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# We The People



Years of U.S. - India Relations

#### PREFACE

The relationship between the United States and India, two of the world's largest democracies, is often symbolized as a partnership between two kindred spirits and is called the most important strategic partnership of the 21st century. A partnership strengthened by a shared goal to make a difference in its citizens' lives and the rest of humanity. But what makes this partnership truly special is an unwavering commitment to democratic values and a mutual affinity that the people share for each other.

To celebrate 75 years of India's independence, we are proud to launch 'We The People,' an intimate portrait celebrating the Diamond Jubilee of this strong friendship. The sacrosanctity of these three simple words, enshrined in the U.S. constitution first, which later became the reference document for India's founders, reflects the will of their people.

This book chronicles the journey of the partnership, from the earliest inspiration of democratic ideals Indian thinkers took from American shores to how the alliance evolved from episodic estrangement to now a period of deep engagement, featuring high-level state visits to bilateral agreements. The catalyst to this partnership cannot be found in the corridors of Raisina Hill or Capitol Hill but in the warmth that people share for each other.

'We The People' presents poignant and iconic images that capture the long-standing history between the two nations. This heart-warming book hopes to be memories of nostalgia further deepening our bright future together.

"More than fifteen years ago,
Prime Minister of India,
Atal Bihari Vajpayee stood here and
gave a call to step out of the 'shadow
of hesitation' of the past.

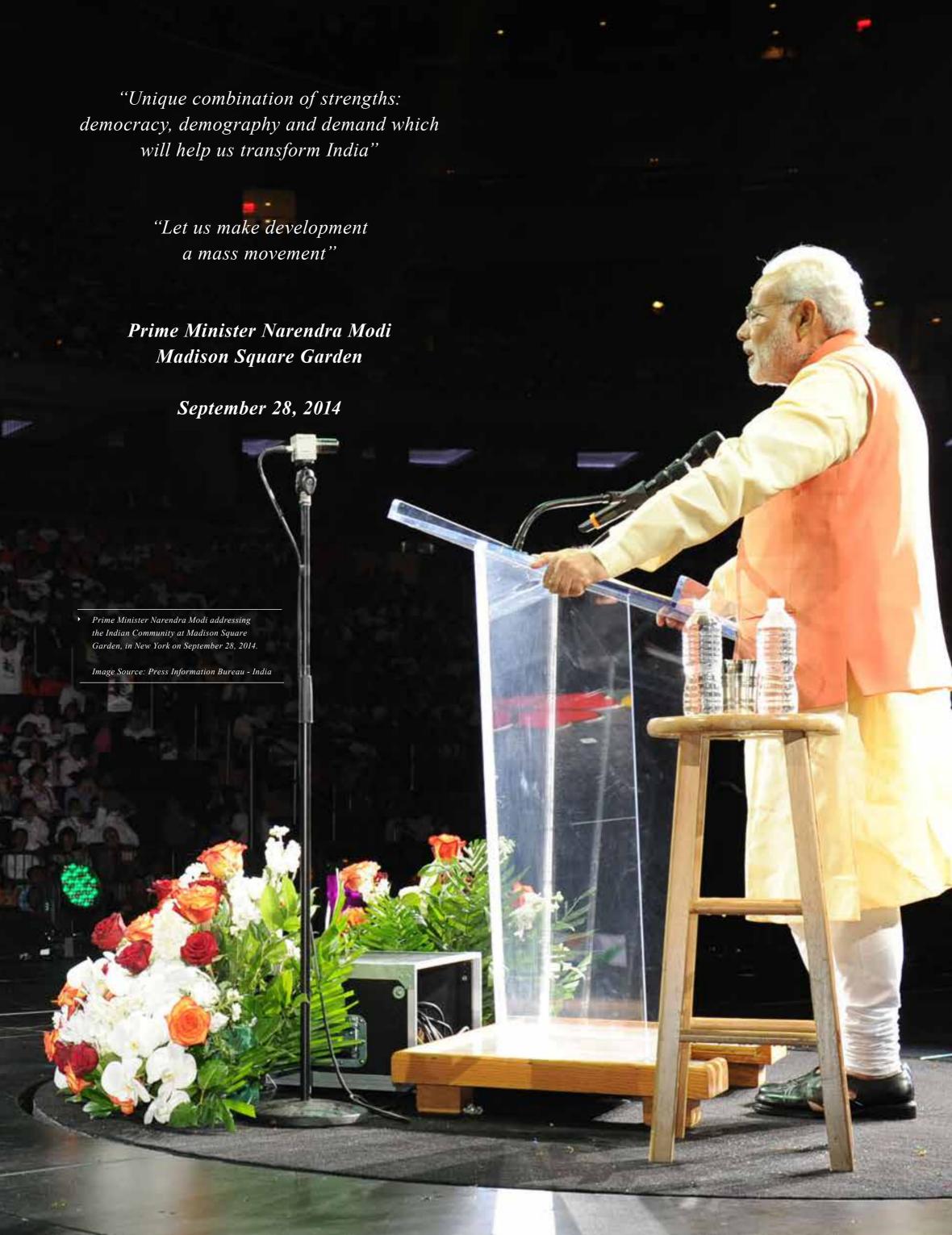
The pages of our friendship since then tell a remarkable story.

Today, our relationship has overcome the hesitations of history."

Prime Minister Narendra Modi U.S. Congress

June 8, 2016





# Contents

01

Democracy,
Diplomacy
and Dialogue
01-113

02

Aid to Trade 114-133 03

United We Stand 134-169 04

Synergy,
Summits,
and Strategic
Partnership
170-183

05

Soft Power in an Era of Hard Power 184-223 06

Holding the Floor 224-245

07

Wah Taj 246-259

## DR. S. JAISHANKAR

MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

"Whether it is global security, technology, economics or education, the India - U.S. relationship is hugely consequential. And its transformation is driven by a deep people to people connect."

July 2022

## ANTONY J. BLINKEN

U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE

"The United States' strong and growing partnership with India across every field of human endeavor demonstrates that, working together, democracies can deliver on building the world we envision for the future - a world that addresses the climate and global health crises and ensures a secure, open, and prosperous Indo-Pacific."

July 2022

## TARANJIT SINGH SANDHU

# AMBASSADOR OF INDIA TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 2020 - PRESENT

"As someone who has worked on the India-U.S. relationship over the last 25 years, I must say that it has been an incredibly fascinating journey. When I look back, many pictures fill my mind, some of which have been historic, special and dear to my heart, such as the electrifying first diaspora event of Prime Minister Narendra Modi at Madison Square Garden in 2014; President Obama's visit as the Chief Guest of the Republic Day in 2015; Prime Minister Narendra Modi's Energy/ Tech visit to the Bay Area in 2015; Prime Minister Narendra Modi's address to the U.S. Congress in 2016; and most recently, the first-ever Quad Leaders' Summit in Washington D.C. hosted by President Biden. When I look ahead, I see an ocean of possibilities to build together a better and brighter future, for us and for the world!"

July 2022

## DEMOCRACY, DIPLOMACY AND DIALOGUE

The United States and India today share a robust strategic partnership with synergy in technology, trade, defense and security, diaspora connections, and democratic values. But when and where did this relationship begin? This chapter showcases the historical linkages between India and the United States, even as the countries celebrate a forward-looking 21st century partnership.

#### JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH

U.S. AMBASSADOR TO INDIA, 1961-1963

"This is a sympathetic relationship which is based on a wide area of appreciation of Indian culture, Indian history, Indian art, Indian architecture, and the companion relationship which is made between countries that have broadly similar political structures, parliamentary government. And this is far more important than the superficial difficulties that arise between governments."

March 1982

#### K. SUBRAHMANYAM

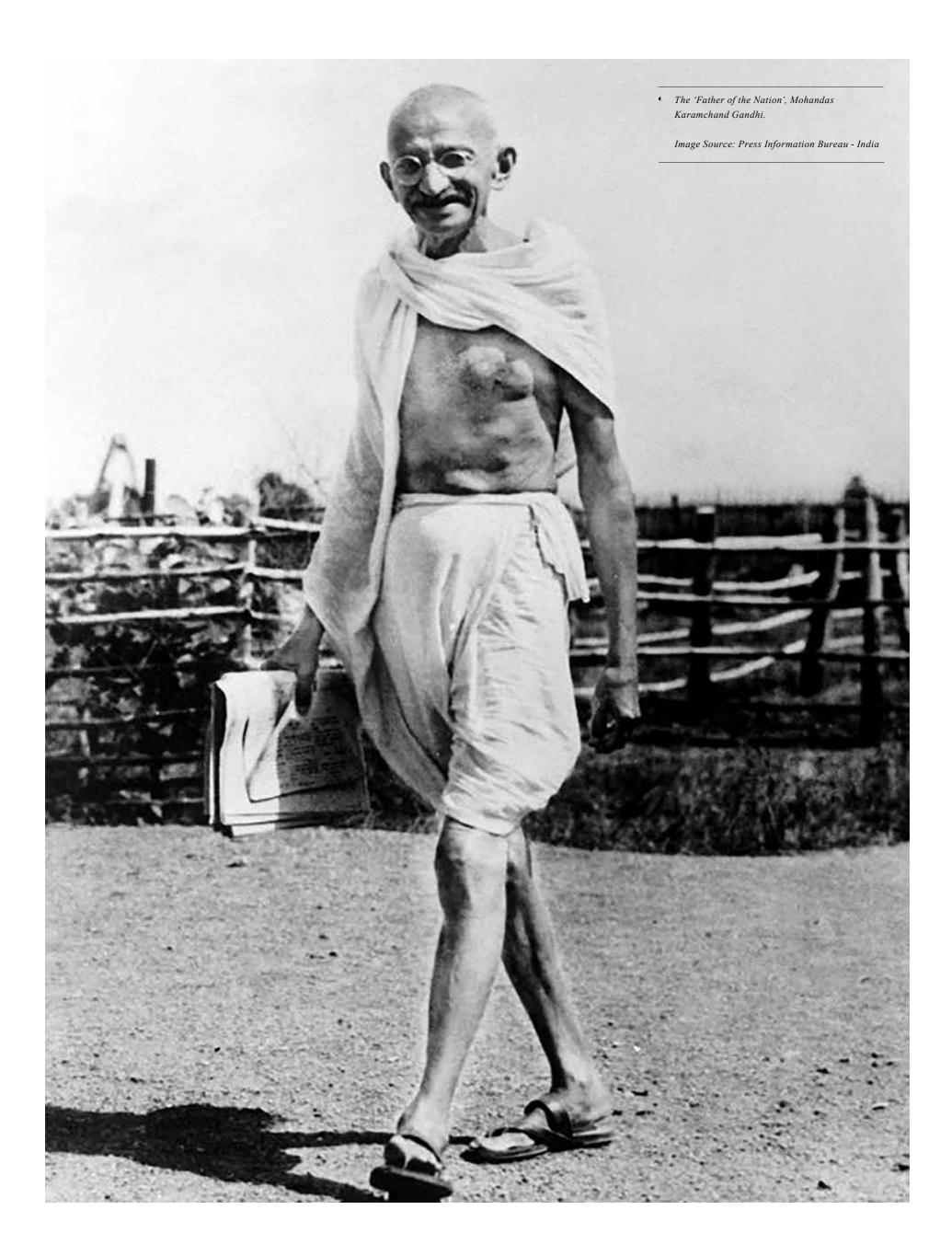
#### LEADING STRATEGIC AFFAIRS THINKER

"If the U.S. remains the world's predominant power, and China is second, India will be the swing power. It will therefore have three options: partnering with the U.S. and other pluralistic, secular and democratic countries; joining hands with China at the risk of betraying the values of its Constitution and freedom struggle; and remaining both politically and ideologically non-aligned, even if against its own ideals. Many Indians worry about an unequal partnership with the U.S. because they do not appreciate the full potential of India as a knowledge power. In the years ahead, the U.S. will require a reservoir of skilled manpower, and India will require green energy and agricultural technology to grow faster."

February 2011

### DIPLOMACY BEGAN EARLY

Kolkata, then Calcutta, has its place in Indian history as the country's former capital. The city also has its place in U.S.-India relations, as the earliest place in the history of American diplomacy. It was not only home to the first American Consulate in India but also one of the oldest American Consulates in the world. According to the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi, shortly after American independence and long before Indian independence, "President George Washington, on November 19, 1792, nominated Benjamin Joy of Newbury Port as the first American Consul to Kolkata." On recommendations from then-Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson (later the third President of the United States) and with approval of the Senate, President Washington commissioned Joy to the office on November 21, 1792.



# A 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY BEGINNING AND 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY PARTNERSHIP

#### We The People

The robust relationship between India and the United States rests on three strong pillars:

- 1. A strategic partnership based on trade ties, security cooperation, and burgeoning economic investments.
- 2. Shared democratic values reflecting the will of the people in the world's oldest democracy and the world's largest democracy.
- 3. The diaspora connection with strong people-topeople ties between Washington and New Delhi.

This chapter examines how influential Indian and American leaders looked to each other for inspiration. While Mahatma Gandhi was inspired by the American independence movement, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was influenced by Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent struggle for Indian independence and parlayed his principles of "Ahimsa" in attaining civil rights for disenfranchised African Americans.

#### **Democracy Inspired**

Both India and the United States see their stories as exceptional, a triumph against colonial forces. A firm belief in pluralism and the power of the people is an ethos that runs across both nations. If individuals find affinity in common values, so do nations, which consider each other kindred spirits based on sacrosanct values over economic transactions.

At first glance, Indian and American independence are as separated by time, just as they are by geographic distance. India follows a Constitutional Parliamentary system that it inherited from the British, one that is very different from the American Presidential system of democracy. The American struggle for independence looked nothing like the nationalist uprisings in European colonies, especially India.

In America, it was the British settlers who entered into a bitter scuffle with government authorities, and in colonies like India, the natives rose unanimously against the tyranny of their colonial masters. The echoes of the American uprising are often penetrating the writings and speeches of nationalists in India; none more so than Mahatma Gandhi, who, in his clarion call to resist British domination, drew inspiration from the American revolution.

In this chapter, we witness how great Indian thinkers such as B.R. Ambedkar, Swami Vivekananda, Mahatma Gandhi, and Rabindranath Tagore were influenced by the United States and how Indian thinkers influenced seminal American figures such as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and the work of Satyananda Stokes - the American who took part in India's struggle for independence.



#### SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

Swami Vivekananda's iconic speech in Chicago in 1893 at the World's Parliament of Religions introduced Hinduism to American lands. His speech was a clarion call for peace, tolerance, and eschewing fanaticism.

Speech delivered by Swami Vivekananda on September 11, 1893

"Sisters and Brothers of America,

It fills my heart with joy unspeakable to rise in response to the warm and cordial welcome which you have given us. I thank you in the name of the most ancient order of monks in the world, I thank you in the name of the mother of religions, and I thank you in the name of millions and millions of Hindu people of all classes and sects. My thanks, also, to some of the speakers on this platform who, referring to the delegates from the Orient, have told you that these men from far-off nations may well claim the honor of bearing to different lands the idea of toleration.

I am proud to belong to a religion which has taught the world both tolerance and universal acceptance. We believe not only in universal toleration, but we accept all religions as true. I am proud to belong to a nation which has sheltered the persecuted and the refugees of all religions and all nations of the earth. I am proud to tell you that we have gathered in our bosom the purest remnant of the Israelites, who came to Southern India and took refuge with us in the very year in which their holy temple was shattered to pieces by Roman tyranny. I am proud to belong to the religion which has sheltered and is still fostering the remnant of the grand Zoroastrian nation. I will quote to you, brethren, a few lines from a hymn which I remember to have repeated from my earliest boyhood, which is every day repeated by millions of human beings: 'As the different streams having their sources in different paths which men take through different tendencies, various though they appear, crooked or straight, all lead to Thee.'

The present convention, which is one of the most august assemblies ever held, is in itself a vindication, a declaration to the world of the wonderful doctrine preached in the Gita: "Whosoever comes to me, through whatsoever form, I reach him; all men are struggling through paths which in the end lead to me." Sectarianism, bigotry, and its horrible descendant, fanaticism, have long possessed this beautiful earth. They have filled the earth with violence, drenched it often and often with human blood, destroyed civilization and sent whole nations to despair. Had it not been for these horrible demons, human society would be far more advanced than it is now. But their time is come; and I fervently hope that the bell that tolled this morning in honor of this convention may be the death-knell of all fanaticism, of all persecutions with the sword or with the pen, and of all uncharitable feelings between persons wending their way to the same goal."

#### RABINDRANATH TAGORE

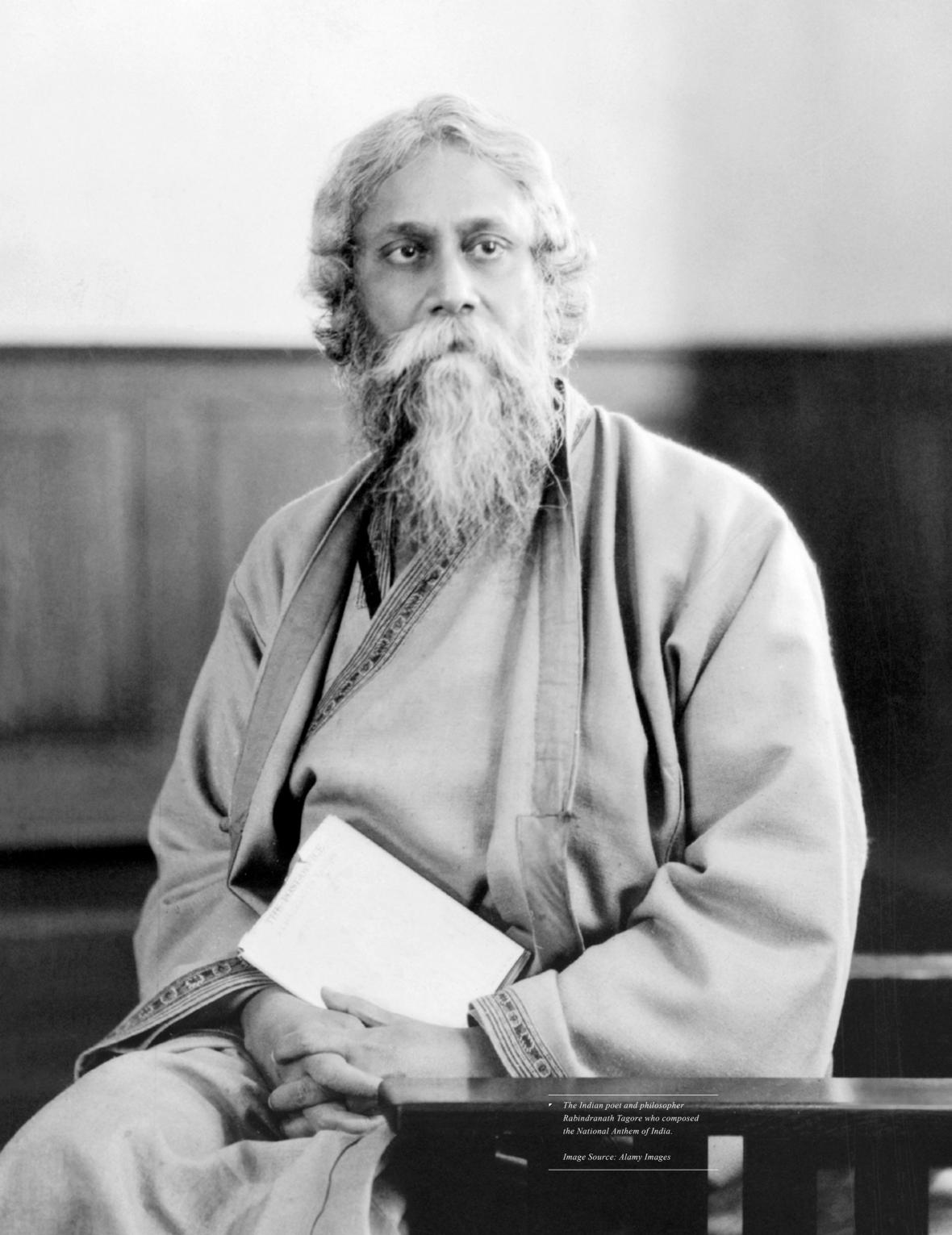
Nobel Laureate Rabindranath Tagore made five successive visits to the United States of America (1912-1913, 1916-1917, 1920-1921, 1929 and 1930). The Indian poet and author was deeply influenced by the U.S. and pushed for closer ties between the eastern and western branches of the Indo-European family. Though fond of the U.S., Tagore was seen as a "pacifist" opposed to war. Despite his early role as a patriot and nationalist in 1905-1907, Tagore had become disillusioned with nationalism by the end of that decade, and many of his lectures focused on the theme of opposing U.S. involvement in the World War.

"Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high

Where knowledge is free

Where the world has not been broken up into fragments
By narrow domestic walls

Where words come out from the depth of truth..."





"We must stand on our own feet and fight as best as we can for our rights.

So carry on your agitation and organize your forces.

Power and prestige will come to you through struggle"

 ${\it Image Source: U.S. Embassy, India}$ 

## DR. B.R. AMBEDKAR

Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (B.R. Ambedkar) is best known as the architect of the Indian Constitution. Dr. Ambedkar spent his professional career as an advocate for the upliftment of the formerly "untouchable" Dalit caste and its universal suffrage. He was awarded a Ph.D. in Economics from Columbia University in 1927 and received an honorary degree in 1952. Ambedkar was the first member of the Dalit community to earn a Ph.D. from the United States and was a politically prominent member of the community. Apart from championing the rights of the Dalit community, Ambedkar's insights and acumen played a central part in framing the Indian Constitution, inspired by the American constitution. Ambedkar was deeply influenced by American thinkers like John Dewey during his time at Columbia University.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar presiding over joint Columbia Bicentennial - American Alumni banquet at National Sports Club of India, New Delhi, October 30, 1954. With Dr. Richard P. McKeon (U. of Chicago), Dr. G.S. Mahajani (Delhi U.), and Mrs. Humayan Kabir

#### MAHATMA GANDHI

Even though Mahatma Gandhi never visited the U.S., he was touched by America without touching its shores. Gandhi's iconic Dandi March in the early 1930s, to protest against the unfair salt tax imposed by the British, took inspiration from the historic Boston Tea Party. The Dandi March, like the Boston Tea Party, raised a sense of awareness among the British authorities.

"Even as America won its independence through suffering, valour and sacrifice, so shall India, in God's good time achieve her freedom by suffering, sacrifice and non-violence."

