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## Is India the "New China" in U.S. Foreign Policy?

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## Is India the "New China" in U.S. Foreign Policy?

### Cover Page Footnote

[1] India-US Relationship at Historic High, Says Pentagon Officials, The Times of India (Mar. 21, 2024, 9:52 AM), <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/india-us-relationship-at-historic-high-says-pentagon-officials/articleshow/108664617.cms>.

# IS INDIA THE “NEW CHINA” IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY?

Sital Kalantry<sup>1</sup>

*Abstract:* The University of Washington International Law Journal’s timely symposium explores the strains in the U.S.-China political and economic relationship. As China and the United States become estranged, or “decoupled,” this essay explores the United States’ relationship with India in light of this trend. The U.S.-India foreign relations are stronger today than they have been in India’s 75-year history as an independent nation.<sup>2</sup> To understand why this is the case, we have to examine both the U.S. and Indian foreign policy perspectives. The United States’ interest in India has grown in part due to the United States’ own changes in domestic policy and motivations to counter China. It is only in the more recently that India has been open to a stronger partnership with the United States due largely to political and economic changes in the country.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Part I provides a historical overview of the shifting relationship between the United States and India. Part II briefly discusses India’s fraught relationship with China over the years, which creates a new common ground with the United States. Part III demonstrates how the U.S.-Chinese relationship has weakened while the U.S.-Indian relationship has strengthened in the context of trade, technology, and military cooperation.

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<sup>2</sup> *India-US Relationship at Historic High, Says Pentagon Officials*, THE TIMES OF INDIA (Mar. 21, 2024, 9:52 AM), <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/india-us-relationship-at-historic-high-says-pentagon-officials/articleshow/108664617.cms>.

## II. U.S.-INDIA FOREIGN RELATIONS: FITS AND STARTS

India is the largest democracy (in terms of population) and the United States is the oldest.<sup>3</sup> The British colonized both countries, giving each the English language and a common law tradition.<sup>4</sup> The post-colonial constitution Indians adopted in 1950 was a progressive rights-providing constitution that drew insights from the U.S. Constitution (among others).<sup>5</sup>

After India's independence, one might have expected a strong alliance to form with the United States given their shared histories. Quite the contrary occurred – India's relationship with the United States was fraught for at least the first 40 years of independent India's history.

India became an independent nation just as the Cold War began.<sup>6</sup> India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, chose to take an approach of non-alignment,<sup>7</sup> meaning that India would neither support the United States nor the Soviet Union. From an economic development perspective, Nehru chose to take a path between capitalism and communism. He protected Indian industries from competition and gave state subsidies to encourage their development.<sup>8</sup>

To counteract China and the Soviet Union in South Asia, the United States allied with Pakistan.<sup>9</sup> The alliance between the United States and Pakistan further isolated India, because of its relationship with Pakistan, which became antagonistic after independence. The territory that is now Pakistan was originally part of British colonial India. Some leaders of the independence movement wanted to create a nation founded on Islamic principles. As a result, when the British left India, they split the territory into two countries.<sup>10</sup> Pakistan was split into two non-contiguous territories (East Pakistan and West Pakistan) separated by 1300 miles. Numerous border skirmishes have occurred throughout the year

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<sup>3</sup> Katharina Buchholz, *Chart: The World's Biggest Democracies*, STATISTA (Feb. 14, 2024), <https://www.statista.com/chart/31744/biggest-democracies/>; see also Jeff Desjardins, *Mapped: The World's Oldest Democracies*, WORLD ECON. FORUM, (Aug. 8, 2019), <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2019/08/countries-are-the-worlds-oldest-democracies/>.

<sup>4</sup> See India Const., NATIONAL PORTAL OF INDIA, <https://www.india.gov.in/my-government/constitution-india> (last visited Sep. 19, 2024).

<sup>5</sup> Charles Henry Alexandrowicz-Alexander, *American Influence on Constitutional Interpretation in India*, 5 AM. J. COMP. L. 98, 98–105. (1956).

