

INDO-US RELATIONS FOR A SYMBIOTIC WORLD ORDER

A thesis presented to the Faculty of the U.S. Army  
Command and General Staff College in partial  
fulfillment of the requirements for the  
degree

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE  
General Studies

by

PRANAY PAWAR, MAJ, INDIAN ARMY  
B.A., JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY, DELHI, 1999  
PG DIPLOMA, HNB UNIVERSITY, SRINAGAR, 2003

Fort Leavenworth, Kansas  
2014-02

Approved for public release; distribution is unlimited.

<b>REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE</b>			<i>Form Approved</i> <i>OMB No. 0704-0188</i>		
Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing this collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden to Department of Defense, Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports (0704-0188), 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302. Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to any penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number. <b>PLEASE DO NOT RETURN YOUR FORM TO THE ABOVE ADDRESS.</b>					
<b>1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY)</b> 12-12-2014		<b>2. REPORT TYPE</b> Master's Thesis		<b>3. DATES COVERED (From - To)</b> FEB 2014 – DEC 2014	
<b>4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE</b>  Indo-US Relations for a Symbiotic World Order			<b>5a. CONTRACT NUMBER</b>		
			<b>5b. GRANT NUMBER</b>		
			<b>5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER</b>		
<b>6. AUTHOR(S)</b>  MAJ Pranay Pawar			<b>5d. PROJECT NUMBER</b>		
			<b>5e. TASK NUMBER</b>		
			<b>5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER</b>		
<b>7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)</b> U.S. Army Command and General Staff College ATTN: ATZL-SWD-GD Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027-2301			<b>8. PERFORMING ORG REPORT NUMBER</b>		
<b>9. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)</b>			<b>10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)</b>		
			<b>11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)</b>		
<b>12. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT</b> Approved for Public Release; Distribution is Unlimited					
<b>13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES</b>					
<b>14. ABSTRACT</b> India and the US have had rather inconsistent relationship, in spite of being leading democracies in the world. Post 9/11 however, the relationship between India and the US has improved significantly but, irritants remain. The thesis looks at the possibility of cooperation between both the countries to build a world order that is symbiotic and beneficial to both. The research is extremely significant as India starts asserting itself on the world stage and the US faces the leadership challenge from other emerging powers of the world.  The thesis uses historical representation and trend analysis for researching the topic. This thesis will analyze the national interests of India and the US to understand the congruence and conflict of national interests. The thesis will also consider the past and present relationship of India and the US and their strategic behavior in international politics. Based on the results and contextualizing the evolving world order, the thesis will contemplate the options for cooperation and progression of relationship between India and the US. The thesis will conclude proposing the most beneficial option.					
<b>15. SUBJECT TERMS</b> India, US, World Order, National interests, Natural Allies, Economy, Security					
<b>16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:</b>			<b>17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT</b>	<b>18. NUMBER OF PAGES</b>	<b>19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON</b>
<b>a. REPORT</b>	<b>b. ABSTRACT</b>	<b>c. THIS PAGE</b>			<b>19b. PHONE NUMBER (include area code)</b>
(U)	(U)	(U)	(U)	131	

Standard Form 298 (Rev. 8-98)  
Prescribed by ANSI Std. Z39.18

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

Name of Candidate: MAJ Pranay Pawar

Thesis Title: Indo-US Relations for a Symbiotic World Order

Approved by:

\_\_\_\_\_, Thesis Committee Chair  
Gary Bjorge, Ph.D.

\_\_\_\_\_, Member  
Joseph G. Babb, Ph.D.

\_\_\_\_\_, Member  
LTC Mark L. Pralat, Sr., M.A.

Accepted this 12th day of December 2014 by:

\_\_\_\_\_, Director, Graduate Degree Programs  
Robert F. Baumann, Ph.D.

The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the student author and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College or any other governmental agency. (References to this study should include the foregoing statement.)

## ABSTRACT

INDO-US RELATIONS FOR A SYMBIOTIC WORLD ORDER, by MAJ Pranay Pawar, 131 pages

India and the US have had rather inconsistent relationship, in spite of being leading democracies in the world. Post 9/11 however, the relationship between India and the US has improved significantly but, irritants remain. The thesis looks at the possibility of cooperation between both the countries to build a world order that is symbiotic and beneficial to both. The research is extremely significant as India starts asserting itself on the world stage and the US faces the leadership challenge from other emerging powers of the world.

The thesis uses historical representation and trend analysis for researching the topic. This thesis will analyze the national interests of India and the US to understand the congruence and conflict of national interests. The thesis will also consider the past and present relationship of India and the US and their strategic behavior in international politics. Based on the results and contextualizing the evolving world order, the thesis will contemplate the options for cooperation and progression of relationship between India and the US. The thesis will conclude proposing the most beneficial option.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I take this opportunity to convey my wholehearted gratitude to everyone who assisted, guided and motivated me to complete the thesis. This thesis is my first academic endeavor on a topic which is close to my heart and has tremendous strategic influence on my profession. India is also being termed as a lynchpin in the pivot to Asia-Pacific.

I thank my thesis committee for the invaluable time, effort and faith they invested in me. I revere, Dr Bjorge, who has been instrumental in motivating, guiding, refining and critically examining my thesis. I convey my gratitude to Dr Baab and LTCOL Pralat, who have provided their valuable guidance and constructive criticism. Dr Hernandez was instrumental in building confidence for defense of the thesis. This thesis would not have been complete without the efforts of Ms. Venita Krueger, who worked very patiently with me to help format my thesis. I sincerely convey my gratitude to Librarians at the CARL library, who went beyond their call to provide me research material for the thesis.

I also thank all the instructors and students SG 3A of providing me inputs for the thesis. My IMS friends and IMSD faculty also enriched me with their valuable opinion and insight. Lastly, I thank my wife and daughter, who were extremely patient and tolerant with me.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE THESIS APPROVAL PAGE .....	iii
ABSTRACT .....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	vi
ILLUSTRATIONS .....	ix
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION .....	1
Research Question .....	3
Primary Question .....	3
Secondary Questions .....	3
Assumptions .....	4
Definitions .....	5
Limitations .....	9
Delimitation .....	9
Significance of Study .....	11
Conclusions .....	12
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW .....	13
Introduction .....	13
Overview .....	14
National Interest .....	14
US National Interest .....	17
India's National Interests .....	18
Security Interests .....	18
Economic Interest .....	20
International order .....	20
Global Issues .....	21
Past India-US Relations .....	22
Present Indo-US Relations .....	23
Changing World Order and the Need for Cooperation .....	24
Future of India-US Relations .....	25
Summary and Conclusions .....	26
CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY .....	27
Introduction .....	27
Selected Research Methodology .....	28
Tools for Research .....	29
Literature and Data Evaluation .....	31

Conclusion.....	32
CHAPTER 4 NATIONAL INTEREST.....	33
Introduction.....	33
The Obligation to Understand National Interest.....	33
Definition.....	35
History of National Interest.....	36
Functions of National Interest.....	39
Approaches to National Interest.....	39
Morgenthau: National Interest and National Power.....	42
Types of National Interest.....	43
Significance of National Interest to Indo-US relations.....	45
The US National Interests.....	45
American Exceptionalism.....	48
American View of the World.....	50
The World that America Seeks.....	51
The US National Interest Defined.....	53
Security.....	53
Prosperity.....	56
Values.....	57
International Order.....	59
The Asia-Pacific Pivot.....	61
India's National Interest.....	62
Security.....	64
Internal Security.....	64
External Security.....	66
Pakistan.....	66
China.....	67
Afghanistan.....	69
Southeast Asia.....	69
Economic Growth.....	70
Sustaining Economic Growth.....	70
International order.....	71
Global issues.....	72
Terrorism.....	73
Climate Change.....	74
Pandemics.....	74
Nuclear Weapons Free World.....	75
Other National Interests.....	75
Indo-US Relations.....	76
Past Relationship.....	77
Present Indo-US Cooperation.....	80
Strategic Cooperation.....	80
Economy and Trade.....	82
Energy.....	83

Education .....	84
Space .....	84
People to People Ties .....	85
World order .....	86
Changing World Order and Need for Cooperation .....	91
Economic .....	92
Military Capabilities .....	94
Battle for Influence .....	95
India's importance to US .....	96
Importance of US for India .....	99
The Future of Indo-US Relations .....	101
Strategic Pause .....	102
Issue Based Cooperation .....	103
Natural Allies .....	104
 CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION .....	 106
Introduction .....	106
Interpretation .....	108
Actions Recommended for the US to Improve Relations with India .....	109
US: Benefits Derived .....	111
Actions Recommended for India to Improve Relations with the US .....	112
India: Benefits Derived .....	114
Recommendations for Further Research .....	115
Conclusion .....	116
 BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	 117



## ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page
Figure 1. Flow of Thesis .....	30
Figure 2. National Interests and Formulation of Strategy.....	35
Figure 3. Economic prediction up to 2050.....	87
Figure 4. Shifting Economic Center of Gravity.....	89
Figure 5. Expenditure on Defense in Billion Dollars.....	90
Figure 6. Standing of nations based on their military capabilities.....	92
Figure 7. Elements of National Power .....	93
Figure 8. DIME and End, Ways Means Analysis for Indo-US Relations .....	106
Figure 9. Congruence and Conflict of Indo-US National Interest .....	108

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

After a decade of war, we are developing a new defense strategy – a central feature of which is a “rebalancing” towards the Asia-Pacific region. In particular, we will expand our military partnership and our presence in the arc extending from the Western Pacific and East Asia into the Indian Ocean region and South Asia. Defense cooperation with India is a linchpin in this strategy. India is one of the largest and most dynamic countries in the region and the world, with one of the most capable militaries. India also shares with the United States a strong commitment to a set of principles that help maintain international security and prosperity.<sup>1</sup>

— Leon Panetta

The aim of this thesis was to study the India-US relations through a prism of strategic confluence of national interest, with a backdrop of history, and present relations while presenting recommendations for the future. Indo-US relations have seen all possible contours of relationship. They have waxed and waned through the ages, affected by the geopolitical realities and priorities of both the nations. However, never before has the need been felt for both the nations to come together and forge a robust relationship in order to stabilize the world order, which will be beneficial to both the nations.

A strong Indo-US relationship would promote growth of India’s leadership on a global stage and for the US it could well be game changer in the balance of power in Asia and Africa. Whereas India could provide the manpower, market and opportunities to the US multinational companies, the US could provide India with FDI (foreign direct investment) and technology to help India’s sagging infrastructure and manufacturing structure. India could contribute to a balance of power in the Asia-Pacific region,

---

<sup>1</sup> Excerpts of the speech of Mr. Leon Panetta, in a public address at the Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses, New Delhi, June 2012.

preventing the hegemony of any particular nation, while at the same time US could aid the growth and development of India's defense capabilities. Both countries possess complimentary capabilities which closer relations could exploit and weaknesses that could be mitigated up, by working together.

Even though various think tanks both in the US and India recommend a strategic alliances between the countries, there are still a number of issues that are impeding the relationship's progress. These issues range from the clash of commercial interests to clashes on geopolitical priorities. In spite of all these differences, the commonality of values, culture, and the democratic ideals still binds the nations together.

The US has a number of pressing issues to handle, from the Ukraine crisis, the ISIS crisis, the exploding Ebola pandemic, climate change to preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction to countries such as Iran and North Korea. It has to handle them against the backdrop of a struggling, but reviving economy, challenges to its leadership in Asia-Pacific region, a declining budget for its armed forces, declining NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) capabilities and the rise of the rest of the world.

It may not be true to assert that US power is declining, but, it would be prudent to observe that the rise of the rest of world has remarkably altered and is altering the global balance of power. Whereas at one time when the US could easily take unilateral action against an erring state, now it has to build up a "coalition of the willing." What is distinctly clear is the relative decline of traditional US allies, due to rise of other powers. As globalization and interdependency forces nations to build new alliances and pacts, traditional alliances and pacts are under stress. If this trend continues then it can be

predicted that the US may find it difficult in the times ahead to safeguard its national interests. Hence, pragmatically US has to seek partnership with other nations that could help her retain global leadership in the long term

India is predicted to be a future global center of power for some time. However, India faces huge daunting tasks at home before becoming a great power. Home to more than 1.4 billion people, it has its own range of complex and interdependent problems. Scarce capital, lack of energy resources, an unstable neighborhood, the threat of terrorism and the hegemonic ambitions of China are big challenges for India. India will have to overcome these challenges to develop the country from the present developing status to developed status. India, in spite of being the third largest economy by Purchasing Power Parity (PPP), is home to one third of world's poor. India desperately needs capital, technology and a stable balance of power in the Asian region.

In this context, whether or not India and the US could come together as strategic partners is an open question. This thesis debates this issue, researching the facts and based on the facts and assumptions lays out a possible roadmap for the future. The thesis carries out research on the following questions to seek an outline for the roadmap.

### Research Question

#### Primary Question

Can India and the US form an alliance for a symbiotically beneficial world order?

#### Secondary Questions

1. What are the national interests of a state?
2. What are the national interests of the US?

3. What are the national interests of India?
4. Where do the Indian and the US national interests coincide and collide?
5. How have the US - India relations evolved?
6. What is the likely future world order?
7. Why do the US and India need each other?
8. What are the options for cooperation between the US and India?
9. What are the broad steps for collaboration for India and the US?

### Assumptions

Democracy forms the bedrock of an alliance between both the US and India. Some theorize that democracies never collide and are generally accommodative of each other. It is a fact the world's most powerful democracy, the US and the world's largest democracy, India, almost came close to a conflict in 1971 during the Indo-Pak war. However, it is argued that, the consequences of, attacking a democracy like India prevented the conflict. Based on the strategic guidance issued by the President of US, it is assumed that the US will endeavor to keep its leadership role and preeminence of power for a foreseeable future. The thesis also assumes that India, in its quest to find its rightful place on the world stage does not seek to upset the status of current world order. Her endeavors are aligned to persuading the world powers to accommodate India within the world order. It is assumed that the relations between the US and India will have some priorities and perceptions, but that in the long term the relationship will have more commonalities than differences. The relationship is assumed to be based on a very broad agenda rather than on narrow short-term tactical gains.

## Definitions

There are certain definitions which the readers should have grasp of in order to understand the thesis work. These definitions particularly relate to international relations theory.

City on a hill: Matthew 5:14-15, 14 “You are the light of the world. A town built on a hill cannot be hidden. Neither do people light a lamp and put it under a bowl. Instead they put it on its stand, and it gives light to everyone in the house. Based on this, Puritan John Winthrop's speech brought this term to the American folklore, wherein United States of America is considered as a guiding light for the entire world. (American exceptionalism)

Coalition of the willing: The term coalition of the willing is a post-1990 political phrase used to describe collective participants in military interventions that fall outside of United Nations peacekeeping operations. It has existed in the political science/international relations literature at least since UN peacekeeping operations began to run into complications in 1993-94, and alternatives began to be considered.

Developed country: The term developed country is used to describe countries that have a high level of development according to some criteria. Which criteria, and which countries are classified as being developed, is a contentious issue and is surrounded by fierce debate. Economic criteria have tended to dominate discussions. One such criterion is income per capita; countries with high gross domestic product (GDP) per capita would thus be described as developed countries. Another economic criterion is industrialization; countries in which the tertiary and quaternary sectors of industry dominate would thus be described as developed. More recently another measure, the Human Development Index

(HDI), which combines an economic measure, national income, with other measures, indices for life expectancy and education has become prominent.

Developing country: Developing country is a term generally used to describe a nation with a low level of material well-being (not to be confused with third world countries). Since no single definition of the term developed country is recognized internationally, the levels of development may vary widely within so-called developing countries. Some developing countries have high average standards of living.

Eastern nations: The term Eastern world means very broadly the various cultures or social structures and philosophical systems of Eastern Asia or geographically the Eastern Culture. This includes the Indian subcontinent (which is Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Myanmar, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, the Maldives, Nepal and sometimes Afghanistan), the Far East (which is China, Taiwan, Vietnam, Cambodia, Malaysia, Mongolia, Indonesia, Japan, North Korea, South Korea), Australasia (Australia, New Zealand). The Middle East/Near East and Central Asia are, as their names imply, often considered 'east' in terms of Europe

Egalitarianism: Egalitarian doctrines maintain that all humans are equal in fundamental worth or social status, according to the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, the term has two distinct definitions in modern English. It is defined either as a political doctrine that all people should be treated as equals and have the same political, economic, social, and civil rights or as a social philosophy advocating the removal of economic inequalities among people or the decentralization of power.

Jus ad Bellum: Jus (or ius) ad bellum is the title given to the branch of law that defines the legitimate reasons a state may engage in war and focuses on certain criteria that render a war just. The principal modern legal source of jus ad bellum derives from the Charter of the United Nations, which declares in Article 2: “All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations”

Jus in Bello: Jus in Bello, by contrast, is the set of laws that come into effect once a war has begun. Its purpose is to regulate how wars are fought, without prejudice to the reasons of how or why they had begun.

Laissez-fair: the theory or system of government that upholds the autonomous character of the economic order, believing that government should intervene as little as possible in the direction of economic affairs.

National Security Strategy (NSS): The NSS, which was warranted by Goldwater–Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986, is the primary document, through which the president of US, informs the politicians, armed forces and citizens regarding national interests and the action required to preserve those national interest. (Source The NSS, which was warranted by Goldwater–Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986, is the primary document, through which the president of US, informs the politicians, armed forces and citizens regarding the national interests and the action required to preserve those national interest. (Source: <http://www.nsa.gov>)

Non-Alignment: The political attitude of a state that does not associate or identify itself with the political ideology or objective espoused by other states, groups of states, or



international causes, or with the foreign policies stemming therefrom. It does not preclude involvement, but expresses the attitude of no recommitment to a particular state (or block) or policy before a situation arises.

Operation Topaz: An operation planned by Pakistani dictator Zia ul Haq, in concert with the ISI, the defense intelligence agency of Pakistan, to fuel unrest in Kashmir, using terrorists as tools.

Panchsheel: The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, known in India as the Panchsheel Treaty (from Sanskrit, panch: five, sheel: virtues), are a set of principles to govern relations between states. Their first formal codification in treaty form was in an agreement between China and India in 1954. They were enunciated in the preamble to the “Agreement (with exchange of notes) on trade and intercourse between Tibet Region of China and India,” which was signed at Peking on 29 April 1954. This agreement stated the five principles as: (1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty. (2) Mutual non-aggression. (3) Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs. (4) Equality and cooperation for mutual benefit. (5) Peaceful co-existence.

Western nations: Those nation which either belong to Europe or North America or generally having values, ethnicity, religion and languages belonging to that region

World order: A system controlling events in the world, especially a set of arrangements established internationally for preserving global political stability. Numerous theories explain world order, the most popular are: balance of power, bi-polarity, multi-polarity, and hegemony.

### Limitations

The thesis has a huge scope for research, studies, and interpretation. However, the paucity of time is a big limitation for the research. The resources involved in the form of books, official literature are exhaustive from the US perspective, however the Indian perspective is, especially the official one from the government, is restricted. Hence every possible use of literature available from the speeches of leaders is made of to cover the unavailability of official documents. The research has been conducted with utmost neutrality, keeping in mind the likely bias of the research by the researcher. Another limitation is the dynamism involved in the US-India relations, wherein the issues that hinder the growth of relationship are sorted out by both the countries dynamically, however, the issues covered in the thesis are up to date till September 2014. The US-India relationship often finds expression in strong rhetoric, but the ground realities do not match the rhetoric. Hence a deliberate attempt has been made to differentiate between rhetoric and reality on ground.

### Delimitation

While evaluating the relations between India and US, the DIME<sup>2</sup> model has been used. The DIME model provides clarity on the national interest, convergence of national interest, and also conflict of national interests. The articulation of the factors within the DIME model reflects the material in the literature cited. The thesis also uses the ends,

---

<sup>2</sup> The DIME model is a traditional abstract categorization of actions based on aspects of national power. Each categorization - Diplomatic, Informational, Military, and Economic - is an instrument of national power. There are multiple factors involved in each category of national power. Georgetown.edu, "Decision Making Analysis (DIME Model), accessed October 28, 2014, <https://sites.google.com/a/georgetown.edu/nsc-decision-making-and-oaf/decision-types/dime>.

ways, and means model<sup>3</sup> to describe the end state of the relationship, the wars being employed to achieve end and, the resources(means) being used.

The thesis, as stated earlier has a very broad scope because of the complexities and number of stakeholders involved. It is not qualitatively possible for the thesis to cover the entire gamut of factors and actors affecting the relationship. In order to limit the scope of the thesis, and focus primarily on the viability of developing the US-India relationship, certain actors and factors received limited consideration.

Pakistan has been limited as a factor from study. The reason for doing so is, de-hyphenation<sup>4</sup> of US policy on India and Pakistan and also the realization on the India's part about the need to overcome the regional barriers in order to become a world player.

---

<sup>3</sup> Ends are the objectives pursued, means are the resources committed to achieve objectives, and ways are how those resources are organized and applied to achieve the desired objectives. D. Robert Worley, "Afghanistan: The Ends, Ways, and Means," *The World Post*, October 22, 2012, accessed October 29, 2014, [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/d-robert-worley/afghanistan-ends-ways-means\\_b\\_1989257.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/d-robert-worley/afghanistan-ends-ways-means_b_1989257.html).

<sup>4</sup>As the contributing documents to the original RAND report elaborated, a de-hyphenated policy in South Asia would have three distinct features: First, U.S. calculations [would] systemically decouple India and Pakistan; That is, U.S. relations with each state would be governed by an objective as assessment of the intrinsic value of each country to U.S. interests rather than by fears about how U.S. relations with one would affect relations with the other. Second, the United States would recognize that India is on its way to becoming a major Asian power of some consequence and, therefore, that it warrants a level of engagement far greater than the previous norm and also an appreciation of its potential for both collaboration and resistance across a much larger canvas than simply South Asia. Third, the United States would recognize that Pakistan is a country in serious crisis that must be assisted to achieve a "soft landing" that dampens the currently disturbing social and economic trends by, among other things, reaching out to Pakistani society rather than [simply] the Pakistani state. Ashley J. Tellis, "South Asia: U.S. Policy Choices," in *Taking Charge: A Bipartisan Report to the President-Elect on Foreign Policy and National Security—Discussion Papers*, ed. Frank Carlucci, Robert E. Hunter, and Zalmay Khalilzad (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2001), 88, accessed October 28, 2014, [https://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph\\_reports/MR1306.1/MR1306.1.sec3.pdf](https://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1306.1/MR1306.1.sec3.pdf).

