

Indo-US Strengthening Cooperation: Development & Divergences

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Introduction

India and US have shared common values such as democratic system, pluralistic society, equality, liberty and Justice. Indian Constitution makers borrowed concept of Supreme Court and Fundamental Rights from US. The US President Roosevelt supported India's Independence movement on moral and strategic grounds. India had provided assistance to US against Japanese imperialism. In the early 1950s and 1960s, there have had many ups and downs between the two countries relationship. India and US relationship have been based on common interests and convergences. India and US have shared of close cultural and commercial contacts. During Indian struggle for Independence, the US in supporting India's movement. Both the countries are the founder member of United Nations and General Agreement on Trade Tariff. But, there convergences did not lasting mutual relationship. The US subscribed to British view vis-à-vis India's Independence and did not take a clear position against Britain. We can say that some divergences affected Indo-US amicable relationship from time to time. India's stands with Non-alignment movement did not appraise by US policy makers. That is why, US's experts criticized Indian foreign policy. India rejected the membership of US's led Military alliances such as NATO and SEATO. The cold war environment has badly affected India-US relationship. During the 1965 and 1971 Indo-Pakistan war, the US had supported Pakistan. The USSR-India friendship did not liked by US and western countries. The US preferred Communist China and dictator Pakistan than democratic India. The US-Pakistan amicable relationship affected Indo-US collaboration. Yet China factor has boosted Indo-US bilateral relationship. During the Kennedy era in US, India was considered as a strategic partner to countering China. The US rebuked India for 1974 nuclear explosion. The US wanted India to remain nuclear free. India's nuclear status did not recognized by US and western countries and US imposed economic sanctions upon India. The disintegration of USSR paved a way of Indo-US deepen relationship. With the disintegration of USSR and the end of cold war in early 1990s, India's foreign policy also came under scanner for rapprochement. In the early 1990s, due to losing of geo-political ally and economic crisis, India was going through a very difficult period. India refined its foreign policy priorities in changing strategic environment. Due to uni-polar nature of world politics, India was admired a strong defence and strategic partner. India refused to sign NPT and CTBT and US criticized India's approach towards nuclear proliferation. India called NPT and CTBT as a nuclear apartheid. The decade of 1990s was the era of stabilization of new foreign policy initiatives, the next decade of 2000s marked India has earned the status of emerging regional power. India too imparted some new approaches and priorities to her external and internal political views. India has been adopted two-pronged policy, firstly the policy of

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economic liberalization was given practical shape in 1991 and secondly policy of close relations with the US and major powers. Last phase of 20th century proved a cementing years of Indo-US relationship. India's adopted LPG economy for market liberalization which was accommodated by US. Due to Liberalization, Privatization and Globalize (LPG) policy, India opened her market for trade. It proved a right step for cementing relationship. In the 21st century, the convergence area of Indo-US relationship has been enlarged time to time.

Era of Intensive Engagement Since 1998

India had introduced a nuclear explosion in 1998, the US imposed strong sanctions against India. India-US intensive engagement has started in 1998. During the Kargil war in 1999, the US withholding support to Pakistan. The US pressurized Pakistan to withdraw army from Kargil. The US then President Clinton visit to India in 2000 and beginning of a new era for bilateral relationship. Jaswant-Talbot talk was started in 2002 for strengthening India-US defence relations. The Clinton era was the 'beginning era' of Indo-US deepens relationship. The US President Clinton visited India in 2000, proved a pathway of bilateral relations. The emerging power of China has been the main factor of bilateral friendly relationship between India and US. The super-power image of China has affected US hegemony in South Asia. The US experts think that India would be proved a strong ally in South Asia to counterweight China because India is the major military and economic power in the South Asia. India and US signed 'Next Steps in Strategic Partnership' (NSSP) since 2004. During the Tsunami in India in 2004, India and US Navy cooperated in affected areas. India and US government signed a Nuclear Defence Agreement in 2005. The strategic potential of the deal has been clear. India and US signed 'Manmohan-Obama 123 Civil Nuclear Agreement' in 2008 and later has been approved by their respective Parliaments. The Civil Nuclear Agreement of 2008 ended India's nuclear isolation from world nuclear community. According 123 Agreement, India agreed for separation of its civil and military programme. India allowed inspection of IAEA's experts in its nuclear civilian nuclear programme. According 123 agreement, the US offered India to fuel and advance technology. The US approached India because India emerged as a leading player at regional as well as international platform. Indo-US strategic dialogue started in 2010 in Washington and five phases has been successfully completed in 2015. The strategic dialogue focused five areas of collaboration. In recently, both countries are collaborated on many issues such as South-China Sea, climate change, terrorism & nuclear proliferation. During the Obama visit to India, India and US signed 'special & global partnership' in January 2015 in New Delhi. The emergence of China as a world power is a big threat for both countries. Both nations want to counter the emerging threats of ISIS on regional and global platform.

