INTRODUCTION
Since ancient times, Indian rulers have looked at the world in terms of both real politik and idealism as reflected in Kautilya's Arthasastra and Ashoka's Dharma after the Kalinga War. These two values have continued to inform the world system and it emerged from the Treaty of Augsburg in the sixteenth century till date. International system has been perceived as an arena of struggle and history of great powers/hegemonic powers. Young nations born into the system have, since the times of Jefferson avoided the prevailing balance of power in order to develop themselves with a tinge of their own need and idealism. They also attempted to realign or bring about a change in the constellation of great powers to suit their interests and in line with their idealism. As a young nation, India's foreign policy is marked by a desire to restructure the existing international relations within the framework of its developmental needs and idealism. It was this approach that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, our first Prime Minister formulated our foreign policy in terms of non-alignment and peaceful coexistence. Ever since then, it has played a significant role in world affairs in various fields. To name a few: - upholding a fundamental basis of the sovereign nation state system, non-alignment with the Great Powers, crusading on colonialism, self-determination and racial equality, disarmament of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and interdependence. Amongst all these issues, the most important has been the security issue precisely because of its comprehensiveness from psychology to ecology: country's cohesion, emotional integration, economic well-being, domestic peace, developmental polity, ecological safety along with a narrowly conceived power quantum in military and strategic terms. This understanding of
a security situation focuses on both external and internal environment.

Ever since the dawn of independence, India has been continuing to stand for promotion of world peace, peaceful settlement of disputes and peaceful coexistence as far as the issue of security is concerned in both its external and internal dimensions. With the official ending of the Cold War in the late 1980s and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, radical and truly unprecedented situation in this century of the bipolar world being replaced by a uni-multipolar world emerged. This development has greatly distorted traditional international relations making maneuverability of nation-states, like e.g., in Eastern Europe and Third World very limited. On the issue of security which encompasses not only conventional military connotations, but also economic, ecological and other connotations, states face military interdiction as in Haiti, Bosnia and Kosovo, economic sanctions against Iraq, Pakistan and India, disapproval of bilateral trade between Russia and India on cryogenic rockets and a value loaded language of states being called 'rouge states'. In this situation, India is facing the task to reorient its foreign policy to suit the changing demands of the world order.

As a result, though the fundamental preoccupation of NAM: peace and development, have not been altered, still Indian responses to these changes in the world affairs are visible to be constraintive at the operative dimensions of policy that would include responses to a wide range of security issues in the post Cold War period such as; Nuclear
in terms of NPT, CTBT & FMCT; Economic in terms of GATT and WTO; and Ecological in terms of Earth Summit at Rio etc.

The existing literature on Indian responses to the changes in the world affairs after 1989 are many but still seem to be inadequate to lay bare the constraints that India faces in its foreign policy at the operative dimension. A systematic inquiry into the existing literature would bring into light some of the interesting works done in this field, covering different aspects. We have gone into details of their perception of the unipolar moment in the relevant chapters. In the review of literature, we provide an overview of major books. The details are incorporated in the subsequent chapters.

V.P. Dutt, in his book entitled *India and the World*, published in 1990, has tried to show that India’s foreign policy was not a product of Jawaharlal Nehru's whims and fancies. Nehru shaped the foreign policy keeping in mind the mental outlook of the nation. The framework that Nehru evolved of pursuing "enlightened self interest" and not compromising on fundamentals and basic approaches still remains the most viable one. The author also says that Nehru was not just an idealist, he was a realist too. It was this extraordinary combination, with a vision of the future that distinguished him from the visionaries. Even Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi adopted Nehru's framework because both believed in the primacy of India's interest and the maintenance of the autonomy of India's decision-making process which have been clearly shown by the author in the last two chapters of the book. The major problems that our country faced during the
three different periods have also been dealt with in a quite lucid manner.

