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***A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON  
THE NATIONS OF SOUTH ASIA  
(Received in November 1983)***

*January 1984*

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## PREFACE

This bibliography is the second issue of a monthly series on the nations of South Asia. Countries included are: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. There is also a general South Asia section for works having multilateral implications. The compilation is selective and is intended primarily as a reference work to support research on the foreign relations, governments, politics, and economics of the nations concerned. Material included is both retrospective and current, and represents works received, catalogued, indexed, or published during November 1983.

Citations with accompanying abstracts are listed by country initially and then alphabetically by author within each country section. Citations unaccompanied by abstracts indicate that the actual copy of the cited work was not on hand at the time of this compilation. Such material will be abstracted in a subsequent issue.

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OF THE NATIONS OF SOUTH ASIA  
(Received in November 1983)

AFGHANISTAN

Arnold, Anthony. Afghanistan's Two-Party Communism. Stanford, California: Stanford, 1983, 134 pp.

This Hoover Institution product is a chronology of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), an organization which from its inception has been completely dependent on the Soviet Union for its survival, and, except for occasional reconciliations, has been divided into two factions. Both factions are alike in their rejection of any idea which could blossom into such concepts as loyal opposition and electoral sovereignty. The Soviet invasion has proven so devastating to PDPA popular support that if any Western-style democratic group should appear, the author would urge the US not to taint it with perceptible support. Arnold dismisses Daoud's pursuits of neutralism in the 1950s as window-dressing cloaking a desire to enter the Soviet camp. The author makes a better case for the position that since 1979 the CPSU, not the PDPA, has been running Afghanistan. (appendices, epilogue, index, notes).

Benningsen, Alexandre. "The Soviet Union and Muslim Guerilla Wars, 1920-1981: Lessons for Afghanistan." Conflicts: All Warfare Short of War, no. 4, 1983, p. 301.

The author examines two earlier Soviet counterinsurgency campaigns (against Basmachi and Caucasian rebels) and devises the following formula for success: divide the enemy, win over crucial native groups, create a strong indigenous Communist Party apparatus, field a Muslim national army, and create national communism. The author then analyzes the current war in Afghanistan according to each of these measures, and concludes that the Soviets made early mistakes which they probably cannot overcome. While they are improving in some categories, they are falling behind in others, and their client government and party are on the whole unlikely to gain popular support. (notes).

Bradsher, Henry S. Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. Durham: Duke, 1983, 255 pp.

Bradsher chronicles Afghanistan's inept attempts to develop a modern political identity even as the Soviet Union was asserting itself over the adjacent "Islamic Republics." Only after the Afghans sought American weapons in 1954, and were rebuffed due to their claiming parts of Pakistan, did the Soviet Union succeed in gaining a foothold in aid and administrative programs, including the military. The book details a complex array of factors which

led the Soviets to cross the Amu Darya. Initially, Afghan leadership was unsuccessful in bringing a traditional society into modern practices of nationhood. Second, the United States entered into a strategic relationship with Pakistan (among others) which made Islamabad unwilling to overlook Afghan irredentism and seek warm ties with Kabul. Third, the USSR continued to believe that it had both the will and the military capability to interfere in bordering states whose governments could not solidify policies satisfactory to the Kremlin. (bibliography, index, notes).

Isby, David C. "Soviet Tactics in the War in Afghanistan." Jane's Defense Review, vol. 4 (July 1983), p. 681.

The author analyzes various aspects of Soviet technology and strategy in Afghanistan. When the USSR invaded that country in 1979, they had not fought an armed and organized opponent since the end of World War II. Their experiences in Afghanistan have caused them to rethink some aspects of military tactics and force development. The author refers to several Soviet articles addressing these problems, and also explains how specific weapon systems--helicopters, aircraft, tanks, trucks--have been deployed in Afghanistan, and with what results.

Wimbush, S. Enders, and Alexiev, Alex. "Soviet Central Asian Soldiers in Afghanistan." Conflicts: All Warfare Short of War, no. 4, 1983, p. 325.

