

## ***Book Reviews***

Muthiah Alamgappa and Takashi Inogouchi (eds.), *International Security Management and the United Nation*,  
New Delhi: Manas Publications, 2004.  
489pp. Price Rs.695/-

The study under review tries to explore the assets that the United States possesses to effectively deal with security issues. Since the ability of the United Nations to resolve conflicts depends upon the support of member states, it is imperative to know what states expect from the world body. The study primarily explores the security perspective of the member states, especially of the major powers. It also examines as to how the United States can minimize the volatility of member states and their reluctance to give support in the field of security. It also examines the prospects of organizing and securing a real and effective partnership between the United Nations and member states regarding conflict prevention and conflict management.

The volume under review, offers details of the critique which the United Nations has evolved on its security roles in the immediate post-Cold War period. Some see threatening trends in the strengthening of the powers of the UN Security Council since the Gulf War; others maintain that the Security Council has limits to its effectiveness as a global policeman.

Some elements are highly optimistic about the possibilities for the United Nations to play an even larger role in conflict prevention. They offer an exceedingly broad concept which encompasses development assistance counselling on the process of democratization, political risk analysis providing “early warning” of hot spots, and other forms of institutional support.

The papers in this volume were presented at a symposium hosted by the United Nations University in Tokyo on 8 and 9 November

1996. These represent an instalment of a multi-year project launched by the United Nations University in 1995, the purpose of which is to stimulate thinking about the United Nations in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

We learn from the narrative that the role of the United Nations in bringing peace and security in the world is among its most important missions. The role has evolved substantially since the end of the Cold War, with passage of time, it is likely to change and grow as the United Nations is under attack in the United States and elsewhere, we should not neglect its authentic peace-making potentials. Employing strategies of enhanced consent, United Nations can play a constructive role in forging peace and reconstruction in those areas of the world which are in need of assistance. Avoiding the dangerous and often counter-productive effects of armed imposition, whether unilateral or multilateral, the United Nations can be the legitimizing broker in the making, keeping, and building of a stable peace that takes the first step towards the opening of political space for human rights and participatory communal self-expression.

The author maintains that the United Nations is an instrument of major Westphalia actors. It lends to them the banner of legitimacy for action which presumably serves the interests of major powers, especially the United States. Second, the United Nations is an actor of its own when it can mobilize support and build power bases somewhat independent of member states. Its appeal to just causes and to correct banners often enables the United Nations to surmount the logic and power of Westphalia actors. Although the United Nations enjoy neither the authority to tax nor the authority to conscript, it can sway. Third, the United Nations is an arena in which many weak actors express their complaints and submit their demand — Just like the frameworks of global politics the United Nations does work under three frameworks: Westphalian, Philadelphian and Anti-utopian.

The question is which framework is going to prevail in the next millennium. In all probability, one is globalization, while the other is state protection. Globalization weakens Westphalian actors, since it tends to reduce the relative scope and authority of state sovereignty. Globalization increases the member of those actions which are more than ever before at the mercy of market forces and security dynamics shaped outside the borders. In other words, globalization marginalizes many actors and creates many drop-outs and hollow-outs. These weak

actors then seek state protection and the umbrella of international organizations such as the United Nations.

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George Perkovich; Jessica T. Mathews; Joseph Cirinions,  
Rose Goettemeller and Jon B. Wolfsthal,  
*Universal Compliance: A Strategy for Nuclear Security*,  
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005,  
200pp. Price not listed.

The book under review, *Universal Compliance: A Strategy for Nuclear Security*, starts with the premise that the United States cannot solve the problem of nuclear proliferation alone. The strategy that will stand the greatest chance of success is one that enjoys the greatest possible degree of international support.

At the outset, the authors bring out that perhaps the most ambitious attempt ever made to extend the civilizing reach of the rule of law, has been the international effort to contain the acquisition of nuclear weapons — the greatest physical force created by humankind! The United States, the Soviet Union, and other states laid the foundation for this mission in the 1960s, with the negotiation of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). In the decades since, states have evolved rules and institutions to govern nuclear exports, safeguard and account for nuclear materials, and control and even to reduce the number of nuclear weapons.

The authors maintain that despite all these precautions and safeguards, there are rising doubts about the sustainability of the non-proliferation regimes. There are indications that nations with ample technological ability to develop nuclear weapons may be reconsidering their political decision not to do so. For instance, recently some Brazilian and Japanese political leaders have openly suggested that their countries should reweigh their nuclear weapons options. South Korea recently had to admit that its engineers had produced HEU and weapon-grade plutonium outside of International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards, contrary to NPT

requirements. This, discovery rekindled a debate in South Korea as to why it should be restricted from possessing a complete set of fuel cycle capabilities, when its neighbours are not.

Obviously, all these developments cast a heavy shadow over international security. They show that in spite of major ‘successes’ the threat from nuclear proliferation remains all too real and that the prospect of nuclear war has not disappeared with the end of the Cold War. Together with what has occurred in Iran and North Korea, they underline how much more needs to be done to reduce the possibility of nuclear catastrophe to an acceptable level. All nations, including the three unwilling to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty need to be covered. Access to weapons fuel and the means of producing it, needs to be far more tightly limited everywhere. Non-proliferation rules must be extended to individuals and corporations alike.

