

and class boundaries. This was the same methodology employed by Gandhi to cut across the many divides in Indian society. The difference was that Congress nationalism targeted the Raj as the all-embracing *raison d'être* for collective action whereas the Sangh Parivar has targeted Muslims, other minorities, and the secular state itself as the all-embracing *raison d'être* for doing so. There are now signs that the latter are on the threshold of going the same route as the Congress. That is, they started as a "movement" but in response to the compulsions of electoral politics have moved toward becoming a "machine." With this transition, a lot of the ideological luster has been wearing off the party as it has been compelled to make the compromises that all parties must make in the open polity in order to remain in power. That, as much as anything else, may be the reason why the BJP's dominance in UP has been showing signs of eroding, and has tended to oscillate elsewhere (e.g., Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Rajasthan). Structurally speaking, it's probably becoming the next generation's version of the Congress machine which it replaced.

My criticisms notwithstanding, Hasan has given us an extremely important, detailed analysis of what befell the UP Congress as time and circumstances overtook it. It must be read by anyone seriously interested in this subject.

HAROLD A. GOULD  
University of Virginia

*The Sauptikaparvan of the Mahābhārata: The Massacre at Night.* Translated with an introduction and notes by W. J. JOHNSON. Oxford World Classics. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. xlvii, 140 pp. \$10.95 (paper).

The tenth major book of the *Mahābhārata*, *The Sauptika Parvan*, *The Book of the Slaughter of the Sleeping Warriors*, is a complex and curious part of the epic. It describes the great war's last two spasms of violence, which complete the epic's tale of killings which have been deliberately and intensively couched in parental and filial terms (e.g., the war sees the Pāṇḍavas kill four quasi-fathers, and at one level it may be said they, guided by Kṛṣṇa, sacrificed their own sons—this is explicit in the case of Ghaṭotkaca; the tenth book turns upon Aśvatthāman's filial revenge against all Drupada's sons and grandsons and the counterrevenge of Drupada's daughter, the wife of the Pāṇḍavas). The war's final acts of violence are extraordinary—these are two of the epic's most eschatologically charged episodes—and they are couched amidst typical epic reflection and debate on human effort, fate, and Meritorious Right Action (*dharma*). Finally, this book also presents highly developed, self-conscious juxtapositions of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava themes.

W. J. Johnson gives us here a verse translation of the book's eighteen chapters and he provides it with sufficient explanatory support to make sense of the action. The introduction is generous and discusses the *Mahābhārata* without presuppositions while introducing a number of themes from contemporary scholarly interpretations (especially those of Alf Hiltebeitel and Madeleine Biardeau). The annotations are numerous, substantial, and helpful. In addition there is a brief note on the text and its meters, a book-by-book summary of the entire *Mahābhārata*, brief explanations of the epic characters who occur in this book, and a three and one-half page *Mahābhārata* bibliography. The translation is well enough supported that it could serve as a portal into the whole of the epic and its most influential contemporary interpreters. And a welcome portal it is, beyond the ones we are used to: *The Bhagavad Gītā*, which more

easily carries readers away from its epic setting than into it, and the story of Nala and Damayantī, which is typically, though erroneously, presented and enjoyed as a recreational episode detached from the main epic story.

This fine book is a welcome addition to the developing wave of Western interest in the *Mahābhārata*. With just a few exceptions, any dissents or objections I have to Johnson's work are matters of intramural discussion. If space allowed, I would take issue with some points in his introduction and annotations—I am less persuaded than he by some of Biardeau's interpretations—and in particular I think the contemporary understandings of *dharma*, which Johnson reflects, are seriously incomplete. The translation is careful and thoughtful and its English verse is often pleasing. At times, however, Johnson's verse is, to my ear, unnecessarily exotic, and in general—perhaps because of his versification—his renderings are a little more free than what I would offer. These points are matters of taste and judgment, however, not suggestions of inaccuracy. (I do think, however, that “arose” is not accurate for *tasthau*, at 5.38, which is simply “stopped” or “stayed put;” that “pent up” for *vṛtaḥ* at 11.28 is an error—Bhīma has “elected to,” is “bent on” killing Droṇa's son; that *sānubandhasya* at 15.8 must refer to the unfortunate shooter's “retinue,” not his “belongings;” “unskilled” in 17.2 must be based on a misreading of *akliṣṭakarman*, “tireless,” as *akṛtakarman*; finally, the *iṣṭkā* at 13.17 is just “a reed,” not “stalks,” and the title of part 2 of book 10, *Aiṣṭka*, is just “*The Book of the Arrow*.”) This volume is a solid and interesting contribution that should open the *Mahābhārata* to many new readers.

JAMES L. FITZGERALD  
*University of Tennessee*

*Pragmatism and Development: The Prospects for Pluralist Transformation in the Third World.* By MURRAY J. LEAF. Westport, Conn.: Bergin and Garvey, 1998. xiv, 229 pp. \$59.95 (cloth).

*The Development Dilemma: Displacement in India.* By S. PARASURAMAN. With an Introductory Study by Michael M. Cernea. New York: St Martin's Press, 1999. In association with the Institute of Social Studies, The Hague. xx, 299 pp. \$72.00 (cloth).

These two books analyze why the development process in India has repeatedly generated self-sustaining poverty rather than self-sustaining growth. Murray Leaf focuses on what he feels to be one of the most important modernizing technologies, notably canal irrigation, and its impact in six Indian states. S. Parasuraman evaluates the impact of displacement caused by six major development projects in India and the factors that explain why, in each of his project case studies, rehabilitation and development of displaced people has been (to use his own words) “difficult and unmanageable” (p. 47).

The authors share some common ground in their explanations for why development planners have failed so frequently to improve living standards for India's poor. Too often, they both conclude, development policies have been “imposed from above,” devised and implemented through “top down” structures and are synonymous with large, expensive projects that are far removed from the needs and expectations of those they are intended to benefit. Beyond this, however, Leaf and Parasuraman