**4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE**
A Selective, Annotated Bibliography on the Nations of South Asia (Part I)

**6. AUTHOR(S)**
Barbara LePoer

**7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)**
Federal Research Division
Library of Congress
Washington, DC 20540-4840

**9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)**
N/A

**11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES**
Prepared under an Interagency Agreement

**12a. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT**
Approved for public release; distribution unlimited.

**13. ABSTRACT (Maximum 200 words)**
Monthly (previously annual, semiannuual, and quarterly) bibliography series contains citations of monographs and serial articles relating to the countries of the Indian subcontinent: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. The compilation is selective and is intended principally as a reference work for research on the foreign relations, governments, and politics of the nations concerned.

**14. SUBJECT TERMS**
South Asia
Afghanistan
Bangladesh
Bhutan
India
Pakistan
Maldives
Sri Lanka
Government
Politics
Foreign relations

**17. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF REPORT**
UNCLASSIFIED

**18. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE**
UNCLASSIFIED

**19. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF ABSTRACT**
UNCLASSIFIED

**15. NUMBER OF PAGES**
23

**16. PRICE CODE**

**20. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT**
SAR
A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON
THE NATIONS OF SOUTH ASIA
(Received in July-September 1983)

January 1984

Author: Barbara A. LePoer
PREFACE

This bibliography contains citations of monographs and serial articles relating to countries of the Indian Subcontinent: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. The compilation is selective and is intended principally as a reference work for research on the foreign relations, governments, and politics of the nations concerned. The bibliography comprises works received between 1 July-30 September 1983.

The bibliography is divided into eight sections, one for each of the countries plus an opening section of general South Asian interest and reference. The sections are subdivided into monographs and serials, with the view toward aiding the reader who wishes to identify quickly a longer treatment of a particular subject.

Monographs are listed alphabetically by author or by title where no author is given. Wherever a copy of material being cited could be obtained, a brief abstract, review, or summary is presented with the citation. Where existence of a work was reported (e.g., in publishers' notices, review articles, etc.) but a copy could not be obtained by the time of publication, the monograph is merely cited, or cited with minimal description. Included among the monographs are some entries dated before 1983. In some cases these are books of scholarly interest listed in previous bibliographies of this series, but not described; in other cases they are materials not previously identified but considered useful and worth including here.

Serials are listed chronologically, thus enabling the reader to find accounts of particular events reasonably clustered together. Quarterlies precede monthlies, which are followed by weeklies organized by date. Two entries of the same date are alphabetized by the name of the serial and thereunder by the author's name.

Subsequent issues in this series of bibliographies will appear on a monthly basis.

Contributors to this volume are Barbara A. LePoer, Douglas C. Makeig, and Russell R. Ross. Word processing was accomplished by Amelia J. Tate.
A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
OF THE NATIONS OF SOUTH ASIA
(Received in July - September 1983)

SOUTH ASIA

Monographs


The Indian Ocean—its history, resources, and problems—are viewed from the Indian perspective. World War II serves as a watershed in the development of the Indian Ocean littoral, as 36 newly independent nations have emerged since that time in the region. The author focuses on this new strategic map and its impact on India, which historically has preferred to look landward rather than seaward. A map illustrates the military presence of outsiders in the region: US, USSR, Britain, and France. Chopra also discusses the failure of the Indian Ocean zone of peace proposals to have any impact on developments in the region. Briefly discussed are the Nonaligned Movement, North-South competition, international conferences on sea law, and the untapped resources of the ocean. (bibliography, index, maps)


The real debate in the Indian Ocean region today is not between East and West but between North and South. Despite the ups and downs of superpower relations, according to the author, Soviet and American interests are globally parallel. Starting with this premise, Kapur analyzes superpower approaches to world relations against the backdrop of the changing strategic environment of the Indian Ocean region. The stated purpose of the study is to provide rethinking of Indian Ocean security problems, by which is meant seeing these problems from the vantage point of the South. (appendix, bibliography, index, map, tables)


The impact of industrialization on a traditional society is examined in the setting of the textile industry in the city of Coimbatore in Tamil Nadu State, South India. (bibliography, index, tables)


This revised and updated version of Ziring's 1978 book is, according to the editor, essentially a new volume. All chapters have been rewritten and several new ones added, including chapters on Soviet foreign policy in the region and the Afghanistan invasion. (bibliographies, index)
Serials


Speculating on the chances of a political solution in Afghanistan, the author notes a number of factors that militate against it. Among these are the atmosphere of confrontation between the superpowers; the unwillingness of the Afghan refugees to return to an Afghanistan still under Soviet control; the lack of preconditions for a more representative government in Afghanistan; the growing polarization of Afghanistan's political forces and the determination of the resistance movement within the country; and the Soviet Union's lack of willingness to give up its position in Afghanistan without guarantee of a pro-Moscow government in Kabul. Braun suggests that India is the key to the stalemate and that the solution lies in India offering Pakistan a peace proposal, including an accord on Afghanistan calling for Soviet withdrawal. This agreement, he argues, would have to be taken seriously by Moscow.


The third round of the indirect talks in Geneva between the foreign ministers of Pakistan and Afghanistan and UN mediator Diego Cordovez ended on 24 June. Cordovez stated that a draft agreement was near completion and differences were narrowing, but it was too simplistic to speak in terms of either a breakthrough or a deadlock. Still at issue are the withdrawal from Afghanistan of more than 100,000 Soviet troops and the repatriation of 4.5 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan and Iran.