In the other book entitled *India's Foreign Policy*, published in 1997, V.P. Dutt deals at length with the country's relations with her neighbours, with the big powers and with those critical regions which have had a direct bearing on the determination of India's foreign policy, India's foreign policy, says the author, is in the final analysis a reflection and consequence of experience in the international area gained over two or three decades. He examines how non-alignment is one of the guide-posts which has survived because it has advanced the national interest of the country. The book gives special emphasis to India's external economic relations as a factor in foreign policy, an aspect often ignored. It presents a total and detailed view of the country's foreign policy from its initial setting to the present day. It has taken into account significant developments impinging on India's foreign policy. It has looked into the question of change and continuity in foreign policy after the killing of Indira Gandhi and the induction of Rajiv Gandhi as the Prime Minister of India. It has examined relations with USA and USSR in the new phase and analysed the possibilities the prospects and the limitations.

The see-saw relationship with the ruling group in Pakistan, the stalements in Afghanistan, the deteriorating ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka and yet the glimmer of hope in recent days, the new phase with Bangladesh, the slow but not steady improvement with China, the recent development in South-east Asia, the continuing baffling confusion of Gulf and West Asian situation, including the Iran-Iraq
war and India's ties with the countries of this region, the escalating struggle in Africa and India's role and stake in this region - all these have been taken into consideration in this book. New sections have been added in the last chapter on ties with Europe and Japan as well as one on the security problems of India and another one on the hopeful development in the shape of the establishment of the Association of South Asian Regional Cooperation (SAARC).

The more recent book entitled, **India's Foreign Policy in a Changing World**, published in 1999, by V.P. Dutt has especially taken note of the extraordinary turmoil and churning since his earlier work on India's Foreign Policy. It has been written in the wake of India's response to the new challenges and opportunities, sometimes passively, sometimes reactively and yet, sometimes with aplomb and initiative. He analyses the new trends in the international situation, the portents, the dangers and the possibilities. It particularly takes note of the new more potent factor, the economic struggle, the rise of new players on the scene, and India's foreign economic relations that have assumed a more critical importance.

The Gulf War and the power transformations in its wake, the collapse of the Soviet Union, the phenomenon of a single super power and the shifting of the economic gravity to many parts of Asia and their meaning for and impact on and the modifications in India's foreign policy have been discussed in depth, so too India's relations with principal countries that matter to it, geographically, geopolitically and geostrategically and the book gives the importance they deserve to relations with neighbouring countries.
Dutt, in his books in 1990 and 1997 looks at the domestic factors along with the external factors that shape India's foreign policy. In the book in 1997, he focuses more on the external factors though not ignored the internal factors to understand the changes in Indian foreign policy. He notes that with the emergence of U.S as a hegemonic power and the decline of Soviet Union, India's maneuverability has declined.

M.S. Rajan in his book entitled, Studies on India's Foreign Policy, published in 1993, has comprised some of his writings on India's foreign policy during the last thirty years, published mostly in periodicals. In this book, the author very emphatically states that the essential bases of India's foreign policy, determined in the Nehru years (1946-64) have largely remained the same for last four decades, despite changes of government. The writings in this book mostly relate to the Nehru-Indira Gandhi periods. These writings indicate a unique phenomenon of a leading Third World, Nonaligned, country maintaining a stable foreign policy for the last four decades and more. However, the author has added an introduction which seeks to establish the continuities and changes in the foreign policy of the present period.

As a logical corollary to the earlier work, M.S. Rajan has come up with another book entitled, Recent Essays on India's Foreign Policy, published in 1997. This book is the second volume of the earlier one of similar nature. This book has been divided into three sections examining the foreign policy of India, relevance of NAM and policy towards neighbours respectively. Under these three sections, a series
of articles have been written keeping in view the changed international context.