The US-India relationship is often related to their relationship with China. China is an important factor in the calculus. However, the complexities involved in discussing the role of China from the both Indian and US viewpoints would enlarge the scope of the thesis considerably; hence China as a factor has been limited. The important issues involving China that affect both India and US have been covered to provide depth. The aim of the thesis is not to present a research which symbolizes a containment of China policy. The US-India relationship is much broader than that. It is strategic in nature. Though China occupies a substantial part of it, there are numerous other areas of cooperation and coordination.

Indian relations with Russia and Iran have an impact on the relationship. However, both the US and India have evolved their relations to understand the necessity and pragmatism in Indian context. Hence, keeping in mind this understanding, these relations have been delimited from the scope of this thesis.

#### Significance of Study

The study of Indo-US relations is significant for the study of the Asia-Pacific region. Indo-US relations have the potential and high likelihood of changing the evolving dynamics of the Asia-Pacific region. For the members of the armed forces, of both the countries, this thesis provides a guide as to what is at stake for both the countries. It also provides a glimpse into the strategic behavior of both the countries. Members of both the armed forces can understand the logic behind the numerous exercises which both countries undertake annually. This understanding will forge deeper bonds and increase the interoperability, cultural awareness and keenness to understand each other's stated stand on various issues.

For the students of international relations this thesis provides an understanding of the necessity for productive strategic relations between both the countries. Apart from this, it also provides an insight into the deterrents that are hampering the growth. The thesis also fairly covers the emerging trends in the international order from the US and Indian perspective.

The thesis is also an evolutionary step for those who want to undertake further research on this topic. Further research can be conducted on the possible effects of the factors that have been delimited from this thesis.

### Conclusions

The aim of the thesis is to determine whether it is possible for India and US to come together and forge a close strategic relationship. It delves into the national interest domain to research on the convergence and conflict of the national interests of both the countries. Further, the thesis also researches the current and likely future trends in the world order and their impact on India and the US. Finally it researches the options for growth of Indo-US relations, keeping in mind the ground realities and conflicts of interest.

The thesis researches the topic from a variety of sources to include the literature available in form of books, newspapers, the reports of the think tanks, previous research on this topic, and the official documents available. The next chapter deals with the review of the literature available on the topic.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### Introduction

US-India relations have evolved with the passage of time. In spite of being leading democracies in the world, relations between the countries have been fraught with a number of difficulties. The world is becoming more multipolar and the dynamics of geopolitics are changing. The US is finding it increasingly difficult to get traditional allies to agree on what it considers challenge to world peace and prosperity. Accordingly, the US is trying to change its strategic behavior of being a hegemonic power to one which builds coalitions of the willing for specific causes. But even these coalition are under strain because of multiple factors which includes geopolitical constraints, economic problems, and convincing the citizens of various countries that the coalition objectives will benefit them.

India, which during Cold War followed the policy of non-alignment and Panchsheel, is finding itself out of step with the current international order. Its potential to rise as a world leader has been mostly wishful thinking and rhetoric. Part of this problem has been that India was not able to reap the benefits of any alliance with world superpowers during the Cold War and later. Her idealistic foreign policy has not paid major dividends. As India faces the daunting tasks of reviving its economy, uplifting its poor population, deterring an increasingly assertive China, and facing a hostile extreme neighborhood, the foreign policy and strategic thinking of India require a new look.

This thesis, examines the potential for partnership between India and the US. It enquires whether or not, India and the US, can come together to forge a strategic alliance

that overcomes the common challenges and helps establish a favorable world order beneficial to both of them. The research therefore focusses on the national interests, priorities, and strategic behavior of both the countries.

### Overview

This chapter provides information about the literature on this topic that is available and the research that has been conducted. The chapter is organized on the basis of the primary and secondary questions that have been articulated in the Chapter 1: Introduction of this thesis. The literature review briefly describes and critiques the literature that has been written by various authors on the primary and secondary questions. The literature review begins with the purpose of understanding national interest

### National Interest

Paul Sanders in his article, *The Five most Abused Foreign-Policy Clichés*, articulates national interest as something that is mandatory for maintaining freedom of the nation and wellbeing of its citizen. Scott Burchill in his book *The National Interest in International Relations Theory*, describes national interest as a policy tool for the government which helps it in formulating the foreign policy.

National interest has been cited by many figures historically. Kautilya,<sup>5</sup> as J Bandyopadhyaya,<sup>6</sup> observes in his book, *National Interest and Foreign Policy*, propagated

---

<sup>5</sup> Kautilya (also known as Chanakya, c. 350-275 BCE) was an Indian statesman and philosopher, chief advisor and Prime Minister of the Indian Emperor Chandragupta, the first ruler of the Mauryan Empire. Kautilya belonged to the Brahmin caste (the priestly class), he was originally from Northern India and a professor of political science

national interest as the primary dictating factor for foreign policy of the king.

Machiavelli,<sup>7</sup> in his treatise *The Prince*, elucidates that the *raison d'état*, is the guiding factor for decision making when it comes to state craft. This, in other words, can be defined as national interest.

Michael Roskin,<sup>8</sup> in his book, *National Interest: from Abstraction to Strategy*, makes several observations from his analysis of works of Thomas Aquinas<sup>9</sup>, Clausewitz,

---

and economics at the University of Taxila Violatti, Cristian. "Kautilya," November 3, 2013, accessed November 2, 2014, <http://www.ancient.eu/Kautilya>.

<sup>6</sup> Professor Jayantanuja Bandyopadhyaya Emeritus of International Relations at Jadavpur University (JU), Kolkata. Beginning his career as a diplomat in the India Foreign Service, he took a special course in International Relations at the University of Oxford. He took his PhD in International Relations (1964) and a DLitt in Political Science (1968) from JU. Having resigned as Under-Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, he joined JU, retiring in 1993. He was Senior Fellow (Faculty) at Columbia University and Professor of International Studies at the American University

<sup>7</sup> Born on May 3, 1469, in Florence, Italy, Niccolò Machiavelli was a diplomat for 14 years in Italy's Florentine Republic during the Medici family's exile. When the Medici family returned to power in 1512, Machiavelli was dismissed and briefly jailed. He then wrote *The Prince*, a handbook for politicians on the use of ruthless, self-serving cunning, inspiring the term "Machiavellian" and establishing Machiavelli as the "father of modern political theory."

<sup>8</sup> Michael Roskin was Visiting Professor of Foreign Policy in the Department of National Security and Strategy at the U.S. Army War College, 1991-94. He has been a Professor of Political Science at Lycoming College since 1972 and has authored five political science textbooks. Professor Roskin earlier worked as a newsman and Foreign Service officer for the U.S. Information Agency before earning a Ph.D. in international studies at American University.

<sup>9</sup> Philosopher and theologian St. Thomas Aquinas was born circa 1225 in Roccasecca, Italy. Combining the theological principles of faith with the philosophical principles of reason, he ranked among the most influential thinkers of medieval Scholasticism.



and Morgenthau.<sup>10</sup> He puts forward the theory of *Jus ad Bellum*<sup>11</sup> and *Jus in Bello* of Thomas Aquinas, which serve as guiding principle for a state in pursuance of its interest. In similar manner he cites Clausewitzian need for security and prosperity that forces the state to go to war. He notes that Morgenthau has had a deep impact on American foreign policy making. Morgenthau, he states, defines national interest in terms of power of the nation, i.e. national power. In this manner, Morgenthau defines national interest as those factors that increase the power of the nation.

Michael Roskin, breaks down national interest into various categories, based on importance, duration, specificity and compatibility. Based on importance he classifies it into two parts vital and secondary. On the duration factor, he breaks it down again into two parts permanent and secondary. On the basis of specificity, he classifies it as specific and general national interest and on compatibility basis, he says there are complimentary and conflicting national interest.

Scott Burchill,<sup>12</sup> notes that due to varying perceptions on national interests, there are multiple approaches on the national interest. The five approaches he cites are realist approach, the Marxist approach, the Liberal approach, The English school approach and

---

<sup>10</sup> Hans Joachim Morgenthau (February 17, 1904–July 19, 1980) was one of the leading twentieth-century figures in the study of international politics. He made landmark contributions to international relations theory and the study of international law, and his *Politics Among Nations*, first published in 1948, went through five editions during his lifetime

<sup>11</sup> The terms, *Jus ad Bello* and *Jus ad Bellum*, have been explained in definitions.

<sup>12</sup> Dr Scott Burchill is Senior Lecturer in International Relations in the School of International and Political Studies at Deakin University.

the Constructivism approach. These theories will be analyzed in detail in Chapter 4: Analyses of this thesis.

### US National Interest

A good source for understanding the US national interest, is examined in the National Security Strategy (NSS) that is promulgated by the President of United States. It is also important to understand the origins of US national interests. The NSS, gives a comprehensive insight on the American national interest. It portrays American view of the world and then elucidates the national interests of America. It speaks of the strength of the US, which is its economy, as a sponsor of US elements of national power. The NSS divides the national interest into four categories of security, prosperity, values and international order. Under these headings the NSS lists a number of more specific national interests. Another policy shift of the US is captured in *Rebalancing the Balance: Resourcing US Diplomatic Strategy in Asia.*” This policy has been called as the Asia-pacific pivot. The Asia-pacific pivot would be analyzed in a later part of the thesis. The understanding of US national interest leads to a standard for analyzing the Indian national interest.

A major factor affecting US national interest is the idea of American exceptionalism. Chapter 4 of this thesis, provides details into the American exceptionalism. Seymour Martin Lipset,<sup>13</sup> in his work *In American Exceptionalism: A*

---

<sup>13</sup> Seymour Martin Lipset was an American political sociologist, a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, and the Hazel Professor of Public Policy at George Mason University. His major work was in the fields of political sociology, trade union organization, social stratification, public opinion, and the sociology of intellectual life.

*Double-edged Sword*, notes that American perception of their country as qualitatively superior to others has had a deep impact on American citizens. The idea of American exceptionalism, he notes, was coined by Alexis de Tocqueville,<sup>14</sup> in his book, *Democracy in America (1840)*, when he travelled to the US to understand its culture.

### India's National Interests

Indian national interests are not defined in any official document. The Indian national interest have to be derived from the literature that has been written on this topic. It can also be deduced from the research of the think tanks and from the speeches and statement of the leaders of India. Based on the literature available, the national interests of India can be classified into four categories that are similar to the US national interests. They are security, economic prosperity, international order, and global issues.

### Security Interests

Indian security interests are divided into two parts, internal and external security. Kashmir militancy, as part of internal security as Aditi Malhotra notes in her article, "*Punitive Deterrence through Covert Operations*," in the CLAWS(Centre for Land and Air Warfare Studies), that this threat is due to the foreign support that is being provided by Pakistan through its Operation Topaz. Over a period, the insurgency has died down. However, with the US withdrawal from Afghanistan, the situation might change. Apart from the Kashmir militancy, India has an insurgency in the North-East India and the

---

<sup>14</sup> Alexis-Charles-Henri Clérel de Tocqueville was a French political thinker and historian who travelled the US extensively.

Naxalite insurgency in the Red Corridor.<sup>15</sup> Subir Bhaumik in his paper, “North-East India Insurgency,” observes that the reasons for this insurgency is the underdevelopment in the area and the difference in ethnicity of the people from those from the main part of India. Regarding the Naxalite problem, the previous Indian Prime Minister, Dr. Man Mohan Singh, termed it the biggest problem facing India.

The external security calculus of India mainly involves, Pakistan, China, Afghanistan, and South-East Asia. Christine Fair,<sup>16</sup> in her book, *In Fighting to the End: Pakistan Army's Way of War*, observes that the Pakistan army's insistence on promoting India as a threat to Pakistan plays well for it. It receives funding and importance due to that fact. At the same time Daniel Byman,<sup>17</sup> in his book, *In Deadly Connections: States that Sponsor Terrorism*, observes that Pakistan uses terrorist organizations like LeT (Lashkar e Taiba) as a strategic tool against India.

China, according to previous external affairs minister of India, Mr. Salman Khursheed, is as a strategic partner and competitor. The unresolved boundary problems, the race for resources and China's military bases in the Indian Ocean are seen as threats

---

<sup>15</sup> The red corridor is a region consisting of around 200 districts of eastern India from the states of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, and Maharashtra. The region experiences the naxalite activity on a large scale.

<sup>16</sup> Dr. Fair is an assistant professor in the Peace and Security Studies Program, within Georgetown University's Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service. Previously, she has served as a senior political scientist with the RAND Corporation, a political officer to the United Nations Assistance Mission to Afghanistan in Kabul, and as a senior research associate in USIP's Center for Conflict Analysis and Prevention. She is also a senior fellow with the Combating Terrorism Center at West Point.

<sup>17</sup> Daniel Byman is a professor in the Security Studies Program in the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service with a concurrent appointment with the Georgetown Department of Government.

to India's dominance in the region. Its security relations with Pakistan is also a headache for India. The MEA (ministry of external affairs) report on India's foreign relations, describes Afghanistan and Southeast Asia as an area of important interest. While Afghanistan is important because of the resources and its strategic location, Southeast Asia is important for India's look east policy. These security interest are analyzed in detail later in the thesis.

### Economic Interest

The World Bank, January 2013, report notes that India is home to one third of the world's poor. Kaushik Basu, the Chief Economist to the World Bank, in his interview to BBC, describes the problems faced by Indian economy. He analyses how the crumbling infrastructure and red tape affect India's economic growth, where it requires at least a trillion dollar investment in infrastructure. The OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) report, "India Sustaining High and Inclusive Growth," notes India also requires modern technology. With a burgeoning population India requires to ensure that at least a million jobs are generated every month says the *U.N.'s Department of Economic and Social Affairs* report of May 2014.

### International order

Raja Mohan,<sup>18</sup> in his report, "Crux of Asia," observes that India desires reforms in the international order, keeping in mind the geopolitical realities. He states that it is

---

<sup>18</sup> C. Raja Mohan is an Indian academic, journalist and foreign policy analyst. He is Distinguished Fellow at the Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi. He was previously Senior Fellow at the Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi, and prior to that, a professor at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore and Professor of Centre for South, Central, Southeast Asian and

increasingly difficult for India to influence the world when it comes to its national interests, as most of the world bodies are dominated by the Western nations. India desires the membership of the UNSC (United Nations Security Council), reorganization of the WB (World Bank) and the IMF (International Monetary Fund) etc. However, the most important theme of this desire for reforms is, it accepts the present world order and primacy of US as a leader.

### Global Issues

There are certain common global issues which fall within India's national interest as they directly affect the safety, security and prosperity of the citizens of the country. With regards to terrorism, India's approach has evolved systematically, observe Radha Kumar and Anchal Malhotra, in their report, "Back to Reality: India's National Interest and Multilateralism." India has recognized that terrorism is not the bane of a particular country. It cannot be solved by a single nation alone, but instead requires cooperation at the international level. Apart from terrorism, India takes keen interest in addressing the issue of climate change, as it affects the country and the subcontinent in a big way. The increasing instances of pandemics in the world and their resultant chaos, loss to the life and economic damage is another major concern for India. India also works together with other nations of the world for a world free of nuclear weapons.

The above issues form the core national interests of India. At a general level the national interests of India and the US seem to be converging on almost all the issues. This

---

Southwest Pacific Studies, School of International Studies at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India. He was the Henry Alfred Kissinger Scholar in the John W. Kluge Center at the Library of Congress, Washington, DC during 2009-10. Source: Wikipedia.

will be analyzed later in the thesis. The next discussion is on literature about India-US relations in the past and present.

### Past India-US Relations

Amit Gupta in his research paper titled, “The US-India Relationship: Strategic Partnership or Complimentary Interests?” traces the history of Indo-US relations and the reasons behind the waxing and waning of the relationship status. He notes that when India changed orientation of its economic policies to the quasi-socialist economy, the US got suspicious of India’s nonalignment. Though for most part the relations were normal, the 1971 war saw the US threatening India with its military capabilities in the Bay of Bengal. The testing of a nuclear device by India in 1974 further aggravated the situation.

After the 1991 economic crises in India, the Indian economy opened up and saw a huge foreign investment in India. This was also the time when the Cold War ended. As relations improved, India tested its nuclear weapons in 1998, which led to sanctions by the US and thus the relations again deteriorated. The situation changed after the George Bush administration came to power in the US, and especially after the 9/11 terrorist attack.

As Carl Paddock, a well-known political columnist and analyst notes in his book *In India-US Nuclear Deal Prospects and Implications*, the nuclear deal of 2006, removed all the mistrust that was created during the Cold War period between both nations. Understanding the shifting geopolitical realities and the renewed US interest in the Asia-Pacific region, the US came closer to India. The *The New Framework for India-US Relations*,<sup>19</sup> was signed in 2005.

---

<sup>19</sup> The New Framework for the U.S.-India Defense Relationship was signed by Secretary Rumsfeld and Minister Mukherjee on June 28, 2005. The 2005 New

## Present Indo-US Relations

The official documents from the State Department of the US and the Ministry of External Affairs of India, present a comprehensive factsheet on the present state of Indo-US relations. Strategic cooperation between India and the US now exists on a wide range of issues. The areas of strategic cooperation are energy and climate change, education and development, economy, trade and agriculture, science and technology and health and innovation apart from the robust cooperation in defense cooperation. There are a number of joint working groups that have been established by both the nations in those areas of common national interest. For example, the joint working group on terrorism and homeland security. Both nations consult each other on strategically important issues, especially on the issues concerning the Middle East, Central Asia, South-East Asia, Africa and Latin America.

With this robust relationship, however there have been irritants. The Devyani Khobragade episode<sup>20</sup> and the resultant retaliation by India, deeply hurt the relationship. US preoccupation with a number of issues like the Ukraine, ISIS and the economy and

---

Framework Agreement laid strong foundations leading to mutually beneficial defense cooperation activities through security dialogue, service-level exchanges, defense exercises and defense trade and technology collaboration.

<sup>20</sup> On December 11, 2013, Devyani Khobragade, then the Deputy Consul General of the Consulate General of India in New York City, was charged by U.S. authorities with committing visa fraud and providing false statements in order to gain entry to the United States for Sangeeta Richard, a woman of Indian nationality, for employment as a domestic worker for Khobragade in New York. Khobragade was arrested the next day by U.S. federal law enforcement authorities, subjected to a body-cavity search commonly called a “strip search,” presented to a judge and released the same day. Her arrest and treatment have received much media attention particularly in India, and have led to a major diplomatic standoff between India and the United States. Wikipedia, “Devyani Khobragade,” January 11, 2014, accessed November 2, 2014, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Devyani\\_Khobragade](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Devyani_Khobragade).



the India's priorities in addressing its economy and internal politics, brought a lull in the relationship. The recent visit of the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Narendra Modi, to the US and his interaction with President Obama created high level of interest in the US and reinvigorated the relationship. However both countries need to understand the importance of the relationship is for defining the twenty first century. This understanding can only be achieved by studying the world trends.

### Changing World Order and the Need for Cooperation

Joshua Goldstein<sup>21</sup> in his book *International relations*, defines “World Order as rules that govern, albeit in a messy and ambiguous way, the most important relationship of the interstate system in general and the world's greatest power in particular.”<sup>22</sup> The concept of world order is dominated by the principles of balance of power, bi-polarity, multi-polarity, and hegemony as per Moselle Tyler in her article, “The Concept of World Order.” These concepts will be analyzed in detail in the later part of the thesis.

There are a number of reports on this topic. *Strategic Trends Program, Global Strategic Trends*, published by the British government, documents the shifting economic center of gravity towards Asia. The report states that rapid economic development, rise of the middle class, and the resultant demand for the goods and services will lead to shifting of economic activity to Asia and more specifically to China and India. The report also analyzes the nature of defense spending amongst the countries in the world. In this

---

<sup>21</sup> Joshua Goldstein is a Professor Emeritus of International Relations, American University, Washington, DC; Research Scholar, University of Massachusetts and Nonresident Sadat Senior Fellow, CIDCM, University of Maryland.

<sup>22</sup> Joshua Goldstein, *International Relations*, 6th ed. (New York: Longman, 2002), 43.

regards it states that the US will remain the most technologically advanced military in the world, but the gap would be increasingly closed by China and India. They can emerge as strategic competitors to the US.

The Carnegie Endowment council report titled, “*The World Order in 2050*,” describes significant inputs to changing world patterns. The battle for influence in the changing world order is a sum of all national powers. The report further states that as the world wealth shifts in relative terms to the East, the world will witness the emergence of a number of alliances and pacts to extend influence. In this context the likeminded nations with similar national interests will come together more easily than others to forge these alliances and pacts. This is what makes India and the US important to each other.

#### Future of India-US Relations

Both countries hold tremendous importance for each other, which is complimentary and symbiotic. This point is noted by Ashley Tellis<sup>23</sup> and Teresita Schaffer<sup>24</sup> in their book titled, *Partnering with India*. They say both countries should realize the importance of utilizing the strengths of each other. Bouton Marchall in his research titled, “*Future India-US Partnership*,” defines both countries as natural partners and then goes on to propose the areas of future cooperation. The former Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, described India and US as “*natural allies*.” The US

---

<sup>23</sup> Tellis is a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace specializing in international security, defense, and Asian strategic issues.

<sup>24</sup> Ambassador Teresita C. Schaffer is an expert on economic, political, security and risk management trends in India and Pakistan, as well as on the region that extends from Afghanistan through Bangladesh. She also serves as a senior adviser to McLarty Associates, a Washington-based international strategic advisory firm.

President, Mr. Obama called Indo-US partnership as, “The Defining Partnership for the Twenty First Century.” Another significant aspect of the relationship has been that in spite of the highs and lows of the relationship, business relationships and people to people contact have always remained positive.

### Summary and Conclusions

As seen from the review of the literature, the Indo-US relations are poised to take off, if both nations decide in that direction. Both nations have commonality of national interests so there is a huge potential for cooperation. The cooperation between both countries is already envied, in the Eastern world. However, there is still a tremendous scope for growth.

The literature available on the Indo-US relations is extensive. This thesis combines the literature that is readily available and presents it to the reader in such a manner, that the readers would have a single point reference on this topic. At the end, the analysis of the literature will reveal possible paths for the growth in the Indo-US relations. It will be left to the readers to accept these various options or not.

