Chapter – VI

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
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The distance between India and the USA is over 10,000 miles. The two countries have different geographical features, climate, races, culture, customs and manners. India and USA have been following different policies on international issues. ¹ USA had close economic link with Britain and established direct trade contacts with British India in 1785. After the Jay treaty of 1794 with Britain, USA realised the great importance of trade with India and Indian businessmen too were keen to do much of their business with USA because they found it to be very profitable for them.²

At the instance of the International Banking Corporation the National City Bank of New York established a branch in Bombay in 1903 and another in Calcutta in 1904. Actually, USA was the second biggest trader with India, even during the British rule. As a result a number of the American Manufacturing Company, the Ludlow Jute Company, the Angus Company, the Cleveland Akron Company, and the Reigal Company set up their branches in India in the Jute industry.³

1. Foreign Policy of India, Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi, 1987, p.42.
United States of America realized the importance of the independence of India and supported Indians in getting freedom from British ruled India. This was because she wanted to open a door for her global security in the region. She also felt that the prestige of USA would be enhanced, if, India got its independence through her efforts. The attitude of Indian leaders towards USA was very cordial during the period of the struggle for the independence of the country. India was greatly obliged to F.D. Roosevelt, President of USA, for his efforts to bring about the independence in India. Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru were able to get US help for the pull out of the British from India. President Franklin D.Roosevelt took up the issue of Indian freedom with the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, during the latter's visit to the United States in December 1941. After this, the USA decided to send her diplomat to pursuade Great Britain grant freedom to India. After this, on March 3, 1943, William Phillips proposed a round table conference of Britain and India under American chairmanship and with America acting as a guarantor of British commitments, Great Britain was not ready to consider such a proposal. Britain even refused to give permission to Phillips to meet Gandhiji in jail. In these circumstances, on February 12, 1943 William Phillips sent a letter to Roosevelt requesting him to interrence personally in the British-Indian dispute. In this letter he said, that he

had detected a suspicion on the viceroy's part with regard to his who asked him directly what his intentions were.

After this, USA did not do anything against the wishes of Britain because she did not want to annoy her closest ally. Later, Phillips sent a letter to Phillip D. Merrell, officer in-charge of the American Mission in New Delhi, to arrange for the import of Indian jute and jute products, mica and manganese to USA. He also suggested that different methods of purchase should be employed such as purchase by private agencies by the United States government directly and joint British-American purchase.

In 1943, India faced a great famine. Addressing the House of Representatives on December 21, 1943, Congressman Karl Mundt (Republican, South Dakota) requested United States tried to make United Nations Relief & Rehabilitation Administration to revise its charter to include India, but the British government did not agree to allow any UMRRA help to India.

On March 14, 1946, a full meeting of the Combined Food Board was held, chaired by U.S. Secretary of Agriculture, Clinton Anderson. The Indian representatives felt that USA was not ready to help Indians in their problems. Indian leaders were greatly shocked at this attitude. India's Agent General in the United

7. FAR 1943, Vol.IV, p.189
8. A. Gury Hope, America & Waraj's; The U.S. Role in Indian Independence.
States, Sir Girija Shankar Bajpai, raised the issue of the Indian famine at the Conference of UNRRA in Atlantic City on March 26, 1946, "We seek only bread and we seek it only to live. Millions of Indians were already within the uneasy hearing of what John Cafden, a high official in the department of Agriculture in America had described as the flutterings of the wings of the Angel of Death. 10

Nehru requested Acting Secretary of Agriculture William L. Clayton that in view of very serious food situation in India urgently needed relief be provided to millions of starving people of India. 11

In spite of such an attitudes of USA, Pandit Nehru broadcasting from New Delhi on 7 September 1946, he said:

We send our greetings to the people of the United States of America to whom destiny has given a major role in international affairs. We trust that this tremendous responsibility will be utilized for the furtherance of peace and human freedom everywhere. 12 Indian leaders continued to maintain cordial relations with USA. The public opinion and the press both replaced this friendly attitude. 13

