# A Selective, Annotated Bibliography on the Nations of South Asia

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**Abstract:**

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.

**Subject Terms:**

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This bibliography continues the monthly series compiling analytic material on the nations of South Asia. The countries included are: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. There is a general South Asia section for works having multilateral implications. This selective reference document is intended to support research on the foreign relations, governments, politics, and economies of the nations of South Asia. Material included is both current and retrospective, and represents works received, cataloged, or indexed in May 1984.

Citations are arranged geographically and listed alphabetically by author within each country section. Works bearing on more than one nation are entered under each country concerned. Where citations appear without an accompanying abstract, the work was not on hand at the time of this issue; an abstract will be presented when the work has been received.

Word processing was accomplished by Mary Ann Saour.
AFGHANISTAN


Parliamentary staff member Tim Huxley covers familiar ground but brings out lesser known highlights. Huxley records Soviet troop and equipment movements in the region from September 1979, details some policies by which Hafizullah Amin probably contributed to his own demise, and notes that many Afghan armed units resisted the Soviet invaders. Because more traditional Soviet alliance techniques have failed to control Afghan leaders, Huxley concludes the West will not be able to induce a Soviet pullout either by military or diplomatic means. However, recognition of the current regime and of its special relationship with the Soviet Union could result in a pragmatic softening of some domestic policies of the Karmal regime. The author closes with implications for Australia. (notes)


"Brigadier Mohammad Rahim, Commander of the communications department of the Afghan Army's 7th Division, defected in mid-December 1983." The article summarizes Rahim's description, during debriefing, of the relationship between Soviet advisers and Afghan military forces. Bodansky summarizes the severe strains between the two sides, a conflict which Rahim attributes to Soviet contempt for Afghans, as well as the Soviet practice of confiscating Afghan officers' housing when the advisers' families relocate into secured areas. This article will interest anyone researching the morale problems plaguing Afghan government forces.


The author, a former officer with Rhodesian and British military services, looks at operations led by mujahiddin fundamentalist Gulbaddin Hekmatyar. Although Gulbaddin's group opposes the goals of more moderate freedom fighters, Gulbaddin intends to fight over domestic issues only after the Soviets have been expelled. His object is said to be establishment of an independent Shiite Muslim state. The fundamentalists also smuggle propaganda material into Soviet Central Asia so the Islamic republics can prepare to liberate themselves once the Russians have been driven from Afghanistan. The author also discusses Soviet and mujahiddin tactics for fighting inside Kabul.


Hyman, a British regionalist who contributes to print media and the BBC, provides a concise analysis of the current stalemate not only between the
Afghan Government and its foes, but similarly among diverse resistance
groups. Of special interest is his brief account of the highly partial
Pakistani method of distributing supplies among mujahiddin groups. (maps,
tables)

Roy, Olivier. "Afghanistan: Four Years of Soviet Occupation." Swiss Review of

Roy bases his excellent article on experiences living and traveling in Af-
ghanistan, most recently in 1983. In discussing the formal and informal
reorganization of the society which has resulted from the war, Roy is partic-
ularly enlightening about Khad pacification gambits. He also explores ways
by which both the mujahiddin and the Soviets have had to come to terms with
the compartmented social loyalties of Afghanistan and the persistent power
of Islam. Roy's discussion of specific resistance movements reflects his
personal acquaintance with their members.

Khalizad, Zalmay. "Islamic Iran: Soviet Dilemma." Problems of Communism,

Long-term thinkers will appreciate this study in which one of the region's
foremost scholars charts Soviet attempts to penetrate Iran's revolution.
After discussing internal subterfuges by which the Soviets curried influence
with the incoming revolutionary regime in 1979, Khalizad explains why ini-
tial successes could not be sustained. The article emphasizes the 1921
Treaty of Friendship which the Iranians were obliged to sign during a partial
occupation of their country. Because the Soviet have refused to abrogate
that treaty despite repeated Iranian requests, and because the invasion of
Afghanistan was "justified" by a similar document, Iran has been a vehement
opponent of the current Soviet offensives in Afghanistan. Khalizad points
out that following the Iraqi invasion of Iran, the Soviets reduced their
instigation of separatist movements against the Teheran government, but he
predicts that Moscow will resume the strategy in the future.

