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## Catalogue

Of



**The Papers Chandrashekhar Dasgupta**

**Archives of  
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**ASHOKA**  
UNIVERSITY

**Plot # 2, Rajiv Gandhi Education City,  
P.O. Rai, Sonapat - 131029, Haryana (India)**



**Chandrashekhar Dasgupta**  
(1940-2023)

Chandrashekhar Dasgupta, an Indian diplomat and scholar known for his expertise in international relations and strategic affairs was a prominent figure in Indian diplomacy. He dedicated his life to advancing India's interests on the global stage.

Dasgupta embarked on a distinguished career in the Indian Foreign Service (IFS) that spanned several decades (1962-2000). His deep understanding of international relations and strategic affairs propelled him into key roles within the Ministry of External Affairs, where he made significant contributions to shaping India's foreign policy.

One of Dasgupta's notable achievements was his role in nuclear diplomacy. He played a crucial part in India's negotiations on nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation, advocating for India's interests while navigating complex international dynamics. His diplomatic acumen was instrumental in shaping India's stance on nuclear issues.

Dasgupta served as India's High Commissioner to Singapore (1981-1983), High Commissioner to Tanzania (1983-1986), Ambassador to China (1993-1996), and Ambassador to the European Union (1996-2000) representing India's interests and fostering diplomatic relations. He also served as Vice-President of ECOSOC (1988-89); and Vice-Chair, UNICEF Executive Board (1988-89). His diplomatic assignments provided him with valuable insights into global affairs, enabling him to contribute meaningfully to policy formulation and decision-making processes.

A distinguished fellow of The Energy and Resources Institute (TERI), Dasgupta gave many important speeches about Climate and Climate policies. He served as a member of the United Nations Committee on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights and also chaired the China Task Force.

As an author and scholar, Dasgupta shared his knowledge and insights through books *War and Diplomacy in Kashmir, 1947-48 (2002)*, and *India and Bangladesh Liberation War (2021)*, articles, and lectures. His writings on international affairs, security challenges, and strategic dynamics were widely acclaimed for their depth and analytical rigour.

Chandrashekhar Dasgupta made a lasting impact on Indian diplomacy and global relations throughout his career. His legacy as a diplomat, scholar, and strategic thinker continues to inspire upcoming generations of Indian diplomats and policymakers. In recognition of his contributions to Indian civil service, the Government of India honored him with the Padma Bhushan, the third-highest civilian award, in 2008.

**CATALOGUE OF THE PAPERS OF CHANDRASHEKHAR DASGUPTA**

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<b><u>S. No.</u></b>	<b><u>Description/ Years</u></b>	<b><u>Comments/ No. of Pages</u></b>
<b>I.</b>	<b>DIPLOMACY AND WAR HISTORY OF INDIA, 1898-2017</b>	
1.	<u>1898-2000</u>	Photocopies/ English
	<p>References from various books consulted by C. Dasgupta for his research on war history. Includes handwritten notes on arms, cavalry, warfare, etc. Also, includes important chapters and articles:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Laws of Manu, The King, Law 153-185 (Excerpts from <i>The Sacred Laws of the Aryas</i>, Translated by George Buhler, 1898/ Photocopy/ pp. 240-245).</li> <li>2. 'Relations with the Outer Muslim World' – Chapter 29 (From <i>History of Aurangzib, Vol. III</i> by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, 1928/ Photocopy/ pp. 66-79).</li> <li>3. 'Kautilya: Foreign policy and international system in the ancient Hindu world' – an article by George Modelski (Published in <i>The American Political Science Review</i>, Vol. LVIII, No. 3, September 1964/Photocopy/ pp. 549-560).</li> <li>4. 'The Ambassador in Ancient India' – an article by Ludo Rocher (Published in <i>The Indian Yearbook of International Affairs</i>, Vol., 1958/ Photocopy/ pp. 344-360).</li> <li>5. 'Defence and External Affairs' – excerpts (From <i>Kautiliya Arthasastra</i>, Part III translated by R.P. Kangle, 1965/ Photocopy/ pp. 248-257).</li> <li>6. 'Foreign Embassies to Aurangzeb's Court at Delhi, 1661-65' – a chapter by G.Z. Refai (Published in <i>Delhi Through the Ages</i>, edited by R.E. Frykemberg, OUP, 1986/ Photocopy/ pp. 192-204).</li> <li>7. 'The Ordinances of Manu' (Undated/ Photocopy/ pp. 168-171).</li> </ol>	

2.

1940-2017

The file contains secondary source material used by C. Dasgupta for his research work on war history and writing an article on 'The Indian War Elephant in the Hellenic World: From the battle of the Jhelum to the Peace of Apamea'. Includes reference notes, chronology of war, use of elephants, emperor Ashoka and the uses of soft powers, further readings, etc. Also, includes excerpts/articles:

Typed and printouts/  
English

1. 'Two notes on Seleucid History: 1. Seleucus' 500 Elephants, 2. Tarmita' – by W.W. Tarn (published in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 60 (1940)/ Printout/ <http://www.jstor.org/> English/ pp. 84-94).
2. 'Taxila: the new hipparchies: the Jhelum' – pages from W.W. Tarn's book *Alexander the Great*, Vol. I, 1948 (Photocopy/ English/ 3 pp.).
3. 'Alexander's great battles' – selected pages from *The Generalship of Alexander the Great* – a book by Major General J.F.C. Fuller, London, 1958 (Photocopy/ English/ pp. 184-199).
4. 'The Maurya dynasty and the Selucids' – by Hartmut Scharfe (Published in *Seitschrift fur vergleichende Sprachforschung*, 85. Bd., 2. H., 1971/URL:<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40848321>/ English/ pp. 211-225).
5. 'The historical setting of Megasthenes' Indica' – an article by A.B. Bosworth (Published in *Classical Philology*, Vol. 91, No. 2, April 1996 (URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/270500/> English/ pp. 113-127).
6. Quotes from books available on Alexander and the Hellenistic period (Typed/ English/ 19 pp.).

3.

1948-1949

Primary source material on diplomacy and war consulted by C. Dasgupta from Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit Papers available at NMML, New Delhi. Comprises V.L. Pandit's correspondence with Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, V.K. Krishna Menon, G.S. Bajapi, B.N. Rau and others regarding U.N. Security Council on Kashmir problem, Japanese Peace Treaty, Korean issue, relations with China and United States, etc.

Handwritten notes, and  
photocopies/ English/

Secondary source material relating to diplomacy and war between India and Pakistan. Includes articles, and excerpts:

Photocopies and printouts/  
English

1. 'India and Sea Power' – text of a lecture delivered by Vice-Admiral W.E. Parry in New Delhi to an audience of Service Officers (Published in *Journal of the United Services Institute of India*, January-April 1949 / Photocopy/ English/ pp. 17-27.)
2. 'India, Pakistan and the U.S. – I: Case History of Mistake' by Selig S. Harrison (Published in *The New Republic*, 10 August 1959/ Photocopy/ English/ pp. 10-17).
3. 'India, Pakistan and The U.S. – II: Cost of a Mistake' by Selig S. Harrison (Published in *The New Republic*, 24 August 1959/ Photocopy/ English/ pp. 20-25).
4. 'India, Pakistan and the U.S. – III: Undoing a Mistake' by Selig S. Harrison (Published in *The New Republic*, 07 September 1959/ Photocopy/ English/ pp. 11-17).
5. 'The Last of the Viceroys: Problems of the Forces', and 'Conflict in Kashmir' – relevant chapters and excerpts from a book *The Great Divide: Britain, India, Pakistan* by H.V. Hodson, 1969, London (Photocopy/ English/ 41 pp.).
6. Dispute over Hyderabad and Kashmir – relevant excerpts (*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1948, Volume V, Part 1: The Near East, South Asia and Africa*, Washington, 1975 (Photocopy/ English/ 32 pp.).
7. Relevant pages and notes on Wavell's Plans from *The Transfer of Power 1942-47* by Nicholas Mansergh, 1976 (Handwritten and photocopy/ English/ 17 pp.).
8. 'Keeping India in the Commonwealth: British political and military aims, 1947-49' – an article by Anita Inder Singh (Published in *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 20, No. 3, July 1985/ URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/260355/> Printout/ English/ pp. 469-481).
9. 'Post-Imperial British Attitudes to India: The Military Aspects, 1947-51' – an article by Anita Inder Singh (Published in *The Round Table*, 296/ Photocopy/ English/ pp. 360-375).
10. 'India's Partition and the Defence of Pakistan:

An Historical Perspective' – an article by Ayesha Jalal (Published in *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 01 May 1987/ Photocopy/ English/ pp. 291-310).