The Indo-US strategic partnership has been built on various components: Defence, Civil-nuclear, Energy Security, Anti-terrorism Cooperation and Space Technology. Both countries are members of many international bodies where they jointly collaborated closely on matters of shared national interests. India and US are making robust efforts to renew and strengthen the bilateral economic and trade relations. The relationship between two countries has evolved into a significant partnership in the economic and commercial sphere. India's relationship with US has perhaps the greatest potential to grow out of US's strategic interests in South Asia. The US is the house of larger Indian Diaspora. The Indian experts of International relations outline a vision for

strengthening relationship with US across community, business and governments.

The US President Obama called India-US relations as a defining partnership of 21st century. India recognized its relations with US as a natural alliance. It is a positive affirmation of India's growing status in international politics. Indo-US bilateral relations have developed into a global strategic partnership based on increasing convergence of interests on bilateral, regional and global issues. The strategic collaboration is broad-based and multi-sectorial, covering trade, defence, security, space and clean energy, people to people interaction provide further vitality and strength to bilateral relationship. Both the countries have deepening and fostering their strategic collaborations in recent years with dialogues covering East Asia, Central Asia and West Asia. India-US East Asia summit started since 2010 to fulfill common interests in the 21st century. Indo-US bilateral relations have been strengthening because China reacted as a hard power. China's assertiveness on South China Sea and Indian Ocean are the vital reason of India-US collaboration. China's emerging power is the big challenge for the security of both countries. China's 'string of pearl' policy posed security challenges for India. China's maritime silk route will be proved big challenge for US's hegemony in South Asia. China-Russia-Pak trilateral alliance posed a big challenge for Indo-US interests in Asia-Pacific region. China-Pak nexus affected India's national security. India had been started Malabar exercise for defence purposes with US, Japan and Australia since 2007 in Bay of Bengal. To counter China's string of pearl policy, India is evolving its relations with all the neighboring country of China. Due to security and economic purposes, India is deepening its relations with all the country of Indian Ocean Sea. China's behavior is not like a soft power and it will affect Indo-US long-term interests. India is cooperating all those country who are threaten from China's emerging power.

India and US have the lips and teeth relationship since a long time. The strategic partnership between India and US for peace and prosperity has been sound and stable. The two countries are coordinating their position on regional and international affairs to strengthening strategic cooperation. Both the countries are deepening their bilateral ties from a strategic and long-term perspective. Both countries are deepening building a new model of strategic partnership.

Under the current strategy, the US is strengthening dialogue with India, including forums such as the United Nations, World Trade Organization and G-20 and is building a more comprehensive defence and security relationship. The US proposed Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), the TPP is a trade agreement sealed by twelve Pacific Rim countries to create the world's largest free trade area. This TPP accord will lower trade tariffs and help the countries counter China's rising economic influence in the region. The TPP is a largest regional trade accord in the history. The TPP deal is a potentially legacy-making achievement for US and the capstone for his external policy 'pivot' toward closer partnership. The TPP started pushing for a Pacific free trade agreement at a time China was emerging as an economic super power in the region. India has been taken keen interests in TPP and will be taken the membership of TPP. The strategic potential of the TPP is clear. It has raised some questions viz-a-viz China-led strategic alliance. India should be signed the membership agreement with TPP due to its two-pronged policy, firstly-it will be paved the way of tariff-free trade and secondly-it will boost India-US relationship and counterweight China's 'One Belt, One road' economic strategy. That is why TPP agreement will deepen India-US bilateral relationship.

