PREFACE
This dissertation is an attempt to analyze India's relations with Southeast Asia from 1947 to 1954—that is, from the attainment of independence on 15 August 1947 to the conclusion of the Geneva Agreement on 21 July 1954. Though India's relations with Southeast Asia during the early historical period have been exhaustively dealt with by scholars, both Indian and foreign, the same interest has not been evinced in the study of interaction during the medieval, modern and contemporary periods. As far as post-independence period is concerned, only two books have appeared, the first entitled *India and Southeast Asia, 1947-1960* (Geneva, 1963) by a Vietnamese scholar, Ton That Thien, and the second entitled *Indian Foreign Policy in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, 1947-1964* (Berkeley, 1968) by D.R. Sardesai. Ton That Thien's work has serious limitations not only due to insufficient research materials consulted, but what is more, the author has not been able to grasp the mainsprings of India's foreign policy. D.R. Sardesai's work is a commendable study, but its focus is restricted to Indo-Chinese states—Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. This study, on the other hand, encompasses all the countries of Southeast Asia and attempts a new approach to the study of India's relations with that region in a crucial period of Asia's political resurgence. To the best of my knowledge, the study is the first of its kind to be attempted by any scholar in an Indian University.

This dissertation is divided into seven chapters. Chapter I describes the close geographic, economic, political and strategic links between India and the countries of Southeast Asia and provides a background to the study.
Chapter II traces the historic links in the ancient, medieval and modern periods, analyzing the origins of India's Southeast Asia policy and the efforts made by the Interim Government in forging close links with the countries of this region. Chapter III analyzes India's varying responses to the anti-colonial struggles in Southeast Asia and the steps taken by the Government of India, along with other friendly countries in stabilizing the political system in Burma immediately after its independence. Chapter IV highlights India's cordial relations with Burma and Indonesia and the reasons as to why India's relations with Thailand and the Philippines could not make much headway. Chapter V is devoted to India's diplomacy in the Geneva Conference which brought peace for a short interregnum in Indo-China. Chapter VI explains India's strident opposition to Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (S.E.A.T.O.) and its attitude to important questions relating to collective peace and collective security. In Chapter VII, the concluding chapter, an attempt is made to highlight the significant trends in India's relations with Southeast Asia during the period of study and arrive at certain definitive conclusions.

I wish to take this opportunity to place on record my deep sense of gratitude to numerous persons and organizations for extending to me their assistance and guidance in the course of preparing this thesis. My profound thanks are due to my supervisor, Dr.V.Suryanarayanan, Professor and Head of the Centre for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Madras, for his unswerving and invaluable guidance. I should express my gratitude
to the benign Management of Theagaraya Chetty Educational Institutions, Madras, but for whose kind permission and encouragement I would not have successfully completed my research programme. My thanks are due to the University Grants Commission, New Delhi, for awarding me a Teacher Fellowship for three years under the Faculty Improvement Programme. I am beholden to the Directorate of Collegiate Education, Government of Tamilnadu, for deputing me for research in the University of Madras.

I should also express my gratitude to the University of Madras, for providing the necessary facilities for research. I am grateful to the Librarian and the staff of the Madras University Library; Maraimalai Adigal Library; Besant Theosophical Society Library; Library of the Centre for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Madras; the Library of the Dr. S. Radhakrishnan Institute for Advanced Study in Philosophy, University of Madras; the Library of Sir Theagaraya College; the servants of India Society Library; Secretariat Library, Government of Tamil Nadu, Madras and Sapru House Library, Jawaharlal Nehru University Library, Ministry of External Affairs Library, United Nations Library and Statesman Library in New Delhi. I thank Dr. D. R. Sardesai, Assistant Professor of History, University of California, Los Angeles; Mr. P. R. S. Mani, the distinguished Indian diplomat; Dr. M. B. Sarkar, former Principal and Professor of History, Kharagpur College, West Bengal, Dr. S. Krishnamurthy, Senior Lecturer, Victoria University, Wellington, New Zealand and Dr. M. S. Rajan, Professor of International Organization, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi for their valuable suggestions in improving the thesis. I am grateful to
the Documentation Centre, Indian Council of Social Science Research, New Delhi which made my collection of research materials in New Delhi easy. I am obliged to Mr. K. V. B. Prasad, Professor of English, Sir Theagaraya College, Madras; Mr. N. R. V. Prabhu and Mr. C. K. Ramen, Research Scholar, Centre for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Madras, for meticulously going through the draft of the thesis.

Madras:

4 October 1981

(A. LAKSHMANA CHETTY)