The authors examine reports of large numbers of Soviet Muslim soldiers in the initial invading force into Afghanistan, and concludes that they were primarily at low training levels with little, if any, combat skills. From this, they conclude the Kremlin anticipated ineffectual resistance. As the Afghans have proven able and persistent fighters, the Soviets have rotated in ethnic Russian forces, who receive better training and display greater reliability in combat. The authors predict that their Afghanistan experience will give the Soviets some food for serious thought, as they face a draft pool which is increasingly composed of Muslim Central Asians. (notes).

#### INDIA

Bobb, Dilip. "Sphere of Suspicion." India Today, 15 October 1983, p. 30.

Suddenly, and for the first time, India is hearing hostile cries from all her nearest neighbors at once. India's large size and state of development make such worries inevitable, but Indian leaders seem unable to recognize others' perceptions of them. Mrs. Gandhi designs her own foreign policy and is often motivated by short-term domestic political considerations, or quests for global grandeur. The author details Indian foreign policy developments since Mrs. Gandhi came to power in the 1960s and gives an overview of the current conflagrations in South Asia, including unrest in Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Pakistan, India and Nepal.

"Death on a Bus." The Economist, 22 October 1983, p. 38.

"On September 6, six Sikh youths boarded a bus that was plying from Punjab to New Delhi and hijacked it to a remote village. They ordered the Sikh and Muslim passengers to stand to one side and opened fire on the Hindus, killing six." Though this was an attempt to upgrade the level of chaos in the Punjab, both by increasing organized violence and by exploiting communalism, members of the moderate Sikh community have gone out of their way to avoid such tactics. Many Sikhs attended the funerals of the murdered Hindus. However, extremism in the troubled Indian state is gathering speed. The article looks at the precarious momentary balance between moderation and extremism in Indian Punjab.

Dubey, Suman and Chawla, Prabhu. "Once More with Hope." India Today, 31 October 1983, p. 16.

The bimonthly meeting of opposition party leaders which was recently held in Srinagar, Kashmir was the first to produce a position paper--on center-state relations. The absence of major rightwing parties, and Mrs. Gandhi's disinclination to hear outside advice are powerful factors weakening the importance of this development, but opposition prospects are not as weak as they were in 1980. Several coalition governments have been formed at the state level, and the cooperation may carry through the Lok Sabha elections scheduled for 1985.

Gandhi, Indira. People and Problems. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1982, 200 pp.

This collection of speeches and one article delivered by Indira Gandhi displays an interest in, and knowledge of a wide range of topics. Mrs. Gandhi presents herself as the head of a nation which has both developed and underdeveloped sectors. Throughout the addresses, a common theme is the hope which international organizations hold out for improving the human condition. She frequently reiterates the basic ideals of peace, but, in a 1972 discussion of Pakistan, shows a marked acrimony towards her nearest neighbor.

Gokhale, Balkrishna Govind. Bharatavarsha, A Political and Cultural History of India. New Delhi, Sterling Publishers, 1982, 366 pp.

This excellent text offers an almost encyclopedic catalogue of individuals prominent in the evolution of modern India. The author, who teaches in the United States, has interwoven all aspects of history--events chronology, geography, sociology--since earliest time, but his strongest effect is to leave the reader with a sense of an evolution of a whole nation, even while detailing the complex component parts. (bibliography, index, maps, notes).

Gupta, Shekhar, with Thukral, Gobind. "A Turning Point." India Today, 31 October 1983, p. 7.

The imposition of Presidential rule in the Punjab has given moderates in the Akali Dal a chance to disengage from bloodshed and try halting their party's slide into separatist extremism. Previously, they had found Mrs. Gandhi's lack of action a disadvantage, even though they now fear that she will try, either by political or military means, to destroy all Akalis of any position. The article recounts details of the rising level of violence, and lays out the longstanding political problems which make it clear that only with time and work will India's Punjab be made peaceable again.

Menon, Amarnath K. "The Communal Convulsion." India Today, 15 October 1983, p. 7.