J.N. Dixit in his book entitled, *Across Borders: Fifty Years of India's Foreign Policy*, published in 1998 has structured the contents in three broad sections. The first eight chapters undertake a descriptive, chronological analysis of the evolution of India's foreign policy and its broad strands, focussing, on the manner in which we dealt with particular events or issues of significance during the last 50 years. The second section, from Chapters 9 to 14, presents an analysis of India's foreign policy in issue-specific terms dealing with subjects such as Kashmir, UN reforms, Non-alignment, foreign economic relations and institutional processes by which India's foreign policy was planned and implemented. The third section, comprising Chapters 14 and 15, consists of a critical evaluation of strengths and weaknesses which characterised our foreign policy during the last half century and a general analysis of the challenges with respect to foreign relations that India might face in the twenty-first century. The last two chapters are really a postscript, focussing on the nuclear tests carried out by India and Pakistan in May 1998 and seeks to throw light on their repercussions and ramifications. He further adds that, we have managed our foreign relations with practicality and good sense, in the process meeting our fundamental national interests and adhering to basically moral terms of reference to the extent possible. This book is a product of his own personal introspection and seeks to give a direction to cope up with the changing international situation where challenges are more uncertain and more complex.
Brahma Chellaney's edited book entitled, *Securing India's Future in the New Millennium*, published in 1999, focuses on the different facets of India's national security. The book looks ahead at the challenges of the coming years. India's leading experts on strategic affairs including seven advisers to the National Security Council, examine the tasks that lie ahead. The book analyses India's national-security requirements in a broad-based, multidisciplinary manner, focusing on how the country can achieve true strategic autonomy and comprehensive security. It covers the whole gamut of defence-related issues, including classical military instruments - land, air and maritime forces - as well as new and emerging instruments. It studies proxy and covert war, including subversion, terrorism and the Kargil land grab. It also examines larger issues, such as energy security, the role of science and technology, instruments of diplomacy, intelligence assets, relationships with major countries or regions, and geostrategic developments. The various chapters make policy-relevant recommendations which is designed to initiate a wider public debate on the challenges and opportunities and help India develop a strategic culture and an institutionalized, integrated approach to national security.

Jaswant Singh's book entitled, *Defending India*, published in 1999, is an attempt to comprehensively analyse the management of the security challenges faced by the country during the last half century. Jaswant Singh traces the origins of Indian strategic culture, it civilizational and cultural roots and the strengths and weaknesses of Indian nationhood, and treats these as the basic building blocks on which to structure his examination. The book traces the evolution of
Indian armed forces from the earliest, pre-Islamic times to the British periods and includes an examination of the Maratha and Sikh phases as well as the post-independence changes. There follows an analysis of military operations in independent India and of the leadership's ability to manage conflicts. The management of the country's resources, its budgeting on defence and the question of whether independent India has spent wisely and effectively on its armed forces and defence during the last 50 years are also analysed. The author also identifies some of the major challenges of tomorrow at the end. Besides, Jaswant Singh challenges most of the thrust of Indian foreign policy with reference to Pakistan, China and Russia. This is understandable given his present orientation and constraints involved in evolving India's response to the unipolar moment.

A.P. Rana's edited book entitled, **Four Decades of Indo-U.S. Relations : A Commemorative Retrospective**, published in 1994, is a collection of papers deliberated at a binational conference of distinguished Indian and American scholars on the theme of "History of Indo-US Relations During the Last Four Decades". Most of the essays in this book concern as much as the future as the focus is on the past with the idea to cast a perspicacious light on the future of Indo-US relations in a radically altered framework of international politics. The book has been divided into three parts covering a wide field in some depth. Analyses have been made with domestic compulsions of foreign policy behaviour with its political and strategic determinants, with the economic underpinnings of foreign relations, with the cultural, scientific and technological dimensions in this book in a lucid manner.
Lalit Mansingh, Dilip Lahiri, J.N. Dixit, Bahabani Sen gupta, Sujatha Singh, Ashok Sajjanhan have edited a book entitled, *Indian Foreign Policy: Agenda for the 21st Century*, published in 1997-1998 in two volumes. Both these volumes comprise of a series of analytical papers from some of the most eminent persons in the domain of international affairs in India. The books are intended to provide a perspective on India's foreign policy in the past fifty years as well as a projection of the challenges that lie ahead for India in the 21st century. The areas or subjects covered in these volumes touch on some of the fields that Indian foreign policy would need to look at in the coming years.

**Volume I** surveys the momentous changes that have taken place in the world order over the past few years and assesses their implications for India and its foreign policy. It looks at India's place in the changing configuration of global power and suggests strategies on how India should position itself over the next decades in order to realise its full potential in the emerging world order.

**Volume II** goes on to take a more detailed look at the principal thrusts of India's foreign policy in various regions and countries of the world in an area-wise analysis of interests and priorities.

