

## **BOOK REVIEW**

Prem K. Budhwar, *Making of a Diplomat: Hone Your Skills* (New Delhi: Konark Publishers Pvt. Ltd, 2012), Pages: 178, Price: Rs. 295.

The book under review is the fifth book by the author; the earlier ones including a travelogue and a history of Kumaon Hills. The slim 178-page book is a practical and useful guide for burgeoning as well as seasoned diplomats to competently deal with unfamiliar surroundings and unexpected developments.

In India, as in most other countries, the entry in the Foreign Service is through competition. After selection to the service, the young entrant is put through a rigorous training programme which covers the study of a foreign language, courses on history and international relations and some familiarisation with the burning issues of the day. However, the practical tips for leading life in a foreign land as a diplomat are normally not part of a training course. Diplomats are expected to learn on the job either by observation or through guidance from the seniors.

The book seeks to fill this gap and offers a clear and self explanatory reference manual to both, prepare for a career as a diplomat and also to quickly adapt to the life in a foreign land. In nineteen Chapters, the author has given a comprehensive set of answers to numerous queries which would normally arise in the mind of a novice unfamiliar with what a diplomat's life entails.

First four Chapters of the book offer a pithy overview of what diplomatic life is all about. In the 'Introduction' the author takes the reader through his own experience after joining the coveted Indian Foreign Service (IFS) in 1962. Training for the new entrants to the Foreign Service at that time was rather not very precisely structured. There was no Foreign Service Institute which came into existence only in 1986.

In the 'Introduction' as well as in Chapters III and XVIII, the book deals squarely with the changing profile of the IFS officers. This has been mainly due to the possibility of writing the Union Public Service Commission (UPSC) examination in Hindi and other regional languages as well as the reduction in the marks for interview. The author is objective when he advocates the importance of facility in communicating in English for any Diplomat. This is not an issue of social justice but of competence to project India's national interests abroad. Even in non-English speaking countries,

officials and policy makers dealing with foreigners have some fluency in the English language. In such an environment, to field a player in the Indian team with inadequate knowledge of English language is to saddle the Indian diplomat with a handicap for his entire career.

The author makes a strong case that, it is time that UPSC takes a good look at the present system of recruitment to different services and makes an attempt to match the skills set of an applicant to the essential requirements of a service.

A reading of the initial thirty-six pages of the book would be very rewarding to any applicant while opting for Foreign Service. The author points out that for most Indians, a diplomat is an unknown species and Foreign Service is totally unfamiliar territory. The book provides in a nutshell both the personality requirements to become a successful diplomat as well as the pleasures and perils of life away from one's homeland.

The author has pointed out the changing status and job profile of diplomats. Till the invention of telegraph in the nineteenth century, an envoy was a Monarch's personal confidant and served as the eyes and ears of his master. Over the years, the diplomatic service in most countries has become more professional offering a lifelong career. Diplomats now deal with very technical subjects such as trade, climate change, Human Rights, etc.

The Chapter 'A Diplomat' lists the desirable attributes of a successful diplomat covering his appearance, general awareness, communication skills, credibility, adaptability and leadership qualities. These traits are an asset in pursuing any career but these have a greater importance in the Foreign Service.

Chapter IV 'Different Aspects of Diplomacy' offers in a capsule the description of actual work of a diplomat. While all diplomats start their career as generalists, it would have been useful for the reader to have an explanation of the importance of specialisation as one progresses in the career. For a satisfying career planning, it is highly recommended that a diplomat specialises in at least one region (e.g. Africa, Latin America, East Asia, Central Asia, etc.) and one specialty (e.g. Trade, Environment, Human Rights, etc.)

Chapter V onwards, the book deals with practical situations faced by diplomats in their daily routine. The importance of protocol has been emphasised as it is an important aspect of a diplomat's work. The Chapter on 'Hospitality' is long with twenty-one pages and offers useful tips for both the diplomat and the spouse.

In the Chapter on 'Joining at a New Station' very useful tips have been listed which are worthy of perusal even for seasoned experienced diplomats. One additional point while designing visiting cards is to have one side of the card printed in the local language. This would be much appreciated in most countries where the official work is conducted in their own languages.

