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**A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON
THE NATIONS OF SOUTH ASIA**
(Received in September 1984)

October 1984

Author: Elizabeth R. Curtiss

PREFACE

This bibliography concludes the monthly series compiling analytic material on the nations of South Asia. The countries included are: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. This selective reference work is intended to support research on the foreign relations, governments, politics, and economies of the nations of South Asia. Material included is both retrospective and current, and represents works received, cataloged, or indexed, in September 1984.

Citations are arranged geographically and listed alphabetically by author within each country section. Works bearing on or analyzing more than one nation are entered under each country concerned. Where citations lack an accompanying abstract, the work was not on hand at the time of this issue; an abstract will be included when the work is received.

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AFGHANISTAN

"Bracing for an Afghan Barrage." Asiaweek, 31 August 1984, p. 14.

During August, Afghanistan's military campaign against Pakistan intensified. A series of bombing raids more than a kilometer inside Pakistan's border came at unprecedented 1-day intervals, while artillery was used for the first time. Kabul is apparently attempting to seal the porous border, over which guerrilla insurgents and their supplies cross freely. The attacks also could be related to the impending peace talks in Geneva. Islamabad's response in view of the talks, has been limited to diplomatic protests and notes at the United Nations. However, the controlled press in Pakistan has made vociferous calls for military retaliation.

Lafont, Antoine. "My Testimony from Afghanistan (January 1983)." Central Asian Survey, vol. 2 (November 1983), p. 117.

Primitive internal communications have made Afghanistan's society highly pluralistic. The resistance movement falls into four distinct groups, each combining several loosely-knit tribal bands into a guerrilla force with a keen sense of identity. This self-awareness has served as a psychological base for building concrete strategic goals and tactics which often demand close cooperation with hereditary enemies. Before 1982, guerrilla fighting inside Kabul was handled by small leftist groups, but these groups were first infiltrated then neutralized by the DRA. All Afghans now recognize the psychological value of urban terrorism in the capital and cooperate with such attacks. The Soviets have devised various techniques for pacifying civilians and subverting mujahiddin groups, but the internal isolation which thwarts centralization of the resistance also muffles the impact of each defection. This article details key elements in the background of several guerrilla groups.

Maneuvering Toward the Final Push." Arabia, the Islamic World Review, August 1984, p. 27.

The guerrilla resistance of Afghanistan has been improving its skills through various training programs. Ahmad Shah Massoud, who commands Jamiat-e-Islami units inside the Panjshir Valley, gives instruction to fellow mujahiddin from as far away as Herat and Mazar-i-Sharif. These fighters return to their units with a knowledge of guerrilla tactics that Massoud gained in the 1970s, when Pakistan gave covert assistance to Islamic revivalists combatting the Daoud regime. The resistance still has traditional training bases inside Pakistan and Afghanistan. The April 1984 Soviet offensive in the Panjshir may also sharpen the fighting skills of northern resistance groups, because in anticipation of the attack Massoud planned the dispersal of his expert veterans among forces who have assisted Jamiat.

Roy, Olivier. "Sufism in the Afghan Resistance." Central Asian Survey, vol. 2 (December 1983), p. 61.

Afghanistan has two types of Sufism, located in three main zones. In both schools of Sufism, adherents form a band around a religious leader, or pir. In 1978, when the new government in Kabul began repressing religious leaders, these groups readily transformed themselves into fighting units defending their pirs. Since then, the surviving pirs have emigrated because of their old age, but they have left behind disciples who fight on their behalf. Roy explains the two types of Sufism (Maraboutism and spiritualism), then identifies the four main Sufi groups. Each group has become associated with a family which takes a leading role in the resistance. This article clarifies several resistance groups whose names, but not structures, have been widely mentioned. (notes)

BANGLADESH

Kamaluddin, D. "Linking Up for 2005." Far Eastern Economic Review, 6 September 1984, p. 87.

