SOURCE MATERIAL ON INDIA’S FOREIGN RELATIONS
A Select Annotated Bibliography

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ABOUT THE PROJECT:

Ever since India has become independent, a large amount of literature has been published on its foreign relations with all the countries of the world in the forms of theses and dissertations, reports, conference proceedings, periodical literature and serials etc. Keeping this in view, the present study "Source materials on India's foreign relations" intended to bring all relevant documents in the forms of annotations at one place. Attempt has been made to cover all important aspects of Indian foreign policy/foreign relations in the present study. All types of materials—Primary, Secondary and Tertiary sources have been included. I am confident that it would be of much help to the students and research scholars not only of Indian foreign relations/policy but also of Asian and international affairs.
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SCOPE

The topic "source materials on India's foreign relations" includes bibliographies, periodicals, reports, conference proceedings, serials, theses, dissertations and monographs. Some important articles on foreign relations have been included. The sources of comprehensive nature have also been included. Material only covers the post-Independence era which includes foreign policy/foreign relations (in general) and particularly limited to the countries, Pakistan, China, U.S.S.R., South-East Asia, West Asia and United States with International Organisation - United Nations. Bibliographies of publications dealing with foreign relations are frequently part of bibliographies listing in several or all fields of Social Sciences under political matters. Keeping this in view I was forced out of necessity to be highly selective in the choice of material. It has been my sincere endeavour to make this work a valid introduction to the historical scene in which such type of work has yet remained untouched.
The selections have been particularly for use in connection with current affairs in English language only.
All items are annotated, but attempt has been made to make them short, neutral and objective.

For recording entries the following secondary sources have been consulted:


6. Gidwani, N.N. Guide to reference material on India, Jaipur, 1974 2V.

8. Index India V.1.; 1967 -- Jaipur, Rajasthan University Library.

The entries have been catalogued according to the A.A.C.R., 1967, North American text. The arrangement of entries have been made on broad subject headings and then again arranged in one single alphabetical sequence.

The work has been categorised under three broad parts. Part I is an introduction in which meaning of foreign relations, its historical background, India’s foreign relations with a brief account of relations with Pakistan, China, Russia, U.S.A. and with United Nations. Part II of the Project is an Annotated Bibliography have been discussed. As regards entries of periodical articles (to which subject heading, addresses and essays have been assigned) after the name of the author, the information is given as follows:
The name of the periodicals in which particular article appeared, its volume number, its year and the conclusive page numbers.

Notes have been given, if necessary.

Part III of the project is another title and subject index in one single alphabetical sequence.
PART I
INTRODUCTION
1.1 Foreign relations or International relations as a subject of Political Science is based on the contacts of States. To Hartman the term "International Relations embraces all intercourse among States and all movements of people, goals and ideas across national frontiers. As a field of study its focus is on the processes by which States adjust their national interest to those of other States." "The term international relations is understood to include theoretical studies on International relations or any related subjects understanding foreign affairs or formulating foreign policy". Encyclopaedia Britannica defines the term "Relations among the autonomous political units which today we call nations, or among individual members, among individual members of units on the collective level, such relations can be political, military, economic or cultural. They can comprise all kinds of individual relations involving members of different nations." Yet when we refer to international relations as a distinct object of human action and understanding, we have in mind only those collective or individual relations, transcending national boundaries which affect the position of nations vis-à-vis each other.
international relations in this sense are political relations; they comprise, apart from the foreign policy of nations, all collective and individual relations which impress upon the political position of a nation vis-a-vis other nations. The term in this sense is a synonym for foreign relations.

The terms international relations, foreign relations, international politics and foreign policy are used interchangeably. Both international relations and foreign relations are used in the same context. But the term international politics and international relations have a little difference from each other. International politics comprises the power interest and historical relations of politics. The contemporary power and interest are integral part of the analysis. In his book "Methodology of Study of International Relations", Trygve Mathesen recognised that international relations is a broader term than international politics. While the foreign policy is essentially an exercise in the choice of ends and means on the part of a nation state in an international setting.
Historical background of the subject

1.2 International relations are as old as political history itself and have shown throughout the ages constant partners of relationship and policies whether entered into by hereditary monarchs or elective governments, cities or nation States, secular States, continental empires or tiny principalities, ecclesiastic or secular rulers.

Thucydides describes, the international relation of the Indian States of the 4th Century B.C. from which Kautilya derived his philosophy, the international relation of the ancient nearest of which the old testament tells as well as those of the more recent past. By detecting in international relations of different cultures and historic periods we are able to develop certain theoretical prepositions about international relations, that are the regardless of time and place."

Basic patterns

1.21 The dynamic force that moulds international relations is to be found in the aspirations for power of autonomous political units. These aspirations crystallize into three basic patterns: to keep one's power, to increase one's power, to
demonstrate one's power. From these patterns three basic types of policy ensue: the policy of status quo, the policy of imperialism and policy prestige. The clash of these policies - A. Trying to maintain the status quo, B. Try to exchange it at the expense of A leads to an unending struggle for power which characterizes all international relations. Three different patterns of international relations can be distinguished according to the distribution of power with the multiple, bipolar and imperial systems. The multiple system is distinguished by a number of units of approximately equal strength which combine and oppose each other in ever-changing arguments. The European State system from the end of the thirty years, was in 1648 to the beginning of World War I in 1914, with the exception of the period of Napoleonic Wars, conformed to their pattern. The Bipolar system is characterized by the predominance of two major powers of approximately equal strength, around which the other numbers are grouped in different degrees of closeness. The structure of international relations that emerged from World War II exemplifies this pattern.
The Imperial system consists of one predominant nation with a number of subordinate members clustered around it.

The stability of such system is great, and conflicts within it tend to be marginal. The system of international relations dominated by the Roman empire is the classic example of the pattern.

International relations have undergone in modern times four drastic changes: the formerly separate systems of international relations have emerged into one world-wide system; the predominance of the European systems have disappeared. The possibility and actuality of total war have come to dominate international scene; the feasibility of universal distribution with nuclear weapons has radically altered the function of force as a means to the ends of foreign policy. The last constitutes avertible revolution, the only one recorded history, in the structure of the national relations.

The expansion of the European State system into the other continents by means of colonial empires starting early in the 16th century broke
down the barriers which had separated the different systems of international relations. The process of political unification was greatly advanced and expanded to the individual sphere through the development of the technology of transportation and communications.

The last phase of this transformation of international relations into a world-wide system, covering roughly the period from the end of World War I to the aftermath of World War II, coincides with a radical change in the distribution of power within the system. From the beginning of the 16th century to the World War I, the European system provided the dynamics and the preponderant power for this transformation. Now two relations, either completely or predominantly non-European - the United States and the Soviet Union - have taken its place. The post-World War era is now dominated by the emergence of newly independent States. Many newly independent States constitute one of the important factor in the today's international relation which reflects that there is growing need of co-operation in every sphere of life specially in economic and technological spheres between developed
and under-developed countries. Each and every nation must co-operate with each other irrespective of colour, creed and language so that this healthy co-operation can lead to prosperity in every country, which is the basic objective of the foreign policy.

**India's Foreign Relations**

2 As it is mentioned above that the post-World War era has seen the emergence of newly independent States. India is also among one of them. To quote Toynbee "India is a central link in a chain of regional civilization that extends from Japan in the Far North East to Ireland in the North West. Between these two extremities the chain sacks down southwards in a gesture that dips below the equator in Indonesia. India has retained the central position in which she found herself as soon as civilization spread eastwards into China and westwards into Europe."

These quotations from Toynbee's Azad Memorial lecture in an appropriate spring board from which to "launch on a survey of cultural contacts, diplomatic missions and commercial relations etc of India with the peoples countries and nations of the world from times immemorial."
Relations of India as a sovereign State based upon the interest of peoples of India began since 1947. Before 1947 India's foreign relations served the interest of Britain. To quote Normand D. Palmer "Until August 1947 India was under British rule and major decisions of her foreign policy, officially speaking, were made in White Hall or in the Governor-General's palace in New Delhi." Giving in historical background, he says, "Long before 1947 spokesmen of Indian independence movement were taking an active interest in foreign policy. India was a member of the League of Nations, and prominent Indians participated in many international and Commonwealth conferences. From its inception in 1885 the Indian National Congress evinced an interest in foreign affairs. In the 1930 resolutions of Congress on foreign affairs showed an acute concern with development in China, the struggle against imperialism, the Spanish Civil War, Japan's aggression in China, the rise of Fascism, and the cause of World Peace." Another strong element of continuity in policy was provided by Jawaharlal Nehru himself, for a longer period than any
other world statesman. He was the voice of a nation's foreign policy." In Sept. 1946, the architecture of India's foreign policy Jawaharlal Nehru outlined our foreign policy as follows:

"In the spheres of foreign affairs, India will follow an independent policy keeping away from the power politics of groups aligned one against the other. India will uphold the principle of freedom for independent people and will oppose racial discrimination whenever it may occur. She will work with other peace-loving nations for international co-operation and good-will without exploitation of one nation by another."

In the light of above statement made by Jawaharlal Nehru there are the following principles in the conduct of India's foreign affairs which are called basic principles of India's foreign policy.

1. Opposition to imperialism and colonialism rule.
2. Supports of subjects people and oppressed races in their struggle for freedom and equality.
3. Promotion of peace and abhorrence of war.
4. Avoidance of foreign military pacts, ie, policy of non-alignment.