As things stand, the United States cannot defeat the nuclear threat alone, even with a small coalition of willing partners. It needs sustained cooperation from dozens of diverse nations, including China, Russia, France the United Kingdom and leading states that have far sworn nuclear weapons, such as Argentina, Brazil, Germany, Japan, South Africa and Sweden in order to enforce non-proliferation rules.

By all calculations, success will depend on the United Nations’ ability to marshal legitimate authority that should motivate others to follow. In this context, Francis Fukuyama’s remarks are noteworthy:

Legitimacy is important not simply because we want to feel good about ourselves, but because it’s useful. Other people will follow the American lead, if they believe, it is legitimate; if they do not, they will resist, complain, obstruct, or actively oppose what we do. In this respect, it matters not what we believe to be legitimate, but rather what other people believe is legitimate.

In view of the aforesaid analysis, it becomes abundantly clear that the new strategic aim of non-proliferation policy should be to achieve universal compliance, which seeks to achieve a balance of obligations. Its component policies correct the impression that nuclear weapon states are getting more and more out of the non-proliferation regimes, than at the others. Also, the universal compliance extends the principle of defence in depth that has shaped the non-proliferation regime in decades.

Thus, the NPT commitment, not to acquire nuclear weapons, has been reinforced over the years with the regional nuclear-free zones. In this context, the goal of persuading India, Israel and Pakistan to abandon nuclear weapons, would not be dropped; rather three states, would be

expected to eliminate their nuclear arsenals as and when the United States, China, France, Russia and United Kingdom eliminate theirs. This formulation recognizes the reality that Pakistan will not give up its weapons if India does not do the same. Similarly, India will not, if China does not. Thus, the challenges of non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament are linked with each other.

In strengthening enforcement of nuclear security, the authors recommend to develop model laws to deter nuclear proliferation, pursuant to UN Security Council Resolution, 1540. IAEA must also be encouraged to adopt rules, restricting nuclear assistance to states not in full compliance with NPT obligations.

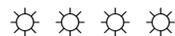
The authors maintain that for evolving tough diplomacy, a revived UN Security Council, must convene a P-5 Summit specify commitment, needed to strengthen non-proliferation mechanism and laws, also, strengthen the monitoring committee, established for UN Security Council Resolution to collect and evaluate state reports, documenting implementation of non-proliferation laws.

By applying the strategy to regional crises, the authors maintain that it is not reasonable that India and Pakistan would choose to reduce these threats simply by eliminating their nuclear arsenals, no matter how much rhetoric and diplomatic pressure, the international community exerts to this end. However, UN Security Council Resolution 1540 clarifies the trajectory these two states should follow. Resolution 1540 mandates all states to protect all nuclear materials from theft and strengthen export controls.

In sum, the book under review, offers a blueprint for rethinking to international nuclear non-proliferation regime. It offers a fresh approach to deal with states and terrorists, nuclear weapons, and fissile materials through a priority action agenda.

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Saparmyrat Turkmenbashy, *Rukhnama*, Second Book,  
Ashkabat: Printing Centre of the Turkmen  
State Publishing Service, 2006,  
438pp. Price not listed.

There are very few heads of state who are writers or authors of books. But in the case of Saparmyrat Turkmenbashy, President of Turkmenistan, we find a scholar who is author of a great book called *Rukhnama*. Its first volume was published in 2003 while the second volume appeared early this year. The present review deals with this latter volume which is subtitled "Spiritual Wealth of Turkmenistan". As for its contents which cover a vast range of topics and are spread over 22 chapters, the author says: "Our discussion this time shall basically cover our spiritual wealth which makes a Turkmen a real Turkmen and values which constitute our manners. If these manners and rules are duly implemented, abundance and affluence will be ours." Side by side with emphasizing the importance of the traditional values of a society, he lays great stress on the acquisition of modern knowledge and reminds his nation that "If you do not benefit from science in the twenty first century, you shall find yourself in difficult situation....Understanding the level science has reached requires more and more serious preparation and education." And he exhorts the Turkmen educators "to ensure that the youths graduating from schools come out ahead of their peers from other countries of the world in terms of science."

Interestingly enough, referring to the foundation and achievements of Turkmenistan since its independence from the Soviet Russia, President Saparmyrat remarks: "After eight centuries, we established the Independent and Permanent Neutral Turkmenistan State on a sound basis and helped our country become one of the most developed states of the world. We left the group of developing countries and became a developed state at the twelfth year of our independence."

The author who is temperamentally a poet, has written this book basically to share his thoughts about a vast variety of topics affecting his people's day to day life and expects them to follow his teachings to translate his vision about the greatness of the Turkmen people in the years to come into a reality. For this purpose, if on the one hand, he reminds them of their glorious historical past, on the other, he goads them into action by alluding time and again to the injustices

they suffered during the Soviet era and inviting their attention to the abundance of opportunities awaiting them to reclaim their past glory and magnificence as a modern nation.

Numerous interesting anecdotes also occur in the narrative of the author. Besides, the book abounds in wise and pithy sayings which if acted upon, no doubt, can go a long way in ensuring a bright future for the Turkmen people.

Towards the end of his book, the President addresses his people in these words:

My dear Turkmen people!  
You are the meaning of my life.  
I am spending my days only for your happiness.”  
My wings are my people.  
My destiny is my people  
Long Live Turkmen people as the world turns!  
Long live the State of Turkmenistan as the world turns.

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Dr. Riaz Ahmad