I PRIMARY SOURCES

(a) Parliamentary/Government Publications

India, Lok Sabha Debates, (New Delhi), 1968-1980
____, Rajya Sabha Debates, (New Delhi), 1968-1980
Pakistan, National Assembly Debates, (Islamabad), 1972-1977
USA, Congressional Record, (Washington), 1968-1980
USSR, Government Record, (Moscow), 1968-1980
PRC (China), Government Record, (Beijing), 1968-1980

(b) Government Documents

India, Notes, Memoranda, and Letters Exchanged Between the Governments of India and Pakistan, (New Delhi, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1968-1980)
____, World Reaction to the Simla Agreement of 2 July 1972 (New Delhi, Ministry of External Affairs, 1972)
____, Indo-Bangladesh Joint Declaration: World Comments, (New Delhi, Ministry of External Affairs, 1971)
____, Tripartite Conference, New Delhi : Documents, Messages and Press Comments on Bangladesh, India and Pakistan 1974 (New Delhi, Ministry of External Affairs, 1974)
____, Indo-Pak Conflict : As we others See It (New Delhi, Ministry of External Affairs, Information and Broadcasting, 1972)
____, World Press Comments on the Simla Agreement (New Delhi, Directorate of Advertisement and Visual Publicity, 1972)
____, Foreign Affairs Record, 1970-1980 (New Delhi, Ministry of External Affairs)
Pakistan, Comments on India-Pakistan Rapprochement (Islamabad: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1974)


----------, Comments on Simla Agreement by Various Political Leaders in Pakistan (Islamabad: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1972)


----------, Kashmir Papers: Collection of Documents, (Islamabad: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1968-78)

UN, Comments on Simla Agreement (Washington: UN Publication Division, 1972)

----------, Comments on India-Pakistan Rapprochement (Washington: UN Publication Division, 1974)


(c) Memoirs, Official Speeches and Statements

Afzal M Rafique, (Ed), Selected Speeches and Statements of the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan)

Ayub Khan, Field Marshal Mohammad, Speeches and Statements (Karachi: Pakistan Publications, 1958-1966; 8 vols)


----------, Pakistan Prospective (Washington, D.C.: Pakistan Embassy, 1965)


----------, The Quest for Peace: Selection from Speeches And Writings, 1963-65 (Karachi: Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, 1966)


________, *The Great Tragedy* (Karachi: PPP Publications, 1971)

________, *If I am Assassinated* (New Delhi: Vikas, 1979)

Chavan, Y.B., *India's Foreign Policy* (Bombay: Somaiya, 1979)

Gandhi, Indira, *Speeches on India's Foreign Policy* (New Delhi: Foreign Affairs Records, 1969-77)


________, *Kissinger Years: Indo-American Relations* (New Delhi: Arnold-Heinemann, 1980)


________, *Extract from Years of Upheaval* (New York: Nicolson, 1982)

________, *For the Records: Selected Statements* (New Delhi: Vikas, 1979)


Vajpayee, A.B, *Speeches on India's Foreign Policy* (New Delhi: Foreign Affairs Records, 1977)

________, *New Directions of India's Foreign Policy* (New Delhi: Vision Books, 1979)
II  SECONDARY SOURCES

(a) Books

Ahsan, Akhtar Syed, Strategic Concepts of the Indian Ocean (Lahore, George Mann, 1981)

Alexeyev, Mikhail, and Others, Men at War (Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1980)


Appadorai, A, Use of Force in International Relations, (Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1958)

———, Essays in Politics & International Relations, (Bombay, Asia Pub House, 1969)


Attar, Chand, Disarmament, Detente and World Peace (New Delhi, Sterling, 1982)

Ayoob Mohammad, India-Pakistan and Bangladesh: Search for New Relationships (New Delhi, Indian Council of World Affairs, 1975)

—and Subrahmanyan, K., Our Liberation War (New Delhi, S Chand & Co, 1972)

———, Conflict and Intervention: Great Powers and Third World (New Delhi, Vikas, 1981)

Bains, J.S., India's International Disputes: A Legal Study (New Delhi, Asia Pub House, 1962)
Banerji, B.M., *India's Aid to its Neighbouring Countries* (New Delhi, Sterling Pub. 1982)