The Chapter on the 'Role of a Foreign Service Wife' has nuggets of invaluable advice. No other service places so many demands on a spouse. An articulate, intelligent and presentable spouse is a priceless asset for a diplomat in widening one's social circle.

The book underscores the importance of proper selection of cities and events for local tours. Local tours should be planned with a clear objective. Often it works well if a Head of Mission visits a University for a lecture and combines it with an Indian film screening or cultural programme deploying the talent available locally. In this Chapter, the author has given sound advice to Heads of Mission not to visit those cities frequently where we have a Consul General. When an Ambassador attempts to circumscribe the legitimate ambit of a Consul General, it often gives rise to avoidable misunderstanding.

In the Chapter on 'Diplomatic Contacts' it would have been useful had there been more elaboration of the right approach on a diplomat interacting with dissidents or opposition leaders. In preparing for important visits, equanimity and a non-perplexed personality are of utmost value. The author rightly cautions on page 129: "Be prepared for last minute demands and requirements ...."

The Chapter on 'Changing Profile of IFS' is well balanced. The author underscores the fact that 'diplomacy today requires considerable professionalism and expertise'. The author is anguished that the Foreign Service no longer attracts the top ranks after the UPSC examination. But, perhaps what is more important is that those who join IFS do it willingly with full knowledge of what the life of a diplomat entails.

The lucidly written book would be very practical to aspiring civil servants to get some clarity about the role and life of a diplomat so that they make an informed choice while opting for the Foreign Service. The book should be compulsorily read by all the new entrants to the foreign services of India and other developing countries. Several Chapters of the book particularly on Protocol and Hospitality would be useful to executives also in the corporate world.

*Making of a Diplomat* is a commendable contribution to the available literature, efficacious and instrumental for a new entrant to the Foreign Service in acquiring the skill set and knowledge required for smooth transition from a greenhorn to a consummate diplomat.

SKANDR TAYAL  
Former Ambassador of India to Republic of Korea  
and currently Visiting Professor  
Department of East Asian Studies,  
University of Delhi.

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Muchkund Dubey, *India's Foreign Policy: Coping with the Changing World*, (New Delhi: Pearson Education, 2013), Pages: 320, Price: Rs. 699.

This book, by a former Foreign Secretary and a noted scholar on foreign affairs, is the first in a series of books on 'India and World' which the author intends to write. The author states that this volume is not a complete text on India's foreign policy as it leaves out certain important subjects concerning India's neighbours, regional organisations, multilateralism under the United Nations, new international economic order, security and disarmament etc. Pakistan, by his own admission, is a significant omission as he feels, somewhat, unprepared at this time. He plans to write a separate book on each of the subjects mentioned.

He, further states that the purpose of this book, and for that matter of the series intended by him, is to present a scholastic study of the topics covered by him including the current state, future challenges and strategies. It is not a collection of "juicy anecdotes of a retired diplomat" or a first-hand account of events in which he has been either a participant or a witness. Nor is this a history of India's relations with countries or various multilateral organisations although the requisite contextualisation has been undertaken by him. As he remarks in the introduction, he intended this book to be seen as "the only durable legacy of [his] thoughts, beliefs and perceptions." He is an accomplished diplomat with vast experience in handling bilateral and multilateral affairs at the highest levels of decision-making as well as an academician engaged in following the latest trends in global affairs and development issues. Therefore, his treatment of the subjects in this book displays scholastic depth and a practitioner's insight. He is keen - not without a dash of passion - to contribute to the ongoing animated discourse in India, both amongst the intelligentsia as well as the broader public, on the arguments and the counter-arguments about the choices before our country in the current fluid and uncertain times in global affairs.