## CHAPTER 3

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Nations are guided only by their own interests and have no obligation to other countries which did not conform to those interests.<sup>25</sup>

— Indira Gandhi, Ex-Prime Minister of India

#### Introduction

The previous chapter elaborated upon the literature that is available on the subject of India-US relations. This thesis examines the possibilities for the development of Indo-US strategic relations. The thesis covers the past and present and then presents options for the further growth of India-US relations. The primary research question for this thesis is, can India and the US form an alliance for a symbiotically beneficial world order? To answer this question the thesis has a number of secondary research questions which will aid in seeking an answer to the primary research question. The secondary research questions pertain to the understanding of national interest, the national interests of India and the US, the past and present relations between India and the US, the global trends and then options for the Indo-US relations. This chapter will layout the research methodology of the thesis.

This chapter will first delineate the limitations of the research, then it will produce the choice of the research methodology and the reasons for choosing the said methodology. Then the chapter will further elucidate how the research was carried out,

---

<sup>25</sup> Mike Marra, “America-the Arsenal of Sovereignty,” Global Security, accessed November 2, 2014, [http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/2014/marra-gordon\\_arsenal-of-sovereignty.pdf](http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/2014/marra-gordon_arsenal-of-sovereignty.pdf).

what the sources are, how they were acquired, and then conclude with the description of method of analysis.

The research that was conducted was limited by the time and financial resources that were available. Research on the topic that has been chosen would ideally involve interviews of the leaders who affect foreign relations. However, given time and resource constraints it was not possible to do that. Hence the researcher has availed the data that is already available, interpreted it and then analyzed it to answer the research question.

### Selected Research Methodology

The research question is an open ended question, wherein the answer to it can be either positive or negative for India-US relations. Since the question is open ended and involves numerous factors, the research has been carried out qualitatively. The qualitative research focused on following

1. Obtaining a more realistic view of the Indo-US relations that cannot be understood or experienced in numerical data and statistical analysis.<sup>26</sup>
2. Describing current situations.<sup>27</sup>
3. Developing flexible ways to perform data collection, subsequent analysis, and interpretation of collected information.<sup>28</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> University of Southern California, “Organizing your Social Sciences Research Paper,” accessed October 3, 2014, <http://libguides.usc.edu/content.php?pid=83009&sid=615866>.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

4. Developing results that can be helpful in pioneering new ways of understanding.<sup>29</sup>
5. Responding to developments that occurred while the study was underway.
6. Providing a holistic view of the Indo-US relations.<sup>30</sup>
7. Creating a descriptive capability based on primary and unstructured data.<sup>31</sup>

### Tools for Research

The thesis uses discourse analysis<sup>32</sup> for research. Discourse analysis is the key to understanding the past and present relations between both the countries. It will also make clear the often stated stances of both countries in international relations. Discourse analysis will use the data available from articles, books, research papers of think tanks, and the interview and speeches of the leaders of both the nations.

The thesis uses historical representations for research.<sup>33</sup> Historical representations help in establishing uses historical facts and trend analysis to help establish the traits of both India and the US. It further helps in the interpretation of the present and most likely future paths of the nations. Using historical events as a tool to understand the traits will helps analyze and propose the future of Indo-US relations.

---

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Audie Klotz and Deepa Prakash, *Qualitative Methods in International Relations: A Pluralist Guide* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 62.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 79.

Process tracing is an important tool while researching<sup>34</sup> international relations. The thesis incorporates process tracing for research. This helps the research the world trends. Establishing world trends will help in analyzing the contours of the relations that are likely to be evolved. This analysis will be based on the historical evidence of the factors that led to a particular situation. As stated above, due to limitations of time and money the thesis is based primarily on

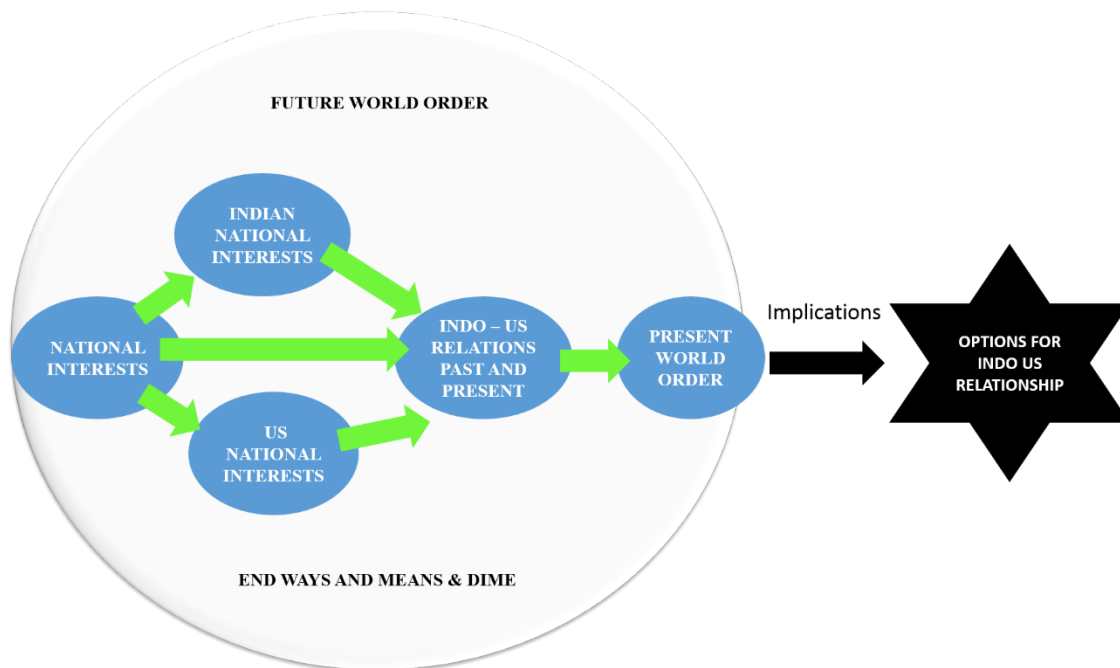


Figure 1. Flow of Thesis

Source: Created by author

<sup>34</sup> "A User's Guide to Political Science," January 31, 2011, accessed October 5, 2014, <http://govthesis.site.wesleyan.edu/research/methods-and-analysis/analyzing-qualitative-data/process-tracing/>.

The thesis will also use DIME and End, Ways, and Means model. The DIME model will be used to collate the national interests of both the nations. Once they are determined, they will be labelled under common terms for both the nations. The end, ways and means model will be used for analyzing the future of the India-US relation and presenting the options thereof.

### Literature and Data Evaluation

The literature used for this research consists of books, articles and research papers by renowned authors who are considered authority in the India-US relations, the research papers of the renowned think tanks. The literature also includes the major newspapers of both the nations and abroad. The interview and speeches of leaders and bureaucrats are also included as part of the research data. Apart from this the data, the factsheets of the MEA in India and the State Department of US have been used to corroborate the data. This literature has been derived both as a hard copy from the library or directly from the websites and can be considered as authentic.

The credibility of the data so provided has been verified by cross comparison with the other sources. The evidence cited by the authors have been sampled to prove the authenticity and credibility of the citations. Distortion of data and thus its interpretation has been avoided. Data has been updated by the author and the citation for such updates has been made. The author has strived to maintain the authenticity, credibility, and meaningfulness of the data.



## Conclusion

The research methodology has been devised in the context of the open-ended research question. The qualitative research methodology supports this open-ended research question. It is best possible research tool for researching this topic of international relations. The next step is to present the analyses of the literature. The next chapter begins with an analysis of the term national interest.

## CHAPTER 4

### NATIONAL INTEREST

I am guided by one overwhelming conviction and passion: This century must be an American Century. In an American Century, America has the strongest economy and the strongest military in the world. In an American Century, America leads the free world and the free world leads the entire world.

— Mitt Romney in his foreign-policy speech, Citadel, 2011

#### Introduction

Nations often justify their international relation on the basis of national interest. It is the national interest of the nation that forces it to stand, fight wars, seek diplomacy and do all that is possible to secure the present and future of the nation. The thesis through this chapter, envisages to analyze the term national interest. Looking for its definition and its usage in past, it will also seek answers to the determinants of national interest. If national interest is an established theory, then for certain there will a process to put this theory into practice. The thesis will also look into the nature of national interest in regards to its perpetuity. Further the thesis will look for validity and coherence of the theory.

#### The Obligation to Understand National Interest

George Orwell In his compelling essay “Politics and the English Language,” analyzes how thoughts corrupt language and further draws the analogy that bad writing can corrupt thoughts.<sup>35</sup> This chapter intends to factually identify the term ‘National

---

<sup>35</sup> Paul Sanders, “The Five Most Abused Foreign-Policy Cliches,” The National Interest, accessed May 28, 2014, <http://nationalinterest.org/commentary/the-five-most-abused-foreign-policy-cliches-9978>.

Interest'. It is an often spoken term in the intelligentsia who formulate and debate the policies of the nation. Students of international relations use this concept with high enthusiasm and a somewhat mystified manner. They think it of a clear, crisp and objective theory which justify something that is good for the nation.<sup>36</sup> In fact, even during the CGSOC (command and general staff college course) classes, students are asked to derive the national interests from the NSS and justify the US involvement on foreign soil. There are heated debates on stands taken by various world powers based on their own national interest. However, many a times, the analysis brings out the fact that the world crisis situations do not receive the same coherent attention, in spite of the stated national interest. We can take, for example, Chinese policy on the Russian annexation of Crimea in 2014, wherein it rationalized the Russian absorption of Crimea on the premise that it represented desire of Crimean people. However, Chinese policy towards Xinjiang, Tibet or Inner Mongolia, or Taiwan does not contain the same perspective.<sup>37</sup> We can deduce that a nation can deviate from its stated stance. Does that mean that national interests are not always rigid? If that be so this chapter is very important in understanding the characteristics of national interest.

---

<sup>36</sup> Michael Roskin, *National Interest: From Abstraction to Strategy* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, 1994), 1

<sup>37</sup> Matt Sheehan, "Crimea Referendum Sparks Secession Debate in China," *The Huffington Post*, March 17, 2014, accessed May 30, 2014, [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/03/17/crimea-referendum-china\\_n\\_4977901.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/03/17/crimea-referendum-china_n_4977901.html).



Figure 2. National Interests and Formulation of Strategy

Source: Michael Roskin, *National Interest: From Abstraction to Strategy* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, 1994).

#### Definition

The definition of national interest as per Miriam Webster’s dictionary is “the interest of a nation as a whole held to be an independent entity separate from the interests of subordinate areas or groups and also of other nations or supranational groups.”<sup>38</sup> Paul Saunders in one of his article relates national interest as something that is mandatory for maintaining freedom of the nation and wellbeing of its citizens.<sup>39</sup> As per Scot Burchill,

---

<sup>38</sup> Merriam-Webster, “National interest,” accessed July 10, 2014, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/national%20interest>.

<sup>39</sup> Sanders, “The Five Most Abused Foreign-Policy Cliches.”

national interest is commonly employed in two related ways, first to describe, justify or oppose foreign policy and secondly, as an analytical tool for assessing and explaining the external behavior of nation-states.<sup>40</sup> There are varied definitions of national interest. However, it is clear that national interest is a concept used for formulating, justifying, denying or planning the policies and actions of the state.

### History of National Interest

The history of national interest, shows that there were various proponents of national interest in both Eastern and Western powers.<sup>41</sup> One of the earliest proponents of national interest was Kautilya, who is considered to be a minister in the court of Chandragupta Maurya in 4th century BC. In his book *Arthashastra*, Kautilya, guides the King to use an appropriate foreign policy to enhance the power and prestige of his kingdom and in turn that enhances his legitimacy.<sup>42</sup> *Arthashastra* lays down the various components of a kingdom, how they interact with each other and how should the king use all the resources he has to secure, expand and establish a prosperous kingdom. One of the significant aspects of Kautilya is the way he separates national interest and national power,<sup>43</sup> while a number of authors speak of national interest and national power in the same breath. As per Kautilya, the national power is the means to achieve national

---

<sup>40</sup> Scott Burchill, *The National Interest in International Relations Theory* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 26.

<sup>41</sup> The eastern and western powers include India, Italy and USA for the scope of study of this thesis.

<sup>42</sup> L. N. Rangarajan, *Arthashastra* (New Delhi, India: Penguin Books, 1992), 39.

<sup>43</sup> Jayantanuja Bandyopadhyaya, *A General Theory of Foreign Policy* (New Delhi, India: Allied Publishers, 2004), 30.

interest, i.e. to say a nation uses its powers to achieve happiness.<sup>44</sup> He further speaks of keeping the national interest supreme and while achieving them advises the king to use all that is possible whether it is moral or immoral.<sup>45</sup>

Machiavelli is another author reputed to be the father of the political sciences.<sup>46</sup> His theories were based on the aspects of human behavior.<sup>47</sup> In his work entitled, *The Prince* (about 1513), he guides the prince to take a scientific view of statecraft.<sup>48</sup> He explains to the prince, that he is responsible for the people. The people have given up some rights and liberties, to the state, on a premise that their security and safety will be taken care by the state. He introduced in this context the term *raison d'état*,<sup>49</sup> which directs the prince to follow a particular course of action as there is no other way out. He asks him to leave the emotions and morals behind to achieve the interest (he relates this to interest of the prince, but then equates the national interests to prince's interest).<sup>50</sup> Machiavelli's, core interest rested in the triumph of his Italian state. In his view, nothing was immoral as long as power was used to achieve the interest of the nation.<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>44</sup> The term 'Happiness' is an over encompassing term to gain wealth, influence, territory, security etc.

<sup>45</sup> Rangarajan, *Arthashastra*, 26.

<sup>46</sup> Mary Maxwell, *Morality among Nations: An Evolutionary View* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 12.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Burchill, *The National Interest in International Relations Theory*, 17.

<sup>50</sup> Maxwell, *Morality among Nations: An Evolutionary View*, 12.

<sup>51</sup> Roskin, *National Interest*, 2.

Thomas Aquinas, a churchman, states that humans have souls, which are judged in the afterlife, whereas, states are soulless.<sup>52</sup> The states take harsh measures to protect themselves. In this context, Thomas Aquinas proposed his theories of Jus ad Bellum and Jus in Bello.<sup>53</sup> Clausewitz states that the decisions of nations to go to war are often defined by the need to survive and prosper. In that event, the states should make decision of going to war rationally.<sup>54</sup>

The discussions above show that, in the past, the philosopher and political scientist had somewhat similar views of national interest, namely, that national interest is of paramount importance and on it depends the survival of the nation. National interest plays a crucial role in policy making by the ruling class. It also serves as the justification for the action a particular country takes.<sup>55</sup> Since the foreign policy, which serves a guidance for a nation at international level, is so important, it is imperative that the national interest of the nations are clearly understood and then used for making foreign policy decisions.

---

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Peter Trubowitz, *Defining the National Interest: Conflict and Change in American Foreign Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 6.

### Functions of National Interest

National interest is generally broken down into three functions, which are security, economy and ideology.<sup>56</sup> These are broad-based and are not objective in nature. The security interest includes the safety, security and sovereignty of the nation and its citizens. Where necessary, it also includes the safety of its military bases, its allies and even maintaining knowledge of the security threats to the nation.<sup>57</sup> The economic interest includes the economic wellbeing of the nation, higher living standards, unhindered access to raw materials and markets and such other things that are required for the economic progress of the nation and its citizens.<sup>58</sup>

Ideology involves the values of the nation, and involves matters of governance. Ideological interests may incorporate the spread of democracy or communism, human rights, legal rights etc.<sup>59</sup>

### Approaches to National Interest

As per Scott Burchill in his book titled *National Interest in International Relations Theory*, there are at least five major schools of thought which have differing opinions on national interest. These five are classified as the Realist approach, the Marxist approach, the Liberal approach, the English school approach and the

---

<sup>56</sup> Close Up, "National Interest and the Tools of Foreign Policy," accessed July 12, 2014, <https://www.closeup.org/lib/National%20Interest%20Foreign%20Policy%20Lesson%20Planvfinal.pdf>.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.



Constructivism approach.<sup>60</sup> It is beyond the scope of this chapter to get into comprehensive details of these approaches. However, they are briefly discussed below.

The realist approach believes in the world as it is, rather than what we would like it to be.<sup>61</sup> It understands that the nature of the international system is similar to that of a human being. Realist see the world as a dangerous and insecure place.<sup>62</sup> Hence, the realist propagate that the viewpoint that the policies and actions of a state should understand the realities of international politics, incorporate them into their policies and then work toward securing its own interest.

The Marxist or Critical approach has a very radical view of national interest. As per this theory the national interests of the state are defined by the elites of the state, since they are powerful and govern the state.<sup>63</sup> What this essentially means is that, the national interest are really the interests of these elites rather than the nation in general.<sup>64</sup>

The Liberal approach has an anti-statist and ambiguous approach about national interest.<sup>65</sup> The core of liberalism lies in the fact that the state represents the society and it is society that dictates the states preference.<sup>66</sup> To that effect, it is the interplay in these

---

<sup>60</sup> Burchill, *The National Interest in International Relations Theory*, 1-8.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 65.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>66</sup> Andrew Moravcsik, "Liberal Theories of International Relations: A Primer," accessed July 14, 2014, <http://www.princeton.edu/>.

state preferences that produces the national policies.<sup>67</sup> This arguments deduces that the people of the state are central rather than the state, unlike the realist approach.

The English school approach states that the narrow and myopic view of the realist approach makes states look after their own self-interest, which in the modern world is not viable.<sup>68</sup> Instead, this school of thought recommends broadening the self-interests of the states in order to accommodate the interest of other states.<sup>69</sup> In this way, it is possible to maintain a stable world order, which in turn will ensure the states security and prosperity.<sup>70</sup>

The constructivism theory has made a significant impact in the last decade or so.<sup>71</sup> The theory of constructivism, spotlights the interplay of “actors” and “structures.”<sup>72</sup> The actors are people, society and states, while the structures are those objects that are created by actors, such as treaties, international organizations and other aspect of international relations.<sup>73</sup> It is the interplay amongst these actors and structures that influences that influences the state.<sup>74</sup> Hence, in summary, it can be said that instead of national interests

---

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Burchill, *The National Interest in International Relations Theory*, 153.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 185.

<sup>72</sup> John T. Rourke, *International Politics on the World Stage*, 12th ed. (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2008), 30.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

it is the interests of these actors that drives the states and “gives it its identity.”<sup>75</sup> This thesis will use constructive amalgamation of these approaches to further the study the India-US relations.

### Morgenthau: National Interest and National Power

Of these multiple approaches to the concept national interest, the realist school has had great influence in the recent years. This is in large part due to influence of Hans Morgenthau. When Morgenthau migrated to USA from Germany he brought tin a storm of new ideas in political sciences.<sup>76</sup> To him, international politics is all about struggle for power amongst the competing states.<sup>77</sup> He justified American anti-Axis or anti-Soviet policy on the pretext of national interest rather than love for liberty and justice.<sup>78</sup> He further equated national interest to power.<sup>79</sup> Morgenthau states that when we define national interest in terms of power, it brings in rationality and discipline and then makes understanding of politics possible.<sup>80</sup> This is the realist view of international politics. Morgenthau used power as the determining criteria for national interest, i.e. to say, all those policies which would increase power were in the national interest and all those which dispersed power did not serve the national interest. He also advised that the

---

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Hans J. Morgenthau, Kenneth Thomson, and David Clinton, *Politics among Nations; The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 7th ed. (New York: Knopf, 1967).

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

exercise of power should be pragmatic and done cautiously so that the end result will be positive.

Morgenthau cautions against a “policy of bluff”<sup>81</sup> i.e. declaring certain interest as vital and then not backing up that position with military power. Citing the example of US policy towards Japanese expansion in China, he stated that US condemned the expansion but did not back it up with military power. Hence, Japan took it as a bluff and did not view China as a vital interest for the US.<sup>82</sup> Clearly, identifying national interest can be difficult.

### Types of National Interest

Michael G Roskin in his book, *National Interest: From Abstraction to Strategy*, covers various types of national interest. He classifies national interests on the basis of importance, duration, specificity and compatibility. For the most part, his analysis is based on Morgenthau’s realist approach.

Based on importance there are two types of national interest, vital and secondary. Vital national interest are those which form the basis for sustaining the life and security of the state. Not taking care of those would lead to the downfall of the nation. They are easy to identify and can sometime extend to foreign states in case those foreign states by their actions are likely to affect the sovereignty and integrity of home state. Secondary national interest are those which do not affect the sovereignty of the state and are generally harder to define. They are generally away from home states and pose no

---

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

immediate threat to the state. However, they may become vital in the future. Therefore both types of interests would require some sort of intervention by the state. Without intervention, then the former will have immediate effects and the latter over a period of time can build to threaten the sovereignty of the state. An example of vital interest, Roskin states, is no Soviet missiles in Cuba, while a secondary interest would be an open world oil supply.<sup>83</sup>

Based on duration, there are two types of national interest.<sup>84</sup> The first is temporary and the second, permanent. Temporary interests are dependent upon the prevailing strategic situation while permanent ones are based on the stated values of the nation. In this context, he describes the US support for Iraq in opposing Iran as a temporary interest. A permanent interest he states the US policy of ensuring there are no hostile powers in the western hemisphere.<sup>85</sup>

Ruskin's other categories of national interest are based on specificity and compatibility.<sup>86</sup> In relation to specificity, the national interest are classified into specific and general national interest. An example of a specific national interest would be policy of no Japanese trade barriers for the US and a general national interest would be respect for the human rights. In the realm of compatibility, national interests are divided into two spheres, the first is complementary national interest and the second, the conflicting national interest. Citing example of Russo-US relations, the complimentary national

---

<sup>83</sup> Roskin, *National Interest*, 4.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

interest would be cooperation in Bosnia and conflicting interest would be Russian support for the Serbs.<sup>87</sup>

### Significance of National Interest to Indo-US relations

This chapter has dealt with the issue of national interest in relative depth. It is now important to establish the role of national interest in Indo-US relations. As described above, nations engage with other states based on their national interest. The relations between the nations are never permanent, but some argue, national interest are. There are certain national interest that are more important than other (vital and secondary national interest). Conflicts between nations occur due to conflicting national interest, while at the same time the alliances between nations take place due to complimentary national interest (as exhibited by the complementary and conflicting national interest).

