**A Selective, Annotated Bibliography on the Nations of South Asia (Part 2)**

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**Federal Research Division**
Library of Congress
Washington, DC 20540-4840

Monthly (previously annual, semiannual, 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.

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**SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES**
Prepared under an Interagency Agreement

**DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT**
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**ABSTRACT (Maximum 200 words)**
Monthly (previously annual, semiannual, 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.
A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON
THE NATIONS OF SOUTH ASIA
(Received in October 1983)

January 1984

Author: Elizabeth R. Curtiss
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.
AFGHANISTAN


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)


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)


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


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)


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


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)

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)


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)


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 Durbari 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)


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.

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)


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)


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)


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.

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.


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 Zulfiqar 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.


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.


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)


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.


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.


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)


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 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**


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)


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.


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)

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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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


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 decisively 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 is an accommodation with the Soviets in Afghanistan, a severing of the strategic relationship with the United States, and a rapprochement with India. (appendices)


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.


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.


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.


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.