11. 'Creation of Pakistan' – an article by Narendra Singh Sarila (Published in *Times of India*, 17 March 2000/ Printout/ English/ 3 pp.).
12. 'Mission Pakistan' – an article by Inder Malhotra (Published in *Hindustan Times*, 07 March 2001/ Printout/ English/ 3 pp.).

5.

1969-1971

Primary source material related to the Indo-Soviet Treaty during the Bangladesh Liberation War available in the War Office files at the National Archives in London and in the P.N. Haksar Papers at the NMML in New Delhi. This includes handwritten notes and photocopies of documents on the proposed treaty of peace, friendship, and cooperation with the Soviet Union, discussions with Marshal Grechko, Kuznetsov's mission, and Indo-USSR discussions.

Photocopies/ English/

6.

2004-2016

Papers relating to academic activities of C. Dasgupta for writing a book on the political and diplomatic aspects of the wars between India and Pakistan. Includes correspondence exchanged by C. Dasgupta with J.N. Dixit (National Security Adviser, Prime Minister Office, New Delhi), K. Natwar Singh (Minister of External Affairs), Prime Minister of India, Dr. Manmohan Singh, Vikram Doraiswami (Private Secretary to PM), Director, FSO, Nandita Haksar for obtaining permission to consult Prime Minister Office records, Ministry of External Affairs files, and P.N. Haksar Papers. Also, includes papers and notes prepared by C. Dasgupta for NMML lectures entitled 'Did India have plans to break up Pakistan?', and 'The decision to intervene and India's grand strategy in the 1971 war'.

Autograph, and typed/  
English



## II INTERNATIONAL LAW, 1934-2014

7.

1934-2014

Secondary Source Material on the Formation of International Law. Includes handwritten notes, articles and excerpts from books:

Printouts, handwritten and photocopies/ English

1. 'The Imperial War Cabinet' – excerpts from *War Memoirs* by David Lloyd George, Vol IV, 1934 (Photocopies/Along with some handwritten notes/ English/ pp. 1736-1739/ 4 pp.).
2. 'First principles of racial equality: History and the politics and diplomacy of human rights provisions in the United Nations Charter' – an article by Paul Gordon Lauren (Published in *Human Rights Quarterly*, 1, 1983)/ Printout (HeinOnline license)/English/ 27 pp.).
3. 'India at the founding of the United Nations' – an article by Marika Sherwood (Published in *International Studies* - 33, 4 (1996)/ Photocopy/ English/ 10 pp.).
4. 'A new hope: India, the United Nations and the making of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights' – an article by Manu Bhagavan (Published in *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (2010)/ Printout/ URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27764658/> English/ 311-347).
5. 'The formation of International Organizations and India: A historical study' – an article by R.P. Anand (Published in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, 23 (2010)/ Printout/ English/ pp. 05-21).
6. Prologue: 1919 – from Hugh Purcell's book *Maharaja of Bikaner* (Published by Haus Publishing, London, 2010/ Printout/ <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/unog-ebooks/detail.action?docID=3038283/> English/ 10 pp.).
7. 'The Rajput at Versailles: The Maharajah of Bikaner, consummate soldier and Peace Treaty Signatory' – an article (Published in *Outlook* magazine, 31 March 2014/ Printout/ English/ 4 pp.).

8.

2004

'A more secure world: Our shared responsibility' – Report of the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change.

A publication of the United Nations, Department of Public Information/ Spiral bound/ English/ 131 pp.

### **III INDO-PAK WARS AND CONFLICTS, 1942-2018**

#### **(A) Kashmir Conflict, 1942-2001**

9.

1942-1951

Material on Kashmir and Pakistan. Includes notes taken by Chandrashekhar Dasgupta from War Staff Series Files, Cabinet Office – Private Collections of Ministers' and Officials' Papers, Minutes of the Chief of Staff Committee, Prime Minister's Office – correspondence and papers available at Public Record Office, London. These mainly relates to U.K. general policy concerning differences between India and Pakistan, the intervention of Pakistani Units in Kashmir. Also, includes photocopies of relevant excerpts from *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* and books.

In two parts/ Handwritten, typed and photocopy/ English

10.

1947-1954

Material collected by C. Dasgupta for conducting research on diplomacy from Jawaharlal Nehru Papers relating to Military Pacts, Geneva, Bandung, and Colombo Conferences on Indo-China relations, Tibet Agreement, Japanese war prisoners, defence agreements, etc. Includes correspondence exchanged by Jawaharlal Nehru with Sardar Baldev Singh, C.J. Stracey, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, V.K. Krishna Menon, Shaikh Mohd. Abdullah, R.K. Nehru, India Embassy, Peking, and others. Also, includes notes on armed forces in the postwar period, operations in Kashmir, North East and West Frontier States, Burma, Nepal, Goa, etc.

Photocopies/ English/

11.

1948

*White Paper on Jammu & Kashmir.*

Published by Government of India/ Photocopy/ English/ 89 pp.

12.

1953-2005

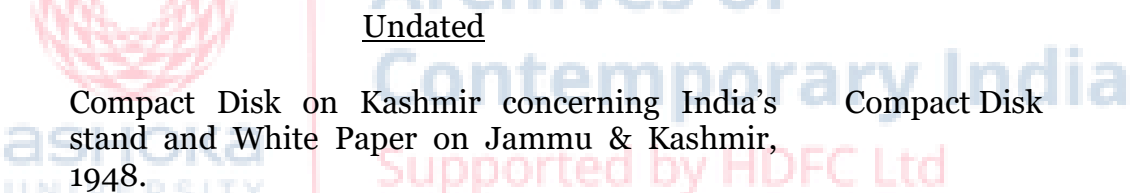
Material on the creation of Pakistan and Kashmir issue in the context of British diplomacy and defence strategies. Includes relevant chapters and excerpts from books, such as:

Photocopies/ English

1. 'The Nile, October 1951-1954' – (Excerpts from Foreign Secretary, 1953 / Photocopy/ English/ 7 pp.).
2. 'Junagad' – Chapter VI (From a book *The Story of the Integration of Indian States* by V.P. Menon, 1956/ Photocopy/ English/ pp. 124-150).
3. 'Middle East Defence Proposals, 1951-1952' – Chapter 4 (From a book *Defence of the Middle East* by John C. Campbell, 1958/ Photocopy/ English/ pp. 39-62).
4. 'The East Punjab High Court' and 'Pakistan Showa Its Hand' – excerpts and chapter 17 (From a book *Looking Back* by M.C. Mahajan, 1963/ Photocopy/ English/ pp. 126-127 & 141-153).
5. 'Composing the Commonwealth' – relevant excerpts (From a book *In Defence of Canada, Vol. III* by James Eayrs, 1972/ Photocopy/ English/ pp. 244-257).
6. 'The Hold of the Empire 1947-1953' – Chapter One along with Introduction (From a book *British Defence Policy: East of Suez 1947-68* by P. Darby, 1973/ Photocopy/ English/ pp. 1-93).
7. Excerpts from a book *Anglo-American Defence Relations 1939-1980* by J. Baylis (Published in 1981/ Photocopy/ English/ pp.30-33).
8. 'The Commonwealth Manoeuvres' – Chapter 7 (From a book *Partition and Independence of India*, 1982/ Photocopy/ pp. 265-287).
9. 'Dominions at War' – Chapter 3 (From a book *Making the New Commonwealth* by R.J. Moore, 1987/ Photocopy/ English/ pp. 62-96).
10. 'War Under Control' – Chapter Five (From a book *Two Nations and Kashmir*, 2005/ Photocopy/ English/ pp. 67-78).

