

Book Reviews

Title: Military Strategy in the Twenty-First Century – The Challenge for NATO
Author: Janne Haaland Matlary and Rob Johnson (EDS)
Publisher: C Hurst & Co, London; Oxford University Press, New York, 2022, 586.

Military Strategy in the new millennium has experienced major upheavals driven by the global dynamics, evolving nature of the threat and quantum leaps in military technologies. The term Revolution in Military Affairs acquires newer meanings as we tread farther in twenty first century.

Great powers and regional military alliances are adapting to these rapid transformations in global strategic dynamics. NATO, the last remaining vestige of Bi-polar Cold War alliances, is compelled to redefine its role as a cohesive military entity, as the strategic priorities shifted between symmetric and asymmetric threats. The shift of threat perception and strategic priorities from Warsaw Pact to the battlefields of Iraq and Afghanistan and back to Ukraine conflict at the doorstep of NATO, demand a comprehensive reappraisal of the dynamics of NATO's threat perceptions and strategies to meet the existing and emerging challenges.

From NATO's perspective, this is a timely book aimed at addressing these very questions. Matlary and Johnson, two leading names among Western strategists, have brought together the work of twenty-seven prominent Western strategists from across the NATO member countries. Their work compiled as a book, provides an interesting mix of perspectives at organisational, regional, sub-regional and country-specific levels.

The book includes brief information about the authors, and a detailed introduction which elucidates the purpose of the book. It presents several themes, covering at times divergent ideas and empirically supported models, for crystallising thoughts to address alliance's strategy for twenty-first century.

The book's introduction, titled: *Military Strategy: Missing in Action?* is co-authored by the editors. This book is divided into three parts, containing twenty-three chapters. Part I, *Political and Military Strategy*, focuses on conceptual issues related to military strategy, and how it can be defined in the context of NATO's strategic setting and difficulties faced in transatlantic relationship and strategy-making. Part II, *Parameters of Military Strategy*, seeks to explain how Europe, and NATO in particular, ought to think about strategy today. Part III, *Military Strategy in NATO Countries*, considers whether NATO states should develop their own national strategies and whether such strategies should complement that of NATO. Should threats below the Article 5 level be tackled by an individual state? and how to relate the same to NATO?

Part I consist of eight chapters: (i) *The Strategic Importance of the Transatlantic Link*; (ii) *US Grand Strategy in the Era of Great Power Competition*; (iii) *Political Risk and Military Strategy: Can Europe Deter and Coerce?*; (iv) *Strategy in the National Security Context: Time for an Adaptive Approach?*; (v) *An Adaptive Approach to Military Strategy*; (vi) *The Making of Military Strategy: The Gravity of an Unequal Dialogue*; (vii) *Why Small European States Need Military Strategy: Theory and Practice*; and (viii) *NATO's Maritime Strategy and Technological Challenges*.

This part analyses the historical and contemporary context of strategic relationship and commonality of interests between NATO member states and the US. The US expects increased commitment and burden-sharing by European states, as it gets increasingly engrossed in its Indo-Pacific (Asia-Pacific) strategy in the changing global security environment. It also focuses on the will and ability of NATO states to fulfil their expected strategic role and address their tendency of risk averseness.

A key area this part focuses on is the nature of strategy and conceptualisation of modern strategic thought. It includes the processes of making military strategy and investigates the missing link between politics and military operations, particularly in Europe. Argument is put forth that a states man and a military officer may not conceptualise strategy in the same way, as they have different understanding and context of the term. It further argues that the use of force is politically constrained, but not politically directed.

Part II contains six chapters: (i) *Nuclear Strategy: The Politics of NATO's Nuclear Use Decision-making*; (ii) *Military Strategy and Conventional Warfare*; (iii) *Military Strategy for Hybrid Confrontation and Coercion*; (iv) *Enhancing European Security? The Strategy of Military Assistance*; (v) *Regional Defence Integration in Scandinavia: Strategic Advantage and Economic Imperative*; and (vi) *Fighting in the Shadows: Between Military Strategy and Muscular Policing*.

This part examines types of threats and strategic needs, and discusses the full scope and parameters of military strategy. The conventional side of military strategy encompasses the cutting-edge evolving technologies and significant effects of hybrid warfare. This part also includes nuclear threat and risks, conceptual problems of evaluating distinctive NATO nuclear decision making, and the role of respective leadership within NATO, compared to national one. How it will affect the credibility, and posits that the process is deliberately kept vague and unresolved, to avoid complexities arising from constraints and preconditions that would threaten to paralyze the decision maker and the Alliance. This part also focuses on the concepts of credibility, deterrence and effects on NATO's nuclear posture, in the aftermath of Russian annexation of Crimea in 2014. An interesting scenario discussed in this part relates to conventional war between NATO and Russia based on Kaliningrad

enclave, and possible outcomes to negotiate a lasting settlement with Russia. In this part, the authors assert that conflict will be marked by Military Coercion through low-intensity operations, irregular and grey zone activities that include hybrid threats like sabotage, and use of proxies. While assessing military integration between NATO states in Chapter 14, the author cites absence of simultaneous existential threat comparable to that of Soviet Union as the cause of regionalisation of strategy within Europe.