"We get along without you very well," is the message of a recent trade report published by the Afghan UN mission, which attempts to show that US economic sanctions against the Moscow-aligned regime of Babrak Karmal have been ineffective. The leading Afghan trading partners, according to the report, are Japan and West Germany with India and Pakistan listed as leading trading partners among the developing nations. Other countries with which Afghanistan has trade or other economic agreements include France, the Netherlands, Italy, Canada, Egypt, and Bangladesh. The findings of the report are somewhat obscured by a paucity of hard data. The total lack of figures on the natural gas-military hardware exchange between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union is attributed to the fact that these transactions are carried out under barter agreements. The report accuses the United States of not only "cutting off every penny" of assistance to the Afghan government, but also exerting pressure on the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and the UN Development Program to do the same.
BANGLADESH

Serials


Efforts to rehabilitate the tea industry of Bangladesh are beginning to bear fruit. Export earnings for 1982-83 were up 45 percent over the previous year. Efforts are being made not only to produce more tea, but higher quality tea as well. Kamaluddin presents a general discussion of the Bangladesh tea industry, citing production and export figures and noting some problems such as land tenure of the tea estates.


Bangladesh's Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad has set back his projected national election date from October 1984 to March 1985, amid outcries from the 15-party opposition alliance that Ershad is attempting to perpetuate his military role. Elections to local, municipal, and district councils, are currently scheduled to take place sometime between December of this year and March 1984. But, Ershad has stated that the March 1985 general elections will take place only if there is peace and discipline in the country and a congenial atmosphere. Meanwhile, he has attempted to meet separately with the leaders of the various political parties. Members of the 15-party alliance have refused to meet except as a group.


The jute industry of Bangladesh appears to be bouncing back from a slump induced by the worldwide recession. Exports are up as well as prices, the latter by 10 percent. The largest factor has been the recovery of the US carpetbacking market, for which Bangladesh supplies nearly 80 percent of the jute. This latter commodity is the mainstay of the Bangladesh economy, and the country is the world's leading supplier. The government is in the midst of denationalizing the country's jute mills, which were nationalized in 1972. Kamaluddin notes other important jute markets for Bangladesh and discusses problems in production and price stabilization.


Bangladesh's oil imports in 1982-83 were equal to 84 percent of its export earnings for that year. It is widely believed, however, that the country has extensive natural gas reserves, which in recent years Bangladesh has attempted to explore and harness on its own. World Bank has now agreed to finance $23 million of a $25.7 million project to conduct a seismic survey, determine proven reserves in at least 6 gasfields, and offer specific areas to prospective multinational companies for exploration.

Biman, the national airline of Bangladesh, has recently purchased two DC 10-30 widebodied jets from Singapore Airlines with funds provided by the Bangladesh Bank, the country's central bank. The author gives a narrative of Biman's equipment, routes, past performance, and future plans.

INDIA

Monographs


This reference work presents Indian economic events between 1947 and early 1983 in a chronological format. The entries cover a wide range of events including: economic treaties and agreements, related political events, loans, Government of India actions in the economic field, events in private industry, related military developments, and natural and man-made disasters. A great deal of information is presented that could be analyzed for trends in the direction of the Indian economy. Also useful are the appendixes, which provide a handy source of data on population, domestic profits, agricultural and industrial production, imports, exports, foreign aid, and development plans during the period since independence. (appendixes, bibliography, tables)


The Indian Ocean—its history, resources, and problems—are viewed from the Indian perspective. World War II serves as a watershed in the development of the Indian Ocean littoral, as 36 newly independent nations have emerged since that time in the region. The author focuses on this new strategic map and its impact on India, which historically has preferred to look landward rather than seaward. A map illustrates the military presence of outsiders in the region: US, USSR, Britain, and France. Chopra also discusses the failure of the Indian Ocean zone of peace proposals to have any impact on developments in the region. Briefly discussed are the Nonaligned Movement, North-South competition, international conferences on sea law, and the untapped resources of the ocean. (bibliography, index, maps)


One of the main issues between the Sikhs of Punjab and the Indian central government is the use of the waters of the Ravi and Beas Rivers, to which Punjab claims riparian rights. The author traces the disputes between Punjab and Haryana States and the central government's "studied attempt to erode the legitimate entitlement of Punjab to the waters of Ravi and Beas" in favor of Haryana. As the former chief engineer of irrigation works for Punjab, the
author presents a knowledgeable, if somewhat biased, account of the problem. (appendixes, map, tables)


As population pressures have continued to mount in India, tribal people have consistently lost ground to economically more advanced and politically more powerful ethnic groups. The author, a student of the problem for forty years and professor emeritus in Asian anthropology at the University of London, analyzes the process of expropriation and oppression, focusing on the tribes of Andhra Pradesh State. The single bright spot in tribal India seems to be Arunachal Pradesh State where tribals have been able to retain a majority and manage their own affairs. The final chapter is a half-hearted exhortation to the political leaders of India to develop enlightened tribal policies in accordance with a spirit of cultural tolerance and an appreciation of tribal values. (bibliography, glossary, index, maps, photographs, tables)


The rise in oil prices beginning in 1973 have impacted severely on oil-poor third world countries such as India, who have turned to nuclear power for their energy needs. This study begins with a review of India's power needs and resources and then reviews the history of India's nuclear program (including an appendix on its nuclear explosion of 1974). A detailed assessment is made of the performance of nuclear power in India and the prospect for fast breeder reactors and the use of thorium within India. From India's experience with nuclear power are drawn some considerations for other third world countries. A brief comparison is made of the Indian nuclear program with the nuclear capability of other third world countries who currently have programs or are likely to acquire them in the near future. (bibliography, index, tables)