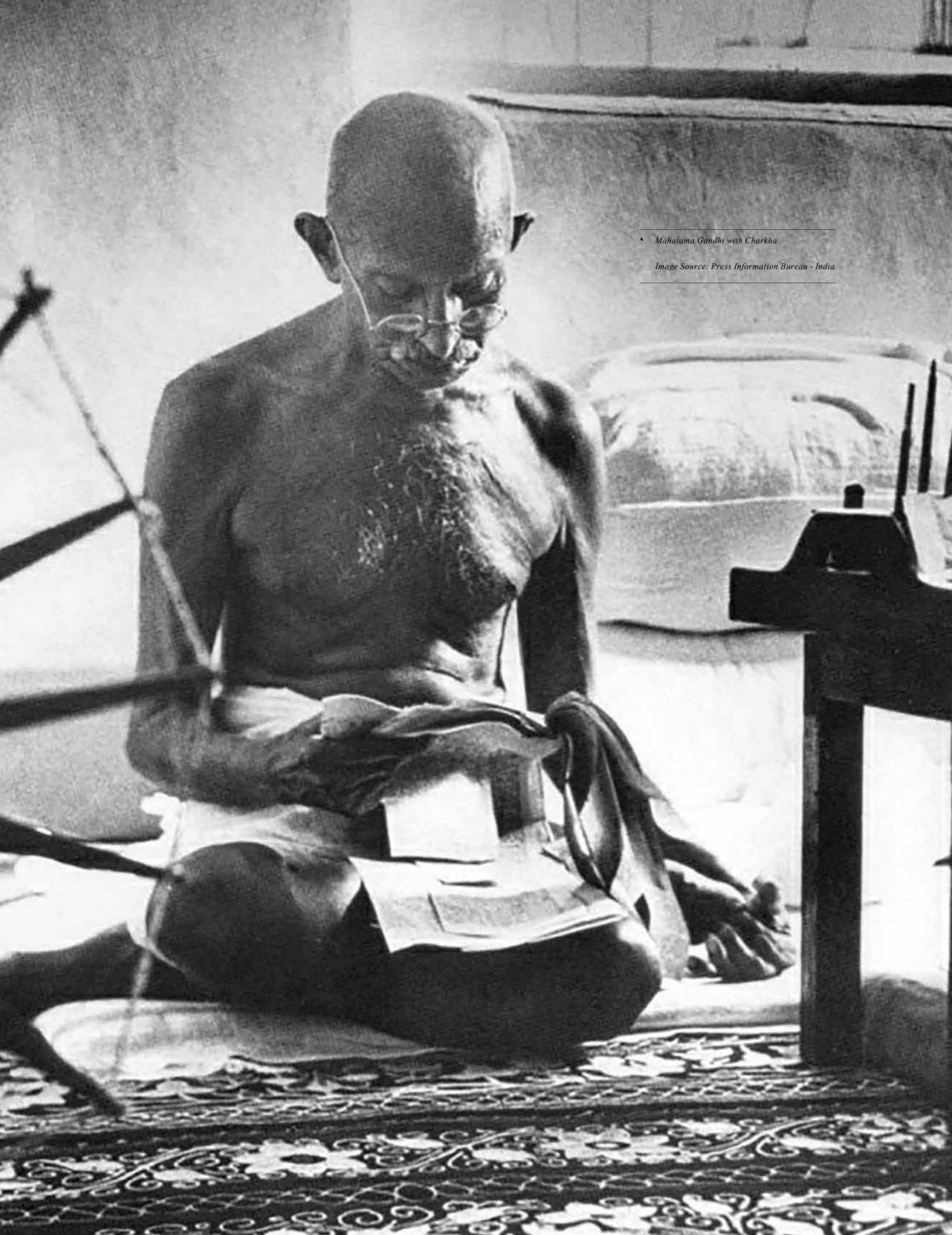
Mahatma Gandhi

January 1932

"Few non-Americans have had such a great impact on American life. His work as a freedom fighter and social reformer in India was closely followed in the U.S. Thinkers such as W.E.B. Du Bois and E. Franklin Frazier wrote about him, and several influential African-Americans visited him to seek advice, including Howard Thurman, later a mentor to Martin Luther King, Jr. Gandhi appealed to American radicals because of his anti-colonialism, and to American Christians because of his simple life and message of brotherhood. The Chicago-based magazine the Christian Century repeatedly proposed Gandhi's name for a Nobel Peace Prize, though it failed to persuade the Anglophilic Norwegians to award him the honor."

Ramachandra Guha

September 2019



# CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MAHATMA GANDHI AND PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, 1942

Sevagram, Via Wardha (India) 1st July 1942

#### Dear Friend

I twice missed coming to your great country. I have the privilege having numerous friends there both known and unknown to me. Many of my countrymen have received and are still receiving higher education in America. I know too that several have taken shelter there. I have profited greatly by the writings of Thoreau and Emerson. I say this to tell you how much I am connected with your country. Of Great Britain I need say nothing beyond mentioning that in spite of my intense dislike of British Rule, I have numerous personal friends in England whom I love as dearly as my o people. I had my legal education there. I have therefore nothing but good wishes for your country and Great Britain. You will therefore accept my word that my present proposal, that the British should unnecessary vsdly and without reference to the wishes of the people of India immediate withdraw their rule, is prompted by the friendliest intention. I could like to turn into good will the ill will which, whatever may be said to the contrary, exists in India towards Great Britain and thus enable the millions of India to play their Fart in the present war.

My personal position is clear. I hate all war. If, therefore, I could persuade my countrymen, they would make a most effective and decisive contribution in favour of an honourable peace. But I know that all of us have not a living faith in non-violence. Under foreign rule however we can make no effective contribution of any kind in this war, excel.t as helots.

The policy of the Indian National Congress, largely guided by me, has been one of non-embarrassment to Britain, consistently with the honorable working of the Congress, admittedly the largest political organization, of the longest standing in India. The British policy as exposed by the Grippe mission and rejected by almost all parties has opened our eyes

#### and

has driven me to the proposal I have made. I hold that the full acceptance of my proposal and that alone can put the Allied cause on to unassailable basis. I venture to think that the Allied declaration; that the Allies are fighting to make the world safe for freedom of the individual and for democracy sounds hollow, so long as India and, for that matter, Africa are exploited by Great Britain, and America has the Negro problem in her own house. But in order to avoid all complications, in my proposal I have confined myself only to India If India. becomes free, the rest must follow, if it does not happen simultaneously.

In order to make my proposal fool-proof I have suggested that, if the Allies think it necessary, they may keep their troops, at their own Expense, in India, not for keeping internal order but for preventing Japanese aggression and defending China. So far as India is concerned, must become free even as America and Great Britain are. The Allied "Troops will remain in India during the war under treaty with the Free India-Government that may be formed by the people of India without any outside interference, direct or indirect.

It is on behalf of this proposal that I write this to enlist your active sympathy.

I hope that. it would commend itself to you.

Mr. Louis Fischer is carrying this letter to you.

If there is any obscurity in my letter, you have but to send we word and I shall try to clear it.

I hope finally that you will not resent this letter as an intru¬sion but take it as an approach from a friend and well wither of Allies.

I remain yours sincerely unequation

Image Source: National Archives

<sup>▲</sup> Letter from Mahatma Gandhi to then sitting-President Franklin Roosevelt in June-July 1942.

My dear Mr, Gandhi;

I have received your letter of July 1, 1942, which you have thoughtfully sent me in order that I may better understand your plans, which I well know may have far-reaching effect upon developments important to your country and to mine.

I am sure that you will agree that the United States has consistently striven for and supported policies of fair dealing, of fair play, and of all related principles looking towards the creation of harmonious relations between nations, Nevertheless, now that war has come as a result of Axis dreams of world conquest, we, together with many other nations, are making a supreme effort to defeat those who would deny forever all hone of freedom through- out the world. I am enclosing a copy of an address of July 23 by the Secretary of State, made with my complete approval, which illustrates the attitude of this Government.

Image Source: National Archives

<sup>↑</sup> The last letters that President Roosevelt wrote to Mahatma Gandhi in August 1942 did not reach him before he was imprisoned on account of the Quit India resolution, but they are poignant and significant pieces of history.



## MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

Martin Luther King Jr. Was Deeply Inspired by Mahatma's Gandhi's Non-Violence Movement

"Since being in India, I am more convinced than ever before that the method of nonviolent resistance is the most potent weapon available to oppressed people in their struggle for justice and human dignity. In a world since Mahatma Gandhi embodied in his life certain universal principles that are inherent in the moral structure of the universe, and these principles are as inescapable as the law of gravitation.

Many years ago, when Abraham Lincoln was shot - and incidentally, he was shot for the same reason that Mahatma Gandhi, was shot for, namely, for committing the crime of wanting to heal the wounds of a divided nation - and when he was shot, Secretary Stanton stood by the dead body of the great leader and said these words: Now he belongs to the ages. And in a real sense, we can say the same thing about Mahatma Gandhi, and even in stronger terms: Now he belongs to the ages. And if this age is to survive, it must follow the way of love and nonviolence that he so nobly illustrated in his life. And Mahatma Gandhi may well be God's appeal to this generation, for in a day when sputniks and explorers dash through outer space and guided ballistic missiles are carving highways of death through the stratosphere, no nation can win a war. Today, we no longer have a choice between violence and nonviolence; it is either non-violence or non-existence."

**March** 1959



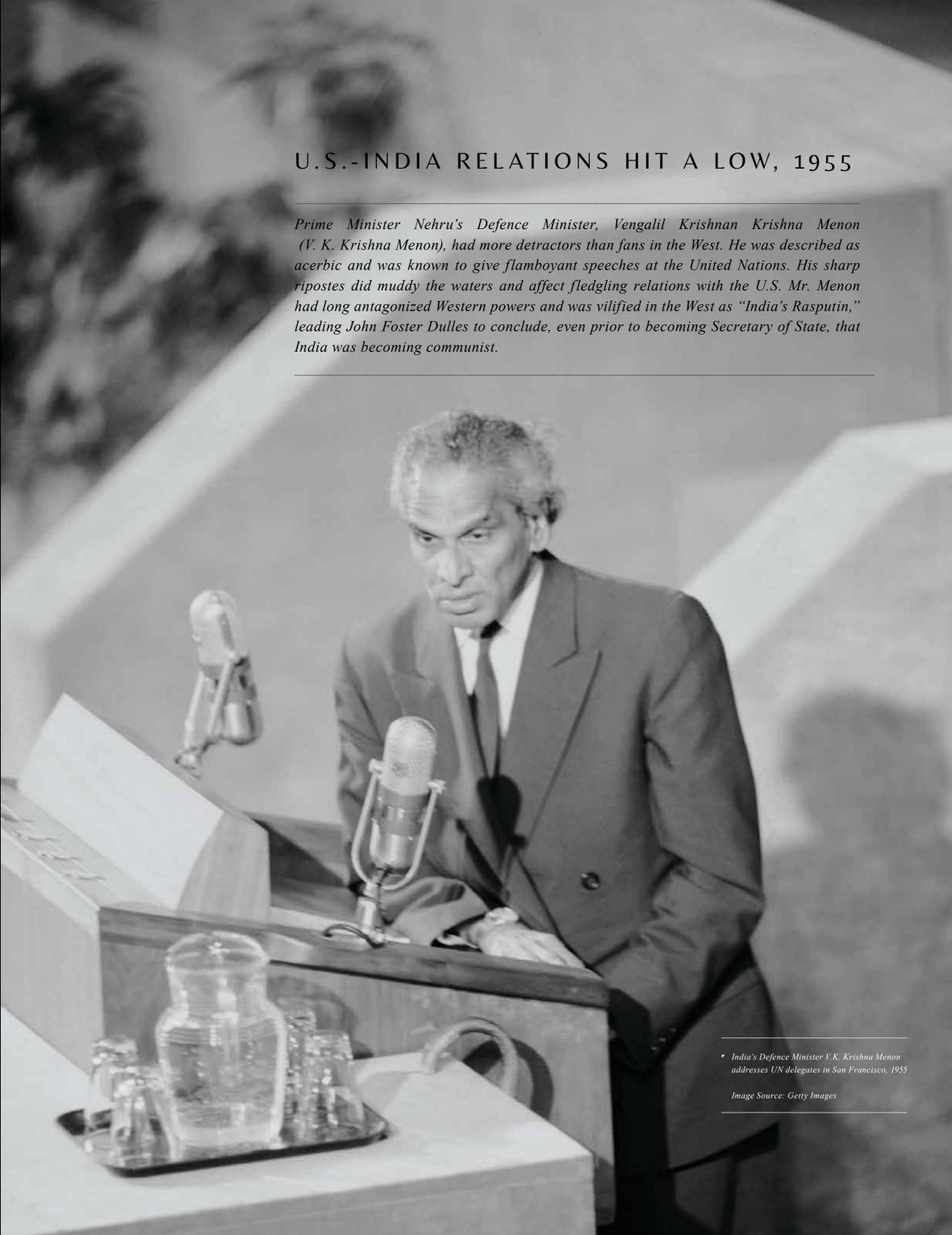
# POST INDEPENDENCE PRE-LIBERALIZATION RELATIONS

"No struggle in the world today deserves more of our time and attention than that which now grips the attention of all Asia...And that is the struggle between India and China for leadership of the East...We want India to win the race."

Senator John F. Kennedy May 4, 1959

Image Source: Alamy Images

President John F. Kennedy with Finance Minister, Morarji Desai, in 1962.





# INDIA CHOOSES A THIRD BLOC IN A BIPOLAR WORLD, 1956

The Cold War presented countries with two power blocs, a Manichean duopoly of sorts - the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. bloc. The landmark Bandung Conference (in Indonesia) in 1955 saw nations from Asia and Africa congregate to discuss the role of developing economies in the Cold War, as decolonization gathered momentum. The first formalization of the movement took place in 1956. The Bandung Conference and its final resolution laid the foundation for the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) during the Cold War. India, under Prime Minister Nehru, led the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) along with Sukarno of Indonesia, Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, Gamal Abdul Nasser of Egypt, and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana.

Image Source: Alamy Images

A Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, Egypt's President, Gamal Abdel Nasser, and Yugoslavia's President, Josip Broz Tito meet to sign the establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement, 1961



# THE SUEZ CRISIS REKINDLES U.S.-INDIA TIES, 1956

The Dulles brothers were warming up to Pakistan and got the newly formed Islamic country to join the Baghdad Pact and Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) after India refused to do so. President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Nehru were fully aligned on the Suez Crisis of 1956, one of the seminal events in the history of decolonization. The U.S. and India worked together to support Egypt (led by fellow NAM leader, President Nasser) and opposed the Anglo-French-Israeli blockage of the Suez Canal. India's support helped ensure an Anglo-French defeat and the clear emergence of the U.S. as the pre-eminent Western power after the Suez crisis. British and French decolonization accelerated soon after.

Image Source: Press Information Bureau - India

<sup>↑</sup> Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, arrived in Washington D.C. on December 16, 1956 on an official visit to the U.S.A. Photo shows the Prime Minister with President Eisenhower in the car leaving for the President's farm at Gettysburg for a discussion.



# FIRST LADY JACQUELINE (JACKIE) KENNEDY'S VISIT TO INDIA, 1962

When Jackie Kennedy visited India a year into her husband's administration, she won many hearts. Even though her husband never visited India, First Lady Jackie Kennedy was only 32 when she set foot on Indian shores. She was described as elegant and stylish and was said to be received enthusiastically by the adoring crowds. It was reported that Jackie Kennedy adorned 22 outfits in 9 days, setting the bar for style for future First Ladies. Of her time in India, she said, "it's been a dream."

Image Source: Alamy Images

American Ambassador to India John Kenneth Galbraith and First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy at the U. S. Chancery, New Delhi.

# INAUGURATION OF THE AMERICAN CENTER IN NEW DELHI, 1974

The American Center in New Delhi first opened its doors on April 25, 1974, in the presence of C. Subramaniam, Former Minister of Finance of India and Ambassador Daniel P. Moynihan. Ambassador Moynihan would go on to serve in a variety of diplomatic and political capacities, such as U.S. Ambassador to the UN, and was Senator from New York until his retirement, when the future Secretary of State would take his Senatorial seat.



American Centre first opened its doors on April 25, 1974, in the presence of C. Subramaniam and Ambassador Daniel P. Moynihan.

Image Source: U.S. Embassy, India

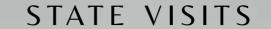
## LILLIAN CARTER'S NOSTALGIC RETURN TO INDIA, 1977

Lilian Carter was the mother of the 39th U.S. President, Jimmy Carter. However, long before her son's iconic state visit to India in 1978, Lilian Carter was well-acquainted with the country. She was a Peace Corps volunteer at the age of 68. She first visited India in 1966, where she took lessons in Marathi and looked to work as a nurse at a medical center set up by the Godrej Group in Vikhroli (still present today). Lilian Carter would return to India in 1977 with her grandson, James Carter, and she was received warmly.



<sup>↑</sup> At the Vikhroli dispensary, Dr. G.D. Bhatia and G.L. Perumal Raja drape a stole around Lillian Carter's shoulders.

Image Source: U.S. Embassy, India



or the first 50 years after India's Independence, while India was non-aligned during majority of the Cold War, only three U.S. Presidents visited the country. In the last 25 years, there have been five presidential tours including that of President Donald Trump.

The first state visit between the two countries took place when Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru arrived in Washington D.C to meet with President Harry S. Truman during October 11–15, 1949.

State Department archives show that Prime Minister Nehru's visit included New York City, Chicago, Knoxville, San Francisco, and Madison. The trip, however, precedes India's formal proclamation as neutral and part of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).

This trip set the tone for U.S.-India relations throughout the Cold War. The relationship was strained, and a new opportunity for amity between New Delhi and Moscow arose.

 Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in Washington D.C. with U.S. President Harry S. Truman in 1949.

Image Source: U.S. Embassy, India



# PRIME MINISTER JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S FIRST VISIT TO THE U.S.,1949

"A hero in his country's fight for freedom." The "political heir and spiritual son" of Mahatma Gandhi. "The most influential leader of Asia."

Such platitudes were common when describing India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. Whichever description accompanied him, it was clear that he was more than the leader of Asia's largest democracy. Pandit (a Sanskrit word and title befitting a Hindu scholar) Nehru's advocacy for the nonaligned nations' movement and post-WWII decolonization gave him international stature, someone who belonged to the world, not just to his fellow Indians.



Image Source: Press Information Bureau - India

# PRIME MINISTER JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S SECOND VISIT, 1956

Prime Minister Nehru later said, "To the people of India, I should like to say that the friendship of America is a treasure which we value and I am sure if these two countries cooperate it would add to the peace of the world and will lead to our mutual advantage."

<sup>►</sup> President and First Lady Eisenhower greeting Prime Minister Nehru on his arrival at the White House.



#### PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER VISITS INDIA, 1959

President Dwight D. Eisenhower was the first sitting U.S. President to visit India. President Eisenhower or Ike, as he was known, had met with President Rajendra Prasad and Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, and became the first American President to address the Indian Parliament and visit the Taj Mahal. This visit was during the start of the Cold War, as India declared itself "non-aligned." The trip helped assuage Washington's concerns that India was close to the Soviet Union and provided a new impetus for U.S.-India relations.

<sup>►</sup> President Eisenhower attends the inauguration ceremony of the World Agricultural Fair in New Delhi.



## WASHINGTON D.C., 1961 Prime Minister Nehry made his last official visit to

Prime Minister Nehru made his last official visit to the U.S. from November 5–14, 1961, visiting Washington D.C., Rhode Island, New York City, and Los Angeles.

NEHRU'S LAST VISIT TO

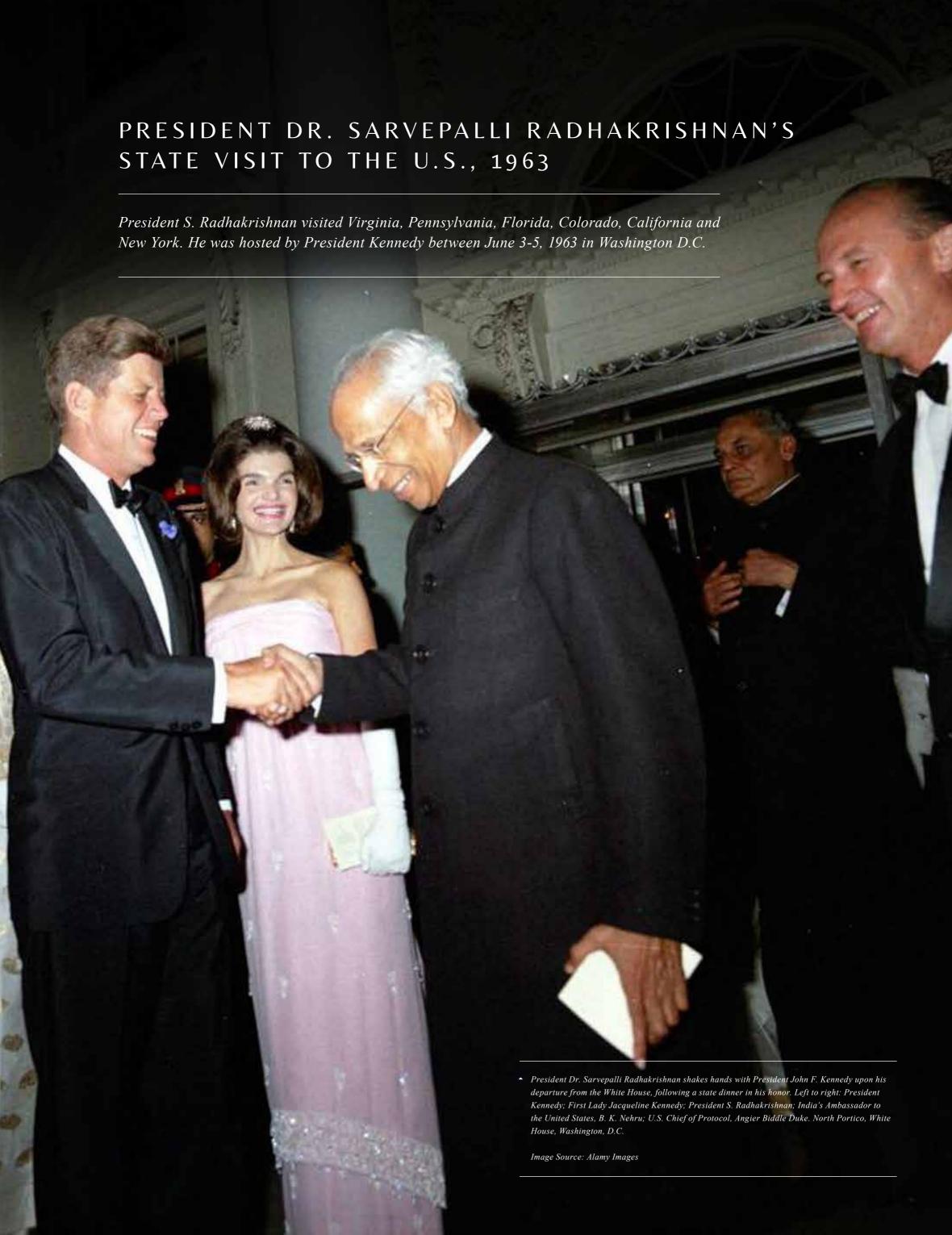
Image Source: Alamy Images

Prime Minister Nehru talks with President John F. Kennedy at the White House in Washington on November 7, 1961.