Although Bangladesh has nationwide telephone service, the system often does not work. Several plans for improvement are being considered. Satellite connections will free communications from complications caused by local weather. The obsolescent equipment manufactured in Bangladesh will be used for rural and small area exchanges. The microwave system will also be upgraded, in order to link Dhaka with Chittagong at 1,800 channels for each city.

Nasser, Moinuddin. "Massacre at Bhushamchara." Bangladesh Today, 16 June 1984, p. 39.

"The Chittagong Hill Tracts insurgency has taken a new turn recently. A massacre by the Priti group of the Shanti Bahini was committed at Barkal upojela (sub-district--ed.) about 36 miles away from Rangamati, where several hundred persons were killed and many others received major or minor injuries. It indicates that the Priti faction of the Shanti Bahini has been able to consolidate its position." The tribal Chakmas also took part in the attacks. The Chittagong Hill Tracts insurgency is motivated by tribal resentment of settlements which the government has set up locally to absorb surplus population from Bengali districts. This article provides an overview of the crisis, and what the government has tried to do in response.

INDIA

Ali, Salamat. "Indira's Loophole." Far Eastern Economic Review, 13 September 1984, p. 42.

The Federal Constitution allows up to 6 months between sessions of parliament. This could permit Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to suspend the current legislature until June 1985, with elections scheduled immediately before the new session. However, legislators have been told that their

current recess, which has set no reconvening date, will conclude their parliament. Some Congress-I legislators have called for a presidential system of government, but Gandhi has disavowed any encouragement she may have given them. The opposition parties have voted not to split tickets against the Congress-I, but have yet to work out details for districts with more than one opposition party. In Punjab, President Zail Singh has been accused of religious indifference by the Sikh's highest religious authority, the Akal Takht. Sikh leaders have also called for a march on the Golden Temple if the Army does not leave soon.

Badhwar, Inderjit. "Pat on the Back." India Today, 15 August 1984, p. 50.

India's economic growth has been accomplished with a relatively small proportion of commercial international loans. Western donors at the recent Aid to India Consortium in Paris cited this self-restraint when they granted concessional loans beyond the requested amount. Since the new 5-year plan will only be realized if there is ample capital, these donations offer an important auger of success.

"Balancing Act." Economic and Political Weekly, vol. XIX (21 July 1984), p. 1118.

In the international arena, India needs diplomatic and economic amity with the United States and Japan. Both nations have recently sent high-ranking figures (Prime Minister Nakasone, Vice President Bush) to India with the partial mission of improving relations between India and Pakistan. However, Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has publicly accused Pakistan of fomenting many of India's domestic disturbances. Consequently, Indo-Pakistani relations are affected by conflicting signals from the Indian side, friendly when the prime minister seeks international prestige, and harsh when she seeks a scapegoat for her domestic problems.

Bobb, Dilip. "Moscow's New Offensive." India Today, 31 August 1984, p. 84.

India has finally announced a long-anticipated agreement to purchase MiG-29/FULCRUM fighters from the Soviet Union. New Delhi is also expected to acquire a Soviet-built main battle tank, but rumors of its high price have touched off speculation that Moscow may be phasing out bargain basement defense deals. Opposition parliamentarians fear the MiG-29 purchase, because it pushes aside an agreement with France for Mirage-2000s and signals a new era of unqualified dependence on a single superpower defense supplier. They fear that policy constrictions will inevitably arise from such a close relationship. This article reviews the merits of the various options open to New Delhi in making its final decision on the main battle tank.

Chengappa, Raj. "The Heroin Threat." India Today, 31 August 1984, p. 142.

"Heroin addiction among Indians, which was negligible two years ago, has now moved up to second place among drugs abused, next only to cannabis." The victims are mainly lower- and middle-class males, whose average "fix" costs no more than a bottle of beer. Many heroin users in India have no

history of drug abuse, in contrast to the prevailing practice elsewhere of graduating to heroin after trying less potent substances. The central government has set up various mechanisms to combat the danger of heroin addiction, but the ministries involved do not have a good record of working together. A special board was approved but never implemented. The medical and police communities worry that the heroin epidemic may sweep India as suddenly as it swept neighboring Pakistan. They warn not only about loss of life, but about the prospect for rising crime rates as addicts exhaust their resources and seek ready cash for drug purchases.

