

CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

The relations between the India and USA can be traced back to the year 1492 i.e., the year when Christopher Columbus discovered America in the course of his search for a new route to India. American contacts with India had started before the American Revolution through soldiers and seamen who had lived both in the American colonies and in India. There was much sympathetic interest in the United States towards India's political problems during the entire period of the freedom struggle in India. During the Second World War the United States took much interest on India because of India's strategic importance in South and South East Asia to contain Japanese aggression. The first formal contact at the political level between the two countries was established in 1946, when Jawaharlal Nehru, the Head of the Provisional Government of India, appointed Asaf Ali, the first Indian ambassador to the USA.

The views of the two countries differed on various international issues after India became independent, particularly the India's policy of Non-Alignment has been very much misunderstood in America. This policy frustrated the USA desire to bring India within the Western fold and its disillusionment in America and the US attitude on Kashmir gradually turned in favour of Pakistan and it was decided to make Pakistan a military ally to fill up the vacuum created by the withdrawal of British from Indian sub-continent.

The aims and objectives of the foreign policies of the two countries have been generally alike in the post-war period particularly with regard to the maintenance of their sovereign and independent status in the world, the pursuit of peace and security, support for the UN, support for the right of self-determination of the non-self governing territories, and a feeling of anti-imperialism and anti-racialism.

But there have been several other issues on which the two countries have had their differences. The attitude of the USA to the Kashmir issue made it abundantly clear that it was interested in the solution of the Kashmir dispute in favour of Pakistan. Though in theory the USA is against colonialism, in practice, it has supported the European colonial powers. It was evident during the time of the liberation of Goa, the USA supported Portugal against India because Portugal is one of the NATO member countries. In its opposition to racial discrimination and imperialism too, it has not done anything of practical value.

Pakistan is the main factor in Indo-US relations. The strategic location of Pakistan became an attraction for US policy makers. In the early post-war years, when the US was looking for allies against the Soviet Union and the Socialist bloc, they found in Pakistan a willing partner in the execution of their plan of encircling the Soviet Union

with a chain of anti-communist military organisations like NATO, CENTO and SEATO. The USA appreciated Pakistan's readiness to join the anti-communist crusade and extended military aid to it, inspite of vehement protests from India. Subsequent events proved that the arms supplied by the USA were freely used against India.

There have been differences and mis-understandings between the two countries even on questions with which they are not directly concerned. The attitude of India and the USA on issues such as recognition of Communist China, the conflict in Korea, the Japanese Peace Treaty, the Hungarian crisis, Vietnam crisis and West Asia crisis have been clearly at variance.

Mrs. Gandhi became Prime Minister in January 1966 and one of her first tasks was to try to repair Indo-US relations. Almost amongst the first foreign policy moves of Mrs. Gandhi was to visit the USA in March, 1966.

Under Mrs. Gandhi's leadership India's approach to the USA has been three stranded. One has been to win support for India's most vital interests in security, international independence and economic development. Another strand has been persistence in policies to further its basic goals, even in the absence of US support or in the face of US opposition. The third has been the preservation of cordial

and fruitful bilateral relations in areas of mutual interest and attempts to insulate them from disagreements.

In the field of economic relations, in the beginning the quantum of economic aid that the US made available to India was meagre. Later it was increased gradually. On many occasions the question of aid (the cancellation of US Foundation, Bokaro aid issue) created misunderstanding between the two countries. In spite of the aid which the USA has given to India, the general feeling in India is that, having regard to India's size and population, the Americans have always been less than liberal.

Both India and the USA differed with each other on the issues of uranium supply to Tarapur Atomic Power Plant and signing on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) towards disarmament. The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty created an area of some friction in Indo-US relations even today.

With the assumption of office by the Nixon Administration in 1969, there was a drastic change in the pattern of containment. The US ideological aspect was muted, and a rapprochement was reached with China. Thus India no longer fitted into the frame work of American interests aimed at the containment of China. It certainly caused a downgrading in the strategic importance of India for the US foreign policy making. At this juncture the Soviet Union

started coming closer to India in the name of Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation, which was signed on 9 August 1971. The factors responsible for the formation of the Treaty were Kissinger's secret visit to China in July 1971, crisis in East Pakistan, USA joined China and Pakistan and the formation of Pindi-Peking-Washington axis in order to maintain the balance of power in Asia in general and in South Asia in particular.

