

Model Details	
Subject Name	Political Science
Paper Name	Foreign Policy of India
Module Id Name/Title	4. India-America Relations
Module Id	4
Pre-requisites	
Objectives	This module will apprise the students about the nature of India-America relations. The various phases of their relations have been discussed in detail in this module. Important questions and suggested readings have also been listed in the end of the module.
Keywords	India-America Relations, Misperceptions and Contradictions, Phase of Firm Dissent, Sino-Indian War, American Concern, Nuclear Disarmament, War Against Terrorism, 123 Agreement.
Structure of Module/Syllabus of a Module	
Evolution of the Discipline	

Role	Name	Affiliation
Principle Investigator		
Paper Coordinator		
Language Editor(LE)		

Module -4

India-America Relations Structure of the Module
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2. Objectives
3. Various Stages of Relations
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 - 3.2. Cooperation and Firm Dissent
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1. Introduction

India and United State of America are the two powerhouses of democracy but with a huge contrary strategic and economic power status in world politics. But no one can deny the importance of close relationship between the two in this changed post-cold war period. Economic and technological issues have moved to the forefront of international relations. All these developments consequently brought about a change in the forces shaping world politics and international relationship. How both these countries can remain mock spectator in their relationships in this fast changing scenario? The two countries have much in common historically and socially. When India was celebrating its independence after Second World War, Unites State of America was emerging as Super power with military and economic capabilities. A close relationship was expected between the two being the largest democracies of world. But their relationship started with rather slight note, and hence facing ups and down since then. Various factors such as India's perception towards Western world or American 'small nation big power' syndrome is the main reason behind it. In Cold War period, due to ideological reason, these ties could not grow up in desired way. In the 21st century, bilateral ties had become important after the incident of 9/11. After the atomic deal of 2007, this relationship of India and USA is showing positive gesture. Both the countries are collaborating politically, economically and strategically since then. The changed regime in India under Narendra Modi is also showing great maturity in dealing with Obama's administration on variety of issues.

2. Objectives

Through this module an effort will be made to apprise the students about the true nature of India-America relationship. It is a well known fact that a country's foreign policy does not evolve all of a sudden rather it is a product of numerous factors and forces. Bilateral ties between India and United State of America are no exception to this phenomenon. Therefore it becomes imperative to understand and evaluate the historical perspective about the origin of their relationship. Besides, this is also important to know about the issues of convergences and divergences in these years. By doing so, one can analyze the real nature of India-USA ties. This will not only prove beneficial for the students, but for foreign policy makers and strategists also.

3. Various Stages of Relations

India and United State of America have much in common being the democratic country. Diverse demographic composition, commonality in form of legacies of British rule and national movement for independent and democratic beliefs have provided the platform for common understanding. But it could not happen, and remained to be unexplored for most of the time. But in recent times, this relationship has shown some flexibility and common understanding. In order to make an objective analysis of all these initiatives, it is better to start with brief acknowledgement of their relationship from the early past to till date. For the sake of clarity we can divide India-USA relations into the following phases:- (i) Beginning with Misperception and Contradictions (1947-1954); (ii) Cooperation and Firm Dissent (1955-1971); (iii) Changing Equations and Contradictions (1972- 1979); (iv) Change and Cooperation (1980-1991); (v) Cooperation and Sharp Differences (1992-1999) and ((vi) Close Cooperation and Multi-faced Interaction (2000 onwards)

3.1 Beginning with Misperception and Contradictions

After the Second World War, United State of America had emerged as the Super Power in World Politics. Its economic and military power surpassed all the competitors at that time. The U.S. policy makers had started to calculate their strategic interests around the World. Whereas India as a newly Independent state, was giving utmost attention to nation-building on the one hand, and busy to tackle the issues of colonialism and imperialism on the other. The basic objectives i.e., national security; economic development and world order proved to be the core issues around which India's foreign policy revolved. These initiatives had created some type of misperceptions in the mind of US policy makers. They devalued India's strength at this initial period. India- US relations suffered a great deal of set-backs in this background. Various issues have created the contradictions between India-US relationships.