The subjects, in this volume are of critical interest to anyone who is interested in the future of India and which have been handled with an impressive wealth of information and current data. The interpretation of policy and its context has also been dealt with great efficacy. The first two chapters of his book deal with his broader philosophy and approach both to India's foreign policy in general as well as towards its neighbours. There are two chapters on Bangladesh, one dealing with domestic issues and the other, interestingly,

exclusively with Indo-Bangladesh economic relations. Two chapters on Indo-US relations and on the civil nuclear deal are well written. Another chapter is on Indo-Soviet/Russian relations. One chapter is on India and China and their uneasy but critically important relationship; and, there is a separate chapter on China's economic policies since the communist revolution and different phases of its liberalisation programme which prepared it for the era of globalisation. A chapter has been devoted to the United Nations (UN) as a foreign policy arena for India. In yet another chapter, he has compared and contrasted the earlier divergent perspectives of India and Japan on nuclear weapons and disarmament which, however, the changed strategic environment, are not any more that divergent. In the last chapter, he has narrated the history of the Indian Government's approach to the Diaspora; nature of the latter's engagement with the motherland and has made some important recommendations.

Undoubtedly, the richness of details marshalled in each of these chapters will be rewarding for serious students and for lay readers interested in the subjects dealt there; descriptions are accurate and the author's grip on the facts is firm. The survey of global developments in the various chapters is, indeed, masterful and reason enough for the reader to plough through them. Whilst the narratives have been well crafted, the author's fundamental assumptions, informing these narratives, have been articulated in the first two chapters with his characteristic forthrightness.

The promotion of national interest, as the fundamental purpose of foreign policy, is a holistic exercise. In India's case, the foreign policy was inspired by the ideals and vision of the leaders of the independence movement reflecting the finest elements of its cultural and philosophical heritage; independent India's world outlook and the agenda stemmed from the ethos of the unique political mobilisation of its people, during the freedom struggle, which was inclusive, tolerant, non-violent, the poor and the disadvantaged-centric, genuinely democratic and aiming at winning the hearts of the colonial masters. The author says this agenda combined national interest and the broader objective of a just and equitable world order, the notion of global governance and the world as a single-family of humankind; the most significant strivings of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) were in the areas of development, peace, disarmament, decolonisation and strengthening of multilateralism under the UN. Notwithstanding the rising international profile of India in recent times, the author recognises the cumulative impact of belied promises of the Indian leadership, domestic constraints from unbalanced economic growth and of the Western, especially the US,

manipulation of the globalisation process in a unipolar, post-Cold War world on India's foreign policy space. The other challenges in the current international environment are the decline of multilateralism as evident in the marginalisation of the UN, frontloading of the Western economic agenda in international negotiations, the diminution of nation states in the foreign policy outlook of the Western countries, new regionalism, elite-centric governance within states and growing tensions due to mismatch between global military and economic power equations; 2001 marks the beginning of the end for the US of history's unipolar moment.

Listing out the pressures applied on India, his prescription is to strengthen the UN, fashion the new international financial architecture, nuclear weapon-free world and to combat protectionism and neo-protectionism which is also manifested in the climate change negotiations; all of these challenges are to be addressed through the building up of consensus in the NAM and the G-77. India needs to work with the new regional organisations and needs to strengthen the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) which should be critical in India's foreign policy framework. He is chary of advocacy regarding India's quest for global status by following a certain route of maintaining certain aloofness vis-a-vis the NAM and to seek strategic partnership with US and to put high faith in institutions, such as the G20, dominated by the developed countries, to carve and establish a new world order, both political and economic. Rather, he wants India's integration with the world economy at "axes of [its] choice", that is, not to rely excessively on foreign private investment for development but to augment domestic savings and to work for a domestic demand-driven economy.

He wants India not to become a camp follower of the Western countries advocating pragmatic development of bilateral relations with Russia and China and, most importantly, favours uninterrupted dialogue with immediate neighbours with sensitivity towards them even whilst protecting the country's interests. In the changed international environment, the author wants greater transparency and wider participation in foreign policy-making and is critical of the tendency of misleading the public on issues of vital national importance. In the same vein, he derides attempts, in the name of 'out-of-the-box' thinking, to align the country's policies with those of the Western powers. In other words, he wants the conduct of Indian foreign policy to be characterised by flexibility and nimbleness, to be true to its original values and not to be overwhelmed by the current environment of information saturation of a particular orientation.

