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

*January 1984*

*Author: Elizabeth R. Curtiss*

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.

Contributors to this issue were Elizabeth R. Curtiss, Douglas C. Makeig, and Russell R. Ross. Word processing was accomplished by Karen L. Flanders.

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AFGHANISTAN

Gopalkrishnan, Ramamoorthy. The Geography and Politics of Afghanistan. New Delhi: Concept, 1982, 200 pp.

The author discusses Afghanistan's strategic disadvantages: it has no sea coast; its political history has been of incessant internal chaos and external threats; its limited economic resources have been little developed. Several chapters are devoted to the origins and current aspects of the multiple challenges which face modern Afghanistan. (appendices, bibliography, index, maps)

Maprayil, Cypriac. The Soviets and Afghanistan. London: Cosmic, 1982, 119 pp.

The preponderance of this book is a diplomatic history of modern Afghanistan. The author sees the current Soviet occupation largely as the result of Western and Afghan failure to confront the instability in Iran under the Shah, and general reluctance to involve India and the USSR in discussions on Afghanistan prior to the invasion. The book is concise, and offers suggestions for diplomatic strategies to resolve the current crisis. The appendices are valuable reference tools and include various Afghan treaties plus lists of members of Afghan cabinets since 1978. (appendices, glossary, index)

Rubenstein, Alvin Z. "The Soviet Union and Afghanistan." Current History, vol. 82 (October 1983), p. 317.

Afghanistan was used by the West as a grudging, neutral buffer against Tsarist, later Soviet, expansionism, from the late 1800s to the early 1900s. Rubenstein recounts Afghanistan's initial success in maintaining that position while bargaining to fend off the British, but contends that in the early twentieth century the rulers of Afghanistan began a tilt toward Moscow. Subsequently this became a full-fledged capitulation, partly to obtain development aid, partly for weapons. The Soviets have exploited this opening with increasing ferocity, culminating in the current occupation. The article also recounts King Zahir Shah's earlier efforts, which he is now repeating from exile, to form a constitutional monarchy. Rubenstein attributes the king's failure to do this to his autocratic personal tendencies and to the abominably ill-chosen royal advisors.

## BANGLADESH

Khan, Zillur R. Leadership in the Least Developed Nation: Bangladesh. Foreign and Comparative Studies/South Asian Series, no. 8. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1983, 209 pp.

The author, who is an established scholar in the field of Bangladesh studies, has produced a fairly straightforward account of Bangladesh's political development since independence in 1971. The chronic problem of political instability is seen as a function of the tenuous links between the post-independence elite and the impoverished masses. Charismatic leaders such as Mujib failed to develop a responsive party system and Bangladesh's one truly national leader, Ziaur Rahman, was eliminated by an assassin's bullet. Although the study does not venture into village- or even district-level politics, the work provides some useful insights into the workings of Bangladesh's highly personalized system of political leadership. (bibliography)

Misra, Jitendra. "Military Intervention in Bangladesh (1975) and Pakistan (1977): A Comparative Study." Quarterly Journal of the Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses, vol. 14 (October-December 1981), pp. 167.

The author finds the root causes for both countries' current instabilities in the era before Bangladesh became a separate nation (1971). The problem was the failure to develop stable non-military governments and the causes still exist today: economic inequities, breakdown of party structures, and absence of consensus on model government. The author analyzes three coups which have occurred in Pakistan since independence.

## INDIA

Atul, Kholi. "Parliamentary Communism and Agrarian Reform: The Evidence from India's Bengal." Asian Survey, vol. 23 (July 1983), p. 783.