In the decade of fifty, Cold War had started to influence the international politics. US had established bilateral and multi-lateral security and economic arrangements with the countries of Western Europe and Asia. The US policy makers' one point common programme was based on the containment of communist ideology in the world. It created a situation of rivalry or competition with communist ideology based Soviet Union. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and Marshall Plan, in fact, the two instruments were created to minimise Soviet influence in this area. On the other hand India openly affirmed its faith in the policy of Non-Alignment, and started to think about pan-Asiatic society. Two Asian conferences were held with the direct Indian initiatives. It created the serious strategic concern in mind of US foreign policy makers'. The consolidation of Soviet power combined with this pan-Asiatic tendency had created a number of doubts between the two countries and hampered their initial relations.

India's policy towards China was also responsible for bad beginning. America had not granted recognition to Mao's leadership after China's revolution, instead it stood strongly in favour of Cheng-Kai-Shake's government. India had not only recognised 'People's Republic of China', but also supported its stake as a member of UNO. It created some strain in the mind of US leadership and hampered their bilateral ties.

The Korean conflict also played an important role in hampering the India-US relations. India did not take part in UN military action against North Korea. The former remained neutral in this offence and demanded regional settlement of this problem. Indian leadership wanted a permanent solution of this problem; they were of the view that it could not be attained without the active participation of Soviet Union and China. All these approaches annoyed US strategic think tank.

America's Pakistan policy had always proved to be a main hurdle in consolidation of relations between former and India from the beginning. Military alliance and aid to Pakistan rattled the relationship between the two. The matter of Kashmir, disarmament, Japan and Hind-China were the key issues that influenced the beginning of India-USA relationship.

3.2. Cooperation and Firm Dissent

This second period of India and US ties brought the cooperation and voices of dissent simultaneously. But one can say that leaderships of both India and US had shown some maturity and understanding on various issues at this time. The first phase of this period reflected some type of common understanding in their relations. But the next phase was totally different in all respects. Hence, it is better to understand it in this way.

India-America relations started to improve after 1955. The main reasons behind this transformation were herewith:

Soviet leadership under Khrushchev had adopted the policy of 'Peaceful Coexistence by which they wanted to spread their relationship towards the third world countries. Soviet Union had provided huge money as economic aid to these countries. U.S.A. also wanted these countries in its side in this regional grouping. The latter also opened its treasures to mitigate Soviet influence. That's why; America took behavioral turn in policy making towards India.

China's offensive act against India in 1962 had changed strategic scenario in South Asia. Any type of vacuum in this region could not suit to American foreign policy. The latter could not leave this area to another regional power to attain stronghold. It became a necessity to US to re-look its policy towards India. USA had not only provided economic aid but also heavy weapons during and after that war.

Top leadership of India and USA were having very cordial relations at that time. Personal likings and warm relations of Nehru and President Kennedy had also played the key role in the

betterment of US-India relations. In Sino-Indian conflict, America had provided Military assistance without any delay. Besides, President Kennedy also managed the Pakistan leadership to withdraw army from Indian border and shift them to China's border.

This relationship had brought about a drastic change in South Asian Politics, but it was for a short period of time. After the assassination of Kennedy, his successor President Johnson, took India with cold shoulder. The next phase of India-America relationship was full of contradictions and distrust.

The Indo-Pak war of 1965, once again gave a new direction to emerging relationship between India and USA. The 'Tashkent Treaty' put latter in a situation of mere spectator. US leadership felt a situation of isolation in strategically important area of South Asia. India's role in the freedom of Bangladesh added fuel in fire in ongoing strategic scenario.