Part III comprises nine chapters: (i) *Strategic Thinking in NATO and the New 'Military Strategy' of 2019*; (ii) *Military Strategy in the United States: The Complexity of National Strategy*; (iii) *UK Military Strategy: The Maritime Pivot*, Tim Benbow; (iv) *French Military Strategy under Macron*; (v) *German Military Strategy: Culture Eats Strategy for Breakfast*; (vi) *Polish Military Strategy: Watching the Suwalki Gap*; (vii) *Military Strategy in Denmark: Retaining 'Best Ally' Status with Minimum Spending*; (viii) *Norway's Military Strategy after the Cold War: Between Demise and Revival*; and (ix) *Turkish Military Strategy-making in the 21st Century: Politics, Contexts and Prospects*.

The last part covers country specific strategies vis-à-vis new NATO strategy 2019. This strategy, though classified, is generally considered to encapsulate the so-called 360-degree perspective focusing on Russia, terrorism and other potential 'strategic shocks'. This part examines the structure of the US military strategy, its global responsibilities and demands it places on the US. The part also encompasses UK's strategy and its approach to use of military power. From non-confinement of French strategy to either NATO doctrine or collective European defence (page 380), to Germany's renewed focus on collective defence of NATO (page 402), to Poland's concerns emanating from threats of global nature and unstable neighbourhood on NATO's eastern flank (page 408). This part also focuses on efforts by Scandinavian countries to develop appropriate strategy to defend themselves against Russian aggression subsequent to Russian annexation of Crimea (page 416).

There are three central themes that underpin the entire discussion in this book: (i) The new strategic situation facing the NATO, including global and regional instability, which either effects its collective interests or which could be exploited by rival powers; (ii) Nature of various strategic issues that the governments and militaries will have to solve; and (iii) how military force can achieve strategic ends.

This book offers a unique window to students of strategy into the dynamics and variables that govern the formulation of military strategy, particularly NATO and European military strategy and how the collective strategy is affected by regional and country specific strategic exigencies. **Reviewed by Associate Director Research, Lt Col, (Retd.) Azfar Bilal Qureshi, TI(M), Center for International Strategic Studies, Sindh.**

Title: Rethinking International Political Economy
Author: Benjamin J. Cohen
Publisher: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2022, 192.

University of California, Santa Barbara's Benjamin J. Cohen is a distinguished professor emeritus of political science. He is a well-known expert in the field of international political economy and has written extensively on a variety of subjects, including theories of economic imperialism, sovereign debt, international monetary relations, U.S. foreign economic policy, currency integration, including the field of political economy, additionally has written eighteen novels. In 1963, Cohen graduated with a Ph.D. in Economics from Columbia University and served and held appointments in a number of prestigious academic institutions.

In his introduction to *Rethinking International Political Economy*, Cohen argues that the field of International Political Economy (IPE) is facing a number of challenges, including fragmentation, a lack of consensus, and a lack of policy relevance. He argues that these challenges can be traced back to three core questions: the purpose of the field, the role of diversity, and the agenda of the field. Cohen concludes by arguing that the health of IPE can be restored by addressing these three core questions in a thoughtful and deliberate way. This will require a concerted effort from scholars, practitioners, and policymakers, but it is essential if IPE is to remain a vibrant and relevant field of study. The various perspectives and dispersed research traditions in the subject of IPE, which obstruct effective addressing of global concerns, are highlighted as a crisis in the book. In order to close the gap between economics and political science and to reenergize the discipline for the future, it makes the case for reevaluating IPE's objectives. IPE has numerous confrontations, including animosity between theoretical frameworks, ideological contrasts between orthodox and heterodox approaches, methodological issues, and unresolved arguments over the influence of materialism vs cognition on behavior. Additionally, it is more difficult to predict global trends due to the illogicality between historical and futuristic perspectives. Despite these difficulties, IPE has made notable advancements, such as its global growth into academic institutions, adding new views to the discipline. It has also made tremendous progress in comprehending the operating characteristics of the global economy, producing useful insights.

