

Book Reviews

THE EVOLUTION OF NUCLEAR DETERRENCE IN SOUTH ASIA

Author: Tughral Yamin

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South Asian nuclear patterns always force the proponents of nuclear nonproliferation regime to discuss the nuclear issues of the region by adopting critical examining standards. A number of scholars have tried to discuss nature of South Asian nuclear muscles from difference perspective. The global critical standards, exclusively for Pakistan's nuclear capabilities, are constantly evaluating the nuclear ambitions of India and Pakistan in belligerent style. The varying arguments of scholarly debate attempt to present a logical and rational analysis of Indian and Pakistani nuclear capabilities by adopting a combination of supporting and opposing approaches. The writer Tughral Yamin's in his book titled *The Evolution of Nuclear Deterrence in South Asia* strives to provide a survey of regional nuclear efforts of Islamabad and New Delhi.

The eight chapters of Yamin's investigation is a comprehensive and brief account of changing model of South Asian nuclear desires. Yamin, a former brigadier, is presently an associate dean of the Centre for International Peace & Stability, National University of Sciences & Technology (NUST), Islamabad. He has served in National Defence University (NDU) after completing his doctorate from Quaid-i-Azam University (QAU). While having his PhD in Defence and Strategic Studies (DSS), Yamin has introduced his intellectual wisdom at countless national and international forums. His contribution in the ongoing nuclear debate of South Asia attempts to formulate a Pakistani perspective about the regional nuclear race and the role of deterrence in the deteriorating Indo-Pak bilateral relations. The erudite work on nuclear dimensions of South Asia is lacking in Pakistan's intellectual community. Thus, the worth of Yamin's reading over regional nuclear debate is appreciable, because the subsections of Yamin's research revolve around the conceptual evolution of deterrence and its significance in minimizing the threats of war between nuclear powers.

The central theme of the book is a comparative endeavour of the author who offers a study of proportional analysis between South Asian and Cold War's nuclear deterrence. The debate in eight sections of book provides a link between US-Soviet hostility during the intense period of Cold War and Indo-Pak antagonistic relations. The relative examination of the deterrence forces between Moscow-Washington and New Delhi-Islamabad, and their position in the intense period antagonistic relations between the states are the innermost idea of this study. The author, in his investigations identifies several aspects

coupled with the dynamics of the prime factors which supported the main rivals of the Cold War to establish a robust deterrence against each other. The end of the Soviet-US tensions shifted the deterrence model of Cold War to South Asia where the regional competitors, India and Pakistan, were seeking appropriate time to publicize their military-oriented nuclear programmes. In this way, the nuclear deterrence in South Asia became one of the significant facets of the world politics.

The entire volume covers the issues of strategic stability, Cold War, arms control and disarmament. Furthermore, it also envelops the nature of South Asian dispute, initiation of nuclear age between New Delhi and Islamabad. Additionally, the efforts of the writer try to forecast the future of nuclear South Asia in the presence of rapidly emerging conventional and non-conventional military capabilities of India and Pakistan by highlighting the salient features of South Asian strategic environment. The nuclear race between New Delhi and Islamabad was inaugurated by India when it introduced its 'Smiling Buddha' in world politics in 1974. Later the chortle of Buddha dragged Pakistan to proclaim its nuclear standing in the region in 1998. Essentially, the Peaceful Nuclear Explosions (PNE) of India and its clandestine involvement in East Pakistan along with 1998 nuclear tests forced Pakistan to introduce its nuclear standings to the international community. The writer, Yamin, in his study, elucidates the historical, theoretical and strategic dynamics of the South Asian nuclear deterrence by adopting the historical lenses.