In this phase, China has started to emerge as a regional power. It created a win-win situation for US policy makers'. They saw China as a new ally in ongoing cold-war against Soviet Union. Further, stronger relations with China had consolidated US position in Asian Continent strategically. This emerging scenario had no space for India. With the active role of Pakistan, America was improving its relations with China in this phase. It created some type of strategic triangle among them. Besides, another triangular grouping was also emerging in the shape of Peking-Tokyo-Washington collaboration. Both these triangles had direct bearing on India's position in regional spectrum

The Indian Ocean had emerged as a new battle field between two Super Powers of Cold War Period. U.S.A. established its military base camp at Diego Garcia and also positioned its naval sub-marine 'Polaris A-3' here. The Soviet Union also entered in this strategic field. India responded firmly and opposed this type of hostile activities at every International platform. This triggered rupture in bilateral India-US relations. India and USA had also adopted diverse ways on the issue of Non-proliferation-treaty. India denied signing it due to its non-universal nature and wants a behavioural solution of its reservations regarding this treaty. Regional politics had also influenced the bilateral ties between India and America. The former was always remained the great advocate of Arab countries, on the other side the latter firmly stood behind Israel. In Southeast Asia also USA remained involved in Vietnam War for a long time; India took clear stance of integration of both North and South Vietnam. US strategist took it seriously.

India and USSR had signed the historical friendship and cooperation treaty in 1971. It brought the former very close to communist World. It created suspicion in the mind of US policy makers. The issue of Bangladesh has also been a cause of concern between the two. Pakistani government and army had ignored the local people grievances in East Pakistan. They used force to mitigate these demand. A huge quantity of people crossed the border to take asylum in India. It created a political and economic burden for India. America alleged India's role behind this problem. When the war broke out, USA deployed naval Warheads in the Bay of Bengal. In UNO

also, America took anti-India stance and want to use its force against India. But due to Soviet Veto power, any type of UN sanction or offensive activities could not took place. All these issues created a vacuum in bilateral relations.

3.3. Changing Equations and Contradictions

Various activities were going on international platform during this period. India had emerged an important power in South Asia after 'Shimla Agreement' and Indo-Soviet treaty. USA transformed its policy towards China and improved its ties. President Nixon declared American policy towards Asia in which a better relationship with all main stake holders in this continent was the key feature. All these changing Parameters had direct ramification on India and American bilateral ties.

The latter provide financial aid by enacting P.L.-480 rule of economic policy to India. Foreign secretary Henry Kissinger visited India and a joint commission was formed for better cooperation in the field of economic, trade, science, technological, educational and cultural spheres. But the picture was not as bright as it looks like; there were also the many issues of contrary approach. President Nixon's views regarding India in 'Shanghai Declaration' had triggered a serious dissent in Indian point of view. Besides, Military aid to Pakistan, the issue of Diego Garcia and increasing intervention in Indian ocean, India's Atomic Nuclear test of 'Pokhran' and in retaliation American denial of fuel export for 'Tarapur Thermal Power' were the key impediments in the way of better bilateral ties in both countries.

3.4. Change and Cooperation

Fourth period of India-US ties witnessed showed some bright picture. They created the proper environment for concrete dialogue, formalised the institution of interaction and settled of secondary issues. Direct investment and joint industrial hub, transfer of technology in both defence production and industrial development were the other highlights of this changed face of bilateral India-US ties.

Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan had changed the strategic spectrum in this entire region. US policy had also changed its gear and tried to improve its relations with other adjoining countries. Although their utmost attention was towards China and Pakistan, yet they couldn't ignore India for strategic balance. On the other side India also wanted to show some distance from USSR and ultimately desired some space in political arena. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi felt some type of isolation from Soviet leadership in previous non-congress government; hence she tried to settle India's position as non-alignment. She was not only wanted to change its position in third world countries but also in western world. That's why she changed her approach and made some distance from USSR.

Economic needs also influenced this change. India started economic modernisation in the early decade of eighties. It required a huge financial aids, technology and trade initiatives. All these

conditions made India to open channel towards US. The sudden emergence of Rajiv Gandhi in Indian Politics was the important change in this direction. He belonged to post independent generation and had scientific temper. To bring India into 21st century, he supported the use of latest technology and modernisation in every aspect of life. He was a firm supporter of better ties with USA. This outlook of Indian leaderships opened the way of close bilateral ties with USA.