The book suggests a thorough action plan to treat IPE's ailments and encourage its revival. The book offers a thorough analysis of the problems and successes in the discipline IPE. The author emphasizes the varied and fragmented nature of IPE by examining historical instances, empirical evidence, and theoretical frameworks. The intricacy of the topic is shown via the comprehensive exploration of the various paradigms, theoretical approaches, and research traditions that have influenced IPE. Painstaking analysis is done of both conflicts resulting from various ideologies and common difficulties influencing IPE. The book explores how

methodological variations have restricted the breadth of analysis and inhibited research aims. This dynamic makes it difficult for the discipline to predict and address new global trends and produces conflict between historical and prospective viewpoints.

The book emphasizes the urgent need to revitalize IPE by reevaluating its objectives in light of the challenges highlighted. The author suggests a well-thought-out strategy to deal with these issues. The plan supports cooperation amongst academics with various perspectives and research traditions while acknowledging both the advantages and disadvantages of IPE. Diversity acceptance and public engagement are emphasized as vital components of growth. It is acknowledged that gatekeepers, such as professors, committees, donors, and editors, are important in defining the future of the field. The strategy makes use of rewards and accountability methods to promote diversity and transparency within IPE. The author maintains a rigorous and objective approach throughout the book, which is sufficiently supported by academic research and theoretical frameworks. The broad investigation of various elements in IPE ensures a comprehensive understanding of its complexity. The primary point is reinforced by a detailed analysis of IPE's difficulties and triumphs that reveals its flaws. Taking into account the strengths and flaws of the field, the suggested plan of action provides a potential route for reviving IPE and developing a more involved and cohesive discipline. The book's academic rigors and fair-minded perspective increases its legitimacy and enable it to be a useful addition to the field of international political economy.

The book recognizes that the area of international political economy has a variety of paradigms and viewpoints, some of which can be viewed as competitors. Academics have different perspectives on the optimal strategy for reviving IPE. To develop a more unified and cohesive discipline, others advocate for a more focused concentration on a single paradigm. They are of the opinion that this would result in specific research programme and theoretical framework. Critics, on the other hand, disagree with this notion, contending that such a strategy can marginalize significant ideas and impede intellectual variety. They contend that adopting a set agenda can hinder innovation and prevent the study of novel concepts. Additionally, sceptics warn against employing gatekeepers as leverage out of concern about how it can affect academic work's independence and objectivity. They raise concerns about the potential unintended consequences and difficulties in coordinating efforts among stakeholders. These opposing views challenge the viability of the proposed plan. While the book's proposed strategy presents a thorough and well-considered approach to address IPE's challenges, it is essential to consider these counterarguments and engage in productive debates within the academic community. Embracing open dialogue and exploring alternative strategies can lead to a more inclusive and effective revitalization of IPE.

The book makes a strong argument for revisiting the objectives and course of International Political Economy in order to successfully

address the concerns of the field. It emphasizes the pressing need for field renewal brought on by disparate points of view and scattered research traditions. The goal of the book is to develop a more involved, inclusive, and united IPE discipline by implementing the suggested course of action, which promotes public engagement, values diversity, and engages gatekeepers. The recommended approach should be evaluated seriously, taking into account any potential flaws and practical challenges. The book's lofty ambitions may be opposed by long-standing beliefs and practices in the field, and overcoming hostility among scholars with opposing opinions may need a lot of work and cooperation. Compelling concierges might face societal and cultural barriers to change. Despite potential obstacles, the book makes a valuable contribution to the discipline with its thorough examination of IPE's current state and well-considered plan for its future development. The author's academic rigor and fair-minded approach enhance the book's legitimacy, and the proposed course of action provides a platform for productive discussions and cross-disciplinary partnerships.

Reviewed by PhD Scholar, Sajjad Hussain Awan, National Defence University Islamabad.

Title: Downfall: Lessons for our Final Century
Author: Ilhan Niaz
Publisher: CSCR, Islamabad, 2022, 126.

Ilhan Niaz gives an insightful analysis of the most significant threats facing humanity in the 21st century. The writer is a historian and provides a compelling argument for studying the past to understand the present and prepare for the future. He covers topics related to, climate change, nuclear war, pandemics, and artificial intelligence. He argues that these threats are not distinct issues but interrelated. The author argues that the Global North has thrived at the expense of the Global South, and blames capitalism for the inequality and disasters faced by the latter. Ilhan Niaz's book "Downfall: Lessons for our Final Century" is a collection of seven essays that analyze the reasons behind humanity's impending downfall, with a focus on the exploitation of natural resources by corporations and industrialized states.

In first essay author draws upon the works of four great thinkers to provide insight into this issue. The first is Ibn Khaldun, a 14th-century Arab philosopher who explained how regimes lose rationality in decision-making. The second is Thomas Malthus, an 18th-century English economist who warned about the problem of population growth exceeding the planet's carrying capacity. The third is John Stuart Mill, a 19th-century English philosopher who theorized on the dangers of unlimited economic growth. The fourth is Charles Darwin, a 19th-century English biologist whose work on evolutionary biology demonstrated how human behavior can lead to fatal errors. Through these essays, Niaz provides a historical mirror for the present and predicts a potentially bleak future if humanity does not change its ways.