Yet, India and US have varying positions on many issues. There are strong disagreement between the two countries such as global warming, WTO's subsidy, Iran issue, Syria and Ukraine issue. India did not follow US's line to counter Russia emergence. India criticized US's interference policy on the basis of human rights and nuclear proliferation. The US did not legitimized India copy-rights issue. India criticized US line to counter Iran based nuclear proliferation. Against India's interests, the US is providing economic and arsenal assistance to Pakistan. India refused to join US coalition against ISIS. Due to trouble past, Indo-US bilateral ties have ups and downs. Terror has brought the closer nations.

India & US: Geo-Political Allies-

Many changes have occurred in international relations and a concurrent strategic cultural re-thinking of both the US and India vis-à-vis each other effecting a warming up, in a historically unprecedented manner, in their defence relations. The event spurring this re-orientation in their strategic relationship was 9/11. This approach is different from the conventional approach. It thawed the concurrent strains in Indo-US relations. This is because 9/11 unfurled a US security agenda in 'search of terror' supposedly located in Afghanistan and required that the US obtain India cooperation in its anti-terror campaign and maintain positive bilateral relations with the two nations.

Talks on the nuclear issue between India and US first commenced in 2005 when the then US President George W. Bush and the then Prime Minister of India Manmohan Singh announced their intention to enter into a nuclear agreement during the later Singh's visit to the Washington. This was followed by the US House of Representatives passing the 'Henry Hyde United States-India Peaceful Atomic Energy Cooperation Act of 2006, in 2006.¹ The 123 Civil Nuclear Agreement of 2008 have paved a way to start cordial era of mutual bilateral relationship.

(a) Joint Strategic vision for the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean Region:

Both the countries agreed a Joint Strategic Vision for the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean region; India and the US are vital partners of regional and global development. From Africa to East Asia, both countries are building strategic partnership to support sustainable and inclusive development, and increased regional connectivity by collaborating with other interested partners to address poverty and support broad-based prosperity. Both nations are supporting regional economic integration and promoting infrastructure connectivity via economic development in a manner that links South, Southeast and Central Asia. India and US are enhancing energy transmission, encouraging free trade and people-to-people linkages. This India-US strategic cooperation would accelerate regional prosperity.² The strategic ties once described by Obama as one of the defining partnerships of the 21st century. The strategic ties have extraordinary potential and will be helped to extraordinary successful. These ties will help re-energize the relationship and proved game-changer for India-US strategic relationship.

(b) Special & Global Partnership for the 21st century:

Forming the backdrop of progress on Indo-US strategic ties is unquestionably the military and economic rise of China in 21st century.³ China is a big concern for India as well as US due to its military and economic emergence. India is concerns due to China's assertiveness approach on India's territory and the US is concerns that China is challenging its hegemony. Both the countries

want to counter China with the help of strategic partnership with others like minded countries such as Japan, Australia and Vietnam etc. The bilateral mutually collaboration is based on to counter-terrorism because terrorism is big threats for existence international security scenario. That is why, both nations want to re-affirms 'special and global partnership' in the 21st century.

MAJOR AREAS OF COOPERATION

India-US Security Cooperation

Defence cooperation between the India and US remains in relatively early stages of development. Since late 2001, and despite a concurrent US rapprochement with Pakistan, US-India security cooperation has flourished. India-US defence cooperation among the most important aspects of transformed bilateral relations. The India-US Defence Policy Group (DPG) moribund after India's 1998 nuclear explosion and ensuing US sanctions was revived in 2001 and meets annually.⁴ The strategic potential of the Indo-US security cooperation is clear.

