While studying the foreign policy of any country, consideration of its national security must serve as a basic principle; that is, its sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and attainment of the objectives of economic development, peace and progress. This is particularly true of the Third World countries which lack technological development and resources; here, foreign policy plays a vitally important role in mobilising resources, and so do the diplomatic strategies followed within the general purview of their foreign policy.

The task however become even more difficult when dealing with a smaller country's foreign policy orientations. This is because the outlook of such a country is greatly influenced by the behaviour of its bigger neighbours.

The present study is an attempt to investigate the problems and limitations of foreign policy of a small and land-locked state like Bhutan. However, it is difficult to analyse Bhutan's foreign policy without considering its historical perspectives and geographical and economic conditions. Hence, the first chapter is an introductory chapter titled 'Basic Determinants, Objectives and An Overview of Bhutan's Foreign Policy'. It deals with the concept of 'Foreign Policy', definitions of 'Small States' and their attributes, limitations and possible strategies/options in general. It also deals with basic determinants of Bhutan's foreign policy in a particular geographical location, its political and historical background, social traditions, the influence of Buddhism, and economic aspects. This chapter also covers the basic
principles and objectives of Bhutan's foreign policy and its membership in various international organisations.

The second chapter is titled 'Foreign Policy-Making Institutions in Bhutan', and deals with the administrative structure of the Royal Government of Bhutan and various institutions like monarchy, its legislature, the Royal Advisory Council and its influence on the decision-making process of the foreign policy. It also deals with non-governmental institutions in Bhutan, such as, religious groups, monastic bodies and their influence on the issue of foreign policy.

Chapters three and four are specifically devoted to Indo-Bhutan Relations. The third chapter titled 'Indo-Bhutan Relations in Strategic and Political Context' deals with Bhutan's relation with British India as well as with Independent India, with reference to the significance of the Indo-Bhutan Treaty of 1949 between these countries. It also discusses China as a factor in Indo-Bhutan relations, and examines the various developments and stages that have taken place till today in Indo-Bhutan friendship.

The next chapter deals with 'Indo-Bhutan Relations : Economic Dimension'. It analyses India's economic assistance to Bhutan's Five-Year Plans and other developmental programmes. This chapter also highlights the efforts made by Bhutan to reduce its economic dependence on India. Further, it discusses Indo-Bhutan trade relations.

Chapter five titled 'Bhutan's relations with China', briefly describes the historical, traditional and cultural relations with the Tibet region of present China,
the implication of Chinese aggression of Tibet in 1951 and 1959 and the question of Tibetan refugees in Bhutan. This chapter also deals with the factors that compelled Bhutan to initiate its boundary talks with China and the various stages of these talks.

Chapter six, 'Bhutan Relations with South Asian Countries' examines how far Bhutan is successful in developing its diplomatic relations with neighbouring countries like Bangladesh, Nepal, the Maldives, Sri Lanka and Pakistan. Basically it deals with the economic relations of Bhutan and Bangladesh and also Bhutan's relations with Nepal. Bhutan-Nepal relations have been discussed with reference to the issue of the ethnic crisis in Bhutan and its implication on foreign policy.

Chapter seven, 'Bhutan's Role in SAARC and other International Organisations' emphasises the factors motivating Bhutan to participate in SAARC, and the scope available for Bhutan to secure its foreign policy objectives through SAARC in terms of political and economic objectives. It also covers Bhutan's stand on various issues such as development programmes, and other issues like regional and international economic issues. This chapter also discusses the active role played by Bhutan in various international organisations such as the Universal Postal Union, the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement.

The concluding chapter evaluates the actual gain secured by a small Himalayan Kingdom which is landlocked and economically underdeveloped. With limited options at its disposal, a country like Bhutan has tried hard to maintain and formulate an independent foreign policy. Economically dependent Bhutan with its inadequate infra-structure, has actually been able to set up and enlarge its diplomatic relations with a number of Asian and non-Asian countries. The analysis evaluates
Bhutan's success in its foreign policy objectives by developing its diplomatic relations with other countries.

Since the methodology followed in this study is historical, descriptive and analytical, the work is based on primary as well as secondary sources. However, during the process of this research work, we realised the scarcity of material particularly, any access to documents published by the Royal Government of Bhutan on foreign policy matters which is not readily available. Hence, the present study is based on largely on secondary sources such as books, articles published in various journals and periodicals. Also, press clippings from both Indian as well as Bhutanese newspapers have been used extensively. In addition to this, a visit to Bhutan and other places was also under taken to collect whatever data possible and to get a feel of the country and its institutions, as well as to get an idea of Bhutan's geographical location and its history.

During a field trip to Bhutan, an opportunity to visit the Chukha-Hydel Power Corporation, the symbol of Indo-Bhutan friendship was utilised. In Thimpu, we visited the following places: Tshongdu, (The National Assembly of Bhutan), the National Library of Bhutan, the Jigme Dorji Wangchuk Public Library, Kuensel Corporation and the Indian Embassy. It provided us with an opportunity to have an insight into contemporary Bhutan. Our visits also to Paro National Museum (at Paro) and Punakha, then Capital of Himalayan Kingdom, helped us to understand the history, traditions and culture of Bhutan.

To learn about the geographical proximity of Bhutan to its neighbouring regions, we also visited Sikkim, Darjeeling, Cooch Behar and Rangaiya. Our visit to
Bhutan House, and Buddhist Gumba (run by Royal Government of Bhutan) at Kalimpong known as Dewangiri Hills, helped us to understand the historical relations of Bhutan and British India.

In addition to this, to understand the actual facts about the problem of Bhutanese of Nepali origin, we visited Jhapa district of Nepal where more than 90,000 Bhutanese refugees are living, mainly at Damak, in the remote area known as Beldangi.