India and the United States have witnessed several ups and downs since 1950s. They have been marked by chilling bitterness and sometimes by friendly accommodations. Although my research mainly focuses upon the post Cold War period, but for clear understanding the relations between the two countries have also been discussed in the Cold War detente and the neo Cold War phases.

The main problem which I have intended to deal with is the nature and functioning of U.S. - Chinese - Pakistani triangle and how China and Pakistan play mediatory roles in Indo-U.S. relations do. That is why China and Pakistan are dissatisfied with the U.S.A.’s recent measures against India. Apart from this, the dissertation has described the importance of Indo U.S. relations in the post Cold War scenario. The *raison d’être* in the strategic friendship of the two countries have been pointed out. It has also explored the reasons why there has been a change in the attitude of the United States towards India in the post Cold War era, that has been testified too by namely the joint naval and air exercises together.

Many articles have been published on Indo-U.S. relations. But my research is different from all of these. I have especially tried to show why India’s relations with the United States of America have been at times, friendly. The reasons which play contributing roles in making good relations have been elaborately discussed in my thesis; I have also highlighted several reasons which have been responsible for misunderstanding and enmity in the bilateral relationship. The role of China and Pakistan in the realm of Indo-U.S relation has also been mentioned. America’s changing perception on India and latter’s several diplomatic measures have also been highlighted in my thesis. I have intended to explore reasons, why the U.S.A. regards India as a potential power. Actually Indo-U.S. relations in the post Cold War period are a complex bilateral problem which is variable. The *objectives* of my research would be
1. To find out the real chemistry of bilateral relationship between the world’s two largest democracies;

2. To find out why India and the U.S.A. regard each other as diplomatic collaborators;

3. To find out the reasons why the two nations have a mutual strategic interest in having close relations;

4. To find out why India changes its nuclear policy in tune with America in order to have a pro-American orientation;

5. To find out the reasons for India’s shift from non-alignment to the U.S.A.’s ally.

Testing of Hypotheses: The present study is based on the following hypotheses:

1. After the Cold War India is not getting utility hardware and diplomatic support from Russia and other Republics of the former Soviet Union. So India was rather forced to unveil a new chapter of relationship with the U.S.A. to suit its national interest.

2. In the post-Cold War period, India has adopted a new bilateral economic policy.

3. In the immediate post-Cold War period, India has lost its strategic importance, once attached by Moscow during the Cold War era. Rather, in the post-Cold War years, this has been replaced by improved Indo-U.S. ties as evidenced, by the joint naval and air exercises by the two countries.

4. The U.S.A. being a victim of global terrorism wants India to support its fight against terrorism.

5. Both Washington and New Delhi have separate interests in concluding the Civil Nuclear Deal.

Research Methodology: The present dissertation has followed a historical approach. That is, a broad descriptive method has been adopted viz., the description of the two countries, politico-diplomatic and economic relations. Besides, a historical description of Indo-U.S. relations of the Cold War period has been studied.

Moreover, I have also frequently traveled various libraries for books and articles, which I have consulted thoroughly for my research.
Apart from these, some times the content analysis method has been used to my research. Moreover, the observational method has been some times followed in the sense that I have observed copiously on the Indo-U.S. political, economic and scenarios.

**Review of Literature:** I have come across, in course of my research, many books and articles, which are mentioned below.


- Jawaharlal Nehru, *India’s Foreign Policy: Selected Speeches. September, 1946 - April, 1961*, Publication Division, Govt. of India, Delhi, 1961.


• Sumit Ganguly (ed.), *India's Foreign Policy: Retrospect and Prospect*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2011.


**Chapterization:** The research work has been split into the following seven chapters.

In **Chapter 1**, an overall introduction to the relations between India and the United States has been done chronologically. It has discussed the existing literature in the area and the distinctive character of study. In these chapter hypotheses, research methodology has also been mentioned.
In Chapter 2, I have discussed on Indo-U.S. relations during the Cold War period. In this chapter focus was given on various aspects of bilateral relations. India recognized the importance of the U.S.A. since the very dawn of Indian independence as early as 1944 Nehru wrote that, the United States of America has astonished the world by their stupendous production and organization in the world. In his speech in both Houses of U.S. Congress on October 13, 1949 he stated that “there is much in common between them and friendship and cooperation between our two countries are, therefore, natural”, a stance which has been carved further by almost every Indian Government and the U.S. Administration. The fact however remains that till 1980’s more so till 1970s their relations were marked by confrontation than cooperation, by dramatic oscillation...... by tension and suspicion.

Actually in the Cold War period relation between India and the United States marked by utter suspicion and hostility, albeit it improved to some extent during the time when John F. Kennedy was the President of the U.S.A. Initially, India was offered the arms and economic assistance by the United States. But, since the late Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru spurned the offer in the context of the beginning of the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) and adopting a neutral foreign policy, Pakistan was given the offer and the two countries Pakistan and the United States - signed the Mutual Defense Assistance in early fifties. Secondly, there was slight improvement in Indo-US relations, during the Kennedy period when the communist China allegedly invaded India in 1962. In 1971 on the issue of Bangladesh war and the atrocities committed by the West Pakistani soldiers on the unarmed Bangladeshi civilians, the U.S.A. supported Pakistan. Relations between the two countries further deteriorated during the remaining part of the seventies.