BANGLADESH


Although the culture, geography, and history of Bangladesh appear only in a
brief appendix, this is a useful compilation of information about the various
violent coups and assassinations which have consistently plagued the young
government in Dhaka. The first part of the book reviews Bengali Muslims'
efforts to gain freedom from the dual yoke of British and Hindu domination.
However, the reality of Pakistan proved equally unsatisfactory due to dis-
parities in power between the east and west wings. The author recounts the
Bangladesh language and liberation struggles at some length. (appendix,
index, notes)

Lintner, Bertil. "In the Dragons' Wake." Far Eastern Economic Review, 26 April
1984, p. 33.

Racial and religious discrimination by Burma have sent the Muslims of Arakan
fleeing across the border into Bangladesh. As recently as 1978, 200,000
refugees fled a house-to-house search which was billed as a census; some of those who were repatriated have emigrated again. Aside from the second-class citizenship imposed on them by the Burman majority, the Arakanese complain that the official purchase price of rice is one-tenth the black market rate. Leaders of the Arakanese's fledgling liberation groups have been unable to distract Middle Eastern leaders from the larger refugee populations of Afghanistan and Palestine. Bangladesh, which wants good relations with the largest nation in Southeast Asia, also shows limited sympathy for its newest landless poor.


Since almost every aspect of life in Bangladesh has a link to agriculture, the authors have chosen to focus on the manner in which those linkages occur. The result is an exhaustive work which covers foreign aid, infrastructure development, demographic characteristics, and the relevant political institutions. Highly detailed information is supplied in textual and tabular forms. The bibliography merits special mention as a reference resource in the unlikely event a researcher does not find an answer somewhere in this volume. (abbreviations, bibliography, maps, tables, notes)

BHUTAN

"Himalayan Gambit." Asiaweek, 4 May 1984, p. 22.

Since it opened a trade mission in Dhaka in 1981 Bhutan has occasionally attempted to throw off the hegemonic control which India asserts over its foreign policy. The most daring Bhutanese gesture until recently has been its support of Khmer Rouge efforts to regain the United Nations seat reserved for Cambodia; India, by contrast, recognizes the Heng Samrin regime that was installed by Vietnamese troops. However, in April 1984, Bhutan's ambassador to India headed an official delegation to China amid speculation that the hosts were anxious to reach accommodation on their common border. Such a step would leave India as China's last neighbor with an unresolved border, a situation that could provide rhetorical capital in China's bid to redraw regional maps.


Chapter 10 (pp. 172-74), entitled "Threat to Bhutan," recounts Chinese efforts to "nibble away" corners of Bhutan through redrawing of maps and occasional informal resettlement by Chinese citizens. The author explains the strategic value of Bhutan and its location, and points out nearby Chinese military deployments.

The author, who teaches at the Administrative Staff College in Hyderabad, deplores India's current scientific concentration on "noncivilian, non-economic" programs such as defense and nuclear energy. Because he believes futuristic technology holds the key to solving problems in social development, the author calls for a redirection of research into biomass conversion, solar energy, fusion research and literacy development programs. He urges that contact with science, which is now concentrated among urban elites, be promoted through wider dissemination of practical technologies. Most of the article is a catalog of India's advantages in attempting scientific development. (graphs)


Following Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's announcement that the violence in Punjab had been narrowed down to a few isolated incidents and individuals, an unknown group called the "Dashmesh Regiment" assassinated three public figures, and firebombed train stations simultaneously in 37 districts in one night. Ali says these acts suggest that the central government is not close to solving the Punjab problem and may be underestimating it. With elections scheduled before 1985, response cannot be postponed much longer. Some people have even begun contemplating the unthinkable; that the current federal government is not up to its most important challenge of restoring domestic order.


India's space program has concentrated thus far on the launch, control, and use of satellites. Indian satellites already in space have contributed dramatically to international communication systems, and produced practical scientific data such as weather reports and flood predictions. The article gives an overview of the program and its immediate goals, pointing out that existing launch systems could be fitted with military payloads, should the government decide to do so.


This book consists completely of tables which will support only broad or general research. The smallest political unit discussed is the state or federal territory, and the main type of figure which appears is "the average." There are gross figures for several categories of industry. (tables)


When former Prime Minister Morarji Desai gave the author personal papers covering the Janata years in office, Desai requested that Gandhi paraphrase
them before publication. Gandhi, who is a grandson of Mahatma M. K. Gandhi, has used excerpts from the papers, supplemented with remarks Desai made during interviews which he also intended solely for background use. The book has heroes, lots of villains, surprising language, and plenty of gossip from the thickets of Indian political chicanery. (appendices, notes)


The gunmen of Punjab, once an urban phenomenon, have spread into isolated rural areas. Hindus who had left western Pakistan during Partition and left their western Punjab homes during subsequent Indo-Pakistani troubles are now relocating to Haryana, braving the uncertainties of new neighbors and livelihoods. Gupta describes the most recent killings, and the growing irrelevance of moderate Sikh leaders as a result of the stumbling half-measures of the federal government. A sidebar by Gobind Thukral narrates the terrorist murder of a Punjabi poet who had contracted an interfaith marriage and foreworn ambition at his university, but nevertheless proved a convenient target for the killers. His death increases the evidence that the so-called "Dashmesh Regiment" consists of members of the All India Sikh Student Federation (AISSF), which has been outlawed only recently.

