CHAPTER-1

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

India and the United States (US) relations have witnessed several highs and lows in the past six decades. Relations began on a good note when India became independent and both countries had certain commiseration for each other. Initially, the US became first country to begin defence trade with India by supplying 200 Sherman tanks which at that time were worth of $19 million. Furthermore, the United States supplied S-55 helicopters and 54C-119 Fairchild military transport aircraft to India. However, certain pitfalls in India-US defence relations remained issues of concern. Moreover, the supplied American defence equipments were low in quality and older in generations. On the other hand, the USA felt panic when India developed strategic relations with Soviet Union. Thus, during cold war period India-US relations did not translate into strategic relations and remain rancorous.

With the disintegration of erstwhile Soviet Union the cold war came to an end and brought several changes in world politics. In this transformed and restructured international environment, both India and the US enhanced their economic, political and strategic relations. Moreover, both countries strongly felt the necessity of bilateral defence cooperation for long term security need.

The most visible manifestation of defence cooperation between two countries was the visit of Kickleighter in 1991, which made a ground for their military to military cooperation. Subsequently, during 1992-1996,
India and the USA conducted three dimensional joint military exercises in air, land and water. In 1995, the two countries signed an ‘Agreed Minute on Defence Cooperation’ covering service-to-service and civilian-to-civilian cooperation, as well as cooperation in defence production and research. There was also seen a negotiation between the two countries on non-proliferation.

Although, India and the US coordinated early negotiations for the ‘Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty’ (CTBT) yet ended with significant differences in their final draft. As a result, India refused to sign CTBT despite persuasion from the American government. Later, India’s nuclear testing in May 1998, created further wedge between them. Then, during 1999-2001, Singh-Talbot dialogues over a period of 26 months were an attempt to develop mutual trust in their bilateral relationships.

In 2000, Clinton’s visit to India was a new beginning for both countries. Another landmark in their relations came after 9/11, when both countries renew their foreign policy orientation and establish a High Power Technology Group for their future strategic interests. In 2004, both the countries signed an agreement named as the ‘Next Step in Strategic Partnership’ (NSSP) to cooperate in the fields of civilian nuclear energy, civilian space programmes, high technology trade, and missile defence.

In June 2005, both the countries enacted a ‘New Framework for the US-India Defence Relationship’ for next ten years. This agreement established an institutionalized framework of defence cooperation. Another significant historic milestone in India-US relations was the ‘123 agreement’ for civil nuclear cooperation. The agreement was inked on 10 October 2008 by the then Indian External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee and his counterpart then Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice.
The 26 /11 Mumbai terrorist’s attacks moved their relations to another level of closeness and motivated them to have collective strategy against terrorism.

In the second decade of 21st century one of the major developments between the two countries was a ‘Framework for the U.S.-India Defence Relationship’ which was signed in June 2015. Under this agreement, defence cooperation in the areas like arms trade, military research, defence technology transfer, coproduction and co-development was emphasised.

In brief, Indo-US cooperation has increased in the fields of sale and purchase of weapons, technology transfer, counter-terrorism, counter-narcotics, peace-keeping operations, intelligence sharing, counter-proliferation, natural disaster and cooperation in South Asia and Asia-pacific region etc. Another significant development between the two countries have been on the issues related to their mutual concern like non-proliferation, human rights, environmental issues, framework of international organisations, Iran and Myanmar. Moreover, border disputes of India with China and Pakistan make the situation grim and compel former to have better defence relations with the USA. These above conventional and non-conventional issues make Indo-US defence cooperation inevitable.

**Review of Literature**

Plethora of literature on various facets of Indo-US relations is available in the form of books, research articles and on websites. The literature has its own significance, which may serve as a good background material to understand the present security scenario. Bilateral defence relations can be well understood through singed historical deals,
pacts and agreements between the two countries. Broadly, these studies can be divided into two categories:-

I. Studies related to Indo-US bilateral relations.

II. Studies related to Indo-US defence cooperation.

I. All major studies on India’s Foreign Policy cover various facets of bilateral relations between India and America. In this regard, works of Shukla\textsuperscript{1} and Yadav\textsuperscript{2} explain domestic and external determinants of India’s foreign policy during the last five decades. These authors provide theoretical and practical understanding of India’s foreign policy in changing world order. They also highlight Indo-US bilateral relations in general. Study by Khanna\textsuperscript{3} provided an overview of the theoretical understanding of the emerging world order along with India’s interactions with global power centres, neighbours, extended neighbourhood, regions and different world organisations. Besides it, Indo-US security relations in the post cold-war period also have been examined. Mann\textsuperscript{4} and Dutt\textsuperscript{5} explain political, economic and military relations of India and the USA. Dutt also analyses security ties and defence exchange between India and the USA in post-cold war era. Rajan\textsuperscript{6} explains India’s non-aligned policy during cold war period. He also discusses India’s nuclear test in 1998 and its impact on Indo-US relations.

