PREFACE

The relationship between India and the United States over the past four decades and a half has been one of ambivalence, fluctuation, and a curious rise and fall. With every major shift in their relationship, there have been attempts at the re-appraisals of Indo-US relations at the level of policy makers in both countries. However, in the whole corpus of literature on Indo-US relations, only very few studies as such have been done with some theoretical frame. The period of the study have been from 1960 to 1996 i.e. upto the Prime Ministership of Narsimha Rao. The year 1960 had been chosen especially because it was the year when the Kennedy era started and a hope in the mind of Indian people was aroused towards having relatively better relations with United States. The period upto Narsimha Rao was selected because at the time of registration for Ph.D in 1992, the phase of Narsimha Rao was continuing. Moreover, fast changes were taking place in the international relations with the end of cold war due to disintegration of Soviet Union.

In this study, the following hypotheses were to be tested:
1. That a power which has the potential to become a major power (initially within its regional context and later on globally) comes in conflict with a Super Power which has global interest.

Super Power first seek satellization of a potential major power by offers of aid, trade etc. In case the potential major power resists, satellization the super power tries to contain it through a regional military balance by strengthening small states in the region and when even containment fails, the global power finally seeks accommodation with potential major power by accepting its legitimate sphere of influence.

2. That the USA has been willing to concede a lesser role to India on her (India’s actual capabilities (as perceived by the State Department) rather than on her potential (as envisioned by Indian leaders).

3. That the policy of a Super Power to accommodate a potential major power goes with the recognition that this power has already started emerging as a full-fledged major power and that it is no longer possible to contain it.
To these the above hypotheses, the study has applied broad theoretical and analytical concepts, to the specific bilateral relationship over the years. In completing this study, various Government documents, Reports (official, academic and Press) in addition to books and articles have been extensively consulted.

Before the Second World War, the United State was one of the several major powers, but after this war, she emerged as the mightiest military and economic global power. Once attained this position, she was naturally keen to retain it in the emerging international system. She endeavoured to extend her influence and control to the farthest corners of the globe.

The same aftermath of the Second World War which saw the United States emerging as a dominant global power, also saw India attaining her independence and being placed with a number of small independent states around her. Although India was poor economically and weak militarily in her immediate post-independence period, her sub-continental size, large population, rich natural resources base, and great historical past did influence her to aspire for major power status in the global
power hierarchy. She tried to make up her economic and military weakness by politically mobilizing other Asian and African nations, and by assuming for some time the leadership of the group of non-aligned nations.

India and United States being the largest and the strongest democracies respectively have much in common to aspire for good relations between the two countries. But there were many ups and downs in their relationship over time due to differing perceptions and priority of interests with regard to achieving the goal of their foreign policies. After the Second World War, the avowed goal of American foreign policy was to contain communism in the South Asia because it perceived in Soviet Union a threat to her super power status. The U.S. felt that the latter could stop her from becoming a super power. Therefore, to contain the influence of Soviet Union, she tried to give all types of aid to those countries who needed it with a view to weaning them away from the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union and as to fulfill the goal of her foreign policy. America was a strong economically, militarily and technologically and had every potential to become the Super Power. Soviet Union, too, was working over time to achieve
parity with the United States. Since one of the objectives of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union was to spread of communism, therefore, it also wanted India and other third world countries to become her ally. Hence the adversary relationship between United States and Soviet Union at the global level.

India, under the leadership of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru had adopted the foreign policy of non-alignment. Therefore, as non-aligned, India was an important country in South Asia for both of them. Besides, India was a democratic country and United States considered her neutral country in the first instance. There were many aspects which induced United States to have relations with India. But soon relationships with India suffered a setback owing to Pakistan which had agreed to provide military bases to United States became an important factor in Indo-U.S. relations.

India, Pakistan have been the important countries in South Asia for the United States. The latter wanted to have relations with both India and Pakistan if it was to succeed in achieving its professed goal of containment of communism.

China had become a strong country with definite interest in
South Asia. To contain the influence of such a strong country, it was necessary for United States to develop good relations with both India and Pakistan. But with Pakistan becoming a signatory to SEATO pact, became an important ally of the United States. In contrast since India remained non-aligned, kept her door open for America, Soviet Union and China.