13. 1996-1998
- Letters from P.K. Singh and T.C.A. Raghavan enclosing records of documents kept at Southampton University, and India Office Library, London pertaining to Lord Mountbatten's correspondence as Governor General of India, and meetings of Defense Committee of the Indian Cabinet, 1947-48.
- Autographs and typed list/  
English

14. Undated
- 'Pakistan's Designs on Kashmir: The Pak Version' – relevant extracts of the public and published accounts of the former Pakistani Chief of Staff, General Gul Hassan and Major General Akbar Khan as well as the Information Secretary to Field Marshal Ayub Khan, Altaf Gauhar.
- Booklet/ Published by  
Government of India/  
English/ 20 pp.

15. Undated
- Compact Disk on Kashmir concerning India's stand and White Paper on Jammu & Kashmir, 1948.
- Compact Disk
- 

**(B) 1965 War, 1948-2014**

16. 1948-1965
- The file contains documents of the United Nations Committee for India and Pakistan (UNCIP). Includes U.N. Resolutions, reports, correspondence with India and Pakistan, extracts of statements made in the Security Council by India, Pakistan and the great powers. Also, includes India's complaint to the UN Security Council and statements of Indian and Pakistani leaders on Jammu & Kashmir.
- Printouts/ English

17. 19 March 1948 & 18 June-18 July 1965

Copies of records collected from Foreign Office: Political Departments, and Prime Minister's Office: Correspondence and Papers available at the Public Record Office, London on the Indo-Pak war. Includes outward telegram from Commonwealth Relations Office to U.K. High Commissioner in India on Kashmir issue, confidential summary of note for the Prime Minister on Rann of Kutch – Patrolling. Also, includes letters from the Prime Minister of India, Lal Bahadur Shastri, and President of Pakistan, Ayub Khan to the Prime Minister of the U.K. regarding their submission to end the recent confrontation of armed forces.

Photocopies/ English

18. 1965-2012

Material on Indo-Pak War 1965. Contains references and extracts written by C. Dasgupta from primary sources, such as Foreign Office Files, Cabinet Office Files, Prime Minister's Office Files available at India Office Library, London, British Museum Library, London and Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi relating to Runn of Kutch War, British proposals, Kashmir issues, Junagadh and Gilgit. Also, contains excerpts from books and press clippings on the topic, and draft notes prepared by C. Dasgupta for the conference on 'The Cold War & the Postcolonial Moment', Zurich, 03 June 2011.

Handwritten, typed, photocopy and clippings/ English

19. [1993]

*Official History of India-Pakistan War of 1965 – A study of the history of Indo-Pak war.*

For limited circulation by Centre for Information Management, Observer Research Foundation/ Compiled by S.N. Prasad/ Photocopied/ In 4 spiral binding/English

**(C) 1971 War, 1969-2018**

20.

1969-1972

Material from primary sources on India-Pakistani War 1971 available in P.N. Haksar papers at NMML, New Delhi. Includes secret notes and correspondence exchanged by P.N. Haksar as Secretary to the Prime Minister of India, among other with Ministry of External Affairs, (Foreign Secretary, T.N. Kaul), Political Affairs Committee of the Cabinet, Indira Gandhi, Edward Heath, L.I. Brezhnev, Alexei N. Kosygin, and others regarding India's objectives in the current conflict with Pakistan, military operations in Bangladesh, Pakistan Ambassadors Conference, meeting of the Soviet Ambassador with President Bhutto in Islamabad, ceasefire on the western front, R&AW report on Bangladesh, assessment of East Pakistan Affairs, meeting of the Opposition Leaders to consider the situation in Bangladesh, etc.

Photocopies/ English

21.

1970-1972

Material on Indo-Pakistan 1971 War from primary sources. Includes excerpts taken by C. Dasgupta from various documents and papers available at National Archives of India in the files of the Ministry of External Affairs, P.N. Haksar and T.N. Kaul Papers at NMML, New Delhi and Foreign Affairs documents at the National Archives, Kew. These relate to fortnight political report concerning political situation in Bangladesh, Swaran Singh's (Foreign Minister) address to Indian diplomats in London, memorandum of conversation between Nixon and Indira Gandhi in the Oval Office, summary of discussions of Pakistani Ambassadors' Conference in Geneva, Indo-Soviet Treaty talks, etc. Also, includes list of files, documents and books consulted by C. Dasgupta on the subject.

Handwritten, typed and photocopy/ English

22.

1970-2016

Important notes and references on India-Pakistani War 1971 and the making of Bangladesh. Includes extracts from books, such as *Contribution of India in the War of Liberation of Bangladesh* by Salam Azad, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh* by Archer K. Blood, *The Soviet-Indian Alignment: Quest for Influence* by Robert H. Donaldson, *From Autonomy to Independence: The United States, Pakistan and the Emergence of Bangladesh* by Mahmudul Huque, *We Dared – Maritime Operations in the 1971 Indo-Pak War* by Admiral S.N. Kohli, *A Stranger in My Own Country: East Pakistan* by Major General Khadim Hussain, *The Separation of East Pakistan: The Rise and Realization of Bengali Muslim Nationalism* by Hasan Zaheer, and other related publications.

Handwritten, typed and photocopies/ English

23.

1979-2018

Secondary source material on India-Pakistan War, 1971. Includes articles and excerpts from books:

1. *Premonitions* – (a page from a book by P.N. Haksar, 1979/ Photocopy/ English/ p. 78).
2. 'The Tilt Policy Revisited: Nixon-Kissinger Geopolitics and South Asia' – an article by Christopher Van Hollen (Published in *Asian Survey*, Vol. XX, No. 4, 04 April 1980/ Printout/ pp. 339-361).
3. 'India's Wars Since Independence: The Plan' – excerpts (From a book *The Liberation of Bangladesh* by Major General Sukhwant Singh, 1980/ Photocopy/ 11 pp.).
4. 'Military Strategy' and 'Appendixes' – excerpts (From a book *Victory in Bangladesh* by Major General Lachhman Singh, 1981/ Photocopy/ 7+1 pp.).
5. 'Triangular Diplomacy and Regional Conflict: The Indo-Pakistani War, 1971' – Chapter 8 (From a book *Detente and Confrontation: American-Soviet Relations from Nixon to Reagan* by Raymond L. Garthoff, 1985/ Clippings/ pp. 262-288).
6. 'Kashmir: The Simla Solution' – an article by P.N. Dhar (Published in *Journal of Peace Studies*, Vol. 2, Issue 9-10, March-June 1995; Courtesy: *Times of India*/ Typed/ English/ 5

- pp.).
7. Relevant extracts and reference notes on Bangladesh Liberation War 1971 (From a book *Surrender at Dacca* by Lt. General J.F.R. Jacob, 1997/ Photocopy and typed/ English/ 19 pp.).
  8. 'Yahya Khan and International Diplomacy – Role in Sino-American Rapprochement', and 'President and Chief Martial Law Administrator – Z.A. Bhutto' – excerpts (From a book *Memories & Reflections of a Pakistani Diplomat* by Sultan M. Khan, London, 1997/ Photocopy/ English/ 22 pp.).
  9. 'Nixon, Kissinger and the breakup of Pakistan, 1971' – review article by Geoffrey Warner of *Foreign Relations of the United States 1969-1976*, Vol. I, *Foundations of Foreign Policy 1969-1972*, Vol. XI, *South Asia Crisis 1971*, and *Vol. E7, Documents on South Asia 1969-1972* (Published in *International Affairs* 81, 5, 2005/ Photocopy/ English/ pp. 1097-1118).
  10. 'Taking Dhaka did not figure in Manekshaw's plan: General Jacob' – an interview of Lieutenant-General J.F.R. Jacob by Karan Thapar (Published in *Hindu*, online edition/ Printout/ English/ 15 pp.).
  11. 'Mission to Mao' – review article by Roderick MacFarquhar of Margaret MacMillan's book *Nixon and Mao: The Week that Changed the World* (Published in *The New York Review of Books*, 28 June 2007/ Photocopy/ English/ 5 pp.).
  12. 'Line of Control as Line of Peace' – an article by Inder Malhotra (Published in *Asian Age*, 25 July 2007/ Clipping/ English/ 1 p.).
  13. Excerpts of documentary evidences on talks between India and Pakistan after the war of 1971, Simla Conference, etc. (From A.S. Bhasin edited *India-Pakistan Relations 1947-2007: A Documentary Study*/ Photocopy/ 26 pp.).
  14. 'Bangladesh war files destroyed by Army: True story of 1971 is lost forever' – a report by Josy Joseph of TNN (Published in *Times of India*, 09 May 2010/ Clipping/ English/ 1 p.).
  15. Excerpts on the cold war in the third world, 1963-1975 (From *The Cambridge History of Cold War*, Vol. II, Edited by M.P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, CUP, 2010/ Photocopy/ 2 pp.).
  16. 'Mujib planned separation from Pakistan in 1969: Hasina' – an article (Published in *Thaindian News*, online edition, 08 March