Major question for this thesis is whether the national interest of India and the US are complimentary or conflicting. Based on the answer to that question this thesis will recommend further courses of action for the Indo-US relations.

### The US National Interests

The US is the sole superpower in the world today.<sup>88</sup> It is the richest nation on the earth<sup>89</sup>. It has the most potent armed forces in the world with the most potent weaponry and armaments. Its technological capability is unsurpassed. The sheer number of its

---

<sup>87</sup> Roskin, *National Interest*, 7.

<sup>88</sup> Bruce Mazlish, *The Pradox of a Global USA* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 25.

<sup>89</sup> World Bank, "GDP (current US\$)," accessed July 25, 2014, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD>.

military bases around the world provides tremendous reach.<sup>90</sup> Its influence on world bodies in the realm of trade, finance and security displays diplomatic and political acumen.<sup>91</sup> When a crisis takes place in some corner of the world, everyone looks towards the US. US leadership has been a strength to its allies and the democracies of the world. No single nation has contributed so immensely, to development of other nations, as has the US.<sup>92</sup> It is a nation, where immigrants flock, a land of opportunity.<sup>93</sup> It has taken the lead in almost all the spheres of excellence, from that of food technology to landing on the moon. The bitter Cold War period saw the US and the USSR intensely engaged to each other. The end of the Cold War saw the disintegration of the USSR and emergence of the US as the sole superpower in the world.<sup>94</sup>

There were numerous factors which helped the US outlast and outmaneuver the USSR in the quest for leadership of the world. The US economic might was never matched by the USSR. While it tried its best to match US military spending. This

---

<sup>90</sup> Mark Laffey, "Discerning the Patterns of World Order: Noam Chomsky and International Theory after the Cold War," *Review of International Studies* 29 (2003): 587-604, accessed July 27, 2014, <http://www.chomsky.info/onchomsky/200310--03.pdf>.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid

<sup>92</sup> Better World Campaign, "U.S. Funding for the UN," accessed July 25, 2014, <http://www.betterworldcampaign.org/issues/funding/>.

<sup>93</sup> Alexander Hess, "Countries with the Most Immigrants," 247wallst.com, accessed July 25, 2014, <http://247wallst.com/special-report/2013/09/25/countries-with-the-most-immigrants/3/>.

<sup>94</sup> Mazlish, *The Pradox of a Global USA*, 25.

ultimately led to its demise.<sup>95</sup> The US used all its diplomacy, intelligence, hard and soft power to bring down the collapse of the USSR.<sup>96</sup>

The US has virtually led the entire world since the collapse of the USSR. The US has been in the forefront of solving major world crisis from Iraqi invasion of Kuwait by Iraq to the latest Ukraine crisis. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the US has tried to put in place an ad hoc strategy<sup>97</sup> asserting its national interest. For almost five decades, the US had a single rival in form of Soviet Union. That has changed. US supremacy has been recognized and respected. However, there is a perception in the world that US power is waning and that China is emerging as a strategic competitor to the US. The viewpoint will be examined briefly in a later part of this chapter. At this juncture the thesis will discuss as to how the US perceives itself. This enquiry begins by look into the inspirations behind the American ideals was traced back to the concept of American exceptionalism. It is important that the readers understand in brief the idea of American exceptionalism

---

<sup>95</sup> Warren Norquist, "How the United States Won the Cold War," *Journal of U.S. Intelligence Studies* (Winter/Spring 2003): 47-56, accessed July 25, 2014, <https://s3.amazonaws.com/atrpdfs/2007/april/reaganwoncoldwar.wnorquist.pdf>.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid. In this article the author the tools and instruments which the Nixon administration used. These measures included support the inner disruptions, promote freedom, dry up resources of Soviet hard currency, stop flow of western technology, raise the cost of wars USSR was supporting and demoralize the soviets and generate pressure for change.

<sup>97</sup> Andrew Goodpaster, Rita Hauser, and Robert Ellsworth, "America's National Interest-A Report from The Commission on America's National Interests," *Executive Summary*, 1.



## American Exceptionalism

The Americans view themselves as a country which is qualitatively different from other countries.<sup>98</sup> The origin term exceptionalism was first used by Alexis de Tocqueville, a French citizen, in his book *Democracy in America* in 1840.<sup>99</sup> The American creed is defined by five terms:<sup>100</sup> liberty, egalitarianism, individualism, populism and laissez-faire.<sup>101</sup> The citizens of the US believe, they have equal opportunity and respect,<sup>102</sup> irrespective of the birth, there is no class or caste that can divide the masses. There is a very unique thing which differentiates the West from what the American society values, which is the idea of individualism.<sup>103</sup> Being American is subscribing to American values. It is not on account of birth, which is fundamentally

---

<sup>98</sup> Seymour Martin Lipset, *American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword*. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996), 18.

<sup>99</sup> In part 2, page 36 of his book, *Democracy in America*, he states that “The position of the Americans is therefore quite exceptional, and it may be believed that no other democratic people will ever be placed in a similar one.”

<sup>100</sup> Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 19.

<sup>101</sup> The Merriam Webster dictionary defines laissez-faire as a doctrine opposing governmental interference in economic affairs beyond the minimum necessary for the maintenance of peace and property rights.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Herbert Hoover, *American Individualism* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1922), 9. In this book the author differentiates the American individualism from that of others as “that while we build our society upon the attainment of the individual. We shall safeguard to every individual an equality of opportunity to take that position in the community to which his intelligence, character, ability and ambitions entitle him; that we keep the social free from the frozen strata of classes; that we shall stimulate effort of each individual to achievement; that through an enlarging sense of responsibility and understanding we shall assist him to this attainment; while he in turn must stand up to the enemy wheel of competition.”

different from other nations where the community translates to nationality. A person can become un-American only if he does not subscribe to the American values.<sup>104</sup> Citizens believe that the US is less statist than most other nations in the world.<sup>105</sup> Alexis de Tocqueville, in his book, *Democracy in America*, also states that the US is a Puritan state, wherein its seed were sowed when the first Puritan landed on the shores of the US. It is like a city on a hill,<sup>106</sup> a stronghold of democracy and a models for others to emulate. Though the concept of American exceptionalism was not to bring an air of superiority over others, eventually this concept was used viewed in such a context. These concepts in American exceptionalism have left an impression on determinants of the national values and its corresponding effect on the national interest.

Apart from the NSS, a commission on America's national interest in 2000,<sup>107</sup> defined the national interest into four parts, vital interest, extremely important interest, important interest and secondary interest. This committee report is more objective in nature wherein it specifies each interest. However, on the basis of comparison the thesis finds that the NSS is more comprehensive and covers the ground realities of today's strategic environment. Hence, the thesis takes into account the NSS as the primary document for investigating the US national interest, comparing it to the Indian national

---

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>105</sup> Theda Skocpol, *Social Policy in the United States: Future Possibilities in Historical Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 223.

<sup>106</sup> Richard M. Gamble, *In Search of the City on a Hill: The Making and Unmaking of an American Myth* (London: Continuum, 2012), 17-18.

<sup>107</sup> This report can be accessed at <http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/amernatinter.pdf>.

interest and its further evaluation and recommending a course of action for both countries to work together

### American View of the World

The *National Security Strategy 2010* (NSS), states that after the end of Cold War, democracies increased in scale and size, as the world economy has expanded.<sup>108</sup> It also recognizes that the era of nuclear wars has subsided, major world powers are at peace and globalization has connected the world. Individuals all over the world have started asserting their identity. These are positive post-Cold War trends. However, there have been negative changes also.

Wars over ideology have taken a back seat and now wars over identity, religion and ethnic lines have increased. Environmental damage has increased, food security and dangers to public health have increased; proliferation of nuclear weapons has taken place. The September 11, 2011 has demonstrated the rise and reach of terrorist organizations like al-Qaida and its affiliates. The global economy has increased the competition for American people and businesses.<sup>109</sup>

---

<sup>108</sup> White House, *National Security Strategy* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2010), 1, accessed July 26, 2014, [http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss\\_viewer/national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf).

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

## The World that America Seeks

The *National Security Strategy 2010* (NSS)<sup>110</sup> recognizes that the strategic policies of the government have been shaped in accordance with the developments of the world to benefit American interests. This document gives examples of the industrial revolution when the US transformed its economy and role in the world, and also describes the rise of fascism and communism and the response of the US to it. The NSS, points out the effective American leadership for the world and the promotion of a just and sustainable world order. Then it lays down the strategies through which the government plans to establish the world America seeks.

The strength of America has been its robust economy which has sponsored the elements of national power, to include military, diplomatic and development efforts.<sup>111</sup> The economy creates jobs, forges bonds between various countries and contributes to political and economic stability in the world. Hence, the NSS, speaks of rejuvenating the economy. For leading the world, America has to secure its own borders, speak and act on the basis of the moral values of America without imposing them on others and then inspire others to join the American cause.<sup>112</sup>

---

<sup>110</sup> Wikipedia, "National Security Strategy," accessed July 26, 2014, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Security\\_Strategy\\_%28United\\_States%29](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Security_Strategy_%28United_States%29). *The National Security Strategy* is a document prepared periodically by the executive branch of the government of the United States for Congress which outlines the major national security concerns of the United States and how the administration plans to deal with them. The legal foundation for the document is spelled out in the Goldwater-Nichols Act. The document is purposely general in content (contrast with the National Military Strategy, NMS) and its implementation relies on elaborating guidance provided in supporting documents (including the NMS).

<sup>111</sup> White House, *National Security Strategy*, 14.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

America has always succeeded in its endeavors through forging alliances right from the World War II to the end of the Cold War. Building alliances and working towards common interests which will enhance American security and prosperity is the way forward. The NSS recognizes Russia, China and India as centers of influence and the need for forging friendly relations with them. Adversarial states would have a choice between abiding by the international norms or the threat of being isolated. Forging alliances and deterring adversaries' require an effective combination of national power.<sup>113</sup>

US engagement underpins a just and sustainable international order—just, because it advances mutual interests, protects the rights of all, and holds accountable those who refuse to meet their responsibilities; sustainable because it is based on broadly shared norms and fosters collective action to address common challenges.<sup>114</sup> International institutions like the World Bank, UN, G8 and G20 play an important role in maintaining a just and sustainable world order. When not all nations play by the rules and accept the responsibilities and moral obligations of the world order; these situations warrant the use of force. In today's world, individuals play an important role and due recognition has to be given to the rights and liberties of individuals.<sup>115</sup> In all these endeavors, America expresses its strong desire for maintaining the leadership of the world and securing its national interests.

---

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

## The US National Interest Defined

*The National Security Strategy* (2010) states the national interests of the US as defined by the President Barrack Obama.<sup>116</sup> The document brings out four major national interests which it terms as enduring. They are:

1. Security: The security of the United States, its citizens, and U.S. allies and partners.
2. Prosperity: A strong, innovative, and growing U.S. economy in an open international economic system that promotes opportunity and prosperity.
3. Security: Respect for universal values at home and around the world; and
4. International Order: An international order advanced by U.S. leadership that promotes peace, security, and opportunity through stronger cooperation to meet global challenges.

### Security

Security is the first theme of the US national interest. The US acknowledges the threats to US citizens, the homeland and its interests abroad. While accepting it as a challenges, it prepares for meeting those challenges.<sup>117</sup> For maintaining security of itself and its interest abroad, it designs to strengthen security and resilience at the home front. The strategy to emulate this design is rooted in enhancing security at home,<sup>118</sup> preparing

---

<sup>116</sup> White House, *National Security Strategy*, 17.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

for emergencies,<sup>119</sup> empowering communities to counter radicalization,<sup>120</sup> improving resilience through increased public-private partnerships<sup>121</sup> and then engaging with the communities and citizens.<sup>122</sup> While these are the measures to be taken at home, at the global level the US desires to target Al Qaida and its violent extremist affiliates in Afghanistan, Pakistan and around the globe.<sup>123</sup> This strategy includes preventing attacks on the homeland, preventing of aviation security lapses denying terrorist weapons of mass destruction (WMD), denying Al Qaida the ability to threaten the American people, allies, partners and US interest overseas, addressing the AfPak(Afghanistan, Pakistan) region, denying safe havens and strengthening at risk states.

Reversing the spread of nuclear and biological weapons and securing nuclear material is also an important part of ensuring security of United States. In this context the US wants to pursue the goal of a world without nuclear weapons. The Strategic Arms

---

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid. This led to the formulation of the AfPak strategy. The White House release had set this as an objective: On March 27, 2009, the President announced a comprehensive, new strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan that is the culmination of a careful 60-day, interagency strategic review. During the review process, we consulted with the Afghan and Pakistani governments, partners and NATO allies, other donors, international organizations and members of Congress. The strategy starts with a clear, concise, attainable goal: disrupt, dismantle, and defeat al Qaeda and its safe havens. The President's new approach will be flexible and adoptive and include frequent evaluations of the progress being made.

Reduction Treaty (START) agreement with Russia,<sup>124</sup> compliance with the Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) were steps in this direction. The NSS (2010) also speaks of deterring Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons and persuading North Korea to abandon their nuclear weapon program. In the same breath the US is ready to support peaceful nuclear energy initiatives in coordination with international regulatory bodies.<sup>125</sup>

The US has important interest in Middle East.<sup>126</sup> In its ambition to ensure peace, security and opportunity in the greater Middle East, the US has a number of things at stake. The resolution of the Arab Israeli conflict, the security of the Jewish state of Israel, respecting the legitimate aspirations of Palestinians for statehood, encouraging Iran to act like a responsible country in the region, and ensuring that Iraq and Afghanistan have peaceful transitions are part of this vision.<sup>127</sup>

Cybersecurity presents itself as a grave threat to national security, public safety and the economy of the US. It affects the daily lives of the people and also the military

---

<sup>124</sup>U.S. Department of State, “New START,” accessed July 27, 2014, <http://www.state.gov/t/avc/newstart/index.htm>. The Treaty between the United States of America and the Russian Federation on Measures for the Further Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, also known as the New START Treaty, entered into force on February 5, 2011. Under the Treaty, the United States and Russia must meet the Treaty’s central limits on strategic arms by February 5, 2018; seven years from the date the Treaty entered into force. Each Party has the flexibility to determine for itself the structure of its strategic forces within the aggregate limits of the Treaty. These limits are based on the rigorous analysis conducted by Department of Defense planners in support of the 2010 Nuclear Posture Review.

<sup>125</sup> White House, *National Security Strategy*, 24.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.



capabilities. The electric grids are all dependent on the internet. Secure cyberspace forms an important part of US security. With this aim the US desires to invest in people and technology to develop more reliable and secure systems. The US recognizes a need for international partnerships for securing and preventing the hostile use of cyberspace.<sup>128</sup>

### Prosperity

US leadership in the world draws its strength from its economic prosperity.<sup>129</sup> Globalization has provided opportunities to its people, goods, services and industries. At the same time, they have also presented challenges in the form of job losses and shocks resulting from the globally integrated economy. The growth in prosperity in other parts of the world have created challenges to American leadership.<sup>130</sup> Hence the NSS (2010) recognizes the necessity of stronger and competitive economy.

Economic prosperity depends upon numerous factors, which have to be addressed concurrently. The US needs to improve education system, invest in science, technology, engineering and math education; increase international education and exchange and pursue comprehensive immigration reform. It has to reduce dependence on fossil fuels. For enhancing science and technology it will have to invest in research and development; expand international partnership; employ technology to protect the nation; and leverage and grow space capabilities.<sup>131</sup>

---

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., 29.

The economic growth has to be balanced and sustainable. To achieve this, the US has to promote inclusive growth and prevent the recurrence of economic imbalances and financial excesses. The debt crisis has provided important lesson for the economy. The repeat of a crisis like that has to be avoided. More saving and more export are necessary. Domestic demand abroad needs to be increased. Opening of foreign markets to the US products and services will stimulate the growth of the economy. Building cooperation with international partners like those in the G20 to increase global growth and deter threats to the international financial systems is mandatory.<sup>132</sup>

The American economy faces a stiff challenge from the Chinese economy, which is likely to overtake the US this year.<sup>133</sup> The Treasury Secretary of the US stated that US growth is projected to average 2.1 percent for the next decade, significantly down from the historical average of 3.4 percent from 1948-2007.<sup>134</sup> Though there are numerous challenges to the Chinese economy, if the growth of China continues and US growth slows, then it can be safely assumed that, China will be able to establish itself as a strong leader in the world.

### Values

This is the third part of the US national interest. NSS (2010) lays out the significance that the US attaches to human values. It elaborates that values such as

---

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 30.

<sup>133</sup> David Karl, "The Greatest Challenge to U.S. National Security: A Weak Economy," *The National Interest*, 23 June 2014, accessed July 27, 2014, <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/the-greatest-challenge-us-national-security-weak-economy-10720>.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

freedom of speech, freedom to choose leadership, to assemble without fear, dignity, tolerance and equality among all the people are universal.<sup>135</sup> All those nations that adopt these values and ensure their application ultimately become successful and are friendly to the US. However, NSS (2010) also recognizes that in certain cultures these values are interpreted as threats to their identities. In autocratic nations these values are suppressed. Because of poverty, in many parts of the world people lack dignity and the opportunity to do well. The US national interest recognizes the fact that long term security and prosperity of the US depends upon support to these universal values.<sup>136</sup>

The US strategy to promote these values is to lead by example, promoting democracy and human rights abroad and promoting dignity by meeting basic needs.<sup>137</sup> As it leads by example, the NSS (2010) states, the US will follow all the legal aspects of countering terrorism. This means prohibiting torture, balancing imperatives of secrecy and transparency, upholding the rule of law, protecting civil liberties, privacy and oversight, and drawing strength from diversity. While promoting democracy and human rights abroad, the US intends to ensure that the new and fragile democracies deliver tangible improvements for their citizens. The US also intends to engage the non-democracies while still adhering to the universal human rights, recognizing the legitimacy of democratic movements, supporting the human rights of women and girls, fighting corruption, and establishing a coalition to promote human values. For promoting

---

<sup>135</sup> White House, *National Security Strategy*, 37.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*

the dignity of human beings the US pursues global health initiative,<sup>138</sup> promotes food security and leads efforts to tackle humanitarian crisis.

### International Order

The fourth national interest as laid out in the NSS (2010) is the international order. The US desires to have an international order that is advanced by the US leadership. It wants the international order to be just and sustainable. The primary purpose of this international order is to advance the security and prosperity of the American people. NSS (2010) notes that certain problems have no boundaries, e.g. terrorism, climate change etc. which require international cooperation. The international order includes international institutions.<sup>139</sup>

The US has maintained the international order through the UN and NATO. However, in recent years these institutions have been facing pressures due to emerging threats and the growth of new power centers in the world.<sup>140</sup> Hence, relying only on these international institution is not a feasible strategy. The US has to get into bilateral, regional, economic agreements and strengthen them to meet its goals. This requires

---

<sup>138</sup> GlobalHealth.gov, “Your Health, Our World.” Global Health Initiative, accessed November 2, 2014, <http://www.globalhealth.gov/global-programs-and-initiatives/global-health-initiative/>. The Global Health Initiative (GHI) is an integrated approach to unify the United States government’s activities in fighting communicable diseases and supporting international health advances. It represents a coordinated and results-driven set of goals and principles, so that the U.S. government – together with other countries and partners – can overcome the challenges of disease that threaten lives at home and throughout the world.

<sup>139</sup> White House, *National Security Strategy*, 40.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

sustained engagements with partners. Therefore, building alliances is a major strategy in establishing the international order under US leadership.

The US has a multipronged strategy for building alliances. The US categorizes the world into three parts on the basis of establishing the relations. The first part is the traditional allies<sup>141</sup> in the form of NATO and the European allies, long standing Asian allies and the North American allies. The US intends to develop those relationship further, enhance the interaction, build on security relationships, ensure prosperity, security, stability, promote human rights and advance democracy.

The second category is the 21st century centers of influence.<sup>142</sup> This category includes three countries namely, India, China and Russia. The US understands the global realities and sees these nations asserting themselves on the global stage. It sees building bilateral relationships with these countries as an important way ahead to engage them. The nature of these relationships is to develop shared interests to promote security and stability. However, in stark contrast to the relationship with India, US relationships with China and Russia does not appear to be very cordial, because they are acting against the American interests in Asia and Europe.<sup>143</sup>

The third category is the emerging centers of influence.<sup>144</sup> These include nations from Latin America, Africa and Asia. NSS (2010) specifically refers to Indonesia and Brazil as important players. Apart from these, the US wants to constructively engage its

---

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 45.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 45-46.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 47.

partners in the Middle East like Israel, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and other Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries.

The international order that the US seeks is targeted at international issues of mutual concerns with other countries. The important areas of cooperation are laid out in NSS (2010). They include the tackling of climate change, deterring and preventing armed conflict and peacekeeping, preventing, detecting and containing pandemics and infectious diseases, targeting the transnational criminal threats and threats to governance, keeping the sea lanes open and preserving American interest in the Polar Regions.

Apart from the NSS (2010), a commission on America's national interest in 2000,<sup>145</sup> defined the national interest into four parts, vital interest, extremely important interest, important interest and secondary interest. This committee report is more objective in nature wherein it specifies each interest. However on the basis of comparison the thesis finds that the NSS (2010) is more comprehensive and covers the ground realities of today's strategic environment. Hence the thesis, takes into account the NSS as the primary document for investigating the US national interest, comparing it to the Indian national interest and its further evaluation and recommending a course of action for both countries to work together.

#### The Asia-Pacific Pivot

Since NSS, 2010, a landmark change in US policy has been the Pivot to the Asia-Pacific region. The rebalance to the Asia-Pacific area is termed a strategy based on ground realities. The US has maintained a presence in the Asia-Pacific area, since a very

---

<sup>145</sup> This report can be accessed at <http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/amernatinter.pdf>.

long time. However, at present the Asia-Pacific's importance is growing every day.<sup>146</sup> The Asia-Pacific is a major market for American goods and services. It is also emerging as an economic powerhouse. At the same time American allies are feeling threatened due to the aggressive policies of China. The US prosperity and security is intertwined with the prosperity and security of the Asia-Pacific region.<sup>147</sup> The "Pivot" strategy intends to strengthen the economic, diplomatic and security arrangements bilaterally and multilaterally for implementation.<sup>148</sup> The implementation of this strategy will require the allocation and appropriation of resources to the region to be successful.