Bechhoefer, Bernard, *Post War Negotiations for Arms Control* (Washington, D.C., 1961)

Bell, C., *Negotiation from Strength* (London, Chatto & Windus, 1962)


Bhargava, G.S., *Success or Surrender : The Simla Summit* (New Delhi, Sterling, 1972)


Blinkenberg, Lars, *India and Pakistan : The History of Unresolved Conflicts* (Denmark: Dansak Undert. for Politisk Instit, 1972)


Boasson, Ch., Research For Peace Essays, (Amsterdam: 1954)


Brines, Russel, Indo-Pakistan Conflict (London: Pall Mall, 1968)


Bulterfield, M; and Wight, M., (Eds), Diplomatic Investigations (London : Allen and Unwin, 1966)


Burke, S.M., Mainsprings of Indian and Pakistan Foreign Policies (Minneapolis ; University of Minneapolis, 1974)

——, Pakistan's Foreign Policy : An Historical Analysis (London, Oxford University Press) (1973)


——, Conflicts of Interests : Subjective or Objective (New York, 1965)

——, Peace Theory : Preconditions of Disarmament (Cambridge ; Cambridge University Press, 1968)

——, Conflict and Communication (London, 1969)

Carr, Hellett, Edward, Jr., (Ed), Conditions of Peace (New York, 1942)

Chopra, Pran, India's Second Liberation (New Delhi; Vikas, 1973)

Chopra, Surendra, UN Mediation in Kashmir : A Study in Power Politics (Kurukshetra ; Vishal, 1971)

——, (Ed), Studies in India's Foreign Policy (Amritsar; Guru Nanak Dev University Press, 1981)

Charlesworth, C., Thomas, (Ed), Contemporary Political Analysis (London, Collier Macmillan 1977)
Charles, Lockhart, *Bargaining in International Conflict* (Columbia; Columbia University Press, 1979)

Chaudhri, M.A., *Pakistan and Regional Pacts* (Karachi; East Pub., 1958)

Choudhury, G.W., *Pakistan's Relations with India* (Meerut; Meenakshi Prakashan, 1977)


Claude, Inis, L., *Swords into Plowshares* (New York; Random House, 1971)

*Power and International Relations* (New York, Random House, 1962)

Clemens, C. Walter, Jr., (Ed), *Towards a Strategy of Peace* (Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1965)


Costa, Benedict, *Dismemberment of Pakistan* (Ludhiana, Kalyani Pub., 1972)


Crooke, W., *North Western Province of India* (New Delhi; Cosmo Pub. House, 1975)


Das, Tapan, *Sino-Pak Collusion and US Policy* (Bombay; Asia Pub House, 1972)

David, Loshak, *Pakistan in Crisis* (London; Heinemann, 1971)


Deutsch, Karl, W., *Analysis of International Relations*, (Englewood Cliffs; Princeton-Hall, 1968)

———, (Ed.), *Problem of World Modeling: Political and Social Implications* (Cambridge; Ballinger, 1977)

Dinerstein, H.S., *Fifty Years of Soviet Foreign Policy* (Baltimore; Johns Hopkins Press, 1968)

Dmitry, Volsky, *The Developments in the Indian Subcontinent and Soviet Union* (Moscow; Soviet Land Books, 1972)


Donelan, M., *The Ideas of American Foreign Policy* (London; 1963)

Dudley, Weeks, *Conflict Management and Dispute Settlement cropped* (Ohio; Kent State University, 1980)

Duongnan, Peter and Raubskka, Alvin (Eds.), *The United States in the 1980s* (California; Stanford University, 1980)

Dunn, Ted, (Ed.), *Alternatives to War and Violence* (London; 1969)

Dutt, Subimal, *With Nehru in the Foreign Office* (Calcutta; Minerva, 1977)


Etzioni, Amitai, and Others, (Eds.), *War and its Prevention* (London; Harper Row, 1970)


———, *From Crisis to Crisis 1962-1969* (London; Oxford University Press, 1972)


Fischer, John, *Substitute for Violence* (New York, 1965)
Forman, James, D., That Mad Game: War and Chances for Peace (New York; Charles Scribner's & Sons, 1980)