Since its independence, predictions have been commonly made that India's diversity and economic problems will ultimately lead to either disintegration or to an authoritarian regime. Despite these two disintegrative forces, India has continued to function in a democratic manner. Conflicting forces in India, according to this study, are allowed to cooperate through mediating institutions that serve as bridging mechanisms between opposing groups. Among the barriers to integration that are discussed are language, religion, caste, the rural-urban gap, and strained center-state relations. Bridging mechanisms include both traditional and modern institutions and organizations. The Emergency years (1975-79) come in for special examination, particularly of the factors that led India into the Emergency and what brought it back to democracy. (index, tables)

The real debate in the Indian Ocean region today is not between East and West but between North and South. Despite the ups and downs of superpower relations, according to the author, Soviet and American interests are globally parallel. Starting with this premise, Kapur analyzes superpower approaches to world relations against the backdrop of the changing strategic environment of the Indian Ocean world. The stated purpose of the study is to provoke rethinking of Indian Ocean security problems, by which is meant seeing these problems from the vantage point of the South. (appendix, bibliography, index, map, tables)


South Asia has often been described as a "linguistic madhouse." This study focuses particularly on the problems encountered by India in dealing with its linguistic diversity over the past three decades. Some of the issues addressed include: the impact of the politicization of the language issue in education; the dynamics of rival pressure groups over language privileges; the limitations of affecting language change through "intellectual" fostering of language standards; and the growing acceptance of linguistic and cultural pluralism throughout the world. Tables on the population of the various linguistic groups are especially useful. (appendix, bibliography, index, tables)


The triangular interaction of India, Pakistan, and Britain beginning in 1947 is the focus of this study, which is largely confined to an examination of India's foreign policy during the 1950s and 1960s. Almost as an afterthought, a final chapter is included summing up Indian reactions to Bangladesh, superpower rivalry in the Indian Ocean, and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. (bibliography, index)


Both the unity and diversity of Indian culture are analyzed in this collection of essays by 22 US, British, and Indian scholars. The range of topics includes literacy, literature, art, architecture, classical dance, religion, philosophy, urban and rural life, diet, and ethnicity. Copious use of photographs, diagrams, drawings, and maps greatly enhance the value of the book and give life to the subject matter. (figures, index, maps, photographs)

Presented is a brief history and description of India's Territorial Army, a part time, voluntary adjunct to the Indian Army. (appendixes, photos)


The author, who has been deeply involved in the politics of Jammu and Kashmir for nearly forty years, presents a first person account of the struggle for regional autonomy by the Jammu region. The study is important for the light it sheds on one of the major points of contention (and casus belli) between India and Pakistan. There are a number of appendixes ("annexures"), including recommendations of various commissions on the Jammu and Kashmir question and a 1981 census report of the region by district. (appendixes, bibliography, index)


Nearly four decades of Indo-Soviet political and diplomatic relations are presented in a chronological format. This reference book is not, however, as useful as it might appear; mostly it's a chronicle of mutual backpating: statements of goodwill, anniversary congratulations, friendship missions, etc. Important exchanges, such as Defence Minister Ustinov's visit in March 1982 are buried among more pedestrian events. Among foreign policy communiques and topics reportedly discussed in high-level meetings, there is no suggestion of any divergence of viewpoint on any topic. The book is useful, however, if only to show how well-beaten is the path between India and the Soviet Union, especially by trade, industrial, and cultural missions. Appendixes include texts of the 1971 Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty and joint declarations made in 1955 and 1982, as well as a list of each country's ambassadors. (appendixes, bibliography)


In writing his third book on India's North-East and the bordering areas of Sikkim and Bhutan, the author draws on a long career as an Indian Civil Service adviser in the region. The book is useful for the cultural insight it provides on the current problems in Assam. The central message is that the pace of change in any community must not exceed the capacity of the community to absorb this change without detriment to its essential values. (bibliography, index, map, photos)


Bouquets are thrown to the Soviets for their "selfless" assistance to Indian economic development. Brickbats are thrown at the United States for its aid,
which "has been motivated by efforts to make India a partner in that country's global strategy." Following this unflattering comparison, an accounting is given of Soviet collaboration in India's oil industry. Also promised is a thorough survey of trade relations between India and the USSR "to rebut the criticism made in the Western countries and inside India" about the current state of Indo-Soviet relations. Sources for the numerous tables are all Government of India publications, so it is unlikely that any new light is shed on the closely-guarded subject of trade relations between those two countries (bibliography, tables)


The Indian economy has experienced substantial growth as a result of foreign assistance, particularly US aid. Yet India tends to treat such assistance as an "unwelcome guest." The author reviews the history of foreign assistance to India and analyzes particularly the impact of US aid on agriculture, industry, transport, and social programs, which he concludes has been largely positive. Criticism of US aid centers around dumping of surpluses, the strings-attached nature of the aid, the opulent lifestyles of US consultants and advisers (paid for out of the aid package), and attempts by the United States to use foreign aid as a leverage in exerting influence in the political sphere. He concludes with suggestions on how India can avoid such problems in the future in accepting foreign assistance. (bibliography, index, tables)

Serials


Behind India's paralysis of policy toward the Afghanistan problem lies a real debate within the Indian security community over whether India and Pakistan can reach an accommodation in which they can live in peace, or whether Pakistan will become so unstable and provocative that another war (this time to the finish) will be necessary. The author believes that detente between the two South Asian countries is possible. The chief factor favoring accommodation is a growing recognition by Indians and Pakistanis that detente is in the best interests of both. Outsiders (the Western powers and Japan) could do much to contribute to regional stability by offering economic support for joint Indo-Pakistani programs such as power and river irrigation projects. The alternatives to detente, according to Cohen, include: 1) continuation of the status quo of hostility between India and Pakistan just short of war; 2) India's destruction of Pakistan's military capability and emergence as the dominant power of the region; and 3) the increase of Soviet influence to where Moscow manages the affairs of the subcontinent.

