

ty to challenge the Indira-Raj, she believes that pressure from above and open resistance from below will grow since the regime is unable to fulfil the basic needs of the poor.

I consider the study to be a well-documented piece of non-academic writing. It has to be seen in the context of so many critical studies of India's political performance, which all take the democratic heritage for granted. What would happen if, for a change, we tried to see Indian society from within? Or if we did not quote all those window-dressed statements from the capital to prove our own analytical approach? Maybe only then would we be in a position to understand the success of Indira Gandhi, whose political career is a genuine blend of Western slogans and Indian political realities. To Westminster-trained minds the only alternative seems to be fascism or revolution, whereas the Indian citizens might have a different social definition of their situation.

D. Kantowsky

Wolfgang Höpker, Wetterzone der Weltpolitik. Der Indische Ozean im Kräftespiel der Mächte. Stuttgart, Seewald Verlag, 1975, 187 p.

"A sharp new wind is blowing over the Indian Ocean, which for a long time seemed to be out of the limelight of world politics and world strategy. The third ocean besides the Pacific and the Atlantic no longer has the reputation of being 'an ocean on the side-lines' or of being connected to 'major politics' only loosely". (p.11)

The politico-strategic significance of the Indian Ocean area has increased dramatically since the so-called oil crisis. The maritime race in the Indian Ocean and the political developments of the littoral countries have become a focal point and have provoked a flood of publications. Often enough such reports are based not so much on facts as on speculation. Wolfgang Höpker's book is no exception. Here, the chance to analyse this important subject in a scientific way has been missed.

In nine chapters the book touches upon subjects such as the power vacuum in the area, the interests of the two super powers and of practically all the countries around the ocean; West Africa and the Mediterranean are also taken into consideration. There are even some comments on countries like Yugoslavia, Albania, and Italy. While the reader is given a general survey, the analysis remains

necessarily superficial, because too many countries are included in the description. Only a little space is available for each country and the internal problems of the Indian Ocean's littoral states are hardly mentioned, even though the poverty and underdevelopment in this region is probably the most pressing political issue. This is the first and the most serious inadequacy of the publication.

The reason for the author's neglect of this particular subject is to be found in his theoretical background which is in line with the traditional theory of the balance of power. He argues exclusively from a geopolitical and geostrategic point of view. This position has several important implications: first, it implies the notion of a power vacuum in the Indian Ocean which has to be filled by the super powers. Second, it implies that if one of the super power acts, the other has to react to keep the balance. Third, and closely related to the first and second implications, the littoral countries are too weak and too immature to protect themselves and therefore a caretaker is needed. The author is in no doubt that the United States has to protect its spheres of influence. But the analysis is affected by the author's bias, the second inadequacy of the book. According to Höpker, whatever the United States is trying to accomplish (installation of military bases, development aid, diplomatic efforts etc.) is done so as a responsible world power. Legitimizing the US transfers of weapons and its efforts in the Persian Gulf region, Höpker comes to the conclusion that this role, this special responsibility, is "forced upon" the USA (p.89-90). Wherever the Soviets try to get a foothold in the region by signing treaties or strengthening economic or military ties it is done in accordance with "Russia's thrust towards the warm waters of the South", a vision, which even "Zar Peter the Great dreamt about" (p.29).

This book is written in anti-communist fashion and whenever it is necessary to confirm the author's preconceived ideas, important facts are simply ignored. To mention only one of the numerous examples: in an attempt to prove India's dependence on the Soviet Union, Soviet-Indian collaboration in fighter plane production and plans to build Soviet designed submarines are reported (p.95). No mention is made, however, of co-producers in the arms production sector from Great Britain, France, the USA, and West Germany, to mention only some of the important suppliers. Without doubt India is dependent on imported technology to produce sophisticated weapons, but it is not dependent solely on Soviet supplies, as the author claims.

Furthermore, unfounded assertions are frequently made about the Soviet Union's intentions: for example, in the Persian Gulf region the Soviet Union has a long term concept, called a "double strategy of subversion and revolutionary takeover of power" (p.71). It is the East-West contrast which has been projected into the Indian Ocean region and the author is in no doubt as to who is the aggressor and who is the responsible power. It is not surprising, therefore, to find on page 108 the author's regrets about the lack of US efforts with regard to the war in Vietnam which was so negatively influenced by the "militant left in the Western countries".

One last inadequacy of this publication should be mentioned: no footnotes are given in the book and only in a few lines at the end and in very general terms does the author give his source material. Obviously, not a single source, neither a newspaper nor a scientific or military journal, from any of the Indian Ocean littoral states has been consulted. Not a single politician or strategist from these countries has been quoted. Besides publications from the International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, and the Neue Zürcher Zeitung, the only source used are from the Federal Republic of Germany. No wonder the publication is written from the ethnocentric point of view of a major industrial power, and the author shows no interest in taking into account the scientific or political arguments of those primarily concerned.

Herbert Wulf

K.William Kapp, Luc Bigler, Brigitte Janik, Peter Wirth,
Neue Wege für Bangladesh - Sozio-ökonomische Analyse der
Entwicklungsaufgaben und -möglichkeiten des neuen Staates.
(Mitteilungen des Instituts für Asienkunde Hamburg Nr.63),
Hamburg 1975, pp. XIV 223.

This book is divided into three sections. The first section analyses the historical and economic background of the separation of East Bengal from Pakistan in 1971. The main cause of the separation is seen by the authors in the growing economic disparity between the two parts of the country. They further stress that it could have been avoided if the industrial policy of the government had not one-sidedly favoured industrialization in the Western part of the country at the cost of East Bengal.

Beginning with a short description of the damage suffered by the economy during the struggle for separation, the second section discusses the present economic and social