INTRODUCTION

International Relations today have become truly international characterized by a high degree of interaction and interdependence. Clearly the international system is changing in innumerable ways. Old actors are playing new and often reduced roles, and new actors are constantly appearing on the international scene.

The study of international relations like the world community itself, is in transition. In a rapidly changing and increasingly complex world it encompasses much more than the relations among nation-states and international organisations and groups. It includes a great variety of transitional relationships, at various levels, above and below the level of the nation-state, still the main actor in the international community.
The international environment has changed and is still changing. The changes are as a result of the modifications in the state system, the vast technological developments of our time, the increasingly influential role being played by non-western societies and the revolution of rising expectations, which is affecting, directly or indirectly, the majority of the underprivileged peoples of the world. In the study of international relations old and new elements must be interwoven.

In this increasingly interdependent world the study of international relations is essential for human survival and human progress. It reveals how men and nations tend to act in given circumstances and so tells us what conditions should be encouraged and what conditions discouraged, if we are to promote international harmony and well being. The study of international relations is not a science with which we solve the problems of international life. At its best it is an objective and systematic approach to the study of those problems.

The better or worse relations between two countries are likely to take place in response to the external environment and the play of domestic politics in both the countries. Relations arise and persist because every nation has its needs to fulfill and problems to solve. These needs may be called interest, stakes or goals.
Nations always struggle for the acquisition, retention and extension of their stakes. Stakes can be different types: territorial, political, economic, racial, religious, cultural, or those relating to prestige and goodwill. At any given time, we will find that every nation has some or all of these stakes or interests to achieve in relations to other nations.

The primary purpose of any country's Foreign policy is to promote its national interest to ensure its security, safeguard its sovereignty, contribute to its growth and prosperity, and generally enhance its stature, influence and role in the comity of nations. A country's relations should also be able to serve the broader purpose of promoting peace, disarmament and development and of establishing a stable, fair and equitable global order. The latter purpose may at times appear to conflict with the former, but in the medium and long run it is likely to serve the country's national interest.

After India emerged independent, the sheet-anchor of Indian Foreign policy is non-alignment— not as a negative or neutral concept of keeping out of the rival power blocs which dominated the world following the Second World War, but as a positive concept of exercising independent judgement and action in matters of Foreign policy, judging each issue on its merits, and not just toeing the line laid down by other or as Nehru said becoming the "plaything" of others.
On the other hand, the essential of United States Foreign policy seems to be, the fight against communism and the fight for a capital market economy and generally and United States centered Foreign policy outlook. As a super power it is also self-centered in the good sense of the word. i.e, it tends to evaluate global concern more or less from the point of view of its own concern.

Despite the similarity of domestic political setup and liberal democratic values, Indo-American ties have remained without warmth ever since the independence of India. Mutual ties have been characterized, in the main, by tension and suspicion. The tension originated from the conflicting national interests.

With the break of USSR and changed international scenery, the relations between two countries are hopeful to be cordial.

INTRODUCTION TO INDO-UNITED STATES RELATIONS:

India and the United States of America are the two largest democracies in the world. They have much in common. The rule of law, freedom of thought and expression and Government by consent as expressed through free elections based on universal adult franchise, are the principles to which both countries are dedicated. Liberty, equality and respect for the rights of the individuals are the declared
objectives of the people in both countries. Sharing many common aims and values, India and United States also differ in significant in their national character and political experience. There are also divergences in the policies of India and the United States and differences in approaches towards important issues, which have more often than not, led to misunderstanding and friction between the two countries.

