

Book Review**Chirasree Mukherjee¹**

DEADLY EMBRACE: PAKISTAN, AMERICA AND THE FUTURE OF THE GLOBAL JIHAD. Bruce Riedel. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2011, 200Pp.

The book under review begins with an understanding of Pakistan and then proceeds to analyze its entanglement with the movement of 'Global Jihad'. Simultaneously, the author, Bruce Riedel, depicts the see-saw relationship between the hub of global terror- Pakistan and the superpower-US. Terrorism is a protean phenomenon and it is being nurtured by those who believe in the ideology of 'Global Jihad'. With the unfolding of 9/11 and the 'War on Terror' that followed, US has become a central player along with Pakistan and Afghanistan in any study related to terrorism. In order to understand the growth of this hydra-like menace, that is terrorism, the importance of a careful background study of the key players, their respective foreign policies and the relations they share with each other is undeniable. This book has been successful in doing the same.

The work under review is divided into seven chapters coupled with a preface and a few pages dedicated to key persons in 'Global Jihad' and their respective timeline. In the preface, Riedel argues very rightly that "Pakistani behavior remains a mystery". Its duplicitous dealing with its allies and enemies results in the growing frustration of the Americans. He has also made it clear that he uses the term 'jihad' in accordance to its understanding by the terrorists themselves. The substance of this manoeuvre is as follows:

The first chapter titled 'Understanding Pakistan' begins with the author's briefing to US President Barack Obama of the threat assessment as posed by Pakistan and Afghanistan. The threat was about further attacks to American interests, both at home and abroad, by terrorists, specially al-Qaeda, residing in the 'badlands' of Pakistan and Afghanistan. Afghan Taliban, Pakistani Taliban and Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) also pose serious threats. The Strategic Review of American Policy toward Afghanistan and Pakistan had some 20 recommendations and 180 proposals with the central conclusion- "Pakistan, the birthplace of global Islamic Jihad and now its epicenter, had become a crucible of terror and was the most dangerous country in the world." To Riedel, this remains the most important national security issue facing US. He then turns towards Pakistan and analyses the idea behind the formation of the state, the process of its evolution through partition, the shaping of its foreign policy under Jinnah and his successors-Liaquat Ali Khan, Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan, Zulfikar Ali Bhuto. While examining the tenures of the respective heads of state, Riedel mentions the provincial differences between East and West Pakistan, especially with regard to language, the growth of ISI in size and importance and the three wars of 1947, 1965 and 1971 that Pakistan fought with India. Talking about the relationship with America, Riedel shows how the administrations of Truman, Eisenhower, Nixon and Kennedy found Pakistan beneficial and thus formed an alliance.

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The membership of Pakistan in SEATO and CENTO strengthened their ties all the more. However, under Johnson's tenure and with the outbreak of the 1971 war with India, US-Pakistani ties suffered a major jolt. Thus, it can be said that such a historical background about Pakistan as a state, per se, and its initial relation with US is indeed essential in understanding the fundamentals of 'Global Jihad'.

The following chapter, 'Zia's Jihad' focuses on the tenure of Zia-ul-Haq and his foreign policy. It describes how Zia gave fuel to propagate Jihad and set the seeds of terror. In 1977 Zia started Islamizing the army which resulted in the rise of its social status. Additionally, he devoted particular attention to ISI by handpicking its Director. The series of amendments that Zia brought about gave boost to Madrasas. Zia even planned for an India-centric Jihad to be waged in Kashmir. However, when the army and ISI proposed to attack India through Kargil, Zia rested the idea in fear of a full-scale war with India. When Zia came to power US shared a cold relation with Pakistan which changed with the pro-Soviet coup in Kabul. With Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, CIA-ISI-GID formed an alliance in which Islamabad was instrumental in handling distribution and training. The author in this chapter also takes note of another Jihadi named Abdallah Azzam whose life is said to have transformed under the influence of Zia's Jihad in Afghanistan. Azzam set up Maktab-al-Khadamat in Peshwar and Center for Proselytization and Preaching in Kashmir to spread Jihad. Thus, under Zia's rule Pakistan started to become a safe haven for Jihadi activities.

With the coming to power of Benazir Bhutto in 1988 began another phase in the history of Jihad. Hafeez Saeed, Ilyas Kashmiri, Masood Azhar and ISI's brainchild, Hizbul Mujahedeen reined havoc in Pakistan by setting up camps that trained militants. Meanwhile, relations with US hit a new low over the issue of nuclear proliferation. In this scenario Nawaz Shariff took office, heavily dependent on the ISI, the army and the various religious parties. In Afghanistan, Taliban emerged with strong support from Islamabad, the ISI and the Ministry of the Interior. Musharraf's coming to power was followed by the Kargil war of 1999. Riedel gives specific reasons why Kargil was chosen as a battlefield. Worldwide reaction to this war was dominated by US which branded Pakistan as an aggressor. US imposed a number of amendments- Pressler Amendment, Brown Amendment, cutting off all forms of aid, but Jihad continued to gather force. And the ground for this was provided by Mullah Omar, the founder of Taliban. His rise to power in the 1990s goes to the credit of Pakistan which was also instrumental in forging close ties between Omar and Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan. The trilateral alliance between Islamabad, Taliban and al-Qaeda created a new jihad with a global agenda. The chapter on 'Omar's Jihad' revolves around his rise to power, the above-mentioned alliance and the terrorist attacks that took place globally- Jordan, Washington, Yemen, Nepal.