There was a change in the New Delhi- Washington relations during the new - Cold War period since 1980. During the period, India accorded greater attention to the United States vis-à-vis the Soviet Union and tried to improve relations with the U.S. and also with Pakistan. Mrs. Indira Gandhi showed scant attention to the USSR was confirmed by her postponing of the Moscow visit (which was to be held earlier) to September 1982 and advancing her visit to Washington in the middle of 1982. Mr. Rajib Gandhi, during his regime adopted a pro-U.S. Policy to foster bilateral relations.
Chapter 3 has delineated the reason for the decline in the strategic importance of India in Moscow’s perception and its strategic value to the U.S. It has described the joint naval and air exercises between the two countries. It has also shed light on Washington’s their importance as factors in Indo-U.S. relations. This chapter has highlighted the strategic importance of Russia in Indo-U.S. relations. The Indians largely abandoned their reflexive opposition to American strategic, economic and diplomatic policies, evincing a new openness to pursuit of mutually beneficial endeavours. While determined to avoid becoming a pawn in U.S. efforts to contain China, the Indians realized that a closer relationship with the U.S. could help them to fill vacuum left by the Soviet Union's fall and also to balance against rising Chinese power.

In Chapter 4 Indo-U.S. economic and technical and scientific relations have been discussed. In 1990’s American relations with India were focused mainly on market economy. In 1992, Narashima Rao’s Government had taken the policy of liberalization and open market economy, which brought into India a host of American multinationals. The Government of India had also directly approached some of the important U.S. industrialists and business houses for investing in the country. The U.S.A. already invested in the core sectors of the economy like hydrocarbons, power, electronics, computers, insurance, banking and developments of natural resources. The American investments and economic interactions have an ascending curve. The proposed cooperation between the two states has developed through a series of reciprocal steps.

In Chapter 5 I have discussed the 9/11 incident and the U.S. attitude towards global terrorism. I have further explored the comparative relations between the U.S.A. and Pakistan the one hand and with India on the other. This chapter has also throw light on the U.S. action in Afghanistan. In the aftermath of 9/11, the focus of global challenges was on combating terrorism. India was clearly beneficiary of the U.S. policy to remove Taliban from the power in Afghanistan counter terrorism remains an active fact of Indo-U.S. ties. On hearing of the terrorist attacks on the United States, Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee convinced his key advisers and they quickly decide that India would offer its full support for the U.S. war
against terrorism. I have searched the reasons why U.S.A. gave importance on India’s cross-border terrorism problems.

In chapter 6 I have discussed on India’s nuclear links with U.S.A. This chapter also mentioned various aspects of the ‘civil nuclear deal’, which was concluded between the India and U.S.A. India’s growing energy consumption rising oil prices, the volatility of hydrocarbon producing region and the emissions implications of fossil fuel power at this juncture. Indeed, the Indo-U.S. nuclear deal did not happen in isolation from global energy developments.

The three years long effort to set up the Indo-U.S. civil nuclear deal has finally concluded successfully. Political disagreements in India over the deal, leading the left parties had withdrawn support from UPA Government. However, the Government survived the ensuring no confidence motion with the support of other parties and now formally approved by the IAEA Board of Governors. The nuclear deal is unquestionably beneficial to us, it is not going to solve India’s energy problems, or even provide 20 percent of India’s energy requirements by the year 2030. The impact of the deal on our nuclear weapons programme is more complicated than its civilian counterpart. There are two aspects of this question that have agitated the minds of critics of the deal in India. One is the possible infringement of India’s freedom to conduct nuclear tests in future. The second is the deal’s impacts on size of India’s arsenal of nuclear weapons, which is related to our ability to produce and process enough fissible materials for the purpose. The Indo-U.S. civil nuclear deal will remain in force for a period of 40 years and will continue in force thereafter for additional periods of 10 years each unless either party gives notice to terminate it 6 month’s before the end of a period. More over, either party has the right to terminate the agreement prior to its expiration on 1 year’s written notice to the party. I have also discussed whether the agreement would reinforce the growing bilateral relationship between two vibrant democracies or not.

Chapter 7 is conclusion in which I have mentioned the short overview of my research, hypotheses has been tested and suggestions are also given. My humble submission is that my work is altogether different from others. My work concentrates on working of the two triangles: U.S. - India - Pakistan and
U.S.-India-China. My thesis has examined the impact of Pakistan and China on Indo-U.S. relations, i.e.; to what extent these two countries, China and Pakistan figured in the linkage between New Delhi and Washington.

My current research work is based on both primary and secondary sources. I have collected these sources from the following:

I have taken help from University Libraries, Public Libraries and others Centers of Studies Libraries. I have used National Library, Kolkata, The Ramkrishna Mission Library, Kolkata, American Centers Library, Kolkata, British Council Library, Kolkata, State Central Library, Kolkata. I was also frequent visitor to Burdwan University Central Library, Departmental Library of International relations, Jadavpur University, School of Strategic Studies, Library, Jadavpur University, Taraknath Das Research Centre (Department of International Relations) Library. I also worked for my thesis at Centre for Studies in Social Science, Kolkata, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies, Kolkata, Netaji Institute for Asian Studies, Kolkata, Osmania University Centre for International Programmes (previously known as American Study Research Centre), Hyderabad, Jawarlal Nehru University Library, New Delhi. The members of these libraries and Research Centers provided me with valuable documents, reports and other sources. My thanks to them know no bound. I am thankful to various authors and dignitaries who have written on Indo-U.S. relations.