\textsuperscript{1} Subhash Shukla, \textit{Foreign Policy of India}, Anamika, New Delhi, 2007.
\textsuperscript{2} R. S. Yadav, \textit{Bharat Ki Videsh Niti: Ek Vishleshan}, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, 2005
\textsuperscript{3} V.N. Khanna, \textit{Foreign Policy of India}, Vikas, New Delhi, 2003.
\textsuperscript{4} Poonam Mann, \textit{India's Foreign Policy in the post-Cold War Era}, Harman, New Delhi, 2000.
\textsuperscript{5} V.P. Dutt, \textit{India's Foreign Policy in a Changing World}, Vikas, New Delhi, 1999.
\textsuperscript{6} M.S. Rajan, \textit{India and International Affairs}, Lancer, New Delhi, 1999.
Aftab⁷, Yadava⁸, Ganguly⁹ and Bindra¹⁰ examined US policy in South Asia and its impact on Indo-US relations. These studies also show the impact of US-Pakistan relations on Indo-US and Indo-Pakistan relations. Rajeswari¹¹ examined the changing US policy towards Pakistan in the aftermath of 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks on US and its impact on Indo-US strategic relations. Panigrahi¹² considers that the US policy in South Asia has disturbed Indo-Pak relations during cold war period.

Mahapatra¹³ discusses the India-America relations in post-cold war era in the contest of contemporary global environment and analyses the disputed issues which makes obstacles in development of cordial relations between India and America during that period. Mansingh¹⁴ examines the existing defence cooperation and interaction between the two countries. He deciphers the further chances of mutual benefits and strategic partnership in near future between India and America. Mohite¹⁵ analyses Indo-US bilateral ties with a theoretical perspective and manifest security dilemma between a superpower (USA) and a middle power (India). Mahapatra¹⁶ describes India's Pokhran-II nuclear explosion and

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¹¹ P. R. Rajeshwari, “US Foreign Policy Perceptions and Priorities: Where does South Asia Figure?” *Strategic Analysis*, vol.23, no.8, Nov. 2001.
¹⁴ Surjit Mansingh, “United States and India”, *World Focus*, vol.17, no.6, June 1996.
US reactions on it. He also shows the effect of Pokhran-II on Indo-US economic, political and defence relations. Singh\textsuperscript{17} examines the ups and downs in the multi-dimensional relations between India and America during cold war period. Khanna\textsuperscript{18} analyses the principles and objectives that governed the relations of India and the USA during the presidency of Ronald Reagon. Kapur\textsuperscript{19} analyses a wide range of Indo-US bilateral relations, which include nuclear energy, the role of academic exchanges, cooperation in the military, science and technology and Kashmir issue.

II. Being the most important democracies of world, both countries has decided to invoke their relations, particularly in defence cooperation in post cold-war era. They have emerged as a natural ally to fight against many odds, particularly international terrorism with other non-conventional security threats. Schaffer\textsuperscript{20} considers that India and the USA are going to have a strong military relationship which reflects similar security interests in the 21\textsuperscript{st} century for both countries. Ganguly\textsuperscript{21} examines the US-India strategic cooperation into 21\textsuperscript{st} Century. The study also analyses past efforts, the present status and future directions of Indo-US strategic cooperation. Singh\textsuperscript{22} shows the issues, which threat to India’s national security in the last decade of 20\textsuperscript{th} century, for this he emphasises on Indo-US strategic dialogue. Kumar\textsuperscript{23} analyses the vision

statement of India and America signed by Clinton and Vajpayee in 2000 and explains the major threats and dilemma of India’s security in contemporary world. Khullar24 shows a wide ranging look at India in order to understand its strengths and weaknesses, friends and enemies in post cold war era in the context of growing Indo-US security relations.

Mistry and Ganguly25 analyse the Indo-US civilian nuclear deal in 21st century. They emphasise on the fecundity of the agreement to strengthen the US strategic partnership with India such as promoting a stable power balance in Asia. Jayaramu26 discusses the causes of May 1998 nuclear tests, India's declaration as a nuclear power state and us reaction on it. He represents an overview of the circumstances of beginning of dialogue between the two countries. Malik27 analysed Indo-US defence and military relations in the post-cold war era. He also examines the various treaties and agreements between the two countries. Iyengar28 analyses the historical development of nuclear power in India since independence and discusses the Indo-US relations in the light of increasing nuclear cooperation in 21st century. Gill29 shows the India-US military-to-military interaction in the context of mutual benefit. He also highlights the security challenges for both the countries in changing world scenario.