'Osama's Jihad' is all about the man himself- Osama bin Laden, the one responsible for changing the course of history with the attacks of 9/11. Immediately after the deadly attacks, US pressed Pakistan to become its ally in counterterrorism and the latter agreed. It helped US arrest major al-Qaeda operatives- Abu Zubaydah, Khalid Sheikh Muhammad, Taliban's ambassador to Islamabad. However, Pakistan still served to be the hotbed of terror, providing safe-haven in FATA and other tribal areas along with major urban centers such as Karachi, Faisalabad and Rawalpindi. Musharraf continued with his policy of 'selective counterterrorism' and to facilitate this, gave Kayani the post of the Head of ISI in lieu of his loyalty. Initially after 9/11 even though Pakistan was able to resume the flow of US aid, relations suffered with reports of proliferation of Pakistani nuclear technology to North Korea, Iran and Libya. This proliferation was authorized by the highest levels of Pakistani state. The assassination of Benazir also goes to the credit of al-Qaeda and Pakistani Taliban. Riedel argues that Jihad matured in Pakistan during Musharraf's tenure. Al-Qaeda was rampant in its attacks and created many franchises globally. Osama's dream of a 'Global Jihad' reached fruition. For US, entanglement with Pakistan became a 'deadly embrace' as it could neither do away with terror, nor with Pakistan.

The chapter 'Global Jihad' begins with an account of the Mumbai attacks of 2009. Those associated with the attacks- Kasab, David Headley, Tahawwur Rana- all spoke of strong LeT connections originating from Pakistan. The Frankenstein effect of supporting terrorism is witnessed by the Taliban insurgency in Swat Valley, killing 25,000 Pakistanis according to the estimates of Pakistani Institute of Peace Studies. A Strategic Review of Policy toward Afghanistan and Pakistan came out the same year which was responsible for determining the future course of US action in these areas. Riedel talked about five components which are essential tools in the understanding of Jihad. The network of terror spreading from Pakistan to places like Middle East, Canada, Europe, Australia is a cause of grave concern. Jihad is here to continue, with Pakistan as the epicenter and with time it is likely to become all the more global.

'Thinking The Unthinkable: Implications of a Jihadist State in Pakistan' is a futuristic chapter whereby Riedel tries to analyze the implications when Pakistan becomes a full-fledged Jihadist state. It will ring a warning bell throughout the world. The most devastating consequence will be for South Asia. Such a state can emerge through intense violence and intimidation or a military coup. ISI may well undergo a cleaning process to eliminate intra-level threats. Nuclear control may go into the hands of the terrorists. There can be communal violence, implementation of draconian laws and more leeway for worldwide terror strikes. A Jihadist Pakistan will make NATO's Afghan mission futile. Baluchistan will turn into another battleground. All diplomatic ties with India will be cut-off and any hope for peace-building will die out. Another terror attack originating from Pakistan will prove to be an Armageddon. China's Xinxiang province will fall prey to further terror activities. Israel and Bangladesh would suffer as well. US will be the worst affected as its counterterrorism efforts will reach a dead end. Pakistan would sever all possible ties with it. Towards the end of the chapter, Riedel admits the fact that the present state of Pakistan is what US helped to create over the years-supporting military dictatorships when they fitted US interests. So, he goes on to decode some policy prescriptions for US in order to help Pakistan recover from its dire situation in the following chapter.

In the last chapter 'Helping Pakistan', Riedel delineates certain objectives which are likely to bail Pakistan out of its struggle with Global Jihad. He argues that the responsibility of maintaining a stable Pakistan with a strong and healthy democracy lies with its citizens. The first step is to revive trust in US policy. The author has shown statistics based on Pew Research Surveys conducted in 2010 which reveals that majority in Pakistan consider US as an enemy. They are opposed to the US drone strike as they consider it to be a breach to their sovereignty. Surveys conducted by University of Maryland and Pakistani Institute of Peace Studies reveal that most Pakistanis have turned against the Jihadist Frankenstein. The next step is to engage Pakistan. It can be based on several principles, the first of which is to strengthen Pakistan's civilian leadership. Leaders of both Pakistan and US need to be encouraged to have candid interactions and set limitations as well.

The limitations are with regard to Pakistani relations with Afghan Taliban and LeT. The third step in the engagement process emphasizes on internal verification and stock taking. Riedel suggests Pakistan-India-Afghanistan to consist of a separate executive bureau in US government. He also points out the fact that Pakistan is incapable of doing the needful as it remains paralyzed both in the economic and military sector. Improvement in air mobility and providing economic assistance in education, water and energy sectors are imperative. As far as South Asia is concerned, resolution of border disputes with India and Afghanistan will be instrumental in ushering in political stability in Pakistan. Washington must act as a mediator in dealing with Afghanistan as it is a major stakeholder. Riedel suggests that US must request India to be more flexible in its dealings on Kashmir. And once this dispute is solved, it will end Pakistani obsession with India. He concludes this book with the argument that there is no guarantee that the ideology of Global Jihad will be defeated in Pakistan. The choice rests solely on Pakistan as to which path it will choose- that of a civilian-democratic state or that of a jihadist. Two determining factors will be- how well the Pakistani government is able to control radical Islamist operation in its homeland along with the army and ISI.

Given the substance of this work, it is worth noting that the book is a major contribution to the literature and further research on terrorism. It is best read as a continuation of Riedel's previous book, 'The Search for Al Qaeda: Its Leadership, Ideology and Future', published in 2008. The way Pakistan has been portrayed in this book under review gives the readers a 360 degree understanding of this complicated state in a very succinct manner. Bruce Riedel's expertise is unquestionable given the fact that he has been one of the top ranking officials in this field for many decades and an insider of US government as well. So, his views can be considered as first-hand sources. He has also consulted many primary materials like the 9/11 Commission Report and various interviews with top ranking US and Pakistani officials as well as citizens. The arguments here are well-placed, well-researched and logical. There are very few all-encompassing research work on Global Jihad like this. And herein lies the success of this book.