Frankel, Joseph, International Relations (London; Oxford University Press, 1969)


_____, Gandhian Way to World Peace (Bombay; 1960)

Gankooksy, Y., and Gordonpolousaya, L.K., History of Pakistan (Moscow; Nanka Publishing House, 1964)

Ganguli, B.N., Economic Consequences of Disarmament (London; 1963)

Galtung, Johan, Theory and Method of Social Science Research (London; George Allen & Unwin, 1973)

_____, Peace Research (Mimeograph) (Oslo; Peace Research Instt, 1964)

_____, After the First Years - What? Some Notes on the Long-Term Development of Peace Research (Mimeograph) (Oslo Peace Research Instt, 1964)

____ (Ed), Cooperation in Europe (Oslo; Sage Pub., 1970)


Gbson, Jane Likert, and Resis, Likert, New Ways of Managing Conflict (New York; Mc Grow Hill, 1976)

Gene, Sharp, Exploring Non-Violence Alternatives (Boston; Porter & Sargent, 1979)

Ghatate, M.M. (Ed), Indo-Soviet Treaty: Relations and reflections (New Delhi; Deendayal Research Institute, 1972)

Girieves, Forest, L., Conflict and Order: An Introduction to International Relations (New York; Free Press, 1972)

Goswami, B.N., Pakistan and China: A Study of their Relationship (New Delhi; Allied Publishers, 1971)

Greg O'Leary, Shaping of Chinese Foreign Policy (London; Crom Halm, 1978)

Guetzkow, H., Et al., Simulation in International Relations (Englewood Cliffs; 1980)
Gupta, Sisir, India and Regional Integration in Asia (New York, Asia Pub House, 1967)

______, Kashmir: A Study in India-Pakistan Relations (Bombay, Asia Pub House, 1967)

Gupta, R.C., United States and Bangladesh Crisis (New York, Vikas, 1973)

______, US Policy Towards India and Pakistan (New Delhi, BK Pub., 1977)

Hass, E.B., Beyond the Nation States (Stanford, 1964)

Habibullah, F., Approaches to Defence (New Delhi, Vikas, 1979)

Handa, Rohit, Policy for India's Defence (New Delhi, Chetna, 1976)

Harding, Harvy, China and the US: Normalization and Beyond (New York, 1978)

Harrison, J. Raginald, Europe in Question: Theories of Regional Integration (London, George Allen & Unwin, 1974)


Hasan, Masuma, (Ed), Pakistan in a Changing World (Karachi, PIIA, 1978)

Hasan, Khurshid, Foreign Policy of Pakistan: An Analysis of US-Pakistan Relations (Karachi, PIIA, 1965)


Hodson, H.V., *The Great Divide: Britain, India-Pakistan* (London; Hutchinson, 1969)

Holbraad, Carsten, (Ed), *Super Powers and World Order* (Canberra; 1971)


Homayoun, Assad, *Pakistan-China Relationship upto 1970* (Fuller Theoretical Seminary; Graduate School of Psychology, 1972).


Howard, Michael, (Ed), *Restraints on War Studies: in the Limitation of Armed Conflict* (London; Oxford University Press, 1979)


Inescu, Ghita, *New Politics of European Integration* (London; Macmillan 1972)

Issaacs, R. Harold, *Images of Asia* (New York; 1972)

Jackson, Robert, *South Asian Crisis: India-Pakistan-Bangladesh* (New Delhi; Vikas, 1978)

Jafri, Rais Ahmad, *Ayub: Soldier and Statesman* (Lahore; Mohammad Ali Academy, 1966)

Jain, J.R., *China-Pakistan and Bangladesh* (New Delhi; Radiant Publication, 1974)
Jain, R.K., *Detente in Europe: Implications for Asia* (New Delhi, Radiant Publication, 1977)


Javid, Iqbal, *The Ideology of Pakistan and Its Implementation* (Lahore; Ch. Gulam Ali & Sons, 1959)


John, W. Mellor, (Ed.), *India: A Rising Middle Power* (Boulder Colorado; West View Press, 1979)


Kaplan, A. Morton, (Ed.), *New Approaches to International Relations* (New York, St Martin's Press, 1968)