- 2010/ Printout/ English/ 2 pp.).
17. 'Textbook incorrectly describes Agartala Case: Shawkat' – reporting of Deputy Speaker Shawkat Ali's statement (Published in *Daily Star*, Dhaka, online edition, 12 June 2010/ Printout/ English/ 2 pp.).
  18. 'Mujib did not have links with Indian intelligence' – an article by Yatish Yadav (Published in *newsX*, 14 August 2011/ Printout/ English/ 1 p.).
  19. 'Between regional and global interests: The Indo-Soviet treaty of 1971' – an article by Srinath Raghavan (Published in India in the *World Since 1947*, editors: Andreas Hilger and Corinna R. Unger, 2012/ Photocopy/ English/ pp. 326-345).
  20. 'Pakistan, 1971: Military voices now challenge the established narrative of the Bangladesh war' – an article by Khaled Ahmed (*Newsweek Pakistan*) (Published in *Indian Express*, 26 December 2013/ Clipping/ English/ 1 p.).
  21. 'Bangabandhu returned home after getting no response from Nehru in 1962: Hasina' – a reporting by Sumon Mahbub of *bdnews24.com* (Published in *bdnews24.com*, 10 March 2018/ Printout/ English/ 4 pp.).
  22. '1971 – Role of US Seventh Fleet' – relevant excerpts (Undated/ Typed/ English/ 4 pp.).
  23. 'Scaring off the Indians: Nixon, Kissinger and the 1971 War' – an article by C. Dasgupta (Undated/ Typed/ English/ 16 pp.).

24.

1980-2012

Secondary source material on Indo-Pakistani wars and conflicts. Includes chapters from books, and articles:

1. 'South Asia' – chapter 3 (Published in *Conflict and Intervention in the Third World*, Editor: Mohd. Ayoob, London, 1980/ Photocopy/ pp. 38-72).
2. *My Version: India Pakistan War 1965* – a book by General Mohammad Musa (Published by ABC Publishing House, New Delhi, First edition published by Wajidalis, Lahore, 1983/ Photocopy/ English/ pp. 1-111).
3. *Lt. Gen. Gul Hasan Khan: Memoirs* – relevant excerpts (Published in 1993/ Photocopy/ English/ pp. 118-121, 172-179, 292-93 & 304-311).

Clippings and photocopies/  
English

4. 'Lead-Up to War', 'The 1965 Indo-Pakistan War' – chapters 8 and 9 (From a book *Pakistan Chronicle* by Sir Morrice James, 1993/ Photocopy/ English/ pp. 105-158).
5. 'Indian Draft I (29 June 1972)' 'Pakistani Draft (30 June 1972)', 'Indian Draft II (01 July 1972)', 'Final Indian Draft (02 July 1972)', 'The Simla Agreement (02 July 1972)', 'Tashkent Declaration' – Appendix 1 to 6 (*The Simla Agreement 1972: Its Wasted Promise* by P. R. Chari, Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, 2001/ Photocopy/ pp. 191-207).
6. 'American Diplomacy and the 1999 Kargil Summit at Blair House' – Policy Paper Series by Bruce Riedel (Published by Center for the Advanced Study of India, University of Pennsylvania, 2002/ Photocopy/ English/ 26 pp.).
7. 'The mystique of archives' – review article by A.G. Noorani (Review of *The White House & Pakistan: Secret Declassified Documents, 1969-1974*; Selected and Edited by F.S. Aijuddin, OUP/ Published in *Frontline*, 03 January 2003/ Clippings/ 3 pp.).
8. 'The Indo-Pakistan Military Balance and Limited War' – an article by Manoj Joshi (Published in *Strategic Digest*, January 2003/ Clippings/ English/ pp. 17-29).
9. 'The 1971 South Asian Crisis: US Policy Revisited' – an article by Imtiaz Ahmed (Published in *Security and Society*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 2005/ Clippings/ pp. 68-80).
10. 'India-Pakistan Relations, Section-I, Political..... Continued 1970-1974' – excerpts (From A.S. Bhasin edited *India-Pakistan Relations 1947-2007: A Documentary Study, Volume-I-X*/ Photocopy/ 23 pp.).

25.

April 2003

*Declassified CIA Documents on Indo-Pak War 1971.* Comprises Department of State Telegrams, Secret Memorandum, Secret Nodis, India-Pakistan situation report, etc.

Part 1/ Centre for Information Management, Observer Research Foundation/ Photocopy/ English/

26.

April 2003

Detailed account of Indo-Pakistani War of 1971. Comprises chapters entitled 'Showing the Winds', 'Reaping the Whirlwind: Refuges Start Pouring In', 'India Caught in the Turmoil: Reaction in India – Popular Support', 'The Mukti Bahini Comes of Age: The Bahini Organised', 'The Crisis Deepens (September to November 1971)', 'Defence Pastures and Plans: Geopolitics of the Sub-Continent', 'Pakistan Choose War: Operations in J&K', 'The Punjab and Rajasthan Front: The Battle of Shakargarh', 'The IAF in the West', 'Naval Operations in the Arabian Sea', 'All-Out War in Bangladesh', 'March to Dhaka', 'The Indian Navy in the Bay of Bengal', 'The Pakistani Surrender', 'Politics in the United Nations', 'In Search of Lasting Peace', 'Reviews and Reflections'.

Part 2/ Centre for Information Management, Observer Research Foundation/ Photocopy/ English/

27.

2005

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969-1976, Volume XI: South Asia Crisis, 1971* (Editor: Louis J. Smith, General Editor: Edward C. Keefner). Contains details about sources, abbreviations, and persons. Mainly deals with Indo-Pak War 1971.

Department of State Publication 11199, Office of the Historian, Bureau of Public Affairs, United States Government Printing Office, Washington/ Photocopy/ pp. 626-900.

28.

2013-2018

Chronology and two chapters drafted by C. Dasgupta for writing a book on Eastern Pakistan. Includes Chapter 1 as 'Prelude: The Alienation of East Bengal', articles 'The decision to intervene: First steps in India's grand strategy in the 1971 War' (published in *Strategic Analysis*, 2016), chronology of 'U.S.-Pak 1969-71', 'Crisis in East Bengal', and a note 'Did India have plans to break up Pakistan?' by Chandrashekhar Dasgupta. Also, includes an email containing notes on A.K. Roy's notebook relating to Bangladesh, 'Yankees in the subcontinent' – review of Srinath Raghavan's book *The Most Dangerous Place: A History of the United States in Asia*, etc.