This column on Asian Defense news included the following items on India. Defence Minister R. Venkataraman, in a recent address to the Air Force Commanders Conference, stated that India needed to reequip its Air Force in light of the military expansion going on in India's neighborhood. New aircraft to be acquired include Mirage 2000s, MiG-27/FLOGGER Ds, HPT-32 and MkII trainer aircraft, and An-32 transport planes. India is also considering purchasing from the United States C-130 transport planes and F-20 Tigershark jet fighters. India manufactures about 85 percent of its weapons needs but has shown interest in purchasing US-made 50-caliber machine guns and self-propelled 155mm artillery. Indian space scientists recently launched a 41.5 kg satellite into orbit from an island in the Bay of Bengal and have reportedly achieved the potential to manufacture intermediate range ballistic missiles. India's estimated import bill for weapons during the fiscal year ending March 1984 is expected to reach about $900 million. The Indian Navy recently showed the flag in Singapore, Bangkok, and a number of Gulf ports.


The spare parts for India's Tarapur nuclear plant could be caught in a battle between the US Congress and President Ronald Reagan if a third country doesn't agree to supply the parts. Only three countries outside the United States (Japan, Italy, and West Germany) have plants where the spares might be obtained. If they refuse, the Reagan administration is reportedly prepared to waive the provisions of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act that bans the transfer of nuclear material to nations not meeting certain safety standards, or those producing fissionable material, such as plutonium, that could be used to manufacture weapons. This would probably cause a major rift between the president and Congress in view of the leakage problems at the Tarapur plant and recent US reports alleging India's intent to stage an underground nuclear test.


Prime Minister Indira Gandhi broke with tradition in appointing a new army chief of staff over the head of the senior officer in line for the position. Gen. A. S. Vaidya, who is known to have pro-Gandhi political views, was appointed over Gen. S. L. Sinha, a proponent of more military say in the civilian-controlled defense bureaucracy. The author questions whether the armed forces can remain insulated from political pressure if promotions are based on criteria other than seniority.


Former Indian Army officer Rama Rao, currently with Birla Institute of Scientific Research, in a guest editorial presents a defense of India's nuclear
power program. After countering criticism of the program and espousing self-reliance in production of materials and components, he arrives at the conclusion that India should acquire a "modest nuclear arsenal." His convoluted reasoning is that this would help deter threats by other regional nuclear powers (read Pakistan, China) or the United States. The latter, according to Daniel Ellsberg (of Watergate fame), is most likely to threaten "smaller, less powerful countries with no nuclear weapons" and who "are either aligned with the Soviet Union or have received some Soviet support." Building a small arsenal (which "is unlikely to be beyond India's means or technological capabilities") would hopefully enable India to be "left in peace and be able to devote its attention and resources to solving its many economic and social problems."


The authors present a dismal assessment of the Punjab crisis, saying that there is no sign of any resolution of the deadlock between the Akalis and the central government. They also state that the confrontation has passed the point of no return and Punjab is on the brink, presumably of outright rebellion. Both sides have hardened their positions in recent months. The state and central government together are moving to increase the judicial power of magistrates in Punjab, increase the punishment for possession of illegal arms, and beef up army and police strength in the state. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has made very tough statements on the Punjab agitation in other parts of the country, and the Akali leaders have accused her of using the situation to further her political goals.


India claims that, even though it is not a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, it has no intention of using reprocessed fuel for making weapons-grade plutonium, and has denied Washington Post reports that it is preparing to repeat its "peaceful nuclear explosion" of 1974. The author surveys India's rather ambitious plans for increasing its nuclear power facilities, noting that nearly every Indian state is lobbying for a station, even those with large coal reserves.


The betting in some quarters is that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi will call an early election rather than waiting for the scheduled January 1985 poll. Some opposition leaders, however, predict that she will at least wait until after the April 1984 elections, which will see replacement of one-half of the upper house of Parliament by new MPs elected by the state legislatures. The Congress (I) Party expects to obtain a two-thirds majority in the upper house as a result. With a two-thirds majority in both houses, Gandhi could amend the Constitution to establish a presidential system, her critics claim, in order to open the way for the succession of her son, Rajiv. The author
discusses the state of the opposition and predicts that the longterm future points toward coalition government with the gradual erosion of the power of Congress (I) and strengthening of the regional parties.


An appraisal of the progress of India's sixth five-year plan reveals that industrial output is way off target and that there are short falls in the critical sectors of agriculture and energy. The author discusses the factors that have led to the shortfalls, including power shortages, labor problems, rising prices, drought, failure to expand irrigation facilities, etc. He predicts that some of the current plan projects and goals will spill over into the seventh plan. Also discussed is the dissatisfaction of the states with some economic policies of the central government.


The Soviets demonstrated once again the importance they place on their friendship with India and its ruling family by the reception they accorded Rajiv Gandhi during his July visit to Moscow. Despite an extremely important simultaneous visit by West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, top Soviet leaders, including Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, First Vice-President V. Kuznetsov, and Defence Minister Dmitri Ustinov, found time to meet with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's son. The article contrasts Rajiv's personal style with that of his deceased brother Sanjay and states that the visit gave the Soviets an opportunity to take the measure of Rajiv outside the shadow of his mother.