The roots of Indo-United States relations can be traced back to the thirties and forties of this century. Gandhi and Nehru did try to solicit United States support in the case of Indias freedom and in 1941-42 even requested President Roosevelt to intercede with Churchil. Roosevelt sent Colonel Louis Johnson and William Phillips as his representatives to British Indian Government. The declarations such as that of summer wells (under secretary of state) on memorial day 1942 opposing colonialism inspired some hopes. But when Churchill put down his feet and mercilessly suppressed the 'Quit India Movement' Washington fell in the line with London. Phillips was not even permitted to visit Gandhi in Jail. By this way American President played positive role in exerting pressure on the British Government to expedite the grant of independence to India.
After world war II America followed the policy of military alliances to contain the advance of International Communism led by Soviet Union. Initially America took no interest in the South Asian Countries including India, till the emergence of communist regime in China. After the communist Victory in China, America began to realise the importance of South Asia region and tried to get India on her side, but India adhered to policy of non-alignment and refused to Join super power blocks. America wanted India to counter balance the rise of communist China. Henry Grady the United States 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.

Just after independence the United States and India found themselves taking opposite sides on various issues. When India took Kashmir case to the Security Council in January 1948, U.S.A. along with Great Britain and other members of the Western block adopted anti-Indian attitude. The Korean war brought the Indo-American ties from good to bad and vice versa. In order to avoid general war, India acted independently and provided its own views on peace, which are not acceptable to United States. The rift was further widened when India opposed the United States sponsored resolution branding China as aggressor.

India's lack of support to the Japanese peace treaty signed at San Francisco on September 8, 1951 by 47 nations was another source of irritation between two
nations. India neither participated nor signed the San Francisco Conference as her policy was to keep out matters in which there were serious differences between the two blocks. India's views were that the Japanese peace treaty on the lines suggested by the United States was likely to increase tensions in the Far East. The differences also arose between two countries over the recognition of Communist regime in China.

The leaders of United States Government presented argument in 1950's that since India did not collaborate with the United States in containing communism in Asia and Pakistan was prepared to do so, the Eisenhower administration justified in giving massive military aid to Pakistan. India raised great objections over the military aid to Pakistan. India become suspicious over the attitudes of United States in its South Asia Policy.

Despite these differences in the political sphere, the relations between two countries in the economic, cultural and educational spheres continued to grow and United States of America provided valuable assistance to India under the technical co-operation agreement of 1951. The United States congress enabled New Delhi to buy food on long run basis for $190 millions. India and United States were on the same side on the Suez Canal Issue (1956) and on the issue of Soviet intervention in Hungary (1956). By 1958 Indian policy of non-alignment was accepted by America. In
1959 Eisenhower visited India and observed the strength of India is our interest. In May 1960 India and United States entered into an agreement for economic and technical aid under PL-480.

Relations after 1962:

Indias relations with United States of America became more intimate after the Sino-Indian Conflict of 1962. The Chinese invasion of Indian territory in October 1962 brought India and the United States to a level of understanding in an unprecedented manner. The United States extended military aid and India accepted it. American Jet transports C-130's were landing in India at the rate of eight flights per day, carrying automatic rifles, heavy motors, recoilless, guns etc. President Kennedy's help in this regard was highly appreciated by the Indians. But as India wanted to play an independent role, she condemned the use of gas in north Vietnam by United States of America. This embittered the relations between the two countries. So much so that President Johnson took a unilateral decision to postpone the proposed visit of India’s Prime Minister to the United States in 1965. That however did not deter and India continued to be critical of American policy in North Vietnam.

When Mrs. Indira Gandhi came to power in 1960 there was acute shortage of food material in India,
particularly in Kerala and West Bengal, which was solved by United States President Johnson by allocating 305 million tonnes of food material.

**Indo-Pak War of 1965:**

The use of American arms by Pakistan during the Indo-Pak war of 1965, further embittered the relations between the India and U.S.A. India strongly protested to the American Government that Pakistan was using these arms contrary to the assurance of the United States Government, that they would not be used against India and asked America to prevent the use of American arms against India. However, American leaders took no interest in this regard. This was naturally interpreted by Indian leaders as Pro-Pakistan stand. The Pro-Pakistan attitude of U.S.A. was further evident from the fact that U.S.A. withdrew six of its ships loaded with defense aid for India, when they were barely fifteen miles away from Indian coast. But subsequently when China served India with an ultimatum to remove Indian military posts in the so-called Chinese territory within three days. But the final intervention by United States warning China save India. This action of the United States was greatly appreciated by Indians.