The Emergence of Gorbachev had changed the international spectrum. His doctrine of 'Glasnost and Perestroika' paved the way to the end of cold war. The changed relations of two Super Powers and recall of Soviet army from Afghanistan had decreased the cold war tension in political sphere. It was the direct bearing on international politics. India got a sight of relief as it could follow more objective based policy. Sudden change in international politics also compelled USA to change its stance towards India. US foreign policy had been revolving around the containment of the spread of communist ideology during Second World War period. Soviet intervention in Afghanistan made situation more critical in its perception. USA was eager to contain this ideology in Asia in general and South Asia in particular. That's why; it tried hard to bring out India from Soviet camp. China also came to forefront with its economic and strategic capabilities in world's politics. It made the US policy makers to rethink in South Asian politics. They tried to bring both India and Pakistan in same basket to balance China's emergence.

India's leadership started the economic and political transformation at domestic as well as external forefront with the decade of eighty. It was impossible for country like America to ignore the prospects that India was providing. Various documents notified by White house concluded these arguments. Both the countries formulated comprehensive policies to explore these possibilities. Top leadership of both countries visited each other. From Indian side, Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi, and Defence Minister KC Pant were the main dignitaries to visit there and Vice president George Bush and two foreign secretaries were on the reciprocal visitors list. Besides, military level cooperation, transfer of technology, export of F-18 fighter planes and balance of trade in favour of India reflects the Indian emergence in US foreign policy.

Some irritants were also there working as hurdle; the American policy towards Kashmir, supply of warheads to Pakistan, Bhopal gas tragedy, militancy in Punjab, the issue related to intellectual property rights and Gulf war were the main issues where a contrary approach prevailed.

3.5. Cooperation and Sharp Differences

This phase of Indo-US ties was influenced by changing international dynamics. With the sudden demise of USSR and end of cold war period, economic issues became more important than political one. Globalisation has made the traditional issues and their means irrelevant. All the countries have transformed their outlook at foreign policy front. India also had restructured its policy in this changed scenario in which there was only one superpower. India and U.S.A. have come closer in this post cold war period due to variety of reasons. Changed international milieu, and the victory of Democratic Party in US presidential elections, opening of Indian economy and

need of technology and FDI and Multi-National Companies' pressure were the main deterrents to decide the future course of action in bilateral ties.

President Bill Clinton and Prime Minister Narshima Rao were busy in economic transformation at domestic levels. These internal dynamics had prepared the platform for more comprehensive and close ties between India and United State of America. But this prospective scenario could not be utilised by the both countries. Sharp differences came to forefront in their bilateral ties. Political leaderships showed some type of immaturity in handling the arising situation.

The issue of Kashmir has always been remaining a core impediment in Indo-US relations. US leadership had shown improper gesture time to time. President Clinton's comparison of Kashmir with Bosnia and Somalia had exaggerated the suspicion between the two countries. The remarks of Deputy Secretary of State John Mallet and Raphel about Kashmir made the situation more critical for Indian point of view. This was a great setback for continuity in bilateral ties. Nuclear Disarmament had also proved an issue of bone of contention in these days between India and American Administration. Indian denial to sign C.T.B.T. and N.P.T. for indefinite time had raised the eyebrows of US policy makers' towards India. US role on the terrorism was also not acceptable to India, as the former adopted the dual parameters to negate this problem. US policy regarding cross boarder terrorism in Kashmir and Bombay-bomb-blast had shown indifferent attitude, while on same line it declared Libya as a terrorist country. This scenario gave a dent on cordial ties.

India conducted five atomic tests in Phokran on 11th and 13th of May 1998. It made the situation more critical at international level. US administration imposed sections against India. The main affected areas were; foreign aid, defence related export, space industry, atomic energy, missile programme, computer, research and development, ban on the collaboration with Indian companies, financial aid from US bank and export of atomic fuel. This situation created havoc in bilateral relations of India and America.

