careful and serious analysis of the Atlanta child murders of 1979–1981 and the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. pose serious questions about the historical-cum-dominant narrative with regards to terrorism or extremism inside the U.S. The interesting point is that most of the citizenry has been unable to see that anti-Semitism is at the root of far-rights terrorism in the U.S. and these groups are stronger in the rural area.

The volume explains in particular how a racist Georgia attorney Jesse Benjamin 'J.B.' Stoner co-founded the National States' Rights Party, which spread the seeds of racism in American society for decades. Radical factions of Christianity have propelled the most unusual deeds of viciousness in American history, e.g. the 1963 Birmingham church siege that slaughtered four young ladies; the Mississippi smoldering killings of three social equality laborers in 1964; the death of Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968; the Atlanta child murders in the late 1970s; and the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995. A mix of earnest obliviousness, blind inadequacy, and absolute duplicity by America's law implementation organisations has kept the country from genuinely going up against its long haul involvement with religious terrorism. Until World War II, Christianity provided an ad-hoc layer that helped legitimatise the Ku Klux Klan in America.

The script is a wonderful reading for not only students of political science, history and international relations, but also for academics. The strength of the book lies in its objective and frank analysis that Islamic fundamentalism alone does not have the copyright on terrorism. By shedding light on religious terrorism in the U.S., Wexler demonstrates that the human psyche can be geared towards the most detestable acts when lack of awareness and fanaticism is permitted to thrive and this applies to all states and people.

Reviewed by Khalid Chandio who has recently completed his MPhil in International Relations from Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan. His areas of research interest include non-traditional security issues, peace studies (conflict management & resolution), and U.S. foreign policy (particularly towards Pakistan, India and China). He regularly contributes articles on current strategic issues in English newspapers of Pakistan.

Magnus Petersson, *The U.S. NATO Debate from Libya to Ukraine* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015), 224.

The book under review entitled *U.S., NATO Debate from Libya to Ukraine* by Magnus Peterson, Professor of Modern History at the Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies, Oslo, Norway focuses on the principles, purpose, relevance and the significance of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in the United States and its implications for European security and their transatlantic affairs. The author evaluates how the organisation is visualised through the American political spectrum and gives empirical data on the political, policy and scholarly levels of the U.S.-NATO nexus. The book covers major events in NATO's life, including the summits in Chicago (2012) and Wales (2014), its operations in Libya and the Ukraine crisis.

The book is divided into four chapters. In the first chapter, the author focuses on the importance of NATO in the U.S. describing the main actors such as the members of Congress and the Obama administration who constitute the political arena. The representatives of think tanks and the elite media are also important actors and constitute the policy arena. The sources of the debate are mainly taken from reports, briefs, columns, news, articles, academic books, journals and the other written material from think tank such as RAND Cooperation, Atlantic Council (ACUS) and Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) (p.19).

The second chapter *2011: The Libya War* discusses how it caused a detailed discussion in the United States about both internal and external features of its long-term security policy. The author claims that the debate on the external features was mostly on the issue of burden sharing with NATO and the decisions about who will take the lead in the operations (p.30). The United States wanted that the European members of NATO should take the lead. The internal debate revolved around the power relations between the U.S. Congress and the President. Both sides have had a different perspective, with one arguing for maximalist and charismatic U.S. leadership, whereas the other argued for a minimalist and rational U.S. leadership during the Libya War (p.41).

The third chapter *2012-2013: The Chicago Summit and the Syrian Conflict* focuses on the main events of the Chicago Summit and the Syrian conflict held on May 20-12, 2012 (p.69). The writer elaborates that there were three issues discussed in the Chicago Summit e.g. NATO's exit from Afghanistan, smart defence, including missile defence and the coalition strategy of NATO in the U.S. He describes that the Congress pushed NATO to promote U.S. interests, while its emphasis was mostly on promoting universal values and enhancing collective security. The debates during the

Chicago Summit and the Syrian conflict signify NATO's moderate role in the security policy of the United States.

The fourth chapter *2014: The Ukraine Crisis and the Wales Summit* covers the events of the Ukraine crisis that started in February 2014 and the Wales Summit held in Newport on September 4-5, 2014 (p.116). During this period, NATO's Secretary General Fogh Rasmussen urged that the Ukraine crisis should be a 'wake up call' for the transatlantic coalition and the U.S. security policy (p.115). This crisis made the U.S. and its allies in NATO alert and attentive because it was a case where U.S. vital interests and its reliability as a leader of NATO was at stake. The issue of how to combat the Islamic State also came up on the agenda with the American government wanting to destabilise the Islamic networks with the help of NATO and regional partnerships (p.137).

The book is a comprehensive study on the debates surrounding NATO's role, its vision, mission and guidance in the context of the Libyan war and the Ukraine crisis, within the United States by policymakers, the Obama administration, think tanks and the elite media. It provides a well informed, comprehensive and the balanced view about NATO and is an essential reading not only for students, researchers, practitioners and scholars interested in this organisation, but for everyone who is concerned about transatlantic affairs, security and community.

