Following the second world war, the world witnessed a new pattern of alignment of nations. Formation of elaborate alliances by the two blocs, namely the 'free world' led by the United States of America and the Communist bloc, led by the Soviet Union, poised against each other, created fresh tensions in international relations. A third group of nations, from Asia and Africa, though not knit into a bloc, emerged in this period, with the avowed purpose of reducing world tensions. These non-aligned countries, as they came to be known later on, kept themselves un-committed in their respective foreign policies, so far as the two blocs were concerned. The formation of the South East Asia Treaty Organization (generally known as SEATO) was part of the 'free world's' defence build-up against possible external aggression and also internal subversions. The creation of SEATO evoked varied responses from different parts of the world representing these three main strands of world opinion. The certain Commonwealth countries, namely, Australia, Canada, India, Malaya, Pakistan and the United Kingdom, whose attitudes towards SEATO have been studied in the thesis, represent some important sectors of two of the three main groups. An attempt has been made in the dissertation to bring out the factors responsible, in each case, for joining or keeping out of SEATO, and also to make a comparison of their respective attitudes to this organization.

This study was undertaken as a registered student of the Indian School of International Studies, New Delhi. I am thankful...
to the School for providing me with all the facilities for conducting this research, particularly for arranging the 'field trip' to London for the collection of additional materials.

I am grateful to Dr. A. Appadorai, former Director of the School for the help and assistance given to me during my research work.

In the course of the preparation of this thesis I had the privilege of receiving guidance and encouragement from Prof. F.H. Soward of the University of British Columbia, Prof. Norman D. Harper of the University of Melbourne, Prof. Fred Alexander of the West Australian University, Prof. J.D.B. Miller of the Australian National University, Canberra, and Prof. W.H. Morris Jones of the University of Durham, who for brief intervals, during this period, joined the School as Visiting Professors in the Department of Commonwealth History and Institutions. I have been fortunate in getting guidance and encouragement from my supervisor, Prof. M.S. Rajan, Director, and Head of the Department of Commonwealth History and Institutions, Indian School of International Studies. I wish to record my sense of gratitude to all of them.

During my brief stay in London in 1963-4, I had been using the Libraries of Royal Institute of International Affairs, Royal Commonwealth Society, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, London School of Economics, and Institute of Strategic Studies. I am grateful to Prof. Kenneth Robinson, Director, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, London for providing all facilities in the Institute and also allowing me to attend the seminars on 'Commonwealth Studies', organized by the Institute, which proved
quite useful. I would also like to thank the Librarians and the staff members of the above mentioned institutions in London. I am grateful to Mr. Kenneth Younger, Director, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, for having allowed me an interview with him on the British attitude to SEATO.

My special thanks are also due to Prof. T.H. Silcock (then of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies), now of Graduate School, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, and Prof. G.L. Goodwin of the Department of International Relations, London School of Economics, for having gone through the chapters on 'Malaya and the SEATO' and 'the United Kingdom and the SEATO', respectively and offering valuable comments. I also take this opportunity to thank Prof. Goodwin for permitting me to attend the seminars on 'Strategic Aspects of International Relations' jointly organized by the Department of International Relations, London School of Economics and the Institute of Strategic Studies, London, which have benefited me immensely.

Many others in London have helped me in my research. I would, however, like to mention by name Mr. Alastair Buchan, Director of the Institute of Strategic Studies, London, Mr. Neville Brown, Mr. Dennis Austin, Mr. A.S.B. Olver, with thankfulness. My thanks are also due to the Malaysian High Commission in New Delhi which rendered all facilities to use its Library.

I take this opportunity to express my thanks to the staff of the Library of the Indian School of International Studies and the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, for their unstinted cooperation and help.
My gratitude is also due to numerous friends who offered help and advice in the preparation of this thesis.

Responsibility for the opinions expressed in the thesis is entirely mine.

New Delhi
31 March 1965.

Parimal Kumar Das