5. Friendly relation with all countries of the world.

The relationship India desires with other countries was spelled out in 1954 in a statement of five principles called Pancha Sheel as follows:-

1. Mutual respect for each other's integrity and sovereignty.

2. Non-aggression.

3. Non-interference with each other international affairs.

4. Equality and mutual benefits.

5. Peaceful co-existence.

The roots of India's foreign policy are to be found in the civilizations which developed there over many centuries, particularly in the Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim views of life and patterns of the independent movement and the position on foreign affairs. The foreign policy of India like that of every other country in the world depend on a variety of basic determinants like, geography, political traditions, the defence of the country, the economic needs of the people, national values system and the domestic and international milieu.
The foreign policy serves the national interest of the people of India. Yet it is generally recognised that States in international relations are guided by the concept of permanent goal, namely, that of national interest. In the same way the conduct of foreign relations of India also serves the national interest.
The following pages give a brief account of our relations with Pakistan, China, U.S.S.R., U.S.A. and with United Nations.
2.1 India at her level best tried to maintain healthy and good relations with Pakistan. Nehru in a press conference on 18th August 1947 said, "I want to tell all nations of the world including our neighbour country that we stand for peace and friendship." Nehru once again expressed the same feelings, "We want to live peacefully and maintain cordial relations with our immediate neighbour and with the world at large."

From the very beginning Indo-Pak relations have not been cordial. India's relations with many other countries were largely influenced by the nature of the relationship with Pakistan; same has been the case of Pakistan also. The relationship of both countries have been affected by various factors, such as, problems of refugees, their migration, the problem of integration of Princely States of Juna Garh, Hyderabad and Kashmir, the last of which continues to be a sore point. Thus Kashmir
has been, as Michael-Brecher puts it "the sore and root cause of conflict between India and Pakistan." Other powers have exploited the differences between the two countries of the SEATO and CENTO. Pakistan became over-confident of military might and made attempts for a trial of strength with India. She resorted to aggression in 1947 in Kashmir, in Kutch area of India in April 1965, again on August 5, 1965 in Kashmir and then in October 1971.

The 1971 hostilities between India and Pakistan was a big blow to the relations between two countries. This has seen the emergence of Bangladesh. India was occupied with influx of refugees problem and prisoners of war. However, Agreement was soon made on the question of prisoners of wars and soon they were released to Pakistan.

The negotiation and efforts were being made by both countries to improve the relations which resulted into Simla Agreement of 2nd July, 1972. The agreement stressed that both the countries will solve their problem by peaceful means. It says, "The Government of India and the Government of
Pakistan have resolved that the two countries put an end to the conflict and confrontation that have hitherto marred their relations and work for the promotion of friendly relations and harmonious relationship and the establishment of durable peace in the sub-continent." Now India and Pakistan have re-established full diplomatic relations. Mr K.S. Bajpai and Pakistan's Ambassador Mr Fida Hussain (who recently died) presented their credentials to the respective heads of States on 24th July, 1976 at Islamabad and New Delhi respectively. Speaking on this occasion, President Ahmad said, "Re-establishment of diplomatic relations and restoration of other broken links between our two countries are events of great significance not only for India and Pakistan but for the entire region and the world at large. Continuing, President Ahmad said, "relations between nations, particularly between neighbours should be based on the five principles of peaceful co-existence. Re-establishment of diplomatic ties between Pakistan and India represents an important step forward in the implementation
of the Simla Agreement. The relations were further normalised and strengthened by resuming air links on 21st July, 1976, and rail links on 22nd July, 1976. Private trade between the two countries suspended in 1965 was also authorised from 15th July, 1976. All this have led to further normalisation of relations between two countries and we hope that the two countries will solve their problem by peaceful means in the light of Simla Agreement of 1972. The former External Affairs Minister, Mr Y.B. Chavan once said, "Ever since Simla Agreement was signed, it has been the Government of India policy that in keeping with the Agreement, the several links between the two countries be normalised." "We have been acting on our firm belief that the Simla Agreement enjoins us to preserve sincerely in our efforts towards the establishment of durable peace and harmonious relations between our countries," he said.
2.2 India and China as neighbours and heirs of two of the great civilizations of Asia have long and friendly contacts with each other.

Since 1949 India's relations with China have a major factor in India's foreign policy. We can divide the Sino-India relations in two phases. The relations were generally cordial during 1949 to 1958, except for some minor incidents. Since 1959 the relations took a new turn, mainly because of events and border incidents in NEFA and Ladakh.

In the first phase India concluded two agreements regarding the issue and status of Tibet. The 1954 agreement is important. It recognises Chinese suzerainty over Tibet. It also contains five principles known as Pancha Sheel, which were to guide future relationship between India and China. These five principles are -

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty.
2. Non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

3. Equality and mutual benefit.

4. Non-aggression.

5. Peaceful co-existence.

After the Nehru's visit to China in 1954 India and China worked in close co-operation with each other. During this period India gave all support to China on the question of Formosa. China at the same time supported the India's case of Goa.

The situation changed in July 1958 when the Chinese Government in the official maps claimed some parts of Indian territory. The Indian Government protested to Chinese Government. Dalai Lama fled to India during 1959 and the grant of asylum to the Dalai Lama further deteriorated the relationship between the two countries. The Chinese who since the very beginning had the expansionist policy, further claimed 50,000 square miles of Indian territory. And finally on 5th September 1962 Chinese
launched a large-scale attack on India which marked the end of Indo-China relations. Nehru's policy of non-alignment was severely criticised. The Defence Minister Krishna Menon had resigned due to attack. Nehru and the whole nation were much shocked. For a long time the Chinese were not in a mood to open a dialogue of good relations with India. The Chinese attack alarmed us to the modernization of Defence arms. Defence and India's security became a part of India's foreign policy. Chinese aggression on Indian soil evoked wide spread sympathy for India in the non-Communist bloc.

Since 1962 war India has always been trying her level best to live in an atmosphere of peace and friendly relations with China. She voted in support of Chinese admission into the United Nations for which China paid thanks to Indian Government.

President Ahmad on 20th September, 1976 in New Delhi said, "It is our hope that we can strengthen friendly and good neighbourly relations with each other."
Welcoming the new Chinese Ambassador Mr Chen Chao Yuan, who presented his credentials to him, President Ahmad said that in modern times China, under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse Tung in whose passing away we share the sorrow of Chinese people and we in India, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, have struggled for liberation and independence to fulfil the aspirations of our respective peoples. Emphasising on strengthening Indo-China relations, he said, "We have throughout remained convinced that India and China should, on the basis of five principles, preserve and develop friendly relations through mutual respect for each other. We are glad that our relations have now been restored to the level of Ambassadors", he said. Indian Express in its editorial of 13th September, 1976 said, "the arrival of Chinese Ambassador-designate in India marks an important stage in the process of reconciliation between two countries. As Mr Chen pointed out, the set-backs in relationship in the last
fifteen years were only "a short page in the long history of friendly intercourse between the Chinese and Indian peoples." He promised to improve relations between India and China. It can be said that after exchange of Ambassadors between these countries, that normalisation of Sino-Indian relation has begun.

**INDO-USA RELATIONS**

2.3 "American contacts with India had started before the American revolution through soldiers and seamen who have lived both in American colonies and India." In the first statement of foreign policy in September 1946, Nehru mentioned about India's desire to have friendly relations with the U.S.A. India's policy of non-alignment was hardly distinguishable from neutralism and was a handicap to America's policy, building of defence organization in Asia. There were various factors, such as, military pact, namely, SEATO (South-East Asia Treaty Organization), CENTO (Central Treaty Organization), Baghdad Pact. India's
stand on international disputes, such as, Hungarian crisis, Korean war, Indo-China War and the support of United States to colonialism and racialism became hurdles in the way of Indo-US relations. However, President Kennedy's visit to India gave help to extend the Indo-US relationship.

Economic assistance to India has started since 1951, and since then it has been given technical and economic help. We have economic, cultural and political relations with the U.S. It is estimated that economic assistance of U.S. given to India is highest compared to any other country. But still it is said that we do not have healthy relations because of the view that America has continuously been supplying military and sophisticated armament to Pakistan, which has been responsible for bringing cold war in the sub-continent and it also brought arms race in the sub-continent. The stand taken by U.S. in 1971 Indo-Pak war further deteriorated Indo-U.S. relations. The Ministry of External Affairs in its report for 1976
says, "India continued to work for friendly relations with United States of America based on a sense of realism and co-operation. It was regretted that there was lack of understanding in U.S. of the meaning and direction of the dynamic development in India. Differences between the two countries on the question of supply of arms to Pakistan and the setting up of naval base at Diego Garcia also persisted. It was, however, felt that these should not come in the way of normalisation and efforts were maintained towards co-operation on the basis of the Indo-U.S. Joint Commission set up in 1974." New ways to expand co-operation between India and the U.S.A. in the fields of trade and investment scheme and education and culture were discussed at a meeting of Indo-U.S. Joint Commission which met on 6-7 Oct 1976 at Washington. The areas covered at two-day meeting were a wide ranging programme to promote trade between the U.S.A. and India, establishment of a Joint Business Council, bringing together business leaders of both countries, encouragement to Joint Indo-U.S.
President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmad said on 8th March, 1975 in New Delhi that "India and the U.S.A. have a common interest in the maintenance of peace, removal of tension and promotion of better understanding among nations. In recent years we have looked forward and worked hard to improve our bilateral relations with the United States and put them on a mature, constructive and co-operative basis. I believe we both recognise that real progress unhindered by set-backs will demand of both countries a sincere desire to understand and appreciate each other's vital concern."