Kaul, B.M., *Confrontation with Pakistan* (New Delhi, Vikas, 1971)


Kennan, F. George, *The Cloud of Danger: Current Realities of American Foreign Policy* (Boston, 1977)


Khan, Mohammad Asghar, *Pakistan at the Cross Roads* (Karachi, Pergosons, 1969)


Korble, Josef, *Detente in Europe: Real or Imaginary,* (Princeton, University Press, 1972)

Kothari, Rajni, *Foot Steps into the Future: Diagnosis of the Present World and a Design for An Alternative* (New Delhi, Orient Longmann, 1974)


Kumar, Mahendra, *Current Peace Research In India* (New Delhi, Gandhian Institute of Studies, 1969)

, *Theoretical Aspects of International Relations* (New Delhi, Shivalal Agarwala & Co, 1978)

, *Violence & Non-Violence in International Relations,* (New Delhi, Thompson Press, 1975)

Kumar Satish, *The New Pakistan* (New Delhi, Vikas, 1978)


Lavrentyev, Alexander, *USA and Asia* (New Delhi; Sterling, 1982)

Leon, Lindberg, and Stuart, Scheingold, (Eds.), *Regional Integration: Theory and Research* (Cambridge; Mass, 1970)


Lipson, E., *Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London; EIBS, 1972)


Mamontov, Vassili, *Disarmament: The Command of the Times* (Moscow; Progress Publishers, 1979)

Mankekar, D.R., *Pakistan cut to size* (New Delhi: Indian Book Co., 1972)

Manmohan, Ghosh, *China's Conflict with India and the Soviet Union* (Calcutta; World Press, 1969)

Mannheim, Kart, *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction*


---, *Role of the United Nations in the Indo-Pakistani Conflict* (New Delhi, Vikas, 1973)


Mujahid, Shafiz, *A Study in Interpretation* (Karchi, 1976)

Mukherjee, Amitava, and Banerjee, Sudhir, *Chinese Policy Towards Asia*, (New Delhi, Sterling, 1975)

Mukherjee, Dilip, *Zulficar Ali Bhutto : The Quest for Power* (New Delhi, Vikas, 1972)


Nayar, Kuldip, *Distant Neighbours: A Tale of the Subcontinent* (New Delhi, Vikas, 1972)


Ole, R. Holsti, and Others, (Eds.), *War and Change in the International System* (Boulder: Praeger, 1980)

Patrick, Morgan, *Deterrence: A Conceptual Analysis* (California; Sage Pub., 1977)

Paul, Leslie, *Annihilation of Man: A Study of the Crisis in the West*, (London, Faber and Faber, 1944)


Prasad, Bimal (Ed.), *India's Foreign Policy: Studies in Continuity and Change* (New Delhi, Vikas, 1979)


Ralph, Parkar, *Conspiracy Against Peace: Notes of an English Journalist* (Moscow; Literaturavaya Gazeta, 1949)


_____, *Fights, Games & Debate* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1960)

_____, *Strategy and Conscience* (New York, 1964)


Rosenau, N. James, *The Scientific Study of Foreign Policy* (New Delhi, Vikas, 1981)

_____, *Public Opinion and Foreign Policy* (Philadelphia, 1961)


Resett, Bruce M., *Peace, War and Numbers* (Beverly Hills, 1972)


Sahi, N.C., *Political Struggle in Pakistan* (Jullunder; New Acad Pub House, 1971)


Sayeed, B. Khalaid, *The Political System of Pakistan* (Boston, 1967)


Schelling, C. Thomas, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven, 1966)

Sharma, B.L., *The Pakistan-China Axis* (New Delhi: Asia Pub House, 1968)

Sethi, S.S., *Decisive War: Emergence of a New Nation* (New Delhi Sagar Pub, 1972)

Sen Gupta, Bhabani, *The Fulcrum of Asia: Relations Among China, India, Pakistan and the USSR* (New York, 1970)


Sharma, P.K., *Foreign Aid to India: An Economic Study* (New Delhi: Marwah, 1977)


Shean, Vincent, *Nehru, the Years of Power* (New York: Random House, 1960)