The book is, therefore, an important contribution to the current debate about the future directions of our foreign policy. In calling for revisiting our current presuppositions with regard to our global role, for our quest for a place on the international high table, it raises concerns that this pursuit might be at the cost of our strategic autonomy, a concern which was also focussed on by the authors of the long essay called 'Nonalignment 2.0'. However, it offers a different perspective, covering the entire spectrum of issues from domestic politics and economic development to external challenges from near and afar. With the wealth of information and insight, this contribution should generate a healthy debate in India about our future and the perils of group-think in the current media environment.

Since this book, as has been described, is the first in the series, it is hoped that the following volumes would address the futuristic scenarios thrown up by the extreme fluidity of global developments, some of which have been brought about by the inexorable march of technology and the others by ideologies blinkered by the triumphalism of the victors of the Cold War. The challenges of global governance are rooted not only in divisiveness and distrust between major players but in the shrinking time-horizons of the threats to humanity which are beyond capacities of individual countries to handle. The debate within the strategic community in India, as indeed elsewhere, is about the dichotomy between the cherished values of a society and the currency of raw power which propels relationship between sovereign nations. The question, required to be addressed, is as to why things have turned out to be the way they have, given the wherewithal to uphold our – and, that of the other developing countries' – cherished values. Is India alone responsible for this and can India alone mobilise the other developing countries, beset as they are with their own compulsions, to secure the objectives held dear by the author? He has, rightly, listed out our priorities and has advocated a flexible and nimble conduct of foreign policy remaining wary of the West-dominated globalisation-speak.

Challenges before our policy makers arise from a deteriorating security environment, weakened institutions and rise of non-state actors. This situation of systemic collapse, described as the "post-Westphalian Long War" by security analysts, spawns processes requiring the policy maker to apply a policy against an unpredictably shifting landscape and cast of characters. This unpredictability, for it to be handled effectively, necessitates improvement of our coordination capability – a capacity ardently advocated by the author under the title 'Basic Approach' in his first chapter. This reviewer feels that this capability needs to be seamless across the entire spectrum of government



departments/agencies for better collation of information, analysis and co-ordinated action to handle a given situation. It is very much the content of discourse – both within and outside the country – about constant up gradation of the foreign policy-making machinery through creation of capacities which can be mobilised on ‘plug-in-and-play’ basis at short notice to address the challenges described by the author to cope with the changing world.

YOGENDER KUMAR

Former Ambassador of India to the Philippines,  
to Namibia and to Tajikistan.  
Former Senior Directing Staff at the N.D.C.,  
New Delhi

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Rajeswari Pillai Rajagopalan, *Clashing Titans – Military Strategy and Insecurity among Asian Great Powers*, (New Delhi: KW Publishers), 2012, Pages: 367, Price: Rs. 1,190.

In keeping with the growing realisation – and perhaps reluctant acceptance in most Western capitals – that the twenty-first century will be an Asian century, President Obama announced in October 2011 that the United States will rebalance its global strategy and ‘pivot to Asia’. Since then, Defence Secretary Leon Panetta has indicated that the bulk of the US Navy will redeploy from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean and the US has been strengthening its relations with Asian countries. These moves are widely seen to be designed to counter China’s growing power and influence as well as marked assertiveness in its maritime neighbourhood, including the South China Sea. In response to China’s rise and uncharacteristic belligerence, its neighbours have begun to upgrade their military capabilities and simultaneously reinforce their relations.

Like Henry Kissinger had predicted, the centre of gravity of the world is gradually shifting from the Atlantic to Asia. The political, economic and military interplay between the major Asian powers, including China, India, Japan, Russia and the US, will define the emerging contours of the geo-strategic landscape. In this context, Rajeswari Rajagopalan’s meticulously researched book *Clashing Titans: Military Strategy and Insecurity among Asian Great Powers* is timely and provides a unique Indian perspective on a subject of immense significance.