Typed, and printouts/ English

## IV COMMONWEALTH, 1948-1982

29. 1948-1949 & 1950-1985

Primary information about India's association with the Commonwealth of Nations gathered by C. Dasgupta from the Jawaharlal Nehru Papers at NMML, New Delhi. Comprises Jawaharlal Nehru's correspondence with C.R. Atlee (P.M., U.K.), V.K. Krishna Menon, and G.S. Bajpai regarding problems, provisions and arrangements of Commonwealth relations, and telegrams and a note by G.S. Bajpai on Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, London. Gist of files and documents consulted by C. Dasgupta is also there. Also, includes secondary source material on the Commonwealth:

Photocopies and printouts/  
English

1. 'The Commonwealth in Asia' – an article by Nicholas Mansergh (Published in *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 23, No. 1, March 1950, downloaded from URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2753751/> pp. 03-20/Printout/ English/ 19 pp.).
2. Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Meeting, 27 April 1949, and Nehru's speech in Constituent Assembly, 16 May 1949 – extracts from Nicholas Mansergh's *Documents and Speeches on British Commonwealth Affairs, 1931-52*, Vol. II, OUP, London, 1953 (Typed and handwritten/ English/ 2 pp.).
3. 'New Concept of Commonwealth' – excerpts (From Patrick Gordon Walker's *The Commonwealth*, London, 1962/ Photocopy/ English/ pp. 182-185).
4. 'The New Commonwealth' – excerpts (From *Memoirs 1948-1957: Vol. 2, The International Years* by Lester B. Pearson, London, 1974/ Photocopy/ pp. 98-105).
5. 'Mountbatten, India, and the Commonwealth' – an article by R.J. Moore (Published in *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, March 1981/ Photocopy/ English/ pp. 05-43).
6. 'The Commonwealth Since 1947: Constitutional Transformation' – excerpts (taken from *The Commonwealth Experience*, Vol. 2 by Nicholas Mansergh, London, 1982/ Photocopy/ English/ pp. 145-161 & 266-67).

30.

Undated

A notebook containing important extracts taken by C. Dasgupta from a book *British Commonwealth Affairs, 1931-1953* edited in volumes by Nicholas Mansergh (London). Also, contains notes from M.S. Rajan's *World Affairs 1954-56*, S.M. Burke's *Pakistani Foreign Policy: An Historical Analysis* (1990), etc.

Notebook/ Handwritten/  
English

## V SOUTH ASIA AND FOREIGN POLICY, 1967-2013

31.

1967-2001

### **Articles and statements:**

1. 'U.S. Economic Assistance to Pakistan 1954-1965: A Case Study in the Politics of Foreign Aid' – an article by Mohammed Ayoob (Published in *India Quarterly*, April-June 1967/ 18 pp.).
2. 'Ayub's Foreign Policy – From Alliance to Equidistance' – an article by Mohammed Ayoob (Published in *IDSJ Journal*, July 1969/ 29 pp.).
3. 'Nepal's Role in Sino-Indian Relations: 1949-1969' – an article by Mira Sinha (Published in *IDSJ Journal*, April 1970/ 29 pp.).
4. 'India and Nepal: Politics of Aid and Trade' – an article by Mohammed Ayoob (published in *IDSJ Journal*, October 1970/ 26 pp.).
5. 'Insurgency in Ceylonese Politics: Problems and Prospects' – an article by Urmila Phadnis (Published in *IDSJ Journal*, April 1971/ 34 pp.).
6. 'India's mutual security arrangements with Nepal' – an article by S.D. Muni (published in *IDSJ Journal*, July 1971/ 24 pp.).
7. 'The new order in South Asia' – an article by Norman D. Palmer. Also, Text of President Bhutto's speech in the National Assembly on 14-04-1972, Broadcast over Radio Pakistan. (Published in *Strategic Digest*, April 1972/ 10+16 pp.).
8. 'The emergence of Bangla Desh' – an article by Myron Weiner (published in *Strategic Digest*, December 1972/ 7 pp.).
9. 'India's economic and political relations with

Press cuttings and typed  
copies/ English

- Bhutan' – an article by Valentine J. Belfiglio (Published in *Strategic Digest*, July 1973/ 9 pp.).
10. 'Pakistan build a new' – an article by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (published in *Strategic Digest*, September 1973/ 8 pp.).
  11. 'Constitution-making in Bangladesh' – an article by Abul Fazl Huq (published in *Strategic Digest*, October 1973/ 17 pp.).
  12. Selected pages from Pran Chopra's book *India's Second Liberation* (Vikas Publishing House, Delhi, 1973/ photocopy/ 19 pp.)
  13. 'How radical is the Pakistan People's Party' – an article by Khalid B. Sayeed (Published in *Strategic Digest*, November 1975/ 16 pp.).
  14. 'Economic problems of Pakistan under Bhutto' – an article by W. Eric Gustafson (Published in *Strategic Digest*, June 1976/ 12 pp.).
  15. 'Pakistan's White Paper on Higher Defence Organisation' – text of the White Paper circulated on 11 May in the National Assembly and the Senate by the Ministry of Defence, Pakistan (Published in *Strategic Digest*, June 1976 with courtesy: *Morning News*, Karachi/ 7 pp.).
  16. 'Long-term trends in India-Pakistan Relations' – edited version of a talk delivered by M. Ayoob at India International Centre on 20 August 1976 (Published in *India International Centre Quarterly*, Vol. 3 No. 4, 1976/ 13 pp.).
  17. 'Divided Bengal: Problems of Nationalism and Identity in the 1947 Partition' – an article by Leonard A. Gordon (published in the *Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, Vol. XVI, No. 2/ July 1978/ 17 pp.).
  18. 'Bangladesh: State of the Nation – I & II' – Muzaffar Ahmad Choudhari Memorial Lectures delivered by Abdur Razzaq/ 20 May 1980/ Typed copies/ 14+18 pp.).
  19. 'Bangladesh: Crisis of External Dependence' – an article by Rehman Sobhan (published in *Mainstream weekly*/ 15 May 1982/ 7 pp.).
  20. 'IPKF in Sri Lanka' – an article by J.N. Dixit (Published in *USI Journal*, Vol. CXIX/497, July-September 1989/ 8 pp.).
  21. 'Indian Involvement in Sri Lanka and Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement of 1987 – A Retrospective Evaluation' – summary of concluding points on India and Sri Lanka Accord: Lessons and experiences by J.N. Dixit (draft paper for a conference on 'Negotiating Peace – Lessons

- from Sri Lankan Peace Process', Luzern, Switzerland/28-30 July 1997/ 20 pp.).
22. 'Pakistan-US military alliance' – an article by Hamza Alavi (Published in *Economic and Political Weekly*, 20 June 1998/ photocopy/ 7 pp.).
  23. 'Conflict-Resolution: Three Rivers Treaties' – an article by Ramaswamy R. Iyer (Published in *Economic and Political Weekly*, 12 June 1999/ 10 pp.).
  24. Text of statement made by External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh on 17 July 2001 (Typed copy/ 2 pp.).
  25. Statement in both Houses of Parliament by Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Prime Minister of India on 24 July 2001/ Typed copy/ 3 pp.).
  26. 'The economic legacy of Bangabandhu' – an article by Rehman Sobhan (Undated/Typed copy/ 10 pp.).
  27. S.C. Bose's memorandum to the German Government, 'Plan for Co-operation between the Axis Powers and India', dated 9 April 1941. (Undated/ Source: DGFP/D/XIII, No. 300, cf. pp. 245-247/ photocopy/ 5 pp.).

32.

1971-1999

Articles relating to South Asian foreign policy:

1. 'The Soviet-Indian treaty' – an article by Sisir Gupta (Published in *Survival*, November 1971)
2. 'China's South Asia policy' – an article by K.N. Ramachandran (Published in *The Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses Journal*, [1971]/ English/ 50-65).
3. 'The great powers and the sub-continent: A new phase?' – an article by Sisir Gupta (Published in *The Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses Journal*, August 1972]/ English/ 447-463).
4. 'Indo-US relations' – an article by Dinesh Singh (Published in *The Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses Journal*, July 1973/ English/ 1-14).
5. 'The great powers and the Indian sub-continent' – an article by Robert Jackson (Published in *Strategic Digest*, June 1973/ English/ pp. 1-13).
6. 'India and America at odds' – an article by William J. Barnds (Published in *Strategic Digest*, September 1973/ English/ pp. 11-21).

7. 'Problems of collective security in Asia' – an article by A. Sergeyev (Published in *Strategic Digest*, November 1975/ English/ pp. 28-37).
8. U.S. weapons and South Asia: A policy analysis' – an article by Stephen P. Cohen (Published in *Strategic Digest*, March 1977/ English/ pp. 14-29).
9. 'Defense in an Age of Hope' – an article by Willam F. Perry (Published in *Foreign Age*, November-December 1996/ English/ pp. 64-79).
10. 'European defence and Euro-Asia security relations' – an article by Alain Richard (Published in *Strategic Digest*, June 1999/ English/ pp. 954-960).

33. November-December 1980

*World Focus*, Vol. No. 1, No. 11-12. The issue is on Indian Foreign Policy.