Sherwani, L. Ahmad & Others, *Foreign Policy of Pakistan* (Karachi: Allied Book Corpn, 1964)
Siddiqui, Aslam, *Pakistan Seeks Security* (Longmans; 1960)


---, *India and the Future of Asia* (London, Faber & Faber, 1966)


Smith, Donald, *India as a Secular State* (Princeton; Princeton University Press, 1963)


Sorokin, A. Pitirim, *The Reconstruction of Humanity* (Boston; 1947)


Spear, Percival, *India, Pakistan and the West* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1949)

Steein, J.C., *Elite Image of Foreign Policy: Nehru, Menon and India's Policies* (Mc Gill; Mc Gill Univ., 1967)


Subramanyam, K., (Ed), *Self-Reliance and National Resistance* (New Delhi, Vikas, 1975)

---, *The Indian Nuclear Test in a Global Perspective* (New Delhi, India International Centre Pub Div, 1974)

Symonds, R., *The Marking of Pakistan* (London; Faber & Faber 1950)

Tanter, Raymond, *Dimensions of Conflict Within Nations 1955-60 Turmoil & Internal War*

Thomas, R.G.C., The Moscow-Beijing-Washington Triangles: Security Implications for Asian States


Tinker, Hugh, India and Pakistan: A Political Analysis, (London, Praeger, 1962)

Tyabji, Badruddin, Indian Politics and Practice (New Delhi, Oriental Pub, 1972)

UNESCO, Cultural Cooperation in Europe: A Situation and Prospect (Paris, 1973)


Walter, A. Millis, A World Without War (New York, 1961)


Week, Richard, Pan-Islamism and Pakistan's Foreign Policy (Columbia, Columbia Univ. Press, 1954)

White, R.W., Opinion and Personality (New York, 1956)

Wilcox, Wayne, Pakistan: The Consolidations of a Nation (New York, Columbia Univ Press, 1956)

Vohra, C. Dewan, India's Aid Diplomacy in the Third World (New Delhi, Vikas, 1980)

Wilcox, Wayne, The Emergence of Bangladesh (Washington, 1973)

Vauvhan, Richard, Twentieth-Century Europe: Paths to Unity (Croom-Helm, 1979)


Wilkenfield, Jonathan, Conflict Behaviour and Linkage Politics (New York, 1962)


---, The East-Pakistan Tragedy (London: Tom Stracey, 1972)

Williams, Phil, and Others, (Eds), Contemporary Strategy: Theories and Policies (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1975)

Wright, Quincey, The Study of International Relations (New York, Appleton-Century Crofts, 1970)
Wulf, Christoph, (Ed.), Hand Book on Peace Education (Frankfurt/Main, International Peace Research Association, 1974)


Young, Ovan, B., The Intermediaries: Third Parties in International Crises (Princeton; Princeton University Press, 1967)

Zafrulla, Khan, M., Pakistan's Foreign Relations (Karachi; PIIA, 1951)

Zaman, Hasan, (Ed.), East Pakistan Crisis and India (Dacca, Gafier Printing House, 1971)


____, (Ed), The subcontinent in World Politics: India, Its Neighbours and the Great Powers (New York; Prager, 1978)

_____ and Others,(Eds), Pakistan: The Longview (Denmark; Centre for Commonwealth and Comparative Studies, 1977)

II (b) Articles in Periodicals and News Papers


Anstey, Edgar, "Research into Problems of War and Peace", Occupational Psychology (London), vol.43, pp.193-207

Arnold, Simoni, "A New Approach to the Confidence Building Process", Journal of Peace Research (Oslo), vol.12, no.3, July 1980,


Ayoob, Mohammad, "India and Pakistan Prospects for Detente", Pacific Community (Tokoy), vol.8, no.1, Oct. 1976, pp.149-69

_____,'The New Political Structure of Pakistan", International Studies, (New Delhi, SIS), Apr-June 1973, pp.183-206

_____,'Indo-Iranian Relations: Strategic Political and Economic Dimensions", India Quarterly (New Delhi), June-Mar 1977


Barooah, D.P., "Mahatma Gandhi and the Indo-Pak Amity", Journal of the Univ. of Gauhati, (Gauhati), vol.18, no.1, pp.45-67