Nuclear Cooperation

The deal is seen as a watershed in the India-US defence relations and introduces a new aspect to international non-proliferation efforts. It lifts a three decade old US moratorium on nuclear trade with India. It provides US assistance to India's civilian nuclear energy program and expands US-India cooperation in energy and satellite technology. But many critics in the US say that the deal will be proved fundamentally reverses half a century of US non-proliferation efforts.⁵ The Indo-US nuclear deal was also seen as diplomatic victory for the Washington from the point of view of its non-proliferation concerns. Though with the help of this nuclear deal, US skillfully managed to bring India into its non-proliferation umbrella. Till then India was pursuing its nuclear programme without international safeguards of IAEA. With the signing of deal it agreed to put 14 of its nuclear reactors under the supervision of IAEA safeguards. All previous efforts of the US failed to bring India under IAEA safeguards.⁶ There is not denying the fact that this nuclear deal have raised some concerns for India's long term interests. India welcomed the US offer of membership in its 'Global Entry Trusted Traveller Network Programme, a scheme which will expedite the entry approved India travellers at the US border. Both the countries reaffirmed their commitment of bilateral homeland security cooperation.

Counter-Terrorism Cooperation:

One important facet of the strengthening bilateral relationship between India and US is the issuance of various joint statements on increased counter-terrorism cooperation in the past 9/11 scenario. In pursuance of this aim, both, India and the US supported the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy adopted by the UN General Assembly in September 2006 and have pursued approval of the draft UN Comprehensive convention on international Terrorism. At a bilateral level, India-US CTJWG's agenda has taken on a renewed vigour. The CTJWG has met nine times since its inception in early 2000. The CTJWG has proved to be a useful mechanism for exchange of information, intelligence sharing, anti-terrorism training programmes and for strengthening, institutional links between crime prevention agencies in the both nations.⁷ Both the countries decided to deepening the global strategic partnership on issues ranging from cyber-security, counter-terrorism and countering violent extremism.

Economic Cooperation :

The US significantly increased bilateral aid to India in FY2002 and FY2003, as part of its counterterrorism efforts in the region. The current economic assistance program aims to further India's development in order to enhance the country's rise as an influential US partner on the global platform. Additionally, US assistance serves the poorest segments of the population in order to mitigate economic and social conditions that may give rise to extremism.⁸

The US is the third largest sources of foreign direct investments to India. The cumulative FDI inflows from the US from April 2000 to March 2011 amounted to about \$ 9.44 billion constituting nearly 7.30 percent of the total FDI into India. The recently survey indicated that after 1945, US had given more than financial aid to India than other country of the world. The US trade with India is on the path of recovery and is likely to reach \$80 billion mark in bilateral trade in 2014. Despite the growth in bilateral trade and the improvement in trade relations between India-US, there are still a number of economic and trade issues between the bilateral levels. Both the countries seek greater market access to the each other's domestic markets, as well as the lowering of perceived trade barriers. There is remarkable potential in both the nations to increase share in each other's domestic market, although there are some non-tariff barriers for both the countries that have barred the entry of many items. Both the countries agreed to improve enabling environments to mobilize investment, especially for the financing of infrastructure. Both the countries are deepening mutual understanding of their respective procurement systems and approval processes, and to address process-related difficulties in defence trade, technology transfer and collaboration. Both governments signaled their readiness to deepen bilateral trade and investment ties in a manner that promotes economic growth and job creation in both nations.

Science and Technology Initiative:

Both nations are working on "High Technology, Space and Health Cooperation". Both are collectively working on research areas which can brought India into the 21st century levels of sophistication in manufacturing. There is big problem fall in energy costs jobs via manufacturing in many areas have begun to return to US, there could be areas where the government's 'Make in India' can attract collaborations in select areas. India also inserted a new initiative called GIAN- Global initiative of Academic Networks, which envisions 2000 US researchers travelling to India each year for research.