The national interests that have been identified through study and analysis of the NSS (2010) and other documents offer valuable insights into American national interests and their impact on making of foreign policy. The US faces many challenges as it works preserve its national interests and leadership. As US seeks to preserve its status as the sole world superpower, it has to make new alliances and strategic engagements that will add value to American power. The subsequent chapters of this thesis, seek an answer regarding India's role in this equation.

### India's National Interest

India occupies a highly strategic location in the eastern hemisphere, especially so for the US interest. India projects approximately 1750 KMs of landmass in the Indian

---

<sup>146</sup> U.S. Congress, *Re-Balancing the Rebalance: Resourcing U.S. Diplomatic Strategy in the Asia-Pacific Region* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2014), accessed July 30, 2014, <http://www.foreign.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/872692.pdf>.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

Ocean, bringing Strait of Hormuz to Strait of Malacca into its sphere of influence. As a consequence of it, India is able to dominate the trade routes passing through the Indian Ocean utilizing its blue water navy.<sup>149</sup> It is estimated that approximately 80 percent of world oil trade takes place through these trade routes.<sup>150</sup>

India is the second most populous country in the world with a population of 1,236,344,631 (July 2014 estimate).<sup>151</sup> The number of people of Indian origin settled abroad are 25 million.<sup>152</sup> It is a prospering democracy, which is heading on a high trajectory economic development path. As the economy develops, the resources required to sustain the economy are likely to grow. With growing stature and influence of India in the region and the world, India is likely to play a major role in the world politics. To understand the areas of cooperation between India and the US, the thesis has to understand the national interests of India.

Unlike, the US, India does not have an established National Security Strategy, which lays down the national interests and how it intends to protect them. The literature

---

<sup>149</sup> Blue Water Navy: The Defense Security Service of the United States has defined the blue-water navy as, “a maritime force capable of sustained operation across the deep waters of open oceans. A blue-water navy allows a country to project power far from the home country and usually includes one or more aircraft carriers.

<sup>150</sup> Sergei DeSilva-Ranasinghe, “Why the Indian Ocean Matters,” *The Diplomat*, March 2, 2011, accessed August 13, 2014, <http://thediplomat.com/2011/03/why-the-indian-ocean-matters/>.

<sup>151</sup> Central Intelligence Agency, “India,” *The World Factbook*, June 22, 2014, accessed August 13, 2014, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/in.html>.

<sup>152</sup> “Population of Non-Resident Indians (NRI): Country wise.” May 1, 2012, accessed August 13, 2014, [Http://Moia.Gov.In/Writereaddata/Pdf/NRISPIOS-Data\(15-06-12\)new.Pdf](Http://Moia.Gov.In/Writereaddata/Pdf/NRISPIOS-Data(15-06-12)new.Pdf).



presented here as India's national interests has been obtained through the published books, articles and research material. Based on the research conducted on this topic, the general categorization of the national interests of India can be done into the following parts:

1. Security interest.
2. Economic prosperity.
3. International order
4. Global issues.

### Security

The Security of the Indian homeland and that of its interests abroad is a major concern for India. India shares a border with China, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Myanmar and Sri Lanka and to an extent with Maldives. All the neighbors except for China and Bhutan, witness numerous challenges to their stability. The level of development, poverty and extremism is a cause of concern for India. However it is not only the neighbors that affect Indian security, there are internal factors also.

### Internal Security

The internal security scenario of India is a major cause of concern. The terrorism in J&K (Jammu and Kashmir), the insurgency in Northeast India and the Naxalite problem in the heartland are specific problems facing India. The militancy in the state of J&K started in the decade of eighties. It was a very well planned out and executed plan of

the Pakistani state machinery under *Operation Topaz*<sup>153</sup> initiated by Zia ul Haq.<sup>154</sup> Though the militancy in J&K has almost died down, with the local support waning and the mainstream identifying with India, the pressures remain. The drawdown of US and multinational forces from Afghanistan are likely to affect the security scenario of J&K. The continued state support of Pakistan to the terrorist groups and the harboring of terrorist sanctuaries is an existential threat to the security of J&K and India as a whole.

The insurgency in northeast India is a home grown problem. It is due to poor development and neglect of the northeastern states by the central government. The drawing of the border or the reorganization of the states was not done taking into consideration the linguistic and cultural affinity of the citizens. Furthermore the northeast Indian citizens are distinctly different when it comes to their ethnicity.<sup>155</sup> However, at his juncture the peace talks and the initiatives taken by the government have weakened the insurgency in most of the northeastern states.

The Naxalite problem is again a manifestation of poor governance, ignorance of the needs of the people and the deep rooted corruptions in the state machinery.<sup>156</sup> There

---

<sup>153</sup> Arun Bajpayee, "Pakistan ISI and India," October 21, 2012, accessed November 2, 2014, <http://www.dailyexcelsior.com/pakistan-isi-and-india>. Operation TOPAZ, is a covert operation launched by the Pakistani intelligence agency, ISI, with the final Goal of breaking up India by thousand cuts.

<sup>154</sup> Aditi Malhotra, "Punitive Deterrence through Covert Operations," April 10, 2010, accessed August 13, 2014, <http://www.claws.in/356/punitive-deterrence-through-covert-operations-aditi-malhotra.html>.

<sup>155</sup> Subir Bhaumik, July 10, 2007, accessed August 14, 2014, <https://www.wiltonpark.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/india-insurgency-north-east.pdf>.

<sup>156</sup> Gaurang Sahay, "Naxalism, Caste based Militias and Human Security: Lessons from Bihar," July 1, 2008, accessed August 19, 2014, <http://artsonline.monash.edu.au/mai/files/2012/07/gaurangsahay.pdf>.

have been instances where, it was found that the Naxalites were being supported by external sources. The Indian government has now been candid enough to realize the gravity of the situation and adopt a corrective as well as a preventive stance.<sup>157</sup> The corrective stance has been to address the causes and the preventive stance has been initiatives for stopping the further growth of Naxalism.

### External Security

The external security scenario is not good for India. All of India's neighbors, except China, are undergoing internal stability problems. Their stability and their relations with India affect the security of India.

#### Pakistan

India and Pakistan have been involved in long standing border dispute since independence. The Kashmir dispute lies at the heart of the Indo-Pak problem. Both the countries have fought four conventional wars. Pakistan claims that India is a threat to its sovereignty and territorial integrity.<sup>158</sup> However, this has changed recently since Pakistan recognized that the terrorism emanating from its soil is the enemy number one for Pakistan. For India, the use of terrorist organizations like LeT by Pakistan as a hedge and

---

<sup>157</sup> "There Cannot Be Slip-up in Vigilance against Terrorism: Manmohan," August 15, 2011, accessed November 2, 2014, <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/there-cannot-be-slipup-in-vigilance-against-terrorism-manmohan/article2358632.ece>. Excerpts from the speech of PM Man Mohan Singh, during his address to people of India, on the eve of Indian Independence day.

<sup>158</sup> C. Christine Fair, *Fighting to the End: The Pakistan Army's Way of War*, vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 155.

low cost tool to strategically weaken India<sup>159</sup> is a major headache for the Indian government. The attack on Indian parliament and the Mumbai attack have demonstrated the effects of these terrorist organizations. Nuclear armed Pakistan, with a tremendous amount of instability is a dangerous proposition for India. The risk of its nuclear weapons falling into the wrong hands has not only worried India, but also the entire world, and the US especially. The heavily militarized IB (international boundary) and Line of Control (LoC) between India and Pakistan frequently experience the exchange of heavy gunfire. Settling the Kashmir issue, keeping Pakistan from using state sponsored terror, stabilizing the situation in Pakistan and ensuring its nuclear weapons do not fall into the wrong hands are some major challenges for Indian polity.

### China

Relations between India and China are constantly tense because of the boundary disputes. The Chinese have been found supporting the northeast militancy with material help.<sup>160</sup> The presence of Chinese troops in the disputed regions of Kashmir has been strongly contested by India. Chinese claim on the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh and the issue of stapled visa is another bone of contention. The border disputes have numerous times brought both nations to the edge as was witnessed during the Depsang

---

<sup>159</sup> Daniel Byman, *Deadly Connections: States That Sponsor Terrorism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 4.

<sup>160</sup> “Northeast Insurgents Getting Arms from China: Govt,” *Times of India*, March 13, 2013, accessed August 19, 2014, <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Northeast-insurgents-getting-arms-from-China-Govt/articleshow/18940936.cms>.

incident.<sup>161</sup> The Chinese deplore India's support of Dalai Lama, the religious head of Tibetans presently residing in the Himalayan town of Dharamshala.<sup>162</sup> However, both nations are making concerted efforts to solve the issues amicably with robust boundary mechanism and regular talks.

In the long term however, India seems to be heading towards an inevitable contest with china for influence in the region and world. The need for resources for the growth of the economy and sustaining it will further create problems between both countries. The clash of national interests in the South China Sea is another case in example. The massive dumping of Chinese goods in India and the heavily tilted balance of trade in China's favor add to the complexities of the relationship. Indian security experts are also wary of China's strategic encirclement of India. Furthermore, India's desire for a permanent Security Council seat in the UN finds opposition in China. China is a big factor in India's security calculus. Accordingly the new (2014) government under PM Modi, is maneuvering to constructively engage China and at the same time limit its influence.

---

<sup>161</sup> On April 15, 2013, a platoon-sized contingent of the Chinese PLA set up a camp in Raki Nula, 30 km south of Daulat Beg Oldi near the Aksai Chin-Ladakh Line of Actual Control (LAC). Chinese and Indian patrols in this disputed area are common, but both Chinese and Indian military forces have avoided establishing permanent bases and fortifications in the region. Indian forces responded to the Chinese presence by quickly establishing their own encampment 300 meters away. Negotiations between China and India lasted nearly three weeks, during which the Chinese position was reinforced and supported by trucks and helicopters. The dispute was resolved on 5 May, after which both sides withdrew. As part of the resolution, the Indian military agreed to dismantle some military structures 250 km to the south in the disputed Chumar sector that the Chinese perceived as threatening.

<sup>162</sup> Nilanjana Bhowmick, "The Dalai Lama Steps Out in India, as China Seethes," *Time*, December 5, 2011, accessed October 28, 2014.

## Afghanistan

India's ties with Afghanistan have a long history. As Mr. Raghav Sharma, observes in *Handbook of India's international Relations*, Indian interests in Afghanistan are three fold.<sup>163</sup> The first one is to reduce the influence of ISI (Inter Service Agency), the Pakistani intelligence agency and prevent the resurgence of the Taliban, second is to curtail the drug trafficking, which affects the population both in India and in the region and the third is to secure Afghanistan as a trade and security corridor to central Asia, apart from the investments that India has made in Afghanistan.

## Southeast Asia

The Indian look-east policy was put in place in 1991.<sup>164</sup> India has substantial stakes in Southeast Asia and ASEAN. The interests are primarily driven by security of sea lanes of communication, economics and political reasons. In his book, *India and Southeast Asia: Indian Perceptions and Policies*, Mohammed Ayoob, argues that the Indian involvement in the Southeast Asian regions and particularly its interaction with the ASEAN will grow tremendously for strategic and political reasons, especially in light of China's influence in the region.

---

<sup>163</sup> David Scott and Raghav Sharma, *Handbook of India's International Relations* (London: Routledge, 2011), 109.

<sup>164</sup> "India-foreign-relation-2012," August 8, 2014, accessed August 19, 2014, <http://www.mea.gov.in>, 370.

## Economic Growth

India is a home to around one third of the world's poor.<sup>165</sup> India desires to achieve rapid economic growth to alleviate poverty. In 1991 India opened up its economy to the world and became globalized. Since then its economy has grown rapidly, however, at the same time it has faced numerous challenges. Indian expertise lies in the service industry, IT, textiles, pharmaceuticals and agricultural based industries, which provide much of its exports revenue.<sup>166</sup> India aims to rapidly grow in its non-traditional areas like telecommunications, manufacturing, space, defense and capital goods.

## Sustaining Economic Growth

Though there are adequate opportunities and skills available in India, in addition to its red tape culture, what hinders India's growth is its rusting infrastructure.<sup>167</sup> Infrastructure is not able to keep pace with the growth of economy. Even very reserved estimates point out that at least a trillion dollars of investment in the infrastructure

---

<sup>165</sup> The World Bank, "India: Country Results Profile," January 1, 2013, accessed August 19, 2014, <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/NEWS/0,,contentMDK:22888405~menuPK:141310~pagePK:34370~piPK:34424~theSitePK:4607,00.html>.

<sup>166</sup> Government of India, "Total Trade," Department of Commerce, August 12, 2014, accessed August 21, 2014, <http://commerce.nic.in/eidb/default.asp>.

<sup>167</sup> As stated by Kaushik Basu, the chief economist of World Bank, in an interview to BBC. The details of the interview can be found on <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-25742983>.

sectors<sup>168</sup> is needed. The major areas of concern are transportations, ports, electricity generation and smart cities to sustain the burgeoning urban population.

It requires modern technology<sup>169</sup> to transform the agriculture sector of the economy apart from developing irrigation facilities. India also has to make huge investments in the improvement of human capital, solving governance bottlenecks and labor reforms.<sup>170</sup>

The transformation of power generation from the fossil fuels to clean fuels requires tremendous technological and financial investment in nontraditional sources of energy like nuclear, solar and wind. The availability of the natural gas and oil at stable price levels from reliable sources will prevent shocks to the country's economy.<sup>171</sup> Therefore, India requires long term energy supplies from reliable partners at affordable rates.

#### International order

India desires bringing reforms to the international order, keeping geopolitical realities in mind.<sup>172</sup> India finds that the world institutions are clearly dominated by the

---

<sup>168</sup> deloitte.com, "Indian Infrastructure A Trillion Dollar Opportunity," accessed August 21, 2014, [http://www.deloitte.com/assets/Dcom-India/LocalAssets/Images/Thumbnails/infra/DeloitteBackground Paper\\_27Jan\\_Final2.pdf](http://www.deloitte.com/assets/Dcom-India/LocalAssets/Images/Thumbnails/infra/DeloitteBackground Paper_27Jan_Final2.pdf).

<sup>169</sup> Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, "India Sustaining High And Inclusive Growth," October 1, 2012, accessed August 21, 2014, <http://www.oecd.org/india/IndiaBrochure2012.pdf>.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> C Raja Mohan, "Changing World Order," in *Crux of Asia* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment, 2013).



Western nations and do not represent all the nations of the world.<sup>173</sup> India seeks reforms in the UN Security Council, the world financial bodies like the IMF and the World Bank.<sup>174</sup> India criticizes these financial institution for failing to avert the global financial crisis of 2008. India states that there is a requirement of bringing in governance and organizational reforms to these world financial bodies.<sup>175</sup> India also criticizes the international Court for unduly encroaching upon the sovereignty of the nations. The WTO also does not recognize the need of food security of the developing and poor nations. This was very evident during the recently concluded WTO trade talks in Geneva.<sup>176</sup> Regarding UNSC reforms, India's demand states that the world should recognize the changing geopolitics, the growth of other economies, India's influence in the region and abroad, the power of its democracy and its powerful military.<sup>177</sup> With all these factors, India claims a permanent seat in the Security Council.

#### Global issues

There are a number of global issues which affect the national interest of India. Analogous to the US, India intends to tackle these transnational issues with the world

---

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> "Pluralism or Fragmentation? India and the Changing International Order," January 1, 2010, accessed August 21, 2014, [http://www.foresightproject.net/downloads/Pluralism\\_or\\_fragmentation\\_India\\_a\\_the\\_changing\\_int.order\\_E.Jurado\\_P.Shankar.pdf](http://www.foresightproject.net/downloads/Pluralism_or_fragmentation_India_a_the_changing_int.order_E.Jurado_P.Shankar.pdf).

<sup>176</sup> The Financial Express, Trade and Market, August 7, 2014, accessed August 21, 2014, <http://www.thefinancialexpress-bd.com/2014/08/07/49061>.

<sup>177</sup> Raja Menon, "India's Tough Road to the Security Council," *The National Interest*, April 4, 2014, accessed August 21, 2014, <http://nationalinterest.org/commentary/indias-tough-road-the-security-council-8305>.

community in a comprehensive manner. India believes that these transnational issues can be solved by the individual nations working in concert with the world institutions like the UN.

### Terrorism

India is one of the worst affected country from the scourge of terrorism and insurgency. The northeastern insurgency has been alive since independence, while the Kashmir dispute and Naxalism are also taking a toll. The cross border support to terrorism from Pakistan has also resulted in the terrorist attacks like the parliament attack and the Mumbai attack where even people from foreign countries were massacred etc. After 9/11 even the world has realized the gravity of the situation and how terrorism affects world security.

India's approach to terrorism has evolved systematically.<sup>178</sup> It has realized that terrorism cannot be tackled only at the national level. It requires coordinated world efforts in the form of intelligence sharing and cooperation, extradition treaties, homeland security cooperation's, including the terrorist organizations in the UN's banned organization list and then financial restrictions on those organizations.<sup>179</sup>

---

<sup>178</sup> Radha Kumar and Anchal Malhotra, "Back to Reality: India's National Interests and Multilateralism," February 1, 2014, accessed August 19, 2014, [www.stanleyfoundation.org/publications/pab/backtorealitypab214.pdf](http://www.stanleyfoundation.org/publications/pab/backtorealitypab214.pdf).

<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

## Climate Change

The effect of climate change is highly pronounced in Indian and South Asian context.<sup>180</sup> Agriculture provides job to millions of Indian. It is heavily dependent on the rainfall. The rising temperature affects the monsoon pattern. Irregular monsoons will cause widespread damage to crops, Floods and droughts are likely to will result in severe food scarcity.<sup>181</sup> Rising ocean water levels could engulf large areas of coastal India. India and the world, might face a large influx of population of displaced people from Bangladesh due to rising water levels. The rapid melting of glaciers in the Himalayas initially would cause floods and later on could result in major river system like the Ganges<sup>182</sup> drying up.<sup>183</sup> Such developments would thus erode the GDP due to the loss of revenues from fisheries, tourism and damage to ecosystem. Thus, the issue of climate change and the measures to mitigate it, is a high priority for India.<sup>184</sup>

## Pandemics

India, as is the rest of the world, is threatened by pandemics like H1N1 influenza, Ebola, and AIDS etc. The recent outbreak of Ebola and the earlier spread of the Swine Flu and Bird flu viruses resulted in significant damage to the population as well as the

---

<sup>180</sup> Worldbank, "South Asia and Climate Change," January 1, 2013, accessed August 20, 2014, <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/SOUTHASIAEXT/0,,contentMDK:21469804~menuPK:2246552~pagePK:2865106~piPK:2865128~theSitePK:223547,00.html>.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

<sup>183</sup> "India's Position on Climate Change Issues," August 4, 2009, accessed August 19, 2014, <http://pib.nic.in/newsite/erelease.aspx?reid=49738>.

<sup>184</sup> Kumar, and Malhotra, "Back to Reality."

economy of India and the world. Control of such pandemics can save thousands of life and avert major humanitarian crises. To address this issue there is a need for international cooperation in the fields of research, development of vaccines and medicines and control of the outbreak. Indian national interests certainly incorporate all the efforts to tackle these pandemics.<sup>185</sup>

### Nuclear Weapons Free World

India, analogous to the US, being a nuclear weapon state, does seek for a world which is free of nuclear weapons. India states that the strategic environment and events both in the region and the world, forced the decision to go nuclear.<sup>186</sup> However, it is in the interest of India to have a world free of nuclear weapons. India proposes that all the nuclear powers should start negotiations towards this end and at the outset declare a no first use policy.<sup>187</sup> This would build confidence and ensure that eventually the world will be a safer place.

### Other National Interests

Apart from the above mentioned aspects of India's national interest, India, in coordination with the US and other democracies promotes democracy around the

---

<sup>185</sup> Rajiv Kumar and Santosh Kumar, *In the National Interest: A Strategic Foreign Policy for India* (Delhi: BS Books, 2010), 53.

<sup>186</sup> "India on A Nuclear Weapon-Free World: From Conception to Reality," April 2, 2014, accessed August 22, 2014, <http://www.idsa.in/keyspeeches/InauguralAddressShriManmohanSingh>.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid.

world.<sup>188</sup> Taking care of its population abroad is another national interest for India. The overseas Indians are a source of huge repatriation revenue for India. This aspects can be highlighted by India's active involvement in seeking the safety of its citizens during the Iraq war, the Libyan conflict, the ISIS war, and the Ukrainian conflict.<sup>189</sup>

India's concerns are primarily dictated by the economics and security of the country and the citizens. To satisfy its national interest it seeks to cooperate and build alliances. Its military interventions to secure national interest are either based on the calls of the respective country or its people. It seeks military intervention in other parts of the world strictly through a UN mandate. Some of the decision, may not seem congruent to the stated policies of the government, when those issues are in conflict with the national interest.

### Indo-US Relations

The Indians are bastards anyway, they are the most aggressive goddamn people around.<sup>190</sup>

Our two countries share a common DNA that compels us to look towards the horizon and think about the next generation.<sup>191</sup>

---

<sup>188</sup> As stated by C Raja Mohan, Professor of South Asian Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore and Roland Rich, Executive Head, United Nations Democracy Fund in an interview with Jayshree Bajoria, Staff Writer, CFR.org, May 8, 2009.

<sup>189</sup> Charu Sudan Kasturi, "Centre Mulls Iraq Rescue in Batches," Telegraphindia.com, June 22, 2014, accessed August 21, 2014, [http://www.telegraphindia.com/1140622/jsp/nation/story\\_18538154.jsp#.U\\_awwKPCv8g](http://www.telegraphindia.com/1140622/jsp/nation/story_18538154.jsp#.U_awwKPCv8g).

<sup>190</sup> Debashish Choudahary, "South Asia News, Business and Economy from India and Pakistan," *Asia Times Online*, June 23, 2005, accessed November 2, 2014, [http://atimes.com/atimes/South\\_Asia/GF23Df04.html](http://atimes.com/atimes/South_Asia/GF23Df04.html). Statement by Henry Kissinger, the then Security Advisor.