Chengappa, Raj and Rao, Raghavendra. "An Explosive Blunder." India Today, 31 August 1984, p. 22.

A terrorist bomb intended for an Air Lanka flight to Colombo exploded in Madras International Airport on 2 August, claiming 29 lives. The person who planted the bomb had called the airport manager prior to the detonation, explaining the exact location and description of the devices, possibly in order to permit defusing. However, the airport police, the explosives experts, even the loudspeaker operators, were all unavailable. The airport manager finally was obliged to undertake an evacuation of the suspect luggage and the immediate area by himself. The evacuation had just begun when the explosion occurred. This article, which gives a step-by-step account of the desperate struggle to stave off certain tragedy, raises serious questions about airport operations in Madras. Photographs of the destruction accompany the text.

Gupta, Shekhar and Thukral, Gobind. "The Elusive Solution." India Today, 15 August 1984, p. 58.

A faction of Sikhs known as the Nihangs have volunteered a contingent to make repairs in the Golden Temple. Supporters of the Akali Dal political party fear the Nihangs, who have a history of cooperating with the Congress-I, will retain control of the complex after the Army withdraws. Such a Nihang presence would prevent the Akalis from using the sacred site for symbolic religious or political acts. Another method which Congress-I could use to exclude the Akalis from the complex is to create a government-appointed board to run Sikh temples. Such boards already run Hindu temples. The central government has demonstrated its confidence in the Punjab's returning stability by implementing some major administrative changes.

Ninan, T. N. "Restrictive Practice." India Today, 31 August 1984, p. 100.

India faces severe difficulty in upgrading its electronic infrastructure, because its main source, the United States, is increasing restrictions on exports of sensitive goods to India. Washington fears the close Moscow-Delhi defense relationship could leak American technological secrets to the Warsaw Pact. Indians have fought back by inserting a clause in all contracts with US companies, nullifying any deal if it is not approved within 3 months. This threat has led American entrepreneurs to lobby in Washington for bureaucratic priority in arranging export licenses. New

Delhi has also refused one proposal for technical assistance by an East European country, for fear that Washington would disapprove all technology transfer intended for that project. However, India created part of its current problem by expelling IBM in the 1970s. As the computer giant swallows up smaller competitors in the United States, it terminates their negotiations with Indian customers.

Ram, Mohan. "Instrument Fault Causes 40% of Wrong Numbers." Far Eastern Economic Review, 6 September 1984, p. 85.

The Indian government has monopolized communications, and insisted on blocking large volume imports of high-technology equipment. The result is that the Indian public cannot trust its telephones. For the first time New Delhi has now lowered the barriers for private imports, and begun allowing private Indian firms to produce as well as to import telecommunications equipment. Other telecommunications developments, such as the electronic typewriter and computers for banking, will probably be more widely distributed in the coming years, despite union opposition because of possible job erosion.

Ram, Mohan. "Mountains of Trouble." Far Eastern Economic Review, 13 September 1984, p. 70.

On 1 July 1984, India's foodgrain buffer stock reached a historical high of 21.56 million tons. With the next harvest looking just as promising, the year's total could reach 25 million tons before summer 1985. But India lacks the facilities for storing such large amounts, and the surplus, which is primarily wheat, cannot be exported without a government subsidy which would cost more than the storage. Meanwhile, demand for rice in the southern states continues to require imports. The government has not explored the possibility of using the excess food in its welfare programs as a substitute for cash remuneration. At the moment, the main reaction is a paralyzing amazement at the size of the surplus.

Tasker, Rodney. "No End in Sight." Far Eastern Economic Review, 21 September 1984, p. 25.