Highlighting Indian foreign policy before she got her independence, Nehru said that India would take full part in international conferences as a free nation with her own policy and not merely as a satellite of another nation. Nehru wanted to get help from all dominant countries of the world because at that time India was economically militarily very weak. On January 22, 1947 he said:

If we seek to be free, independent, democratic Republic, it is not to dissociate ourselves from other countries, but rather as a free nation to cooperate in the fullest measure with other countries for peace and freedom, to cooperate with Britain, with the British Commonwealth of Nations, with the United States of America, with the Soviet Union, and with all other countries, big and small.\(^{15}\)

Indian political system and the political set up of USA have been very much similar. USA is a democracy and so is India. If Indian democracy succeeds, the American way of life is bound to be strengthened. The purposes and objectives of the foreign policy of India and USA too, were of the same nature. For example, the maintenance of the sovereign and independent states in the world, the pursuit of peace and security, support for the United Nations, support for the right of self-determination of nations and opposition of imperialism and racialism etc.\(^{16}\)

14. Foreign Policy of India, op.cit., p.5
16. M.C.Chagla; An Ambassador speaks, p.83
After India's independence, an Embassy was set up by USA in New Delhi for establishing close cooperation between India and USA and for tackling the problems facing the world. Emphasising a close cooperation between India and USA, Nehru said on December 4, 1947:

We shall be friends with America. We intend cooperating with the United States of America.... We have had, as the House knows, a distinguished representative of the United States here for some time past.  

The main reason for deterioration in Indo-US ties was America's pro-Pakistani and anti-Indian attitude. Nehru strongly expressed his opinion in these words:

We have declared that the fate of Kashmir is ultimately to be decided by the people. That pledge we have given, and the Maharaja has supported it, not only to the people of Kashmir but to the world. We will not and cannot back out of it. We are prepared when peace and law and order have been established to have a referendum held under international auspices like the United Nations.  

17. M.C. Chapla; An Ambassador speaks, p.83.  
On the other hand the American government and people have always condemned India for not accepting the United Nations' resolutions and the proposals of various UN Commissions on Kashmir. USA agreed to put India's case regarding the Kashmir issue in UNO but did not give much attention to the other prior steps taken by India. The USA and its satellites tried to pressurise Indian leaders into changing their stand on the plebiscite issue.\(^{20}\)

However, USA took no interest in the south Asian countries, including India till the emergence of a Communist regime in China. After the Communist victory in China, USA began to realise the importance of South Asia, and tried to normalize her relations with India.

USA wanted India to counter-balance Communist China. Mr. Henry Grady, the US Ambassador in India had said as far back as December 1, 1947 that it was " tremendously important to keep India on our side in the world struggle."\(^{21}\) Nehru also emphasised the need of close cooperation between India and USA. Addressing the Constituent Assembly, he said on December 4, 1947:

We propose to keep on the closest terms of friendship with other countries unless they themselves create difficulties. We shall be friends with America. We intend

\(^{20}\) SCOR, 5 yr. 463 mtg, 7 Feb. 1950, p. 13

\(^{21}\) Raghunath Kam: Super Powers and Indo-Pakistani sub-continent, New Delhi, 1985, pp. 4-5.
cooperating with the United States of America.\textsuperscript{22}

In January 1948 however USA and its allies did not agree to name Pakistan as an aggressor during the debate on Kashmir in the Security Council.\textsuperscript{23}

Non-alignment had been the keynote of India's foreign policy and Nehru was the chief architect of this policy. There is a certain ambiguity about India's foreign policy. It is sometimes described as 'independent' at other times a policy of non-alignment. It often confuses political analysts. Nehru himself made a self-contradictory and confusing statement on India's foreign policy in Indian Constituent Assembly on March 8, 1948.