Despite the title, the article presents a good, short summary of India's total military strength and organization in all services. Only at the end of the discussion does the author pose the following question: Since India's blue water Navy is far and away the most effective among the Indian Ocean littoral states and far and away more powerful than would be required to deal with Pakistan, why are plans being formulated to enlarge it even further? Among the speculative answers he suggests are: an Indian quest for the means to impose stability on the newly independent island states of Maldives, Seychelles, Mauritius, or even Sri Lanka; ability to "assist" overseas Indians in such places as Malaysia and Singapore; and a means of "buying" Indian military abstention from politics by meeting Indian military demands for a larger armed forces.


The author never gets around to answering the question posed in the title. Rather, he surveys domestic and international criticism of India's nuclear program and then counters it with India's rationale for continuing on the
nuclear road. The bottom line seems to be that in view of Pakistan's nuclear program and reported efforts to attain nuclear weapons capability, India feels it would be dangerous to abandon its nuclear program.


India clearly intends to maintain its military superiority over its neighbors, and in fact, widen the gap by purchasing top-grade equipment from the Soviet Union and Western Europe and by upgrading its own arms industry. Recent and upcoming purchases include British Sea King Mark 5 helicopters, British Sea Eagle missiles, French Mirage 2000s, and Soviet T72 tanks. Also on India's shopping list are a second aircraft carrier, submarines, an antisubmarine weapons system, and an AWACS. India's own arms production has doubled in the past two years, amounting to over $1 billion in fiscal year 1983. Its arms sales abroad are expected to reach $300 million by 1985.


In a guest editorial, the former editor of the Statesman (Calcutta) makes dire predictions regarding the future of India if Prime Minister Indira Gandhi continues on her course of dividing the Hindu-Aryan heartland from the rest of the country. South India and the northern border states of Assam, Punjab, and Kashmir have already been alienated by Gandhi's strong centrist policies and failure to anticipate crises or deal with them once they occur. At the center of the prime minister's problems, according to Chopra, is her belief that only she (or her son Rajiv) know what is best for India and her practice of replacing all persons of ability or power with yesmen and "dwarfs."


The Indian Air Force continues to make plans to beef up its aircraft inventory. Under a recent agreement with the Soviet Union, India will begin production of the MiG-27/FLOGGER-D ground-attack aircraft at Nasik in 1984. Negotiations are also underway to buy Ilyushin (Il)-76 medium range transport planes. In a longer term project India is planning to design and develop an indigenous light combat aircraft. The National Aeronautical Laboratory in Bangalore will work with an unnamed outside manufacturer (either American, British, French, or German) on the 10-year project.


The Indian microelectronics industry hopes to catch up to world standards in the next 10 years through a $213 million public sector investment in research and development. India's electronics industry is described as currently being an elementary assembly operation. It produces the electronic equipment for the MiG-21, the MiG-23, and the Jaguar aircraft, but it must import most of the components to do so. The author discusses the current state of the Indian electronics industry and its plans for catching up.

India has managed to stave off a balance of payments crisis through such remedies as tax reforms, saving incentives, export promotion, liberalization of imports, and stepped-up resource mobilization. Consequently, it has asked the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for only $1.2 billion of its full entitlement of $1.5 billion Special Drawing Rights under the $5 billion loan it received in 1981. Nonetheless, India faces serious repayment problems over the long run, which, according to the author, can only mean another round of borrowing.


As part of its cover story on Asian oil exploration in 1983, Ram surveys the history of India's unsuccessful attempts at exploration, which he describes as being jinxed at every stage. The Indian Oil and Natural Gas Commission (ONGC), established in 1956, has as its goal self-sufficiency by 1990, an ambitious undertaking since India currently imports 60 percent of its oil needs. India historically has vacillated between going it alone in its exploration attempts and seeking foreign participation and still is undecided on the better course. If it does decide to seek outside assistance, however, India will have to offer better terms than it has in the past.


Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has begun efforts as mediator between the Sri Lankan Government and that country's leading Tamil party, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). Mrs. Gandhi reports Colombo ready to negotiate on a number of points including increased autonomy in local government, Tamil as a second national language, discontinuation of the active presence of armed forces in Jaffna, a dialogue on amnesty, and other contentious issues. Mrs. Gandhi also assured President Junius Jayewardene that India is pledged to the national integrity of Sri Lanka, although India is also committed to the welfare of Sri Lanka's Tamils. How India hopes to tread this narrow diplomatic path is not clear. Nor is it clear how TULF leaders will respond to Sri Lankan Government demands for an end to separatism.

"A Mediating Role for India?" Asiaweek, 26 August 1983, p. 15.

Hector Jayewardene, brother of Sri Lankan President Junius Jayewardene, and Appapillai Amirthalingam, leader of the opposition Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) party have met separately with Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, who is attempting to mediate a solution to the standoff between the Sri Lankan Government and the Tamil population of that country. Meanwhile life in Sri Lanka slowly begins to return to normal after the communal violence and destruction of July.

The answer to the soap opera title question is, "No." India must seek its own identity, no matter what the cost. Singh traces the history of US-British-Indian-Pakistani-Soviet-Chinese relations since 1947 from the Indian viewpoint. It is not a bad summary for so short a space. Coming up to the present, he admits India's real unhappiness over the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and even regret over the Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty. India's attempts to distance itself from the Soviets by improved relations with China, the United States, and Pakistan are acknowledged. But the bottom line is that there are certain seemingly unreconcilable issues that will continue to keep India and the United States at arms length, including the Indian Ocean, nuclear nonproliferation, and US failure to acknowledge India as a regional power.


India's new naval acquisitions underscore its determination to become the region's leading maritime power, according to this Australian writer. India has recently contracted to buy advanced British Sea King helicopters, which will be fitted with British Sea Eagle air-to-surface antiship missiles. The reported order for 20 Sea Kings plus an option for at least 20 more will give India a naval helicopter strength equal to that of the British Navy and three or four times that of the Australian Navy.


