PREFACE

Bilateral ties between India and the United States of America were characterized by unusual variations during the brief span of President Bush in office. President Bush’s tenure of four years was a unique period, when new priorities began to surface, and old commitments became ambiguous. India was increasingly identified as an ‘emerging’ power during the Bush period, not only in the Indian sub-continent but also in the broader global post-Cold War diaspora, and policies began to be framed accordingly. This is, of course, not to suggest that the relationship between the two countries was warm and cordial throughout. Occasional hindrances, arising from stray US efforts to engage Pakistan by overlooking the latter’s destabilising role in Kashmir, or the threat of retaliation against India under the US trade laws, affected smooth evolution of a relationship that promised to be distinctly positive than in the past.

This research relates to a period, which saw the United States struggling to comprehend the emerging realities and fresh challenges in the post-Cold War era and the optimal realization of its national objectives in the new scenario. It was proactive in ‘engaging’ both India and Pakistan. The outcome however, was not always beneficial to the American cause, be it with regard to crystallisation of the ‘New World order’, or the US initiative in the Gulf War.

This thesis attempts to capture the salient issues and developments during the Bush Presidency, which were instrumental in shaping Indo-US relations. The period was historically significant in terms of the emerging post-Cold War scenario and the attendant turbulence in the international political and economic configurations. The end of the Cold War left the US as the solitary superpower. Notwithstanding the pride and gratification implicit in the new identity, the US
went through a critical learning period during the Bush Presidency, which witnessed various trials and errors in its foreign policies.

The thesis comprises of five chapters. The first chapter is a historical narration of various US Presidencies after World War II, beginning with President Truman, and concluding with the two successive terms of Ronald Reagan, during whose tenure, George W. Bush served as the Vice President of the United States. This chapter is in no way a comprehensive and thorough analysis of Indo-US relations since India's independence until George W. Bush entered the White House in 1989. It is an extremely modest attempt to broadly reflect upon US-Indian relations during various administrations. By doing so, the present researcher has just attempted a background analysis to enhance her understanding of US-Indian relations during the Sr. Bush Administration.

The second chapter captures the distinct changes characterising the Soviet collapse and end of the Cold War era and the changing dynamics of the time. It deals with the crisis in the Persian Gulf, the emerging trends of military cooperation between India and the US, and President Bush's pronouncement of the 'New World Order', amongst other issues.

Chapter three of the thesis deals with nuclear challenges and discusses the 1990 Kashmir imbroglio, which prompted Washington to become more actively involved in the regional affairs of South Asia, principally with the objective of diffusing the nuclear tensions between two hostile South Asian neighbours. Other significant contemporary issues relating to missile developments by India and Pakistan, the US reaction to missile proliferation in South Asia, India's efforts to export civilian nuclear technology to other countries and the resistance encountered in the process, and the overall ineffectiveness of the US non-
proliferation policy in the light of the developments in South Asia, have also been discussed at length.

The fourth chapter studies the economic engagement between the US and India. Economic considerations are seen to emerge as important components of US foreign policy during the period and largely explain India's escalation in US priorities as a major power in the region. The chapter begins with a discussion of the domestic economic difficulties faced by the US during the period and goes on to examine the aggressive postures adopted by the US in the context of the Special and Super 301 provisions of the US Trade Act. The economic crisis encountered by India during the period and sweeping reforms adopted by the country for recovery are analysed critically. Besides, the economic engagement between the two countries in areas of trade and investment and the related issues thereof are examined at length.

The fifth and final chapter is the conclusion, where the researcher attempts to explain the various trends characterizing the Indo-US relations and concludes that though there were some significant policy changes towards India, Washington was far from developing a clear outlook towards India in so far the country's significance in the post-Cold War world was concerned.

The objective of the present research was to review the evolution of Indo-US relations during the presidency of George H.W.Bush. The thrust of the research has been on identification and analysis of issues that were significant in determining Indo-US relationship during the period. Accordingly, this thesis has attempted to answer the following research questions:

1. Did the systemic change in international relations impact upon Indo-US relations?
2. What was the Bush Administration’s approach to Indo-Pak conflict in general and the Kashmir issue in particular?

3. Like his predecessor, President George Bush did not follow a robust non-proliferation policy towards South Asia and gave priority of place to the Afghan question but the situation changed in October 1990, when President Bush imposed the Pressler Amendment on Pakistan—one of America’s closest Cold War allies. How did the Bush Administration handle its nonproliferation policy towards India, especially after it overtly acknowledged Pakistan’s nuclear capability by imposing the Pressler Amendment?

4. India’s overall economy was in a relatively difficult situation during the first half of the Bush presidency. What was the US response to assist India economically, particularly for overcoming its balance of payments crisis? What was the US reaction to the ‘mini’ economic ‘revolution’ in India since June 1991?

The research has employed an analytical and descriptive methodology. The empirical data, presented and analysed in the fourth chapter, have been collected from both primary and secondary sources. The existing literature on the subject available in Indian libraries and depositories has been exhaustively surveyed. Primary sources, like records of the US Congress and parliamentary debates, official statements, memoirs, transcripts of interviews etc. have been studied extensively for analyzing US-India relations. Insights on critical policy issues have been obtained through personal interviews with senior government officials, who occupied key functional positions during the period.