An independent policy, is the best. What that policy should be at a particular moment, it is very difficult for me or for this House to say, because things change rapidly from day to day. It may be that we have to choose what might be a lesser evil in certain circumstances.... I can quite conceive of our siding even with an imperialist Power - I do not mind saying that in a certain set of circumstances that may be the lesser of the two evils.\textsuperscript{24}

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\underline{22.} Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy, selected speeches, Sept. 1946-April 1961, p. 28.
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Nehru clearly enunciated a policy of non-alignment in the Indian Parliament on 8 March 1949 saying that non-alignment did not mean avoiding close relationship with other countries. He said:

Our policy will continue to be not only to keep apart from power alignments but to make friendly cooperation possible.\(^{25}\)

Nehru denied following a policy of passive neutrality. In a speech he said:

We have to achieve freedom and to defend it. We have to meet aggression and resist it and the force employed must be adequate to the purpose.... We are neither blind to reality nor do we propose to acquiesce in any challenge to man's freedom from whatever quarter it may come. When freedom is menaced or justice threatened or where aggression takes place, we can not be and shall not be neutral.\(^{26}\)

Nehru blamed the western countries for looking upon that India's policy of non-alignment as a policy of neutrality. He averred that non-alignment was quite different from neutrality. Nehru likened a policy of passive neutrality as to a persons who sits on the fence and cannot decide between right and wrong.

\(^{25}\) Srinivas C, Mundumbai; United States Foreign Policy towards India (1947-54) New Delhi, 1980, p.69.

\(^{26}\) Congressional Record, 1949, Part 16, A6409.
He asserted that India would not be neutral and the policy of non-alignment was anything but a policy of neutrals. He said that India believed in non-alignment because she felt that the only way to achieve peace is to extend the climate of peace and to prevent the cold war spreading into the other part of the world. 27

American policy makers were very straightforward about the foreign policy objectives relating to India on August 30, 1949. Columnist Walter Lippman said that an increasing number of diplomats feel that India with her military and economic potentialities is the key to successful United States foreign policy for Asia. On September 25, 1949 Malcolm Hobbes of the overseas New Agency reported from Washington that "India (was) seen as an unparalleled opportunity for the United States to make up lost ground in Asia." 28

India adopted a policy of non-alignment because she wanted to play an important role in international affairs and thus she tried to avoid joining any superpower block.

Deputy Minister for External Affairs, B.V. Keskar made the following statement in the Lok Sabha on March 28, 1952:

But however the voices of India and the United States may appear to differ, there is much in common between them. Like you, we have achieved our freedom through a revolution, though our methods were different from yours.\(^\text{31}\)

Originally, perhaps, it was curiosity that impelled me to come here. But in later years, more and more the thought came to me that it was necessary, it was desirable and perhaps, inevitable that India and the United States should know each other more and cooperate with each other more.\(^\text{32}\)

Indian government accorded recognition of the Red Peking government promptly in 1949 as the legitimate government of China and established diplomatic ties with that country on 30 December 1949, while USA ruled out recognising the new Peking government on the ground that Chiang's Nationalist government was the only real and legitimate government of China.\(^\text{33}\) Thus, India differed from the policy of USA on the question of the recognition of China. After this, India, along with USSR supported China's representation in the United Nations. This created slight tensions between India and USA. Another reason of tension between the two countries has been American support for Pakistan in her conflict with India. However, India and the USA signed an agreement on 2 February 1950, for financing certain educational exchange programs.\(^\text{34}\)