<sup>6</sup> *Truman Doctrine (1947)*, NATIONAL ARCHIVES, <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/truman-doctrine> (last visited Sep. 19, 2024) (The announcement of the Truman Doctrine on March 12, 1947 is thought to mark the start of the Cold War).

<sup>7</sup> Adekeye Adebajo, *The Concept of Non-alignment Forged by Nehru Has Found Renewed Interest in the Global South*, SCROLL.IN (Feb. 17, 2023, 1:30 PM), <https://scroll.in/article/1043925/the-concept-of-non-alignment-forged-by-nehru-has-found-renewed-interest-in-the-global-south>.

<sup>8</sup> See Jacob Abadi, *India's Economic Policy Since Nehru: The Failure Of Democratic Socialism And The March Toward Free Trade*, J. OF THIRD WORLD STUD. 10, 12–35 (1993), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/45193436>.

<sup>9</sup> Lubna Sunawar & Tatiana Coutto, *U.S. Pakistan Relations during the Cold War*, 1 THE J. OF INT'L RELATIONS, PEACE STUD., AND DEV., 1, 11 (2015), <https://scholarworks.arcadia.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1006&context=agsjournal>.

<sup>10</sup> THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES, *Partition of British India: Key Stages 3-5 | Postwar 1945-Present* (2022), <https://cdn.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documents/education/partition-of-british-india.pdf>.

and tensions have recently been high especially in the border territories of Kashmir and Jammu.<sup>11</sup>

Two years after Nehru's regime ended in 1964, his daughter, Indira Gandhi, became prime minister. Under Gandhi's leadership, U.S.-India relations entered their darkest phase. West Pakistan (now known as Bangladesh) sought to become a sovereign nation. In the resulting civil war in 1971, India supported West Pakistan and the United States supported East Pakistan.<sup>12</sup> India's support of Bangladesh in the civil war further alienated Pakistan.

That same year, despite its commitment to non-alignment, India signed the Treaty of Peace and Friendship with the USSR. Three years later, in 1974, India detonated its first nuclear device.<sup>13</sup> When India refused to comply with certain conditions in its nuclear program in 1978, the U.S. ceased certain nuclear cooperation.<sup>14</sup>

After the Nehru dynasty ended with the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, Indira Gandhi's son and Nehru's grandson, in 1991, India adopted economic liberalization.<sup>15</sup> At this time, India began to invite foreign corporations to invest, sell products, and enter into joint ventures with Indian companies.<sup>16</sup> The open foreign business market made India appealing to foreign entities, including those in the United States.

However, when India tested another round of nuclear weapons in 1998, President Clinton imposed sanctions.<sup>17</sup> These sanctions were lifted in 2001 as the India-U.S. bilateral relationship started to develop.<sup>18</sup> The U.S. Trade Representative at that time, Robert B. Zoellick, “The United States wants to treat India realistically for what it is -- a major country and an emerging power.”<sup>19</sup> A turning point in the U.S.-India relationship was in 2008 when the two countries

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<sup>11</sup> Javid Ahmad Ahangar, *The Chronic Conflict over Kashmir*, WORLD AFFAIRS: 23 THE J. OF INT'L ISSUES, 88–97 (2019), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48531102>.

<sup>12</sup> Eric A. Strahorn, *The Bangladesh Liberation War*, ORIGINS, [https://origins.osu.edu/milestones/bangladesh-liberation-war?language\\_content\\_entity=en](https://origins.osu.edu/milestones/bangladesh-liberation-war?language_content_entity=en) (last visited Sep. 19, 2024).

<sup>13</sup> Bernard Weinraub, *India Becomes 6th Nation to Set Off Nuclear Device*, N.Y. TIMES (May 5, 1974), <https://www.nytimes.com/1974/05/19/archives/india-becomes-6th-nation-to-set-off-nuclear-device-india-signed.html>.