3.6 Close Cooperation and Multi-faced Interaction

The beginning of 21st century had brought a laurel in Indo-US relationship. Fresh beginning in bilateral ties was started with the Bill Clinton's visit to India in March, 2000. President Bill Clinton's visit to India in March 2000, witnessed the changed attitude and approach of America towards India. The document released by both countries on this occasion, indicated the approaches adopted in '21st century' to enhance bilateral benefits. USA called India as a natural ally that relies on common values of 'Peace, Cooperation, Freedom and Democracy'. In the reciprocal visit of Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpaie in September 2000, both the countries had speeded up the ongoing process of improved ties. Both the leaders conveyed the desire of better understanding between the two largest democracies.

The 9/11 terrorist attack on World Trade Centre had shocked entire world. The only super power of the world felt wounded of this complicated problem first time. This made America to rethink

about its strategy towards terrorism. It consolidated the India's position regarding terrorism. India already declared that no one can differentiate terrorism on the bases of cast, religion or nationality. It should be tackled at every step. India was among the first countries to declare its full support in the fight against terrorism. This positive gesture went on with reciprocal visits. From Indian side foreign Minister Jaswant Singh, NSA Berjash Mishra, Defense Minister Georg Fernadis, Home Minister Lal Krishan Aadwani and Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpaie visited immediately after this terrorist misdeed. From the American side foreign Secretary Collin Pawael (three times), Defense secretary Rames Field and Deputy foreign secretary Armitex visited India in this dire situation.

The question arises what are the compulsions of US administration to take back track so early in the shadow of 'Pokhran-II and economic sanctions imposed by USA. The main factors of this U-turn are; the danger of terrorist organisation AlQaeda, Nuclearisation of South Asia, India's emergence as Computer Software power and failure of economic sanctions against India. That's why US policy makers had changed their stance and tried to look for better understanding. The results of this change tell the whole story.

In this period of bilateral ties both sides shown common understanding on various issues. The 9/11 terrorist attack on world trade centre had shocked entire world. It brought all the victim countries together in the fight against international terrorism. Only super power of the world felt the wounded of this complicated problem first time. This made America to rethink about its strategy towards terrorism. India was among the first countries to declare its full support in the fight against terrorism. In Afghanistan war against 'Taliban' India had provided all tactical and intelligence information to U.S.A

Peaceful uses of atomic energy deal between India and United State of America had uplifted the bilateral ties at very high. During the visit of President Bush to India in the March 2006, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh released joint statement on this issue. And finally on 1st of August 2007, both the countries finalized the famous '123' agreement. This treaty had not only strengthened the Indo-US ties, but also made India very comfortable to mitigate emerging energy demands. During Obama regime, the bilateral relation had shown some stagnation in the beginning. But with the visit of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in 2009, the relationship come back on right track and shown continuity. In his second term, President Obama visited India twice and tried to balance the relations in right direction. In the Modi Government, India- US ties had shown greater improvements of all the time. Prime Minister, Narendra Modi's visit to US in 2014 proved fruitful in bilateral ties. Reciprocal visit of President Barak Obama on Republic Day ceremony got a great success in improving ongoing relations. Various deals and treaties were signed in the economic, scientific, defense and atomic energy sectors.

But this does not mean that everything is going in desired way. In International politics, national interests has the prime importance, rest the things are secondary. Some issues have presented a situation of contradictions; it is up to leadership to mitigate these in proper way.

The New irritants came in to the forefront were outsourcing policy of Obama administration, Afghan policy, importance given to Pakistan and China and human rights and issues of environment. These are the emerging issues that demand the more comprehensive handling from both the countries.

4. Conclusion

India's foreign policy towards United State of America has been the by-product of specific historical background in which contribution of various leaderships, diplomats, military officers and Indian Diaspora have been outstanding. This historical backdrop to a great extent has influenced the growth of various principles and theories of India's foreign policy towards USA. That is why in the postindependence era three basic objectives i.e., national security; economic development and world order proved to be the core issues around which India's foreign policy revolved. After the analysis of history of bilateral ties between India and United State of America, one can draw the conclusion that the main problem is related with the role of India at World stage. US policy makers had never provided due space as India desired. American 'small nation big power' syndrome is the main reason behind it. In this globalized world, one thing is certain that no one can overlooked India due to its population, big market, software power and its commitment towards democratic beliefs. India-US ties are the need of the hour for a better society in the world.