This penetrating analysis of West Bengal's Marxist government sheds light on the practical adjustments the Basu ministry has had to make in order to stay in power while at the same time remaining faithful to Marxist principles. Cut from the same cloth as Italy's parliamentary Marxists, the CPM has built up a formidable cadre-based electoral machine in opposition to the Congress-I. Now the single largest opposition party in India, CPM has successfully wooed the middle peasantry by legislating land reform measures and extending credit to small landholders. According to the author, "the CPM is providing clean local administration, effectively implementing rural employment generation schemes, and organizing rural labor unions. These programs by no means add up to a radical alternative to West Bengal's rural poverty. . . . Nevertheless, within the India context, CPM's actions represent a fairly significant pattern of redistributive intervention. If sustained, these initiatives promise to make a dent in the serious rural poverty of West Bengal." (p. 805)

Bhatia, Vinod. Jawaharlal Nehru and the Making of Indo-Soviet Relations (1917-1947). New Delhi: Panscheel, 1981, 173 pp.

This study recounts Pandit Nehru's pre-independence appearances on the diplomatic stages of the USSR and in what has become the Non-Aligned Movement. The details of the Pandit's diplomatic activity are convincing, but the tone occasionally makes it difficult to distinguish the Indian leader's optimism about Soviet intentions from that of the author. Ample attention is paid to the perceived need for a strategy by which non-white peoples could break away not only from colonial bonds, but also from linkages which tended to continue draining Third World resources from the lands where they were found, and from the people who labored to develop them. (bibliography, index)

Chopra, V. D. India and the Socialist World. New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1983, 247 pp.

Whereas most works on India's relations with the Eastern bloc concentrate almost wholly on the Soviet Union, this useful work deals exclusively with India's relations with the non-Soviet bloc, including Mongolia, Cuba, and the three satellite regimes of Southeast Asia. The first part of the book presents in narrative form the historical outlines of Indian policy toward these states, particularly in the context of India's larger geostrategic concerns. The second part of the book focuses narrowly on Indian relations with each country. Regrettably, the author chose not to include a separate chapter on Afghanistan, the most recent entrant into the Soviet orbit. (appendices, bibliography)

Darbari, Raj and Janis. Indira Gandhi's 1028 Days. New Delhi: Hindustan Times Press, 1983, 141 pp.

When Indian voters decisively turned Mrs. Gandhi out of office in 1977 in the aftermath of the Emergency, most writers switched their attention to the curious Janata coalition that came to power. Not so with the Darbari husband-and-wife team who have authored a languorous, almost obsequious tribute to Gandhi's lonely days in political exile during the Janata interregnum. According to the authors, Mrs. Gandhi displayed during this period a "courage that changed the course of history." The work is long on praise, but short on analysis and scholarly objectivity. (illustrations, index)

Gandhi, Indira. Statements on Foreign Policy, January-April 1983. New Delhi: External Publicity Division, Ministry of External Affairs, 1983, 102 pp.

An official government publication designed to publicize the Prime Minister's foreign policy pronouncements to a foreign audience, the volume includes statements on nonalignment, nuclear warfare, disarmament, the Iran-Iraq war, and Indo-Egyptian relations. The occasion for publication of the volume appears to be India's selection as the chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, which met in New Delhi in March 1983.

Gidadhbli, R. G. Indo-Soviet Trade: A Study of Select Items of Export from India in the Soviet Market. Bombay: Somaiya, 1983, 246 pp.

This remarkable volume provides a wealth of statistical data on the non-military side of Indo-USSR economic relations. The author traces the growth in trade in 12 key commodities ranging from tea to textiles. Charts and tables illustrate each item, as well as overall trends in bilateral trade over the past 20 years. The analysis is succinct and devoid of ideological bias. (bibliography, statistical tables)

Goldsmith, Raymond W. The Financial Development of India, 1860-1977. New Haven: Yale University, 1983, 226 pp.

The author presents overviews and aggregate figures of all aspects of Indian financial development, and breaks them down into relevant subsections of the economy. The concepts fall into technical economic categories, but are couched in lay language, with excellent tables and footnotes conveniently placed throughout the text. Where scholars have disagreed, or data is lacking, Mr. Goldsmith provides the reader with a sample of the range of interpretations available. (bibliography, footnotes, tables)

Gupta, Karunakar. Spotlight on Sino-Indian Frontiers. Calcutta: New Book Centre, 1982, 178 pp.