#### VICE PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON'S INDIA VISIT, 1961

Lyndon B. Johnson was the first incumbent Vice President to visit India. He was known as the consummate hugging and handshaking politician. He treated the visit as just another campaign rather than a formal diplomatic event. Then U.S. Ambassador to India, John Kenneth Galbraith, accompanied Vice President Johnson during his visit.









## PRESIDENT RICHARD M. NIXON'S STATE VISIT TO INDIA, 1969

President Richard M. Nixon visited India on July 31, 1969. Unlike his former boss, President Eisenhower, President Nixon spent less than a day in India. This trip was largely meant to reduce tensions between him and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Tensions would exacerbate two years later during the India and Pakistan war of 1971 - which led to the creation of Bangladesh. Pakistan was a Cold War ally. Washington sided with Islamabad as President Nixon prioritized his friendship with then-military dictator Yahya Khan, who was a key interlocutor in the detente between China and the U.S.

Image Source: U.S. Embassy, India

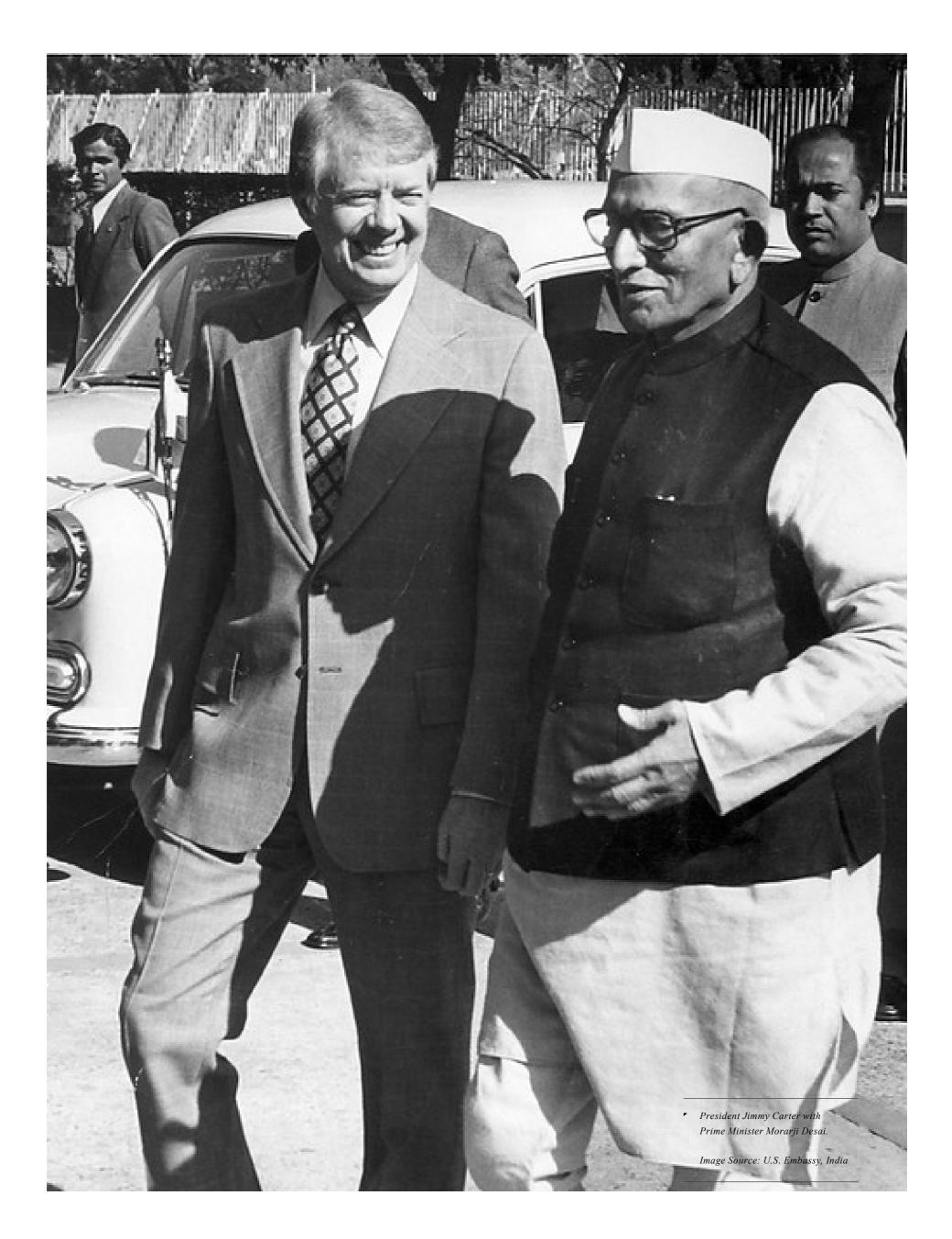
<sup>►</sup> Prime Minister Indira Gandhi greets President Richard Nixon on his visit to India, 1969

## PRIME MINISTER INDIRA GANDHI'S SECOND STATE VISIT TO THE U.S., 1971

President Nixon hosted Prime Minister Indira Gandhi at the White House, just a month before India went to war with Pakistan in 1971. U.S.-India ties were at a low as both leaders were less than fond of each other and observers described it as an atmosphere of frostiness.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi with President Nixon at the White House on November 4, 1971.





## PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER'S STATE VISIT TO INDIA, 1978

President Jimmy Carter made the third Presidential State Visit since India gained independence. President Carter's goal was to thaw tensions after the 1971 war and India's nuclear tests of 1974 and push for a reset in the tense relations. President Carter addressed the Indian Parliament and left a lasting impact on a tiny town near New Delhi, later rechristened as Carterpuri in his honor.



\* U.S. President Jimmy Carter and First Lady Rosalynn Carter with President Neelam Sanjiva Reddy's granddaughter on January 1, 1978

Image Source: U.S. Embassy, India







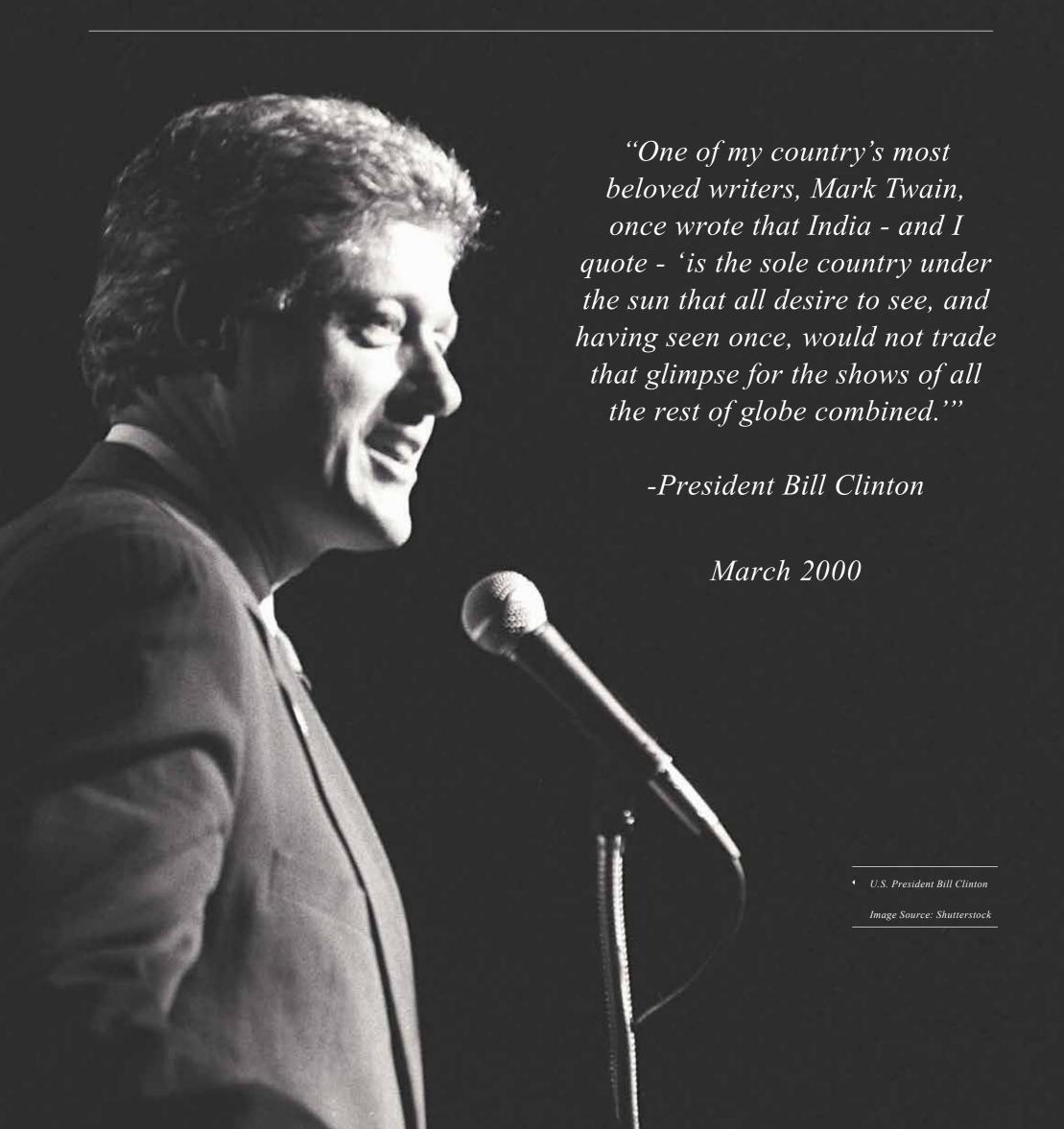
#### PRIME MINISTER RAJIV GANDHI'S VISITS TO THE U.S. IN 1985 AND 1987

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi would have two successful visits to the U.S., in 1985 and in 1987, where he met President Ronald Reagan. His first visit to the U.S. was after his mother's assassination. Prime Minister Gandhi would impress President Reagan with his youth, charisma, and emphasis on scientific and technological cooperation. This is where the U.S.-India relationship started to gradually change from aid to trade.

<sup>↑</sup> Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was received by President Ronald Reagan on his arrival at White House in Washington D.C. on June 12, 1985. Photo shows Prime Minister Gandhi replying to the welcome address.

#### FROM ESTRANGEMENT TO ENGAGEMENT

This section focuses on the post-liberalization era. Post the Cold War, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, India abandoned the License Raj system and adopted free-market economic reforms. The allure of a billion-plus Indian market saw increased American investments and closer synergy in trade, security, and energy ties. From nuclear sanctions to nuclear synergy, much of the friendship that exists today was cultivated during this era. From three State Visits in 50 years to 5 in the next two decades, including a minimum of one by all sitting Presidents, this phase showcases the evolution of the strategic partnership between the two nations.





#### PRIME MINISTER P.V. NARASIMHA RAO MEETS PRESIDENT GEORGE H.W. BUSH IN THE U.S., 1992

India had just opened its economy in 1991. Its relations with the U.S. were still in a hangover phase from the Cold War, and many in the D.C. circuit saw New Delhi as a close friend of the erstwhile Soviet Union. The next two decades would, however, transform the relationship.

Image Source: Getty Images

President Bush meeting Prime Minister
 P.V. Narasimha Rao at the sidelines of the UN Security Council summit, 1992.

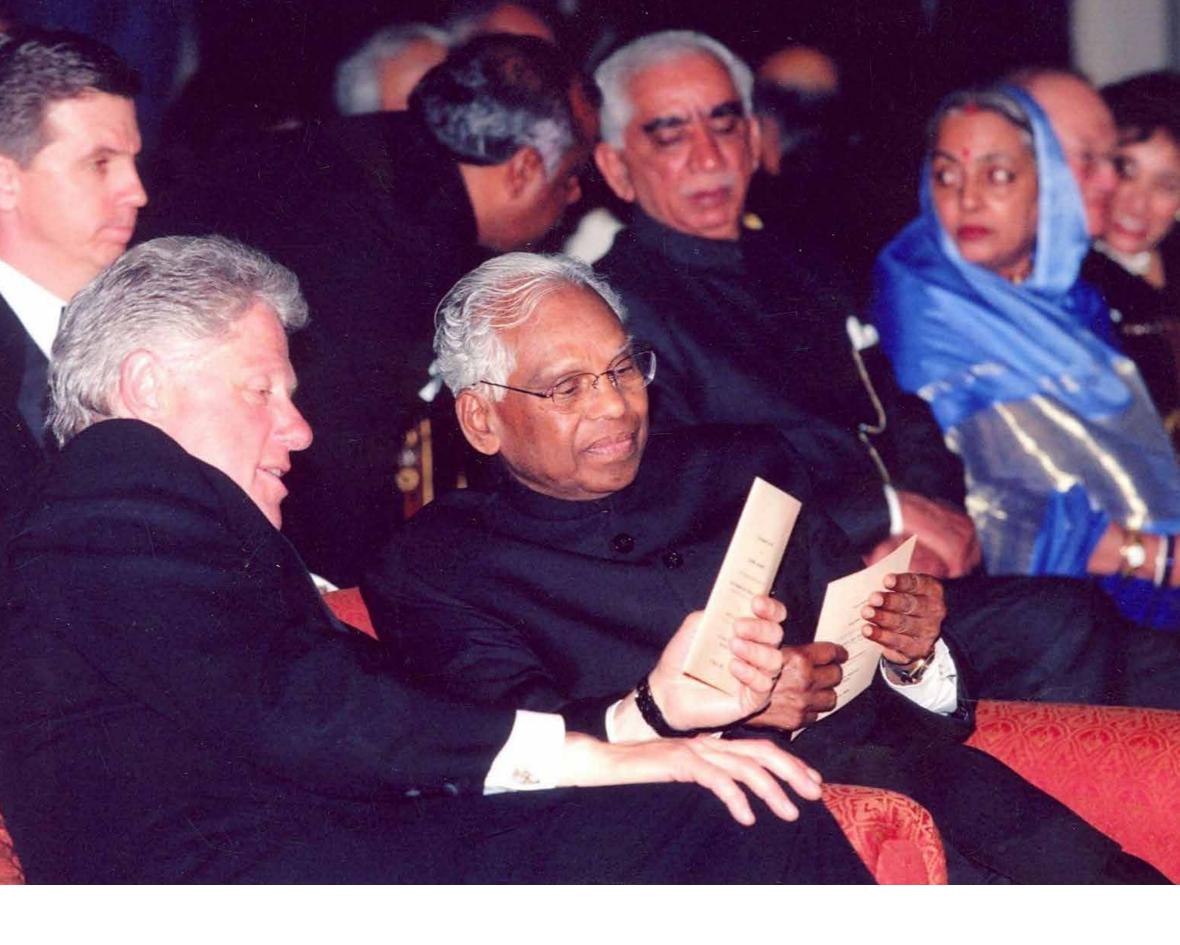


#### PRIME MINISTER I.K.GUJRAL VISITS THE U.S., 1997

Inder Kumar Gujral (I.K. Gujral) served as Prime Minister for less than a year between April 21, 1997, to March 19, 1998. In that brief period, he found time to visit New York in September 1997 and met President Bill Clinton at the U.N. General Assembly the same year.

Prime Minister I. K. Gujral meeting with President Bill Clinton in New York, 1997.





## PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON'S STATE VISIT TO INDIA, 2000

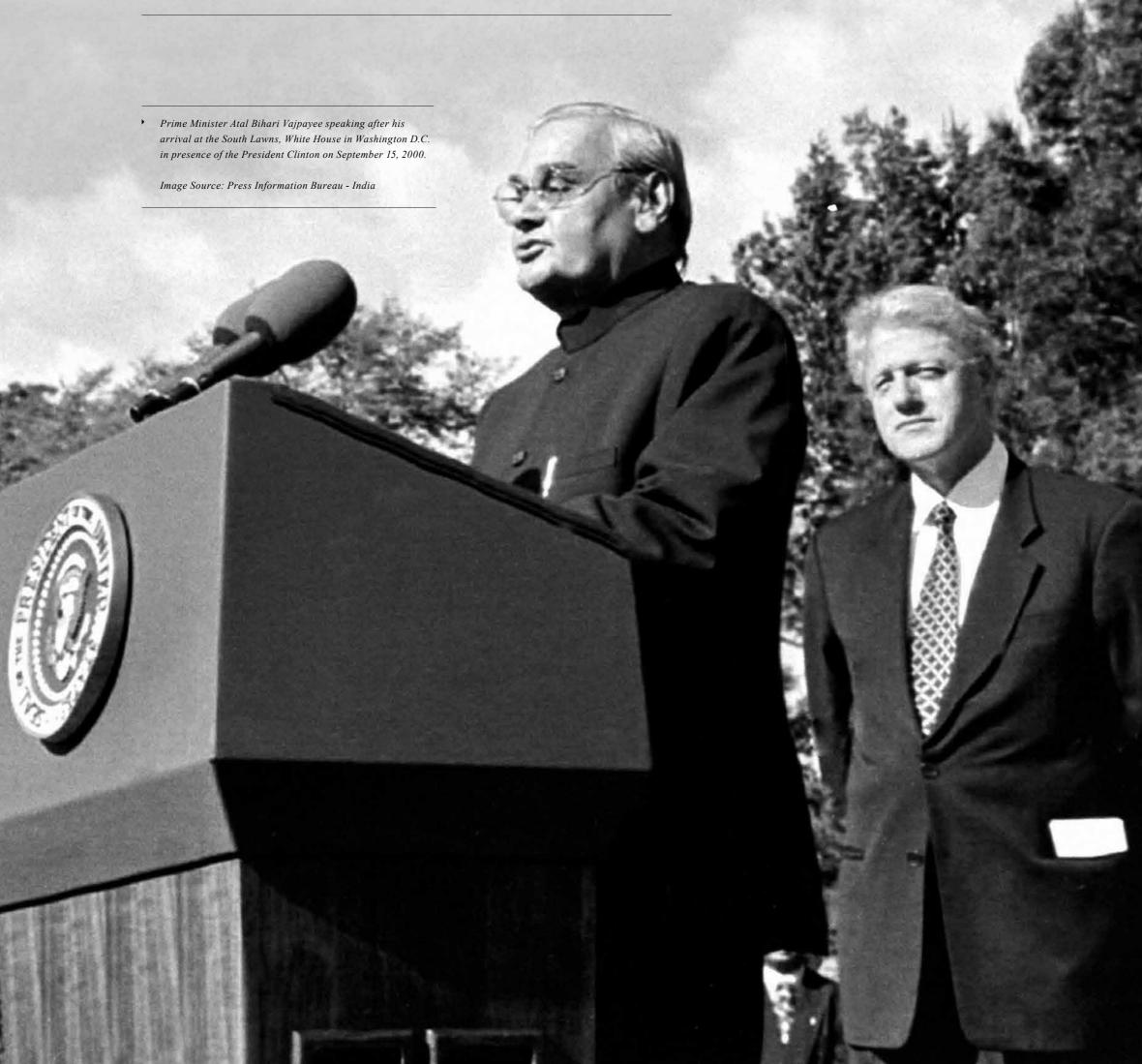
President Bill Clinton's visit in 2000 ushered in a new era in U.S. - India ties. President Clinton's India trip was the first by a U.S. President in more than 20 years (President Jimmy Carter had visited in 1978) and a landmark visit that came after a prolonged lull in the relations between the two countries. President Clinton's second term was different from his first one, which was perceived as hostile towards India as criticisms of human rights violations in Kashmir continued, and sanctions for India's Pokhran nuclear tests of 1998 set the relationship back. President Clinton visited with his daughter Chelsea, who was making her second visit to India. He visited Rajasthan, the Taj Mahal in Agra, and addressed the Parliament.

Image Source: Alamy Images

<sup>↑</sup> President K. R. Narayanan with President Bill Clinton.

#### PRIME MINISTER ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE'S FIRST STATE VISIT TO THE U.S., 2000

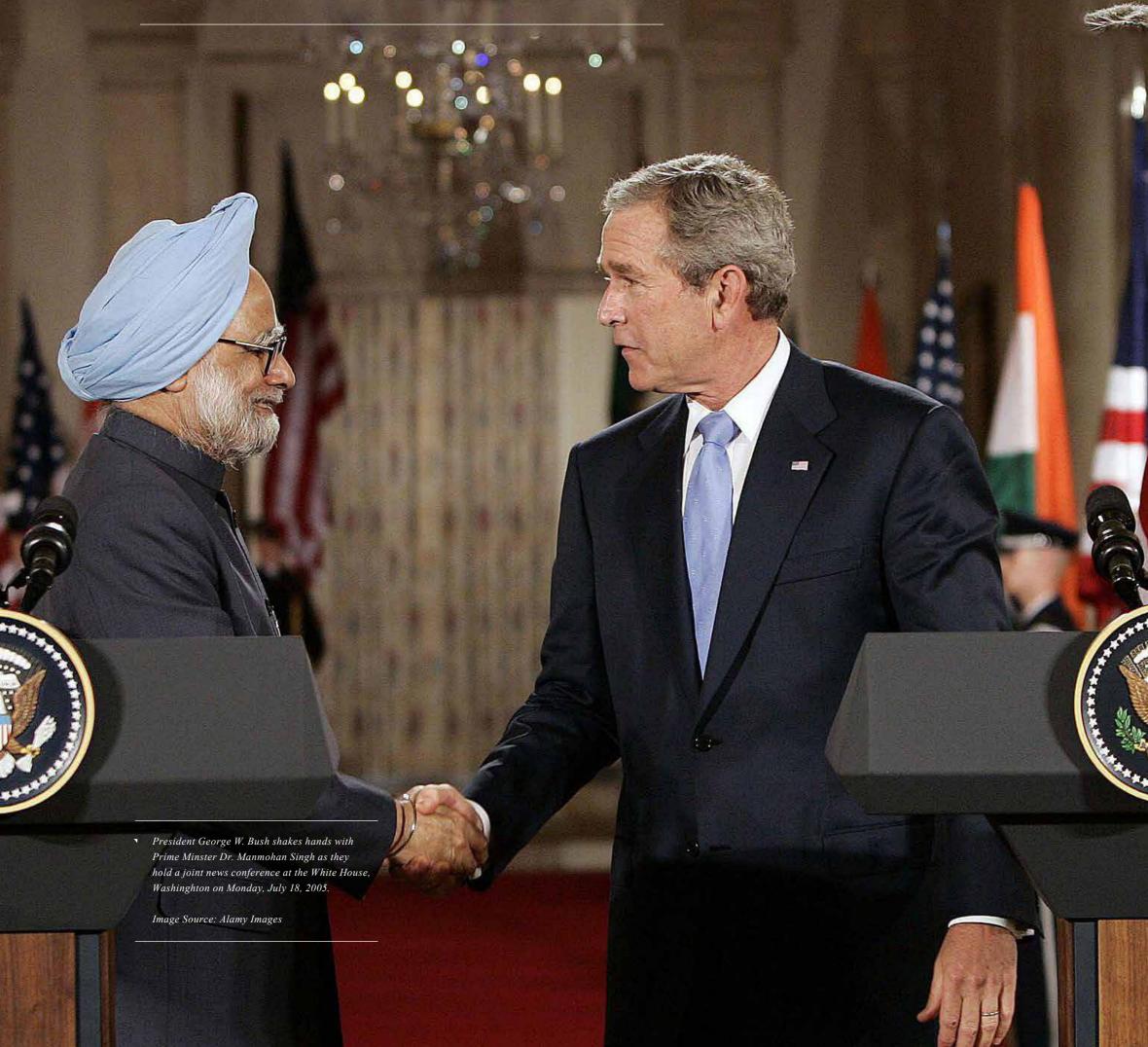
Prime Minister Vajpayee visited the U.S. on four occasions, the first being September 13, 2000, where he addressed the Joint Session of the U.S. Congress. His visit was shortly after the Kargil War and before 9/11. Following on the heels of President Clinton's previous visit, Prime Minister Vajpayee's visit cemented stronger ties in U.S.-India relations.