A. Appadorai in his book entitled, *National Interest and India's Foreign Policy*, published in 1992, has tried to examine the relationship between India's national interest and its foreign policy. He has tried to put a detailed study of India's three specific national interests among other interests - the maintenance of international peace, territorial integrity and economic development. Further, he examines whether these national interests have been accrued by
Indian foreign policy or not and finds that in part, the policy has succeeded and in part, it has failed. Then he discusses analytically why it has succeeded in part and failed in other part.

Muchkund Dubey, in his book entitled, *An Unequal Treaty : World Trading Order After GATT*, published in 1996, has tried to present the outcome of the Uruguay Round of Trade Negotiations in a dispassionate, objective and academically rigorous manner. After tracing the background of the Uruguay Round, the book analyses the economic and political factors which shaped the agenda and determined the course of the negotiations. It then brings out the implications of the major agreements incorporated in the Final Act adopted at the conclusion of the negotiations, from the perspective of the developing countries, particularly India. The penultimate chapter of the book contains an incisive analysis of the new issues - i.e. linkages between trade on the one hand and environment and labour standards on the other, and competition policy - that are likely to be taken up for negotiation under WTO's continuing machinery. The concluding chapter examines the critical choices which India must make for living up to its commitment under the WTO and strategies that it should adopt in future negotiations.

Jayantanuja Bandopadhyaya in his book entitled, *The Making of India's Foreign Policy : Determinants, Institutions, Processes and Personalities*, published in 1991, tried to incorporate all the political, strategic, economic and other developments and changes which have taken place in India and the world since 1970 which have a bearing on the making of India's foreign policy, its basic determinants, the
political institutions which have shaped this policy, the organisation and functioning of the Ministry of External Affairs, and the personal role of the Foreign Minister in the making of foreign policy since 1974. This book attempts to study in a systematic manner the different factors which go into the making of India's foreign policy. The author also makes many important recommendations for improving the process of foreign policy formulation in India.

Ramesh Thakur in his book entitled, *The Politics and Economics of India's Foreign Policy*, published in 1994, reflects his passionate concern for the welfare and security of India. Dr. Thakur's main interest is policy advocacy based on a comprehensive and objective analysis of past policies. He argues that the world is at the cusp of a new order. The requirement of having to come to grips with a world in which the Cold War has ended, communism has collapsed, the Soviet empire has withered away and the United States holds sway poses a foreign policy challenges to all countries. He further adds that in 1991 India was ailing internally, wracked by political turmoil, social ferment and economic stagnation. It had to cope with waning significance abroad, suspicion in the region and turbulence at home. His concern is to explore how India might recover its poise in order to enhance its market presence and expand its influence in world affairs.

He argues that stability and prosperity at home and the region will enhance India's global status and give credibility to its claims to world leadership. He shows how India can change to a radically more productive domestic policy through market-opening measures, and a dramatically more cooperative policy in its bilateral, regional and
international relations. Friendships with Pakistan and China would enable India to lead the way to collective regional prosperity, which in turn would help to define the terms of its integration with the rest of Asia-Pacific. Peace and prosperity at home and in its home region would also help to contain and offset the damage in relations with Russia while improving those with the USA on the basis of mutual respect and equality.

R.S. Yadav in his edited book entitled, *India's Foreign Policy Towards 2000 AD*, published in 1993, has tried to provide a projection towards the future course of India's foreign policy. This work begins with a critical overview of the existing literature stressing upon a urgency of the futuristic study for building a theoretical framework for India's foreign policy. Fourteen essays in this book by specialists, focus on India's relations with different parts of the globe, provide an indepth analysis of divergent aspects of India's foreign policy. Taken together, they provide a comprehensive historical and contemporary perspective for a better understanding of future relationship India may have with the world towards the year 2000 AD.

From the above listed research works of different scholars, it is pretty clear that most of the writers have dealt with different kinds of issues individually and no specific mention is there regarding the constraintive responses of India in world affairs on security issues.