<sup>14</sup> Fred McGoldrick et al., *The U.S.-India Nuclear Deal: Taking Stock*, ARMS CONTROL ASSOCIATION, <https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2005-10/features/us-india-nuclear-deal-taking-stock#:~:text=This%20new%20legislation%20required%20that,to%20Tarapur%2C%20ceased%20in%201980>, (last visited Sep. 19, 2024).

<sup>15</sup> Nimish Adhia, *The History of Economic Development in India since Independence*, EDUC. ABOUT ASIA 20, 18-22 (2015), <https://www.asianstudies.org/publications/ea/archives/the-history-of-economic-development-in-india-since-independence/>

<sup>16</sup> *Id.*

<sup>17</sup> *U.S. Imposes Sanctions on India*, CNN (May 13, 1998), <http://edition.cnn.com/WORLD/asiapcf/9805/13/india.us/>.

<sup>18</sup> See Bureau of Public Affairs, U.S. Dep't of State, *History of the Department of State During the Clinton Presidency (1993-2001)*, <https://edition.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/asiapcf/south/12/04/india.us.defense/index.html> (last visited Sep. 19, 2024); see also *U.S. Lifts Sanctions Against India*, CNN (Dec. 4, 2001), <https://edition.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/asiapcf/south/12/04/india.us.defense/index.html>.

<sup>19</sup> Jane Perlez, *U.S. Ready to End Sanctions on India to Build Alliance*, N.Y. TIMES (Aug. 27, 2001), <https://www.nytimes.com/2001/08/27/world/us-ready-to-end-sanctions-on-india-to-build-alliance.html>.

entered into a “New Framework for the U.S.-India Defense Relationship.”<sup>20</sup> The countries agreed to conduct joint military exercises and strengthen each other’s defense capabilities. In 2013, the U.S.-India developed a comprehensive global strategic partnership, which laid the groundwork for unprecedented bilateral cooperation.<sup>21</sup> This set the stage for a stronger alliance that has further solidified as the U.S. decouples from China.

### III. A NEW SHARED GROUND: CHINA

India and the U.S also have another shared ground – China. In the last few decades, India has also had a fraught relationship with China. Some of the boundaries along their shared border are disputed. <sup>22</sup> Border conflicts have flared as recently as 2020.<sup>23</sup>

India is increasingly concerned with China’s economic policies in its neighboring countries. For example, China offered the Maldives substantial loans and aid along with military assistance.<sup>24</sup> China gave a large loan to Nepal to build an international airport.<sup>25</sup> The airport development, which was funded by China, reflects a larger geopolitical tussle between India and China. This reflects their broader economic and security dynamics in the region.<sup>26</sup>

As many of the other papers in this symposium explain how the United States is “decoupling” from China, I will not go into more detail on this point. It suffices to say that the United States’ relationship with China has declined in recent decades due to trade sanctions, accusations of technology theft, and China’s aggression in the South China Sea. The U.S.’s distancing itself from China and India’s fraught relationship with China has created a new common ground between India and the United States.

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<sup>20</sup> *New Framework for the U.S.-India Defense Relationship*, U.S. DEP’T OF DEF. (June 28, 2005), <https://library.rumsfeld.com/doclib/sp/3211/2005-06-28%20New%20Framework%20for%20the%20US-India%20Defense%20Relationship.pdf>.

<sup>21</sup> THE WHITE HOUSE, *U.S.-India Joint Statement* (September 27, 2013), <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2013/09/27/us-india-joint-statement>.

<sup>22</sup> *Memorandum From the President’s Deputy Special Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kaysen) to President Kennedy*, in *19 Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961–1963, South Asia* 181 (Oct. 26, 1962), U.S. DEP’T OF STATE, OFFICE OF THE HISTORIAN, <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v19/d181#fn2>.

<sup>23</sup> Dean Cheng, Sameer P. Lalwani, Daniel Markey, & Nilanthi Samaranyake, *What’s Driving India-China Tensions*, U.S. INST. OF PEACE (Mar. 25, 2024), <https://www.usip.org/publications/2024/03/whats-driving-india-china-tensions>.