*Clashing Titans* takes stock of the military modernisation programmes of four major Asian powers – China, Japan, Russia and the US; attempts to understand their military strategies and provides an analysis of the mutual suspicions and insecurities being generated by the emerging military postures; and theorises how these military powers as well as India might interact in future. Individual chapters on the four Asian powers look into the current threats and challenges confronting each of them and those likely in future, the military strategies adopted by them and the modernisation efforts underway to respond to emerging threats and the likely effectiveness of the planned responses. The book also analyses the foreign policy aspects of the responses planned by the major powers and those interacting with them, especially their strategic partnerships – a much abused term today – and their military alliances.

The chapters on China and the US, which are abridged versions of the author’s earlier books *Dragon’s Fire: Chinese Military Strategies in Asia* and *Uncertain Eagle: US Military Strategy in Asia*, respectively, are the most

illuminating. As a pre-eminent Asian power, the US has undoubtedly contributed hugely to peace and stability in Asia through power projection, the forward presence of its armed forces and unwavering military alliances, primarily with Japan, South Korea and Taiwan. However, America's capacity to maintain its regional pre-eminence is gradually starting to erode, even as China's military capabilities are growing rapidly stronger. The author correctly notes that China's anti-access and area denial strategies – particularly the threat posed to carrier battle groups by the deployment of the DF-21D Anti-Ship Ballistic Missile (ASBM) in large numbers – are rapidly undermining US responsiveness.

While analysing how China's military modernisation and evolving strategies affect Indian security, the author states that India's standing within South Asia has been adversely impacted, that China might make new territorial claims, the emergence of a possible G-2 (China-US) scenario in international security will have a negative impact and that a growing Russia-China partnership will have "tactical and strategic implications for India." While the attempt at G-2 cooperation in Asia was an early blunder in President Obama's first administration, the others are low probability and low impact scenarios.

The core truth facing India is that a militarily powerful China, which is also an economic powerhouse, continues to remain its foremost military threat as long as the unresolved territorial and boundary dispute between the two countries is not resolved satisfactorily. India must upgrade its military strategy from dissuasion to deterrence and speed up its own military modernisation if a disaster like that of 1962 is to be avoided in the eventuality that there is another border conflict between the two countries. However, it must be unambiguously stated that the probability of conflict is low even though its possibility cannot be altogether ruled out.

Overall, this book, the third in a series from the Observer Research Foundation (ORF), provides new insights into the complexities of great power interaction in Asia and the insecurities that such interaction is generating. A chapter on Indian military modernisation and military strategy would have made it even more complete. Policy makers will do well to read this book and assimilate the finer nuances of great power competition highlighted in it.

GURMEET KANWAL

Adjunct Fellow,

Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS),

Washington, D.C.

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Ajay Lele and Namrata Goswami (Eds.), *Imagining Asia in 2030: Trends, Scenarios and Alternatives*, (New Delhi: Academic Foundation and Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, 2011), Pages: 580, Price: Rs. 1295.

Credence undoubtedly goes to editors for taking on the onerous task of predicting what the future holds for a region that comprises unpredictable powers. This work should get its due acknowledgment for its ability to bring to the table a forward looking theme that will generate intense debate and discussion among the scholars thereby adding further perspective to the existing discourse. This work therefore differs from the mundane that focuses on analysing issues and events in hindsight. The book is neatly and methodically delineated into nine sections – each deliberating important issues and challenges facing the international community in the twenty-first century – ranging from Environment, Economy, Demography, Society, Technology, Security, Geopolitics and Alternative Scenarios for 2030.

However, the editors could have outlined more elaborately the context in which this work was needed by detailing how Asia is increasingly becoming the primary playground of power politics in the twenty-first century. Providing the current context would have enabled the common readers to connect better with the alternate scenarios and trends outlined through the various chapters of the book. Additionally, the editors could have also provided their rationale for choosing 2030 as the base year for assessing the future instead of 2050 or 2075. This point becomes important in the context of an issue like environmental change where a number of scientific assessments over global warming and rising temperatures have been made with reference to the year 2050.