The author of this slim inquiry into the historical antecedents to the Sino-Indian border dispute has undertaken to "set the record straight." According to his analysis, Indian border policy has been based on myths, misperceptions, and conscious distortion of the historical record by policymakers. Although Gupta is careful not to endorse Chinese designs on Indian territory in toto, he is critical of Nehru's clumsy attempts to frame policy toward China on mistaken notions of where the boundary was originally demarcated by the British. The book discusses the border problem, sector by sector, and includes several useful appendices of historical documents. (appendices, index)

Jayaramu, P. S. "India's National Security and Foreign Policy During the Nehru Era." Quarterly Journal of the Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses, vol. 14 (July-September 1981), p. 62.

The author uses Nehru's speeches, and other documents, to prove that the Indian statesman had an accurate strategic perspective, but that he pursued policies generated in nationalist struggles under the Raj: extreme distrust of stronger defense "partners" and suspicion of Pakistan, with its close relationship with the U.S.A. Nehru's goal was consistently pan-Asian solidarity, but this was dealt a death blow by China's invasion of North India in 1962. The author demonstrates that Nehru was not surprised at this aggressive move by Beijing.

Mitra, N. "Nonalignment Today." Quarterly Journal of the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, vol. 14 (October-December 1981), p. 285.

This is a historical overview of the NAM, brought up to date (Winter 1981) on key issues including non-proliferation. The author mentions that some see the movement becoming a pro-Western subterfuge, while others call it a mere Soviet satellite. He reiterates founder Nehru's declarations: that the NAM is not a bloc and has neither common goals nor enemies, but has been devised as a way to help new nations fend for themselves without hurting each other's growth.

Mitra, Sumit. "Storm Between the Lines." India Today, 15 October 1983, p. 78.

Recently a major Delhi publishing house, Vikas, has brought out a book which it claims was authored by Ms. Benazir Bhutto, daughter of the late Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, and currently a leader of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP). Both book and party are banned in Pakistan. However, the statements in the book are such that many persons believe it may have been forged and planted by Pakistan Government officials hoping to either discredit Ms. Bhutto with her followers, or bring her to trial for inciting violence. The article explains the circumstances of the manuscript's availability to Vikas, and subsequent unavailability for examination by the public.

Morello, Ted. "Non-aligned Non-event." Far Eastern Economic Review, 13 October 1983, p. 19.

Indira Gandhi scheduled informal gatherings to coincide with the 38th Session of the United Nations, when she and many other heads of government would be in New York. Few leaders attended, and many resented her attempts to attract public attention while they were speaking in formal sessions. In a press conference with the UN Correspondents Association, she criticized Israel's occupation of the West Bank, but refused to call Soviet presence in Afghanistan an occupation, saying such "complex situations" exist in many parts of the world. The article rehearses Indian policy on other matters as well, including Kampuchea.

Narang, A. S. Storm over the Sutlej: The Akali Politics. New Delhi: Gitanjali, 1983, 261 pp.

The volatile nature of Punjabi politics has, in the past two years, been of crucial importance to the Indian government because of the deteriorating communal situation in that prosperous and strategically located state. This scholarly work deals with the growth and development of the Akali Dal, the political party which represents many of the region's Sikhs. Factionalism within the Sikh community as well as the Akalis' long political fight with the Congress Party are two main topics of discussion. The author treats Sikh separatism as a cultural and economic phenomenon that is spearheaded by a small minority that split from the Akali mainstream. Lavish footnotes make



this book an excellent starting point for researchers interested in the Punjab agitation. (bibliography, index)

Raju, G. C. Thomas. "Prospects for Indo-U.S. Security Ties." Orbis, vol. 27 (Summer 1983), p. 371.