The first two chapters of the book highlight the historical and theoretical dimensions of the nuclear deterrence and its relevance to the Cold War after formally launching a debate of introduction. In the third and fourth chapters, the writer emphasizes the major strategic developments of the Cold War by studying the detailed record of Soviet-US resentment against each other. The rest of the volume debates the South Asian nuclear race in the presence of Indo-Pak hostile relations. The South Asian portion starts from Chapter Five where the writer roots out the seeds of conflict between New Delhi and Islamabad. Yamin accentuates the list of issue and the circumstances which developed the South Asian region into a nuclear flashpoint. Furthermore, the South Asia portion of the book not only covers the features of nuclear politics, but also discusses the existing nuclear capabilities, the nuclear doctrines, role of extra-regional powers (US, China, etc.), and the position of international community in managing the conflicted Indo-Pak relations. Besides the nuclear potential of India and Pakistan, the writer offers an exhaustive review of conventional forces of both the states. At the end, Yamin tries to envisage the future of South Asian strategic and conventional forces in the presence of Indo-Pak incompatible official conduct. The concluding section of the work attempts to hypothesize the four probable future scenarios which can appear in the region. The scenarios include the Terrorism Related Incidents, Low Intensity Conflict (LIC) Spiralling into War, Blatant Ceasefire

Violation along the LoC/Hostile Manoeuvres IB Leading to War, and Renewed Nuclear Tests.

The South Asian nuclear deterrence, on one side, developed the region strategically stable by making the war less likely between India and Pakistan, on the other, the opposing national standings of the authorities from New Delhi and Islamabad translated the clash into low intensity conflict in the post nuclear era. According to author, the South Asian nuclear deterrence has its genesis in Cold War where the realist conjecture of the Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) played a significant role.

The work of the writer, based on more historical and less analytical approach, is lacking a non-traditional aspect of South Asian nuclear deterrence which is essential to construct in the contemporary nuclear discussion of world politics. The addition to the existing debate of South Asian nuclear deterrence, Yamin's participation is commendable. The laudable intellectual contribution of Yamin cleared the Pakistan's position and its major concerns in the South Asian nuclear politics. Moreover, the balanced approach of Yamin, in his book, provides rational and logical survey of the issue and reasons which are responsible of Pakistan's nuclear programme.

It's a comprehensive study to know the nature of South Asian nuclear deterrence and its historical strings. It is hard to comparatively evaluate the work of Yamin with the existing intellectual district of South Asia due to its worth of analysis and the systematic techniques of scrutinize the strategic history of South Asian and its connections to the Cold War which is utterly a non-traditional and cogent level of analysis. The writer's style of examining the Cold War model of deterrence in the South Asian context demonstrates the impressive thoughts of his intellectual potential which has added a chapter to the unending strategic history of India-Pakistan.

Attiq-ur-Rehman,
Senior Instructor at Department of International Relations,
NUML, Islamabad.

HUMAN SECURITY IN PAKISTAN

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Human security is an evolving scholarship that links various domains such as academia, intelligentsia and policy spheres. Although there have been some arguments on human security since the end of World War II, yet the demise of Cold War saw an extended discussion on the subject. Today, it has evolved into a sort of independent discipline of social sciences, and has also found some applicability in a few states. However, this concept is somewhat new to Pakistan's academic and policy domains. *Human Security in Pakistan* by Ehsan Mehmood Khan is the first comprehensive book on this issue in the country. It has added significantly to the ongoing international debate on the concept of human security, which is far from over.

The author has taken up the task to highlight the significance of human security, which the academia has least focused on. Ehsan asserts that ostensibly the state security overrides human security. By spending extravagantly on armaments to strengthen traditional security, it looks hard to spare resources for human security. That is why the act of state sometimes becomes challengeable. Nevertheless, he notes, these foremost facets of security i.e. state security and human security can and must complement each other. He dexterously knits the relationship between human security and human rights (p.24). In support of his argument, the author has used valid and persuasive parameters to unveil disastrous situation of human security in Pakistan.

