

Abstracts

Still Under Nehru's Shadow? The Absence of Foreign Policy Frameworks in India *By Pratap Bhanu Mehta*

This article is a reflection on three main themes. First, it argues that there is no single template which gives direction to Indian Foreign Policy Making. The usual motivations that drive big powers: balance of power or ideological motives have a weak foothold in Indian Foreign Policy thinking. Second, India has limited instruments to secure its foreign policy goals. It is reluctant to use force as an instrument, and its culture of diplomatic bargaining rests more on a sense of entitlement than hard bargaining. Third, India is likely to remain a very cautious power, more defensive and reactive than agenda setting. Its power is likely to be the power of its example. Despite some significant changes in its policies, there is also an underlying continuity to its foreign policy. This is best described as an attempt to secure great power agreement.

India's Soft Power and Vulnerability *By Jacques E. C. Hymans*

This article examines the evolution of India's soft power vis-à-vis the global hegemons Great Britain and the United States from the nineteenth century up to the present day. Soft power is an important element of national power, and thanks to its new international orientation, today's India has more soft power than it did twenty years ago. However, the long-term historical perspective taken in this article underscores the limited extent and questionable durability of India's recent soft power attainments. The article also uses the Indian case to clarify and to complicate our understanding of the general concept of soft power, as well as its flip side of soft vulnerability.

The Influence of Business and Media on Indian Foreign Policy *By Sanjaya Baru*

India's economic globalization and the rise of the globalized professional middle class have raised the profile of business and media in Indian foreign policy making. International trade and capital flows, as well as the economic importance of Indian migrants abroad have

increased the importance of people-to-people and business-to-business relations in India's state-to-state relations with other countries. In turn, these factors are beginning to shape Indian foreign policy thinking and will, perhaps, count for more in years to come. The growing importance of people-to-people and business-to-business relations in shaping Indian foreign policy is reflected in the increasing interest that business and media are taking in foreign affairs as India seeks to become globally more engaged. This paper looks at the various means adopted by Indian business to shape and influence Indian economic and political diplomacy. While the direct influence of business interests is more visible, that of media is less so.

Public Opinion and Indian Foreign Policy *By Devesh Kapur*

How informed is the Indian public about foreign policy issues? And how sensitive are political elites to public opinion on foreign policy issues as they consider the electoral impact of their decisions? This paper is an initial attempt to examine these analytically difficult questions through the largest ever survey of foreign policy attitudes of Indians. It supports the conventional wisdom that while a majority of Indians have little interest in foreign policy issues, elites do. Therefore, it is not surprising that mass public opinion does not seem to play a role in India foreign policy. But the evidence indicates that those demographic groups that do have opinions on foreign policy are growing rapidly. Foreign policy elites may be surprised by the sophisticated nature of Indian public opinion on foreign policy. The precise mechanisms that link Indian public opinion to the nature of Indian foreign policy, however, need further investigation.

The Management of International Rivers as Demands Grow and Supplies Tighten: India, China, Nepal, Pakistan, Bangladesh *By Ben Crow and Nirvikar Singh*

In this study, we describe the challenges of managing Himalayan rivers as a result of climate change and the industrialization and economic growth of India and China. We discuss a range of conceptual issues relevant for negotiations over the management of Himalayan rivers. We introduce the concept of multi-track diplomacy, and apply it to the case of international river management, in the context of innovations incorporated in five international treaties signed in 1996 and 1997. We examine past problems with bilateralism in international

river diplomacy, in particular as an obstacle to successful agreement and the potential of more multilateral approaches. We describe the wave of Himalayan water projects being designed and constructed at the beginning of the twenty-first century, based on earlier agreements as well as new initiatives. We note the subsequent implementation problems that have arisen, and the substantial issues that need to be addressed by an expanded group of countries depending on Himalayan rivers. Finally, we consider directions in which current innovations might be extended as bases of regional cooperation, using the multi-track diplomacy framework. We suggest that an independent regulatory agency could facilitate rational development, assist in the management of substantial uncertainties about future flows, and reduce the potential for conflict. We describe the possible structure and functioning of such a new institution.

India and Climate Change: What India Wants, Needs, and Needs to Do *By Lavanya Rajamani*

This article outlines the elements of India's foreign policy on climate change, including aspects of India's negotiating strategy in the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (FCCC) and Kyoto Protocol processes. It examines, in particular, India's interventions in the ongoing negotiations for future action on climate change. It also explores, in an initial and contingent fashion, the domestic roots of India's position. It highlights the beneficial impacts of India's equity-based stance, yet argues that taken as a whole India's position is neither sagacious nor imaginative, and, certainly not in keeping with India's preferred self-image as a dynamic nation ready to take its due place in the international community. It concludes by recommending a proactive and forward-looking role for India in its interventions in the multilateral climate negotiations.