The author argues that "strategic alignments within the global Moscow-Beijing-New Delhi triangle are being transformed so as to make Indo-US security ties possible, if not essential." (p. 378) To bolster his case in support of this argument, the author cites four points. First, India's relations with its adversaries have considerably improved, making Kautilyan strategic calculations less attractive to Indian policymakers. Second, increased Indo-US economic ties can serve as a basis for closer military collaboration. Third, co-production agreements with the United States could benefit both countries, if vexing political issues such as US concerns over nonproliferation can be deemphasized. Fourth, both sides are coming to the realization that a new security relationship need not be premised on mutual perceptions of a common threat, but on common economic interests and political values.

Ram, Mohan. "More Problems in Punjab." Far Eastern Economic Review, 20 October 1983, p. 30.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has imposed presidential rule on Punjab, giving New Delhi paramilitary forces the authority to shoot terrorists on sight, to detain people without legal formalities, and to destroy structures where terrorists are harbored. These measures stop short of martial law, but they point out that so far no political progress has been achieved in calming Sikh unrest. The article enumerates Sikh economic, political, and religious demands.

S. Sarkar, ed. Hindustan Yearbook and Who's Who, 1983. Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar & Sons, 1983, 270 pp.

This is an invaluable research tool and ready-reference manual for India. Divided into brief outlines relating to such diverse topics as education, civil aviation, sports, and mineral production, this is a very usable work. Included is a section on Indian military and political leaders. (index)

Sharma, S. K. and Indra, eds. Rajiv Gandhi: An Annotated Bibliography, 1944-1982. New Delhi: Sawan Publications, 1983, 164 pp.

Published under quasi-official auspices, this fawning coverage of the meager accomplishments of the heir-apparent in the Nehru family dynasty is probably the first of many such volumes to come. The editors piece together English-language articles on Rajiv, annotating each with banal comments such as: "Rajiv's resistance to having anything to do with politics has broken down" (Indian Express, 2 Aug 80). The slim volume is instructive not so much

because of the sources it uncovers, but because Congress-I sycophants are already working hard to etch the career of a future great leader in stone. The book is must reading for Rajiv buffs and scholars of the process of Indian dynastic succession.

Tharoor, Shashi. Reasons of State: Political Development and India's Foreign Policy Under Indira Gandhi 1966-1977. New Delhi: Vikas, 1982, 426 pp.

Tharoor analyzes Mrs. Gandhi's manipulation and/or bypassing of political and governmental processes designed for foreign policy, in a study which is highly critical of the Prime Minister. The author refers to her need to dominate others as a consequence of an insecure childhood. He compares Jawaharlal Nehru's foreign policy conduct, as recounted by Ilchman, in an interesting backdrop to the professional, though not the personal, observations about Mrs. Gandhi. Tharoor also discusses the Indian Parliament's opposition parties, and the Indian populace, as entities with voices to hear, in case one is willing to listen. (index, tables)

#### SOUTH ASIA

Herring, Ronald J. Land to the Tiller: The Political Economy of Agrarian Reform in South Asia. New Haven: Yale University, 1983, 288 pp.

This is a wide-ranging study of economic distribution and redistribution in rural South Asia, using particular regions and programs as examples. The author displays the complexity of the challenge, as well as the vital need for addressing it. (bibliography, index, maps, notes, tables)

Khosla, Inder. "Great Power Interests in the Indian Ocean: Myth and Reality." Quarterly Journal of the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, vol. 14 (October-December 1981), p. 236.

With great suspicion of both Major Cold Warriors, the author explores the stated reasons for great power navies in the Indian Ocean, and then analyzes current technological and strategic imperatives which probably have more to do with the current build-up.

Maslenkov, V. The Co-operative Movement in Asia and Africa. Moscow: Progress, 1983, 208 pp.

The central thesis of this volume is that co-operatives were developed under colonial regimes to enhance export production, and that newly-emerging nations have been hard pressed to redirect them toward development goals. Numbers are offered in no particular order to prove that Soviet bloc nations have assisted in this development and that many nations have made substantial progress in developing cooperative movements useful to their citizens. Examples to support the premise are drawn from various former colonial empires. (notes, tables)

Mitra, N. "Nonaligned Today." Quarterly Journal of the Institute for Defence Studies for Analyses, vol. 14 (October-December 1981), p. 285.