Like many other members of his terrorist group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), spokesperson A. S. Balasingham is a highly educated intellectual who is disappointed about the failure of reconciliatory measures instituted by Sri Lankan President Junius R. Jayawardene. LTTE professes a socialist rhetoric which appeals to the many unemployed educated Tamil youths. A spokesperson for another organization, the People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE), disagrees with LTTE over tactics. Such arguments have kept the Tamil separatist movement highly fragmented. Balasingham declares in Madras that LTTE has no training program in India, and has located its headquarters in that country only for reasons of safety.

Salamat, Ali. "The Defense Element." Far Eastern Economic Review, 21 September 1984, p. 26.

India has upgraded its defense capabilities along its southern tip by establishing a new air command at Trivandrum and coordinating more closely the coastal operations of all three services. While New Delhi justifies these moves by the superpowers' dramatic increase in Indian Ocean activities, Sri Lankan officials fear the massive build-up may eventually be mobilized to "liberate" Tamil Eelam, just as Bangladesh was liberated from Pakistan. India responds that Indians see Sri Lanka's Israeli antiterrorist advisors as the opening wedge of an American presence in South Asia. With Indian elections due before February 1985, Tamil leaders in the southern states have begun raising their level of rhetoric on behalf of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

NEPAL

Singh, Kedar Man. "Satelliting Out of India's Embrace." Far Eastern Economic Review, 6 September 1984, p. 88.

Nepal has installed a new Standard B Sagarmatha [Everest] satellite station outside Kathmandu, making it possible for the first time to direct dial the outside world without transmitting through India. Using the Intelsat 5 geostationary satellite, which is in constant orbit above the Indian Ocean, the system has a maximum 60 channels of voice-grade circuit. Anticipating the need for more channels, Nepal has already begun negotiations for financing. "In the first half of the 1982-83 fiscal year, two-way international traffic increased by 700 times: accordingly, government revenue from telecommunications increased by 50% and in 1983-84 the revenue was twice that." Nepal expects to have nationwide direct dial international service, transmitting through Hong Kong and Japan, by 1986.

PAKISTAN

Aftab, Mohammad. "The Pipeline Runs Dry." Far Eastern Economic Review, 13 September 1984, p. 59.

A new Government of Pakistan report says that remittances from overseas workers fell by \$130 million from FY 1983 to FY 1984. Besides providing the nation's largest source of foreign exchange, overseas job opportunities had been keeping down domestic unemployment by absorbing about 10 percent of the rapid labor force increase. The report estimates that in order to maintain satisfactory employment, Pakistan will have to increase merchandise exports by 15 percent this fiscal year, 20 percent in FY 1986, and 28 percent in each year thereafter. Given Pakistan's longstanding inability to provide adequate electricity, literate laborers, and a flexible bureaucracy, as well as its heavily budgeted commitments to defense and state-run enterprises, such goals are not likely to be met. The problem has been looming for almost a year, but this is the first official notice of it.

Cloughly, B. W. "Pakistan: Dismal Prospects for Peace on Subcontinent." Pacific Defence Reporter, September 1984, p. 37.

This overview of Pakistan's defense capabilities highlights changes in Islamabad's armaments inventory and military personnel standards. The low level of literacy which prevails throughout the nation has led to the growth of a substantial Education Corps in the military services. However, only the Air Force finds low educational qualifications a serious impediment to recruitment. Although the Soviet Union, through its puppet regime in Afghanistan, has mounted air attacks into Pakistani territory, Pakistan's defenses are arrayed mainly against India. Acquisition of sophisticated hardware, particularly for the Air Force, would prove helpful in a direct confrontation, but Pakistan could not expect to triumph in an extended challenge on either of its borders. The Special Services Group and the reserves are explained in this article.

Haqqani, Husain. "To Vote or Not to Vote." Far Eastern Economic Review, 20 September 1984, p. 14.