The first section deals with climate change, its impact on the environment, the complications over an effective response due to the need for energy security among nations and a particular focus on water security. One wonders why there has been insufficient focus on food insecurity and its implications. This is increasingly becoming an important issue for Asian powers such as India and China. An important point to note is the title of Stephen Harrison's chapter which differs from the content page where it is titled "Climate Change and Implications for Security" in comparison to the chapter page (p. 17) where the sub-title "An Indian Dimension" appears along with the above main title. This is misleading for the reader as the chapter subsequently does not detail

India adequately as a case study. Mention of India's population, reliance on monsoons and river systems for its agriculture and industry (p. 18) and the Himalayan glaciers (p. 19) are all just passing references. There is no mention of the vulnerability of farmlands near the coastline to flooding due to rising sea levels. Keeping the theme of the book in mind, the author has failed to highlight the implications of potential conflicts over Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ) in the South China Sea and the Far East and the threat of small island states like Maldives, Tuvalu and the Solomon Islands in the region going underwater. The author, however, rightly observes that there cannot be a uniform response to the global challenge posed by climate change as countries are at different levels of development and the risks vary across diverse regions.

Uttam Kumar Sinha looks at *Water Security in Asia 2030* by picking the Indus and Ganga-Brahmaputra-Meghna river basins as case studies. The author highlights the looming hydro conflicts in the region especially involving the South Asia countries and China. A point which could have been elaborated in more detail while discussing the importance of China (pp. 32–36) is how the lack of water for its north regions as compared to its south might push Beijing to be more adventurous and assertive in the future.

The second section deals with growing economies, the impact of globalisation, the challenge of poverty and the issue of equity in Asia. By largely focusing on India and China, Nayan Chanda provides a compelling description of the evolution of their economies. Mohan Guruswamy traces the role of China and the US in creating an economic recession and its implications for the Indian economy. A point to ponder over for the editors has been the lack of focus on the Far East (Japan and South Korea) and the South East Asian (Asian Tigers) economies which makes this section appear incomplete to the reader. Nayan Chanda while discussing the major issues for India and China in the future (pp. 58–61) has not laid emphasis on how both countries also carry the historical baggage of bilateral problems including the border issues. The author has also not highlighted how both countries have increasingly shown the tendency to compete rather than cooperate especially when it comes to addressing energy challenges.

Adrian Gheorghe's chapter emphasises on how nations have to increasingly focus on critical infrastructure protection and the vulnerability posed by the advent of Information Communication Technologies (ICT). The author, despite providing a comprehensive analysis of the European critical electricity infrastructure (pp. 87–95), could have chosen an Asian case study keeping the focus of the larger theme of the book in mind. While also discussing the policy recommendations, the author should have pointed out on how the

governments need to educate and increase the awareness of risks among the society.

The third section deals with the changing demography of modern societies, the impact of migration within and across borders and the trend of urbanisation and its implications. Philip Longman provides a compelling argument on how the falling birth rates and increasing life expectancy in developed and developing societies is causing demographic transformation. The author deliberates the implications of these developments on the global power distribution and geopolitical relations among nations. He segregates his analysis into best case, base line and worst case scenario for the next decade (2010–20) while predicting how the 2020s will be the most challenging globally. His observation on how the declining youth population might diminish the appeal of radicalism is interesting but debatable (p.109). The author goes on to provide a more medium and long term analysis over the next twenty to fifty years (2030–50). An important point to consider is that the chapter is focused more globally than specifically on Asia. A more in-depth analysis of other Far East and South East Asian demography would have made it more detailed.

Judith Brown focuses on the movement of population and the increasingly influential role of Diasporas. There are certain instances of overlap with the previous chapter especially in her assessment of decreasing birth rates and increasing life expectancy (pp. 123–124). However, the author has attempted to focus more on Asia although she has narrowed it down to South Asia and more specifically to India, Pakistan and Bangladesh and the implications of their rapidly spreading Diasporas globally. A more elaborate assessment of other Asian countries was required to make this a more comprehensive experience for the general reader. Sarita Azad and Narendra Sisodia deliberate the impact of growing urbanisation on modern societies. Dwelling on the drivers and trends, the authors rightly point out that poor infrastructure, unemployment and deficient medical facilities are leading factors for urbanisation. However, many of the issues touched upon as part of the four different scenarios for 2030 are repetitive from the earlier parts of the chapter and could have been avoided.