Ehsan Mehmood Khan's theoretical approach by incorporating Copenhagen School's Securitization Theory punctuates that the challenges to the individuals and communities emanate not only from external threats but also from the internal conflicts, human rights abuses, diseases and epidemics, natural calamities, poverty and malnutrition, which endanger the human security (p.27). The discussion on the Islamic Construct of Human Security (p.37) provides a robust building block to the theoretical and conceptual frame of the book. The author notes, "The first universal and comprehensive Charter of Human Security can be found in the Last Sermon of the Holy Prophet (PBUH). It laid down the basic concept and sound parameters of security of life, honour and property irrespective of colour of skin, caste or creed, or community of a people. It also includes personal security, women security and economic security of everyone, whether male or female, minor or adult, and rich or poor, irrespective of religion."

To determine the extent of human security, the constitution of a country provides the best index or yardstick at national level, and the United Nations Charter at international level. Pakistan's Constitution has enough

articulation about human security but the situation on ground is totally different (p.49). Ehsan contends that the people still do not enjoy the civic amenities in their daily life. His narration of the plight of Pakistani people, that masses have been exploited since 1947 in the name of modernization, Islamization, democracy and development, is pretty precise. Pakistan's debt-trapped economy and public sector enterprises (PSEs) are immersed in loss and surviving.

While formulating the human security framework for Pakistan (Chapter 2), the author's fine-tuned variance of Human Security in Pakistan into political security, economic security, health security, education security, energy security, gender security, children security, community security and environmental security. These are the areas where the country is faced with serious challenges to its profile and practice of human security. This framework is both instructive and normative. It can be applied to other developing countries, too. This country-specific frame is an extension of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)'s human security paradigm, which has found detailed and deliberate discussion in the book.

Pakistan came into being as a result of politico-constitutional struggle by the people. This struggle has continued through the years of independence, and is virtually spanned over seven decades, but has not been able to attain the desired mark of political security. The author pinpoints the role of various players, structures and human agencies in obstructing the political progression of Pakistan, which eventually led to a weak democratic archetype. The role of ghost voters and rigging in elections is but one of the sore issues.

Economic security of a majority of citizens is at the low ebb due to widespread poverty, stagflation, price-hike, lower buying power and increasing unemployment. The extremely destitute people are compelled even to sell their children and body organs such as kidneys. The author rightly presents extremism in Pakistan on the basis of religion, language and race. Sectarian strife and inhuman killing of minorities have shaken the pillars of state structure. Islam treats all men equally irrespective of caste, creed, colour of skin or belief. However, there is a deeply ingrained caste system in the country, which has socio-economic as well as political security implications for the weaker communities (p.125). He aptly reveals the plight of women in the Pakistani society and presents the human rights index to validate that Pakistan ranks among the countries where violence against women is rampant.

Children security is affected by several factors. Children are trafficked to some of the Arab states to use them as child jockeys. While the Constitution of Pakistan notes that no child below the age of 14 years shall be engaged in any factory or mine or any other hazardous employment, the reality on ground is totally different (p.149). Ehsan narrates Pakistan's multiple crises engulfing the food security e.g. sugar crisis, wheat crisis, rice crisis, cotton crisis, fertilizers crisis and many more that erupt often, but the successive governments repeatedly failed to cope with these crises. Food security is also affected by economic insecurity, environmental insecurity and lack of modern

tools and techniques of agriculture. Other areas of security like education and health are not different from the already mentioned subsets of human security.

In the concluding chapters, Ehsan Mehmood Khan adroitly proposes remedies to cope with all the challenges that have plagued Pakistan's human security. The author's use of statistics from credible sources, and insightful analysis of deteriorated situation of human security in Pakistan makes this book valuable. It is recommended that this precious work should be included in the curriculum for students, and must be studied by scholars, researchers, security analysts, military and civil services officials, as well as the policymakers.

Dr. Musarat Ameen
Assistant Professor at the Department of Peace and Conflict Studies,
National Defence University (NDU), Islamabad.