India's former External Affairs Minister, Mr Y.B. Chavan said on 13th October, 1975 in Delhi that Indo-U.S. Joint Commission had produced "some positive results". Speaking to newsmen on his return to New Delhi from the U.S.A., Mr Chavan said that so far as the Joint Commission meeting was concerned, the emphasis was on co-operation rather than on differences. "In spite of differences between the two countries on arms supply
to Pakistan and Diego Garcia issue, both sides wanted to continue the process of normalisation."

**INDO-USSR RELATIONS**

2.4 During the period of struggle for freedom Mr Nehru emphasised again and again that it would be in India's interest to develop close, friendly relations with the Soviet Union. Soon after independence the two countries established diplomatic relations. For it, he stated that the two governments had established diplomatic relations with a desire to preserve and further strengthen the friendly relations existing between the USSR and India.

India and the Soviet Union found themselves working together in the United Nations on the issue of colonialism and racialism. The Soviet Union lent support to India in her bid to draw the attention of the world body to the plight of the people of Indian origin in South Africa. Mr Nehru's diplomacy during the Korean War proved that India was following an
independent foreign policy which was basically policy of peace. Mr Nehru too evoked a warm responsibility from the Soviet Union. India's prompt recognition of the Republic of China and her insistence that representatives should occupy the place allotted to China in the United Nations, also created a favourable impression on the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union took active part on the issue of Kashmir. This was reflected in the speech of the Soviet delegate in the Security Council during debate on January 17, 1952. She strongly criticized Britain and the United States for their policy of interference in Kashmir issue and held them largely responsible for the failure of U.N.O. Such understanding between the two countries continued to grow. The first comprehensive trade agreement between India and the Soviet Union was signed in December 1953. Cultural contacts between the two countries also multiplied manifold
leading to exchange of visits of various delegations representing different walks of life, from sports to industries. As the United States makes its plans of drawing the countries of Asia into its military alliances system, foundations of Indo-Soviet friendship got further strengthened. Indo-Soviet Steel agreement signed in February 1955 under which Iron and Steel plant at Bhilai was set up. Meantime Soviet Union continued to operate in U.N. promoting the cause of peace. She welcomed the principles of co-existence by India and China and described them as a model for regulating relations between two countries. During the Nehru's visit to Soviet Union in 1955 he said, "Affirming that the relations between the two countries rested on a firm foundation of friendship and mutual understanding. The Chinese aggression against India in October 1962, put in Indo-Soviet friendship to a test. Soviet Union adopted a neutral attitude. In 1964 the scope of MIG Agreement signed earlier was broadened considerably.
Soviet Union continued to help in defence potential. The passing away of Mr Nehru in May 1964, and change in Soviet Union leadership affected the steady growth of Indo-Soviet friendship. Dr Radha Krishnan paid State visit to USSR from September 11 to 19, 1965. During the 1965 hostilities between India and Pakistan Soviet Union sent direct communication in a bid to first end the hostilities between the two countries. Soviet Union took keen interest in the signing of Tashkent declaration. The Kosygin's visit to India in January 1968 further strengthened the Indo-Soviet Co-operation in different fields. In response, Indian President Dr Zakir Hussain visited Soviet Union in July 1968. Later, President V.V. Giri visited. Once Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said, "the developing friendship between India and Soviet Union is a good example of international co-operation." Throughout the 1960's Soviet Union provided India with all necessary military supplies. The trade in between two countries developed the year 1970. By 1970, the Soviet Union became largest buyer of Indian goods.
The Indo-Soviet treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation signed in 1971 was a landmark in the history of Indo-Soviet relations. Both the countries worked for the reduction in international tensions. Soviet Union has shown great interest in the economic development of India. At present there are 70 industrial projects set up with Soviet technical and economic collaboration. The Soviet Union arms aid has considerably contributed to modernisation of Indian forces. To sum up, we can say that Indo-Soviet relations have been marked by a mutual understanding. The report of Ministry of External Affairs 1976 says, "India's relation with the Soviet Union continued to develop in various fields on the basis of solid foundation laid by the treaty of peace and friendship signed in 1971." Recent change of government at the centre for the first time again reassures good and cordial relations when recently Prime Minister Morarji Desai visited Soviet Union.
INDIA AND UNITED NATIONS

2.5 The promotion of the world peace through the United Nations has been a significant endeavour in international relations since the Second World War. India's contribution weighted in terms of the political insight and the diplomatic initiative in respect of the processes which enabled United Nations to remain a fit instrument for promoting peace in fast changing international scenes. India's independent approach to the United Nations enable it to work out its own understanding of world peace. To quote Mr Nehru "towards the United Nations India's attitude is that of whole-hearted co-operation and unreserved adherence, in both spirit and letter to the charter governing it. To that end India will participate fully in its various activities and endeavour to play that role in its Councils to which her geographical position, population and contribution towards peaceful progress entitle her."
From India's stand on questions of war and peace follows her attitude towards the United Nations role in the setting of the international disputes. She was basically opposed to the American attempt to make the United Nations an executive agent of an anti-communist alliance. This was best in this country that the carrying out of the enforcement functions by the United Nations against the opposition of a major power would disrupt rather than strengthen the world organisation. In the opinion of the Indian Government the international situation demanded an emphasis on the mediatory rather than the enforcement functions of the United Nations world by one bloc of power against another bloc even if it were waged in the name of U.N. would only lead to world-wide destruction and not to the settlement of international disputes. This concept of the United Nations as primarily a machinery for negotiation, conciliation and mediation was only an extension of India's policy of
developing a peace area into the field of international organisation and it naturally came into conflict those who considered the United Nations as a weapon in the cold war armoury.

India took active part during various world conflict. She has been supporting Arab cause in the U.N. She has strongly opposed to colonialism and racialism in the U.N. and strongly reacted to the opposition of nuclear weapons.

India performed actual role in the United Nations. It provided an era of agreement between the two blocs and tried to work out solutions which enabled the United Nations to remove their differences. She has done a good job in reducing world tension and has been following a policy which could promote peace in the world and can bring a new world order.

The most significant achievement of the United Nations over the years has been its focusing attention on economic
co-operation and the problems that face developing countries. India is fully supporting this cause. Once Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said, "All these years, we have strived to make the United Nations stronger and defend it from the corrosive effects of cynicism. We have borne burden on its behalf undertaking mission of peace to Korea, the Gaza strip and Congo. We have endeavoured to serve the cause of peace in Indo-China. And we have resisted attempts to subordinate the United Nations to powerful nations' will."

REFERENCES

8. Encyclopaedia, Britannica.

This bibliography of Asian studies under a succession of titles, has provided bibliographical coverage of western language publications in the field of Asian studies, formerly far eastern bibliography. Subject categories have been combined, geographic
headings and subject headings have been arranged alphabetically.

v.2. Indexes periodicals articles on India's foreign relations from p. 592-600.

Contains list of these for which doctoral degrees were conferred by Indian universities from 1867-1970. Arrangement by broad subject headings.

Lists books and articles published, on Asian countries under the geographical headings. Far East, Central Asia, Indo-China and South Asia. Covers sociology, politics, agriculture, geography, history, philosophy, religion, education etc.

Lists countrywise and in a classified order, articles, documents - speeches, statements, resolutions, white papers, agreements, gazettes, parliamentary debates, committee and commission records, international organisation, newspaper, press agency bulletins. The present volume no. 5 of 1964 compiled by V. Machure and Anilk Jambhekar published in the year 1976 shows of-12-years a time lag of 12 years.
Subject-author index to articles and reading materials in about 300 Indian journals. Arranged alphabetically on dictionary pattern. Published with a time lag of 2 years.

7. Index India; a quarterly documentation list of selected articles, editorials, notes and letters etc. from periodicals and newspapers published in English language over the world. v.1. - ; 1967 - Edited by N.N. Gidwani, Rajasthan University Library, Jaipur.
Index about 1000 periodicals and newspapers in a classified order.
Gives alphabetically and subject index covers all fields of social sciences. A separate section International Relations, indexed documentation foreign relations which is world wide in coverage. Published with a time lag of 4 years.

Lists for the coming Indian publications published in English and Indian regional languages by author, title and subject in one alphabetical sequence.

An authoritative bibliographical record of current Indian publications in the major languages of India. Arranged in one sequence under subject groups has two separate indexes. Entries in classified part are arranged alphabetically. Published with a time lag of 4 years.
10. Indian Press Index. v.1-; 1960-. Delhi Library Association, Delhi. Contains signed and unsigned articles, editorials and important letters from about 2 dozen English dailies. Author and alphabetical subject indexes are provided. Also contains quarterly book reviews under Book reviews supplement.

Index dissertation approved by Jawaharlal Nehru University including the school of International studies. Index is divided into two parts. Part I consist of Area dissertation and part II consisting of non-area dissertation. Within the subject entries are given in the alphabetical sequence.

Indexes general and popular magazines. Arrangement under author, title and subject with frequent cross reference. Foreign relations India indexes under the heading "India foreign relations".