India and US signed a Science & Technology Agreement in October 2005 that encourages research and training and the expansion of public private partnerships. India and US are also committed to protecting each other's sensitive technology and information. Both nations collectively working on cooperation in Science and Technology forum, which has enabled more than 10,000 scientists, technologists and researchers. India's Ministry of Earth Sciences and US's NOAA have been strengthened Collaboration by signing of various implementation arrangements. India's space agency ISRO and US's space agency NASA have signed many agreements to working on successfully collaboration in space research program. India and US are working on common security threats and proved closest partners.

Cooperation on Urban Health Sector:

The US agency for International Development (USAID) launched its new Health programme for

Urban Poor Program that aims to improve reproductive and child health in urban poor populations, especially for those dwelling in slums, by building the local capacity, improving program implementation and increasing resources allocation for urban health through policy analysis. Both nations are working in close collaboration with urban local bodies. Both the countries agreed to establish a new technical dialogue that will promote plant health and animal health. Both the countries have signed Memorandum of Understanding on cancer research and Ebola control. India and US have signed MOU on Prevention, Control, Management and collaboration in Environmental and Occupational Health. The National Cancer Institute (NCI) in the US coordinates with the India's National Cancer Programme, which will help in treatment and prevention of cancer. Both governments have signed on sharing information and expertise on communicable and non-communicable diseases.

Cooperation on Climate Change & Renewable Energy:

India and US are working on energy and climate change area, highlighting the link of clean and renewable energy and nuclear energy as countering to existing threats of global warming. Both nations signed strategic partnership in this area under Partnership to Advance Clean Energy (PACE). Both nations have committed working on successful outcome of the Paris 2015 conference under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), which is to lay down the post-Kyoto road map for carbon emissions cut. The US facilitated economic aid to India for enable transition to a low carbon economy. India and US, both are interested to expansion of renewable energy to counter existing climate change problem.

Cooperation in Regional & Multilateral Forums.

Both the countries deeply believed that the Syria issue to end politically not by military power. Both sides appreciated the government's effort to promote peace in Afghanistan. India and US expressed their concern on illegal drug trade and terrorism in Afghanistan. The US has recognized India's major role in reconstruction and development in Afghanistan. The US also regarded that New Delhi as a natural partner, which is in a unique position to promote economic growth and stability in Afghanistan. Both showed their concerns for instability in Syria and Iran and its nearby regions of West Asia. Both the nations are interested to sort out the ISIS issue according to UN resolution. Both countries pledged to work together on common challenges and opportunities including combating terrorism and violent extremism. The US continues to fully support India's full membership in the four international export control regimes, which would further facilitate India's defence preparedness. Both the countries agreed to enlarge their cooperation bilaterally and also at the multilateral fora, including the G-20, to achieve reforms for stronger, more sustainable and more balanced growth. Both are the cooperating with each other especially global issues. Both nations signed a joint declaration in defence cooperation, which covered research, defence technology transfer and protecting each other's sensitive technology. India and US are collaborating on a new Gurgaon based National Defence University programme. Both the countries pledged to establish an infrastructure collaboration platform convened by the ministry of finance. Both countries pledged to establish 'US-India Business Council'.

India and US are committed to pursue a new phase of the relationship that will enhance global prosperity and stability. Both the countries reaffirmed their partnership to move ahead and operationalize the provisions of the Civil Nuclear Agreement at the earliest. Both countries also

agreed to consult regularly and seek the early start of negotiations on a multilateral and non-discriminatory platform. India and US are striving to increase and diversify bilateral strategic relationship and expand trade and investment flows and as members of G-20, are working together with other major economics to foster a sustainable recovery from the global economic crisis. There is no dispute that India is a key major player in the nuclear scenario. India has sought membership of the 48member grouping NSG since 2008 with the help of US.