India has decided to sign the International Antarctic Treaty of 1959, which is aimed at managing conflicting territorial claims and guaranteeing that the continent will be used for peaceful purposes. New Delhi has handed over its instrument of accession to the treaty and indicated that it is ready to take part in consultative meetings under the treaty. India sent expeditions to Antarctica in 1981 and 1983.


India's opposition parties are beginning to patch up their differences in an attempt to form a united front in case Prime Minister Indira Gandhi calls a snap election in 1984. The Janata Party has formed an alliance with three smaller parties, and the two other principal opposition parties, the Lok Dal and Bharatiya Janata, are currently sitting as a united block in parliament. If these two alliances joined together and brought in some regional parties, they would pose a serious threat to Gandhi's Congress (I) Party.
India's new multipurpose satellite, launched 31 August by the US space shuttle Challenger, will have applications for telecommunications, meteorology, radio, and television. The satellite, Insat-IB, will provide more than 8,000 two-way long distance circuits accessible from any part of India. Television coverage will expand from 25 to 75 percent of the country by 1984, providing better dissemination of educational, health, and agricultural information and earlier warning of such natural disasters as floods and tropical storms.


Bombay is highly vulnerable to attack by Pakistani aircraft, according to this article. Among the facilities that make Bombay a prime target for any enemy pilot are its Trombay atomic reactor, Tata Thermal Plant, docks, international airport, industrial complex, key government building, naval and air force bases, research institutions, corporate headquarters, and petroleum industry. The author recommends the immediate establishment of an air, sea, and land defense system around Bombay and the dispersal of the above-mentioned facilities inland, scattering them around the country.


India and the Soviet Union continue to wrangle over the rupee trade imbalance (in India's favor) between them. India's exports to the Soviet Union, which have grown steadily since the 1970s and increased dramatically in the last several years, consist mainly of agricultural raw materials and products. In recent years, however, industrial goods have amounted to about 20 percent of India's exports to the Soviet Union. The Soviets complain that India buys too little and only "dollar savers" such as oil and fertilizer, which account for 80 percent of India's imports from the Soviet Union. Following ministerial talks in September, India promised to make more diversified purchases. But the author questions whether, with the Soviet and Indian economies growing steadily less complementary, the Indo-Soviet rupee trade will remain viable in the future.

**MALDIVES**

**Serials**


President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom has been nominated for a second term by the Maldivian Citizens' Majlis (parliament), and his re-election by popular referendum on 30 September is virtually assured. The 46-year-old Islamic scholar is popular for his efforts in developing and modernizing the Maldives, particularly the remote outlying islands.
NEPAL


Prime Minister Surya Bahadur Thapa's five-year term of office, which began with his unopposed election in 1981, was cut short by a vote of no-confidence by the assembly on 11 July. Thapa came under fire for his failure to cope with food shortages and corruption. The opposition, in this partyless system of government, was led by Lokendra Bahadur Chand who was elected unopposed the following day. Other opposition leaders included some of the 24 members nominated by King Birendra, who promptly accepted Chand as the new prime minister.


Nepal's Prime Minister Surya Bahadur Thapa received a crushing vote of no-confidence (108-17) in the National Panchayat (assembly) on July 11. The following day, the leader of the movement to oust Thapa, Lokendra Bahadur Chand, was elected prime minister. Thapa had been under fire for alleged dishonesty and corruption but refused to step down voluntarily. He is described as a shrewd and pragmatic politician whose main weakness was his inability to control the rank-and-file ministers in the partyless panchayat system with which Nepal has struggled for two decades. Chand was appointed to the assembly in 1975 and elected in 1981 from the constituency of Baitadi, west of Kathmandu. He was chairman of the assembly in 1980-81 and served the previous five years as its deputy.


Nepal's extremely serious financial condition is blamed largely on the policies of previous prime minister, Surya Bahadur Thapa and his finance minister Yadav Prasad Pand. The new government of Prime Minister Lokendra Bahadur Chand is being criticized in the National Panchayat (assembly) for adopting the Thapa budget soon after taking over. The author recites a litany of financial blunders and national disasters—from overdrawn government bank accounts to delayed monsoons—that have led Nepal to its present precarious economic situation.

PAKISTAN

Monographs


A thorough, if somewhat biased, account of the 1965 Indo-Pakistani war is presented by the commander-in-chief of the Pakistan Army during the war.
General Musa wrote his account—based on memory, his private notes, and occasional assistance from wartime colleagues—without recourse to official records. The result is an interesting first-person account of the war, including political events leading up to the conflict, strategic background, major operations and battles, the cease-fire, and post cease-fire activities. (appendixes, index, maps, photographs)

Serials

Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, vol. 6 (Summer 1983).

This issue of the Journal includes papers on the findings of a research program on Pakistan and the surrounding region carried out by the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation's Research Institute. Papers of particular interest include: "The United States and Pakistan: Troubled Alliance," by Lawrence Ziring (pp. 39-54); "Martial Law and Political Development in Pakistan," by Hafeez Maliz (pp. 66-77); "The Current Internal Constellation in Pakistan," by Munir D. Ahmet (pp. 78-89); and "The Economic Situation of Pakistan in 1982," by Wolfgang-Peter Zingel (pp. 90-104).


Pakistan's security environment, according to the author, is a sea of crises: the Soviets entrenched in Afghanistan, serious political turmoil in Iran, instability in the Gulf, and an impressive buildup of the Indian military might. These factors are all discussed with emphasis on India's hostility toward Pakistan and friendship with the Soviet Union. Washington is seen as an undependable ally, based on past performance during the Indo-Pakistani wars. Having described the dangers of Pakistan's security dilemma, the author counsels a policy of equidistance between Moscow, Washington, and Beijing and strict adherence to the nation's newly-acquired status of non-alignment.