Contains abstracts of articles published in learned periodicals besides indexing a number of them. Includes book reviews notes etc.
Gives abstracts of research done in the field of sciences including foreign relations of India.

Index and abstract publications periodicals, books, national and trade bibliographies, United States. Govt. publications with annotations. World wide in coverage.

Covers history, sociology, economics, Anthropology and Political Science, lists basic bibliographies and indexes, serials, periodicals, directories, dictionaries, year books with annotations. World wide in coverage.

Deals with politics, government, Social history and international relations on world wide. Arrangement classified order. One of classified section consist of international relations. Contains books, articles, pamphlets and documents.
18. International political science abstracts. v.1-; 1951 -
Abstract articles from political science journals as well as
selected in related areas. Entire arrangement classified in
arranged order. World wide in coverage.

19. U.S. Dept. of State Library International politics; a
selective monthly bibliography. v.1- 6; 1956-61
contains articles from periodicals which are analyzed regularly
by library. Arrangement geographically.

FOREIGN RELATIONS - CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

Cairo. Irregular.
Conference deals with the liquidation of imperialism, colonialism,
national independence of the Afro-Asian peoples.

POLITICAL SCIENCE - BIBLIOGRAPHIES - GUIDES, BOOKS

21. Holler, F.L. Information sources of political science. Santa
Barbara, Calif. press, 1975. 5v.
v.4. contains International relations and organization
comparative and area studies of politics and government. Lists
Bibliographies, current and retrospective, dictionaries,
nam and books, document collection. World wide in coverage.

FOREIGN RELATIONS - BIBLIOGRAPHIES

22. Current research in international affairs; a selected
bibliography of works in progress v.1-; 1948 - Carnegie
Arranged by institutions with author and subject indexes.
World wide in scope.
23. Foreign affairs bibliography; a selected and annotated list of books on international relations. v.1.-; Council of foreign relations. New York. 10 years.
Lists monographs primarily in English and major west European languages. Covers history, politics, diplomacy. International law, world organization, racial problem with brief annotations. Given author index.

Indexes 240 journals on current affairs. Covers international affairs, international security and peace, international organizations, political and economic inter regional alliances. World wide in coverage.

FOREIGN RELATIONS - BIBLIOGRAPHIES - GUIDE BOOKS

Contains bibliographies, manuals indexes, surveys and other publications in current affairs. World wide in coverage.

List widely scattered sources for the study of international relations. World wide in coverage. Contains atlases, bibliographies, biographies, dictionaries, dissertation indexes, statistical compendia, treaty collections, year book and international law sources.
FOREIGN RELATIONS - HANDBOOKS

27. Asian recorder; a weekly digest of outstanding Asian events with an index. v.1.-; 1955 - New Delhi. Weekly

A selective weekly news sheet of cultural political and economic events in Asia. Alphabetically arranged by country, quarterly and cumulative index issued every year.

28. Fact on file; world news digest. v.1.-; 1941 - New York. Weekly

A weekly digest of news event collected in loose leaf binders. Arranged by subject including world affairs. Monthly, quarterly and annual indexes are issued.


Presents in convenient reference form the basic demographic, economic and political facts of the nations, dependent territories and major inter governmental organisations of the world. Arrangement alphabetical. Govt. wise in part I and Part II deals with International organisation. Part 3 gives atlas of the world country wise.

30. Shakti, S.N. ed. Political events Annual: National and international affairs. v.1.-; 1975 - New Delhi, Sterling publishers. Annual. (Published under the auspices of Lok Sabha Secretariat)

It diarizes in chronological order the important national and international events of the year. The national affairs of other countries of the world are dealt comprehensively in a separate section.
FOREIGN RELATIONS - ENCYCLOPEDIAS


POLITICAL SCIENCE - PERIODICALS


33. Economic and Political weekly, v. 1-; 1949 - Bombay, Weekly. Contains articles on economic and political fields relating India's internal and external affairs.

34. India. Loksabha. Debates. 1954 - New Delhi, Irregular. Gives text of debate and answers of questions on internal and external affairs. Includes foreign policy and foreign relations in which India directly or indirectly involved.

35. India. Rajyasabha. Debates. v. 1-; 1954 - New Delhi, Irregular. Gives text of debates, answers and questions on national and external affairs. Includes foreign policy and foreign relations in which India directly or indirectly involved.

36. Indian Journal of political science v. 1-; 1940 - Indian political science association, dept. of political science, New Delhi University. New Delhi, Quarterly.
Contains articles on all aspects of political science, including foreign affairs with emphasis on Indian themes.
37. Seminar, v.1.-; 1969 - New Delhi Monthly
A journal which sought to reflect through free discussion every shade of Indian thought and aspiration. Each month a single problem was debated by writers belonging to different persuasions.

 FOREIGN RELATIONS - PERIODICALS

Deals with Asian political and economic affairs. Gives book reviews.

Contains day to day account of the U.N. activities for the year. Includes structural information, security council decisions, agendas etc.

Deals with contemporary world affairs. World wide in coverage with emphasis on American foreign policy. Includes book reviews. Gives a current history chronology covering the events, to provide a day-to-day summary of the world affairs.

Deals with every aspect of foreign affairs. World wide in coverage. A separate section gives the documents under the heading "source material and new books on various countries."
42. **Foreign Affairs Records. v.l.-; 1952 - Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi. Monthly.**

Contains text of agreements, joint communiqué, speeches of government officials, parliament question and answers, debates and certain other important documents relating to foreign Affairs and Indian foreign policy.

43. **Foreign Affairs Reports. v.l.-; 1952 - Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi. Monthly.**

Contains texts of agreements, joint communiqué, speeches etc. on India's foreign affairs.

44. **India Quarterly; a journal of international affairs. 1945 - Indian council of world affairs, New Delhi. Quarterly.**

Deals with foreign affairs of the contemporary world, gives in coverage but emphasis on India’s foreign relations and its policy. Includes extensive book reviews and the "book of the quarter" published in India.

45. **Indian and foreign review. v.l.-; 1963 - India, Fortnightly.**

Records the latest political, economic and social developments in India both in internal as well as in external affairs, gives book reviews.

46. **Institute for defence studies and analysis Journal. v.l.-, 1968.**

Institute for defence studies and Analysis, New Delhi. Semimonthly, deals with international relations with particular emphasis on India's national security.
Deals with contemporary politics. International relations, economics and law, on a world wide basis. Includes book reviews.


Contains articles on International affairs with emphasis on India.
Gives bibliography at the end of each volume "India in world affairs". Also gives book reviews on International and Indian affairs.


51. Orbis; a journal of world affairs. v.1- ; 1957 - .
Foreign policy research institute, Philadelpia. Quarterly.
Deals with contemporary International relations and world affairs on a world wide basis. Gives book reviews.

52. Pacific Affairs. v.1- ; 1938 - . Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, Quarterly.
Deals with Asia and Pacific area, Social sciences and humanities, concentrates on contemporary matters. But includes historical coverage.
Deals with International relations. Emphasis on Pakistan's foreign affairs. Includes book reviews.

Contains meetings, records of special committees and Commission resolution adopted.

Contains complete records of the activities, proceedings, decisions and resolutions of U.N.

Contains meetings, records, resolutions and decisions of the Security Council.

Contains treaty and international agreement entered into its members. The text are given in original language. English and French translations are included.


INDIA - FOREIGN RELATIONS - BIBLIOGRAPHIES

60. India and world affairs; an annual bibliography. Issued in International studies, v.1.- 1959 -

First part contain books, periodicals, articles and documents on the foreign relations of India and its policy. Second part relates to the expression of Indian opinion on world affairs. Classified arrangement with subject index.


INDIA - FOREIGN RELATIONS - REPORTS.


This report is concerned with India's defence problems and its development in a particular year.


Evaluates India's relation with the world. Gives land mark in foreign relations of India during the year. Also gives foreign leaders visited in India or Indian leaders visited abroad.
64. Indian Council of world affairs, defence and security in the Indian ocean area; a report of a study group.
Bombay, 1958. 220P (mimeograph)
Studies and examines the problems in the context of geographical frame work, economic growth, human element and the armsments growth, in the Indian ocean endangers threat to it.

Covers in full text of summary of documents, resolutions write papers, agreements and reports from official sources,
Arranged chronologically under regions. Published with a time lag of 3 to 4 years.

Gives citation to the text of treaties related documents concerning India. Numerical part giving their register number in the league and United nations record compiled from non-official sources.

Discussed the diplomatic activities of the year in which India either actually participated or to which it reacted in defence of its own national interest. Examines her relations and developments with the countries of the world. Gives chronicle of important events during the year. Published with a time lag of 3 years. Compiled from official and non-official sources.

69. Bimal Prasad The origins of Indian foreign policy. Calcutta, Book land, 1962. Revised version of the doctoral thesis in history: Columbia Univ. 1968. The book seeks to trace the historical background of Indian foreign policy through the interest shown and various world events as they occurred from time to time since the foundation on Indian National Congress in 1885.


71. Chatate, Narayan. Disarmament in India foreign policy, 1947 - 1965. Thesis, American University, 1966. Evaluates disarmament in Indian foreign policy by examining the following questions: (1) What has been India's position on disarmament and why? What has been India's reaction to the disarmament proposal of other countries particularly of the U.S. and U.S.S.R., etc.


India FOREIGN RELATIONS - ADDRESSES AND SPEAKS.