# PRIME MINISTER DR. MANMOHAN SINGH VISITS THE U.S., 2005

At the invitation of President George W. Bush, Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh visited the United States in July 2005. Both leaders reiterated the new relationship between New Delhi and Washington in a post 9/11 world, would promote stability, democracy, prosperity and peace throughout the world.



#### PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH VISITS INDIA, 2006

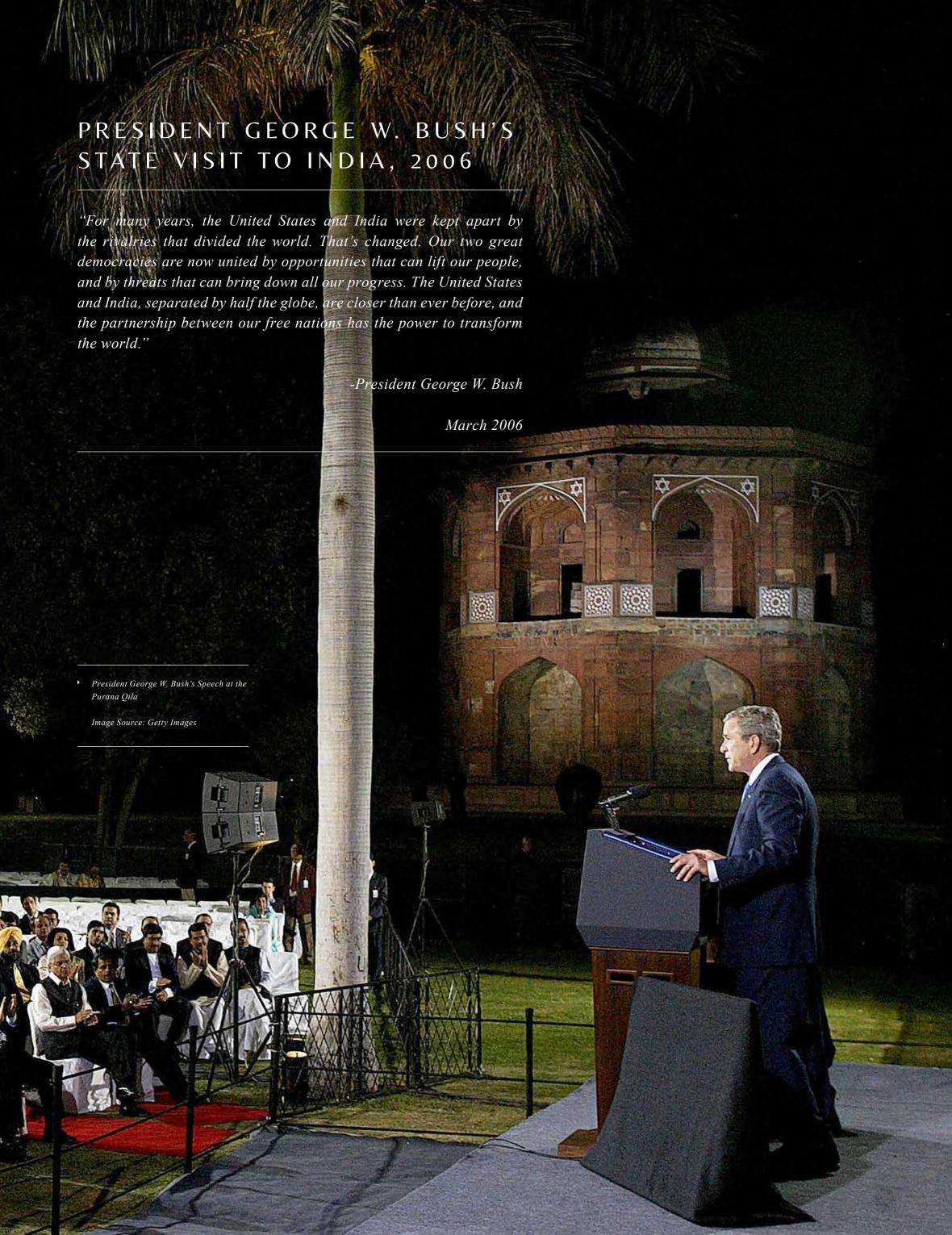
In terms of time, President George W. Bush's visit was seen as the shortest by a U.S. President after Richard Nixon's 23-hour stopover in 1969. However, it changed the contours of U.S.-India ties. From the Cold War hesitations of history and sanctions for the 1998 Pokhran tests, the agreement on civil nuclear cooperation became a watershed moment and transformed into a strategic partnership. The highlight of President George W. Bush's trip was the finalization of a landmark nuclear deal, which was agreed upon in 2005. Despite President Bush's proximity to Pakistan and military dictator General Pervez Musharraf, the U.S. & India moved closer in security and defense.



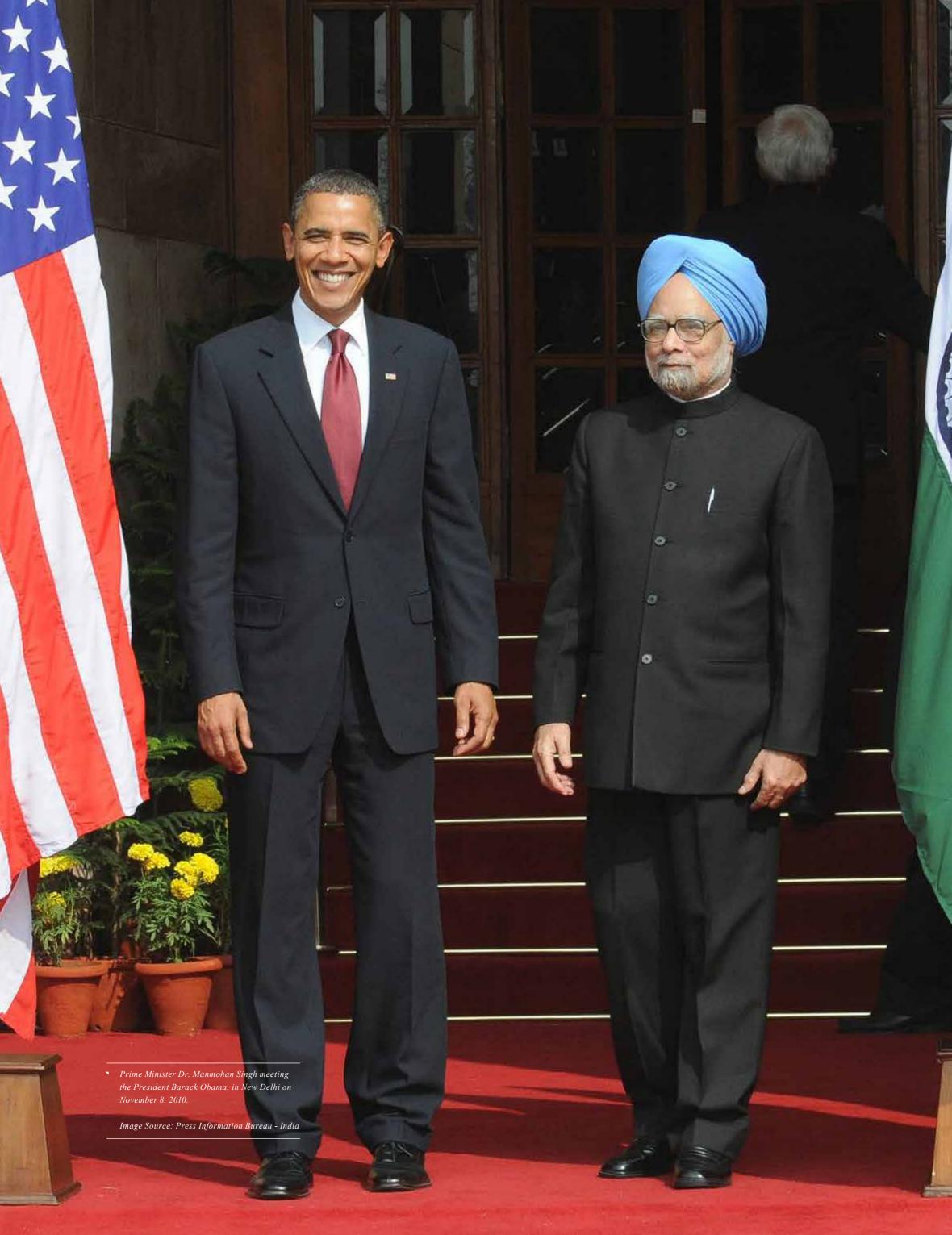
President George W. Bush and First Lady Laura Bush at the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial in Rajghat, New Delhi.

Image Source: U.S. Embassy, India





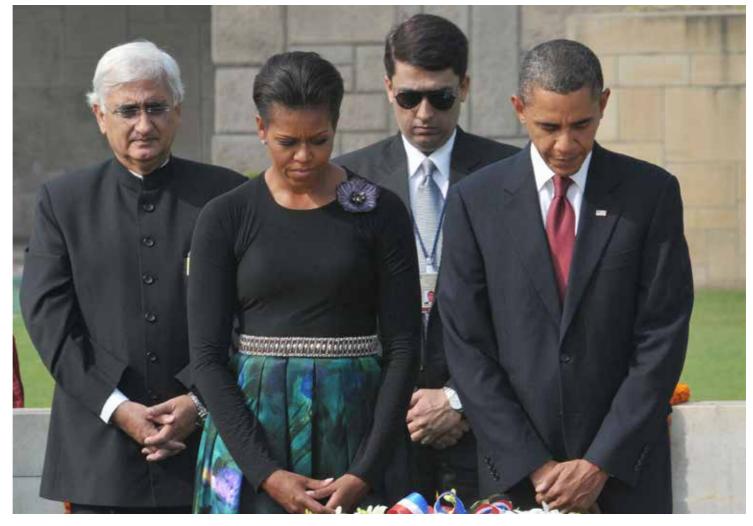




## PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA'S FIRST VISIT TO INDIA, 2010

President Barack Obama became only the second President after President Nixon to visit India in his first term in office and the fourth President to address the Parliament. In his speech, he described the U.S.-India relationship as "a defining partnership of the 21st century" and backed New Delhi's quest for permanent membership in the UN Security Council. President Obama would later become the first sitting U.S. President to visit India twice during his tenure.





↑ President Barack Obama along with First Lady Michelle Obama at the memorial to Mahatma Gandhi, November 8, 2010.

Image Source: Press Information Bureau - India

↑ President Barack Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama enjoying a cultural program to celebrate Diwali - conducted by the students of Holy Name High School - in Mumbai on November 7, 2010.





President Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama visited India in January 2015. This was the first time Prime Minister Narendra Modi had received an American President since being sworn in 2014. President Obama was hosted at an "Abide with Me" State Dinner. He was given a Guard of Honor at the Rashtrapati Bhavan and was the Chief Guest at India's Republic Day parade. President Obama and Prime Minister Modi formed a personal rapport when President Obama revealed he was touched by Prime Minister Modi's childhood story - from selling tea to now leading the world's largest democracy. President Obama became the only sitting U.S. President to visit India twice.



## PRIME MINISTER NARENDRA MODI'S STATE VISIT TO THE U.S., 2016

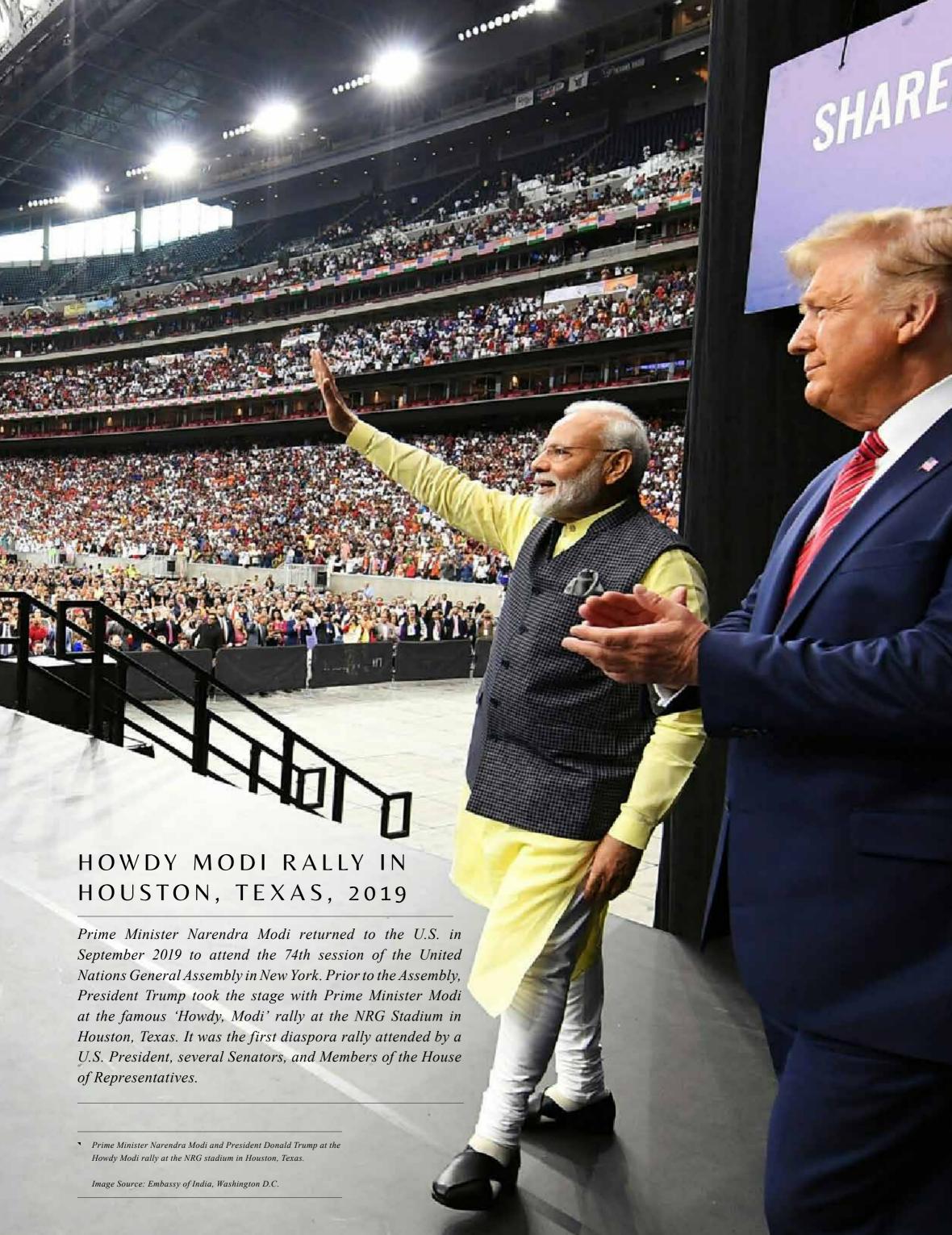
Prime Minister Modi had a final bilateral meeting with President Obama in 2016. This was one of his two visits in 2016. The first one was in March 2016, and the second one was in June 2016, when he addressed a Joint Meeting of the U.S. Congress. Prime Minister Modi also became the 5<sup>th</sup> Indian Prime Minister to address the United States Congress.

 Prime Minister Narendra Modi and President Barack Obama

Image Source: Alamy Images









## INAUGURAL IN-PERSON QUAD SUMMIT IN WASHINGTON D.C., 2021

Prime Minister Narendra Modi made his sixth visit to the U.S. in 2021. He had the first bilateral meeting with newly elected U.S. President Joe Biden on the sidelines of the Quad Summit in Washington D.C. President Biden hosted Prime Minister Modi in the Oval Office, where they reiterated their vision for the U.S.-India partnership over the next decade. Prime Minister Modi also met with Vice President Kamala Harris (the first female Vice President who is of half-Indian origin), Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison and Japanese Prime Minister Yoshihide Suga at the sidelines of Quad.



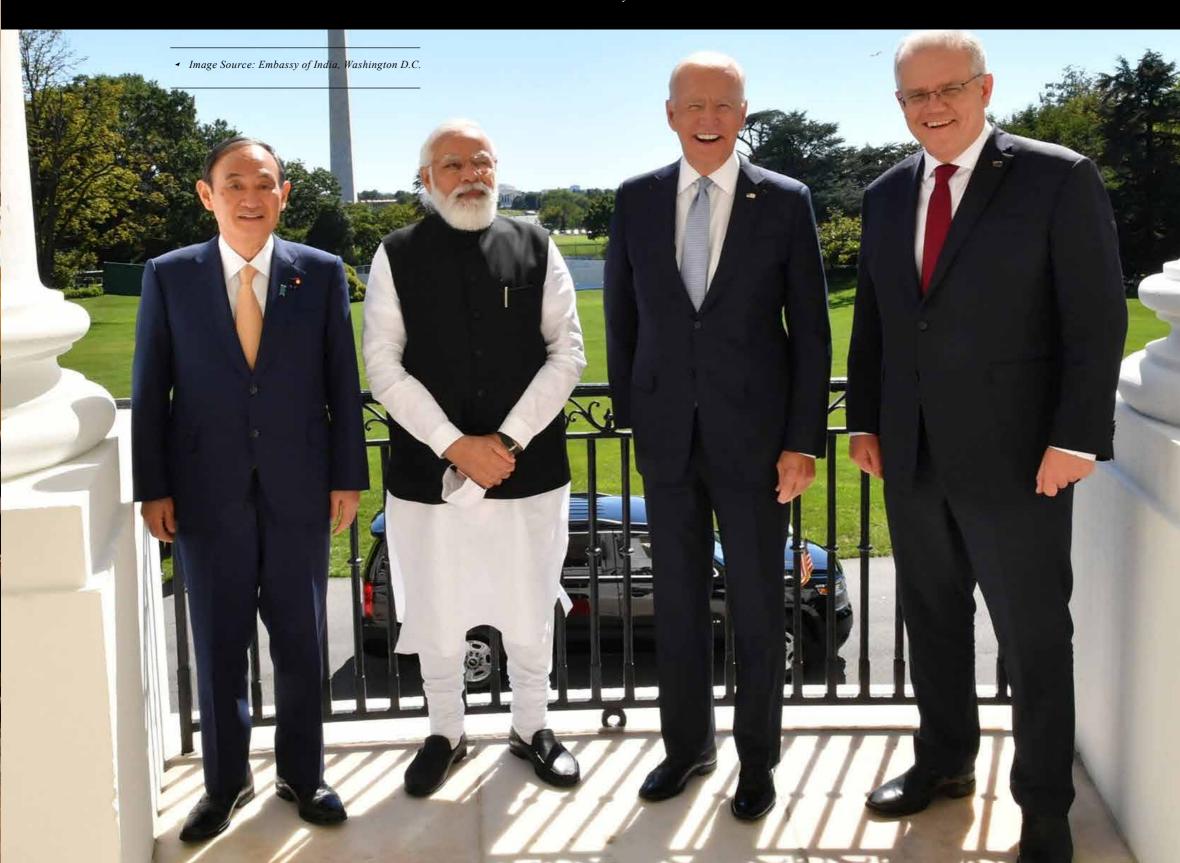
#### FIRST QUAD LEADERS IN-PERSON MEETING IN WASHINGTON D.C. SEPTEMBER 2021

#### HARSH VARDHAN SHRINGLA

G20 CHIEF COORDINATOR, MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
FORMER FOREIGN SECRETARY OF INDIA, 2020-2022 AMBASSADOR
OF INDIA TO THE UNITED STATES, 2019 - 2020

"India-U.S. ties have emerged as one of the most defining partnerships in recent years. I have personally witnessed the spectacular growth in our cooperation cutting across key sectors such as trade and investment, healthcare, critical technologies, clean energy, defense and security, education and innovation and people-to-people ties. As two pluralistic vibrant democracies with shared values, we are natural partners of choice and working together on global issues in forging a peaceful and prosperous 21st-century."

July 2022



## PRIME MINISTER NARENDRA MODI AND PRESIDENT JOE BIDEN VIRTUAL MEET IN WASHINGTON D.C., 2022



President Biden and Prime Minister Narendra Modi had a virtual meeting with their foreign and defense deputies present. This served as a harbinger of a fruitful '2+2' dialogue between both countries.

During their virtual meeting, both President Biden and Prime Minister Modi expressed grave concern for the crisis in Ukraine and the humanitarian emergencies that had ensued.

Both leaders reiterated their shared democratic values sacrosanct to the strength and evolution of the partnership

and touched on shared synergies and convergences on trade, energy, and security ties. Prime Minister Modi emphasized India's evacuation efforts and condemned the loss of civilian life in the town of Bucha in Ukraine.

Emphasizing diplomacy and dialogue as the way forward, both leaders touched on the global food shortages arising out of the prolonged conflict in Ukraine. The underlying theme of the Biden-Modi virtual meet was that "democracies can deliver" in solving pressing problems in climate, security, and healthcare.

Image Source: Alamy Images

President Biden and Prime Minister Modi hold a virtual meeting before the fourth edition of the '2+2' talks in Washington D.C.

### DR. HENRY KISSINGER

FORMER U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE, 1973-1977
FORMER U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR, 1969-1975

"Over the last 75 years, the relationship between the United States and India has developed into a vital, multi-dimensional partnership. Since the days of Indira Gandhi, I have witnessed the keen and nuanced perception of the national interest and of world order that characterizes the activities of Indian strategists and diplomats. Over the decades, this has increasingly evolved as compatible with parallel perceptions in the U.S. India is perceived as an important and farsighted interlocutor. At the same time, our two peoples have grown ever closer and more intertwined. Continuing to deepen our friendship over the next century will benefit both nations and the world."