Pakistani Finance Minister Ghulam Ishaq Khan presents a review of fiscal year 1983, which ended in July. It was basically a good year with a few rough spots. A bumper wheat crop brought a 4.8 percent growth over 1982 in the key agricultural sector, even though rice and sugar cane production were down. The GNP increase over 1982 was estimated at 6.5 percent while inflation was reported to have fallen from 10.7 percent in 1982 to 6.7 percent. Independent economists, however, report the inflation figure to be in the 18-20 percent range. Exports were up 9.4 percent over 1982 while imports were held to a 1 percent increase. These factors along with remittances from Pakistani workers abroad helped reduce the current-account deficit to $809 million from $1.61 billion in 1982. The manufacturing sector growth slowed to 8.3 percent from 11.9 percent in 1982. Other economic gains and losses are tallied by the author.

The chairman of the Indian Atomic Energy Commission and Secretary of the Department of Atomic Energy, Homi N. Sethna, presents a brief history of India's nuclear power program. He particularly emphasizes India's self-reliance in training many of its own scientists and engineers and developing much of its own technology, and predicts a rosy future for nuclear power in India. Not discussed are the reasons for India's go-it-alone nuclear policy.


President Zia-ul Haq is interviewed by the authors following his successful state visit to Japan. As a result of the trip, Japan will increase its aid to Pakistan by 7 percent, including funds for such projects as a thermal power plant, a children's hospital, farm-to-market roads, low-interest commodity loans, and a $5 million contribution to the UN refugee program in Pakistan. In the interview Zia is quoted on such topics as the Geneva peace talks, Soviet intentions in Afghanistan, the refugee problem, Indo-Chinese relations, and the proposed South Asian Regional Organization. Zia is once again described as having "grown into his job" and having achieved the status of an international statesman.


Pakistan has serious energy problems, importing 90 percent of its oil needs at an annual cost of $1.7 billion. The government has assigned energy a top priority for the sixth 5-year plan (1983-88), and projects investing $8.44 billion in the energy sector. Foreign oil companies have been exploring and developing oil and gas resources in Pakistan for two decades, but have been plagued with such problems as bureaucratic red tape, unfavorable terms, and complex geological structures.


Two days before his promised deadline of 14 August, President Zia-ul Haq revealed to the Majlis-i-Shoora (Federal Council) his blueprint for an Islamic political framework for Pakistan. Zia told the council that he would restore the 1973 Constitution with some modifications, most of which would greatly increase the power of the president vis-a-vis the prime minister. Elections are to be held by 23 March 1985 for local councils, provincial assemblies, a senate, and a national assembly. Among the many details not spelled out in the blueprint were how the president will be elected, whether the ban will be lifted on political parties, and if not, how candidates will be nominated for the national assembly and the senate. Zia also warned that no disorder will be tolerated during this pre-election period. The article discusses recent disturbances and the reaction of the banned political parties to the plan.

In early August, just before announcing his blueprint for a new political framework for Pakistan, President Zia-ul Haq received a report from a 15-member commission he had set up to make recommendations on Pakistan's future political organization. The commission, headed by Muslim religious scholar Moulana Ansari, stated that a multiparty parliamentary system was not in keeping with the tenets of Islamic principles and recommended presidential rule with an elected advisory council.


President Zia-ul-Haq's blueprint for an Islamic political system for Pakistan has drawn fire from leaders of the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD), an alliance of eight opposition political parties. Demonstrations in Karachi were broken up by police, and in several smaller cities in Sind Province widespread violence and fighting between demonstrators and police were reported.


Pakistan should strive to find an equilibrium in its relations with the Soviet Union, according to the author, which includes checking its too-obvious tilt toward Washington. Ali attempts to dispel fears about Soviet aversion to Islam and the adverse affect of Soviet friendship on Pakistan's Islamic character. He notes that Moscow now has a number of friends in the Arab World and the OIC and is also much less worried about its own Muslim minorities, due in part to the "successful Sovietization of its Central Asian republics." Nor should Pakistan fear Moscow's influence would increase with improved relations between the two countries. Revolutions, according to the author, are not imposed from outside but rather are rooted in the discontent of the masses. Pakistan therefore, needs only to keep its people content and its foreign policy on a nonaligned track to avoid undue influence from Moscow.


Rioting in Pakistan beginning on 14 August (Independence Day) has resulted in an official death toll of 33 and 1,250 arrested. The disturbances were led by the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD), a coalition of opposition parties. Agitation has largely been confined to Sind Province, which is the stronghold of the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), the major force in the MRD. Predictions are that, despite President Zia-ul Haq's tough policy toward the demonstrators, he will make an approach to the MRD leaders to strike some sort of deal.

A stalemate appears to have been reached between President Zia-ul Haq and the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD), a coalition of eight opposition political parties, which launched anti-Zia demonstrations beginning in mid-August. The MRD is calling for immediate lifting of martial law and early elections, while Zia insists on retaining emergency powers until national elections, which he has scheduled for March 1985. The demonstrations have largely been confined to Sind Province despite efforts of the MRD to spread the campaign to other parts of the country, particularly Punjab. Zia was confident enough to leave the country on a 6-day visit to Turkey, but Pakistani commentators have warned that the protests reveal deep discontent that should not be ignored. Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has also expressed concern about the situation, but has been told, in effect, to look to her own problems.

"Another World Zionist Plot?" Economist, 10 September 1983, p. 42.