33. A. Appadorai and M.S. Kajan, India's foreign policy and Relations, op.cit., p.237.
In June, 1950 the armed forces of North Korea launched an unprovoked attack on the South Korean Republic.\textsuperscript{35} An emergency meeting of the Security Council was called at the request of the USA. India whole-heartedly supported the US moves for overcoming the Korean crisis. On June 25, 1950 the Security Council passed a resolution to the effect that North Korean armed attack was a clear case of aggression and breach of the peace. It called upon the parties to immediately stop hostilities and demanded withdrawal of North Korean forces to the 38th Parallel. The resolution also requested all the member countries to render every assistance to the United Nations for the implementation of this resolution and to refrain from giving assistance to the North Korean authorities. On 27 June, the Security Council passed another resolution moved by USA. In this resolution the Security Council asked its member countries to extend help to South Korea for repulsing the armed attack and for maintaining peace and security in the region.\textsuperscript{36} Both India and USA strongly supported the UN resolution and came closer to each other. In this context addressing the Indian Parliament, Nehru said that aggression had taken place by North Korea over South Korea adding that it was a wrong act that had to be condemned and resisted.\textsuperscript{37} India's support for UN resolutions

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\item \textsuperscript{35} Ved Vati Chaturshreni; \textit{Indo-US Relations}, New Delhi, 1980 p.88.
\item \textsuperscript{36} A.Appadorai and M.J.Rajan, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.225.
\item \textsuperscript{37} India, \textit{Parliamentary Debates}, Vol.5, Part II, 3 August, 1950, Col.223.
\end{itemize}
dated 25 and 27 June was greatly appreciated by U.S.A. and its allies. After this, India did not support the U.S. resolution moved in the Security Council on the Korean dispute on 7 July but abstained from voting on the resolution.

Commenting on the Korean question, Nehru said that it was true there was aggression there and added that it was also true that of the parties concerned, none was wholly free from the blame. On 13 July 1950 Nehru sent a letter to the American Secretary of State, Dean Acheason, in which he mentioned Indian attitude regarding Korean issue. India also wanted China’s seat in the Security Council; Nehru thought that China, USSR and USA should cooperate to resolve the Korean conflict.

This attitude of India was not appreciated by USA. Thus relations between India and USA became bitter. U.S.A. criticised Indian stand regarding the Korean crisis. In this context, addressing the Indian Parliament, Nehru said on 3 August 1950:

The best assistance India could render in that grave crisis was to help limit the area of conflict and to try to end it.

He added that to provide military assistance was beyond India’s capacity and that such assistance, would make little difference.

40. India, Parliamentary Debate, Vol. 5 part 2, 4 August 1950, Col. 371.
She voted against another American sponsored General Assembly resolution securing China as an aggressor. In this way India differed from USA on the issue of the Korean crisis. Disagreement on this issue between the two countries continued till the year 1951.

Notwithstanding differences on political issues, India continued to receive aid from USA in economic and technical fields. 42

In 1951 India asked the United States for a loan on easy terms for the purchase of two million tons of grains from American stocks. 43 US agreed to give the aid under Indo-American Technical Cooperation Agreement of 1951, U.S.A. was of the opinion that economic aid must be provided to India to check Communist influence. In this context Senator Fergusson expressed his view as:

We expect our negotiation authorities to bargain whole heartedly and realistically to serve our vital interests in obtaining

42. M.G.Gupta, op.cit., p.244.
these materials in exchange for the grain which India needs so desperately. 44

Although economic aid was sanctioned the President of U.S.A. was authorised to terminate any aid if he found it inconsistent with the national interests and security of the country, U.S.A. also made generous contribution to India to overcome her food shortages. In addition, India continued to receive aid from the various American foundations like Ford, Rockefeller, Carnegie etc. It may be noted that this generous economic aid was given to win over India to the American side.