Despite bans on their internal travel, Pakistan's opposition politicians have been able to meet for discussion of the many issues dividing them. After the Movement for Restoration of Democracy failed to attract support outside Sind in 1983, the groups split over organizing tactics and over the efficiency of boycotting the upcoming elections. With Benazir Bhutto in exile, the Pakistan People's Party is arguing over issues and personalities. Throughout Pakistan there is an expectation that whatever legislature is elected will ask General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, Pakistan's self-appointed President, to remain in office. The politicians are not keen on legitimizing an election whose main purpose is legitimizing Zia.

Lifschultz, Lawrence. "A Case of Trial and Error." Far Eastern Economic Review, 20 September 1984, p. 17.

Twenty-five middle-ranking officers who were arrested on the night of 3 January 1984 will be brought to trial for plotting against the martial law regime. Raza Kasim, a lawyer whose arrest has sparked the interest of international human rights groups, has been linked to the plot. The cases are being handled carefully in order to avoid inciting unrest in the lower ranks of the armed forces. If the defendants claim their only objective was to force the government to hold fair elections, there is likely to be widespread sympathy for the risks they took. However, if the government exercises too little discipline over its dissident activists in the armed forces, more coup attempts could follow.

"Pakistan's Budget: More of the Same Old Medicine." Arabia, the Islamic World Review, August 1984, p. 43.

In the current fiscal year (1985), Pakistan's growth rate has fallen by almost 2 percent, with inflation officially announced at 9 percent, but estimated in real terms to be closer to 25 percent. Nevertheless, the new budget devotes substantial amounts for defense, "white elephant projects and administration," while allowing limited growth in expenditures for

social welfare measures. Even the amounts set aside for "Islamization" and democratization are not nearly in proportion to the rhetoric lavished on each topic. The budget sets up tax holidays in underdeveloped areas, and increases taxes on transportation, which will cause prices to rise across the board. There is an increasing reliance on foreign aid. With the 7 years of good weather seemingly running out, and the expatriate labor remittances dropping faster than expected, the government may face an angry electorate. Perhaps the martial law regime will abandon plans for an election.

Reeves, Richard. "Journey to Pakistan." The New Yorker, 1 October 1984, p. 39.

Pakistan is an overpopulated, underdeveloped country whose military government is trying to completely ensnare it within a technological net. Tangible American support for the martial law regime has included highly-effective riot control equipment, better enabling the government to crush demonstrations in favor of restoring democracy. The clergy has embarked on a campaign against all modernizing influences (one mullah excommunicated people who believed Americans had walked on the moon), particularly those liberating women. Female sports are now banned, even in segregated surroundings, lest the participants' legs be seen by unwary males. Religion also serves to quiet questions about the dramatic maldistribution of wealth, and the complete lack of normal educational opportunities. Pakistan is the only country in the world whose literacy level has declined in the last decade.

Risalपुरi, Abdul Karim. "An Eye for an Eye." Far Eastern Economic Review, 6 September 1984, p. 7.

In this lengthy letter to the editor, an expatriate Pakistani condemns Pakistan's emulation of Saudi Arabia's Islamic judicial practices, which the author says earned no praise until the Saudis raised the price of their oil. He describes the execution of 2 adulterers which he witnessed while living in Saudi Arabia. The author contends that Saudi Arabia uses an unusually harsh and inflexible interpretation of Islamic law, but nevertheless has failed completely to eradicate its violent crime problem. The Pakistani people are not likely to accept such a system for very long, and the author fears there may be a general backlash against religion, leading to a wider embrace of communism.

SOUTH ASIA

Hasan, H. F. "SARC: Waiting for the Summit." Bangladesh Today, 1 August 1984, p. 21.

The South Asia Regional Cooperation (SARC) has decided to hold its first summit meeting in the final quarter of 1985. Initial contacts for the regional association were held by mid-level bureaucrats, because tensions in the region did not promise immediate success. However, after several joint expert committees had made their reports, the foreign secretaries held a meeting in 1982, and the foreign ministers met in 1983. Only at

the foreign ministers' meeting was the existence of SARC officially announced. While the many intraregional rivalries present a series of challenges, they also provide a major impetus for strengthening the regional group, with its unique ongoing diplomatic framework. India's fear of being cornered by a coalition of smaller states has been addressed by using the principle of unanimity.