The relations between India and the US have waxed and waned. The above quotes eloquently exemplify this. However, the point to note is the earlier statement was during the peak of the Cold War, when the US was engaged in Vietnam and Middle East. Relations have, however, taken turn for the better in recent years. This section will deal with relations between these two democracies since India's independence. To understand the relations between these two countries, it is necessary to understand the foreign policy of India, immediately after independence. The Indian foreign policy drew its inspirations from the Indian freedom struggle. Mahatma Gandhi was a big influence when it came to the foreign policy after independence. During India's independence struggle the Indian National Congress, led by Mahatma Gandhi, practiced nonviolence to overthrow the colonial British.

### Past Relationship

The past relationship between India and the US has seen its high and lows. The two democracies even came very close to a conventional war during 1971. The recent turn to friendliness is a sign of a growing relationship between both countries.

India gained independence in 1947 when the Cold War was emerging. Post-independence India adopted a non-aligned position, joining the soviet nor the American led camp. It established a quasi-socialist economy, which raised suspicions in the US.<sup>192</sup>

---

<sup>191</sup> John Kerry, Secretary of State, "Remarks on the U.S.-India Strategic Partnership," U.S. Department of State, June 23, 2013, accessed November 2, 2014, <http://www.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2013/06/211013.htm>.

<sup>192</sup> Amit Gupta, "The U.S.-India Relationship: Strategic Partnership or Complementary Interests?" February 1, 2005, accessed September 6, 2014, <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdf/PUB596.pdf>.

Relations were better during the Korean War, when India dispatched its military under the aegis of the UN armistice commission, but waned again in 1956 when India condemned the Western intervention in Suez but did not condemn the Soviet Union's suppression of the Hungarian revolt.<sup>193</sup> The relationship again blossomed during the 1962 Indo-China War, when the US aided India and envisaged bringing it under its protective umbrella.

In 1971, the relationship again deteriorated during the Indo-Pak War when the US pressured India by dispatching the aircraft carrier USS Enterprise to the Bay of Bengal. This led to India signing a peace and friendship treaty with the Soviet Union. Relations turned worse when India tested its nuclear device in 1974 and the US imposed sanctions on India.

When USSR invaded Afghanistan in 1979, the US used Pakistan as a tool in a proxy war to contain the USSR. This brought the US closer to Pakistan and created suspicion on the Indian side. The relation turned better in 1984 after Mr. Rajiv Gandhi became the prime minister of India and pursued engagement with the US.

In 1991, India faced a severe economic crisis and the then Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Narsimha Rao, opened up the economy. This event saw both India and the US come together and expand trade and defense relationships. The Clinton administration sought to improve relations with India further. The nuclear tests of 1998, however, led to further sanctions on India by the US. The Kargil War in 1999, saw the US playing a major role in averting a nuclear war, when President Clinton pressured the prime minister

---

<sup>193</sup> Ibid.

of Pakistan and the Pakistan army, which was readying nuclear warheads, to back down and withdraw its troops from the Kargil region.<sup>194</sup>

With the arrival of the second Bush administration the relationship took a very positive turn. The Bush administration made a cautious decision to develop its relations with India and help India improve her position in the world. This policy was a direct result of the US assessment that China was developing abilities as a strategic competitor, rather than as a mere regional influence, as has been believed earlier.<sup>195</sup> The relationship expanded to defense cooperation. India was the first country to support the US national missile defense proposal. It also agreed with the United States to stop publicly admonishing each other. The US tacitly accepted India's development of Agni missile systems. Post 9/11, the US moved closer to Pakistan due to the battleground Afghanistan. After the attack on the Indian parliament in December 2001, India mobilized its forces on the border. It, however, did not pursue military action after the US pressure on President Musharraf to halt cross border terrorism.

The signing of the Indo-US nuclear deal in March 2006, is a major highlight in the relationship. This transformational event greatly enhanced the Indo-US relations, wiping out all the mistrust that had been created during the Cold War period.<sup>196</sup> It turned the US and India into strategic allies, with benefit to both. There have been minor

---

<sup>194</sup> The U.S. role in getting Pakistan's troops to withdraw from Kargil is described in Bruce Riedel, "American Diplomacy and the 1999 Kargil Summit at Blair House," (Center for the Advanced Study of India, Policy Paper Series 2002), <http://www.sas.upenn.edu/casi/reports/RiedelPaper051302.htm>.

<sup>195</sup> Carl Paddock, *India-US Nuclear Deal Prospects and Implications* (New Delhi: Epitome Books, 2009), 7.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.



irritants<sup>197</sup> after this successful event. However, the relations have generally been very positive and after the successful visit of India's Prime Minister Mr. Narendra Modi, to the US the relations are likely to move in a fast paced lane.

### Present Indo-US Cooperation

India and the US have a ministerial level strategic dialogue, which is an annual event and is chaired by the Indian External Affairs Minister and the US Secretary Of State. There are five areas of cooperation that the strategic dialogue focuses upon. These areas are strategic cooperation; energy and climate change, education and development; economy, trade and agriculture; science and technology and health and innovation. The first dialogue was held in Washington DC in June 2010 and the latest fifth dialogue was held in July 2014.

### Strategic Cooperation

The Indian Embassy in United States and the US Embassy in India provide adequate depth to the areas of strategic cooperation between India and the United States. Indo US strategic operations addresses nonproliferation, counter terrorism and military cooperation.<sup>198</sup>

'The New Framework for India-US defense Relations' was signed in 2005 by India and the US. After this agreement, the interaction between the defense communities increased intensely. The growing number of joint exercises, collaboration and

---

<sup>197</sup> The Devyani Khobragade incident, Iran sanctions have been some of the irritants.

<sup>198</sup> Embassy of the United States, New Delhi, India, "Strategic Cooperation," accessed August 28, 2014, <http://newdelhi.usembassy.gov/strategic-cooperation.html>.

cooperation in maritime security and counter piracy and numerous exchanges between all the three services are witness to this. The defense trade has shot up multifold to an extent that India has become the largest export market for the US defense industry.<sup>199</sup> Relations are in a mode of transformation as both countries move from exporter-importer relationship to that of joint development and marketing relationship. As the interest of both the countries are aligning, so are their security forces.

Counter terrorism cooperation has seen considerable development amongst both nations. The counter terrorism cooperation includes intelligence sharing, information exchange, operational cooperation, counter terrorism technology and equipment. India and the US expanded their counter terrorism and information sharing and capacity building collaboration with the signing of 'India-US Counter-Terrorism Cooperation Initiative'. A new Joint Working Group (JWG) on terrorism was established in January 2000<sup>200</sup>, while the Homeland Security Dialogue was set up during the visit of President Barrack Obama to India in November 2010.<sup>201</sup>The Homeland Security Dialogue Sub-Groups include (1) Megacities Policing; (2) Combating Illicit Finance, Bulk Cash Smuggling, and Counterfeiting; (3) Cyber-security and Critical Infrastructure Protection;

---

<sup>199</sup> Financial Times, "India Becomes Biggest Foreign Buyer of US Weapons," February 24, 2014, accessed August 30, 2014, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/ded3be9a-9c81-11e3-b535-00144feab7de.html#axzz3BtxLbVuo>.

<sup>200</sup> "India-US Relations," June 1, 2014, accessed August 30, 2014, [http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/India-US\\_relations.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/India-US_relations.pdf).

<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

(4) Port, Border, Maritime, Transportation and Supply Chain Security; (5) Science and Technology Cooperation; and (6) Capacity Building.<sup>202</sup>

Apart from this, both the countries regularly engage in strategic consultations. India and the US regularly consult each other regarding East Asia, Central Asia and West Asia. They also have strategic consultations on Latin America, Africa and the Indian Ocean region. India and the US also have trilateral security cooperation with Japan as a third partner and then Quadrilateral cooperation with Australian and Japan as partners.

### Economy and Trade

This area of cooperation has tremendous potential and both the countries have neglected it for quite some time. The total trade between India and the US in 1990 was mere \$5.6 billion and in the year 2013 it stood at \$ 63.7 billion, which is an impressive 1037.5 percent growth.<sup>203</sup> However, the growth of the trade does not match the potential. The Indian exports stood at \$41.8 billion while those of US stood at \$15.26 billion.

Both countries have initiated several mechanism for improving in bilateral trade. Both the countries are also negotiating a Bilateral Investment Treaty (BIT). Apart from this the private sector of both nations have a forum for trade and investment in form of India-US CEO's Forum which was constituted in 2009. A Private Sector Advisory Group (PSAG) has been created, using experts in international trade, to provide guidance for improvement of trade and commerce.

---

<sup>202</sup> Ibid.

<sup>203</sup> Embassy of India, "India - US Bilateral Trade," accessed August 30, 2014, <https://www.indianembassy.org/pages.php?id=42>.

The economic dialogue also includes trade defense measures, small and medium enterprises and capacity building on intellectual property rights. A MoU (memorandum of understanding) on agricultural cooperation and food security was signed in 2009. In the arena of mutual investment, the US is the sixth largest investor in India. From 2000 till 2014, US has invested 11.92 billion in India, whereas India has invested more than \$17 billion in the US, mainly in R&D (research and development), spurring innovation in US.

### Energy

The US –India energy dialogue was launched in 2005, to promote trade and investment in the energy sector. This dialogue has five working groups, which concern oil and gas, power and energy efficiency, new technologies and renewable energy and civil nuclear cooperation.<sup>204</sup> The US Department of Energy has allowed Indian Public Sector Company, Gas Authority of India Limited (GAIL), to offtake liquefied LNG from the liquefaction terminals set up by the US private companies. This process is likely to materialize by late 2016 to early 2017.<sup>205</sup> There is also good cooperation in the field of clean energy. Joint Clean Energy Research and Development Centre (JCERDC) is a clean energy initiative that has been undertaken by both the countries. The center has three areas of research viz. solar energy, second generation bio-fuels and energy efficiency of buildings.<sup>206</sup>

---

<sup>204</sup> “India-US Relations,” June 1, 2014, accessed August 30, 2014, [http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/India-US\\_relations.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/India-US_relations.pdf).

<sup>205</sup> Ibid.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid.

## Education

The US-India Higher Education Dialogue collaborates in the areas of student and faculty exchange, research cooperation, implementing technology that enables education strategies, furthering cooperation between community colleges and facilitating partnership between Indian and US universities.<sup>207</sup> The Obama-Singh 21st Century Knowledge Initiative Awards are used to fund institutional partnership, between India and US, relating to higher education, in the areas of food security, climate change , sustainable health and public health.<sup>208</sup> Both nations have liberalized the regulations to allow free flow of exchanges between students and faculties.

## Space

India and the US have a long history of cooperation in civil space. The Indo-US cooperation in space extends to domains of Space Exploration, Earth Observation and Science Education.<sup>209</sup> The Indian space agency ISRO (Indian space research organization) and the US organization NASA ( National Aeronautics and Space Administration) exchange of scientists; OCM2 (Ocean Color Monitor on-board Oceansat-2), INSAT3D (Indian National Satellite - 3D) collaboration; Cooperation on Mars mission; nano-satellites; carbon /ecosystem monitoring and modeling; feasibility of

---

<sup>207</sup> U.S. Department of State, “U.S.-India Joint Fact Sheet: U.S.-India Cooperation in Higher Education,” accessed August 31, 2014, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2013/06/211019.htm>.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid.

<sup>209</sup> White House, “Fact Sheet on U. S.-India Space Cooperation,” accessed September 1, 2014, [http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/india-factsheets/Fact\\_Sheet\\_on\\_U.S.-India\\_Space\\_Cooperation.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/india-factsheets/Fact_Sheet_on_U.S.-India_Space_Cooperation.pdf).

collaboration in radio occultation; Earth Science Cooperation; international space station; global navigation satellite systems; L&S band SAR (synthetic aperture radar; space exploration cooperation; and space debris mediation.<sup>210</sup> NASA and ISRO signed an agreement for activities related to India's Mars Orbiter Mission.<sup>211</sup>

### People to People Ties

There are more than 3 million strong people of Indian origin in the US forming approximately one percent of the population. People to people contact are one of the best ways to get the countries together, understand each other's culture and over a period of time develop partnerships. The Indian embassy in the US organizes Reading India Series (featuring events related to Indian authors and writings, Performing Indian Series (featuring music, dance and theatre), Beholding India Series (film screening, art and photo exhibitions), Understanding India Series (featuring lectures on comprehensive and cross-sectional views of India), and Young India Series (cultural events catering specifically to younger audience).<sup>212</sup> Similarly the US embassy in India also encourages cultural interaction between the both the countries. It organizes cultural programs, interactive programs in which many speakers from the US and India to discuss and learn from each other from subjects varying from economics to AIDS prevention.<sup>213</sup>

---

<sup>210</sup> "India-US Relations," June 1, 2014, accessed August 30, 2014, [http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/India-US\\_relations.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/India-US_relations.pdf).

<sup>211</sup> Ibid.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid.

<sup>213</sup> Embassy of the United States, Offices and Departments, accessed September 3, 2014, [http://newdelhi.usembassy.gov/cultural\\_affairs\\_section.html](http://newdelhi.usembassy.gov/cultural_affairs_section.html).

The Indian media has a good presence in the US. Media houses like Times of India, The Hindu, and Outlook etc. have their correspondent in Washington DC and other cities covering major news across the spectrum to reflect upon the India-US relationship<sup>214</sup>.

### World order

Geopolitically, America is an island off the shores of the large landmass of Eurasia, whose resources and population far exceed those of the United States. The domination by a single power of either of Eurasia's two principal spheres – Europe or Asia – remains a good definition of strategic danger for America, Cold War or no Cold War. For such a grouping would have the capacity to outstrip America economically, and, in the end, militarily.<sup>215</sup>

The concept of world order is defined as rules that govern, albeit in a messy and ambiguous way, the most important relationships of the interstate system in general and the world's great powers in particular.<sup>216</sup> It is also defined as, a system controlling events in the world, especially a set of arrangements established internationally for preserving global political stability by the oxford dictionary.<sup>217</sup> The most popular theories which

---

<sup>214</sup> Ibid.

<sup>215</sup> Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 199), 813.

<sup>216</sup> J. Goldstein, *International Relations*, 6th ed. (New York: Longman, 2002), 43.

<sup>217</sup> "Oxford Dictionary, "World Order," accessed September 27, 2014, [http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/us/definition/american\\_english/world-order](http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/us/definition/american_english/world-order).

endeavor to explain the principle of world order are balance of power, bi-polarity, multi-polarity and hegemony.<sup>218</sup>

PPP rank	2011		2030		2050	
	Country	GDP at PPP (2011 US\$bn)	Country	Projected GDP at PPP (2011 US\$bn)	Country	Projected GDP at PPP (2011 US\$bn)
1	US	15094	China	30634	China	53856
2	China	11347	US	23376	US	37998
3	India	4531	India	13716	India	34704
4	Japan	4381	Japan	5842	Brazil	8825
5	Germany	3221	Russia	5308	Japan	8065
6	Russia	3031	Brazil	4685	Russia	8013
7	Brazil	2305	Germany	4118	Mexico	7409
8	France	2303	Mexico	3662	Indonesia	6346
9	UK	2287	UK	3499	Germany	5822
10	Italy	1979	France	3427	France	5714

Figure 3. Economic prediction up to 2050

*Source:* PwC in the Midlands, “Global Economic Centre of Gravity Shifts, but Even Emerging Economies Face Growth Challenges,” January 16, 2013, accessed November 2, 2014, <http://pwc.blogs.com/midlands/2013/01/global-economic-centre-of-gravity-shifts-but-even-emerging-economies-face-growth-challenges.html>.

The balance of power theory has the basis on the power that a nation wields. A nation with a weaker power seeks alliances so as to avoid unequal distribution of power and hegemonic ambitions of a particular state.<sup>219</sup> The politics of balance of power enter into alliances and coalitions so as to balance the power. These alliances and coalitions are

<sup>218</sup> Tyler S, Moselle, “The Concept of World Order,” June 19, 2008, accessed September 25, 2014, [http://www.hks.harvard.edu/cchrp/research/ConceptOfWorldOrder\\_Moselle.pdf](http://www.hks.harvard.edu/cchrp/research/ConceptOfWorldOrder_Moselle.pdf).

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*



more dynamic than static. The balance of power theory cites example of alliance between France, Russia and China to counter balance US actions towards Iraq.<sup>220</sup>

The bipolarity theory is an extension of the balance of power theory. The bipolarity theory argues that the world order is maintained due to counter balancing of powers by two powerful nations.<sup>221</sup> They influence each other's power. The other nations' depending upon their position either seek an alliance with either of them, remain neutral or use both the superpowers. The bipolarity has a classical example in the Cold War era when the US and the USSR acted as superpowers and other nation aligned themselves with them as per their requirements, non-aligned nations remained neutral while nations like china took advantage from both.

The multi-polarity is similar to the bi-polarity in which the numerous actors are involved due to interdependence, interconnections and cooperative interaction.<sup>222</sup> "It is often characterized by pro-democratic arguments based on economic coordination, international law and international cooperation."<sup>223</sup> Multi-polarity theory is based on the existence of multiple powerful nations at the same time. The multi-polarity draws its strength form alliances and federations which the powers establish and since its aim is to counter balance the power and influence of each other, multi-polarity is a dynamic in nature.

---

<sup>220</sup> Ibid.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid.

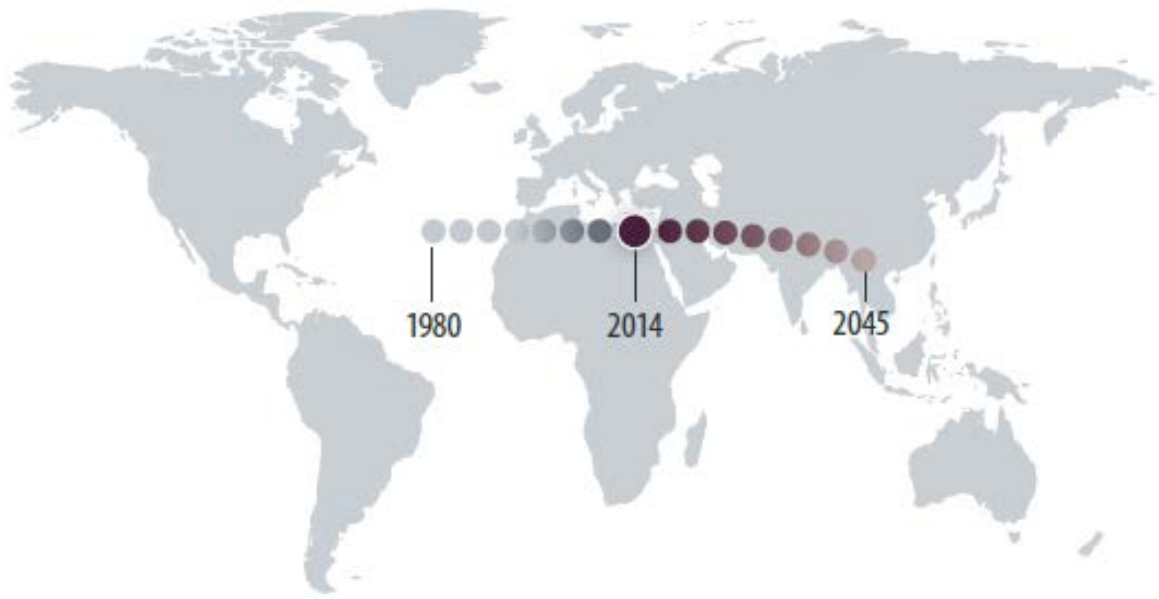


Figure 4. Shifting Economic Center of Gravity

*Source:* Danny Quah, “The Global Economy’s Shifting Centre of Gravity,” *Global Policy* 2, no. 1 (January 1, 2011), accessed November 2, 2014, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1758-5899.2010.00066.x/pdf>.

Another major concept in the world order theory is the hegemonic stability. This theory argues that a nation which has power to exert its influence at international level, can act as an enforcer of international rules and laws and hence acts as a police to stabilize the world.<sup>224</sup> The proponents of theory argue that lack of hegemon in the world affairs signifies presence of a chaotic international order.<sup>225</sup>

This thesis draws its conclusions from the theory of multi-polarity and balance of power, since, the trends in the international order point towards multipolar world with

---

<sup>224</sup> Ibid.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid. As stated by N. Ferguson in his article in foreign policy (July/August 2004) titled A World without Power.

US, China, India as leading world powers. It is important to understand the world trends in both medium and long term in order to analyze the emerging centers of power and how it affects the present world order. More important is to understand the effect of this shifting world order on status of India and the US and their evolving relationship.

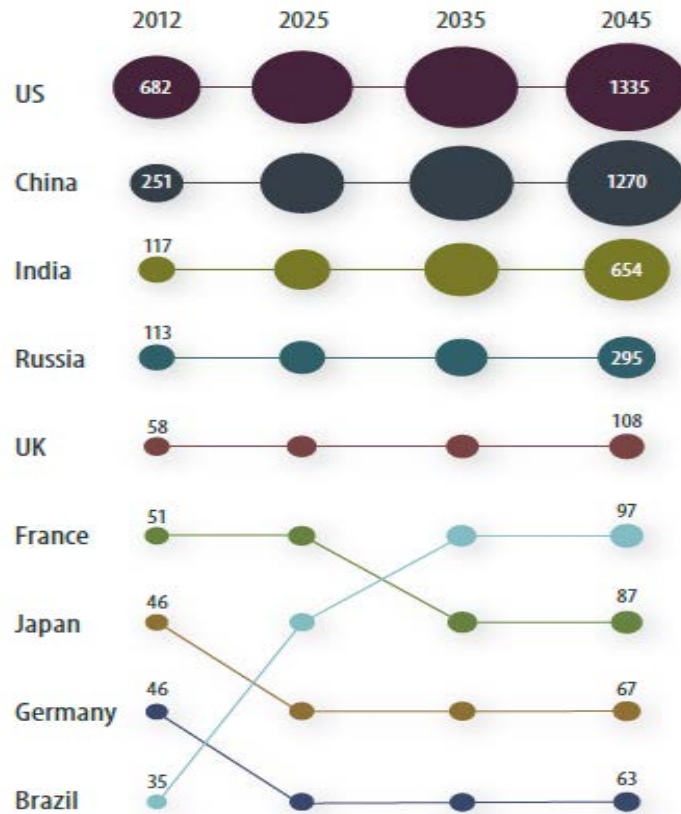


Figure 5. Expenditure on Defense in Billion Dollars

Source: Ministry of Defense, “Strategic Trends Program, Global Strategic Trends-Out to 2045,” accessed November 2, 2014, [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/348164/20140821\\_DCDC\\_GST\\_5\\_Web\\_Secured.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/348164/20140821_DCDC_GST_5_Web_Secured.pdf).