Larus, Joel. "India Claims a Role in Antarctica." The Round Table, January 1984, p. 45.

According to the author, India is the first developing country to undertake operations in the Antarctic, primarily because of the personal interest of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Larus explains the nature of the two expeditions which have been completed and the plans for a third mission to be made in 1984 and 1985. The article details the major technological benefits which have been derived from this program. (notes)


Kumar explains the rapid rise of tension in the Indian Ocean since 1968, with particular emphasis on the build-up of superpower capabilities. In the second part of the article he discusses efforts to institute a "Zone of Peace" in the 4 years after the idea was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly. This article is fairly well balanced, precise without being over detailed, and will support research both on the Indian Ocean and on its increasing importance for the defense strategies of India and Sri Lanka.


In the long run the foreign policy of a tenacious leader will reflect not only national constraints, but also the domestic goals and personal character of the head of government. Mansingh presents the interworkings of domestic and international tensions with comprehensive scholarship. There are separate chapters on India's relations with each superpower, with China, and with its South Asia neighbors. (appendices, bibliography, index, notes)

The author, who spent several years in India's space program before joining the Planning Commission, discusses recent Indian accomplishments in satellite data-gathering technology, and expansion plans for the near future. As an example of human considerations for application of space systems, Pal cites the cotton yield predicting program. In this undertaking, farmers were called in to explain stages of cultivation for various strains which had been photographed, and the combined human and electronic interpretations have produced satisfactory yield prediction formulae. Such programs will receive further stimulation when the new National Natural Resources Management System becomes operational, conjoining traditional and experimental methods of gathering information. (tables)


Andhra Pradesh is the southern Indian home state of one of the fastest growing regional opposition parties, the language-based Telugu Desam. This book provides useful background regarding the people who have responded so enthusiastically to former film star N.T. Rama Rao. Despite Andhra's patriotic resistance to British rule, the northern-led Congress Party aroused strong suspicions in Telugu-speaking areas. The author includes quotations in which southern politicians express doubts that Mahatma M. K. Gandhi would promote the career of an Andhra politician. (appendix, index, notes)


"Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone did not produce the widely expected aid bonanza during his official visit to India, nor even the promise of one. Nonetheless, Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi hailed the visit as a "turning point." After 23 years--during which no Japanese prime minister had visited India--two of Asia's largest democracies are at least taking account of each other politically." Ram goes on to credit the breakthrough to Nakasone's style of foreign policy and the changing priorities of Indian political, and particularly, economic planners.


Recapitulates the scant literature on the Indian "black" economy and applies several hypotheses to national economic performance in the mid-1970s. Successful profiteering requires price instability in order to translate consumer insecurity into panic buying. Thus, Ray contends that black market players not only push prices upward, but pursue strategies designed to maximize instability in supply and demand ratios. They intentionally exaggerate inflation. This work will interest long-term planners, as well as analysts looking behind the Indian Government's recent measures to adjust taxes and duties in order to lessen the enticements of black market profiteering. (tables)

This vehemently anti-Chinese tract describes Beijing's foreign policy toward several of its neighbors as single-minded aggression. The author includes appendices which will support a variety of topics: diplomatic notes exchanged between India and China in 1958 and 1959, letters between prime ministers of the two nations in 1958 and 1959, and "Agreement between the Republic of India and the People's Republic of China on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet Region of China and India." (appendices, bibliography, index, notes)


Committee staff member Peter Galbraith describes the current political instability in Pakistan and summarizes US-Indian relations. After discussions with members of both governments, with out-of-power politicians in both nations, and American diplomatic representatives in various posts, Galbraith has made several recommendations. The declining human rights situation in Pakistan necessitates increased US pressure for restoration of democracy, but there should be a firm intention of fulfilling previous commitments. However, Pakistan's willingness to abandon nuclear weapons research might be a reasonable precondition for future aid agreements. Relations with India would benefit from continuation of high-level political contacts, bilateral consultations prior to American weapons sales to Pakistan, and a limit on the provision of those weapons that are particularly sensitive. Educational and cultural exchanges can be increased, with resulting improvement in mutual understanding. The Pakistan press has vehemently attacked this work, whose author is the son of a former US ambassador to India. (appendices)