75. Balasubramanian, V. India in the world. Eastern economist (Annual no.) v.70. 1969. p.17-18; 21-23. Highlighting the share of India in International affairs since her independence to the end of 1969. Discuss the changed political climate since 1967 general election, political instability engineered by some leftist political parties and other anti-congress parties in half-a-dozen states of the country.
Foreign affairs. v. 46, no. 3, 1968 p. 548-61
Deals with India's current foreign policy of her diplomatic relations with other countries during 1947-1962. Focused attention on (1) Shift in Indian foreign policy regarding China from April, 1960 to Oct. 1962 when China attacked her. (2) Relations with Pakistan from 1965 war with her; (3) Closer ties with Russia since the death of Stalin to date.

Asian Survey. v. 15, no. 3, 1975 p. 203-14
Studies that the three countries of Indian sub-continent (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh) have armies which play major roles. The army have always called upon in times of internal conflicts or to the army, and officers are conscious of the elite position.

Economic and political weekly v. 2, no. 19, 1967 p. 379-89; v. 2 no. 20, 1967 p. 933-937
Discusses the model on which Indian foreign policy was based during Nehru era. Examines the strategy and tactics which the model entails.

Analysis briefly the claim and interest of both India and Pakistan regarding the possession of and sovereignty over the territory of Jammu and Kashmir since August, 1947 when both the countries had emerged as independent nations. Focuses attention of determination of the policies of two countries towards the other states of the world.
The paper contributes to symposium on problem of security in Indian sub-continent, reviews defence planning in India and discusses effect of Indo-Pakistan war 1965 on planning for defence.

81. Wyon, Peter India's foreign policy: Inter play of domestic and external factors.
Policy of being non-aligned and non-involvement in power policies have been specially examined. Touches upon Kashmir tangle and north - east frontier with China and India's political system etc.

82. Man Singh Is India a great power.
Indian journal of politics. v.6, no. 2 1972 p. 9-17.
Studies that India's regional dominance is a fact of geography but is bound to be politically resisted by other regional states for at least some time to come. The statement that India is a great power remains open to question.

83. Maxwell, N. Jawaharlal Nehru; of pride and principle.
It shows that despite of his failures in the area of foreign policy, Menu remains prestigious in western eyes for his role as peacemaker in the international community.

84. Metra, S.N. New look at foreign policy.
Explains that anti colonialism, non-alignment, peaceful co-existence renunciation of use of force for the settlement of international dispute are not practicable and desirable in the present
international situation. Suggests that India should base her foreign policy on the principle of self interest so should settle conflicts with China and Pakistan.

85. Mukerjee, Dilip. India's defence perspectives. International affairs (London) v.44, no.4, 1968 p.666-76. Observes that in addition to major role in the Indian ocean region, her military capability is to be extended for her own security in respect of probable confrontations with Pakistan, with China and with Sino-Pak combined attack on her.

86. Naika, J.A. Indian defence and the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. United Asia v.20, no. 6, 1968 p.332-37. Opines that it is not desirable for India to go under the nuclear umbrella - U.S.A. or U.S.S.R. because in case of war between two super powers India can not depend on either of them. If she is attacked by nuclear powered communist China simultaneously.

87. Hizami, T.A. Nehru and the world order. Indian journal of politics v.7, no. 1, 1973 p.39-96. Studies that how Nehru sought to train the mind of men and women and placed before them a rational and a scientific analysis of world problems through his speeches and writings. He critically watched the development and practice of international law and firmly believed that it was to settle problems and disputes by methods other than war.
88. Park, Richard. India's foreign policy, 1964-1968. Current History v. 54, no. 320, 1968 p. 200-205. Observes the changes in India's foreign policy during the period of 5 years and pointed out the changes with special reference to Indo-Pak relations and Indo-Pak conflicts of 1965.

89. Power, P.P. On ideologies in India's foreign relations. Indian Political Science Review v. 8, no. 1, 1974 p. 1-6. Opines that the major currents are anti-imperialism, liberal internationalism, neutralism, neo-marxism, Hindu nationalism and Gandhian. These ideologies are high on the normative scale, frequently the currents have reinforced one another, and at times have been in conflict.

90. Varma, R. Strategic importance of Indian Ocean. India Journal of Political Science v. 23, no. 1-2, 1967 p. 51-61. States that the geography and the size of Indian Ocean and cold war make the defence of Indian Ocean the common concern of all states within this area, and India has to build up naval strength in concert with other nations. Suggests different fields where India can co-operate with her neighbours.


Analyzes India's foreign policy since independence and its relations with superpowers, the third world and her neighbours.


Analyzes the essentials of the foreign policy formulations and scope to present rational-prescriptive views to the subject. Also scrutinizes the role of individual foreign ministers responsible for policy decisions shows that there has been a sea-change in India's external relations ever since Indira Gandhi's pragmatic injection into foreign policy—especially with the liberation of Bangladesh and winning of war against Pakistan, which would need drastic modifications India's role in global affairs.


Explains how political institutions shaped India's economy, how foreign policy has guided domestic economy and politics and how in turn, it has been guided by them.


The book is divided into four parts.
1. Foreign policy perspectives.
2. The world order as Indian sees it.
3. India and her neighbours.
4. India and Bangladesh.

The speeches dealt with our foreign relationship with almost every era. The book also deals in general non-alignment, colonialism and Asian goals in world affairs.
96. Gupta, Karunakaran. India in world politics; a period of transition, fall 1956 to spring 1960.
Calcutta, scientific Book agency, 1969. xii, 324p.
Discuss the foreign policy of India during the period starting with the aftermath of Suez crisis and also Hungarian crisis in the fall of 1956. highlights India's relations with U.S.A, U.S.S.R, China(Communist) Pakistan, and her role in the United nations and in the problems of disarmament during the above period.

97. India. Lok Sabha Secretariate.
Contains text of treaties, communiques joint statement agreement and speeches on India's foreign policy and relations.

The book is based on seminar on india and the world of to-day in New Delhi, Aug. 1972 under the auspices of society for parliamentary studies. The book deals with Indian foreign policy, its relation South east Asian countries super powers and in general discusses the balance of power, United states and foreign policy etc.

99. Malik, M.H. Development of Non-alignment in India's foreign Policy.
Allahabad, Chaitanya publishing house, 1967. xvi, 342 p.
Examine India's policy of non-alignment from September, 1947 to October 1964. The first two chapters discuss the emergence of the concept of non-alignment. The subsequent four chapters explain in many trials and how finally it came to be recognised even by great powers, as an important element in Indian foreign policy. The last
chapter traces the factors which have eroded the importance of non-alignment. Also refers to the changes in U.S. and USSR's foreign policy.

Evaluates Indian foreign policy from different times, context and perspectives.

(Nearu memorials lectures)
Examines India's foreign policy during the Nehru's years. Discusses non-alignment and economic factor in foreign policy. Most of the articles described the more prominent events of Nehru years and the implications for India in her relations with the Arab world, west Asia, South east Asia, China, the Soviet Union and U.S.A. Nehru's contribution to strengthening of the commonwealth links, International economic agencies and UN and his views on the community of relations are also analysed.

Constitutes one of the original source of India's foreign affairs. Deals with India's foreign policy and its relations with Asia, Africa Europe and America.
V.1 Internal affairs, 1947.
contains text of speeches of national leaders, laws, treaties international agreement and communiques.

explains non-alignment and examines it with a particular reference to the foreign policies of India and U.A.R.
Opines that the non-alignment has been widely misunderstood and mis-interpreted.

The book is divided into two parts, namely “Foreign relations” and special problems.
Contains studies on India’s foreign relations with Japan, the Soviet Union, the commonwealth, Latin America and India’s neighbour, Nepal and Sri Lanka. The second part deals with the special problems ranging from a broad subject like, “India, the U.N. and world peace” to a narrow one, the legal aspect of the Sino-Indian border dispute.
106. Rana, A.P. The imperatives of non-alignment: A conceptual study of India's foreign policy strategy in the Nehru period New Delhi, McMillan, 1976.xiii, 322p

Professor Rana has made a laudable attempt to analyze the foreign policy of India during the Nehru era in a theoretical perspective. The focus of the exercise is on the.

1. Strategy of non-alignment states. That the broad goals of Nehru's foreign policy were national security, improving the operations of the international system, and international status. The book is divided into two parts. The first dealing with the strategy of non-alignment within the framework of capability analysis, and the second dealing with the same strategy within the framework of political culture.


Opines that the India's foreign policy non-alignment no longer holds the base and seems to have disappeared into the oblivion. The Indo-soviet treaty makes a great shift in India's a foreign policy orientation. It is clear indication that the Indian policy makers have decided to brush off the monolithic concept of non-alignment. According to the author, the military strategy and foreign policy should be inter-related to make out foreign policy more realistic and India should establish a world wide intelligence net work. The priority should also be the expert management of world wide mass media for India's external publicity.

International studies v.8, 1-2, 1960.

Lists articles, books and documents with Indo-Pak relations during the above period.


Lists separately books, articles of journals and newspaper under each classified head. Author index at the end. Covers past and contemporary problems.


This book is essentially, a study covering the 12 days conflict which brought about the break away of the erstwhile rare Pakistan and its emergence as a sovereign and Independent state of Bangladesh. Pakistan negative attitude towards India since its birth, has been set out in the first four chapters.