SRI LANKA

De Silva, Manik. "Spectacular Growth Since 1977." Far Eastern Economic Review, 6 September 1984, p. 86.

Until economic liberalization in 1977, Sri Lanka's telecommunications remained markedly primitive. Liberalization not only permitted import of the latest equipment, but made a sound telecommunications base essential for attracting international investment. The federal government hopes it will eventually relinquish telecommunications responsibilities to the private sector, even though the only non-government production so far has been a telephone directory. Computers are now operating in several public and private Sri Lankan enterprises. In several newly-built areas of the island, the telecommunications system is surprisingly reliable, because state-of-the-art equipment was chosen for the original installation.

De Silva, Mervyn. "A Dangerous Option." India Today, 31 August 1984, p. 75.

In Sri Lanka's Tamil community, several ominous changes have recently been observed. The traditional political organization, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), has lost respect in the community. Youths associated with separatist extremists recently rode their bicycles through a nonviolent TULF demonstration, causing it to end early. Tamil citizens have widely begun referring to the terrorists as "our boys." And "our boys" have increased their level of violence, with a bomb blast in Madras (India) International Airport, and numerous attacks on military and police personnel in Sri Lanka. The loss of life in the Jaffna area is unprecedented among Sinhalese officials and Tamil residents. The Sri Lankan public is learning to live with the idea that this situation will continue for the foreseeable future.

Tasker, Rodney. "The Killing Continues." Far Eastern Economic Review, 6 September 1984, p. 18.

The author describes the harsh reception which his journalistic group received from a military detachment which was spotted in the process of torching Tamil shops and a Tamil home. Several soldiers had been killed by a landmine in the area, and the soldiers were attempting to prevent a repetition of the act by responding with greater violence. In an unofficial interview to the Jerusalem Post, the secretary to the minister of state, Douglas Liyanage, has confirmed the presence of five Israeli officials in Sri Lanka, assisting with counterterrorist advice. At the same time the Sri Lankan military has undertaken the Israeli tactic of deliberate widespread property destruction among civilians sympathetic to the terrorists. Liyanage was forced to resign his office after his trip to Israel, which was classified as a "personal holiday."

Tasker, Rodney. "The Point of No Return." Far Eastern Economic Review, 20 September 1984, p. 23.

In perception if not in fact, Sinhalese oppression of the Tamil community is increasing. The Sinhalese-dominated armed forces and police are accused not only of destroying homes and shops following terrorist attacks, but even of shooting civilians. The local economy suffers because fishermen are afraid to put out to sea, where Sri Lankan naval patrols fire indiscriminately on any vessel which may be smuggling terrorists in from India. The government shows no sign of contemplating further compromises with the Tamil community, and the aging president, Junius R. Jayawardene, seems subject more than before to the Sinhalese extremists in his Cabinet. The Tamil community has various factions around the nation, which are detailed in this article. Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali's hard line against the terrorists is explained.

"What Price the Israeli Connection?" Asiaweek, 14 September 1984, p. 16.

Sri Lanka has confirmed only that a small number of Israeli and British experts are in the country training local counterterrorist forces. However, rumors report scattered sightings of larger expatriate groups and the suspicions of Sri Lanka's Muslims are running high. When Douglas Liyanage, Minister of State for Tourism, Broadcasting and Information, visited Israel for 2 weeks and defended the idea of an Israeli embassy for Colombo, he was obliged to resign the post. Because of the ostensible connection with Tel Aviv, sales of tea, Sri Lanka's largest foreign exchange earner, have declined sharply in Iraq, formerly a steady customer. Saudi Arabia also had held up work permits for some of the 100,000 Sri Lankans working overseas. If either source of foreign exchange suffers from the Israeli connection, whatever security it produces will prove dearly purchased. One possible genesis for the relationship: Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali once was a guest-lecturer in Tel Aviv.