<sup>24</sup> *Id.*

<sup>25</sup> Daisuke Wakabayashi, Bhadra Sharma & Claire Fu, *China Got a Big Contract. Nepal Got Debt and a Pricey Airport.*, N.Y. TIMES (Oct. 16, 2023), <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/16/business/nepal-pokhara-airport-china.html>.

<sup>26</sup> Rishi Gupta, *Nepal’s Geopolitical Crossroads: Balancing China, India, and the United States*, ASIA SOCIETY POLICY INST. (Sept. 20, 2023), <https://asiasociety.org/policy-institute/nepals-geopolitical-crossroads-balancing-china-india-and-united-states>.

#### IV. EVOLUTION OF THE U.S. RELATIONSHIP WITH CHINA AND INDIA

This part explains how the U.S.-Indian relationship has become stronger with respect to trade, technology, and military cooperation, while the U.S.-Chinese relationship decayed.

##### A. Trade

Over the last few decades, trade between the U.S. and China has grown significantly. This trade, while beneficial to consumers in the U.S., has strained the relationship between the two countries. Concerned about the Chinese government stealing intellectual property and subsidizing Chinese domestic industries,<sup>27</sup> former President Donald Trump imposed tariffs on Chinese goods in 2018. President Joe Biden has largely maintained those tariffs.<sup>28</sup>

Despite the tariffs, China remains the United States’ third largest trading partner.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, in 2023, India became, and continues to be, the U.S.’s ninth-largest trading partner.<sup>30</sup> Interestingly, India’s top trading partners are the U.S. and China.<sup>31</sup>

China’s trade relationship with the U.S. far exceeds India’s relationship with the U.S. While United States’ trade with China is significantly greater than with India, when the trends over time are taken into account, it is clear that the trade relationship with India is growing while the relationship with China is decreasing.

Table 1 below lists the volume of exports from the United States to India and China. From 2010 to 2023, there has been an increase in exports from U.S. to India by 109.75% while the increase in exports from U.S. to China between the same time period is 60.7.

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<sup>27</sup> Anshu Siripurapu & Noah Berman, *The Contentious U.S.-China Trade Relationship*, COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/contentious-us-china-trade-relationship> (last updated May 14, 2024, 3:15 PM).

<sup>28</sup> *Id.*

<sup>29</sup> Gulnar Nagashybayeva & Bonni van Blarcom, *U.S. Trade with China: Selected Resources (Introduction)*, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, <https://guides.loc.gov/us-trade-with-china> (last updated May 22, 2024).

<sup>30</sup> See Alyssa Ayres, *India Is Not a U.S. Ally—and Has Never Wanted to Be*, TIME (June 21, 2023), <https://time.com/6288459/india-ally-us-modi-biden-visit/>; see also U.S. Census Bureau, *Top Trading Partners – July 2024*, U.S. DEP’T OF COM., <https://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/statistics/highlights/topcm.html> (last visited Sept. 19, 2024).

<sup>31</sup> Business Standard, *China Beats U.S. to Emerge as Largest Trading Partner of India in FY24*, [https://www.business-standard.com/economy/news/china-beats-us-to-emerge-as-largest-trading-partner-of-india-in-fy24-gtri-124051200126\\_1.html](https://www.business-standard.com/economy/news/china-beats-us-to-emerge-as-largest-trading-partner-of-india-in-fy24-gtri-124051200126_1.html) (last updated May 12, 2024, 11:31 AM).

Table 1: Exports to China and India (2010 and 2023) [in U.S. Dollars Millions]

	<b>Exports from U.S. in 2010 (out-bound)</b>	<b>Exports from U.S. 2023 (out-bound)</b>	<b>Percentage Increase</b>
<b>India</b>	19,248.9 <sup>32</sup>	40,374.9 <sup>33</sup>	109.75
<b>China</b>	91,911.1 <sup>34</sup>	147,777.8 <sup>35</sup>	60.7

Table 2 below lists the volume of imports from China and India to the U.S. While there was an increase in imports from the U.S. to India by 183.37 percent, over that same period, imports from China only increased by 16.7 percent.

