PREFACE
This study deals with Indo-Pakistani relations from 19 September 1960 to 6 September 1966. On 19 September 1960, the problem of Indus waters, which was one of the most difficult Indo-Pakistani problems, was amicably settled by a treaty. The relations of the two countries almost reached the level of cordiality. This amity, however, was short-lived and except for the period from April 1964 to mid October 1964, their relations gradually deteriorated. The conflict over Kashmir escalated into a full-fledged war in September 1965.

The period from 19 September 1960 to 6 September 1966 has, therefore, been chosen to explore and analyze the stages by which Indo-Pakistani relations deteriorated from a point near amity to that of an open conflict, resulting in an undeclared war. It is also the purpose of the study to analyze the forces and factors responsible for the deterioration of Indo-Pakistani relations, and indicate, on the basis of the study of the period under review, the chances, if any, of an improvement in their relations.

No major work has so far been published on the subject of Indo-Pakistani relations relating to this period. The timeliness and importance of this study, therefore, are obvious. The relations of India and Pakistan not only determine their own future but also to a considerable extent the peace and well-being of this part of the world. In fact, they may affect the peace of the world as a whole.
The scope of this study is confined to political and governmental relations between the two countries. However, wherever non-governmental agencies and other internal forces have substantially affected Indo-Pakistani relations, they have received attention.

The subject has been treated both topic-wise and in a chronological sequence. There are altogether eight chapters in the thesis. Chapter One provides the background for the study of Indo-Pakistani relations during 1960-65. Chapters Two and Three have been devoted to the Kashmir problem. This has been done in view of the importance of the subject in Indo-Pakistani relations and the interplay of several external and internal pressures with respect to this problem. Chapter Four deals with general border problems and with the dispute over the Rann of Kutch. Chapter Five discusses the problem of minorities and the problem of deportation of Muslims from Assam, Tripura, and West Bengal as well as the old problem of evacuee property. Chapter Six is devoted to problems other than those mentioned above; problems such as cases of espionage, alleged interference in each other's internal affairs, and controversy over the project on the eastern rivers which continue to bedevil the relations between India and Pakistan. (Chapter Seven gives an account of Indo-Pakistani relations from 5 August to 6 September 1965 and describes the factors responsible for the undeclared Indo-Pakistani war of September 1965.) The last Chapter, Chapter Eight, contains the concluding observations of the author based on the study. The focus in this thesis is, of course, on the developments that took place during 1960-65. In order, however, to put the study in the
proper perspective, there is, at the beginning of each chapter, a brief account of all preceding developments relating to the problem dealt with in it.

The study is mainly based on the parliamentary debates and other publications of the Governments of India and Pakistan, UN official documents, newspapers, Press digests, news weeklies, and articles and books published in India, Pakistan, and elsewhere. Archival material relating to the study of this subject is not yet open to scholars, and this puts a great limitation upon one who undertakes this study. I was no exception to this. I had the additional difficulty of not being able to do any field work in Pakistan owing to the exigencies of the situation. I was, therefore, left only with the published documents and literature which, however, I found comprehensive enough to merit a thesis.

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