## Changing World Order and Need for Cooperation

The need to study the global trends is inevitable for decision making in the highest echelons of the government. Based on the trends, the policymakers are able to identify the gaps and holes in the policy, take corrective measures and then channelize the policy in order to bring changes in their stride to derive maximum possible benefit from them. If ignored, the changes shaping the world can become overwhelming in the later time period and might become difficult to respond to. Hence it is imperative to analyze the Indo- US relations keeping into perspective the present and prospective future geopolitical trends.

The US is considered to be a superpower because of its ability to project power into multiple parts of the world, at times at the same time. The superpower status comes from economic might, military capability, political influence and culture (soft power).<sup>226</sup> In the world order, the US occupies a dominant position. This chapter will bring out the relevant patterns that are emerging and that are predicted for the future. It will break these patterns into economic, military, political influence and culture.

---

<sup>226</sup> Lyman Miller, "SJIR: China an Emerging Superpower?" accessed September 13, 2014, [http://web.stanford.edu/group/sjir/6.1.03\\_miller.html](http://web.stanford.edu/group/sjir/6.1.03_miller.html). He defines superpower as "a country that has the capacity to project dominating power and influence anywhere in the world, and sometimes, in more than one region of the globe at a time, and so may plausibly attain the status of global hegemony."











1		<a href="#">United States of America</a>	PwrIndx: 0.2208
2		<a href="#">Russia</a>	PwrIndx: 0.2355
3		<a href="#">China</a>	PwrIndx: 0.2594
4		<a href="#">India</a>	PwrIndx: 0.3872
5		<a href="#">United Kingdom</a>	PwrIndx: 0.3923
6		<a href="#">France</a>	PwrIndx: 0.4706
7		<a href="#">Germany</a>	PwrIndx: 0.4899
8		<a href="#">Turkey</a>	PwrIndx: 0.5171
9		<a href="#">South Korea</a>	PwrIndx: 0.5536
10		<a href="#">Japan</a>	PwrIndx: 0.5581

Figure 6. Standing of nations based on their military capabilities

Source: globalfirepower.com, “Countries Ranked by Military Strength,” April 3, 2014, accessed November 2, 2014, <http://www.globalfirepower.com/countries-listing>.

### Economic

The US is the largest economy in the world followed by China and India. The present and the future state of the world economies is as depicted in figure 4. One of the prime reasons to understand economic projections, is its ability to effect the global power projection capability of the nation. It is pertinent to note that President Obama, had to withdraw from the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq to the cost involved.<sup>227</sup> Hence, if taken

---

<sup>227</sup> Helene Cooper, “Cost of Wars a Rising Issue as Obama Weighs Troop Levels,” *The New York Times*, June 21, 2011, accessed September 13, 2014, <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/news/obama-afghanistan-war>.

as a corollary, the trends in the world economy provides an approximate oversight of the nation’s capabilities. If an economy is not able to project and sustain power then, the nation loses the political and military influence it possess. Figure 4, predicts rise of Asian economies. Figure 4 also depicts the predicted shift in the economic center of gravity towards Asia. As the center of gravity of economic activity shifts, the source of global and political influence will also match the eastward shift.<sup>228</sup>

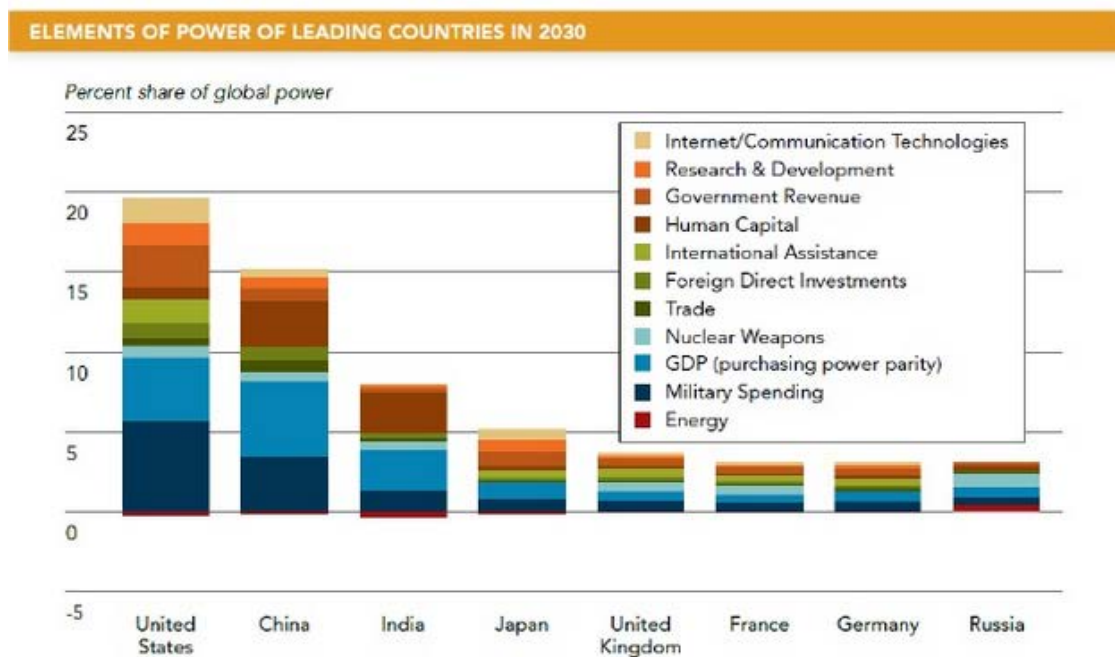


Figure 7. Elements of National Power

Source: Scribd.com, “Envisioning 2050 for the Globe,” December 19, 2012, accessed November 2, 2014, <http://www.scribd.com/doc/117349358/Envisioning-2050-for-the-Globe>.

<sup>228</sup> Danny Quah, “The Global Economy’s Shifting Centre of Gravity,” *Global Policy* 2, no. 1 (January 1, 2011), accessed November 2, 2014, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1758-5899.2010.00066.x/pdf>.

## Military Capabilities

The Clausewitzian proverb, “War is merely a continuation of Politics,”<sup>229</sup> illustrates an apt understanding of necessity of maintaining a strong military. Today US has the best military capability in the world. Figure 5 illustrates the present military capabilities of the nations.

Military capabilities are resource centric and require economic backing. It is a sum of numerous factors that combine into two categories, which is quality and quantity. While quality incorporates the technological superiority, command and control systems, the quantity includes numerical values of the personnel and systems a nation’s military possess. As a shift in the economy occurs, defense spending would be generally moves with it. Figure 5, predicts the likely defense spending by various nation up to 2045. This shows that the US and China are likely to match each other in defense spending, while India would be third place. The EU together might match the spending of India, but individual European nations would not be able to match Indian expenditure.<sup>230</sup> Russia is also predicted to keep its spending low.<sup>231</sup>

Unable to devote more resources for the defense spending, certain countries, which are now able to project power in association with the US, might not be able to project

---

<sup>229</sup> Christopher Bassford, “Clausewitz and His Works,” March 18, 2013, accessed September 14, 2014, <http://www.clausewitz.com/readings/Bassford/Cworks/Works.htm>.

<sup>230</sup> Ministry of Defense, “Strategic Trends Program, Global Strategic Trends-Out to 2045,” accessed November 2, 2014, [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/348164/20140821\\_DCDC\\_GST\\_5\\_Web\\_Secured.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/348164/20140821_DCDC_GST_5_Web_Secured.pdf).

<sup>231</sup> Ibid.

military capabilities.<sup>232</sup> This might put stress on international institutions like the Security Council<sup>233</sup> and NATO to maintain relevance.

### Battle for Influence

As the center of gravity of economic activity moves towards Asia, the world will see numerous changes in alliances. The erstwhile Western powers like Europe and Russia will seek and create new alliances. They will aim to match the capacity of the new world powers and maintain influence, Europe and other Western powers would reach out to the emerging powers.<sup>234</sup>

China, the US and India are projected to be the top economic powers in the world. International institutions will have to recognize these changing geopolitical realities and change accordingly to accommodate these rising powers or they will collapse.<sup>235</sup> The leadership of these institutions would eventually transition to the emerging powers. As the emerging nations rise, the Western nations, especially the US and the Europe, will have to adapt to circumstances. Though the Unites States is likely to be a critical player, the rise of China will diminish its authority in the world geopolitical landscape.<sup>236</sup> Europe will have to work together as a more cohesive force to adjust to its slowing economic

---

<sup>232</sup> Ibid.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid.

<sup>234</sup> Uri Dadush and Benner Stancil, "The World Order in 2050," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, April 1, 2010, accessed September 12, 2014, [http://carnegieendowment.org/files/World\\_Order\\_in\\_2050.pdf](http://carnegieendowment.org/files/World_Order_in_2050.pdf).

<sup>235</sup> Ibid.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid.



growth. As China starts asserting itself on the global stage, it is likely that the US and China will get engaged in rivalry on a world stage. The global swing states,<sup>237</sup> India, Turkey, Indonesia and Brazil will play a key role in developing the new world order. The alliances which the US forges with these countries today will result into benefits later.<sup>238</sup>

As seen from the above analysis, the world is likely to see a tectonic shift in the global geopolitical situation, compared to the established world order after World War II and at the end of Cold War. The US is likely to face strategic competition from China, and its traditional allies might not be able to match the economic and military capability of great powers. In a multipolar world, the US is likely to seek newer alliances with likeminded nations to keep its influence intact and this phenomenon would be replicated by China. In this context it is pertinent to study the importance of US and India to each other.

#### India's importance to US

India provides immense opportunities to US. If the opportunities are seized and exploited then it would work in betterment for both the nations. If the opportunities are not realized, seized and exploited, India could end up in the opposing camp. Following are the major opportunities that can be offered by India.

---

<sup>237</sup> The Oxford Dictionary defines swing state as, "A US state where the two major political parties have similar levels of support among voters, viewed as important in determining the overall result of a presidential election." In the similar context the author has used this analogy with these four states.

<sup>238</sup> Daniele Kliman and Richard Fontaine, "Global Swing States: Brazil, India, Indonesia, Turkey and the Future of International Order, November 27, 2012, accessed September 12, 2014, [http://www.cnas.org/files/documents/publications/CNAS\\_Global\\_SwingStates\\_KlimanFontaine.pdf](http://www.cnas.org/files/documents/publications/CNAS_Global_SwingStates_KlimanFontaine.pdf).

1. India could prove as an important partner in the US quest for preventing proliferation of WMD. This partnership assumes importance because of the Indian expertise in the nuclear, chemical and biological fields. In this field India's impeccable nonproliferation record deserves this merit.
2. US could find India as an important partner in preventing the spread of extremism and terrorism. The vast arc of instability starts from North Africa only to culminate on the western borders of India. With its diplomatic, economic, military and informational resources India can form a credible ally in the war against extremism.
3. The NATO allies of US are facing tough economic situation and as a result of this their armed forces are undergoing contraction. They are not able to maintain the mandated 2% expenditure of GDP on their militaries. India on the other hand is expanding its armed forces, which are already the world largest. The Indian armed forces could be future collaborators in the solving the world crisis in future under a credible legal and legitimate umbrella.
4. India's population presents huge opportunities to US. As India develops it would seek to develop its human resources. Already more than 100,000 Indian students are studying in the US. As more and more students study in US, the commonality of English, its pro-western and pro US population can be a major collaborators in developing technology and marketing it.
5. The Indian market itself provides a huge opportunity to the US commercial interest. The sheer population, scale of infrastructure development required

and the high spending power of the burgeoning Indian middle class provides huge opportunities, which if US does not exploit, someone else will.

6. One of the major issues on which both countries would benefit is the climate change. India has a lot of stakes in preventing climate change. If there is lack of coordination and cooperation in the fields of non-conventional energy resources, the demand for the conventional resources is likely to skyrocket leading to huge greenhouse gas emissions. It serves as a challenge to US and also as opportunity to market its technology and expertise in this area.
7. When it comes to world order, India does not seek to alter the world order or its leadership. India aims at removing the discrepancies in the present world order. It wants the world realize the present geopolitical realities and behave in an unbiased manner. India and us share the same concern and have similar national interest in global governance. Hence collaborating with India on global governance will serve as a good choice.
8. India is the world's largest democracy and it has succeeded in spite of numerous challenges it faced, while its neighbors have struggled to do so. India could serve as a glaring example to nations to believe in the idea of democracy and human rights. Together India and the US could work towards making the world more open to true democratic ideals.
9. India has a tremendous soft power. India diaspora world over has a peaceful, dynamic and positive image. The Indian movies industry already significantly carry the Indian value and culture abroad. India's image is of a peaceful nation with excellent relation with the Middle East, South East and East Asia, Africa

and Latin America. These are the same regions where US has strategic interests. Together in a synchronized and synergistic manner both the nations could work toward common goals.

### Importance of US for India

India's ambition to succeed economically and emerge as a strong nation can only be fruitful through support of the US. That may be the reason for former Indian PM Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee terming US as a 'Natural Ally'. The following are certain important considerations for India when it seeks to understand the importance of US for itself.

1. To become an economic superpower India needs both money and technology. US has no dearth of both. With US it could be a win-win situation for both the countries as India provides a market the US provides India with FDI and technology, expertise, management and marketing.
2. For India to prevent proliferation of WMD, it requires a partner of stature of US which can prevent countries like China, Pakistan and North Korea from proliferating WMD. It is especially true with China, as it grows into a more powerful nation in the future.
3. India requires a stable neighborhood to develop itself. With rest of the countries adopting a progressive stance, only Pakistan seems to move ahead on a path of being a failed state. With US influence, a number of unwarranted situations in Pakistan's future could be prevented. This assumes significance in the light of Pakistan being a nuclear armed nation.
4. US can be a provider of green technologies to India so as that India can have unhindered economic progress without damaging its natural environment.

Further US with its vast shale gas deposits can be a net exporter to India. With adequate security of its energy requirements, India has better options to react to world geopolitics.

5. With US and Indian interest converging on the issue of freedom of navigation in international waters, both the countries could help secure the major trade routes in the world. India can take care of the trade routes passing through Indian Ocean while US can exert influences in places like South China Sea.
6. For playing meaningful role in geopolitical arena, India has to catapult itself into world institutions which influence the geopolitics. US being the preeminent power can help India gain entry such world institutions like the Security Council, nuclear suppliers group etc.
7. US is the major world power. It performs the role of a global cop. It can alone maintain balance of power in the Asian region, as China begins to exert influence. With US maintaining its diplomatic and military presence in the region many nations including India can deter common threats that are likely to emerge in near future.
8. While India is able to counter the extremism in the region, it requires help of US in countering the global extremism. US is the only country which has such tremendous global reach and influence. With its huge intelligence capabilities, intelligence sharing and cooperation in terrorism can pay handsome dividends for India.

As seen from above, both the nations have a number of complimentary and symbiotic interests. From a long term view both the nations are likely to evolve their partnership realizing these complimentary and symbiotic factors.

### The Future of Indo-US Relations

Relations between India and America should not be seen within the limits of just Delhi and Washington. It's a much larger sphere. The good thing is that the mood of both Delhi and Washington is in harmony with this understanding. Both sides have played a role in this.<sup>239</sup>

The Indo-US relations have waxed and waned, however they have not broken. Mr. Modi statement is significant because even when the relations between the two countries were not so good, relations between the people, the economic houses<sup>240</sup> and education systems were maintained. As quoted above the breadth and the depth of Indo-US relations is huge and hence, it should not be seen only in light of containing any particular country or block of countries, but rather, they should evolve from the idea of realizing common national interests, with a broad agenda of bringing in a mutually beneficial world order.

This section will layout the options that are available for the future Indo-US relations. The options presented are based on the current geopolitical realities and constraints that both the nations face. Some of the key concerns that impede in developing a strategic relations lie in economic sphere, divergent US and Indian policies

---

<sup>239</sup> CNN, "Transcripts," Fareed Zakaria, September 21, 2014, accessed November 3, 2014, <http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/1409/21/fzgps.01.html>. Indian PM Modi in an interview with Mr. Fareed Zakaria of CNN

<sup>240</sup> Ashley J. Tellis and Teresita Schaffer, *Challenges and Choices (Strategic Asia)* (Seattle: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2008), 214-225.

in Middle East (in context of Iran), India's engagement with Russia and US engagement with Pakistan, conflicting energy needs etc.

### Strategic Pause

This option would aim to consolidate the gains that have been made during the past decades of cooperation between India and the US. The strategic pause intends to further expand cooperation between US and India on economic issues and put rest of the issues on backburner. The fundamental assumption behind this option is the geo-economic and political realities facing both the countries. There are a number of issues at the multilateral level, where perceptions of both the countries differ. An example of this is policy with regards to Iran. While US wants to isolate Iran in its quest to seek the nuclear bomb, India has other economic and geopolitical compulsions in not taking a similar stance.<sup>241</sup> While India heavily depends on Iran for its energy needs, Iran is also a gateway for India to Afghanistan and central Asia, where its strategic interests reside.

In this option both India and US relegate each other in foreign policy arena,<sup>242</sup> till the time both the countries are able to realize and come close to each other on almost all the issues. Both the governments however, have to ensure that the obstacles to trade and investment relations are removed. These relations and efforts are easily achievable and are not likely to face resistance. However, this policy will miss out on the areas of

---

<sup>241</sup> Alok Bansal, "Iran: Its Strategic Importance," *Strategic Analysis* 36, no. 6 (November-December 2012): 848-858, accessed September 23, 2014, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09700161.2012.728871?journalCode=rsan20#preview>.

<sup>242</sup> Tellis and Schaffer, *Challenges and Choices (Strategic Asia)*, 214-225.

cooperation that present themselves as an opportunity in the evolving world, which can establish the cooperative processes.<sup>243</sup>

### Issue Based Cooperation

The issue based cooperation<sup>244</sup> entails cooperation between India and the US on the issues of common concern at the global stage. India and the US can cooperate on the issues where there is no conflict of interest and where the mechanism for cooperation have evolved substantially. The specific areas of cooperation are climate change, food security, non-proliferation of WMD, economy<sup>245</sup> etc. In this manner, both the countries would be able to bring together their strengths on the floor, for achieving common interests, thus paving way of synchronized unity of effort. It will also afford India, the lesser mortal, amongst the two, to develop itself in short and medium term to be prepared for greater role in the world. This is also a fact at least in short to medium term, the US and Indian priorities are not aligned.<sup>246</sup>

---

<sup>243</sup> Ibid.

<sup>244</sup> Marshall Bouton, “The Future of the U.S.-India Partnership: An American Perspective,” Aspen Strategy Group, accessed September 23, 2014, <http://www.aspeninstitute.org/sites/default/files/content/upload/ASG-Bouton-Future-US-India-Partnership.pdf>.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid.



## Natural Allies

This option seeks to transform the relations from issue based cooperation to that of natural allies.<sup>247</sup> This option is based on the assumption that over the next decade or so, with growing multi polarity in the world, rise of the East and relative decline of the West, it may be possible that US won't be able to realize its goals unilaterally, in spite of being the world leading global power.<sup>248</sup> The second assumption is, even though India's growth in the economic and geopolitical sphere will increase, it will not have enough power to assert itself in defense of its national interest. The significant stake for both the countries would be the parallel national interest.

If both the countries realize this convergence of interest, there would be requirement of radical reforms to re-energize the partnership and build it up to the level of natural allies, thus tilting the balance of the power in the favor of alliance. It will not only help both the countries, but will also anchor the security and aspirations of the like-minded countries, with similar values and ideals. The US has to take lead in this sphere

---

<sup>247</sup> The Rand Corporations occasional paper on "Alliances in the 21st Century Implications for the US-European Partnership." The concept of natural alliances goes beyond partners' shared sense of history by additionally hypothesizing commonalities in political culture and in narratives about how the world works or should work. These commonalities adapt to the new landscape through a constant reconstruction of the identities of natural allies who seek to tell or retell history to better face the present and to adjust to the future. As a result, in practice, if a set of countries are natural allies, one would expect: a) greater commonalities in terms of political culture relative to the rest of the world, and b) greater commonalities in terms of reactions to international crises relative to the rest of the world. Identifying natural allies therefore means measuring these commonalities between a set of potential partners and relative to a broad range of countries.

<sup>248</sup> Bouton, "The Future of the U.S.-India Partnershi."

and India has to reciprocate constructively. There are certain common aspects which India and US have to deal with in the coming future,<sup>249</sup> which include

1. Challenges to economy. For India, it pertains to boost up the sagging economy, for US, it pertains to resource constraint and addressing the fiscal deficit.
2. Resource competition
3. China's rise and its implication worldwide and specific to Asia and South China Sea.
4. The continued struggle against Islamism terrorism.
5. Global common threats such as climate change, food insecurity and nuclear proliferation.
6. Multipolar world.