New Developments & Divergences-

India and US announced to advance the smart cities initiative in further future. The smart city collaboration is a historic effort to promote economic growth, improve governance and will provide efficient public services to India's urban residents. Both countries established India-US Private Sector Advisory Group (PSAG), which had been created under the TPF to provide strategic advice. The US was supported to provide Sikorsky bags for the Indian Navy in a contract worth Rs. 6,000 crore. India had been constituted an Inter-Ministerial Committee to fast-track investment from US. India and US have agreed to further strengthen their ties in the field of electronic manufacture and Information Technology. Both countries wanted to share vision on digital delivery of services and Cyber Security. The US Secretary of State John Kerry discussed with India on global terror on the sidelines of the Vibrant Gujarat summit. Mr. Kerry discussed maritime security, freedom of navigation, piracy, proliferation of Mass Destruction Weapons and deepening partnership to combat terrorism. The US assured its commitment to strengthening of regional dialogue on key political and security issues. Both governments signed a Memorandum of Cooperation (MOC) on transportation between both countries. The MOC will cover rail transportation, fuel efficiency and environmental protections.

Yet India and US are collaborated much but this is not meant that there are no mutually differences. Both countries are explicit divergences on many issues. The US announced to carry out a lawful executive action to fix the country's broken immigration system; this will affect Indian Diaspora in US. The agriculture subsidy is big concern for both countries on WTO platform. India wants to implement in 'Doha Agreement' but the US and western lobbies are totally against it. The US import duties on Indian steel products have raised divergences. India and US are expressed divergent views on WTO impasse such as peace clause on food security and trade facilitation agreement (TFA). India is represented developing countries and the US is leading western countries on WTO platform. India is not satisfied on the US's financial aid to Pakistan on the name of terrorism. The US is not much pressurized Pakistan state-sponsored terrorism. The US thought that Pakistan is the main ally of US on counter terrorism strategy and India's view that Pakistan is the capital & exporting country of terrorism. The US differentiated 'good' and 'bad' terrorism; this is a big concern for India's security in 21st century.

Concluding Remarks-

During the Cold War, India and US relationship have mixed with ups and downs experience. During the Cold War, due to divergent approach of both countries on various issues, the US had totally ignored India. India and US have had strain relationship during the era of Cold-War. After the Soviet disintegration, India refined and reviewed its foreign policy in changing strategic environment. India was aspired a strong defence and economic partner in changing geo-strategic

environment. After the demise of bi-polar system, the US had preferred India to its South Asian foreign policy. Due to uni-polar nature of world politics, Pakistan hasn't proved front-line state for US. The US sidelined Pakistan and strengthening strategic relationship with India. India supported the US war on terror and criticized every type of radical activity. In currently, India is the paramount allies of US rebalance policy to containing China. Both countries working for strengthening strategic global partnership. Both countries are collaborated on global warming, climate change, space, maritime and energy sphere. Since 2010, India-US have started strategic dialogue. The US recognized India as a defence partner. Since 2011, the US is largest defence exporter to India. The US is reacting as a security provider in Asia-pacific region. The US had introduced 'pivot-Asia' policy in 2011, which was focused to combat China's emerging as a super-power. India is the paramount partner of US's 'pivot-Asia' policy in relation to South Asia. India is the part of 'quadrilateral democratic alliance' with US, Japan and Australia to counter China in Asia-pacific region. Both India and US want to counter China-led 'one-belt one road' and '21st century maritime Silk Road strategy'. The US supported India's entry in Nuclear Supplier Group (NSG) and Missile Trade Control Regime (MTCR) Both the nations signed Logistic Support Agreement to strengthening defence cooperation. Both the countries emphasized on maritime security in Indian Ocean and South China Sea. Both nations are pressurized China to follow United Nations Law of Sea (UNCLOS) guidelines vis-à-vis maritime security. Both the nations are sharing information to eradicate ISIS problem. Both, India and US have actively participated in 'heart of Asia' conference to establish peace and stability in Afghanistan. There is not denying the fact that Indo-US cooperation has been proved a democratic collaboration of 21st century. Their mutual ties are of great significant for stability and peace in across the world. It is high time for both countries to address regional and global problem collectively.

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