This is a historical overview of the NAM, brought up to date (winter 1981) on key issues including non-proliferation. The author suggests that some see the movement becoming a pro-Western subterfuge, while others call it a mere Soviet satellite. He reiterates founder Nehru's declarations: that the NAM is not a bloc and has neither common goals nor enemies, but has been devised as a way to help new nations fend for themselves without hurting each other's growth.

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Wilson, A. Jayaratnam and Dalton, Dennis, eds. The States of South Asia: Problems of National Integration. London: C. Hurst, 1982, 326 pp.

Political scientists often distinguish between the state (organs of government and administration) and the nation (a group of people which has bound itself into a cohesive whole which is either unified or strongly associated). In this collection of essays in honor of W. H. Morris-Jones, top scholars treat both aspects of modern South Asian countries. Although many South Asian political leaders have stressed the hope that heterogeneous groups will evolve into single nations, the governments of India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh have had to intervene to suppress popular unrest reflecting persistent communal or regional problems. Sri Lanka followers will be especially pleased to see the four chapters on that country. (bibliography, footnotes).

#### PAKISTAN

Bhutto (?), Benazir. Pakistan: The Gathering Storm. New Delhi: Vikas, 1983, 116 pp.

Whether the daughter of executed Prime Minister Z. A. Bhutto actually authored this rabidly anti-Zia tract has become a subject of much debate. Pakistani authorities regard the book as an Indian forgery intended to discredit the military regime and give succour to the domestic opponents of the

regime. New Delhi denies that it had any hand in the publication, although a number of skeptical Indian analysts have also cast doubts on the authenticity of the book's authorship. Whoever wrote the book, however, is decidedly out of touch with the political sensitivities of a large portion of Pakistan's population. Although scabrous attacks on the Zia regime can be expected in a publication of this kind, the book betrays unsophisticated left-wing radicalism. Among the other foreign policy suggestions the author makes are an accommodation with the Soviets in Afghanistan, a severing of the strategic relationship with the United States, and a rapprochement with India. (appendices)

Chopra, Chan, ed. Contemporary Pakistan: New Aims and Images. New Delhi: Vikas, 1983, 184 pp.

Eight Indian journalists discuss recent visits to various places in Pakistan, where they were warmly welcomed. There are several interviews with President Zia ul-Haq. This collection of human experiences and observations greatly broadens any superficial attempts to define "modern Pakistan." In the introduction, editor Pran Chopra makes the case for peace between the two nations, and the articles have been chosen to buttress that plea.

Lodhi, Maleeha. "The Only Way - OUT." South, the Third World Magazine, October 1983, p. 9.

The author retraces the current instabilities in Pakistan vis-a-vis the nation's history of unpredictable leadership succession, economic disparities, and regional factionalism. The article provides a good overview of Pakistan's failure to evolve into a smoothly functioning political unit, either as a people or as a government.

Misra, Jitendra. "Military Intervention in Bangladesh (1975) and Pakistan (1977): A Comparative Study." Quarterly Journal of the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, vol. 14 (October-December 1981), p. 167.

The author finds the root causes for both countries' current instabilities in the era before Bangladesh became a separate nation (1971). The problem was the failure to develop stable non-military governments and the causes still exist today: economic inequities, breakdown of party structures, and absence of consensus. The author analyses three coups which have occurred in Pakistan since independence.

Subramahnyam, K. "Pakistan's Credibility Gap." Quarterly Journal of the Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses, vol. 14 (July-September 1981), p. 220.

The author compares Pakistan's published defense budget--which is not itemized--with India's, and concludes that the full extent of Pakistan's expenditures is not revealed publicly. By reviewing military resources

which Pakistan is known to possess, and estimating the cost of equivalent items in India or on the open market, the author presents a valuable juxtaposition of the defense capabilities of the two South Asian nations.

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