As leader of the non-aligned group of countries under the leadership of Prime Minister Nehru in the changed scenario, India came to occupy a prominent place in South Asia. America wanted to develop her relations with India because it did not want that India, USSR and China might get together and forge a common front against the former. If it happened, her goal of being a super power would not be achieved. For all the three together would pose a threat to the United States. United States always voted against India and in favour of Pakistan which virtually forced India to find in Soviet Union a trusted friend who would safeguard India’s interests in the United Nations. On several issues, there appeared congruence between the perceptions interests standpoints of both India and Soviet Union in international fora. This resulted in an aggravation of misunderstanding about India’s
non-aligned position. A visible change took place in the United States administration when China, a communist country attacked India in 1962. This led America to view India's position more sympathetically and in proper light. So, America came to India's help in the Sino-India War—partly owing her own foreign policy goal of containing communism in South Asia. India was yet an under-developed country and had achieved her independence only 15 years ago. She was weak economically as well as militarily and was deserving of all help to become a countervailing force vis-a-vis China.

But Pakistan was playing a double role. On the one hand, she was ally to the United States and on the other she was receiving military hardware and technology from China. China in helping Pakistan was to weaken India by putting it against her. In this context, United States was compelled also to develop relations with India because if her ally went with China, India would be relied upon to promote and safeguard her interest in the region especially against China. However, being a military ally America would not want to have cold relations with Pakistan.
One more aspect to develop relations with India is that she knew that India has achieved the status of nuclear country. China is also having the same status. America does not want India and China work together. If they work together, her dream of becoming super power can not be achieved. Therefore, she is making relations with China also to some extent.

Another aspects which attracted United States towards India's liberalization policy. The size of the Indian market and its growth potential activated corporated America to seize the opportunity. During his visit to the United States in May 1994, Prime Minister Narsimha Rao sought to convey India's desire to enhance economic cooperation with America. Thus, Indo-US economic relations travelled from the "donor-recipient" relationship of the Cold War days to a relationship between two partners.

The analysis of the Indo-U.S. relationship, spanning half a century, reveals that both failed to respect each other's sensitivities. If India could not understand the stress caused by the challenges facing the superpower, the United States failed to
understand the sentiments of a newly independent country facing new threats of its sovereignty. The main source of tension from the Indian perspective was the massive American economic and military assistance to Pakistan. America's tilt towards Pakistan was clearly visible whether it was the question of Kashmir or the formation of Bangladesh. India's leaning towards the USSR and the testing of a nuclear device in 1974 and now recently in 1997 was considered the root cause of the downward spiral in Indo-US relations from the American perspective. The US sought to prevent India from emerging as a major power and continued arming Pakistan in order to counterbalance India. Occasional cooperation such as emerged in 1962 when it was attacked by a Communist China or American economic assistance or food aid to India, could not diminish the feelings of irritation towards each other.

The study under reference has been divided into six chapters. The first Chapter entitled, “Critical Analytical Survey Till 1960” traces out the relationship between India and United States of the pre-independence as well as post independence era till 1960. It also highlights the role of the USA in the Indian
struggle for independence. Besides it also highlights the divergent as well as convergent issues.

The Second Chapter namely “Kennedy-Nehru-Shastri Phase: The Crucial Years” covers the period upto early 1966. Nixon was viewed with suspicion by Indians, whereas Kennedy had already given many indications of his interest in and sympathy for their country. Hence, this period was marked with great expectations of closer friendship both in India and in the United States.

The third Chapter entitled, "Indira Gandhi First Phase of Power and Janata Rule" deals with the period of critical relations on issues of priorities such as political, economic and security etc.

The fourth Chapter as ,”Indira Gandhi’s Second Phase of Power and Rajiv Gandhi’s Phase of Power” reveals the list of priorities during Carter and Ronald Reagan Administration.

The Chapter V, “Narsimha Rao Phase of Power” tells the story of relations (positive as well as negative) after post-Cold War era.

The last Chapter is “Summing Up”. It sums up the study
under reference with issues on which attention should be paid to be a real friend and partner in the new international scene after the disintegration of Soviet Union.

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