This article from Moscow blames the Central Intelligence Agency for separatist unrest among Punjabi Sikhs in India. The author suggests that Pakistan supplies some weaponry, but that the guiding hand comes from Washington. As evidence, the author asserts that the Sikh rebellion flared up only after a Sikh leader who lives in Britain, Jagjit Singh Chauhan, visited the White House. The article also states that Georgetown University maintains a center for creating the ideology behind the separatist platforms. The purpose of this elaborate mechanism, in Moscow's view, is to establish a new South Asian ally which can help the United States contain communism, because India practices nonalignment and Pakistan continues to be politically unstable.

NEPAL


Chapter 9 (pp. 168-71), entitled "Nepal Linked Through Strategic Roads," recounts border problems between the two nations since 1949. The author
points out that Nepal's relations with China improved after the 1961 royal coup ousted the Nepal Congress Party from government.

PAKISTAN


Pakistan's sixth 5-year plan calls for continuation of current high growth rates, but with increasing investment from the private sector. South Korea and West Germany are two nations with consortiums actively exploring Pakistan's investment advantages. Pakistan offers access to Middle Eastern nations which require Muslim personnel on development projects, and President Ziaul Haq openly promises to improve Pakistan's investment climate. However, political instability and bureaucratic red tape are two longstanding disincentives which Pakistan appears unlikely to conquer in the near future. The visiting entrepreneurs have expressed optimism, but they note that success will demand continuing effort on all sides for some time to come.


"Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's recent visit to Pakistan—the first by a Japanese leader in nearly a quarter of a century—was seen as symbolic in the face of the massive Soviet military presence in neighbouring Afghanistan. Both Pakistan and Afghanistan border on the strategic and oil-rich Gulf and the Middle East, primary source of energy for Japan and a key market for its exports." Aftab mentions various types of assistance which Nakasone offered his hosts, particularly the continuation of steady donations for refugee relief. Other forms of aid have been low, due to fear of political instability, weak quality control, and strong bureaucratic interference in economic decisions.


Pakistan's conservative political parties have called for a combined program with more liberal parties in order to bring down the martial law regime of President Ziaul Haq. While this is a surprising break with tradition, it does not signal an end to party squabbles. President Zia has begun talking about a referendum on Islamic democracy if the parties "gang up" on him. The article delves into various maneuvering strategies which the parties are considering in what could be the biggest threat so far to Zia's martial law. However, there is no mechanism for gauging popular sentiments in Pakistan, so it is impossible to ascertain the public backing that each leader brings into the negotiations.


Hyman, a British regionalist who contributes to print media and the BBC, provides a concise analysis of the current stalemate not only between the Afghan Government and its foes, but similarly among diverse resistance
groups. Of special interest is his brief account of the highly partial Pakistani method of distributing supplies among mujahiddin groups. (maps, tables)


Following the suspension of American arms shipments to Pakistan in 1965, Islamabad was obliged to develop its own domestic defense industry. This article lists the various defense plants where Pakistan manufactures and services its armaments and ordnance, as well as the types of system each unit can accommodate.


One of the region's foremost scholars charts Soviet attempts to penetrate Iran's Revolution. After discussing internal subterfuges by which the Soviets curried influence with the incoming revolutionary regime in 1979, Khalizad explains why initial successes could not be sustained. The article emphasizes the 1921 Treaty of Friendship which the Iranians were obliged to sign during a partial occupation of their country. Because the Soviets have refused to abrogate that treaty despite repeated Iranian requests, and because the invasion of Afghanistan was "justified" by a similar document, Iran has been a vehement opponent of the current Soviet offensives against Afghanistan. Khalizad points out that following the Iraqi invasion of Iran, the Soviets have reduced their instigation of separatist movements against the Tehran government, but he predicts that Moscow will resume the strategy in the future.