Table 2: Imports from China and India (2010 to 2023) [in U.S. Dollars Millions]

	<b>Imports from U.S. in 2010 (in-bound)</b>	<b>Imports from U.S. 2023 (inbound)</b>	<b>Percentage Increase</b>
<b>India</b>	29,532.9 <sup>36</sup>	83,686.1 <sup>37</sup>	183.37
<b>China</b>	364,952.6 <sup>38</sup>	426,885.0 <sup>39</sup>	16.97

While U.S. exports to India and China have both increased from 2010 to 2023, exports to India have increased almost twice as much as U.S. exports to China. Similarly, U.S. imports from China and India have both increased from 2010 to 2023, but U.S. imports from India have increased almost 11 times more than U.S. imports from China. These trends point to a growing trade relationship with India at the same time as a weakening trade relationship with China.

### B. Technology

The changing nature of the bilateral relationships between the U.S. and China and the U.S. and India could not be starker when it comes to technology. While the United States has become increasingly distrustful of China in the intellectual property and technology fields, it has drawn closer to India.

China has been accused of using technology and intellectual property theft to increase its power in the international system. Allegations have been made that China has used its state-controlled enterprises like Huawei and apps like TikTok to threaten global security.<sup>40</sup> The Chinese government has stolen intellectual

<sup>32</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, *U.S. International Trade in Goods and Services: Balance of Payments Basis*, <https://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/balance/c5330.html>

<sup>33</sup> *Id.*

<sup>34</sup> *Id.*

<sup>35</sup> *Id.*

<sup>36</sup> *Id.*

<sup>37</sup> *Id.*

<sup>38</sup> *Id.*

<sup>39</sup> *Id.*

<sup>40</sup> Rajeswari Rajagopalan & Trisha Ray, *US-India Technology Sharing*, HOOVER INST. PRESS (Sept. 18, 2023), [https://www.hoover.org/sites/default/files/research/docs/StrategicCooperation\\_Ch09\\_Rajagopalan-Ray\\_web.pdf](https://www.hoover.org/sites/default/files/research/docs/StrategicCooperation_Ch09_Rajagopalan-Ray_web.pdf).



property from U.S. businesses.<sup>41</sup> In addition, a recent news report claims that China is increasingly using its court system to wage a war on intellectual property rights of foreign corporations.<sup>42</sup>

In contrast to this distrust of China, the U.S. approach to India has been increasingly warm in the technology field. In May 2022, the U.S. and India created a strategic partnership focused on critical and emerging technology (iCET).<sup>43</sup> In January 2023, the United States affirmed that “[t]he ways in which technology is designed, developed, governed, and used should be shaped by our shared democratic values and respect for universal human rights.”<sup>44</sup>

Through iCET, the two countries are share information on artificial intelligence and other emerging technologies, encourag partnerships between the countries, and create semiconductor supply chains. This initiative underscores the trust between the two countries and the shared norms of democracy and human rights. In addition, through the Digital Connectivity and Cybersecurity Partnership, the United States is working closely with India to build and maintain internet infrastructure and strengthen cybersecurity protections.<sup>45</sup>

The two governments also established the United States-India Science & Technology Endowment Fund to promote and encourage innovation and entrepreneurship through application of Science and Technology. The fund aims to encourage collaborative research and development for the public benefit by

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<sup>41</sup> U.S. HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, *Egregious Cases of Chinese Theft of American Intellectual Property*, 116th Cong., 2d Sess. (Sept. 2020), <https://foreignaffairs.house.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/Egregious-Cases-of-Chinese-Theft-of-American-Intellectual-Property.pdf>; see also THE WHITE HOUSE, *Joint Statement from the United States and India* (June 22, 2023), <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2023/06/22/joint-statement-from-the-united-states-and-india/>; Scott Pelley et al., *Glob. Intel. Leaders Warn Against China’s Tech. Theft*, CBS NEWS: 60 MINUTES OVERTIME (Oct. 22, 2023, 7:30 PM), <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/chinas-technology-theft-major-threat-fbi-head-warns-60-minutes/>; Yudhijit Bhattacharjee, *The Daring Ruse That Exposed China’s Campaign to Steal Am. Secrets*, N.Y. TIMES (Mar. 7, 2023), <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/07/magazine/china-spying-intellectual-property.html>; *Chinese Gov’t Poses ‘Broad and Unrelenting’ Threat to U.S. Critical Infrastructure*, FBI DIR. SAYS, FBI: NEWS (Apr. 18, 2024), <https://www.fbi.gov/news/stories/chinese-government-poses-broad-and-unrelenting-threat-to-u-s-critical-infrastructure-fbi-director-says>.