In 2nd Essay, Niaz argues that a small group of wealthy individuals possess as much wealth as nearly four billion impoverished people, and individuals work harder and longer for comparatively less compensation. 70% of greenhouse gas emissions are produced by 100 large corporations, while those responsible for these injustices converge annually at Davos. Our world is currently in a pre-apocalyptic dystopian state, and without change, we will transition to a post-apocalyptic dystopian state. The high growth model presented by economists will lead to the destruction of planet earth.

The 3rd Essay is about the decision-making ability of humans. Niaz states that there is typically a direct correlation between a state's decision-making and its level of reasoning or logic. The more a state prioritizes logic in its decision-making process, the more likely it is to make sound judgments. On the other hand, if a state places less emphasis on logic and reasoning, there is a greater risk of negative consequences. Leaders who possess wisdom make an effort to understand and acknowledge reality, whereas those who lack wisdom tend to ignore it, often leading to disastrous outcomes. However, the difficulty arises because optimistic

leaders, who usually lack the ability to make wise decisions, are more relatable to individuals who prioritize their own convenience over careful consideration.

In the fourth essay, author argues that optimism can be lethal if it is not grounded in reality. He suggests that people's tendency to see the world through rose-tinted glasses, and to ignore the negative aspects of life, can lead to disastrous consequences. He discusses the history of optimism, from the philosopher Leibniz's belief that we live in the "best of all possible worlds" to the more recent trend of positive psychology. The author contends that such optimism can lead to a false sense of security, causing people to overlook potential threats and dangers. He concludes that a more balanced view of the world, one that acknowledges both the good and the bad, is necessary.

The 5th Essay discusses the significance of environmental and geographic factors in the survival of societies. The writer criticizes the economists' belief that nature will supply resources required for growth, leading to disastrous consequences. He argues that the climate apocalypse will impact international relations and politics. The Free market economy and democracy have failed because it compromised habitability of the earth. The essay predicts the return of power competition and colonial powers in this neo-Malthusian world. Global warming will incite migration and create an uninhabitable region near equator, leading to crises of agriculture, refugees, water, hatred, and war. The essay concludes with suggestions for national climate policy, maximum logistic and diplomatic support, and investment in nuclear weapons to deter countries from exploiting resources and causing problems for refugees.

The sixth essay argues that complex systems, including economies and societies, are subject to face cycles of growth and decline. The author suggests that when a system reaches a high level of equilibrium, it becomes vulnerable to disruption, its downfall is inevitable. He cites historical examples, such as the collapse of the Roman Empire and the decline of the British Empire, to explain this point.

The author also notes that the modern global economy is highly interconnected and interdependent, making it even more vulnerable to disruption. The chapter concludes by suggesting that policymakers and businessman should focus on building flexibility and adaptability into their systems to reduce risks of collapse and ensure long-term stability.

The 7th Essay explores the concept of government in the face of societal collapse. He examines how governments can become ineffective and how individuals and groups can rise to power after such downfall. Niaz argues traditional forms of government may not be sufficient to deal because after collapse new forms of governance may emerge.

Niaz also discusses the role of power in a post-collapse society, and how it can be wielded by both traditional and non-traditional players. He notes that while traditional governments may become ineffective, other groups, e.g. warlords or religious leaders, may fill the power vacuum. Niaz concludes that in the face of societal collapse, it is important to consider

alternative forms of governance and to be aware of the potential for new power structures to emerge.

One of the strengths of "Downfall" is Niaz's ability to break down difficult concepts and ideas into easy-to-understand language. He provides a clear explanation of the science behind climate change and the dangers of nuclear war, for example, without overgeneralizing or dumbing down the information. He has mentioned history, concepts of Environmental Science, philosophy and many others to make the reader understand. His technique of writing is descriptive in nature. This style allows the writer to create a vivid image of events for the reader. Therefore, a reader can easily connect to the events painted in such a descriptive form which Niaz does. The book is accessible to a wide audience and will appeal to anyone interested in the future of humanity.

Niaz concludes his book and argues that there are several steps that can be taken to prevent this downfall, including: Recognizing the interconnectedness of global issues such as climate change, inequality, and political instability, and developing holistic solutions. Addressing the root causes of issues such as poverty, corruption, extremism and concentration of wealth rather than their symptoms. We need to refrain from false hope rather we should focus on heroic realism. Promoting values such as tolerance, empathy, and respect for human rights. Reforestation is required and stop fantasizing about sustainable growth. We need to understand the real enemy is ecocide not each other. He believes in abolishing neoliberal globalization and forcible de-carbonization of society will help.

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