The United States decision to provide shelter to the Naga rebel leader Phizo in the United States in 1967 caused rift between two countries. The U.S.A. also
considerably cut short her aid to India which adversely affected Indian planning. United States consistent support to Pakistan on Kashmir also caused misunderstanding between two countries. India refused to bow to American pressure and raised the status of Indian Embassy in North Vietnam in January 1970, without caring for American sentiments. India also closed down American cultural centers in Calcutta, Hyderabad, Lucknow, Patna etc.

In the Indo-Pak war of 1971, U.S.A once again showed a bias for Pakistan. She did not utter a word against the military regime inspite of their brutal massacre of innocent Bengalis in East Pakistan. But when war broke out between India and Pakistan on Bangladesh crisis, U.S.A. tried to seek immediate cease-fire in the sub-continent through security council resolutions. All these resolutions were, however vetoed by Soviet Russia and thus United Nations was prevented from taking any action. U.S.A. also tried to help Pakistan by ordering its task force of United States Seventh Fleet to move towards Bay of Bengal on the pretext of evacuating United States Citizen in East Pakistan. The fleet included nuclear power aircraft carrier enterprise. This was a clear move of a military blackmail and was severely criticized by Soviet Russia and India.

Indo-American relations suffered a set back due to refusal of United States to supply nuclear fuel to the
Tarapur Atomic Power Station. According to Indo-United States agreement on co-operation signed in 1963, the United States has to provide fuel and spare parts to Tarapur for 30 years and India on its part, was obliged to permit inspection and safeguards on the Tarapur facility and the spent fuel. Until India's first peaceful underground Nuclear explosion at Pokharan in the Rajasthan desert on 18 May, 1974, everything went on smoothly in the Indo-United States co-operation at Tarapur. The test in the opinion of America was equivalent of a nuclear weapon from a proliferation standpoint. This action of United States greatly irritated the Indians and relations were greatly strained.

However Prime Minister Mr. Desai's official visit to U.S.A. in the second week of June 1978 clicked the Tarapur fuel issue. Mr. Desai repeatedly told the American audiences, India's decision to abjure from nuclear explosion for ever. He told the United Nation General Assembly "In fact we have gone further and adjured nuclear explosions even for peaceful purposes". The American believed his words and the United States congress relented on full supply to Tarapur. The United States House International relations Committee approved on 14 June, 1978, the administration plan to export 76 tonnes of enriched uranium to India.

American President Carter paid a good will visit to India in January 1978 to register American sympathy and amity for India. The economic aid was resumed in 1978. For
a time the prospects for better relationship become bright. Carter was pre-disposed to look to India, as the leader of South Asia, but soon after differences cropped up on nuclear issue, supply of enriched uranium for Tarapur and the Aghan crisis, which again marred the process of improvement in Indo-American relations. However, the visit of Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi to America in July 1982 has worked as 'Operation defrost' between the two countries.

The nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT), which came into force on 5th March 1970, continued to remain contentious issue between two countries. India had refused to sign the NPT as it lacked proper balance of power and responsibility and divided the world into nuclear have's and have-nots. U.S.A. adopted different tactics to pressurize India to sign NPT, which India sternly rejected.

The growing military presence of U.S.A. in the Indian Ocean and the Indian demand for dismantling of the U.S. base in Diego Gracia and its return to Mauritius, Indias strong advocacy of New International Economic order and restructuring of the International monetary institution; are some of the issues which irritated the United States leaders and the relations touched lowest ebb on this issues.

Despite the above irritations the leaders of the two countries showed keenness to improve relations. The
regular exchange of visits by high level officials of the two countries was clear proof of their intentions to improve relations. In 1985 Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi paid a visit to U.S.A. and tried to repair badly strained relations with U.S.A. The United States also responded favourably and agreed to the transfer of high technology (including the sale of high speed computers) and offered advanced military technology and weaponry. As a follow up action of the several agreements reached between Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and President Reagan on 5th November 1987, the two countries signed an agreement on co-operation in high technology. Despite these developments the relations between two countries continued to be far from friendly on account of induction of sophisticated arms into Pakistan even after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and emerging rapprochement between India and Pakistan. Thus despite of numerous bids by the leaders of the two countries relations of India with U.S.A. have not been that cordial.