Analysis Hindu-Muslim rivalry prior to Independence and the creation and articulation of foreign policies of India and Pakistan. Discusses American's policy with India and Pakistan.
112. BRINE, R. Indo-Pakistan conflict. London Pallmall, 1968
    vii, 481p.
    Examines the military growth of the two countries. Evaluates the Indo-Pak relations in the context of 1965 war.

    The author, ex-High Commissioner for Pakistan and judge in the Indian Civil service is impartial but unsparing in his critical analysis of the failure of both India and Pakistan policy. The pre-requisites to change the scene as a lessening of both great powers manipulation and religious into erance, but he has no optimism about either.

    Continues legal validity and moral rightness on the problem of Kashmir of the Indian stand.

    Examines the United States, The Soviet Union and China to further their interest in India, Pakistan & Bangladesh since 1947-70 and on the reactions of the governments of India and Pakistan to those efforts.
116. Choudhry, G.W.  *Pakistan's relation with India 1947-66*  

Analyses the numerous disputes arising between them after partition like the division of the assets of British India, trade policy, water rights, military and political alignment and the Kashmir disputes.

117. Choudhary, Sukhbir.  *Indo-Pak war and big powers,* New Delhi, Trimurti publications, 1972. ix, 195

The book discusses the Indo-Pak war of 1971 in the context of big powers diplomacy namely, the U.S.A. U.S.S.R, China. Opines that Nixon Administration fails to understand India during the war & China had supported to Pakistan during the war.

118. Gajendra Kar, P.B.  *Kashmir - retrospect and prospect*  
Bombay, University of Bombay, 1967. 147p  
(Patel memorial lectures)

Traces the dispute between India and Pakistan from 1947 Maharaja accession to India up to the Tashkent declaration.

Bombay, Allied, 1973. xvii, 461p

Analyses India's relation with Pakistan in the context of Indus water disputes. Examines political, legal and other factors relevant to the dispute and its settlement.
Examine India's relations with Pakistan in the context of various facets.

(Security Council proceedings, of Jan., 1962 Paris)
Papers contains India-Pakistan question concerning the state of Jammu & Kashmir.

Opines that the Pakistan was aggressor during the 1965 war.

Contains texts of Agreements between India and Pakistan on border agreements.

124. India. Ministry of External Affairs. Indo-Pakistan relations, correspondence between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan from July 15, 1951 to August 1951 White Paper New Delhi (n.p., h.d.)
Contains text of telegram received and sent between India and Pakistan during the period July 15, 1951 to August 9, 1951 relating dispute of Kashmir.
Contains text or summary of agreements between the two countries from Dec.14, 1948 to January 10, 1966. Agreements on technical subject have been omitted.

Stress to end the conflict and confrontation and promotion of friendly and harmonious relationship between India and Pakistan.

127. India. Ministry of Information and broadcasting.
Paradox of India Pakistan relation. New Delhi, Publication Division, 1966, 43p.
Opines the genesis of Pakistan. Examines India's efforts for peace in the sub-continent.

The author analysed all factors and forces which have shaped Indo-Pak relations during the above period. These includes the Kashmir disputes the border problem, and the minority problem. Analyses in detail the Indo-Pakistan conflicts. Points out that the Kashmir problem is the most outstanding has suggested a solution for this problem.

Examines the Indo-Pak relations in the context of 1965 and 1971 wars. Discusses the birth of Bangladesh.

The book narrates the Indo-Pak war of 1971 and the emergence of Bangladesh. It discusses the role of Mukti Bahini in the Independence of Bangladesh, the Indian military intervention in the Bangladesh and in general and the Indian military performance during the war.


Highlights India's relationship with the west and the British crown and also with the Pakistan's and concludes with a brief account of political relationship with other borders lands.


The book in brief studies the Indo-Pak relationship and the key events, since its beginning to 1971, Indo-Pakistan war. It also discusses 1971 war impact and the emergence of Bangladesh as an Independent nation. The book also discusses the American foreign policy towards the region.


Examines inter-relations between the three countries from independence to the 1965 war.
The primary aim of this study, according to the author, emphasizes the role of the media of mass communication in reducing and ameliorating tension and fostering trust in inter-state relations.

To support his contention, Dr. Rao has undertaken a case study. He has chosen the two elite newspapers (The Times of India and Pakistan Times) of India & Pakistan and, on the basis of the content analysis of the editorial behavior of these two newspapers during the Indo-Pakistan conflict in 1965, the author has sought to demonstrate how the press behavior of a country creates trust and arouses suspicions in official communicative behavior of its adversary.

Gives historical background of Indo-Pakistan relationship. Narrates the detail of event relating to crisis over Ram of Kutch and the Armed conflict between the two countries.

Discusses the problems of Indo-Pak relations which arose in the wake of 1965 war leading to Tashkent declaration.

Studies the economic relations between India and Pakistan in the context of various economic problems. Namely displaced persons grade and financial problems. In the light of these two problems the economic relations between these two countries are reflected, opines that tension between the two countries can be removed. The two countries co-operate with each other in economic sphere. The book also discusses the economic consequences of partition.


*Pakistan horizon* v.25, no. 3, 1972 p.53-74.

Opines that like the Tashkent declaration, the Simla accord also puts of the basic disputes. The Tashkent agreement was not a step forward. The Simla agreement is a step towards a new direction in Indo-Pak relations.

139. Banerji, R.N. *Indo-Pakistan enclave.*

*India quarterly* v.25, no.3, 1969 p.264-7

Discuss the history and problems behind the unique and confusing situation created by the geographical position of the Indian enclaves in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) with a reference to the Nehru-Muon agreement of 1968. Then Nehru was Prime Minister of India and Peroj Khan Noon was P.M. of Pakistan.
140. Bebler, Ales. Indo-Pakistan Western boundaries. 
India quarterly. v. 24, no. 2, 1968 p.77-139.
Traces the geographical history of the Rann of Kutch from 1802 when British Government first erupted into the territory up to 1947. Analyses the evidences displayed by Survey of India maps checked out from line to line, documentation of British Governments file etc.

India quarterly v.29, no. 1, 1973 p.26-31
It discussed out the 1972 Simla Agreement in which Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, then President of Pakistan was committed to recognise Bangladesh after the settlement of POW's, but he did not recognise Bangladesh in 1972 and even prevailed upon Peking to veto Bangladesh’s admission to the U.N.

Pakistan horizon. v. 25, no. 3, 1972. p.3-16.
It discusses about the Simla Accord. It shows that it is open to the people of India to decide the kind of relationship with Pakistan, the Simla agreement is the starting point and one can move in any direction, either of peace or confrontation.

143. Bimal Prasad. Fresh approach to India-Pakistan relations.
South Asian studies. v.2 no.2 1967 p.167-70.
States the report on the seminar on India-Pakistan relation held at New Delhi from April 30 to May 2, 1967. Mentions the ten points which emerged at the discussions.
Opines that Pakistan has uniformly welcomed the offer provided the slogan of no-war is given real meaning by adding to it an agreed formula which would ensure the fair settlement of the main disputes between the two countries which could erupt into war if allowed to fester too long.

Opines that normalization of Indo-Pakistan relations was delayed because India refuse to release Pakistani POW's without Bangladesh consent. Discusses a 3-way exchange of (1) Pakistani POW's in India except the 136(2) Bengalis detained in Pakistan and (3) non Bengalis in Bangladesh willing to retain Pakistani citizenship was agreed upon 28 August 1973.

Contains articles on Indo-Pakistan's war of 1971, examines its legal aspects of China diplomacy. Discusses prisoners of war and East Pakistan conflicts.
Examines the merits of the case between the two countries in 
the light of relevant customs of the international law despite the 
signing of the "Indian Water Treaty" by Menru and Ayub Khan 
in Karachi on Sep. 19, 1960; and observes that after 1965 
conflict India stopped Ravi, Bess and Sutlaj tributaries, 
resulting considerable damage to the crops in Pakistan and 
dwells upon the release of the water after Tashkent Agreement 
in 1966.

Criticises Govt. of India's unpreparedness to meet 1962 
Chinese invasion and to face Pakistan during 1965 war, attributes 
failure to meet these challenges to lack of a clear policy 
hence the military attributes.

149. Mc Connal, J.A.  Super-Power naval diplomacy: Lessons of 
the Indo-Pakistani crisis 1971.  
Opines that the Indo-Pakistani war of December 1971 which 
Involves both Soviet and American naval movements provides a 
number of lessons for which both super power might employ 
when using naval forces in future non bilateral crises.
Shows that the final settlement of the Kashmir issue will be determined not only by the policies adopted by India and Pakistan, but also the attitude taken by the people of Kashmir on either side of the cease-fire line and also the shape the power struggle between China and U.S.S.R. assurances in the region.

Examines the award handed down by the International tribunal of Geneva on 19th Feb, 1963; and studies the various issues faced by the Arbitral Tribunal in reaching to a fair and honest decision towards both India and Pakistan regarding the boundary dispute in Kutch.

Provides analysis of India Pakistan as factors in each other foreign policy. Opines that Pakistan drifted towards China because it perceived danger from India and now changes of friendship recede because China is calling on Pakistan to aggressiveness.
Discusses about the Simla agreement, it looks forward to a final settlement of the Kashmir dispute without prejudice to the position of either side shows that Pakistan government has moved swiftly in the domestic fields to change the inequitous socio-economic and political legal structures, and introduced a series of socio economic reforms designed primarily to eradicate mass poverty in Pakistan.