### JOHN T. CHAMBERS

FOUNDER & CEO, JC2 VENTURES,

FORMER EXECUTIVE CHAIRMAN AND CEO, CISCO SYSTEMS

CHAIRMAN, US-INDIA STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP FORUM

"Throughout my career in Silicon Valley, and especially as a big believer and investor in startups, I've often been asked to spot winners early on. I can confidently say that when it comes to picking a winning economy in Asia, I would bet on India – in fact, if I had to bet on two countries in Asia, I would bet on India twice. India's rapid economic evolution has not only benefited millions of citizens, but it has brought the U.S. and India closer together as partners. Synergy across the tech sector has highlighted both our nations' strengths, with India's robust tech talent and government-led digital policies, and the U.S. with the most sophisticated tech economy and home to the largest Fortune 100 companies in the world. Our shared goals and areas of strength to build a Digital Startup World are the mark of the symbiotic relationship between India and the U.S. This country-to-country partnership truly has the power to become the strongest and most strategic in the world."

### AID TO TRADE

International relations scholars have claimed that Washington's bilateral relations with various economies are focused on aid, but when bilateral relations are strengthened, the conversation moves to trade. This chapter explores India's economic ties with the U.S. and how bilateral relations have moved from PL 480 food subsidies to exploring early harvest deals.

#### ANAND MAHINDRA

CHAIRMAN MAHINDRA GROUP

"It is difficult to imagine a stable and peaceful world order without a deep and strategic engagement, at many levels, between India and the USA. At a political level, they are both bastions of democracy, standing firm in a shifting world. In trade and commerce, they bring complementary strengths to the table. The U.S. is a role model for resilience and ease of doing business; the Indian concept of trusteeship of wealth is increasingly translating into purpose-led capitalism in the U.S. and elsewhere. At the person-to-person level, there is an enormous reservoir of goodwill between India and the U.S., which can make the world a kinder, gentler place".

#### INDRA NOOYI

#### FORMER CHAIRMAN AND CEO, PEPSICO

AUTHOR, MY LIFE IN FULL: WORK, FAMILY, AND OUR FUTURE

"I remember it like it was yesterday. One Tuesday in November 2009, after hours of meetings in Washington, DC, with two dozen top U.S. and Indian business executives, I found myself standing between the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of India. Barack Obama and Manmohan Singh had entered the room for an update on our group's progress, and President Obama began introducing the American team to his Indian counterpart. When he got to me-Indra Nooyi, then CEO of PepsiCo-Prime Minister Singh exclaimed, "Oh! But she is one of us!" And the President, with a big smile and without missing a beat, responded, "Ah, but she is one of us, too!"

"I open my memoir, My Life in Full: Work, Family, and Our Future, with this vignette because it so beautifully captures a duality that has defined much of my life — and many of yours too. We belong to both of these worlds... to two great countries that have given us far more than we might have ever dreamed. The past 75 years serve as a testament to what all is possible when the world's oldest democracy and the world's largest democracy come together. I look forward to seeing the bond between the U.S. and India flourish further in the decades to come".

### KENNETH I. JUSTER

U.S. AMBASSADOR TO INDIA, 2017-2021

U.S. UNDER SECRETARY OF COMMERCE FOR

INDUSTRY AND SECURITY, 2001-2005

"Over the past 22 years, the United States and India have steadily widened and deepened our partnership to cover almost every area of human endeavor.

I believe that this relationship is as consequential as any in international affairs -- both in the opportunities we have and in our potential impact on the Indo-Pacific region and beyond. Let us seize the moment and build a partnership that is strong and durable."

## U.S.-INDIA COMMERCIAL RELATIONS

The earliest U.S.-India bilateral relations relied heavily on aid. The U.S.- India synergy now is pervasive across various areas from security, energy, environment to education. For an emerging and developing market such as India, American investments have been vital to its economic growth and job creation.





## INDIA'S ECONOMIC REFORMS OF 1991

India was essentially a closed economy under the "License Raj" system, which saw centralized control on imports and investments. This stifled economic growth, thus precluding foreign investments. India's large state-controlled industrial sector supplied the bulk of the domestic demand. The Union Minister for Industries, George Fernandes (later Defence Minister) had then asked American companies like Coca-Cola and IBM to leave the country.

While independent India is a 75-year story, India's economic independence has seen little over three decades. The country was reeling from a balance of payment crisis after nearly four decades of a Soviet-style closed socialist economy. A seminal moment as India began opening the economy to trade and foreign investment after reforms introduced by Finance Minister Manmohan Singh under the aegis of Prime Minister Narasimha Rao. These reforms essentially liberalized India's economy, enhanced privatization, prepared India for a globalized world, and paved the way for American investments.

## NAVTEJ SARNA

AMBASSADOR OF INDIA TO THE UNITED STATES, 2016 -2018

"The field of science and hi-tech embodies the genius of India and the United States: together our scientists, doctors and engineers have blazed a spectacular trail in stretching the frontiers of knowledge for Mankind. This partnership, which covers education, space, health, agriculture and many other areas of innovative cutting-edge technology, will continue to produce public goods with far-reaching societal impact and better the lives of not only the people of India and America, but of the entire world."

July 2022

Image Source: Getty Images

Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao and Finance Minister (later Prime Minister) Manmohan Singh are seen as the architects of the reforms.



## INDIA-U.S. CEO FORUM, 2005

The India-U.S. CEO Forum was created in July 2005, and reconstituted in November 2009. An initiative by the Department of Commerce, this platform is a public-private effort to enhance bilateral trade and investment between the two robust democracies.

#### DAVID M. COTE

EXECUTIVE CHAIRMAN VERTIV,

FORMER CHAIRMAN & CEO HONEYWELL AND FORMER
U.S. CHAIR OF THE U.S.-INDIA CEO FORUM

"U.S.-India are destined to work together to help build a better world. The opportunities are great. It was an honor for me to be appointed by President Obama to Chair the U.S. Team of the U.S.-India CEO Forum to further that goal. As the CEO of Honeywell for many years, India was a wonderful growth engine for us. I sincerely hope the opportunity for our two countries to grow and work together becomes a cornerstone of economic and foreign policy".



# U.S.-INDIA STRATEGIC AND COMMERCIAL DIALOGUE (S&CD), 2005 ONWARDS

The U.S.-India Strategic Dialogue has been the primary forum to advance shared objectives in regional security, economic cooperation, defense, trade, and climate challenges since 2009. In January 2015, during President Obama's visit to India, both he and Prime Minister Modi elevated the U.S.-India Strategic Dialogue to the Strategic and Commercial Dialogue, reflecting the countries' shared priorities of economic growth, creating jobs, improving the investment climate, and strengthening the middle class.

## N. CHANDRASEKARAN

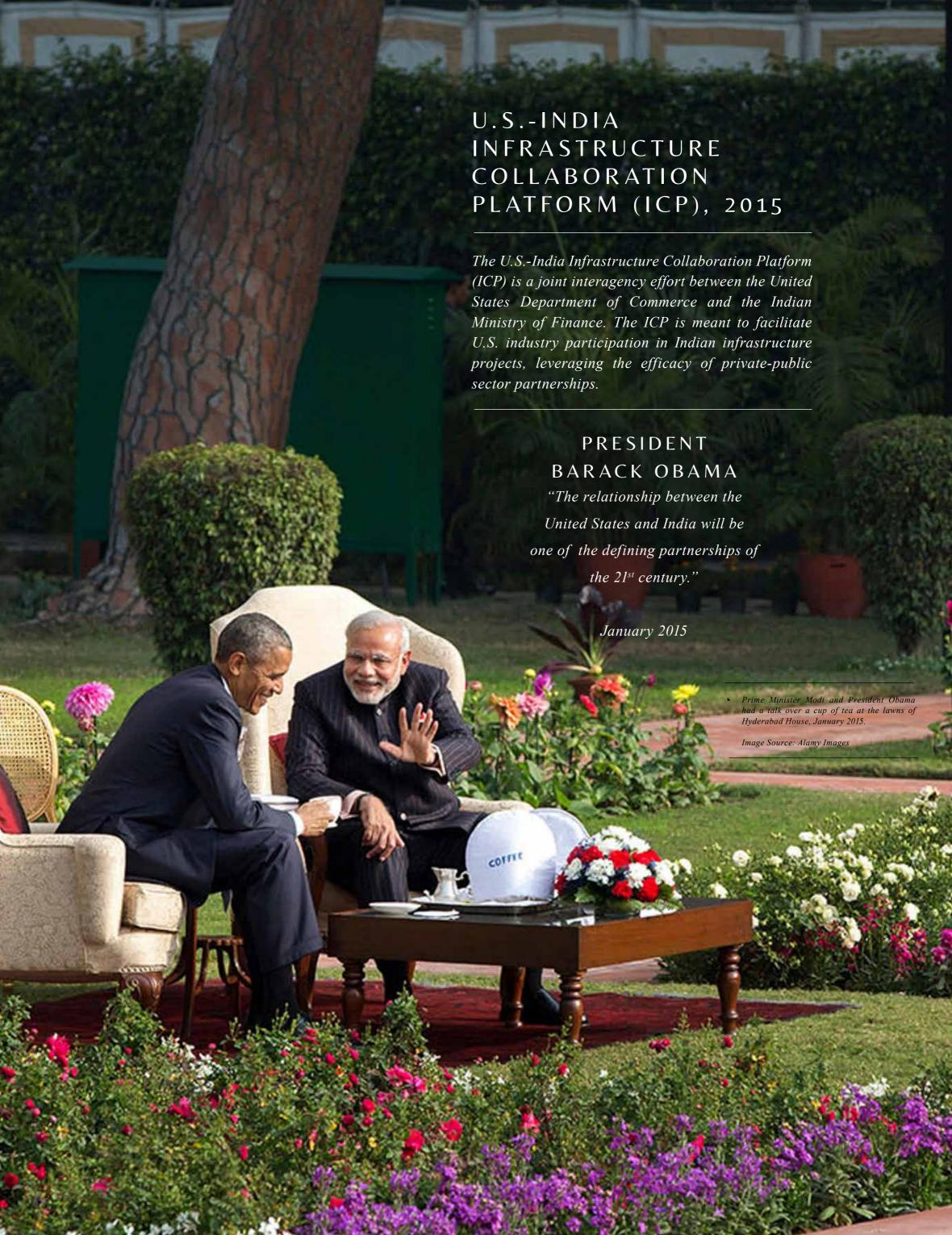
Chairman, Tata Sons

"The U.S. and India's relationship is ready to scale new heights. The deep ties between our people drive new frontiers in business, innovation and research. Advances in AI and data, the rebalancing of global supply chains and the transition to planet-resilient businesses provide huge opportunities for both countries to work together and shape a global model that advances prosperity, security and sustainable development."

July 2022

Image Source: Alamy Images

<sup>\*</sup> U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry and Indian Minister of External Affairs Sushma Swaraj .





## PRIME MINISTER NARENDRA MODI VISITS SILICON VALLEY, CALIFORNIA, 2015

In 2015, Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited the West Coast. His trip to Silicon Valley is the first by an Indian Prime Minister in more than three decades.

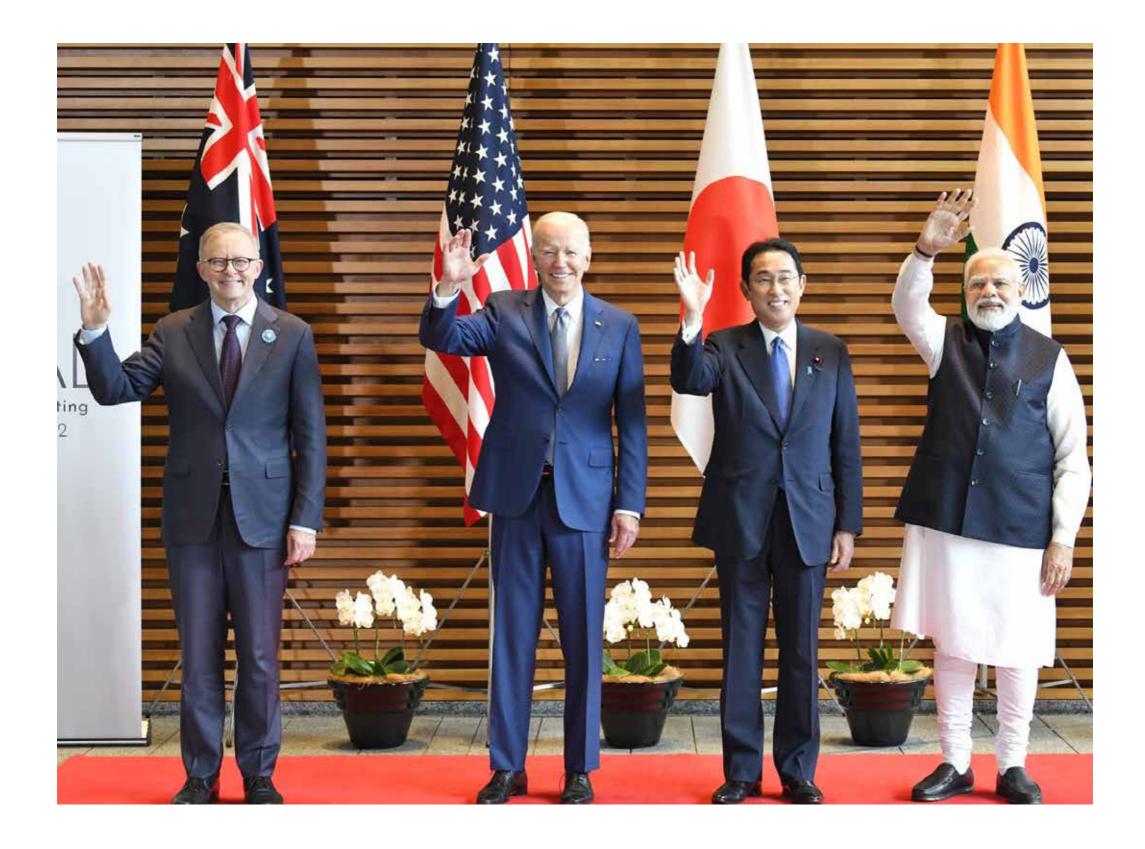
Image Source: Embassy of India, Washington D.C.

#### ARVIND PANAGARIYA

PROFESSOR, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK
FORMER VICE CHAIRMAN, NITI AAYOG, NEW DELHI

"As medical doctors serving across the length and breadth of the United States, faculty members in every academic discipline in the leading U.S. universities, CEOs of the top corporations in every sector of the U.S. economy and Silicon Valley entrepreneurs, Indian diaspora have been the face of India in the United States. They are the bridge connecting the world's largest democracy with the oldest".

Prime Minister Modi at the Digital India Dinner in San Jose. September 26, 2015



## INDO-PACIFIC ECONOMIC FRAMEWORK (IPEF), 2022

The United States and India envision an Indo-Pacific Economic Corridor that can bridge South and Southeast Asia at the nexus of the Indian and Pacific Oceans. In May 2022, President Biden, during his visit to Japan, launched the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework for Prosperity, (IPEF), in partnership with dozen other nations. The idea is to create a strong economic framework for the Indo-Pacific region focusing on physical infrastructure, increased trade, and promoting human and digital connectivity in the region.

Image Source: Embassy of India, Washington D.C.

The four Quad Leaders at the second in-person Quad Summit in Tokyo, Japan in May 2022 featuring Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida, U.S. President Joe Biden and Australian Prime Minister Antony Albanese.



## INDIA-U.S. TRADE POLICY FORUM, 2021

The United States and India have set up forums such as the Trade Policy Forum, (TPF), to engage on a wide range of policy issues impacting bilateral trade and investment. In November 2021, the U.S. and India restarted the TPF after a hiatus of four years to address specific issues pertaining to trade.

Image Source: U.S. Embassy, India

<sup>↑</sup> Twelfth Ministerial-level meeting of the India-United States Trade Policy Forum (TPF) in New Delhi on November 23, 2021.

#### ROBERT D. BLACKWILL

U.S. AMBASSADOR TO INDIA, 2001-2003

"The United States and India have together crucially strengthened the balance of power in Asia during the first two decades of this century. As partners, they also stoutly defend democratic values, the rule of law, respect for human rights, and the sovereign equality of states. They make the planet safer."

July 2022

#### KANWAL SIBAL

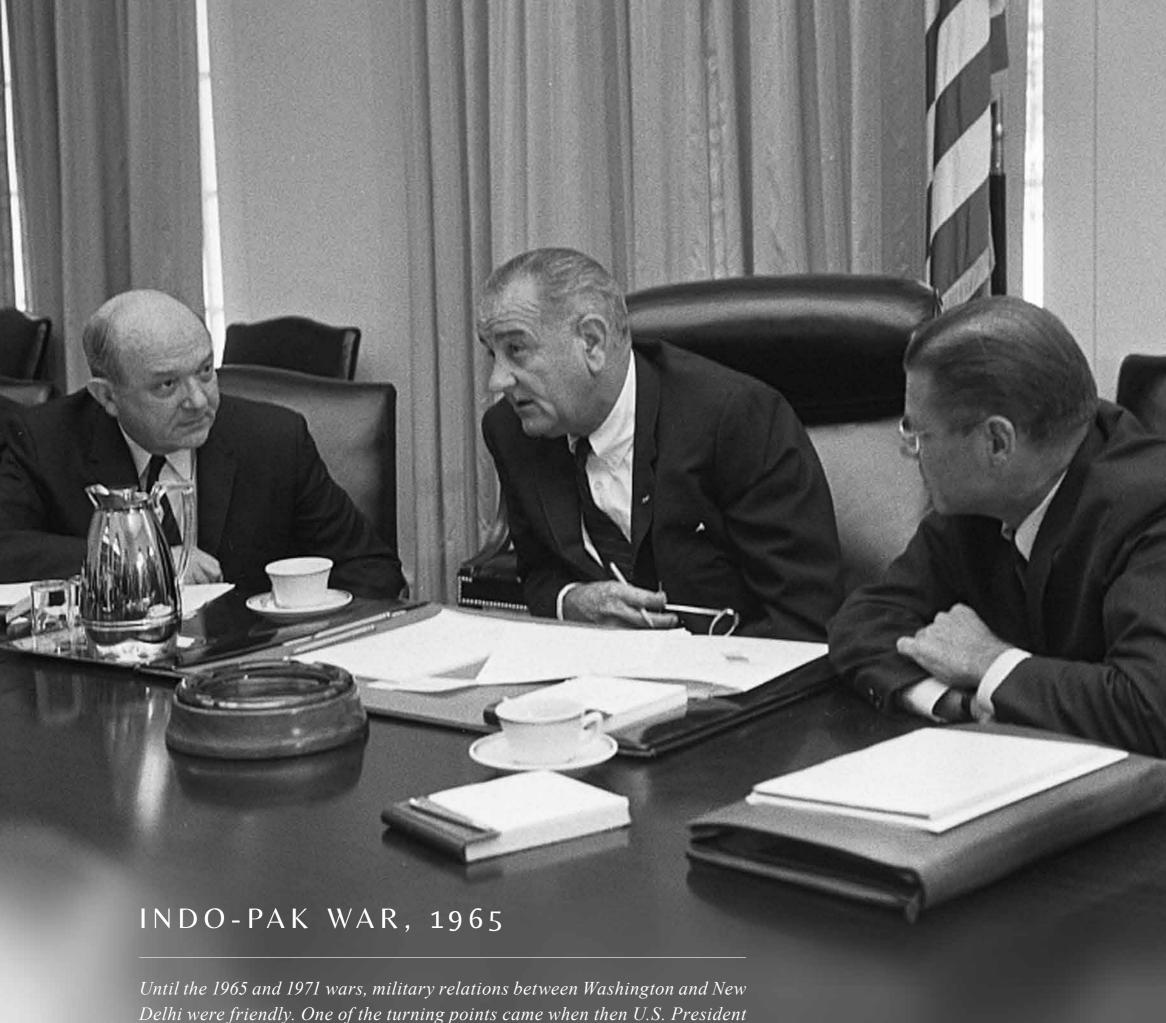
FORMER FOREIGN SECRETARY OF INDIA, 2001-2002

"India's wide-ranging ties with the U.S. beyond serving their bilateral interests which have to be managed in a changing global environment contribute significantly to global stability, especially in the Indo-Pacific region where both countries face rising challenges. India and the U.S. will be major pillars of an evolving rules based and reformed democratic international order."

#### UNITED WE STAND

The commercial and strategic partnership with the United States is robust. Washington and New Delhi share strategic concerns about belligerent forces in the Indo-Pacific region. Defense cooperation has been sacrosanct to the India-U.S. strategic partnership in the last decade. India and the United States have consolidated their defense partnership from nuclear sanctions after the Pokhran tests of 1998 to nuclear synergy with the Civil Nuclear Deal in 2005. This chapter seeks to highlight how India and the United States went from virtually near-zero in 2008 to USD 20 billion in investments in 2020 (according to the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs of the U.S. State Department).





Until the 1965 and 1971 wars, military relations between Washington and New Delhi were friendly. One of the turning points came when then U.S. President Lyndon Johnson's government did little to prevent the escalating conflict between India and Pakistan, that later became a 21-day war in September. President Johnson even chaired a special meeting to discuss the crisis in the subcontinent, but his advisors instructed him to "sit it out."

Image Source: U.S. Embassy, India

President Johnson with Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Secretary of Defense Robert Mc Namara discussing the possible Chinese threat, following the 1965 invasion of Kashmir by Pakistan.



### INDIA GOES NUCLEAR, 1974

Three years after the 1971 war, India under Prime Minister Indira Gandhi conducted nuclear tests code named 'Operation Smiling Buddha', in the Pokhran firing range in Rajasthan. An illustration showing frontpage headlines reacting to India's nuclear tests.