------, "Basis of Power in Pakistan: Back to the Original", Mainstream (New Delhi), vol.13, no.48, Aug.1975, pp.8-9


Bhutto, Z.A., "Nuclear Explosion a Threat", Times of India (New Delhi), 20 May 1974, pp.1-3

------, "His Predicament", Link, (New Delhi), vol.15, no.3, 25 March 1973, p. 27

Bierman, John, "Relations Between Pakistan and India", Listener (London), vol.90, no.2323, Oct 1973, pp.440-41


Boulding, E. Kenneth, "Needs and Opportunities in Peace Research and Education", Our Generation Against Nuclear War (Montreal), vol.3, no.2, p. 25


Canadian Institute of International Affairs, "India, Pakistan Bangladesh", International Journal (Toronto) vol.xxvii, no.3, Summer 1972.

Canadian Department of External Affairs, "The Indo-Pakistan Conflict", International Perspective (Ottawa), March/April 1972.

Chari, P.R., "Bhutto's Bid for Nuclear Option", News Review on Science and Technology, (IDSA, New Delhi) vol.4, no.2, April 1976, pp.155-58


Chanchal, Sarkar, "Indo-American Relations - Is there a Thaw", Pacific Community, (Tokyo), vol.5, no.3, April 1974


Chopra, Pran, "Indian Politics on a New Foundation", World Today, May 1971


"China's Dynamic Foreign Policy", Asia Pacific Community, vol.5, no.3, 1978-79


"China Revisited", Orbis, Vol.20, no.3, Fall 1976


Elliot, L Tepper, "The New Pakistan: Problems and Prospects", Pacific Affairs (Vancouver), vol. 47, no. 1, Spring 1974


Farooqi, M., "Positive Turn in Indo-Pak Relations", New Age (New Delhi), vol. 22, no. 38, 22 September 1974, p. 4

Fasahat, H. Syed, "Concept and Scope of Strategy in Modern Times", Strategic Studies (Islamabad), vol. 1, no. 1, April-June 1977, pp. 1-18


Galtung, Johan, "Conflict as a Way of Life", Survival (London), Vol. 21, no. 1, January 1979, pp. 13-16


Gerald, Herrobt, "China's Neighbours Must Choose Between Peking and Moscow", International Prospective, Mar-April 1977, pp. 15-17


Gupta, Bhabani, Sen, "The Emerging Concept of South Asia", Asia Pacific Community, no.1, Summer 1978

Gupta, Sisir, "The Power Structure in South Asia", The Round Table (London), April 1970


Howard, Wriggins, "Changing Power Relations Between the Middle East and South Asia", Orbis, vol.20, no.3, Fall 1978

Hussain, Syed, Anwar, "The Politics of Sino-Pakistan Agreements" Orbis, vol.xi, no.3, Fall 1977


Institute for Social Research, "Research for Peace Essays", Amsterdam, 1954


--, "Fresh Start at Simla: A Framework for Durable Peace", Times of India, 4 July 1972, pp. 3-5


Kamath, M.V., "Deliberate Decision to Continue Arms Supply", Times of India, 25 July 1977, pp. 2-4

--, "Nixon Refused to Stop Arms for Pindi Despite Official Advice", Times of India, 10 July 1977, pp. 2-3


Kaul, T.N., "The New Situation in the Subcontinent", Indian Horizons, (New Delhi, ICCR), vol.21, nos.2-3 Apr-July 1972, pp. 19-20


Kumar, Satish, "Towards an Era of Cooperation", Point of View (New Delhi), vol.2, nos. 45-46, 12 Feb 1972, pp.15-17

_, "Pakistan Since the Emergency of Bangladesh", South Asian Studies, (Jaipur), vol.9, nos.1-2, Jan-July, 1974


Kuroda, Yasumasa, "Correlates of the Attitude Towards Peace", Background (Los Angeles), vol.81, no.1, 1964, pp.205-20


_, "The Concept of Integration in Research on Peace", Background, vol.9, August 1965, pp.111-26

Madhok, Balraj, "Battle for Bangladesh is Battle Against Two Nation Theory", Organizer, vol.25, no.1, 14 August 1971, pp.11-12

Marek, Thee, "Thinking the Unthinkable About War and Peace", Bulletin of Peace Proposals, no.1, 1980