Section four deliberates the evolution and composition of society in Asia, the role and relevance of religion and its impact on governance in the region. It would have been interesting if there was a chapter on unstable (failed) states and the lack/challenges of governance in this section. Catarina Kinnvall and Ted Svensson's chapter provides a fascinating interpretation of the various perspectives espoused particularly by Neo-Gandhians and constructivist historians (pp. 186–187) as the basis for a new Indian unity or what is truly

representative of an Indian nation. An overview of the experiences on similar issues in other Asian societies would have made this chapter more comprehensive and exciting. Bilveer Singh in his chapter explores the various religious trends, the impact of political ideologies of various religions and the rapid rise of religious extremism in Asia. The author provides a more representative outlook of the region in comparison to the earlier chapter and focuses on Indonesia as a specific case study in South East Asia. Although, other countries are discussed briefly, the lack of focus on the impact of religion and the growth of religious extremism in Pakistan, Bangladesh, China (Xinjiang) and in Myanmar makes both chapters appear incomplete.

The fifth section deals with the advent of technology and its impact on modern societies in the twenty-first century. Roland Heickero makes a comprehensive analysis of the impact of ICT and its implications for cyber security. The author could have elaborated more by picking up specific case studies including how India and China are dealing with Cyber Security. In conclusion, his attempt at analysing a situation of a proxy cyber war breaking out by 2030 is interesting but debatable since countries cannot be assumed to always play the 'zero sum game' even if it is in the cyber space. David Fuente's chapter discusses the discovery of renewable technologies and its attendant implications on energy security for nations. It would have been interesting if the author had explored and provided his perspective on the debate around 'Jatropha plants for bio diesel'. Again, Ajay Lele's detailed analysis on the Future of Asian space powers could have been more relevant under Section eight (Asian Militaries and the Future of War) as part of the discourse on the future of Land, Air and Naval powers. Additionally, a chapter on the impact of ICT on the fourth estate leading to the emergence of the social media and its implications on governance and the need for effective domestic public diplomacy would have provided crucial inputs to the readers.

The sixth section elucidates on the dangers posed by the manufacturing of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) on the international security environment. Pervez Hoodbhoy's chapter debates the rationality or irrationality of the presence of nuclear weapons in the twenty-first century. The author traces a change in the mindset of the United States towards the relevance of nuclear weapons by highlighting the arguments of the four horsemen and President Obama's Prague call. Arguing that the threat of proliferation and the stray use of a nuclear weapon by rogue actors are still high, he observes that a fissile material cut off treaty will be the key to bringing about a global agreement that allows peaceful uses of nuclear energy while firmly shutting out the development of more nuclear weapons. It would have been interesting

if he had developed alternate scenarios of the progress (or the lack of it) made by the international community and especially the Asian powers (considering there are four–five nuclear powers in the region) by 2030. Sumit Ganguly and David Fidler’s chapter takes off from the earlier chapter by deliberating on the future of the nuclear non-proliferation regime including the problems faced on the Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT), Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and the Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty (FMCT). Identifying the influence of embedded and geopolitical multipolarity on the discourse of non proliferation, the authors highlight critical reasons why Indian and Chinese security interests have proved to be an obstacle on issues of non-proliferation and disarmament. Angela Woodward’s assessment of the threat of biological and chemical terrorism in Asia makes this entire section an insightful read.

Section seven describes the evolution of Asian militaries and the nature of wars in the future. Yong-Sup Han’s assessment of changing security threats is focused on the Korean peninsula and specifically on analysing the threat perception of North Korea. Instead of providing a detailed perspective of the changing profile of the armies (pp. 345–348) the author has focused on the economy and threat perceptions for the Asian countries. It is only in the conclusion that the author briefly touches upon the changing missions, strategies and capabilities of Asian armies (p. 349). The title of this chapter hence tends to be misleading.