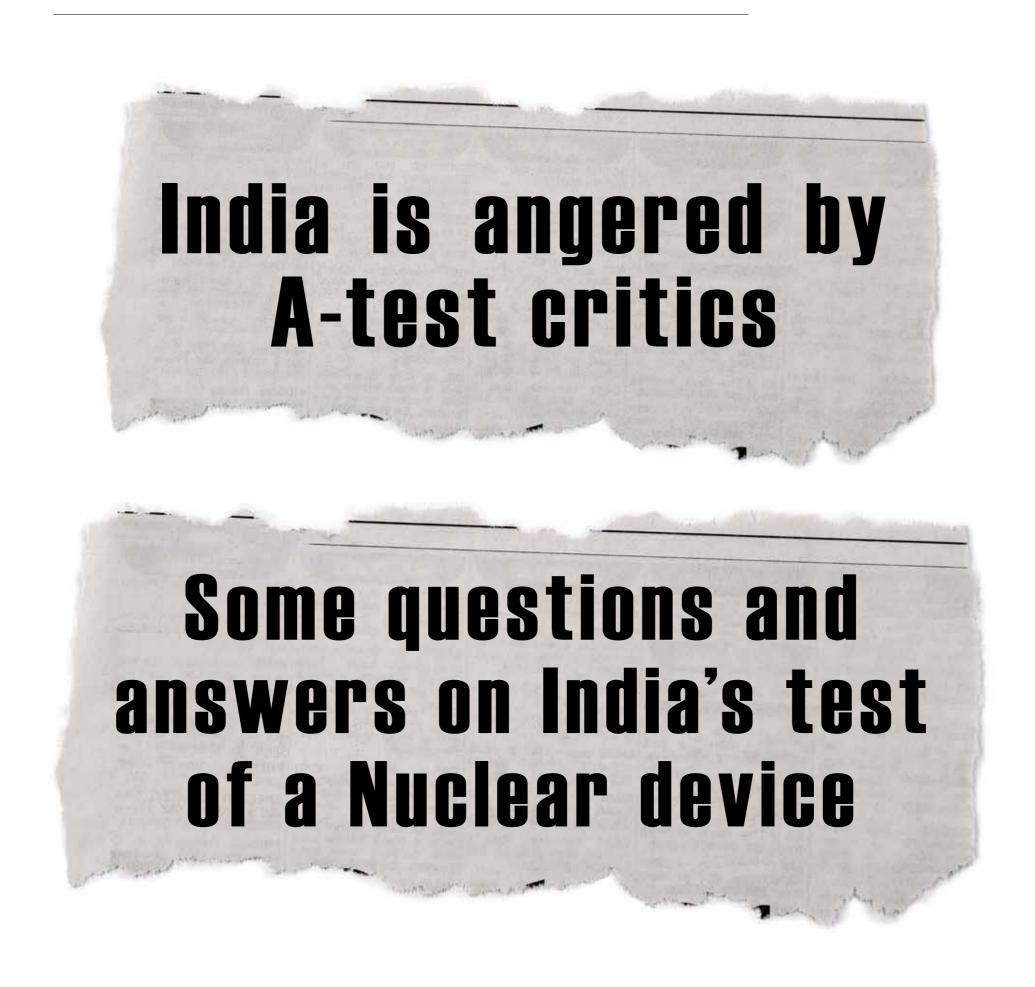


Image Source: Headline sourced from the NY Times Archive



## U.S. ENACTS NON-PROLIFERATION ACT, 1978

The Carter administration enacted the Nuclear Non-proliferation Act in 1978. This required countries not included in the Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT), including India, to allow inspections of all nuclear facilities by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). India was unwilling, and Washington ended all nuclear assistance to New Delhi.

"This legislation takes a major step forward in clarifying our own Nation's policy. I think it would be a much more predictable factor in the decisions made by foreign nations."

President
Jimmy Carter

March 1978

Image Source: Getty Images

President Jimmy Carter signs the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act, 1978 on March 10.



## INDIA NOW A NUCLEAR STATE, 1998

The BJP-led NDA government under Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee announced the successful completion of a series of underground nuclear tests. This took U.S. intelligence by surprise and raised fears of escalating conflict between India and Pakistan, as Islamabad (not nuclear then), was in the process of developing nuclear capabilities. The tests drew international ire, Washington recalled its Ambassador in New Delhi, and President Bill Clinton imposed economic sanctions.

Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee visits Pokhran.

Image Source: Press Information Bureau - India

## THAWING OF RELATIONS, A NEW BEGINNING, 2001

If the first fifty years of the U.S.-India defense relationship were seen as lukewarm and estranged, the next two decades would see an immediate thawing and a rapidly burgeoning defense partnership. Under the new Bush administration, U.S.-India relations developed at a pace that few could have foreseen. At the start of the new millennium, in 2001, the U.S. arms embargo on India ended. The post 9/11 world saw India as a key partner on the War on Terror. On September 22, 2001, President George W. Bush waived all nuclear-related sanctions on India.



## PRIME MINISTER MANMOHAN SINGH'S VISIT TO NEW YORK, 2004

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Mrs. Gursharan Kaur paying homage to the victims of September 11, 2001 attack at Ground Zero, in New York in 2004.

Image Source: Embassy of India, Washington D.C.





## U.S. AND INDIA SIGN NEW DEFENSE FRAMEWORK, 2005

The United States and India signed the New Framework for the U.S.-India Defense Relationship which set priorities for defense cooperation in maritime security, humanitarian assistance or disaster relief, and counterterrorism. The two countries would begin conducted naval air and land exercises.

Image Source: Embassy of India, Washington D.C.

### ASHLEY J. TELLIS

SENIOR FELLOW, CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT
FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

FORMER SENIOR ADVISOR TO U.S. AMBASSADOR

TO INDIA, ROBERT BLACKWILL FROM 2000-2002

"Given their checkered history, it is hard to believe that defense cooperation today leads the continuing transformation of U.S.-Indian relations. Yet here we are—facing unparalleled promise because the turbulence in global politics cannot be quelled without the oldest and largest democracies combining their strength in service of the common good."

Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld shakes hands with Defence Minister Pranab Mukherjee.



## LANDMARK CIVIL NUCLEAR DEAL DRAFTED, 2005

2005 was an inflection point in the relationship, which saw the change in the partnership from diplomatic bonhomie to a truly strategic partnership. That year, India and the United States framed the Landmark Civil Nuclear Deal. India went from nuclear sanctions imposed on it to nuclear synergy with the U.S. In March 2006, President Bush made a visit to India, where he and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh finalized the framework of the civil nuclear deal. It was later completed in July 2007, making India the only country outside the Non-Proliferation Treaty that has nuclear capabilities and is allowed to participate in nuclear commerce. The deal was inked in 2008.

#### SHYAM SARAN

FORMER FOREIGN SECRETARY OF INDIA, 2004-2006

"In a world of mounting unpredictability's and rapid change, the India-U.S. partnership remains a stable and reassuring anchor. It enables the two vibrant democracies to make the future safe for democracy and provide a safe haven for the human spirit. We are still in the early phase of an exciting journey and the best is yet to come."



## THE NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS GROUP, 2008

The Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), an Intergovernmental body that sets guidelines for nuclear exports, allowed an exemption that permitted India to engage in nuclear trade for the first time in three decades. The waiver was approved following intense diplomatic efforts by the Bush administration, dating back to 2005.

Image Source: Embassy of India, Washington D.C.

#### RONEN SEN

AMBASSADOR OF INDIA TO THE UNITED STATES, 2004-2009

"We achieved a lot in those five years. The historic civil nuclear deal and the pioneering long-term defence framework stood out. However, our most wideranging and forward-looking bilateral engagement included several other initiatives in agriculture, business, education, energy, science & technology, trade & investments-U.S. exports doubled; trade imbalance almost halved-, air connectivity increased from zero to five non-stop daily flights...."

Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee shake hands at the State Department in Washington, D.C.

## U.S. DEFENSE COMPANIES INCREASE INVESTMENTS IN INDIA, 2009

The American companies Lockheed Martin and Boeing gradually increased sales to India. Deals such as six C-130J transport aircraft and a USD 2.1 billion deal for eight high-tech P-8 ASW aircraft have been signed. President Barack Obama's administration had cleared over USD 2 billion in sales to India of eight Boeing P-8I maritime patrol aircraft - the largest U.S. arms transfer to India to date.



## THE MILITARY MOMENTUM CONTINUES, 2015

Since 2015, the U.S. has authorized India over \$3 billion in defense equipment via the Direct Commercial Sales (DCS) process, which licenses the export of the defense equipment, services, and related manufacturing technologies controlled under the 21 categories of the U.S. Munitions List (USML).

#### LALIT MANSINGH

FORMER FOREIGN SECRETARY OF INDIA, 1999-2001

AMBASSADOR OF INDIA TO THE UNITED STATES, 2001-2004

"Just two decades ago, a distinguished U.S. scholar wrote that many Americans saw India as 'an object of charity not strategy'... And while that is no longer true, if ever it was, nothing prepared us for the spectacular upswing in our bilateral relations, especially in defence ties. Dramatic changes include India's access to state-of-art defence technology, joint exercises and defence cooperation on land, sea, in air and cyberspace. Importantly, the two countries are reinforcing their strategic interests in the Indo-Pacific. 'The defining partnership of the 21st century' predicted by President Obama is finally taking shape".





## INAUGURAL U.S.-INDIA 2+2 MINISTERIAL DIALOGUE, 2018

Defence Minister Nirmala Sitharaman and U.S. Secretary of Defense James Mattis at a joint press conference after the inaugural U.S-India 2 + 2 Dialogue in New Delhi in September 2018. The highlight of this summit was the Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement (COMCASA), which deals with secure military communication.

Left to Right: Secretary of Defence Jim Mattis, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, Foreign Minister Sushma Swaraj, and Defence Minister Nirmala Sitharaman present statements to the media following a meeting in New Delhi on September 6, 2018.

Image Source: Alamy Images





## MALABAR EXERCISES, 2021

Now the Malabar exercise also includes Japan and Australia. Malabar is a multilateral war-gaming naval exercise that was started in 1992. It began as a bilateral exercise between the navies of India and the United States.

The 25th edition of MALABAR, being conducted in two phases,

Image Source: Embassy of India Washington D.C.

#### ARUN K. SINGH

AMBASSADOR OF INDIA TO THE UNITED STATES, 2015-2016

"The India- U.S. relationship has come a long way, particularly since 2000, marked by growing strategic convergences, technology and defense collaboration, and now revealed ability to manage and accept differences. Deepening people to people, education and cultural linkages provide an important ballast.

The current global flux makes the partnership useful to both, as they seek to intensify their multi - dimensional cooperation through new effort in critical and emerging technologies, and the bilateral convergences with new plurilateral and quadrilateral formats including in the Indo - Pacific and in West Asia."



## U.S. SECRETARY OF DEFENSE LLOYD AUSTIN VISITS INDIA, 2021

In 2021, U.S. Secretary of Defense, Lloyd Austin visited India and reiterated a shared U.S.-India vision of securing a free and open Indo-Pacific. Washington and New Delhi, along with their Quad partners in Canberra and Tokyo, were gearing up for the inaugural in-person Quad Summit.



Image Source: Press Information Bureau - India

U.S. Defence Secretary Lloyd Austin visits India to boost security ties.

#### FRANK G. WISNER

U.S. Ambassador to India, 1994-1997

"While my passage to India was by no means as dramatic as E.M. Forster's great tale by the same name, it does parallel the modern U.S.-India relationship. That relationship is of exceptional importance to the United States and will be for decades to come. It rests on four strong pillars -- strategic, commercial, investment and political. Shortly after the announcement of my assignment to India, I spoke with Ambassador John Kenneth Galbraith and told him of the President's decision. After hearing me out, Dr. Galbraith paused and said "welcome, Frank, to a life sentence". His words proved to be prescient."

July 2022

#### RICHARD RAHUL VERMA

U.S. Ambassador to India, 2015 -2017 Head of Global Public Policy and General Counsel, MasterCard

"The U.S.-India partnership stands out for its commitment to shared values, for its embrace of innovation, new technologies and discovery, and for the promise that it holds for the decades ahead. This is the defining partnership of the 21st Century, and the next 75 years of our journey together will be even stronger and benefit even more people across the world."

### SYNERGY, SUMMITS, AND STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIPS

Beyond state visits featuring Prime Ministers and Presidents, there have been a host of high-profile U.S.-India bilateral and multilateral summits that have impacted, shaped, and consolidated economic, trade, and defense relationships. These include the '2+2' strategic dialogue between the Foreign and Defence Ministers and Secretaries of State and Defense, the more recent Quad Summit, the Economic Partnership, the Strategic Clean Energy Partnership, and more.

#### EXPANDING BILATERAL COOPERATION

This chapter highlights areas of cooperation beyond defense. such as the 2+2 strategic dialogue between the Foreign and Defence Ministers and Secretaries of State and Defense, Quad Summits, Economic Partnership, Strategic Clean Energy Partnership, and more.

<sup>4</sup> Prime Minister Manmohan Singh with President George W. Bush.

Image Source: Press Information Bureau - India





## U.S.-INDIA AGREEMENT BRINGS INDIAN MANGOES INTO U.S., 2007

In a move to boost agricultural trade, U.S. and India signed a deal in 2007. The Alphonso and Kesar varieties were among the first Indian mangoes to arrive in the U.S.

In March 2006, the countries agreed to work to strengthen trade relations. After months of negotiations, the U.S. decided to import Indian mangoes after clearing concerns about insect importation.

In exchange for mangoes, India relaxed restrictions to allow the import of Harley Davidson motorcycles. This ended a 17-year-old trade dispute between the two countries. The mangofor-motorcycles diplomacy helped increase bilateral trade between India and the U.S. from around USD 30 billion in 2006 to five times that amount today, close to USD 150 billion.

When Indian mangoes returned to the United States.

Image Source: Embassy of India, Washington D.C.

# U.S.-INDIA ECONOMIC & FINANCIAL PARTNERSHIP, 2010 ONWARDS

The U.S.-India Economic & Financial Partnership is a dialogue to deepen economic ties, promote financial sector reforms and has most recently included climate finance to its agenda.



Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman meets Treasury Secretary Janet Yellen
Image Source: U.S. Embassy, India



Secretary Tim Geithner with Finance Minister Palaniappan Chidambaram

Image Source: U.S. Embassy, India



Treasury Secretary Jacob Lew and Finance Minister Arun Jaitley

Image Source: U.S. Embassy, India



Finance Minister Pranab Mukherjee and Treasury Secretary Timothy Geithner

## U.S.-INDIA STRATEGIC DIALOGUES, 2010 ONWARDS

The U.S. - India strategic dialogue encompasses all aspects of the bilateral partnership, including in the area of climate change and expanding engagement in education, science and technology.



Image Source: Embassy of India, Washington D.C.

From left - Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, Foreign Minister S.M. Krishna, and President Barack Obama



Foreign Minister Sushma Swaraj shakes hands with Secretary of State John Kerry during a meeting in New Delhi in 2016

Image Source: U.S. Embassy, India



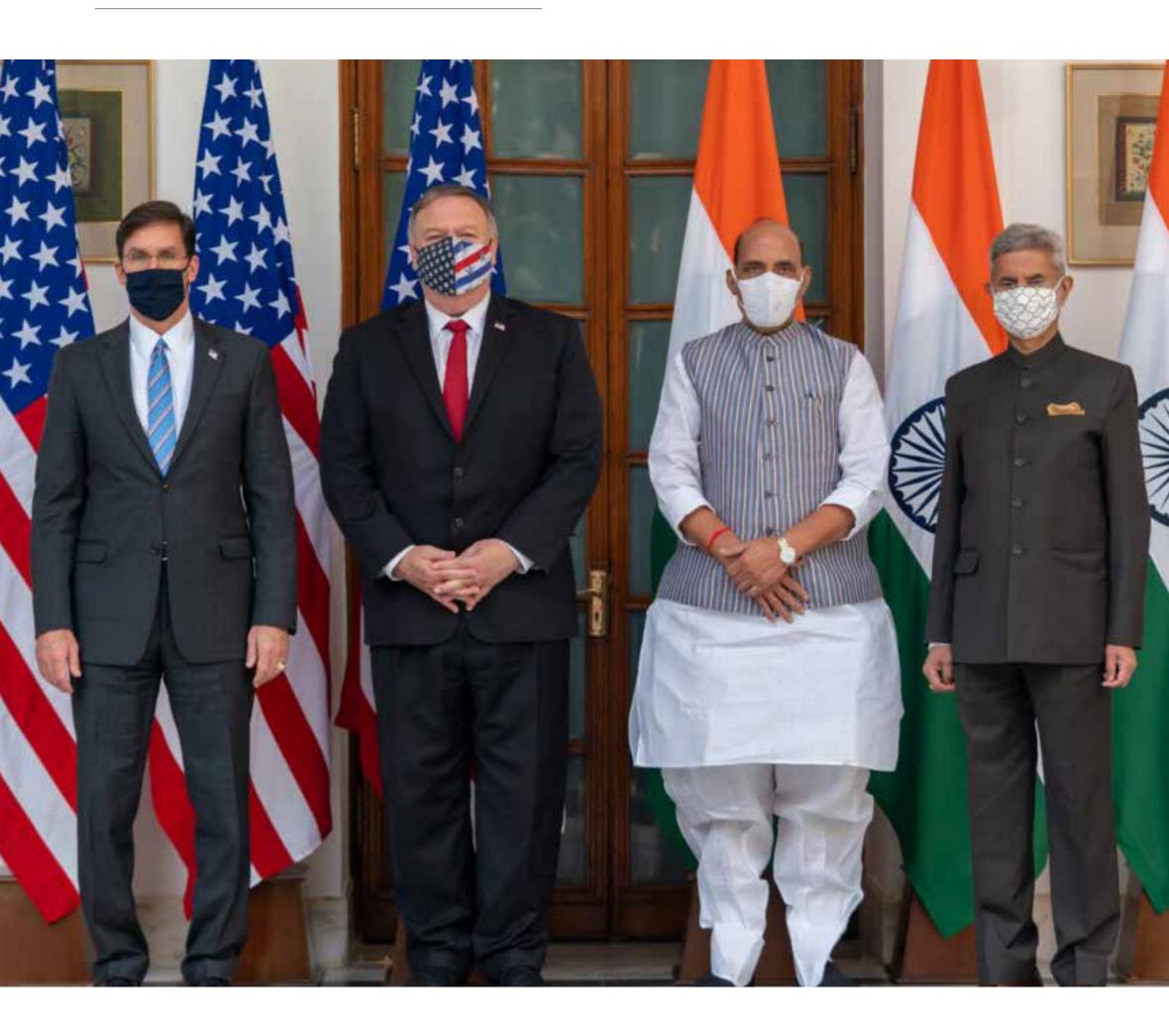
Foreign Minister Sushma Swaraj with Secretary of State Rex Tillerson in 2017

 ${\it Image Source: U.S.\ Embassy,\ India}$ 



Secretary Antony J. Blinken and Minister of External Affairs Dr. S. Jaishankar in July 2021

## U.S.-INDIA 2+2 DIALOGUE SERIES, 2018 ONWARDS



Left to Right: Secretary of Defense Mark T. Esper, Secretary of State Michael R. Pompeo, Minister of Defence Rajnath Singh and Minister of External Affairs Dr. S. Jaishankar at the second annual U.S.-India '2+2' Ministerial Dialogue, New Delhi, 2020.



#### AJAY BANGA

VICE CHAIRMAN, GENERAL ATLANTIC

FORMER CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER, MASTERCARD INC.

"The Indian diaspora in the United States has played a huge role in shaping this dynamic relationship between the two countries. Our shared values, deep friendship, and respective commitments to democracy have led us to where we are today. This book shows how those ties have grown throughout the years, and why we are so optimistic about what lies ahead in the coming decades!"

July 2022

#### GOVIND MOHAN

SECRETARY, MINISTRY OF CULTURE, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

"As India celebrates Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav (AKAM), it is important to remember that 75 years is more than a milestone. It is testimony to how two countries, with very different histories, dissimilar geographies and unique economic stories have come to forge the robust partnership and become kindred spirits. It is my unequivocal belief that the edifice of this relationship lies in the profoundness of soft power, the bonhomie that the diaspora in both countries share for each other and as we celebrate the past 75 years, I am confident that we will continue to foster the strengths of this relationship as we approach mission 100."

July 2022

#### SOFT POWER IN AN ERA OF HARD POWER

Harvard Academic Joseph Nye codified the term 'soft power', which refers to a country's ability to influence and attract based on non-political means and institutions.

India's reputation on the world stage as the world's largest democracy has several alluring qualities. It is a multi-ethnic pluralistic country with roots in an ancient civilization that has been the birthplace of major religions of the non-Abrahamic faith. Its UNESCO World Heritage Sites, cuisine, culture, and cinema make it an aspiring model for global soft power.

This section showcases India's soft power in the United States through Indian actors in Hollywood and a collection of cultural events across the U.S. – World Yoga Day, Diwali being celebrated in the White House, and the strength of the Indian student diaspora in the U.S.

## HELEN KELLER, DISABILITY RIGHTS ACTIVIST VISITS INDIA, 1955

Born visually and hearing impaired, Keller was a disability rights activist. She traveled within and outside the United States, advocating for the visually impaired. Keller met with Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in India in 1955 and addressed a gathering in New Delhi.

Disability Rights Activist Hellen Keller with Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in India, 1955.

Image Source : Getty Images



## DUKE ELLINGTON HITS A HIGH NOTE IN INDIA, 1963

Noted jazz musician and composer Duke Ellington visited India in 1963. The baby boomers in India were coming into their own as young adults in the 1960s. Bombay (back then) had its own tryst with jazz music with live bands and dance performances. A vast migration of Goan Christians formally educated in music by the Portuguese moved to Bombay and formed jazz bands. Ellington was a hit with the crowds.







## SECRETARY OF STATE HILLARY CLINTON'S VISIT TO INDIA, 2009 AND 2011

Secretary of State Hillary Clinton made several visits to India, including as First Lady. However, her agenda was not all diplomacy and dossiers; she found time to partake in India's cultural smorgasbord. She was asked what makes her visit India so often. She answered, "I am attracted to India. This is my fourth trip. There is something about the dynamism, the dedication to democracy, the commitment... It is inspiring. I can't express the feelings in my heart that makes me very happy to be here... I love the food! It is a place where I feel comfortable."

 ${\it Image Source: U.S.\ Embassy,\ India}$ 

U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, third from right, watches a performance by the Indian classical dancers at Kalakshetra in Chennai, India, July 20, 2011.

Secretary of State Hillary Clinton at Dili Haat in 2009.

#### INTERNATIONAL YOGA DAY, 2014 ONWARDS

While the origins of this mind-body exercise for rejuvenation commenced close to 5,000 years ago, the idea of International Yoga Day was first proposed by Prime Minister Narendra Modi on September 27, 2014, during his speech at the UN General Assembly. Later, a resolution to establish June 21 (Summer Solstice) as International Yoga Day was introduced by the Permanent Representative of India to the UN.

International Day of Yoga at the U.S. Embassy, New Delhi, 2015. Image Source: Alamy Images



#### DIWALI CELEBRATIONS AT THE WHITE HOUSE

In 2009, former President Barack Obama lit the ceremonial lamp in the East Room of the White House and hosted a Diwali celebration. Since then, his successors, President Donald Trump and President Joe Biden, have lit the ceremonial diya and celebrated the Festival of Lights.

#### TIM ROEMER

U.S. AMBASSADOR TO INDIA, 2009-2011

"We The People' captures both the start of our respective constitutions and our vibrant cultural ties. From celebrating Diwali to watching Bollywood movies to sharing affection for democracy, the Indian Diaspora in America creates strong bonds of friendship and partnership. Our soft power ties help make this the most vital relationship of the 21st century."

July 2022

▶ President Donald J. Trump participates in a ceremonial Diwali lighting of the Diya in the Roosevelt Room at the White House on November 13, 2018, in Washington, D.C.