Melvin, Stanford, "A Basic Strategic Framework", Military Review (New Delhi), August 1972


Moskalenko, V, "Pakistan's Foreign Policy", *Asian Survey*, vol.14, no.3, March 1975, pp. 267-68


---, "1971 Chapter Ends: Scope for New Starts", *Times of India*, 13 April 1974, pp. 3-5


---, "Steps Towards Durable Peace", *Foreign Affairs Reports* (New Delhi, ICWA), vol.21, no.6, July 1972, pp.118-21

---, "India and Pakistan: The Other Half of our Task", *Economic and Political Weekly* (Bombay), vol.17, no.42, 16 October 1965, pp.157-58

---, "Domestic Climate for Negotiation", *India Quarterly*, vol.28, no.2, April-June 1972, pp.138-47

---, "War as an Option: The Relative Balance of Force", *Times of India*, 19 June 1971, pp.3-5

Mukerjee, Dhurjati, "India's Relations with Pakistan: Its Background", *Young India* (New Delhi), vol.5, no.6, 16 Jan 1975, pp.11-12

Mustafa, Zubeida, "Recent Trends in Pakistan's Policy Towards the Middle East", *Pakistan Horizon*, (Karachi), vol.28, no.4, 1975, pp.1-18


Patra, Saral, "Better Relations in the Subcontinent", Mainstream vol.14, no.38, 22 May 1976, pp.7-8

Pattanayak, K., "The Simla Pact as a Focus of Foreign and International Politics", Mankind (Calcutta), vol.16, no.1, Aug-Oct. 1972, pp. 34-41


Puri, Balraj, "Restructuring the Subcontinent", Janata (Bombay), Vol.24, no.34, 10 September 1972, pp 11-13


Ragagopalachari, C., "Indo-Pak Relations", Swarajya (Madras), vol.19, no.21, 23 Nov 1974, pp 21-22

Rajan, M.S., "India and Pakistan as Factors in Each Others' Foreign Policy and Relations", International Studies, vol.6 no.2, April 1962, pp. 181-200


Read, Herbert, "Reflections on Violence", Emerging World, (New Delhi), no.36, pp. 170-73


Reynolds, Reginold, "What are Pacifist Doing?" Peace News (London), 20 July 1956

Rizvi, H.R., "Pakistan: Building a New Socio-Political Order", Review of International Affairs (Belgrade, FYI), vol.29, no.597, 20 February 1975, pp. 19-22


Romesh, Thapar, "India-Pakistan Detente", Economic and Political Weekly, (Bombay), vol.7, no.27, 1 July 1972, p. 1261


Rosecrance, R., "Detente or Entente", Foreign Affairs, April 1975

Rouhollah, K.Ramazani, "Iran's Search for Regional Cooperation", Middle East Journal (Washington, DC), Spring 1976


Salahuddin,Ahmad, "More Avenues for Economics Cooperation", Pakistan Economist (Karachi), no.49, December 1974
Sarup, Vijay, "The Islamic Summit", World Today, April 1974


Sen, Gautam, and Weinbaum, M.G., "Pakistan Enters the Middle East", Orbis, vol.22, no.3, Fall 1978


———, Sino-Indian Relations: A Study of Trade, Communication and Defence", Journal of Peace Research, no.2, 1964,


Vareia, A., "Peaceful Coexistence and Peaceful Cooperation", Problem of Peace and Socialism, (New Delhi), vol.vii, no.7 July 1979, pp. 1-8

Varma, S.P., "India-Pakistan and China: A Study in Regional Imbalances", South Asian Studies (Jaipur), vol.6, no.2, July 1971, pp. 1-20


Werner, Adam, "Pakistan in Search of a New Identity", Swiss Review of World Affairs, November 1972


---


---

III News Papers

Business Recorder (Karachi)

The Dawn (Karachi)

Daily Telegraph (London)

Economic Times (London)

Financial Express (New Delhi)

Financial Times (London)

The Guardian (London)

Hindustan Times (New Delhi)

The Hurriat (Karachi; Urdu)

The Hindu (Madras)

The Imroz (Karachi; Urdu)

Indian Express (New Delhi)