The West in general and the USA in particular criticised India that it had deviated from its policy of Non-Alignment by having a treaty with the USSR. But India has never deviated from its policy of Non-Alignment because Article IV of the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation clearly says that India respects the peace loving policy of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union respects the Non-Alignment policy of India. In the beginning India was not for this treaty but for the circumstances and situation in East Pakistan, China's assurance to Pakistan against India, American's resumption of arms supply to Pakistan and above all America declared that if there was war against India, India should not expect any assistance from USA which means that USA assured Pakistan that it would help her against India. This clearly shows and supports, India did a right thing by having a treaty with the Soviet Union to protect her national interest. That is why it can

be said that India has never deviated from its policy of Non-Alignment.

Indo-US relations during the Indo-Pak war of 1971 reached a low ebb. The Nixon administration's "tilt" in favour of Pakistan aroused serious misapprehensions in India about US intentions. Thus, in the 1971 crisis the USA arrayed itself squarely against India's regional interests and ambitions in order to pursue global objectives largely unrelated to South Asia itself. But after the victory of India in the war, the US decided to treat India in accordance with its new stature and responsibilities on the basis of reciprocity. The USA recognised that India was a major power in South Asia and for the first time, appreciated India's policy of Non-Alignment. The Ford Administration largely continued the Nixon line. But the Jimmy Carter Administration was more constructive and friendly approach towards India than the previous administration.

After the collapse of Communist regime in the Soviet Union and other East European countries, India and USA have been improving their relations with each other.

IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

Since India and the USA are the two major democratic countries in the world, they have firmly established their relations for a very long time. After

independence, the Indo-US relations had a bad start. Right from the beginning the USA was not happy with the India's policy of Non-Alignment because this policy frustrated the US desire to bring India within the Western fold and to fill up the vacuum created by the withdrawal of the British from Indian sub-continent. John Foster Dulles, then Secretary of State criticised India's policy of Non-Alignment as a "fence sitter" and "short sighted" policy.

But during the Kennedy's regime the relations between the two countries were fruitful due to Chinese aggression on India. But during the late 1960s and 1970s, Indo-US relations were not smooth because of Pakistan factor and Sino-US detente. It shows USA joined China and Pakistan in the East Pakistan crisis against India. At this juncture there was no other alternative to India except signing the Indo-Soviet treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation. The West in general and the USA in particular criticised India that it had deviated from its policy of Non-Alignment by having a treaty with USSR. Therefore, the researcher attempts to trace out the reasons, why USA criticised India's policy of Non-Alignment even though both the countries are the biggest democratic countries and also more or less their policies are based on same principles and to highlight how the Non-Alignment came in the way as an obstacle for the growth of Indo-US relations.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

"Non-Alignment and Indo-US Relations" has long held the attention of scholars, diplomats, statesmen and experts in international relations. Only few research studies have been made directly on "Non-Alignment and Indo-US Relations". But there are many research studies separately on Non-Alignment and separately on Indo-US relations. That is why the researcher has reviewed books both on Non-Alignment as well as Indo-US relations to have a comprehensive understanding of "Non-Alignment and Indo-US Relations.

C.V. Crabb's "The Elephant and the Grass" is unusual for an American work of this period, in that it is written with sympathy and understanding but still it is very useful in this study.

The book on "Non-Alignment: India and the Future" is written by M.S. Rajan. He shows the contribution of the Non-Aligned countries to the easing of international tensions and denounces the attempts to portray the Non-Aligned Movement as "Third bloc". So this book provides an understanding that Non-Alignment contributed to world peace.

Leo Mates, in his book, "Non-Alignment: Theory and Current Policy" substantiates the essence and prospects of the Non-Aligned Movement Scientifically. He reviews the formation of the movement and characterises the basic

orientations of its development. He analyses the causes for the turn of the foreign policies of the most developing nations to Non-Alignment. Thus it helps to understand the genesis of Non-Alignment.