Image Source: U.S. Embassy, India

President Barack Obama lights an oil lamp during Diwali celebrations on October 14, 2009 in the East Room of the White House in Washington, D.C.

Image Source: Alamy Images

President Joe Biden and First Lady Jill Biden light a diya to celebrate Diwali on October 27, 2021, in the Blue Room of the White House.

## WHEN HOLLYWOOD MEETS BOLLYWOOD



Mr. C.V. Narasimhan, Under Secretary General for General Assembly Affairs, Mrs. Pearl S. Buck, Mr. and Mrs. Dev Anand

Image Source: U.S. Embassy, India

The two that made 'The Guide' - author Pearl Buck and actor- producer Dev Anand.

Image Source: U.S. Embassy, India

♣ Priyanka Chopra at the premiere of 'Isn't It Romantic' at Los Angeles

Image Source: Shutterstock Images

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▼ Image Source:



#### NBA DRIBBLES IT'S WAY INTO INDIA

The National Basketball Association (NBA) made it's appearance in Mumbai in 2019 for it's first-ever pre-season games in India.





# FOOD FOR THOUGHT: PRESIDENT CLINTON'S FAVORITE RESTAURANT WAS THE BOMBAY CLUB IN DOWNTOWN WASHINGTON, D.C.

Former President Bill Clinton and then-First Lady Hillary Clinton frequently visited the iconic Indian restaurant, The Bombay Club, which was a stone's throw distance from the White House. This Michelin-Star establishment is owned by Delhi-born restaurateur Ashok Bajaj, founder of the Knightsbridge Restaurant Group (which also owns Rasika and Bindaas). President Bill Clinton even cited an anecdote about visiting The Bombay Club, in his autobiography 'My Life.'

 President Bill Clinton and First Lady Hillary Clinton leave The Bombay Club restaurant

Image Source: Getty Images





## ACTOR ANIL KAPOOR AT ROOSEVELT HOUSE, NEW DELHI, 2012

The U.S. Embassy in New Delhi hosted a reception to honor the memory and inaugurate the bust of Eleanor Roosevelt, the founder of UNICEF. Renowned Bollywood actor Anil Kapoor was among the invitees. Mrs. Roosevelt had visited India at the invitation of Prime Minister Nehru back in the 1950s.

 ${\it Image Source: U.S.\ Embassy,\ India}$ 

<sup>\*</sup> Actor Anil Kapoor at the Eleanor Roosevelt Dedication Ceremony in New Delhi, 2012

## DURGA DANCE PERFORMANCE IN NEW YORK, 1992

In 1992, choreographer Jonathan Hollander received a Fulbright Grant to research, teach, and perform in India. Nearly three decades later, the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi hosted the Panipatbased company to present 'The Durga Project' in India. This work exemplifies the result of Hollander's immersion in Indian culture that has been made possible by U.S. Exchanges. 'The Durga Project' in New York marked the 40th anniversary of the Battery Dance Company in 2016.



The Durga Project at New York's Battery Dance Festival with Indian classical dancer Unnath HR and dancers of Battery Dance.

### BATTERY DANCE COMPANY PERFORMANCE IN INDIA, 2018

New York-based Battery Dance company held a performance in New Delhi titled 'Shakti: A Return to the Source,' in partnership with the State Department and the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR). Directed by choreographer Jonathan Hollander, co-founder of the Indo-American Arts Council, the performance featured an eclectic mix of American dancers of Battery Dance and Indian classical dancer Unnath Hassan Rathnaraju.





## LIVING DREAM CONCERT, 2009

The Living Dream Concert took place at the National Center for Performing Arts (NCPA), Tata Theater in Mumbai, on February 18, 2009. The series of music performances were part of the countrywide event commemorating the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and his wife Coretta Scott King's 1959 tour of India.

▶ Martin Luther King III on stage with actor Kamal Haasan and members of A.R. Rahman's K.M. Music Conservatory, Chennai on February 25, 2009.

#### ZAKIR HUSSAIN IN THE U.S.

Music was always in his genes. The family was already famous, but Zakir Hussain immortalized their legacy. Dubbed the Tabla Maestro, Ustad Zakir Hussain is arguably the most famous Tabla player in the country in the post-independence era. Son of the late Ustad Allah Rakha, Zakir was a child prodigy and inclined towards the instrument at a young age. Having established himself early on, he collaborated with western musicians and worked closely with American bands.



# THE FULBRIGHT SCHOLARSHIP PROMOTES EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGES BETWEEN AMERICAN AND INDIAN STUDENTS

They came for education and stayed for employment. The Indian-American community is well established as one of the wealthiest and most educated immigrants in the country. The success of the diaspora at the highest echelons of the private sector in the U.S. is often a product of the higher education received in the country.

Across campuses at various graduate levels, Indian students account for 18% of all international students in the U.S., second only to China (35%). Fulbright Scholarship in India was established in February 1950 under a bilateral agreement known as the Nehru-Fulbright.



The Fulbright Commission in India was established in February 1950 under a bilateral agreement. Known as the Nehru-Fulbright Scholarship, it promotes educational exchange between U.S. and Indian students.

Image Source: Fulbright Commission

#### RENU KHATOR

#### PRESIDENT, UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON

"Higher education is the backbone of a strong society, and global partnerships are the lifeblood of a better world. There is power in partnership, and the U.S.-India relationship amplifies these truths. Our intellectual collaboration has ignited economic growth, technological advancements and scientific breakthroughs that have driven social mobility and life-changing innovations for each country's citizens."

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#### PRADEEP K. KHOSLA

CHANCELLOR, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SAN DIEGO

"Higher education has a long history of training and convening thought leaders from India and the U.S. to identify, explore and address a range of issues such as economic development, public policy and climate change. Research collaborations between our two countries have improved global health, advanced technologies, generated prosperity and sparked creative solutions to pressing global challenges. Through these efforts, higher education has been instrumental in improving U.S.-India strategic relations. Now, more than ever, we must deepen our university partnerships and connections to ensure a brighter future for India, America and our planet."

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## ICONIC MAHATMA GANDHI STATUE OUTSIDE THE INDIAN EMBASSY, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Statues and busts of Mahatma Gandhi aren't rare and are found all over the United States. However, this iconic bronze statue of the Father of the Nation is a landmark statue that serves as a marker for the Indian Embassy in Washington, D.C. The statue depicts Mahatma Gandhi in his quintessential ascetic garb, a reference to the famous 1930 Dandi March. The statue was dedicated by the late Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee and President Bill Clinton on September 16, 2000, during Prime Minister Vajpayee's state visit to the United States.



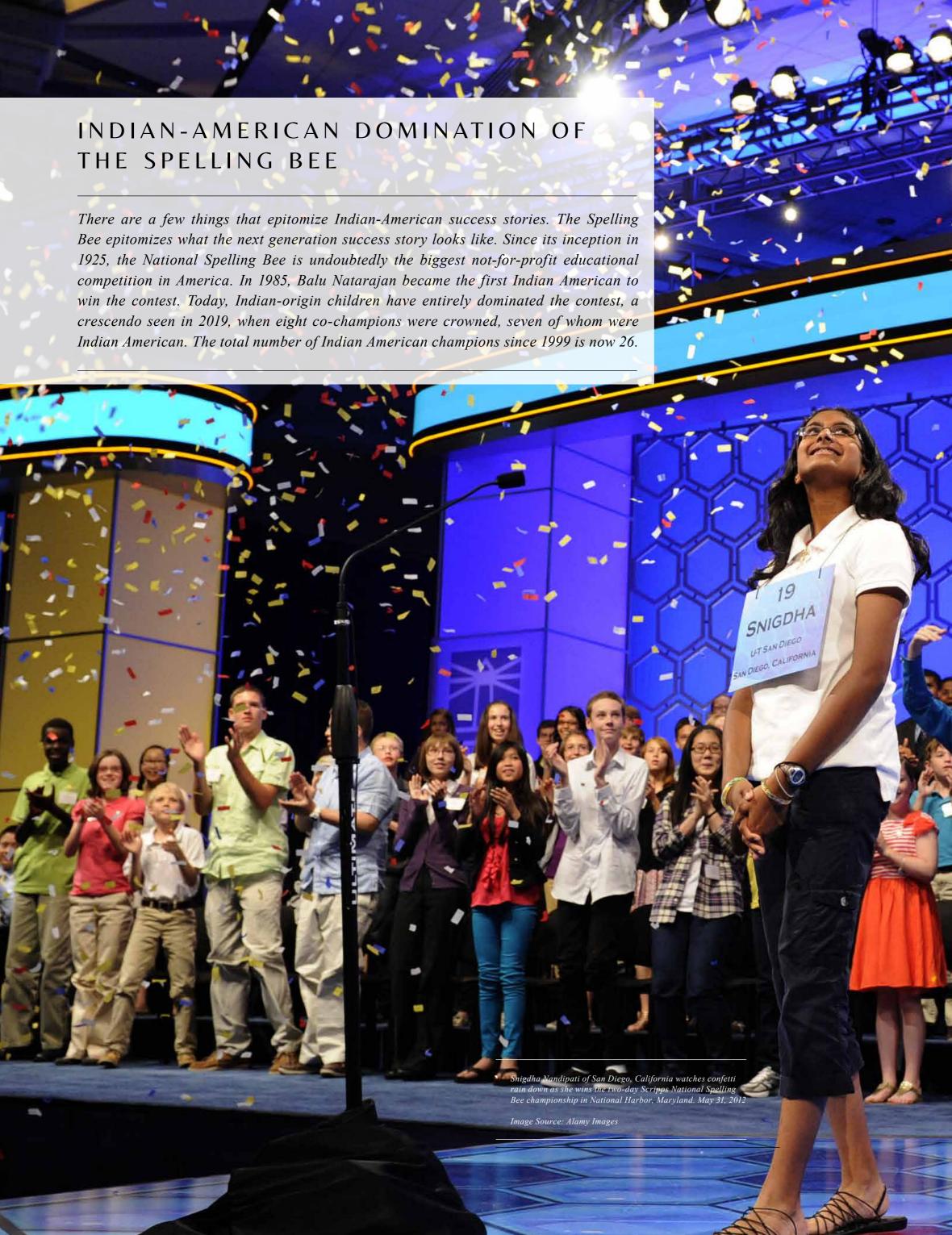


## THE ORIGINS OF PAV BHAJJI HAVE AN AMERICAN CONNECTION

There are few dishes as ubiquitous to Mumbai and street food in India as Pav Bhaji. Pav Bhaji was a funny result of the U.S. Civil War in the 1860s. The Civil War brought about a huge demand for cotton. Due to this, the traders at the Bombay Cotton Exchange used to keep busy during the night when new cotton rates were sent via telegram from the U.S. The odd hours of working through the night meant street vendors had to find a way to rummage leftovers and prepare a proper meal. Rotis couldn't be made fresh, and not all vegetables were available in the wee hours of the morning. To solve this conundrum, street vendors collected the leftover bread from the Jesuit priests and mixed all the vegetables, mashed them together, and served them to eat with bread and butter. Thus pav (bread) and bhaji (vegetables) was born.

Image Source: Alamy Images

A visitor purchases Indian food at a Diwali street fair in the Queens neighborhood of Jackson Heights in New York. 14 October 2012



#### PROF C. RAJA MOHAN

#### ASIA SOCIETY POLICY INSTITUTE, NEW DELHI

"If Delhi and Washington struggled to build productive bilateral relations in the early decades of India's independence, the two nations have emerged as strategic partners in the twenty-first century. This surprising transformation was rooted in the growing contact between the two civil societies in the second half of the twentieth century. While converging interests—economic, political, and military— have given great momentum, it is the rapid expansion of peopleto-people ties since the turn of the millennium that generated the necessary trust and confidence between the two governments. The interpenetration of the two societies is likely to get deeper in the next twenty-five years and turn India and the United States into enduring and indispensable partners for each other."

July 2022

#### MEERA SHANKAR

AMBASSADOR OF INDIA TO THE UNITED STATES, 2009 -2011

"The India - U.S. Strategic Partnership grows stronger propelled by both our shared democratic values and our increasingly convergent interests in Asia. It is nourished by the close contacts between our people. Indian Americans are making outstanding contributions to public life, innovation and entrepreneurship in America. They are a bridge which brings our countries closer."

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#### HOLDING THE FLOOR

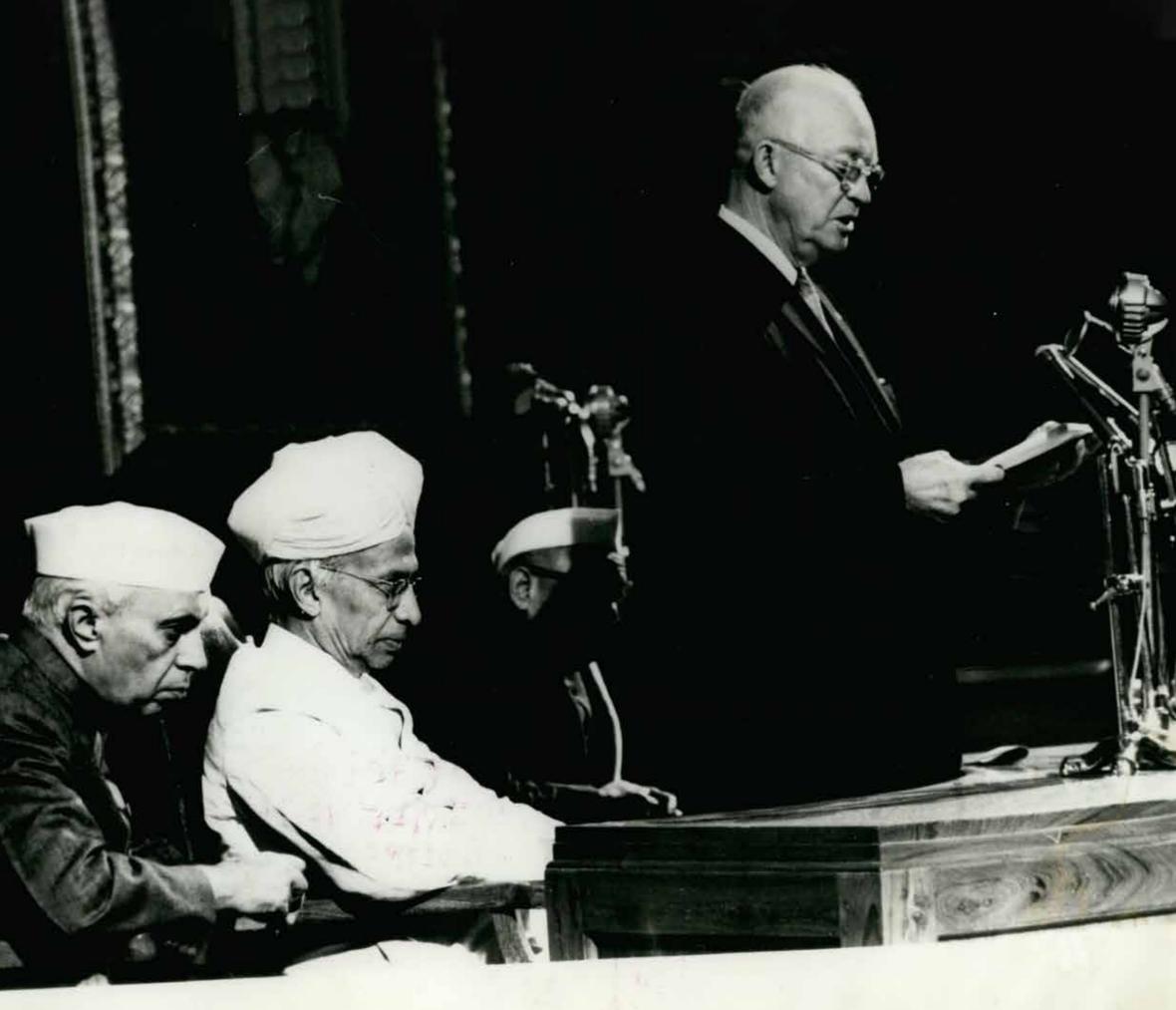
This chapter showcases historic photographs of Indian Prime Ministers addressing the U.S. Congress and U.S. Presidents addressing the Indian Parliament.



#### PRIME MINISTER NEHRU'S ADDRESS, 1949

"Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru addressed both the House of Representatives and the Senate, albeit separately, during his first visit to the United States. He addressed a House Reception on October 13, 1949. The House Chamber was under renovation at that time, so the reception was held in the Ways and Means Committee room in the New House Office Building. Prime Minister Nehru's address lasted for 15 minutes, where he touched on the similarities between both countries." He later delivered the same address to the Senate (then in the Old Supreme Court Chamber)."

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru addresses the U.S. House of Representatives. October 13, 1949



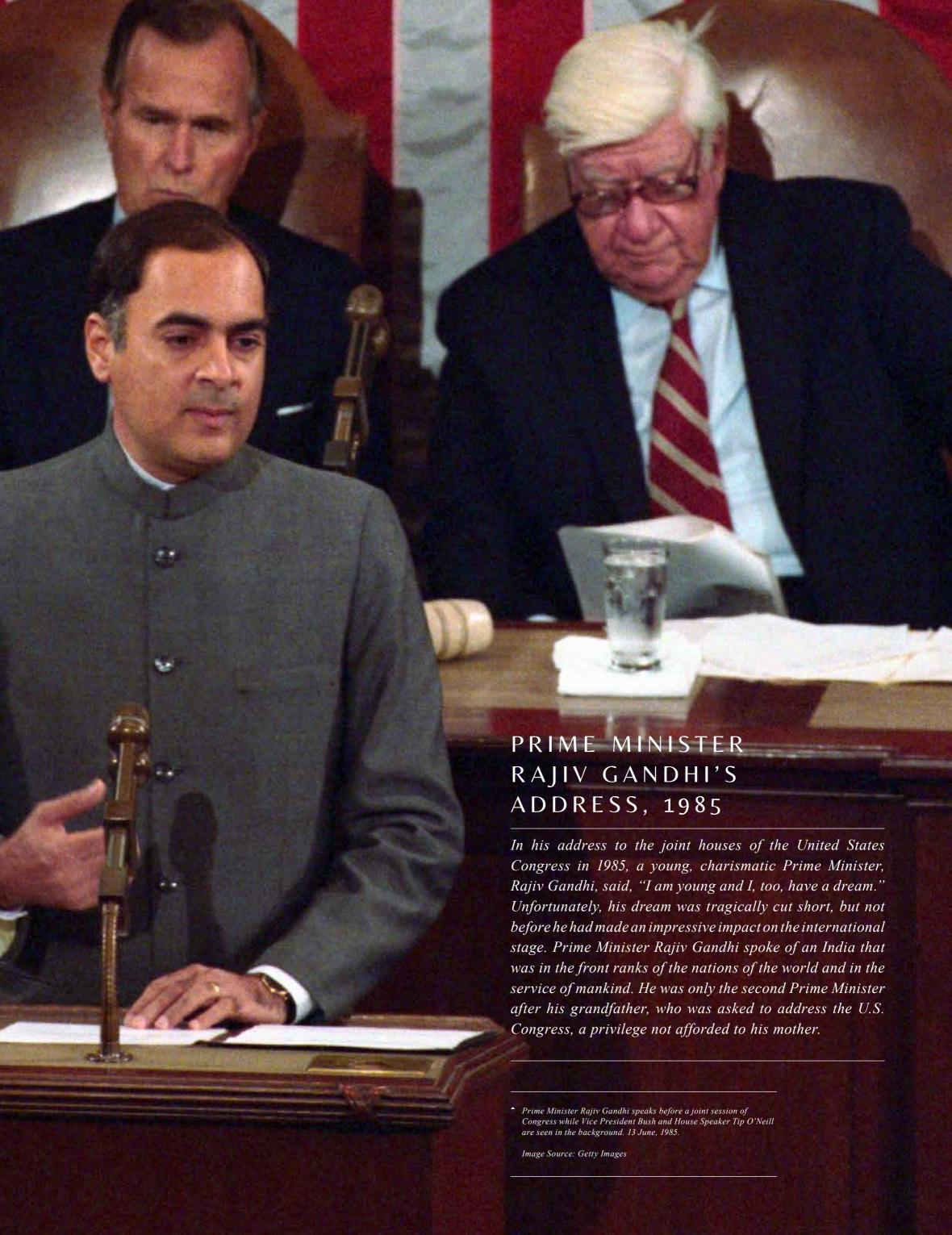
# PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S ADDRESS, 1959

President Eisenhower was the first U.S. President to visit India. He delivered a public speech at Delhi's Ramlila ground. Ike, as he was known, addressed members of both Houses of Parliament. President Eisenhower's address was received with rapturous applause as President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Nehru touched upon the future of the "East-West relationship."

Image Source: Alamy Images

A President Eisenhower with Prime Minister Nehru and President Radhakrishnan







# PRIME MINISTER P.V. NARASIMHA RAO'S ADDRESS, 1994

When Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao took the floor in 1994, the Soviet Union had collapsed, the Cold War had ended, and India had unveiled a radical program of new economic reforms. Prime Minister Rao spoke of the need to look to the future without the baggage of the past, a phrase alluding to "hesitations of history" that both Prime Minister Vajpayee and Prime Minister Modi would reference in the future speeches. President Bill Clinton was in his first term when Prime Minister Rao visited. The visiting Prime Minister said, "Indo-U.S. relations are on the threshold of a bold, new era."

Image Source: Press Information Bureau - India

<sup>↑</sup> Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao addressing the Joint meeting of the U.S. Congress in Washington D.C. May 18, 1994



# PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON'S ADDRESS, 2000

President Bill Clinton's charisma and engaging demeanor had won him many admirers in India's Parliament. He received rapturous applause in both houses of Parliament as he praised India's democratic values and emphasis on health care and education.

In the aftermath of the Kargil War, his impassioned plea to India's Parliament was to retreat from the nation's growing nuclear weapons program and reach out to Pakistan. President Clinton urged for greater environmental cooperation between India and the United States.

Image Source: Getty Images

A President Bill Clinton addresses the Indian Parliament in New Delhi. March 22, 2000.