---

<sup>249</sup> Ibid.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

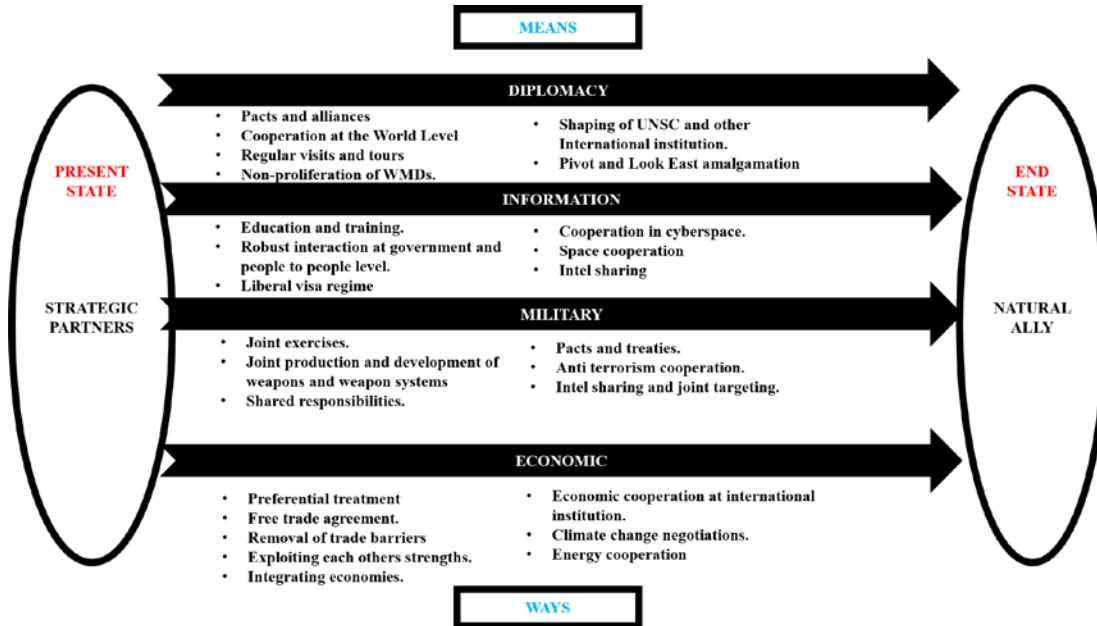


Figure 8. DIME and End, Ways Means Analysis for Indo-US Relations

Source: Created by author

### Introduction

Indo-US strategic relations has been the theme of this thesis. The thesis probed strategic relations between India and the US. On this proposition, the thesis kept the primary research question open ended, to cater for either a positive or negative result. To find answers to the main research question the thesis formulated a number of secondary research questions. Together the primary and the secondary research questions, involved study of the concepts of national interest, US national interest, Indian national interest, world trends. It also explored past and present and future options of Indo-US relationship.

The preceding chapter presented an analysis of the Indo-US relations and factors affecting them, based on an examination of the key secondary sources listed in the literature review and the bibliography. This chapter presents conclusions based on the earlier chapter. It also provides a recommendation for future Indo-US relations for both the countries. It is based on certain facts that both nations are likely to face and proposes actions to exploit those facts to their benefit. In doing so they will be able to forge a strong, robust, enduring strategic relationship which is broad-based and involves all the elements of national power.

In chapter 4, a comparison of the national interests of both the nations was made. Based on the comparison, the thesis finds the US national interests and the Indian national interests aligning themselves in the mid and long term on most of the issues. Figure 9 reflects the area of congruence and conflict when it comes to national interests. In this figure, the number '0' reflects neutrality, number '1' represents congruence and number '-1' represents conflict of national interests. The parameters considered in the figure below have been discussed in chapter 4.

INDIA \ USA	Democracy	World leadership	Climate change	De nuclearization	WMD	pandemics	Food security	Terrorism	Freedom of navigation in sea	Africa	Middle east & central Asia	South east Asia	China	Iran	Russia	Pakistan	Defense cooperation	Space exploration
Democracy	1																	
World leadership		1																
Climate change			1															
De-nuclearisation				1														
WMD					1													
pandemics						1												
Food security							1											
Terrorism								1										
Freedom of navigation in sea									1									
Africa										1								
Middle east & central Asia											0							
South east Asia												1						
China													1					
Iran														-1				
Russia															-1			
Pakistan																0		
Defense Cooperation																	1	
Space Exploration																		1

Figure 9. Congruence and Conflict of Indo-US National Interest

Source: Created by author.

### Interpretation

The thesis interprets that the natural ally option for Indo-US relations will benefit both in the long run. As the world trends indicate, the US and India are likely to face threats and encounter opportunities, which present a congruence of national interests. It will be extremely optimistic to be assured of a good relationship in future if the seeds of these bonds are not sowed at this juncture. For both the countries to become natural allies

they must build trust, establish common procedures and processes of cooperation and establish mechanisms for conflict management. They must also evolve common communication strategies and understand each other's cultures apart from numerous other important aspects. This cannot be achieved in one try. It will take incremental improvements, hence, the process of realizing the potential and process of converting that potential to something more concrete should begin as early as possible.

#### Actions Recommended for the US to Improve Relations with India

The thesis recommends following approach for the US in defense of its national interests and maintaining leadership of the world. This approach is based on the research as stated earlier in the thesis.

1. The US must recognize that:
  - a. The rise of China and India and other major Asian economies will tilt the balance of power towards Eastern countries.
  - b. China and India with their increase in defense expenditure will form a credible threat to US national interest in the Asia-Pacific region and maybe in other areas too.
  - c. India is a swing state and has the ability to tilt the balance of power in favor towards either US or China.
  - d. Indian national interests, its values and culture are closer to that of US than that of China.
  - e. India being the largest democracy and having similar values and ideals can serve as a strategic partner. The demography and demand for the US

goods and services is of grave importance in India, hence, to cultivate India as a natural ally for US would be a sound proposition.

2. To build an alliance with India, US must:
  - a. Acknowledge urgency of alliance with India.
  - b. Deepen security cooperation commitments, where in the defense forces have a higher degree of interoperability of procedures with equipment and communications. Conduct joint development and marketing of defense equipment leveraging strengths of each other. Remove hurdles in comprehensive defense cooperation by allowing and promoting technology transfer, joint development, co-production and marketing of the Joint defense equipment.
  - c. Deepen anti-terror cooperation and intelligence sharing.
  - d. Coordinate policies which will have implications on India's strategic interest (e.g. the Af-Pak policy, policy on central Asian states and security of Indian Ocean region).
  - e. Build strong economic bonds with India through wholehearted implementation of the bilateral investment treaty, removal of barriers for exports/ imports trade, gradually implementing a free trade agreement.
  - f. At the global level, work to bring India into active leadership role in various world institutions and issues. Advocate directly or indirectly towards India achieving the status of permanent member of UNSC. Work towards providing adequate representation to India in the

economic groupings, so as to dissuade India from joining other emerging economic groups like the BRICS bank or Asian Infrastructure Bank.

- g. Develop common policies with India on issues of global commons like climate change, anti-terrorism, food security, security of sea lines of communication, non-proliferation of WMDs etc.
- h. Collaborate with India on addressing India's energy needs by providing guarantees of oil and gas exports of the US, cooperation on green technologies and setting up joint mechanisms for development of non-conventional sources of energy.
- i. Explore areas of joint cooperation in space research.
- j. Assist India in developing their human resource through establishment of US education institutions in India.
- k. Promote more people to people contact to develop an understanding of culture and people. In this regards new exchange programs for training of bureaucracy, government and security agencies officials must be initiated.
- l. Jointly promote democracy and human rights in the world, especially in the regions where the people are oppressed.

#### US: Benefits Derived

US will be able to forge a strong relationship with India incorporating all the aspects of diplomacy, military and economics. US will also be able to engage India economically to such a level that both country's economic interests are integrated and bound by common interests. This would ensure synergistic economic cooperation at



various world forums. Cooperation in defense sector and joint production and development of military equipment will present a large market in countries aligned to US interests. By increasing India's reliance on energy imports from US, the US-India can pragmatically amend its relations with states like Iran. In addition to this, India would serve as a large and sustained market for US energy exports. By helping India to elevate its stature in the world institutions like the UNSC, NSG etc. US will be able to get additional support for its policies. The biggest benefit would come in the form of maintaining a balance of power in Asia-Pacific, which will further stabilize the region.

#### Actions Recommended for India to Improve Relations with the US

India must work hand in hand to realize the full potential of the partnership so as to ensure that both the nations are able to achieve their national interest in the multipolar world by establishing a mutually beneficial world order.

1. India must recognize that:
  - a. US is a natural partner for India by virtue of the large number of US citizens of Indian origin residing in US
  - b. The national interest of both the countries are aligned despite widening near and mid-term differences in priorities.
  - c. Role and impact of multinational corporations (MNCs) in US is a big driver to US economic success, hence India has to attract these MNCs to invest in India.
  - d. Since US has unrivalled economic, diplomatic and military dominance, it can assist India in to evolve as a great power.

- e. US can provide the critical capital required for development of Indian economy.
  - f. US is an important source of technology and innovation which are again very critical for the development of its industry and energy requirements.
  - g. The hard power of US is a force to reckon with and can play a key role in balance of power in Asia, especially in context of rapid and aggressive rise of China.
  - h. US can help India get entry into strategically important positions, treaty and partnerships like the NSG, WTO, WB & UNSC, which can help elevate India's leadership in the world.
  - i. US is likely to be the most important and reliable energy partner of India in the long term because of its shale gas discoveries and its technological prowess in the non-conventional energy technologies.
  - j. The US defense industry can make an enormous contribution to self-reliance of India's armed forces by transferring of technology, joint development and co-production of defense equipment in India.
2. To ensure that Indo-US alliance is a reality India must:
- a. Realize the importance of the strategic cooperation with US and build consensus in India regarding the same.
  - b. Engage US economically. Ensure that the necessary policy hurdles that limit the participation of the US multinationals in India are addressed. The government has to ensure that there is clarity on the labor reforms, Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) rules and taxation regime and provide

market for the US multinational companies and work towards building of a Free Trade Agreement (FTA).

- c. Participate with the US in bringing in a mutually beneficial commerce regime, which takes care of interests of both the countries through platforms like WTO. Assist the US to build a regional economic block stretching from Middle-East Asia to South-East Asia as a single market economy, wherein both the US and India are able to harness the vast market available.
- d. Cooperate with US in addressing the agenda of climate change and aid the underdeveloped/developing nations by sharing technology and expertise to help them mitigate the cost associated with clean energy.
- e. Ensure high level of defense cooperation, signing of the agreements which will help interoperability and harnessing each other's strength. Assist US cultivate coalitions in the regions where India has good influence like Africa and Asia. Share with US the burden of regional security in Asia and Africa.
- f. Conduct anti-terrorism cooperation, pose a common alliance in fight against terrorism. Ensure high level of intelligence cooperation.
- g. Promote democracy and human rights in Asia and other regions affected by oppression, dictatorship and violation of human rights.

#### India: Benefits Derived

With US as an ally, India will be able to grow stronger regionally and globally.

India would receive US assistance in developing its economy, leadership at world

institutions, meeting its energy needs, besides self-reliance of its defense industry. By forging strong economic bonds, India will be able to ensure that US interest are deep rooted in India, hence, India will be able to exert pressure on other nations and entities affecting India's security and prosperity. Technology with help from US arms industry, India would have self-reliance of its own arms industry and ensure that the arms manufactured are not sold to countries which can be detrimental to India's regional security calculus. Joint targeting of terrorists and intelligence sharing will help India mitigate the threats to homeland. Both the countries will be able to effectively counter proliferation of WMDs to include nuclear technology.

#### Recommendations for Further Research

This thesis has carried out extensive research on the Indo-US relations. However, due to limitation of time and resources the thesis has not been able to study certain factors that are related to the subject. The thesis makes following recommendation for future research on this topic.

1. Examine how China influences the Indo-US relationship.
2. Future research can also be carried out to examine potentially disruptive alliances with other nation, i.e. US-Indonesia or India-Iran.
3. Another important aspect of research can be the division of responsibilities between the US and India in various geopolitical regions based on the national interests and dominance, so as to conserve the sources of national power and at the same time converge them when required.

## Conclusion

The relations between India and US are poised to take off. This can be seen from the bipartisan support from leaders of both the nations. However the rhetoric usually does not match the ground realities. It is time both the nations realize the inevitable strategic importance of each other. It is the duty of both the nations to apprise the citizens about this importance, instill amongst the bureaucrats the necessity for continuation of policies, and building up of robust relations. It takes a long time to set up the process and systems to synergize competencies. It will also take long time to understand each other's cultures. Bargains will have to be made on the issues which are contentious. One-upmanship will deteriorate the relations and will not be beneficial to anyone. Instead the alliance of the two largest democracies can result in a world which is stable, prosperous, peaceful, and a symbol of hope for countries which want to imbibe the democratic spirit. At the same time it will prove as a deterrent to those nations and non-state actors, who threaten world peace and stability, show a lack of respect for human rights and engage in criminal and inhuman activities.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ayres, Alyssa, and C. Raja Mohan, eds. *Power Realignments in Asia: China, India and the United States*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2009.
- Bandyopadhyaya, Jayantanuja. *General Theory of Foreign Policy*. New Delhi, India: Allied Publishers, 2004.
- Boesche, Roger. *The First Great Political Realist: Kautilya and his Arthashastra*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2002.
- Brands, H. W. *Inside the Cold War: Loy Henderson and the Rise of the American Empire 1918-1961*. Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Brown, Stuart Scott. *The Future of US Global Power: Delusions of Decline*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Burchill, Scott. *The National Interest in International Relations Theory*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Byman, Daniel. *Deadly Connections: States that Sponsor Terrorism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Chakma, Bhumitra, ed. *The Politics of Nuclear Weapons in South Asia*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2011.
- Chary, M. Srinivas. *The Eagle and the Peacock: U.S. Foreign Policy toward India since Independence*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995.
- Clymer, Kenton J. *Quest for Freedom: The United States and India's Independence*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.
- Cohen, Stephen P., and Sunil Dasgupta. *Arming without Aiming: India's Military Modernization*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2010.
- Fair, C. Christine. *Fighting to the End: The Pakistan Army's Way of War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Frankel, Francine R., and Harry Harding, eds. *The India-China Relationship: What the United States Needs to Know*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.
- Gamble, Richard M. *In Search of the City on a Hill: The Making and Unmaking of an American Myth*. London: Continuum, 2012.
- Garver, John W. *Protracted Contest: Sino-Indian Rivalry in the Twentieth Century*. University of Washington Press, 2002.

- Gettell, Raymond Garfield. *Introduction to Political Science*. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1910.
- Gupta, Amit. *Global Security Watch: India*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger Security International, 2012.
- Holslag, Jonathan. *China and India: Prospects for Peace*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.
- Hoover, Herbert. *American Individualism*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1922.
- Isaacs, Harold R. *Scratches on Our Minds: American Views of China and India*. London: Routledge, 1980.
- Klotz, Audie, and Deepa Prakash. *Qualitative Methods in International Relations: A Pluralist Guide*. Basingstoke England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Kux, Dennis. *India and the United States: Estranged Democracies 1941–1991*. DIANE Publishing, 1993.
- Lieber, Robert J. *Power and Willpower in the American Future: Why the United States is not Destined to Decline*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. *American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1996.
- Lu, Chih H. *The Sino-Indian Border Dispute: A Legal Study*. Greenwood Press: 1986.
- Maxwell, Mary. *Morality among Nations: An Evolutionary View*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990.
- Mazlish, Bruce, Nayan Chanda, and Kenneth Weisbrode. *The Paradox of a Global USA*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007.
- McMahon, Robert J. *Cold War on the Periphery: The United States, India and Pakistan*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.
- Merrill, Dennis. *Bread and the Ballot: The United States and India's Economic Development, 1947-1963*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990.
- Morgenthau, Hans J. *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. 4th ed. New York: Knopf, 1967.
- Rangarajan, L. N. *The Arthashastra*. New Delhi, India: Penguin Books 1992.
- Roskin, Michael. *National Interest from Abstraction to Strategy*. Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 1994.

- Rourke, John T. *International Politics on the World Stage*. 3rd ed. Guilford, CT: Dushkin Pub. Group, 1991.
- Roy, Dr. P. C. *Indo-U.S. Economic Relations*. Rajouri Garden, New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, 1986.
- Schaffer, Teresita C. *India and the United States in the 21st Century: Reinventing Partnership*. Washington, DC: CSIS Press, 2010.
- Scott, David. *Handbook of India's International Relations*. London: Routledge, 2011.
- Sen, Tansen. *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade: The Realignment of Sino-Indian Relations, 600-1400*. University of Hawaii Press, 2003.
- Sidhu, Waheguru Pal Singh, and Jing Dong Yuan. *China and India: Cooperation or Conflict?* Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003.
- Skocpol, Theda. *Social Policy in the United States: Future Possibilities in Historical Perspective*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995.
- Tellis, Ashley J. *Challenges and Choices (Strategic Asia)*. Seattle: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2008.
- Tellis, Ashley J., Travis Tanner, and Jessica Keough, eds. *Strategic Asia 2011-12: Asia Responds to Its Rising Powers-China and India*. National Bureau of Asian Research, 2011.
- Tripathi, D. P., and B. R. Deepak, eds. *India China Relations - Future Perspectives*. New Delhi, India: Vij Books, July 2012.
- Trubowitz, Peter. *Defining the National Interest: Conflict and Change in American Foreign Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- Zakaria, Fareed. *The post-American World*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2008.

#### Research Articles

- Better World Campaign. "U.S. Funding for the UN." Accessed July 24, 2014.  
<http://www.betterworldcampaign.org/issues/funding/>.
- Chellaney, Brahma, "Rising Powers, Rising Tensions: The Troubled China-India Relationship." *SAIS Review* 32, no. 2 (2012): 99–108.
- Clarke, Ryan. "Lashkar I Taiba: The Fallacy of Subservient Proxies and the Future of Islamist Terrorism in India." Letort Paper, U.S. Army War College, Strategic



- Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, March 2010. Accessed November 25, 2014. <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdf/PUB973.pdf>.
- Dalal, J. S. "The Sino-Indian Border Dispute: India's Current Options." Master's Thesis, Command and General Staff College, June 1993.
- Finlay, Brian, Johan Bergenas, and Esha Mufti. *Beyond Boundaries in South Asia: Bridging the Security/Development Divide with International Security Assistance*. Muscatine, IA: Stanley Foundation, 2012. Accessed November 25, 2014. <http://www.stanleyfoundation.org/publications/report/SArpt512.pdf>.
- Forbes, Andrew, and David Henley. "Past, Present and Future Commercial Sino-Indian links via Sikkim." In *China's Ancient Tea Horse Road*. Chiang Mai: Cognoscenti Books.
- Fried, Erin. "China's Response to a Rising India, An Interview with M. Taylor Fravel." The National Bureau of Asian Research, October 2011.
- . "India's Response to a Rising China: Economic and Strategic Challenges and Opportunities, An Interview with Harsh V. Pant." The National Bureau of Asian Research, August 30, 2011.
- Garcia, Megan. *Global Swing States and the Non-Proliferation Order*. Washington, DC: Center for a New American Security, November 2012. Accessed November 25, 2014. [http://www.cnas.org/files/documents/publications/Garcia\\_Non\\_proliferation\\_Nov12\\_web.pdf](http://www.cnas.org/files/documents/publications/Garcia_Non_proliferation_Nov12_web.pdf).
- Harvard University. "America's National Interests a Report from The Commission on America's National Interests." Accessed July 26, 2014. <http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/amernatinter.pdf>.
- Hedrick, Brian K. *India's Strategic Defense Transformation: Expanding Global Relationships*. U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, November 2009. Accessed July 26, 2014. <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdf/PUB950.pdf>.
- Hellström, Jerker, and Kaan Korkmaz. "Managing Mutual Mistrust: Understanding Chinese Perspectives on Sino-Indian Relations." Swedish Defense Research Agency, September 2011.
- Hess, Alexander. "Countries with the Most Immigrants." 247wallst.com. October 25, 2013. Accessed July 24, 2014. <http://247wallst.com/special-report/2013/09/25/countries-with-the-most-immigrants/3>.
- Karl, David J. "U.S.-India Relations: The Way Forward." *Orbis* (2012): 308–327.

- . “The Greatest Challenge to U.S. National Security: A Weak Economy.” *The National Interest*, June 23, 2014. Accessed July 27, 2014. <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/the-greatest-challenge-us-national-security-weak-economy-10720>.
- Laffey, Mark. “Discerning the Patterns of World Order: Noam Chomsky and International Theory after the Cold War.” *Review of International Studies* 29 (2003): 587-604. Accessed July 27, 2014. <http://www.chomsky.info/onchomsky/200310--03.pdf>.
- Nalpathamkalam, Abhilash Roy. “Cooperation without Trust: India-China Relations Today.” Heinrich Boell Foundation, October 11, 2012.
- Norquist, Warren E. “How United States Won the Cold War.” *Journal of U.S. Intelligence Studies* (Winter/Spring 2003): 47-56. Accessed July 24, 2014. <https://s3.amazonaws.com/atrpdfs/2007/April/reaganwoncoldwar.wnorquist.pdf>.
- Pant, Harsh V. “The US-India Nuclear Pact: Policy, Process, and Great Power Politics.” *Asian Security* (2009): 273–95.
- Princeton University. “Creativity, Innovation and Design.” Accessed July 13, 2014. <http://www.princeton.edu>.
- Rani, Sudesh. “Indo-US Maritime Cooperation: Challenges and Prospects,” *Maritime Affairs: Journal of the National Maritime Foundation of India* 8, no. 2 (December 2012): 123-43.
- Shrivastava, Sanskrit. “Can India Face the Dragon?” *The World Reporter*, September 5, 2010.
- University of Southern California. “Organizing your Social Sciences Research Paper.” Accessed October 3, 2014. <http://libguides.usc.edu/content.php?pid=83009&sid=615866>.
- Varadarajan, S. “India, China and the Asian Axis of Oil.” Global Research, January 2006.
- Wong, Edward. “Uneasy Engagement - China and India Dispute Enclave on Edge of Tibet.” *NY Times*, September 4, 2009.
- World Bank. “GDP (current US\$).” Accessed July 24, 2014. <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD>.

#### Government Sources

Charting the Future of U.S.-India Relations. June 2011. Interview with Ambassador Thomas R. Pickering

Luthra, Sonia. "Deepening U.S.-India Economic Engagement, An Interview with Ambassador Susan Esserman." The National Bureau of Asian Research, September 27, 2011.

#### Interview

Blake, Jr., Robert O. "U.S.-India Relations: the Making of a Comprehensive Relationship." Speech at India's Army War College, August 23, 2004.

Cohen, Stephen P., and Sunil Dasgupta. "A Way Forward in U.S.-India Defense Cooperation." Interview, July 2011.

#### Websites

The National Interest. Accessed July 10, 2014. <http://nationalinterest.org/>.

Princeton University. "Creativity, Innovation and Design." Accessed July 13, 2014. <http://www.princeton.edu>.

Sokolski, Henry. United States and India Strategic Cooperation (2010)  
[http://libweb.surrey.ac.uk/library/skills/Introduction%20to%20Research%20and%20Managing%20Information%20Leicester/page\\_24.htm](http://libweb.surrey.ac.uk/library/skills/Introduction%20to%20Research%20and%20Managing%20Information%20Leicester/page_24.htm)

Wikipedia. "National Security Strategy." July 18, 2014. Accessed July 26, 2014. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Security\\_Strategy\\_%28United\\_States%29](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Security_Strategy_%28United_States%29).