According to Gopalkrishanan\textsuperscript{30} any meaningful nuclear cooperation between India and US will enhance their defence and strategic partnership in future. Shrivastava\textsuperscript{31} discusses the Indo-US ties in post-cold war era and US perception on Kashmir and nuclear issues and their effect on the growth of Indo-US relations. Malik\textsuperscript{32} examines the scope and pace of Indo-US defence cooperation. He also emphasises that the present development in the Indo-US military-to-military relations have been the most perceptible aspect of the Indo-US defence relations in forthcoming years. Mahapatra\textsuperscript{33} discusses the area of convergence and divergence between the two countries in changing security perspective. Ayoob\textsuperscript{34} examines the causes of India’s nuclear tests in 1998 and discusses its short and long term impact on Indo-American defence cooperation. Bhaskar\textsuperscript{35} examines the Indo-US strategic dialogue in post-cold war era. He elaborates that a favourable trend is developing in Indo-US defence relations in changing world order.

Banerjee\textsuperscript{36} examines Indo-US relations since Indian independence and also describes the ‘Kicklighter-Rodrigues’ initiative as the beginning of structured military-to-military cooperation between India and USA in


\textsuperscript{34} Mohammed Ayoob, “Nuclear India and Indian-American Relations”, \textit{ORBIS}, vol.43, no.1, Winter, 1999, pp. 59-74.

\textsuperscript{35} C. Uday Bhaskar, “Clinton visit and the Nuclear Narrative”, \textit{Strategic Analysis}, vol.24, no.2, May 2000.

post cold war era. Guihong analyses the emergence of a Sino-US-India strategic triangle, the complicated security situation in South Asia and the Chinese factor in Indo-US defence relations. Kamath and Mistry have analysed the situation during 2005 when civil nuclear deal was offered by US and discussed the views of its supporters and critics and its effects on Indo-US relations. Studies by Mustafa and Potter have presented the nature of the Indo-US civil nuclear deal and its implications for international nuclear non-proliferation regime. Sharma examined Indo-US strategic partnership under Obama administration and defined differentiation in his policy from the administrations of Bush and Clinton in changing scenario. He also discussed about vital issues in the Indo-US strategic partnership that need to be analysed. Samuel describes Indo-US defence relations in historical perspective. Koithara shows various aspects of defence development in Indo-US relations since India-China war. He talks about nuclear, defence, industrial and military level ties between India-US in 21st century.

Importance and Relevance of the Study

Though, there is a plenty of literature is available on bilateral relations of India and United States, yet the works on defence cooperation between them are very scarce. Hence need for present study is not only essential but inevitable. The area of technology transfer, sale purchase and join production of military equipments, coordination for counter-terrorism, counter-proliferation, cooperation in strategic partnership and nuclear civil energy deal are very vital for the deep understanding of India-America defence cooperation.

Moreover, the transformed geo-strategic nature of international security makes the theme of this study important. The study is an attempt to identify convergence issue in Indo-US relations which may help them to become strategic partner. At present both India and the US have a number of common security threats and thus there is a need to identify some other new areas of mutual interest which may help them to secure their bilateral, regional and global goals. India’s aspersions of regional security interest also need to be analysis with the US new formed strategy towards South Asia, Indo-pacific and Asia-pacific region. India and the US defence cooperation must be examined from wider strategic perspective due to their bilateral and multilateral security arrangement. The complexities of the defence relations between the two countries make the study significant at present time. Hence, the study is a humble attempt to fill the gaps in the available literature.

The Scope of the Study

The study focuses basically on Indo-US bilateral relations in general and their defence cooperation in particular in the post-cold war era. The scope evaluates all the determinants that develop socio-
economic, political, defence and strategic relations between India and America in the post-cold war period. The areas of bilateral and multilateral defence and security cooperation also examined according to present scenario. The study is also examined some new areas of regional and global security arrangement for both the countries in the light of present global environment.

**Objectives of the Study**

The objectives of the study are to investigate the following:

1. Evaluate the cold war and post-cold war security environment and its implications on India-US relations.
2. To recognise the important areas of Indo-US bilateral defence cooperation.
3. To identify the areas of the regional and global security arrangement for both India and the US.
4. To evaluate the areas of divergence and convergence between Indo-US defence relations.

**Chapterisation**

The study is divided into following scheme of Chapterisation:-

1. Introduction
2. Changing Security Scenario and Indo-US Relations
3. Bilateral Defence Cooperation
4. Multilateral Security Arrangements
5. Problems and Prospects
6. Conclusion
Methodology

Present study is based on the historic-analytical and comparative method. Holistic approach has been adopted to have an in-depth analysis of all the dimensions related to India-US relations. Both primary and secondary sources available in India and US are consulted. Primary sources like government documents, annual reports of different ministries, deliberations of legislatures of both the countries, statements and speeches of various leaders of both states etc. have been analyses. All the secondary sources available in the form of books, research articles and journals have examined.