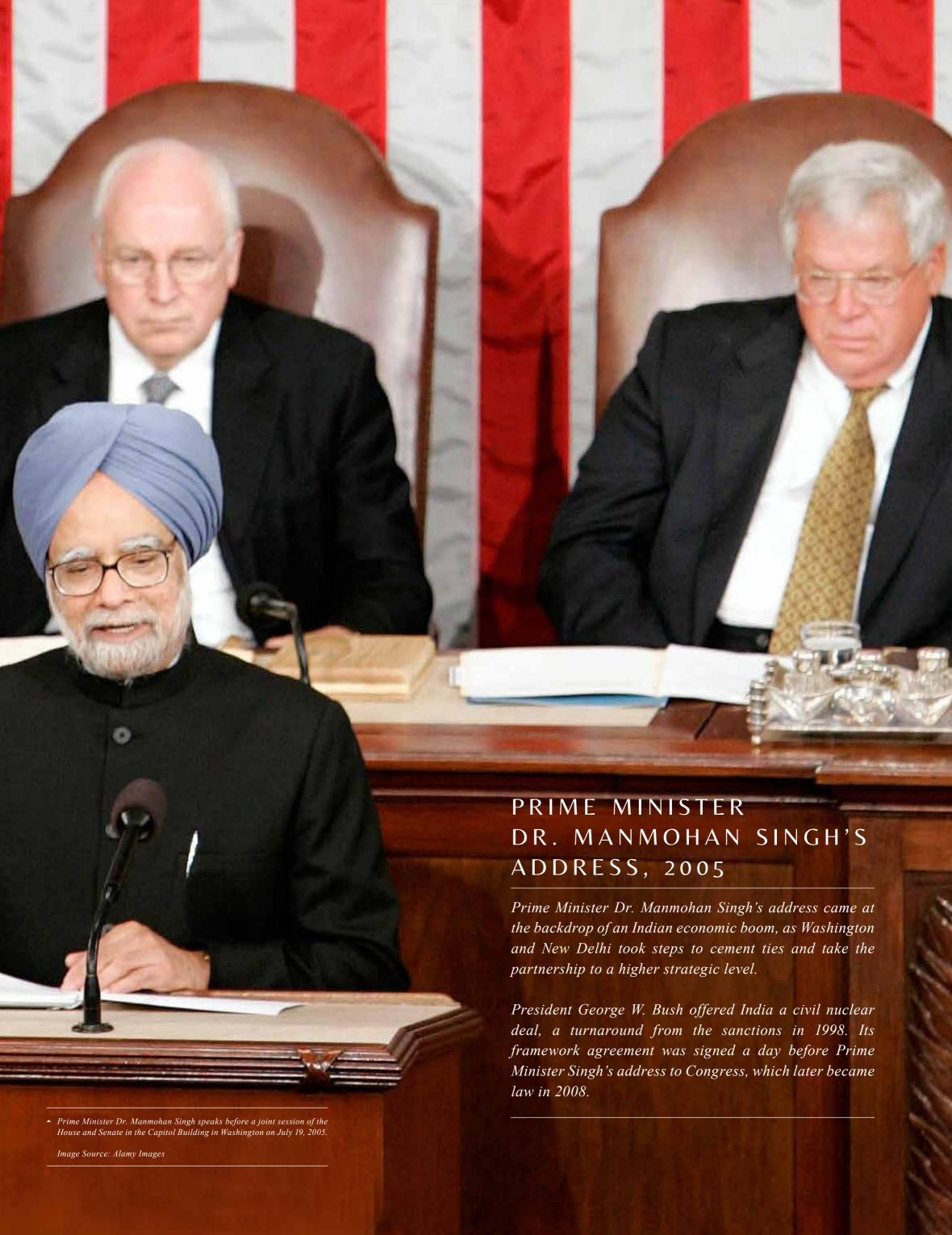


## PRIME MINISTER ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE'S ADDRESS, 2000

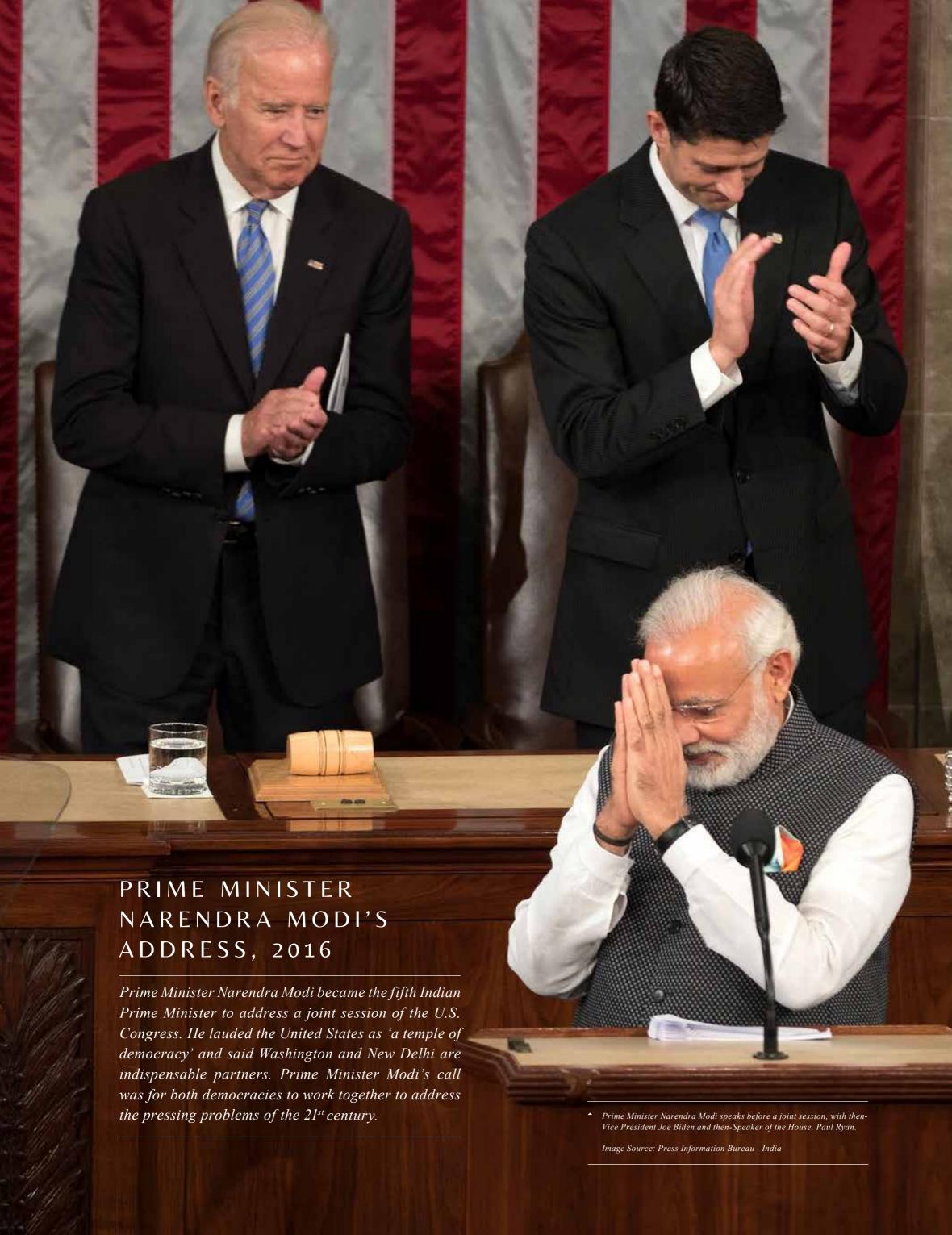
Prime Minister Vajpayee was the second Prime Minister to address the House under the Clinton presidency. Prime MInister Vajpayee's visit was against the backdrop of India's nuclear test in 1998, Kargil war in 1999 and India's booming IT industry. Prime Minister Vajpayee spoke of a prosperous India and one that is in partnership with the U.S.. "Let's Remove The Hesitation" was the theme that resonated from his address.

Image Source: Getty Images

Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee addresses a joint session of the U.S. Congress at the U.S. Capitol. 14 September, 2000.







#### MARSHALL M. BOUTON

PRESIDENT EMERITUS, THE CHICAGO COUNCIL ON GLOBAL AFFAIRS FORMER SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE AMBASSADOR, U.S. EMBASSY, NEW DELHI

"Throughout my sixty-year involvement with India in scholarship, government service and nonprofit leadership, I have been deeply attracted by its effort to accommodate enormous religious, ethnic and linguistic diversity. India's democracy, so vibrant and inclusive, is what has made this historic experiment in nation-building possible. India's cultural openness and depth comes through the daily habit of tolerance among ordinary Indians. Admiration for India's values and practices has undergirded its growing relationship with the United States and role in the international community. India's unique civilizational gift to the world remains its ability to meld its diverse peoples into a nation based on tolerance and mutual respect."

July 2022

### WAH TAJ

This chapter showcases U.S. Presidents and First Ladies visiting the iconic Taj Mahal in Agra. The Seventh Wonder of the World is an iconic landmark that has mesmerized architects, photographers, cinematographers, historians, artists, poets, writers, and anyone who gazes at its beauty. It has been studied historically and architecturally, featured in countless films and documentaries, and is one of the most photographed sites in the world.

This UNESCO world heritage site is on top of the itinerary of all those visiting India. Surely, Heads of State and U.S. Presidents are equally taken aback by this 17<sup>th</sup> century Mughal marvel.

Three Presidents have visited the Taj on formal state visits. It began with Dwight Eisenhower in 1959, followed by Bill Clinton in 2000, and most recently, Donald Trump in 2020.

However, although not on state visits, several other Presidents and First Ladies have visited the Taj. The notable absentees were Barack and Michelle Obama, who were scheduled to visit Agra, but cut their trip short as they flew to Saudi Arabia to pay condolences to the Royal family following the death of King Abdullah.

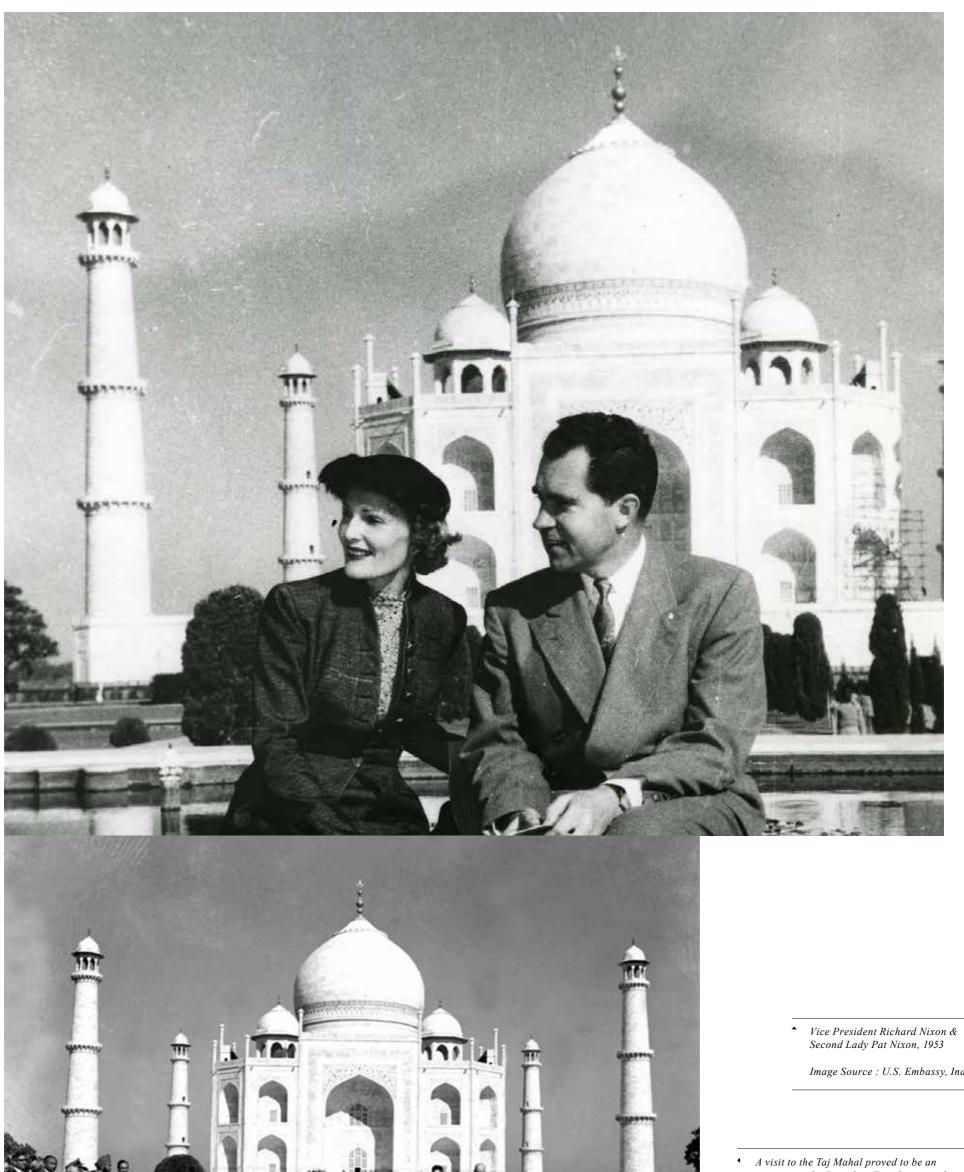
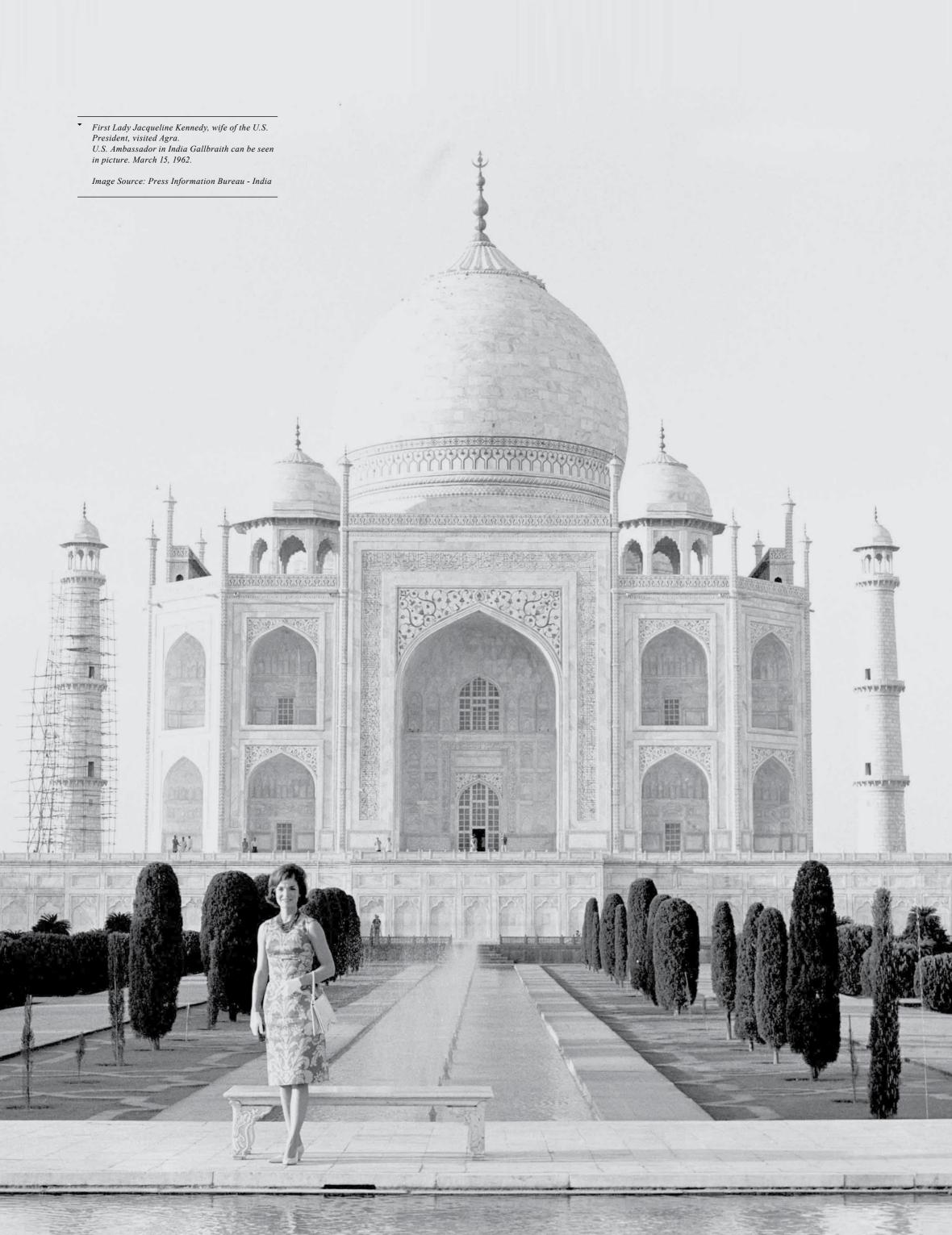


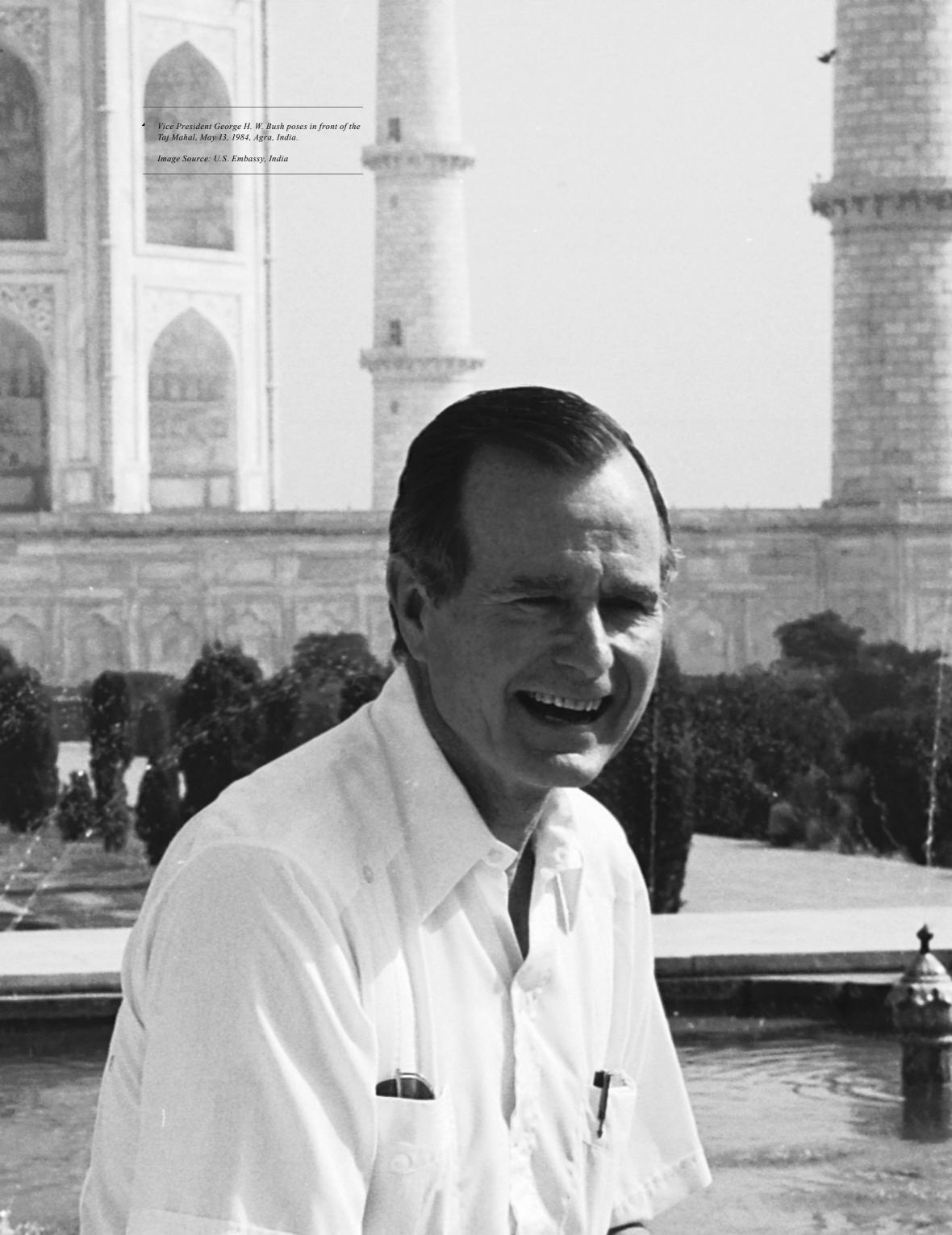
Image Source : U.S. Embassy, India

A visit to the Taj Mahal proved to be an inspiration for President Eisenhower and daughter-in-law Barbara during a tour conducted by Prime Minister Nehru. 13 Dec, 1959

Image Source: Press Information Bureau - India











### SPECIAL THANKS TO







#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

"We The People" is a project that seeks to celebrate and recognize the special partnership between the world's oldest and largest democracies and the diaspora in both lands. We have tried our best to look through history to capture the iconic and seminal moments and to showcase the leaders and stalwarts who played a part in cementing this strategic partnership and scaling it to new heights.

Our goal was to use the power of portraits to tell the story of how the strategic partnership between India and the United States has evolved, from the humble beginnings of the first American consulate in Kolkata that opened in the 18th century to becoming the defining partnership of the 21st century.

But most importantly, our focus was to accentuate the role of the individuals in this story. Democracies are for the people, by the people, and of the people. And hence, to tell our story, the story of "We The People", we start at the very beginning and acknowledge the assiduous efforts of all those who have helped make this book possible.

We are indebted to the many diplomats, captains of industry, and academic scholars who captured the essence of their experience in the relationship in a few lines through exclusive quotes you will see throughout this book.

To Dr. Arvind Panagariya, economist and academic stalwart, whose initial insights helped give the book a direction.

To Ambassador Navtej Sarna, who guided us through the course of the events in this 75-year story and so kindly dedicated his time to give us historical context.

We are deeply indebted to Mr. Prasenjit. K. Basu, our lead historian, whose historical insights, and perspicacity helped guide our content. We thank him for his time and excellent repository of ideas.

We sincerely thank Dr. Ashley J. Tellis for his review of this 75-year journey, in which he so crucially played a part.

Our deepest gratitude to Mr. Govind Mohan, Secretary, Ministry of Culture, and Press Information Bureau (PIB), Government of India.

Our heartfelt gratitude to Ms. Mery J. Arcila at the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi, who went above and beyond to enable access to crucial pictures that help tell this story, Ms. Suja Menon, Minister Commerce, Embassy of India in Washington D.C., the Indo-American Arts Council (IAAC) in New York, Boeing, and Lockheed Martin.

We would like to thank Jay Mandal for the time he lent to the project.

Thank you to the team at Design Answers who have played their part in the creative and artistic touch of converting texts, ideas, and images into this iconic product that you so proudly hold in your hand.

Last but not least, the efforts of my USISPF colleagues, Mr. Akshobh Giridharadas, Ms. Shireen Singh, Ms. Lalitambika Kumari, Ms. Shruti Nagpal, Ms. Vishaka Hussain Pathak, Ms. Nivedita Mehra & Mr. Gaurav Verma. Their prodigious work has helped fructify this colossal endeavor of chronicling over 75 years of dynamic partnership. I sincerely thank them for bringing the "We The People" project from an idea to a proud piece of literature with historical significance.

Dr. Mukesh Aghi President & CEO

U.S.-India Strategic Partnership Forum