Monthly discussion journal (First Annual Number)/ Edited and published by: Hari Sharan Chhabra, New Delhi/ English

34.

ASHOKA  
UNIVERSITY

Archives of  
Contemporary India

2002

Supported by HDFC Ltd

*India Today Conclave: Opportunities and Threats*, 20-22 January 2002. The Conclave focused on the geopolitical and strategic implications of the turmoil for South Asia in the wake of the global war on terrorism.

Booklet/ Published by India Today Group

35.

2005

*Foreign Relations, 1969-1976 – Documents on South Asia, 1969-1972* (Editor: Louis J. Smith, General Editor: Edward C. Keefer). Contains chapters on India and Pakistan: Pre-Crisis, India and Pakistan: Crisis and War, U.S. Relations with India and Pakistan, Afghanistan, Bangladesh.

Volume E-7, Office of the Historian, Bureau of Public Affairs, U.S. Department of State



36. 2005
- Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969-1976, Volume XI: South Asia Crisis, 1971* (Editor: Louis J. Smith, General Editor: Edward C. Keefner). Contains details about sources, abbreviations, and persons.
- Department of State  
Publication 11199, Office of  
the Historian, Bureau of  
Public Affairs, United States  
Government Printing Office,  
Washington

37. 2009
- Global power revisited: The United States in a changing world order – a reader* (containing an article by C. Dasgupta entitled ‘Climate change: challenge, opportunity and justice’).
- Published by Foresight,  
Alfred Herrhausen Society,  
Berlin, Germany/ English/  
53 pp.

38. 2013
- The harmonious superpower? China’s role in a changing world order – a reader.*
- Published by Foresight,  
Alfred Herrhausen Society,  
Berlin, Germany/ English/  
62 pp.

**VI INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1991-2014**

39. August 1991-April 2014

Articles on Indian Foreign Policy entitled:

1. India’s foreign policy perspectives in the 1990s’ – Inaugural speech by Madhavsinh Solanki at the India International Centre, New Delhi (Booklet/ Designed, imageset and produced by Macro Graphics, New Delhi/ English/ 10 pp.).
2. ‘Foreign policy in a changing world – External threats and challenges: An overview of India foreign policy’ – an article by J.N. Dixit (Published in *World Affairs: The Journal of International Issues*, Vol. 3, No. 1, January-March 1999/ Printout/ English/ pp. 28-39).
3. ‘The Soviet-Indian relations and the perceptions of Indian foreign policy by the Soviet Union in the 1940-1950s’ – a paper by Sergei Lounev to the seminar ‘India in the Mirror of the Foreign Diplomatic Archives, Delhi, 14 and 15 March 2002 (Draft copy/ English/ 31 pp.).
4. ‘Indian foreign policy and contemporary

Booklet, press cuttings and photocopies/ English

- security challenges’ – an article by Rohan Mukherjee and David M. Malone (Published in *International Affairs, Oxford Journals*, Vol. 87, No. 1, January 2011/ Printout/ English/ pp. 87-104).
5. *Parallel History Project on Cooperative Security (PHP)*, Introduction. *Indo-Soviet Relations Collections* (Edited by Andreas Hilger, Anna Locher, Shana Goldberg, Matthias Pintsch in September 2008/ Source: [www.php.isn.ethz.ch](http://www.php.isn.ethz.ch) *India in the World since 1947: National and Transnational Perspectives* by Andreas Hilger and Corinna R. Unger (Printout/ English/ 26 pp.).
  6. ‘Mountbatten and India, 1948-64’ – an article by Rakesh Ankit (Published online in *The International History Review*, 04 April 2014/ Printout/ English/ 23 pp.).

## VII SINO-INDIA RELATIONS, 1992-2024

40.

1992-1995

Research papers and articles on Indo-China relations, entitled:

Press cuttings and photocopies/ English

1. ‘Indian research programmes on India’ – an article by Haraprasad Ray (Published in *China Report*, 28: 4, Sage Publications, 1992/ English/ pp. 391-407).
2. ‘India China relations: A review and prognosis’ – by Jagat S. Mehta (Published by Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi in 1994/ Photocopy/ English/ 23 pp.).
3. ‘Separatism: Sino-Muslim conflict in Xinjiang’ – an article by Yitzhak Shichor (Published in *Pacifica Review*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1994/ Photocopy/ English/ pp. 71-82).
4. ‘Chinese economic reform and defence policy: The South China Sea connection’ – a paper by Michael Leifer for the IISS/CAPS Conference on ‘Chinese Economic Reform and Defence Policy’, Hong Kong, 8-10 July 1994 (Photocopy/ English/ 27 pp.).
5. ‘On the four great relationships: The prospects for China’, and ‘Growing strong: China’s challenge to Asian security’ – articles by Harry Harding, and David Shambaugh (Published in *Survival*, Vol 36, No. 2, 1994/ Photocopy/

- English/ pp. 22-59).
6. 'China's emerging military capability and security policy' – an article by Dipankar Banerjee (Published in *Strategic Analysis*, February 1995/ English/ pp. 1289-1307).
  7. 'China's post-cold war security strategy' – an article by Yan Xuetong (Published in *Contemporary International Relations*, Vol. 5, No. 5, May 1995/ Photocopy/ 17 pp.).
  8. 'PLA and Chinese threat perceptions' – a paper by Allen S. Whiting prepared for the *China Quarterly*/Chinese Council on Advanced Policy Studies Conference on 'The PLA towards 2000', 13-15 July 1995, Hong Kong (Photocopy/ English/ 38 pp.).
  9. 'The PLA in transition: Politics, professionalism, & power projection' – a paper by David Shambaugh prepared for the *China Quarterly*/Chinese Council on Advanced Policy Studies Conference on 'The PLA towards 2000', 13-15 July 1995, Hong Kong (Photocopy/ English/ 19 pp.).
  10. 'From continent of periphery: PLA doctrine, strategy and capabilities towards 2000' – a paper by Paul H.B. Godwin for the *China Quarterly*/Chinese Council on Advanced Policy Studies Conference on 'The PLA towards 2000', 13-15 July 1995, Hong Kong (Photocopy/ English/ 35 pp.).
  11. 'Princeling belong to three different strata' – a report by Liu Chien (FBIS-CHI-95-153/ 09 August 1995/ Photocopy/ English/ pp. 14-17).
  12. 'Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew's interview late last month – by *Global Viewpoint* Editor Nathan Gardels (S/T 11 October 1995/ Typed copy/ English/ 1 p.).
  13. 'India and China: Détente to interdependence' – a paper by Sujit Dutta for the Second IDSA-CICIR Colloquium 'Strengthening Sino-Indian Relations' IIC, New Delhi, 26-27 October 1995 (Photocopy/ English/ 29 pp.).
  14. 'China and India: A comparison, the dragon and the tiger' – special report by Economist Intelligence Unit (Published in *Business China, China & India*, Summer 1995/ Photocopy/ English/ 8 pp.).
  15. 'A new China strategy' – an article by Kenneth Lieberthal (Published in *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 74, No. 6, November-December 1995/ Photocopy/ English/ pp. 35-49).