This proposed study makes an attempt to study the constraintive responses of India in World Affairs on security issues wherein the significance of unit level analysis may be more rewarding than the structural level. It would try to lay bare the elements of conflict and
cooperation on nuclear issues in terms of NPT, CTBT & FMCT; Economic in terms of GATT and WTO; ecological in terms of Earth Summit at Rio in the phase of the temporary moment of unipolarity which may not last for 50 years if history is of any guide.

If in the Cold War period, policy of Containment against USSR was followed, post Cold War has constrain(ment) against states pursuing their own agenda. Cold War meant containment i.e. change the internal system by end running the enemy's economy through speaking from position of strength - nuclear, military, economic and trade relations. Constrainment implies a simpler exercise: in the context of absence of maneuverability, states are forced, coerced, cajoled to do what is expected of them as a fait accompli. For example, EBRD in its Article I said, Russia will be given aid if it introduced democracy along with shock therapy. IMF/WB impressed upon the Third World states to have good governance if they hoped to have aid. Force is used by the USA against 'rogue states' to pursue global agenda. African states, who do not count in international division of labour, are dumped as 'continental slum'.

Globalisation has furthered actual and perceived limitation around which they must respond. They must respond to a global agenda: neo-liberal economy, human rights, terrorism, drug-trafficking, ozone layer depletion, but, not on poverty alleviation and development. These are concerns of the First World and a Third World country like Rwanda can go to the hell of genocide because of Western imposed developmental model.
In case of India its security agenda of nuclear option, relation with erstwhile Soviet Union, low proxy wars in Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir, keeping the Indian Ocean free from foreign powers, espousal of special exclusive zones in sea bed, non militarization of outer space, resistance to Dunkel Proposals, pursuit of nuclear and space programmes under the paradigm of self-reliance come under strain of the constraints that the new situation was imposing.

We look at constrain(ment) at two levels: structural, i.e., born of the uni-polar system and unit level, i.e., born of limited policy option and therefore coming under the 'sameness' effect, under the neo-realist axes of analysis. In case of India, the ambience of constructive dialogue is erected to make it change its course - if haltingly to begin with then speedily later. This is on political issues like Kashmir, whose accession to India is questioned by state department and on issues of comprehensive securities - military, economic, ecological. We notice that constrainment is also a conscious policy option suggested for China i.e. engaging China in a constructive dialogue in the context of the Far East and South East.

The methodology adopted in this endeavour have been historio-analytical cum empirical and materials have been collected and generated through extensive government reports, personal interviews and also include surveying of existing literature on the subject. An attempt has been made to interview leaders and bureaucrats who were actually engaged in the policy formulation and implementation on the three broad issues.
The entire exercise has been categorised into seven chapters. The first chapter attempts to focus on a theoretical background of interdependence model and how that is inadequate to guarantee peace and cooperation. This thesis takes recourse to neo-realist parameters of sameness/balance of power logic which strengthens the argument of conflictual trends in world politics.

The second chapter takes the discussion a little further as to delineate the inadequacy of liberal perspective of interdependence and unipolar moment and discusses the realistic emerging possibility of multipolar setting. The second section of the chapter concentrates thoroughly on the Indian perception of the unipolar moment with special reference to its security situation.

The third chapter deals with security at a conceptual level in the changing international relations with varied threats to national security so as to examine India's security concerns within the Third World perspective.

Rest of the chapters in this work have been dealt with at an empirical level with a chronological order to see whether the theoretical background given in the initial chapters are correct or not. In this context, the fourth chapter focuses on the nuclear disarmament issue with special reference to NPT, CTBT and FMCT and Indian response to these measures. As a logical corollary to this chapter, the next chapter focuses on the recent nuclear tests conducted by India and the kind of constraints that it faced.
Chapter VI throws light on the economic dimensions of security where GATT and WTO have been taken as case studies and the constraints that India face while responding to these multilateral negotiations. Similarly, in the following chapter, Earth Summit at Rio de Janeiro-1992 has been taken as a case study for another important dimensions of security - ecological. Here also, attempts have been made to show as to what are the constraints that India faced in general and in the negotiation process in particular.

Lastly, in the conclusion, an attempt has been made to present the whole argument by summarizing it in an interconnected manner which would show the link between the theoretical chapters and the empirical chapters in this exercise.