MG (Rtd) Shaukat Riza has assembled basic data on the artillery branch of the Pakistan Army from Independence through the war of 1971. He illustrates his figures with dramatic accounts of the skill, dedication and persistence of Pakistan's gunners during the conflicts with India. (index, maps, photographs)


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SOUTH ASIA


This comprehensive study of Diego Garcia's evolution into a major US naval support facility begins with descriptions of the island's previous inhabitants who were forcibly uprooted to Mauritius. Jawatkar recounts the diplomatic and political maneuvers which took place when the British retreated west of the Suez, leaving the Americans as sole Western power in the Indian Ocean. In a separate chapter Jawatkar fully recounts the reactions of the United Nations and various Indian Ocean littoral states as the Americans assumed their new role, which was capped by lease of Diego Garcia in 1966. The author's notes will readily support a wide range of scholarship. (appendices, bibliography, index, notes)


Explains the rapid rise of tension in the Indian Ocean since 1968, with particular emphasis on the build-up of superpower capabilities. In the second part of the article Kumar discusses efforts to institute a "Zone of Peace" in the 4 years after the idea was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly. This article is fairly well balanced, precise without being over detailed, and will support research both on the Indian Ocean and on its increasing importance for the defense strategies of India and Sri Lanka.


In the long run the foreign policy of a tenacious leader such as Indira Gandhi will reflect not only national constraints, but also the domestic goals and personal character of the head of government. Mansingh presents the interworkings of domestic and international tensions with comprehensive scholarship. There are separate chapters on India's relations with each superpower, with China, and in South Asia. (appendices, bibliography, index, notes)


Includes both aggregate and specific figures about resource flows among nations, regions, and regional associations. The notes which accompany each
table explain such complex items as "Total Financial Flows (net)," "International Reserves of Developing Countries and Territories," and "Balance of Payment Summaries." The book is in English and French on facing pages.

SRI LANKA


Muslims constitute only 7 percent of Sri Lanka's population, but during the 1970s their desire to preserve religious integrity neatly intersected with national foreign policy objectives in the Middle East. Government concessions have given Muslims a separate educational system which has reduced their competitive ability in university qualifying examinations. The need to close Muslim schools during Ramadan prevents students and teachers from taking advantage of opportunities scheduled for the secular holiday months, while studying in four languages obstructs the students' pursuit of excellence in substantive fields. In Malaysia, by contrast, the Muslim revival, with government leadership, has spread over a variety of political organizations and sought a multiplicity of goals. (notes)


After years of domestic political opposition to the plan, Sri Lanka has finally located a truly neutral international consortium to renovate the petroleum storage tanks in Trincomalee. The companies, which originate in West Germany, Switzerland, and Singapore, will be under strict agreement with the Sri Lanka-owned Ceylon Petroleum corporation, which must provide a director for each board, give written approval for any leasing or letting on the premises, and maintain control of security arrangements. Sri Lanka will gain a world class tank farm of 99 units with 10,000 tons each in capacity, and Trincomalee's excellent harbor will be dredged adjacent to the tanks. Customers, like contractors, must be squarely nonaligned whenever possible; Sri Lanka rejected bids from both superpowers and stores oil for India, Kuwait, and Coastal Corporation.


Sinhalese ethnocentrism and Sri Lankan political centralization have reached a new zenith under the current government. President Junius Jayewardene has altered the constitution in ways which upset Tamils, but his actions climax a series of measures dating back 20 years. Recently, the ethnic conflict has acquired a Latin American cast with the emergence of organized gangs of thugs supported by individual politicians. Peebles paints a bleak picture of the domestic situation and backs his accusations with names and numbers. (notes, tables)

Describes the internal dynamics of Tamil politics and portrays an ethnic group riven by religion, caste, and politics. The quest for a separate Tamil state has stemmed from the Sinhalese majority's decisions to limit professional openings previously available to Tamils. Under the British, these opportunities had primarily benefitted the Vellalar caste but had done little to advance lower-caste Hindu and non-Hindu Tamils. Now Vellalar youths who had anticipated comfortable lives are turning to terrorism. Assumption of family responsibilities, which could provide an alternative source of stability and satisfaction to these youths, is denied to them by a patriarchal system and the long lifespans of their elders. Pfaffenberger concludes that any autonomy which the Sinhalese devolve to Tamil areas will be hoarded by the Vellalars and bitterly demanded by lower-caste Hindus, Muslims, and Indian Tamils. (notes)


The year 1977 was a turning point in Sri Lankan constitutional history, which saw the beginning of presidential rather than prime ministerial leadership and centralization of other institutions. Some of the changes ratified by the electorate were structural, while others were expediencies which have passed from the stage. Phadnis suggests the economy played a major role in these changes, because the growing need for external aid necessitates a federal government which can exert control throughout the country. At the same time the island's youth, particularly Tamils, believe they no longer have a stake in the democratic tradition. Phadnis, who teaches at Jawaharlal Nehru University, thinks the country's opposition has not yet completely oriented itself to the new type of challenge it faces. (notes, tables)