The Jung (Karachi, Urdu)

The Jassarat (Lahore; Urdu)

Kayahan International (Tehran)

Kyber Mail (Peshawar)

The Masawat, (Rawalpindi; Urdu)

Morning Herald (Calcutta)

Morning News (Islamabad)

The Muslim (Islamabad)

National Herald (New Delhi)

The Nawa-i-Waqt (Lahore, Urdu)

New York Times (New York)

The Observer (London)
Pakistan Times (Lahore)
The Patriot (New Delhi)
The POT (New Delhi, Weekly)
The Pravada (Moscow)
The Statesman (New Delhi)
The Sun (Lahore)
The Times (London)
Times of India (New Delhi)
The Tribune (Chandigarh)
Washington Post (Washington)

IV. PERIODICALS AND WEEKLIES

(Tokyo)
Asia Pacific Community. 1979-1981
Annals
Alternatives (New Delhi)
Backgrounds (Los Angeles)
Conflict and Cooperation (Ontario, Canada): 1975-81
Defence Studies Journal, New Delhi, IDSA: (1970-81)
Defence Journal (Karachi)
Dissent (New York)
Eastern Journal of International Law (Madras)
Economic Journal (Karachi)
Economic & Political Weekly (Bombay); 1970-1981
Emerging World (New Delhi)
Foreign Affairs Recorder (New Delhi); 1970-81
Foreign Affairs Report (New Delhi); 1970-81
Gandhi Marg (New Delhi)
India Quarterly (New Delhi); 1970-1981
Indian Backgrounder (New Delhi)
Indian Horizons (New Delhi)
Illustrated Weekly of India (Bombay)
International Affairs (London); 1970-1981
International Journal (Toronto)
International Prospective (Ottawa)
International Relations (Moscow)
International Social Science Journal
International Studies (New Delhi, SIS); 1974-1981
IDSA News Review on China, Mongolia and Korea (New Delhi)
IDSA Journal (New Delhi)
IDSA Review on Science & Technology (New Delhi)
IDSA Review on South Asia (New Delhi)
International Quarterly Studies (Sage-Pub.)
Janata (Bombay)
Jerusalem Journal of International Relations (Jerusalem)
Journal of Asian & African Studies (Leiden)
Journal of International Affairs (New York)
Journal of Peace Research (Oslo); 1970-81
Journal of Social Issues (Worcester)
Journal of University of Gauhati (Gauhati)
Kissing's Contemporary Archives (London)
Link (New Delhi)
Listener (London)
Mainstream (New Delhi)
Mankind (Calcutta)
Middle East Journal (Washington)
Motherland (New Delhi)
Naval War College Review (New Delhi)
New Times (Moscow)
North East Peace Science Review
Organizer (New Delhi)
Orbis (Philadelphia)
Our Generation Against Nuclear War (Montreal)
Pacific Affairs (New York) (1970-80)
Pacific Community (Tokyo) (1970-80)
Peace and Change
Peace News (London)
Peace Research Society Papers, International (Tokyo)
Peace and War Industry (Aldine Publication)
Peking Review (Beijing)
Pakistan Economist (Karachi)
Pakistan Gazette (Islamabad)
Pakistan Horizon (Karachi)
Point of View (New Delhi)
P.O.T (New Delhi)
Prospectives on Peace (London)
Quest (Bombay)
Review of International Affairs (Belgrade)
The Round Table (London) (1965-80)
Saturday Review (New York)
Seminar (Bombay)

Social Research

South Asian Studies (Jaipur); (1970-80)

Soviet Studies (Moscow)

Strategic Analysis (New Delhi)

Strategic Digest (New Delhi)

Strategic Studies (Islamabad)

Survival (Islamabad)

Swarajya (Madras)

Swiss Review of World Affairs (Switzerland)

Third World (London)

United Asia (Bombay)

USI Journal (New Delhi)

View Point (Lahore)

World Affairs (Washington)

World Today (London)

Yale Review (New Heaven)

Young India (New Delhi)

V PRESS RELEASES AND NEWS AGENCIES

Antara

Associated Press of Pakistan

British Broadcasting Corporation

New China News Agency

Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation

Press Trust of India

Tass

United News of India

Voice of America