Reviewed by Iram Zahid, Intern, Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI), Islamabad, Pakistan.

Michael D. Swaine, Nicholas Eberstadt, Taylor M. Fravel, Mikkal Herberg, Albert Keidel, Evans J. Revere, Alan D. Romberg, Eleanor Freund, Rachel Esplin Odell and Audrye Wong, *Conflict and Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region: A Strategic Net Assessment* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2015), 287.

The emerging security situation in the Asia Pacific region entails both opportunities and challenges for U.S.-China relations. This region with its high economic growth is passing through a transformation in the distribution of power posing a major challenge for the United States, traditionally a leading power here. The rising power of China and its increasing influence in South China Sea is considered a challenge to America's historical primacy in the region.

The book *Conflict and Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region: A Strategic Net Assessment* focuses on a variety of variables covering U.S.-China-Japan relations and beyond. It examines about forty contemporary and likely future developments and trends of the Asian security situation in the context of history, leadership, economy and demography. These sets of variables would offer both challenges and opportunities to the U.S. strategy, with five future security scenarios, ranging from the existing 'status quo scenario of cooperation and competition' to 'Asian hot wars environment having frequent military conflicts' and from 'Pacific Asia-Pacific cooperative peaceful model' to 'Asia-Pacific Cold war model of strategic and economic rivalry' to 'a challenged region affected by transnational threats and common problems'.

The book is divided into six chapters, besides the executive summary. The pattern of the first four chapters is such that each chapter assesses 'one of four sets of factors that will influence the evolution of security environments in the Asia-Pacific over the next twenty five years' (p.3). The analytical framework of the study is very comprehensive. Each of the first four chapters consists of four sections. The first section is the introduction of the study which gives a summary of the theme of each chapter and its importance. The second section outlines the variables that shape the topic under consideration. The third section looks at how the variables could evolve, while the fourth and final section of each chapter explores the potential impacts the topic under consideration could have on conflict and cooperation outcomes in the Asia-Pacific by 2040 (pp.3-4).

The future projections of conflict and convergence in the Asia-Pacific region are discussed by applying various domestic and international variables. The domestic variables used include, 'economic and demographic factors; leadership and societal norms, values, interests, and perceptions;

and policies of key actors regarding the Korean Peninsula, Taiwan, and maritime territorial disputes' (p.4). The international variables that can influence the relations of states include the global economic and energy crisis, non-traditional threats of transnational nature such as pandemics, natural disasters, and terrorism. Chapters 2-5 provide thematic structure to the study and include topics on domestic political and social stability (p.17); defence spending and military capabilities (p.49); national and transnational objectives, military doctrines, and approaches to the use of force (p.91); interstate bilateral and multilateral relationships (p.129); and future security environments (p.16). The last chapter discusses the importance of the study for policymakers and offers recommendations (p.189).

The book concludes that the emerging security order in the Asia-Pacific in the next 25-30 years would mainly depend on the policy approaches and actions of the United States. It highlights the need for the U.S. to take an integrated approach while taking into account the region's dynamic changes to ensure its long-term primacy and safeguard its strategic interests. The authors suggest that while maintaining an alliance with major countries in Asia 'Washington should actively support the development of a strategic dialogue with Beijing' (p.13). The country should develop several strategies to deal with the emerging threats and to prevent future conflicts on maritime territorial claims as well as on other sensitive areas of political and military nature.

The five factors that may reduce the chances of risk and enhance the opportunities for cooperation between various actors in the region, especially between the U.S. and China include: using all forums that could reduce the tendency of engaging in geopolitics and arms buildup; enhancing understanding between China and the U.S. about each other's national objectives, military doctrines, and potential use of force toward volatile issues such as 'North Korea, Taiwan, maritime and other territorial disputes involving third parties, maritime energy and resource requirements, and military surveillance activities in the vicinity of each side's territorial borders' (p.11); the role of the U.S. in enhancing its support on issues of common interest, especially to avoid an international economic crisis; to defend sea lines of communication (SLOC) via a well-organised joint maritime force consisting of the United States, China and other Asian countries; and establishing a forum for resolving issues linked to energy security. To meet the imperatives of the emerging security situation in the Asia-Pacific, the authors suggest three policy approaches for the U.S. that include: 1) robust approach –in this approach the U.S. and its allies may try to dominate China through offensive posture; 2) balanced approach that would require limited and carefully designed offense/defence strategy to safeguard some important military interests; and 3) a defensive strategy

with the purpose of building a balanced regional order to resolve issues through mutual consultations.

While detailed and comprehensive, this study has a few limitations. First, while discussing the role of major players in Asia- Pacific, it gives extra ordinary importance to U.S. primacy and ignores the role of other actors such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Secondly, the authors give more emphasis to improvement of U.S.-China relations and ignore the impact of China's relations with other regional countries. Third, in the presence of existing multilateral structures largely influenced by ASEAN, what would be the level of acceptance of a joint maritime force for defending SLOCs and a new forum on energy issues, remains a question mark.

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