The annual Ganesh Chaturthy celebration has marked a step up in the increasingly intense communal violence in Hyderabad (Andhra Pradesh). Political parties and religious groups of all communities have been playing on the worst sentiments, and the Chief Minister's reluctance to impose a curfew, even as the death toll was obviously mounting, made the city dangerous and unpleasant. The article gives background and follows recent developments through each week of trouble.

Sen Gupta, Bhabani. "Chinese Chequers." India Today, 15 October 1983, p. 28.

While relations between China and the Soviet Union are improving, Chinese relations with India are not likely to relax in the near term. Aside from the border issues, China has criticized India (though not by name) for meddling in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka. On other matters, China has charted her own course by abstaining from the UN condemnation of the Soviet murder of 269 civilians on a KAL aircraft, and in supporting the anti-Vietnamese coalition in Kampuchea. The author speculates that negotiations may be held between Beijing, Moscow and Hanoi to settle the Kampuchea problem among themselves. This small step could increase Soviet-Chinese cooperation on other issues.

#### PAKISTAN

Ali, Mehrunnisa. "Soviet-Pakistan Ties Since the Afghanistan Crisis." Asian Survey, vol. 323 (September 1983), p. 1025.

Pakistan cannot rely on its allies, either the US, the Islamic nations or the United Nations, in defending itself against any Soviet threat. Therefore, it must continue to demonstrate to Moscow that an independent Pakistan is not inimical to Soviet regional interests. Pakistan's leaders are attempting to accomplish this difficult feat through the use of nonalignment. The article rehearses relations between the two nations since December 1979 in a concise survey.

Haqqani, Husain, "The Call Grows Louder." Far Eastern Economic Review, 1 December 1983, p. 31.

Pakistan's Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) has failed to gain wide popular support, especially outside the Sind, although a few demonstrations have now been reported in the Punjab. For the first time, religious and rightwing parties have called on President Zia to set and honor a date for elections on a party basis. These conservative groups are exploring a coalition to push for elections and the legalization of parties. This move reflects their confidence that President Zia can contain disorderly protesters, even if electoral campaigns increase disorderly activities. The religious leaders also believe that the Pakistani people do not sympathize with the radicals, but do want democracy.

#### SOUTH ASIA

Bobb, Dilip. "Sphere of Suspicion." India Today, 15 October 1983, p. 30.

Suddenly, and for the first time, India is hearing hostile cries from all her nearest neighbors at once. India's large size and state of development make such worries inevitable, but Indian leaders seem unable to recognize others' perceptions of them. Mrs. Gandhi designs her own foreign policy and is often motivated by short-term domestic political considerations, or quests for global grandeur. The author details India foreign policy developments since Mrs. Gandhi came to power in the 1960s, and gives an overview of the current conflagrations in South Asia, including unrest in Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Pakistan, India and Nepal.

#### SRI LANKA

Kulkarni, V. G. "The Island of Tears." Far Eastern Economic Review, 17 November 1983, p. 30.

This article gives historical and economic background on the recent strife in Sri Lanka, and suggests that majority Sinhalese arrogance still has enough strength to quash attempts at reconciliation. The longest accompanying sidebar article discusses Sri Lanka's fear of invasion by India. Other sidebars spotlight chronologies of communal relations since independence, and the minority Tamil fear of the Sinhalese military forces in their region. The author details President Jayewardene's unwillingness to undertake measures which might give any offense to the Sinhalese majority to which he owes his power.

"Jayewardene's Hard Slog Back to Paradise." The Economist, 22 October 1983,  
p. 31.

Recent attempts by Tamil radical separatists to provoke a minority rebellion have not led to organized political violence, or even substantial radicalization of the Tamil population; nevertheless there has been widespread communal rioting (most fatalities being Tamil) and many impoverished youths have taken advantage of the situation. Now the jails are full, the economy is damaged, and President Junius Jayewardene is reaching out to all parties in an attempt to restore Sri Lanka's democratic processes. One party he has not invited to his conference is the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), which maintains a symbolic, but literal commitment to a separate Tamil nation in its constitution.

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