Seminar papers, articles and chapters on Sino-India relations:

Typed drafts, printouts and photocopies/ English

1. 'India's foreign policy in the restructuring of international relationship' – a paper by Ye Zhensjia to CIIS, [2002] (China Institute of International Studies, Beijing, China/ Typed copy/ 17 pp.).
2. 'On Sino-Indian relations in the new century' – an article by Cheng Ruisheng (Published in *International Studies*, 4-6, 2002, CIIS, Beijing/ 18 pp.).
3. 'Does South Asia matter to Moscow and Beijing' – a paper by Andrew Scobell presented to 'Prospects for Peace in South Asia' Conference held at Asia/Pacific Research Centre, Stanford University on 21-22 January 2003 (Preliminary draft/ 37 pp.).
4. 'India's perceptions of the responses to the rise of China: An assessment' – a paper by Guihong Zhang presented to IDSA Weekly Fellow Seminar, Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi, 28 August 2004 (Draft copy/ 34 pp.).
5. 'The Tibetan rebellion of 1959 and China's changing relations with India and the Soviet Union' – an article by Chen Jian (Published in *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 3, 2006, pp 54-101).
6. 'China's decision for war with India in 1962' – chapter 4 contributed by John W. Garver to *New Directions in the Study of China's Foreign Policy*, edited by Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert S. Ross, Stanford University Press, 2006 (photocopy/ 45 pp.).
7. 'Crossing the river, feeling the stones' – an article by Ananth Krishnan (Published in *Frontline*/ emailed by A. Gopinathan to C. Dasgupta, 30 May 2013/ printout/4 pp.).
8. 'Time to release the Henderson-Brooks Report and seek closure to 1962' – an article by Shyam Saran (Published in *Business Standard*, 14 April 2014/ Typed copy/ 8 pp.).
9. 'Friend or foe: India as perceived by Beijing foreign policy analysts in the 1950s' – an article by Liu, Diaoyuan (Published in *China Review*, 2015/ Online version/ Printouts/ 19 pp.).
10. 'Sino-Indian border war of 1962 and China's response to the Colombo Proposals' – an article

by Dai Chaowu (Published probably in 2016/  
photocopy/ 5 pp.).

'Harsh lessons: China has outmaneuvered India on  
the Ladakh crisis' – an article by Kanwal Sibal  
(Published in Today's Paper the *Telegraph*, 04  
July 2024/ Printouts/3 pp.).

42.

2014-2016

PPT (PowerPoint Presentation) prepared by C.  
Dasgupta for presenting at various programmes  
related to India-China relations and border  
disputes. The presentation includes topics such as  
'Climate Change and India's Response' and 'India  
and the 2015 Paris Climate Negotiations.' It also  
includes main points from a presentation given at  
the Peninsula Studies' Brains Trust Program on  
India's Borders, providing details on the India-  
China border and the background of the border  
problem.

PPTs and notes/ Typed and  
draft copies

43.

2014 & Undated

The file contains articles and a paper by C.  
Dasgupta entitled 'The Korean War 1950-53',  
'Panchsheel: Principles and national interest in  
diplomacy', and 'Nehru, Patel and China'. Also,  
includes references of primary and secondary  
material along with a notebook, and loose leaves  
containing handwritten notes, and excerpts from  
Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel, and V.K. Krishna  
Menon Papers, biography of Jawaharlal Nehru by  
S. Gopal, SWJN, books, etc.

Handwritten and  
photocopies/ English/

44.

Undated

Loose leaves contain handwritten notes taken by  
C. Dasgupta on India-China relations.

Handwritten/ English

## VIII NATO DOCUMENTS, 1994-2005

45. 1994-1999

NATO documents contain articles, press clippings and official texts of the collective defence of the NATO for world peace. Includes Poland, Czech Republic and Hungary for accession talks, France's alliance policy, America's leadership, plan for Europe, NATO-Russian Charter, Ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Council, relations, cooperation and security between NATO and the Russian Federation, U.S. Nuclear NATO arsenals, Euro-Atlantic security and cooperation, Franco-British Summit, etc.

Press clippings, and photocopies/ English

46. March 2005

'The reinvention of NATO' – occasional paper.

For the Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi/ Typed/ pp. 165-186 (Draft, 22 pp.)

47. 27 September 2005

'For freedom to endure: NATO's role in Afghanistan has major political implications' – an article.

Published in *The Telegraph*/ Printout/ English/ 2 pp.

48. 2005

'NATO in Afghanistan' – an article.

Published in *Security and Society*, Vol. 2, No. 1/ English/ pp. 42-52.

49. [2005]

'NATO at our doorstep' – an article.

Typed/ English/ 4 pp.

## IX CLIMATE POLITICS, 1994-2010

50.

1994-2010

Material on climate change:

1. 'The climate change negotiations' – Chapter 6 by Chandrashekar Dasgupta (Published in *Negotiating Climate Change: The Inside Story of the Rio Convention* – a book edited by Irving M. Mintzer and J. Amber Leonard, Cambridge University, 1994/ English/ 25 pp.).
2. 'Human Rights, poverty reduction and sustainable development: health food and water' – background paper submitted by the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to World Summit on Sustainable Development, 26-04 August 2002. (English/ 18 pp.).
3. 'The relevance of climate change negotiations for developing countries', and 'How to cope with rising emissions from developing countries' – papers by Chandrashekar Dasgupta (Published in *Climate Change Mitigation and Adaptation: Identifying Options for Developing Countries - Proceeding of the Summer School on Climate Change*, 01-17 September 2003, Bad Munstereifel, Germany, edited by Karl Lidwig Huttner, Jurge-Friedrich Hake, and Wolfgang Fischer/ English/ 1+7+6 pp.).
4. Executive Summary on climate change (Published in *International Trade and Climate Change*, South Centre Policy Brief, No. 16, September 2009/ English/ 4 pp.).
5. 'Exposed: The human rights of the poor in a changing global climate' – a paper by Thea Gelbspan for the workshop, 'Dialogue on Globalization' (Published by Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Geneva Office, Switzerland, March 2010/ English/ 35 pp.).
6. 'Climate change in the Work of Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights' – a paper presented by Marcos A. Orellana, Miloon Kothari, and Shivani Chaudhry at the workshop, 'Dialogue on Globalization', (Published by Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Geneva Office, Switzerland, May 2010/ English/ 35 pp. Also, draft copy available/24 pp.).

7. 'Climate Change and the Global Security Environment' – a chapter (published in *Comprehensive Security for an Emerging India*, editor: Air Vice Marshal Kapil Kak/ Photocopy/ English/ pp. 331-342.).

## X INDIA AND EUROPEAN UNION, 1996-2015

51.

1996-2015

The file contains research papers and articles:

Printouts and photocopies/  
English

1. 'India and the European Union' – a paper by Rajendra K. Jain to the Seminar on 'Indian Foreign Policy – Agenda for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, Foreign Service Institute, MEA, 1996 (Photocopy/ English/ 39 pp.).
2. 'CFSP: Elements and procedures following Amsterdam' – a brief summary description of *Common Foreign and Security Policy*, 28 April 1999 (Photocopy/ English/ 8 pp.).
3. *The Economist* – A Survey of Europe (British weekly newspaper printed magazine issue, 23 October 1999/ Published by The Economist Group, The Economist Newspaper Ltd./ English/ 20 pp.).
4. 'The EU: towards a global economic power' – an article by Pierre Defraigne ([2000]/Photocopy/ English/ 13 pp.).
5. 'EU-India: Looking towards deeper relations' – an article by Nadia Mushtaq Abbasi (Published in *Strategic Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 4, Winter 2003/ URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/45242510>/ Printout/ English/ pp. 52-77).
6. 'European Union and India: A Critical Perspective' – an article by Rajeh Harshe (Published in *Economic and Political Weekly*, 21-27 April 2007, Vol. 42, No. 16/ URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4419491>/ Printout/ English/ pp. 1419-1422).
7. 'The EU and India: challenges to a strategic partnership' – a report by Ummu Salma Bava (Published by European Union Institute for Security Studies, 2008/ URL: <https://www.jstor.com/stable/resrepo7023.10>/ Printout/ English/ pp. 105-113).



8. 'India and the European Union: A Partnership for All Reasons' – an article by Rajendra M. Abhyankar (Published in *India Quarterly*, October-December 2009/ URL: [https://www.jstor.org/stable/45072928/](https://www.jstor.org/stable/45072928) Printout/ English/ pp. 393-404).
9. 'EU-India Relations: A Soft Power Approach' – an article by Shairee Malhotra (Published in *EU-Asia at a Glance* – a publication series of European Institute for Asian Studies/ Printout/ English/ 8 pp.).

## **XI INDO-US RELATIONS, 2002-2013**

52. 2002

Notes on Joseph S. Nye Jr. *The Paradox of American Power*, OUP. Typed/ English/ 4+1 pp.

53. 20 September 2002

'The National Security Strategy of the United States' – full text of President Bush National Security Policy. Published in *New York Times* online version/ Printout/ English/ 24 pp.

54. October 2003

'New Priorities in South Asia: U.S. Policy towards India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan' – Chairman's Report on Independent Task Force. Cosponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations and the Asia Society/ Spiral bound/ English/ 101 pp.