Opines that all the Arab and non Arab states of the Middle East in the Indo-Pakistan war could not have occurred at a more inopportune time, bringing out in the open once more the split between progressive and non-progressive Islam and Arab states and increasing the tension in the Arab camp at a time where the consequences could very well have been dramatic.

Opines that the signing of the Simla Accord by the leaders of India and Pakistan opened up a new dimension in Indo-Pakistan relations. The agreement was hailed as one that had been reached without interference from outside powers and one that was expected to be only a prelude to the setting up of machinery to deal with a host of mutual problems.
156. Wariarwala, B. The Indo-Pakistani agreement and stability in the sub-continent.


Studies that the present International setting is more conducive to keeping Indo-Pakistani tensions very much within the limits of the subcontinent. Discusses that for the United States their region is periperal importance to her security and economic interest.


Asserts that the year 1966 marks the long legacy of strained relationships between the two countries owing firstly, an armed conflict in the Rann of Kutch and secondly, due to a shooting work in the borders of West Pakistan in Sept. of the year. Highlights the diplomatic initiative taken by the Soviet Union in the affairs of two countries resulting in Tashkand agreement of Jan. 1966. Describes the history of how and why Jammu and Kashmir became a battle ground of two countries.

**India-FOREIGN relations-CHINA-BIBLIOGRAPHIES**

158. Ambekar, G.V. ed.


Chapter 7,8 indexes collections of documents of problems of boundaries relating India and China, also gives general principles of foreign policy of China.

It is a comprehensive subject bibliography on China, arranged by alphabetical order. Foreign relations of China have been dealt from the pages 548-567.


Lists periodical articles, documents on China under different headings subject headings. Arrangement under alphabetical order.

INDIA-FOREIGN RELATIONS-CINA-REPORTS


States that the area along the common boundary which are now disputed by China have always been part of India. The evidence by-China and arguments brought forward by China side could in no way effect this. The Indian side furnished a vast and varied amount of material and fully established that the long traditional boundary over 2,400 miles shown on current Indian maps was clear and precise. It has been recognised for centuries and had been confirmed in agreements.
Summary of the report of the officials of the government of India and the people's Republic of China on the boundary question

Opines that the traditional boundary between the two countries is that shown by India and that the Chinese are in unlawful occupation of about 12,000 square miles of Indian territory.

163. Agnihotri, P.C. India's foreign policy during the Nehru era; a study in Sino-Indian relations from 1949 to 1962. 301p.

Tehsil Shiva University.

Critically examines India's foreign relations with China during the Nehru era. Opines that the policy of non-alignment and co-existence was inconsistent with her relations to China.


Studies eight international disputes including the India-China disputes analysing each in terms of international law.


Examines Indo-China relations upto 1960 in the context of the clash of 1959 over Tibet.

Explores the history of Sino-Indian rivalry in Ladakh. Argues that entire conflict is approached in perspective of inter regional relationship. Emphasises vital position of Ladakh in Asian Politics.


168. India, Ministry of External Affairs.


Contains subsequent notes, memoranda and letters exchanged between the China and India from November 1959 to Feb. 1967 in separate issues.

169. India, Ministry of External Affairs.

*Notes, memoranda and letters exchanged and agreements signed between the governments of Indian and China 1954-1959; White paper,*


175. Indian society of international law.


Contains a collection of treaties, agreements and other official documents relating to the Sino-Indian boundary question.

176. Jain, Girilal

Panchsheel and after; a re-appraisal of Sino-Indian relations in the context of the Tibetan insurrection.


Opines that the China adhered to Panchsheel only in a limited sense and her depredatory on roads into the neighbouring sovereign states in a treacherous revelation of China expansionist policies.

177. Paterson, George Neilson.


Traces history of rivalry between China and India from their emergence to 1961.

Opines that the Nehru era lacked a positive and broad foreign policy in a face of rising of Red China.

178. Ram Gopal

India-China-Tibet Trilemma. Lucknow, Pustak Vendra, 1964

Tibet Political States is examined in the context of claims and counter claims and the arguments and counter arguments, put forward by India and China.
Studies the political and historical development of the territories comprising the Himalaya border land. The Chinese invasions of India in 1962 and the continuing Sino-Indian confrontation on the border have brought the Himalaya region in to focus.


Opines that the China's attitude towards her neighbour is aggressive, examines the origin, nature and significance of the tensions between China and India.

(Collection of papers of the fifth Annual Conference of the Institute of historical studies, Jnangal University, 1967. Attempts to lay before the reader the full history of the Himalayan belt from to Ladakh.
Opines the view of Government of Pakistan that the India never accepted the idea of viability of Pakistan, India manipulated her difference with China and the policy of non-alignment was a cover for policies designed to advanced her national interest.

Traces the growth and development of the struggle against the background of historical relations between India and China. The contradictory ideological attitudes developed by them and the divergent paths have followed in their foreign policies.

Discusses the political situation of South East Asia and the increasing influence of China in whole of Asia and has dwelt upon the efforts of India for peace making during the period 1959-1966. A stress on the situation of Indo-Chinese-conflict of 1962; which greatly changed India's political thinking.

186. Jha, J.C. Attitude of Communist China towards the Indo-Pakistani sub-continent.
Opines that Communist China's attitude towards the Indo-Pakistani sub-continent has been guided by its regional and global objectives and by its struggle for power with India and with the Soviet Union and United States China since 1962 because particularly intimate with
Pakistan, has openly adopted a hostile policy towards India.

Upplies that China no longer sees India nearly as a power in the Soviet game and both countries share apprehensions about super-power imperialism in the wake of detente.

Upines that the fundamental problem facing a nuclear India is to develop the fruitful realism of the Annual report of the Ministry of Defence, 1971-72 into a purposeful acceptance of the obligations of power and give up ideas of fixed hostility to Peking and Islamabad. India's nuclear role will be a modest one, but it can be given coherence if its essential concepts are related to Asian stability.

India-Foreign relations-Russia-Publications
This journal is devoted towards Indo-Soviet relations, gives articles and notes, memoranda, joint communiqué relating to Indo-Soviet relations.

India-foreign relations-Russia-theses and publications
Analyses Soviet Indian relations in the decade, 1953-1963 with special reference to economic co-operation between two countries.


193. Chatterjee, Basant. *Indo-Soviet friendship, an analytical study.* New Delhi, S. Chand, 1974. vii, 259 p. Discusses about the 20 year treaty of peace friendship and cooperation between the two countries. Analysis, why and how this friendship on the governmental plane, has developed through its various phases to its present stage of maturity and mutual trust.


Discusses Leonid Brezhnev's friendly official visit to New Delhi and presents a comprehensive and lucid record of the Soviet-leaders five day sojourn and also gives an incisive preception of its historic impact on Indo-Soviet friendship and world peace. The friendship between the two countries, although they have different social systems, has stood the test of time. States that whenever India's national security was threatened Soviet Union and its people helped India.


Examines the Indo-Soviet relationship namely the political, the economic and defence aspect.


Evaluates Indo-Soviet relations since the Bandung conference in the vortex of interacting decisions of India and the USSR as well as those of the U.S.A., China and Pakistan, so far as these affected the relations between India and Soviet-union.


Analysis the developments in India's international relations, culminating in the Indo-Soviet treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation of 1971. Discusses the recent occurrence in Bangla Desh, affecting and threatening the entire sub-continent and revealing the attitudes of the U.S.A. and USSR. Discusses about the Indo-Soviet treaty in August 1971 and the Indian reaction towards the treaty and looks into the future of India.

Based on the proceedings of the seminar on new perspective of Indo-Soviet cooperation march, 1975 convened by Indo-Soviet cultural society, Delhi. Examines the planning in India and the Soviet-union problems of socialism and third world, peace and security in Asia.


Discusses about the Indo-Soviet friendship and how the two countries take part to celebrate the festivals etc. on different occasions. Opines that Soviet people celebrate the Gandhi's birthday and birthday anniversary of Jawaharlal Nehru. The two countries also participate in the field of culture.

Studies on Indo-Soviet relations from the time of Indian independence till the death of Prime Minister Nehru, though it goes beyond the period to cover aspects of Indian relations with the Soviet Union under Lal Bahadur Shastri and Indira Gandhi, examines the evaluations of Soviet policy towards South Asia in the context of Soviet policies. The book also discusses not only Indo-Soviet relations but also Sino-Indian, Sino-Soviet, Indo-Pakistani and Soviet-Pakistan relations and how there various streams have influenced the
course of contacts between India and Soviet union.

Attempt to survey the 25 years (1947-1972) Indo USSR diplomatic relations. Opines that Indo-Soviet friendship is a major pillar of peace in Asian continent and a cornerstone of the edifice of international peace and the Indo-Soviet treaty, also indicated its significance for the national liberation movement.

Opines that Soviet credits and technical assistance have been exclusively for basic industries like steel, heavy machine, building toil and power generator, drugs and pharmaceutics. States that Indo-Soviet economic and technical cooperation has helped India more closer to its goal of industrial progress.

Evaluates the relative roles of ideology and realism in the formulations of Soviet policies towards Asian countries with special reference to India.