John Geis’s chapter on Asian Air power in 2030 largely provides an American perspective of the challenges in Asia. The author describes how a rising China might face several obstacles in creating a harmonious society internally and its uncertain handling of global responsibilities externally. The author identifies three significant challenges such as security on its borders, economic growth and its demographic changes that will delay Russia’s attempt at reasserting itself as a world power. Despite the author’s claim as a mere illustration, one fails to understand why Nigeria has been chosen as a case study to highlight the challenges posed by failed states (pp. 363–367). First, threat perceptions differ across regions and an African country cannot be used as an example to highlight what will happen in Asia. Second, there is more stability in governance across Asia as compared to Africa which makes it highly doubtful whether a conflict along religious fault lines will cause as much regional repercussions.

Vijay Sakhuja provides a balanced and detailed assessment of the reasons for the growing importance of Asian navies, the current spending trends and finally the emergence of platform centric, technological-operation centric and climate change induced development leading to 2030. Nabanita Krishnan



focuses on seven important countries in Asia to analyse the defence Research and Development (R&D), technology levels and achievements over the last 20 years and its future trends. The chapter is thoroughly researched and is extremely insightful for the general reader. Martin Van Creveld provides a detailed evaluation of how the nature of warfare will evolve in the next 20 years. The author analyses the stability-instability paradox prevailing currently among nations and predicts how the spread of nuclear weapons has led to unsuccessful efforts at developing a ballistic missile shield which is proving to be a costly proposition for countries.

The Eighth section deliberates on how the geopolitics of Asia will evolve by 2030 through the perspectives of three important Asian powers – India, China and Japan and through two important external powers with growing influence in the region – the United States and Russia. Aaron Friedberg provides a compact analysis of an American perspective of Asia in 2030. Evaluates the different scenarios which could develop in Asia, the author discusses the possibilities of a Unipolar Asia dominated by American hegemony in 2030 where he predicts that China despite its increasing capabilities will be unable to sustain this challenge for a long time. One significant challenge that the author misses out is the tense bilateral relations between China and other Asian countries.

A second scenario is where China manages to overcome many of its obstacles to replace the United States as the regional hegemon. This appears highly unlikely in the wake of Obama's Asian Pivot and India's increasing Act East policy. Elucidating upon the possibilities of a bipolar Asia, the author focuses on India and China acting as the two poles in the region by 2030. He rightly points out the possibilities of cooperation rather than conflict between both countries. However, this scenario again appears unlikely as the United States will continue to play an important role especially in the Far East with the assistance of traditional allies like Japan, South Korea and Australia. Another scenario he presents is China and the United States acting as two poles in the region. Although, this is a bigger possibility by 2030, India will look to play an independent role rather than be a junior partner of the United States especially in Asia. Therefore, what appears to be the most likely scenario is a Multipolar Asia dominated by the United States, India and China with other key players characterised by periodic phases of both competition and cooperation.

One cannot understand the rationale behind why Chien-Peng Chung's chapter on the geopolitics of Asia in 2030 from China's perspective and interest is slotted under section nine instead of the earlier section. Again, a number of issues highlighted by the author has already been discussed earlier and

especially in Li Li's chapter on China and India's simultaneous rise. However, credit needs to be given to the author for his attempt, although brief, to present a more representative forecast for Asia including some of the South East Asian countries.

Namrata Goswami makes a valiant attempt to predict if Asia will act as the primary playground of conflicts between great powers in 2030. Her observation that ideology and nationalism, military postures and weak institutions could drive conflict in Asia is worth further introspection. However, the author's cloudburst and dragon fire scenarios along with the wild cards appear extremely farfetched as compared to the rainbow scenario which appears, although debatable, most likely.

Overall the volume, analysing a wide range of issues and trends with great detail, is a must-read for the academia and policy makers.

VENKATLOKANATHAN  
Assistant Professor and Coordinator of the Master's Program  
Department of Political Science  
St. Joseph's College, Bangalore

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