A.W. Singham in his book "The Non-Aligned Movement in World Politics" has edited a disparate collection of conference papers. Less than half of the papers are in a way about the movement and, of these, four contributions by diplomats provide data on the manipulation of history for political purposes, but they do not contain theoretical analysis. The unique section of the book comes from the contribution on the Afro-American response to Non-Alignment. Hence, it is useful to understand different aspects of Non-Alignment.

The book on "The Non-Aligned Movement: The origins of a Third World Alliance" by Peter Willets deals with the origin and growth of Non-Alignment. It also covers the definitions of terms such as Non-Alignment, Neutrality, positive Neutrality, Non-Alignment as a dynamic concept and how Non-Alignment has become a Movement etc. Therefore, it helps in understanding the concept of Non-Alignment from different angles.

Oksana Reznikova in her book "Non-Alignment and the West" emphasises the attitude of the Western countries

in general and USA in particular towards the Non-Aligned countries. It also covers the communist countries particularly Soviet Union's and China's attitude towards the Non-Aligned Movement. Hence, it provides an understanding of the USA, USSR and China's attitude towards Non-Aligned countries, particularly with India.

One of the major studies of the policy of Non-Alignment is "Afro-Asian and Non-Alignment" by Jansen. It is, rather, a hostile history, but nevertheless an important source of information on the events at some of the Conferences. Jansen is one of the few who is recognised and recorded the conflict between Non-Alignment and the Bandung idea of Afro-Asian solidarity. So, it helps to give a critical analysis to the subject.

The book on "The Imperatives of Non-Alignment: A Conceptual Study of India's Foreign Policy" is written by A.P. Rana. This study may be designed as a proto-theory of India's foreign policy strategy in Nehru's period of almost three decades after independence and thus it is useful in this study.

K.P. Misra and K.R. Narayanan in their book "Non-Alignment in Contemporary International Relations" have edited nineteen papers submitted to the Indo-Yugoslav symposium held in 1980 in New Delhi. In these papers an endeavour has been made to present fresh ideas on Non-

Aligned Movement, to suggest new strategies for making the movement effective and productive in the changed and the changing circumstances of today in tune with its original inspiration.

R.V.R. Chandrasekhara Rao's book "From Innocence to Strength" is divided into four sections. The first section deals with India's foreign policy emphasising more on India's Non-Alignment policy. The second section discusses the developments in South-East Asia with emphasis on Indo-China conflict. The third section examines the Soviet-American relations with reference to the regional conflicts like Arab-Israel dispute etc. The fourth section deals with UNO and its role in keeping world peace etc. This book covers almost all the international issues of 1960s and beyond. Eventhough it is a small and handy book it is nevertheless very useful for general awareness of international relations.

The book on "Indo-US Relations" written by Vedvati Chaturshreni, deals with Indo-US relations. It seeks to examine the principles of the foreign policies of India and the USA. The similarities and dissimilarities in their objectives, approach and methods are dealt in the perspective of their national interests. An attempt has been made to offer the reader a clear and comprehensive view of the major issues - the cold war issues, the US military aid

to Pakistan, Bangladesh Crisis, and the Communist China as affecting the Indo-US relations. Hence, it is useful to understand the divergencies between the two countries.

Selig S. Harrison, in his book "India and the US" discusses a theme with which Americans are concerned with separate aspects of the new relations between India and the USA. The book also deals on internal Indian affairs and on the major issues of Indo-US relations. Thus, it helps to understand the new relations between the two countries.

The book on "India, USA and Pakistan: A Triangular Relationship" written by Kilaru Ramachandra Rao examines the USA, India and Pakistan on the national interests of three countries which were involved for the state of strained relationship politically. It also deals with the changing trends of Indo-US relations. India's policy of Non-Alignment has been critically discussed in this volume. It also includes current aspects of US-South Asian Relations along with analysis. So this book provides an understanding of the Pakistan factor in Indo-US relations and US views on India's policy of Non-Alignment.