India-Foreign Relations-Russia-Australia and Essays

Opines that Indo-Soviet ties have been useful to Moscow and Delhi, but there are problems. States that these are rooted primarily in the geopolitical context in which the Indo-Soviet relationship emerged. Examines Indo-Soviet relations and Sino-Soviet relations as per the following hypotheses.
(1) Indo-Soviet and Sino-Soviet pairs may continued

(2) Assists that, if the Sino-Soviet relations are normalised, then Sino-Indian normalisation is likely to follow Sino-Soviet normalisation.

Discusses about the bloody civil war of 1971 which engulfed Pakistan, sent an estimated ten million refugees to India, and eventually embroiled these two states in a third round of their continuing conflict. Also points out the Soviet intervention in South Asia, its attempt to mediate the Indo-Pakistan conflict at the Tashkent conference in Jan. 1966.

Asian survey. v.12, no. 6, 1972. p 463-74.
Examines of the context of the treaty, is it necessary or not. States that it is useful as a diplomatic rather than a military instrument.

International studies. v.8, no.1--2, 1966. p.150-57.
Examines the impact of U.S.S.R. on Indo-Pakistan relations and traces U.S.S.R. Indian relations from 1947 and tells how U.S.S.R. diplomacy moved from negative neutrality and expressed its concern over, deterioration of Indo-Pak relations.

Examines an appreciation of the long term effects of the Indo-Soviet treaty of Aug. 9,1971. Opines that it is clear that alliance has isolated India in the councils of the world, and cut it off friendly nations.
India and Soviet Union.


Explains that Indo-Soviet relations have formed in recent years in changing trends in foreign policy, trade, and aid, the fate of the communist party of India, Kozygin mediation at Tashkent. Opines that Indo-Soviet relations go beyond the diplomatic sphere and extend to internal affairs such as development of the public sector of India's economy and joint production-planning for diversification of exports and import.

India-foreign relations—Southeast Asia—Bibliography


Part first indexes, books, periodicals, articles and documents on India's foreign policy towards the conflict in Vietnam. Second part relates to the expression of Indian opinion on the Vietnam conflict. Documents covers items published between the year 1964-72.

India-foreign relations—Southeast Asia—Conferences Proceedings

Seminar on India and South East Asia, New Delhi, 1966.

India and South East Asia: proceedings. Edited by Bilyut Sarkes, New Delhi, Indian council for cultural relations, 1963. (mimeograph)

Examine the close cultural and trade relations between India and South East Asian countries.

Opines that the Indian policy towards the region was more governed by the interests of the individual states in themselves than by global considerations of co-existence, confrontation, peace and war.


Analyzes India's policy of non-alignment in the context of cold war and power blocs. Discusses India's relations with South-East Asian countries in the field of economic, cultural and geo-political aspects.

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In the context of India's experiences at peace-making in Indo-China, this book tries to study its role in the most sensitive part of South-East Asia. The book also discusses politics of Indo-China war. It is a modest attempt to a proper evaluation of the South-East Asian situation in the context of the war in Indo-China and India's role therein.


It is a collection of various papers submitted to the 28th sessions of Indian political science association. Critically examines India's relations with his neighbours, Pakistan, Nepal, Afghanistan, Tibet and Thailand.
Evaluates diplomacy of India in Indo-China during the Nehru era, and its impact on Indian attitudes towards the problem in Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam.

**INDIA-FOREIGN RELATIONS-SOUTH EAST ASIA-ESSAYS AND ESAYS**

219. Verma, R. *India's diplomacy in South East Asia.*
Opines that business of diplomacy in the region is a difficult task and the art of diplomacy is different from the Art of public administration. Concludes India should take an active interest in the secularism, political stability and economic development in the smaller South East Asian nations.

**INDIA-FOREIGN RELATIONS-WEST ASIA-BIBLIOGRAPHY**

220. Arab world and India; a select bibliography, India council for cultural relations. New Delhi, 1967. 30 p.
List documents, articles and books from the year 1947-1966 on Indo-Arab relations.

**INDIA-FOREIGN RELATIONS-WEST ASIA-THESIS AND DISSERTATION**

221. Wardy, Richard Edmund *West Asia in Indian foreign policy.*
Analysis India's attitude towards matters related to west Asia such as Antiiimperialism, non-alignment and economic advancement and his policies regarding the Suez crisis of 1956, the war of 1967-Palestine and Arab world attitudes towards Indo-Pak.

It is a lucid survey of the tone and tenor of Indian public opinion on the Arab-Israeli problem and in general on the Asian situation. The author feels that, by and large the Indian people did realize the gravity as the true nature of the issue at stake and that they sympathize with the Arabs' cause.


Discusses India's stand on Arab-Israel conflict. Opines that the India's policy towards Arab-Israel conflict is biased to Palestine.


Surveys India's relations with the Arab world from ancient up to modern times in the field of political, commerce and cultural field and discussed the nature and character of each particularly emphasizing the last.

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**INDIA-FOREIGN RELATIONS - U.S. - BIBLIOGRAPHIES**


List articles, books, editorial, comments, news items during the above period concerning the Indo-Pak relations.
INDIA-FOREIGN RELATIONS-U.S.-CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS.

Contains speeches, panel discussion on American relations with India.

Explores relations between India and United States in political, economic and cultural fields.

228. Conference on Indo-American cultural relations, New Delhi, Dec. 1949 proceedings, New Delhi, Indian council of world affairs. 58 p. (mimeograph)
Opines that the American culture influences India through the USIS, missionary organisation, the Indian educational system, the Indian press and Radio.

INDIA-FOREIGN RELATIONS-U.S.-THESIS AND PUBLICATIONS.

Evaluates Americans friendly relations with India and Pakistan and American's efforts to solve Indo-Pakistan disputes through the United Nations. Opines that the Americans role in the Kashmir dispute was resented by India.
230. Vyas, Pramod. The limited states Congress and India; a study in the congressional attitudes towards India. Thesis; American University, 1965.

Analysis the attitude and consensus of congress policy towards India.

**INDIA-FOREIGN RELATIONS-U.S.-MONOGRAPHS**


Explores the U.S. Involvement in India & Pakistan in the context of Cold war.


Examines the Indo-American relations and aimed to remove some misapprehensions such as non alignment colonialism and racialism etc.


Discuss the Kashmir dispute, American foreign policy, particularly, vis-a-vis India and Pakistan. Opines American goals in South Asia and concludes that American policy has met frustrations and enabled Pakistan to conduct military operations against India.


Contains collections of statements and speeches during Nehru's visit to U.S.A. during the year Nov. 1961.


Traces the Indo-US relations before 1947. Examines Indo-U.S. relation from 1947-1955. Opines that the awareness of the conflicts between American policies and Indian interests has greatly increased and has been reflected in Indian foreign policy.
The book in brief is a survey of the differences in foreign policy that divided India and the United States and a prescription for overcoming some of them, written largely to an expansion of the Indian point of view.

Examines Indo-US relations in the field of political, economic and cultural aspects during the above period.

INDIA-FORFEIT RELATIONS-US-ADVERSE AND ASIA.

Explains that inability of the U.S.A. and India to achieve a mutually acceptable relationship has been one of the central features of modern Asian politics. Opines that a process of mutual adjustment is essential if the U.S. is to respond constructively to India's position in the sub continent, and if India is to adjust to the major changes occurring in American policy towards Asia.

Examines that U.S. policy towards the Indian sub continent had three distinct phases: during 1947-53, U.S. maintained minimal relations with India and Pakistan. The policy was changed for military pacts, Pakistan become closely allied, in the context of Sino-Indian lesions in the 1960's, American moved close to India, Pakistan in protest move towards Peking.
240. Desai, Tripta Indo-American wheat negotiation of 1959-1961. The Indian political science review. v.9, no.2, 1975. p. 119-51. Opines that the passage of the India emergency food assistance Act was cumulative effect of humanitarian, political and ideological considerations and which enabled the passage of the Indian food aid act of June 1951. According to the act India was to distribute grain supplied by the U.S. among the peoples of India without discrimination. The act called upon the Indian govt. to provide wide publicity to United States aid and to allow entry of U.S. officials in India to supervise the distribution of grains.

241. Sanguly, Shivaji U.S. Military Assistance to India 1962-65: A study in decision making. India Quarterly. v.28, no.1, 1972, p. 216-26. Analysis the decision making process involved in the U.S. military assistance to India following the Sino-Indian border war. Shows that the supply of sizable economic aid to India and Pakistan, the republican administration entered to Pakistan vitiated its relationship with New Delhi. Initially the U.S. also tried to induct India in the alliances system, but Nehru opposed it because it compromised India’s policy of non-alignment and it would introduced cold war in South-Asia.

242. Loombs, Joanna F. U.S. did to India 1951-1967: A study in decision making. India Quarterly. v.28, no.4, 1972. p. 304-31. Discusses about the U.S. aid to India during different periods. States that the bulk of American aid money to India was extended in the sixties, on an annual basis, India was the number one receipient of U.S. non-military foreign aid to all countries during the period 1959-65. Also discusses about the type of US aid programmes for India, condition of U.S. aid to India and its purpose, etc. for India by American decision maker during 1951-77.

The bibliography is concerned with India's attitude to the United Nations and its role in discussions and decisions of various agencies during the above period.


Examines India's role in the United Nations regarding the trust territories, upsurge in Asia and Africa for liberation from colonial rule. Argues that India has sympathy of the people struggling to be free from the foreign yoke.


Studies the factors inspiring India's policy and India's perception of how his policy could be and should be attained.


PART THREE

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