India continued with her policy of getting economic aid from abroad, but preferred to follow a policy of non-alignment. Consequently, Eisenhower administration decided to give military aid to Pakistan. This embittered relations between India and U.S.A. Conflicting views of the two countries on the issue of colonialism tended to increase this bitterness. While the USA advocated an evolutionary approach to the problem of colonies and supported the colonial powers wherever nationalist movements were dominated by the Communists forces India supported people of all colonies against colonial powers irrespective of ideology, for example, on the issue of the independence of Indonesia, the two countries were opposed to each other. On the issue of

44. Congressional Record, 82nd Congress, 18th session, May 16, 1951, p. 5410.
Colonialism, Nehru said on June 12, 1952:

I attach the greatest importance to the United Nations but I must repeat that the United Nations has swerved from its original moorings and has gradually become a protector of colonialism in an indirect way. This is a dangerous deviation. 45

India was annoyed with the attitude of USA in her dispute with Pakistan over Kashmir. Though USA had accepted the validity of Kashmir's accession to India, she supported Pakistan on the issue of the tribal invasion aided and abetted by Pakistan and refused to agree with India's stand that this was an act of aggression. India felt that this action of USA was unjust. Nehru declared that the United States had taken a "strangely narrow view" in that matter. He added that when there was 'Communist' threat to Greece and Turkey, the US reacted promptly while criticizing Communist China for its attack on Korea, it refrained from criticizing Pakistan for its similar action against Kashmir. In this context Jawaharlal Nehru said in March 1954 that United States had not only condemingly refrained from the Pakistani aggression but also tried to dissuad India press the issue in the interest of peace. 46

46. Kunni Krishnan, The Unfriendly friends, India and America, New Delhi, 1974, p.129.
Indian relations with USA were greatly worsened due to the Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement between USA and Pakistan which was signed on 19 May 1954. Under this agreement, US and Pakistan agreed to abide by the principles enunciated in the UN Charter and asserted that their participation in individual and collective self defence agreements was in conformity with the Charter. US also undertook to give arms aid to Pakistan. This action of USA was bitterly criticized by Indian leaders. Such criticism has been going on since that time because the US government has been consistently giving military aid to Pakistan. In this regard Jawaharlal Nehru said:

If we object to military aid being given to Pakistan, we would be hypocrites and unprincipled opportunists to accept such aid ourselves. The aid created a grave situation for us in India and for Asia.

Indian leaders have been of the opinion that US arms aid to Pakistan was not in the interest of peace in the subcontinent, Nehru called upon Asian governments not to accept US military aid. He felt that such military aid would lead to imperialism in hegemony in Asia. Responding to this criticism of US Military aid to Pakistan President Eisenhower assured India that the arms would not be used against India, Eisenhower sent a letter to Nehru promising US help to India. In this letter he

47. The Statesman, 20 May 1954, p.1
49. Hindu, 1 Feb. 1954
I am confirming publicly that if our aid to any country, including Pakistan is misused and directed against another in aggression I will undertake immediately.... appropriate action both with and without the UN to thwart such aggression.  

At first, the US government wanted to win over the countries of subcontinent by providing military and economic aid to their governments. Another factor responsible for American interest in the sub-continent was the problem of how to prevent Communists from establishing their foothold in the sub-continent. The USA government felt that the Communist governments -- Red China and USSR would gain control of Pakistan by political means.

Soviet leaders N.A. Bulganin and N.S. Khrushchev visited India in 1955. They criticised the USA attitude and that of her allies of creating disunity in the region. They also condemned European colonial powers, particularly the Portuguese for not freeing their Indian colonies of Goa, Daman and Dieu which were an integral part of India for centuries. In the same year the US Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles visited Portugal and supported Portuguese domination over Indian territory. He said that Goa was a province of Portugal and not a colonial possession.  

In February 1956, the President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, addressing a joint session of Parliament said:

My Government deeply regret the reference made by the Secretary of State of the United States to the Portuguese conquests abroad as 'provinces' of Portugal and the further implications that they are an integral part of Portugal itself.

Many Indian leaders also criticised American attitude of supporting Portuguese claim on Indian soil. Jawaharlal Nehru said that the US attitude was unfavourable to India. He said in the Lok Sabha, that he entirely agreed with those who thought that it was a very serious matter with far-reaching consequences. In March 1956, John Foster Dulles visited India with the intention of reducing tension between the two countries. He said to the Indian Prime Minister that the US did not support Portugal against India.

