

## BOOK REVIEW

**India: Emergent Power?** Stephen P. Cohen and Richard L. Park. New York, New York: Crane, Russak & Company, Inc., 1978 (Published for the National Strategy Information Center, New York, New York). Pp. x, 74. \$7.50, cloth, \$4.50, paper.

Scholarly studies about contemporary South Asian foreign affairs and national defense issues are in short supply, despite the growing importance of India and the Indian Ocean in regional and global affairs. For obvious reasons, American scholars have concentrated their research and writings on events taking place in South East Asia and East Asia. One well-kept secret of international politics is that India has realized good, solid progress in modernizing its economy and has become a state with a growing, proven military capability. These developments have been apparent since 1971 when India defeated Pakistan militarily and helped Bangladesh realize independence. Yet foreign observers, particularly journalists and traveling politicians, persist in calling attention to India's poverty, over population, caste norms, and esoteric religious practices, while remaining all but silent about the country's recent positive accomplishments.<sup>1</sup>

*India: Emergent Power?* is an essay that ought to do much to stimulate a more balanced and enlightened appreciation of today's India and the strategic importance of the Indian Ocean for the West and Japan. Its authors, Stephen P. Cohen<sup>2</sup> and Richard L. Park,<sup>3</sup> set out to answer two specific questions: (1) "Is India an emergent power — in effect, a country of substantial strategic importance now, and of even greater potential importance?," and (2) "If so, what are the policy implications for the United States?"

In order to answer these key issues the authors survey a wide assortment of Indian domestic and foreign topics, including the geostrategic location of the subcontinent, its economic base, military capabilities, hostility towards Pakistan, concern over the People's Republic of China, relations with the Soviet Union, and, of

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1. See generally Kann, *The Agony of India*, Wall St. J., Apr. 16, 1974, at 1, col. 6; *id.*, Apr. 17, 1974, at 1, col. 1; Moraes, *Bombay: Wealth, Shantytowns, Speakeasies, Intellectual Admen and Death on the Trains*, N.Y. Times, Oct. 11, 1970, § IV, at 34 (Magazine); Richardson, *On the Scene in India*, U.S. NEWS & WORLD REP., Sept. 15, 1975, at 61.

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course, America's interest in South Asia and the Indian Ocean generally. Each subject is dealt with in a succinct, highly informative fashion. India, they conclude, has "achieved hegemony in a region which — while not of critical importance to so-called vital U.S. interests — is of concern to many Americans for strategic, political, economic and humanitarian reasons." It is their conviction that the country has demonstrated growing military power, including potential nuclear capacities, along with strong support from military and civilian leaders to apply this power effectively in the interests of India's regional hegemony.

Turning to policy recommendations for the United States (Question #2), Professors Cohen and Park find that Washington has a choice of alternative courses of action, different in both scope and implementation, but consistent with their earlier findings concerning India's power and geostrategic importance. If the State Department chooses to adopt a minimum policy of support towards India, the United States should nevertheless do nothing to challenge India's regional leadership. At the very least, Washington must recognize and be prepared to accept India's status as the hegemonial power of South Asia, but, Cohen and Park argue, this stand does not require the United States to abandon our equally legitimate, although perhaps less important, interests with the other regional states. The alternate policy alternative, that is, a maximum American policy of support for India, would call upon Washington to sustain India's regional role actively, even if it necessitated subordination (not disregard) of the legitimate ambitions and goals of other regional states.

What is particularly commendable in this very brief, exceedingly compact analysis is the amount of information and the number of fresh, provocative ideas that has been packed into so few pages. It can be recommended both for the generalist and specialist. For those whose knowledge of South Asian politics and power rivalries is at best vague and sketchy, *India: Emergent Power?* will be both informative and provocative reading. It is sure to raise the level of understanding about India's role in world affairs in the closing decades of the century. For the South Asian specialist, the Cohen-Park essay helps serve a different need. If used in conjunction with any standard, full-length study of the region,<sup>4</sup> it not only up-dates

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4. See generally W. BROWN, *THE UNITED STATES AND INDIA, PAKISTAN, BANGLADESH* (3rd ed. 1972); J. BURKE, *INDIA AND PAKISTAN FOREIGN POLICIES* (1971); C. HEIMSATH & S. MANSINGH, *A DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF INDIA* (1971).

the material found in these earlier works but is very likely to force the Asian expert to reappraise many of his ideas and conclusions concerning this part of the world.

While the essay's brevity is one of its virtues, it is also one of its problems. At several points throughout the work, the authors make blanket, factual statements or offer highly complex, military scenarios with little or no supporting evidence. What is their basis for believing that the United States and India are engaged in quiet negotiations for military equipment?<sup>5</sup> Or, what led them to decide that Indian generalship "may not be inspired, but it is better than adequate"?<sup>6</sup>

A more fundamental, yet undeveloped issue, is the authors' suggestion that India's naval strength and potential nuclear military power might be used against a fleet or a naval base of a state beyond the Indian Ocean. Specifically, they claim that "[a]ny foreign navy now operating in the Indian Ocean must take this enlarged Indian capability into account, and would probably be unwilling to risk the loss of capital ships in anything less than a major conflict."<sup>7</sup> At a later point they state that "[a] limited Indian military nuclear system, *per se*, need not threaten the U.S., although it might be useable against a facility such as Diego Garcia or a hostile American fleet, and thus serve some deterrent function."<sup>8</sup> Such scenarios may or may not be fatuous to consider in a chapter dealing with analytical perspectives and strategic implications of an evolving India, but they do call for a great deal more consideration and explanation than has been provided here. Such comments, however, should not minimize the over-all high quality of the essay.