With the assumption of power by the National Front Government, fresh efforts were initiated to improve relations with U.S.A. The United States Government also responded quite favourably. A change in United States attitude was evident from the fact that for the first time it warned Pakistan against extending support to the militants and terrorists operating in Kashmir from its soil and impressed on her that such support was a violation of the United Nation Charter. It also for the first time
revised its stand on Kashmir and said the United States Government no longer urges a plebiscite on Kashmir as contained in the United Nations resolutions of 1948 and 1949, neither do we oppose or rule it out, should the parties would agree in view of the Shimla agreement. India also adopted quite Co-operative attitude towards U.S.A. during the Gulf war of 1990-91 and provided refueling facilities to American military transport aircraft's bound for the war zone in the Gulf, even at the cost of internal as well as international criticism.

The relationship between India and United States was in a phase of lesser tension during Narasimha Rao's regime, because of the advent of liberalization and globalisation of Indian economy. India is now having a Joint naval exercises with United States and the United States is the largest trading partner of India having invested nearly 8 billion dollars in 1995 alone in the field areas of power, telecommunications, insurance sectors, in addition in other consumerist trade. But during President Bush regime the famous "Super 301", was imposed on India and later anyhow it revoked after a brief period. The relations between two countries suffered a set back in strategic and political arena, when United States Government decided to ease pressler amendment and to supply arms to Pakistan, worth of 370 million dollars in September 1995.
In the negotiations which started in Geneva in 1996 on CTBT, the differences once again cropped up between two countries on the rationality of the treaty. India categorically denied to sign the treaty in its present form as it does not serve the interest of the country. India insisted that it will sign the treaty only when five nuclear powers completely eliminate their nuclear weapons in time bound manner. India blocked the passage of CTBT at Geneva. Despite of this the relations between two countries continued to be normal in other fields of interest.

Statement of the problems

"The Indo-American Relations : Problems and Prospects in 1990’s", is the problem studied

Importance of Indo-United States Relations:

The decade of 1990 is the watershed mark in the history of International relations. Many changes had been taken place in the world politics. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republic has fragmented and it has affected the other parts of the world.

The Indo-United States relations at present are going on through crucial period of tension and uneasiness. There is necessity for two countries to maintain cordial relations at present. The importance given by the Americans to Pakistan has been declined with the failure of Communist Philosophy in almost all countries, which were staunch
Communist Countries. The United States by keeping in mind the India's role in international affairs can support candidature for United Nations, Security Council Permanent membership.

India's liberal economic policies introduced in 1990's, to achieve the set goals of Indian economy, the flow of investment from United States is important. The support of United States is also necessary for economic assistance.

Under these circumstances, it is important for both countries to maintain good relations. The present day world community is highly interdependent, the amity of India to United States is necessary for its market and for the support of other third world countries, is crucial, as India can play a dominant role. In the same way the amity of United States is necessary to India for its economic development and to solve other problems.

OBJECTIVES:

The study "Indo-American Relations: Problems and prospects in 1990's" keeps the following objectives in mind.

1. To trace out the historical background of Indo-United States relations.
2. To examine the major factors in the conduct of relations among India and the United States.
3. To examine the major political issues which have a barring impact on Indo-United States relations.
4. To examine the important factors in the economic and other relations among the two countries.

5. To assess the areas of interest and conflict between the two countries.

**METHODOLOGY:**

The source material collected from primary and secondary sources. The method followed is historical and descriptive.

The material is collected from the libraries of Osmania University, S.V. University, University of Hyderabad, S.K. University, and American Studies Research Centre. The material collected is duly processed and analysed.

**CHAPTERIZATION:**

The introduction chapter state that the problem and important of the study. The second chapter traces the origin and evolution of Indo-United States relations. The third chapter refers to the Political relations between India and the United States in 1990's. The fourth chapter examines economic and other relations. The last chapter deals with summary and conclusions.