After President Eisenhower's term was over the new President of the US Mr. Kennedy declared that his country did not accept Portuguese claim on Goa. The President wrote a letter to Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru saying the US regarded these territories as colonies and not as Portuguese overseas provinces. At the same time, the US government put pressure on the Portuguese government to pull out from India.

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53. A.Appadorai and M.S.Rajan, op.cit., p.233.
In 1958 United States of America provided India a loan of 325 million and gave another £3250 million to India to enable her to buy wheat under PL-480. Then, on 4 May 1960, the US government entered into an agreement with India for the largest transaction ever made by the United States with any country under PL-480, amounting to £1,276 million.55

The President Kennedy sent a letter to the Prime Minister of India on 14 December 1961 asking him not to use force to capture the Portuguese colonies because this was likely to endanger peace. He reminded Jawaharlal Nehru that the Indian government had been adopted a policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence and added that military action was against the Indian attitude of solving outstanding international problems by peaceful methods.56 On 18 December 1961, the Security Council took up the dispute between India and Portugal over Goa and other Portuguese possession in India. This meeting was convened at the instance of the US and its satellites who wanted to pressurise India into not taking military action against Portugal for pulling out from the Indian soil. At the meeting of the Security Council, representative of US, Adlai E. Stevenson, strongly condemned Indian military action, which he said, was totally against her own principle of using only peaceful method for dealing with

such problems. However, India asserted her right to take military action to end colonialism in India, although she agreed to continue her affairs to resolve the dispute by peaceful means.\textsuperscript{57}

Addressing a press conference on 18 December 1961 in New Delhi, Nehru said "It was no pleasure to us to undertake armed action, but the Portuguese left no choice open to us."\textsuperscript{58} Although relation between India and the USA had deteriorated because of their conflicting position on the issue of Goa, this state of affairs did not last long for many years. The US Secretary of State, Lean Rusk, said at the beginning of 1962 in an interview that the US wanted better relationship with India and also agreed to give her economic and financial aid.\textsuperscript{59}

In the Sino-India clash of 1962, the US and its allies showed great interest in India. US took a serious view of the Chinese invasion of India and offered military aid as well as air-umbrella to India to check the tide of Chinese aggression.\textsuperscript{60} The US government agreed to provide extensive military assistance to India, in spite of the protest lodged by Pakistan. Pakistan was not happy with the US government for giving arms assistance to India because she felt that her own security was endangered

\textsuperscript{57} A.Appadorai and M.S.Rajan, op.cit., p.235.
\textsuperscript{58} B.N.Chakrawarty, India speaks to America, Calcutta, 1966, p.186.
\textsuperscript{60} New York Times, 22 Oct.1962.
by this move. However, the US clearly stated that India would have to resolve the Kashmir problem with Pakistan. In this connection, it is worth mentioning that the first consignment of US arms reached India on 3 November 1962 after a pact between India and US has been signed on November 14, 1962. In addition arms, the US also provided twelve C-130 Hercules transport planes with American Crews to ferry troops and equipment to the border battle regions. The president of US also proclaimed on 20 November 1962 to send the American mission under the supervision of Assistant secretary of state for far Eastern Affairs, Averell H. Harrimann, to India to enquire of the Indian needs for long term.

On 19 November 1962 India secretly requested the US for 'American fighting air support' to defend India's defenceless cities in the crucial time. Besides as assistance, the President Kennedy urged the Great Britain to send air defence to India.

The US government has always tried to help India in every crucial time. In 1964, the United States of America extended its economic assistance of £ 864 million. Thus, India continued to receive aid from the USA in economic and technical fields. The USA has always given assistance mainly with a view to win India.

Thus, it is clear that Indo-American cooperation has been extended from time to time. However Indo-American relations continued to be at low key in some situations. There has not been much hostile attitude in close cooperation between the two countries. At present Indo-American cooperation has started improving than the past. Indian foreign policy in ery cordial in these days.