JOEL LARUS\*

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5. S. COHEN & R. PARK, *INDIA: EMERGENT POWER?* xviii (1978).

6. *Id.* at 23.

7. *Id.* at 41.

8. *Id.* at 62.

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## **BOOKS RECEIVED**

**AMERICAN MULTINATIONALS AND AMERICAN INTERESTS.** By C. Fred Bergsten, Thomas Horst, and Theodore Moran. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1978. Pp. xiii, 535. \$18.95.

The authors of this book believe that the policy vacuum (a nonexistent U.S. policy toward multinational corporations) can be filled by a close examination of the political and economic effects of foreign direct investment. They analyze traditional economic theory and a mass of recent evidence on taxation, competition, employment, exports, raw material supply, and foreign policy. In finding that multinationals do not have a significant net impact of any kind on the United States, on the functioning of the international economic system, or on U.S. foreign policy, the authors reject all models that have heretofore dominated theories on multinationals. Finally, they suggest principles and recommendations for U.S. policy toward the multinationals.

**THE SOVIET LAWYER AND HIS SYSTEM.** By George Dana Cameron III. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Graduate School of Business Administration, University of Michigan, 1978. Pp. xii, 198. \$9.00, paper.

This is an historical and bibliographic study of the Soviet law and the Soviet lawyer. The first part of this study covers the historical, ideological, and structural framework within which the lawyer must operate. Taken together, the three conditioning factors largely account for the course of development taken by Soviet lawyers as a social group. The second part of this study presents three views of the Soviet lawyer and his legal world. What does he do? How well does he do it? How effective is his system in providing the legal services required within a socialist society? A bibliography of Western and Soviet sources is included.

**ARMS CONTROL: A SURVEY AND APPRAISAL OF MULTILATERAL AGREEMENTS.** By the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. New York: Crane, Russak & Company, Inc., 1978. Pp. 238. \$27.50.

This book is published on the occasion of the 1978 United Nations General Assembly special session devoted to disarmament. The multilateral arms control agreements reached since World War II are reviewed, assessed, and reproduced in this book. The status of the implementation of these agreements is presented in a sum-

mary table. The most important of the bilateral arms control agreements are summarized. Furthermore, comprehensive up-to-date reference material concerning arms control has been compiled and is presented for the convenience of the reader. It is the intention of this book to facilitate the important work of those dealing with arms control and disarmament problems.

COMPARATIVE LAW YEARBOOK. By the Center for International Legal Studies. Alphen aan den Rijn, The Netherlands: Sijthoff & Noordhoff, 1978. Pp. vii, 345. \$52.50.

The fourteen co-authors of the first edition of the *Comparative Law Yearbook* suggest that it offers a diverse range of inquiry into the issues of comparative, transnational, and international law. The contributors represent Austria, Sweden, the United States, Turkey, Hungary, Syria, the West Indies, West Germany, Poland, and Australia. Treated are topics dealing with the environment, product liability, European and American company law, socialist criminal procedure, trademarks, enforcement of foreign judgments, equity, and administrative law. All of the topics are written from the comparative or international perspective.

THE CHICKEN WAR, An International Trade Conflict between the United States and the European Economic Community, 1961-64. By Ross B. Talbot. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1978. Pp. xi, 174. \$7.75, paper.

The Chicken War was an international trade conflict between the United States and the European Community concerning exports and imports of poultry. No formal declaration of war was ever made; no formal treaty of peace was ever consummated. On no definite date did the war begin, and one would be hard pressed to claim it has as yet ended. In many ways this war was the first chapter in what would become a multichapter volume relative to the development of United States foreign policy vis-a-vis the newly created European Economic Community's Common Agricultural Policy. This book describes, explains, and evaluates this conflict from a political and an economic point of view.

STANLEY FOUNDATION OCCASIONAL PAPERS, 1978

*Science, Technology, And The Global Equity Crisis: New Directions For United States Policy.* By Ward Morehouse. Occasional Paper 16. Pp. 34.

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*International Stability And North-South Relations.* By Lincoln Grant. Occasional Paper 17. Pp. 35.

*Can Space Remain A Peaceful Environment?* By Herbert Scoville, Jr. and Kosta Tsipis. Occasional Paper 18. Pp. 24.

*Conference On Energy And Nuclear Security In Latin America.* Vantage Conference Report. April 25-30, 1978. Pp. 48.

*Thirteenth Conference On The United Nations Of The Next Decade.* Cooperation or Confrontation in Outer Space. July 9-15, 1978.

*Nineteenth Strategy For Peace, Conference Report.* October 5-8, 1978. Pp. 89.

**INDIA: EMERGENT POWER?** By Stephen P. Cohen and Richard L. Park. New York, New York: Crane, Russak & Company, Inc., 1978. Pp. x, 91. \$7.50, cloth, \$4.50, paper.

This work is a study of India's strategic policies and capabilities and their roles in shaping India's relations with her neighbors and the world. The authors show that India's serious problems of economic development, population growth, and widespread poverty have not prevented the building of a large, modernized defense force, supported by industrial development, scientific training centers, and the rapid expansion of a management group capable of handling the complexities of leadership for an emergent power. Because of India's leverage in regional and world politics, the authors stress the need for a renewal of dialogue between the United States and India on a number of crucial issues, such as the development of nuclear energy, weapons proliferation, and the future organization of the international economic order. Please see Professor Larus's review *supra*.

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