55. December 2003

'US-India Relations', 'Pakistani Domestic Politics and Security', 'United States Policy to the Persian Gulf' – papers prepared by James Dobbins, Rollie Lal, and Jerrold D. Green for ORF-RAND Conference, United States-India Dialogue, New Delhi, 10-11 December 2003. Booklet by The RAND Corporation/ English/ 13 pp.

56. March 2004

'Indo-US Relations in an Asian Context: Some Considerations' – a paper by Pratap Bhanu Mehta for the first meeting of ORF-Pacific Council Task Force on India-US Relations, Jamnagar, 18-19 March 2004. Photocopy/ English/ 23 pp.

57.

2013

‘Opportunities Unbound: Sustaining the Transformation in U.S.-Indian Relations’ – a report by Ashley J. Tellis.

Published by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace/ English/ 48 pp.

58.

Undated

‘The Pandit and the President’ – a chapter by Tanvi Madan as a part of her unpublished dissertation *With an Eye to the East: The China Factor and the U.S.-India Relationship, 1949-1979*.

Photocopy/ English/ 66 pp.

## **XII COLD WAR INTERNATIONAL HISTORY PROJECT, 2005-2010**

59.

2005-2010

Papers relating to Cold War International History Project (CWIHP) – the part of History and Public Policy Program of the Wilson Center. Includes dissertation, conference papers and articles entitled:

Typed and photocopies/ English

1. ‘The Cold War and its Impact on the Evolution of Kashmir Crisis, 1947-48’ – thesis by Rakesh Ankit (submitted to Exeter College, 15 October 2005 and Essay for the Beit Prize, 2007/ Typed copy/ 92+ pp.).
2. ‘The Tibetan rebellion of 1959 and China’s changing relations with India and Soviet Union’ – an article by Chen, Jian (*Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 3, 2006/ Published by The MIT Press/ 22 pp.).
3. ‘A crack hard to be closed: The Soviet stand towards the Sino-Indian border clashes and open divergences in Sino-Soviet relations’ – a paper by Shen Zhihua for the conference ‘India and Great Powers 1947-1991: Archival Perspectives and Historical Revisions’, Cold War History International History Project, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 18-19 March 2009, Washington, D.C. (Typed copy/ 3 pp.).
4. ‘Khrushchev, Nehru and Soviet Policy in Asia’ – a paper by Ilya V. Gaiduk for the conference ‘India and the Cold War, 1947-1991: Archival Perspectives and Historical Revisions’, 18-19

- May 2009, Washington, D.C. (Typed copy/13 pp.).
5. 'We cannot lose the chance...Gorbachev, India and the end of the Cold War' – paper by Sergey Radchenko for the conference 'India and the Cold War, 1947-1991: Archival Perspectives and Historical Revisions', 18-19 May 2009, Washington, D.C. (Typed copy/24 pp.).
  6. 'The stakes were far bigger: US policy makers' response to the 1965 and 1971 India-Pakistan crisis' – paper presented by Tanvi Madan to India and the Cold War Conference, 2009. (Typed draft/ 36 pp.).
  7. 'The beginning of development assistance: The World Bank's India Consortium and its making' – paper submitted to WEHC 2009 at Utrecht, Yoshida Osamu Hiroshima University. (Typed copy/ 7 pp.).
  8. 'Hungary 1956 in the morror of Nehru's and Tito's correspondence' – paper by Natasa Miskovic for the Conference 'India and the Cold War, 1947-1991: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives' at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, 17-18 December 2010, New Delhi (Photocopy /4 pp.).
  9. 'The Sino-Indian conflict, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and the Sino-Soviet split, October 1962: New evidence from the Russian Archives' – an article by M.Y. Prozumenschikov, and 'New East-Bloc documents on the Sino Indian conflicts, 1959 & 1962' – Editor's note (*Cold War International History Project Bulletin*/ 7+12 pp.).
  10. 'Indo-Pakistani relations as a problem in Chinese foreign policy' – draft paper by Sulmaan Wasif Khan (Typed/ 21 pp.).
  11. 'Talks between Mao Zedong and Nehru, October 1954' – Four documents from PRC Foreign Ministry Archive. (Draft translation/ 18 pp.).
  12. 'The Chinese way was good for China. It is not enough for India... (I.V. Stalin meeting with the CPI leaders, 9-10 February 1951): Comrade Stalin and the Chinese way in South and Southeast Asia' – a paper by David Wolff. (Typed copy/ 25 pp.).
  13. 'Since the easterly wind overwhelmed the westerly wind...: Indian-American relations in the 1950s according to Beijing' – an article by Xiaoyuan Liu. (Typed copy/ 25 pp.).
  14. 'Divergent channels: US-Soviet backchannels

collide on the subcontinent' – a dissertation (Typed/ 91 pp.).

15. 'Inseparable allies: The formation of the Indo-Yugoslav strategic partnership and the origin of the nonaligned movement in the 1950s' – a dissertation by Jovan Cavoski, PhD candidate at Peking University (Typed copy/ 32 pp.).

60. December 2010

'India in the Cold War: A Documentary Reader' – compiled by David Wolff for the New Delhi Workshop, 17-18 December 2010. Sponsored by the NMML, with Hakkaido University, Japan and the Cold War International History Project at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC.

Spiral bound/ English/ 115+ pp.

61. December 2010

'India and the Vietnam War, 1966-1967: Documents from American, Australian, British, Canadian, East German, Italian, Polish, and Russian Archives' – compiled by James G. Hershberg for the conference, 'India and the Cold War: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives' hosted by the NMML and the Jawaharlal Nehru Institute of Advanced Studies, New Delhi, 17-18 December 2010.

Spiral bound/ English/ 150+ pp.

**XIII ARTICLES/ SPEECHES BY  
C. DASGUPTA, 1988-2016**

1. 1988

'South Asia goes nuclear: Indian and Pakistani positions' – an article.

Published in *Contemporary South Asia*, 7 (2)/ English/ pp. 193-200.

2. June 2002

'The Kyoto Protocol after Marrakesh' – an article.

Published in *International Journal of Regulation and Governance*, 2 (1), Tata Energy Research Institute/ English/ pp. 45-52.

3. July-September 2004  
 'Jinnah, the British and the Andamans' – an article. Published in *Journal of the United Service Institute of India*, Vol. CXXXIV, No. 557/ English/ pp. 434-437.
4. 06 October 2004  
 'Beyond Challenge: The balance of power has ceased to operate for the first time' – an article. Published in *The Telegraph*/ Printout/ English/ 2 pp.
5. 2004  
 'Pakistan and the Global Strategic Environment: A Historical Overview' – Chapter 2. Published in *Pakistan in a Changing Strategic Context*, Editors: Ahay Darshan Behera and Mathew Joseph C./Knowledge World, New Delhi/ English/ pp. 63-73.
6. 18 January 2005  
 'Double disaster: What went wrong in Iraq, in spite of a military victory?' – an article. Published in *The Telegraph*/ Printout/ English/ 2 pp.
7. 11 August 2010  
 'Rising China, emerging India and a polycentric world' – 15<sup>th</sup> Prem Bhatia Memorial Lecture delivered by Chandrashekhar Dasgupta, New Delhi. Booklet/ Published by Prem Bhatia Memorial Trust, New Delhi/ English/ 18 pp.
8. April-June 2011  
 'Climate Change Negotiations: Guarding the Overriding Priorities' – oral history of C. Dasgupta interview conducted by the *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*. Published in *IFAJ*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 2011/ English/ pp. 217-229
9. 02 January 2016  
 'A brief history of Panchsheel' – an article Reprinted from *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. LI, No. 1/ English/ pp. 26-31.

## XIV REVIEWS OF C. DASGUPTA'S BOOKS

1. 2002-2021

Reviews of C. Dasgupta's books *War and Diplomacy in Kashmir 1947-48*, and *India and the Bangladesh Liberation War: The Definitive Story*. Also, includes related articles published in *Indian Express*, *India Today*, *Hindu*, *Times of India*, *Outlook*, *Pioneer*, *Sovereign*, *Book Review*, *Gulf News*, etc.

Press clippings/ English

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