The book on "Indo-US Relations" by Dr. Tanvir Sultan deals with the history of Indo-US relations since 1945 is one of ups and downs - good patches following bad ones. This is due to the fact that though both the nations

differ in their policy perceptions and approaches to world issues, they are bound by shared democratic values, which help them to overcome the periodic doubts of strained relations. The book also analyses the three issues - Pakistan, Arab-Israel conflict and the Vietnam war - Which have poisoned Indo-US relations. It also discusses the Indo-Pak war of 1971 and India's emergence as a regional power, militarization of Indian Ocean, the US arms supply to Pakistan, US position on supply of uranium for Tarapur and the Palestinian problem. Thus, it gives an indepth understanding of different issues between India and USA.

The book on "India's Search for Power: Indira Gandhi's Foreign policy 1966-1982" by Surjit Mansingh covers an area of India's relationship with Asia and African countries also with USA and USSR and emphasised much on Indian foreign policy towards various world issues during late Mrs. Gandhi's Prime Ministership. Undoubtedly this is a valuable contribution for a clear understanding of the convergence and divergence of Indo-U.S. relations on various world issues.

S.C. Tewari in his book "Indo-US Relations 1947-1976" discusses the origin and growth of relations between India and the USA. The book also narrates several world issues on which the two countries have had differences. It also gives a valuable information about the Indo-US economic

relations. It gives an indepth understanding of Indo-US relations.

The book on "American Geopolitics and India" by Baldev Raj Nayar examines an analytical, indepth study of American Foreign policy towards India in the 1970s. It also deals this policy in the context of the general impulses of the American global posture. Hence, it is useful for the understanding of 1970s developments between the two countries.

The book on "American Shadow Over India" written by L. Natarajan covers India's relations with the USA from the First World War. It gives a lot of information in the fields of economic, political, religious and cultural between the two countries. Therefore, it is useful to understand the origin and growth of Indo-US relations.

R.C. Gupta in his book "U.S. Policy Towards India and Pakistan" critically analyses the US policy towards India and Pakistan during the Bangladesh crisis. It also gives the reasons for President Nixon's 'tilt' towards Pakistan during the crisis. So, the book help us to have a comprehensive picture of the US policy during the Bangladesh crisis.

The book on "The United States and India: The Dimensions of Influence" written by Norman D. Palmar

examines the Indo-US bilateral relations. It also covers the various issues such as Tarapur fuel issue, NPT, and PL-480 rupee debt issue etc. between the two countries. So, it is very useful for the study of Indo-US fluctuating relations.

OBJECTIVES

1. To trace the genesis and growth of Non-Aligned Movement;
2. to examine the historical background and evolution of Indo-US relations;
3. to analyse the concept of Non-Alignment that has come in the way as an obstacle for the growth of relations between India and USA;
4. to study economic relations between India and USA;
5. to evaluate the Indo-US attitude towards major world issues, and
6. to examine Indo-US relations in the context of changing world order.

METHODOLOGY

The different types of data has been collected from different sources that is mainly from primary and secondary sources like -

- a) various Government of India Publications;
- b) publications relating to the Indo-US Relations;
- c) reports and publications of text books, various magazines, journals and news papers;

- d) reports of various organisations connected with the Indo-US Relations;
- e) reports and publications of the research such, teachers and other people connected with the Universities and Research Organisations, and
- f) the documents of the Non-Aligned Summit Conferences and Ministerial Level Conferences.

As it is always not safe to take the published data at their face value, the data is analysed carefully to make use of material that is suitable and adequate for in the context of the present problem. The reliability of the data is suitably examined. After the collection of data from the above mentioned sources, the researcher analysed and reinterpreted the data and organised into various chapters.

CHAPTERISATION

1. Introduction.
2. Genesis and growth of Non-Aligned Movement.
3. Foundations of Indo-US Relations.
4. Non-Alignment and Indo-US Relations.
5. Indo-US Economic Relations.
6. Indo-US attitude towards Major World Issues.
7. Indo-US Relations in the context of Changing World Order.
8. Conclusion.