Political protests continue in Pakistan as political exiles began returning home from Europe to offer themselves for arrest. The protests began immediately after President Zia-ul Haq set a 1985 date for national elections, which opposition groups declared was not soon enough. The demonstrations have been mainly confined to Sind Province with 50 people reported killed there so far. Pakistani Minister of Information Raja Zafarul Haq attributed world concern over the violence to the international media, which he said was "surely and securely in the hands of the Jews." The Pakistani Government issued a clarification the following day.


Sind Province continued for the fifth week to erupt with antigovernment protests led by the eight-party opposition coalition, the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD). President Zia-ul Haq toured Sind to a "tumultuously hostile reception." After the 4-day tour, he was reported to be considering rescheduling the March 1985 elections to an earlier date, while vowing to crack down on the protest leaders.

SRI LANKA

Serials


Sri Lanka, due to open its first stock exchange in a few months, is debating whether to make trading more attractive by scrapping a punitive 100 percent tax levied on the transfer of company shares to foreigners.

In a three-part feature article, correspondent Wijesekera reviews Sri Lanka's economic progress over the past year and finds it impressive, but fraught with problems. Despite a worldwide recession and inflation, Sri Lanka maintained an economic growth rate of 5.1 percent for 1982. The country has also managed to bring its inflation rate down from 18 percent in 1981 to 5.4 percent in 1983. One of the most important factors contributing to Sri Lanka's success has been its investment promotion zone, which in its fifth year is continuing to attract investors and has already earned twice the cost of setting it up. All is not entirely rosy, however, and the author delves into Sri Lanka's economic problems as well.


Ethnic violence erupted between Sri Lanka's Sinhalese and Tamil communities in late July leaving hundreds dead, thousands homeless, and damages estimated at hundreds of millions of rupees. The incident that sparked the violence was the killing of 13 government soldiers in a terrorist attack near Jaffna. Mobs then took to the streets, destroying Tamil homes and businesses. The government of Junius Jayewardene alleged foreign involvement and banned three leftist political parties, including the pro-Moscow Communist Party of Sri Lanka. Two accompanying articles give a historical background of the Tamil-Sinhalese conflict and the reaction to the recent events in India and particularly Tamil Nadu State, whose 83 percent Tamil population has close ethnic ties to Sri Lanka's Tamils.

"'There're No Tamils Left Here.'" Asiaweek, 12 August 1983, p. 10.

The Tamils and Sinhalese of Sri Lanka have maintained an uneasy peace over the past 2,500 years with periodic friction between them. The most recent flareup of violence has left 400 dead and a quarter million homeless, mostly Tamils. Asiaweek surveys this sad event and its effect on Tamil-Sinhalese relations and the Sri Lankan economy. Sidebar articles give the history of Tamil-Sinhalese competition, the background of the Tamil Liberation Tigers, and present interviews with Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa and former premier Sirimavo Bandaranaike. A map shows the distribution of Sinhalese and Tamils in Sri Lanka and pinpoints "troublespots."


Sri Lankan President Junius Jayewardene asserted that the recent Sinhalese-Tamil communal violence was part of a coup attempt by an unnamed local political group backed by antigovernment sections of the armed forces. Following this announcement, the 168-member Parliament voted 150-0 to ban separatist activity in the country, including all separatist political parties. This means the major Tamil party, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), will have to repudiate its separatist objectives if it wishes to
remain a political party. Meanwhile the Jayewardene government is busy looking for international aid donors to help rebuild the nation, including 18,000 destroyed homes and 100 damaged or destroyed factories.


Sri Lanka is beginning to return to some semblance of normality after a 9-day episode of communal strife between its dominant Sinhalese and minority Tamil populations. President Junius Jayewardene has accused sectors of the armed forces of mutiny with intent to overthrow the government during the troubles. The government has moved swiftly to ban all separatist activity and begin the work of rebuilding. India's reaction to the tragic events is also discussed.


No definite proof of the existence of oil has been found in Sri Lanka or its offshore areas, although foreign companies have invested millions of dollars in the hope of a strike. The author surveys these efforts and quotes the head of the state-owned Ceylon Petroleum Corp., Daham Wimalasena, as saying "any immediate relief [for Sri Lanka's energy problem] by finding oil in our own shores is now remote. We will have to rely on imported oil."


Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has begun efforts as mediator between the Sri Lankan Government and that country's leading Tamil party, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). Mrs. Gandhi reports Colombo ready to negotiate on a number of points including increased autonomy in local government, Tamil as a second national language, discontinuation of the active presence of armed forces in Jaffna, a dialogue on amnesty, and other contentious issues. Mrs. Gandhi also assured President Junius Jayewardene that India is pledged to the national integrity of Sri Lanka, although India is also committed to the welfare of Sri Lanka's Tamils. How India hopes to tread this narrow diplomatic path is not clear. Nor is it clear how TULF leaders will respond to Sri Lankan Government demands for an end to separatism.

"A Mediating Role for India?" _Asiaweek_, 26 August 1983, p. 15.

Hector Jayewardene, brother of Sri Lankan President Junius Jayewardene, and Appapillai Amirthalingam, leader of the opposition Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) party have met separately with Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, who is attempting to mediate a solution to the standoff between the Sri Lankan Government and the Tamil population of that country. Meanwhile, life in Sri Lanka slowly returns to normal after the communal violence and destruction of July.

Indian attempts to mediate between the Sri Lankan Government and that country's Tamil minority face an array of obstacles, the chief one being the issue of separatism. Sri Lankan President Junius Jayewardene has stated that he will not hold discussions with the Tamils unless they give up their demand for separatism, which the Tamils so far have refused to do. The position of each side has hardened, as demonstrated by a newly enforced regulation requiring all Sri Lankan Government servants to swear an oath of loyalty, which many Tamils have refused to do.