<sup>42</sup> Stu Woo & Daniel Michaels, *China’s Newest Weapon to Nab W. Tech. – Its Courts*, THE WALL ST. J. (Feb. 20, 2023, 10:06 AM), <https://www.wsj.com/articles/u-s-china-technology-disputes-intellectual-property-europe-e749a72e>.

<sup>43</sup> See Press Release, THE WHITE HOUSE, *Fact Sheet: U.S. and India Elevate Strategic P’ship with the Initiative on Critical and Emerging Tech. (iCET)* (Jan. 31, 2023), <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2023/01/31/fact-sheet-united-states-and-india-elevate-strategic-partnership-with-the-initiative-on-critical-and-emerging-technology-icet/>.

<sup>44</sup> *Id.*

<sup>45</sup> See Richard R. Verma, *U.S.-India: A Defining P’ship*, U.S. DEP’T OF STATE: DIPNOTE (Mar. 14, 2024), <https://www.state.gov/u-s-india-a-defining-partnership/#:~:text=Through%20the%20Digital%20Connectivity%20and,infrastructure%20and%20strengthen%20cybersecurity%20protections>; see also Hideki Tomoshige, *The Strategic Convergence of the U.S.-India Innovation P’ship*, CTR. FOR STRATEGIC AND INT’L STUD.: PERSP. ON INNOVATION (Dec. 22, 2023), <https://www.csis.org/blogs/perspectives-innovation/strategic-convergence-us-india-innovation-partnership-0>; Kaush Arha & Samir Saran, *The U.S. Needs a New Paradigm for India: ‘Great Power P’ship’*, ATLANTIC COUNCIL: NEW ATLANTICIST (Apr. 1, 2024), <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/the-us-needs-a-new-paradigm-for-india-great-power-partnership/>.

commercializing certain technology. This was intended to promote long-term collaboration between American and Indian academics and businesses.<sup>46</sup>

American companies are also supporting Indian technological growth. For instance, Microsoft has initiated the Digital Village program to provide digital literacy and cloud computing access in rural villages.<sup>47</sup> Google had multiple partnerships with the Indian Government to provide support to national efforts like Bhashini (digital services in native Indian languages).<sup>48</sup>

### C. *Military Cooperation*

As the security relationship between the U.S. and China is in decline, military cooperation between India and the U.S. is strengthening. The number of annual military exchanges between the U.S. and China has declined from a peak of forty-one in 2014 to less than twenty per year under President Trump.<sup>49</sup> Despite Chinese military operations in the South China Sea and the Taiwan Strait, U.S. and Chinese defense officials have not met consistently to discuss crisis management.<sup>50</sup>

Meanwhile, the United States and Indian military cooperation enhanced over the last decade. The United States conducts more joint military exercises with India than any other country.<sup>51</sup> To build on to this growing defense partnership, the countries launched the India-U.S. Defense Acceleration Ecosystem.<sup>52</sup> The United States is actively encouraging India to reduce its reliance on Russian weapons and defense technology.<sup>53</sup>

Additionally, during Prime Minister Modi's state visit last June, General Electric Aerospace announced a Memorandum of Understanding with Hindustan

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<sup>46</sup> See INDO-U.S. SCIENCE & TECH. FORUM: PROGRAM PORTFOLIO, <https://iusstf.org/u-s-india-science-tech-nology-endowment-fund> (last visited Sept. 18, 2024).

<sup>47</sup> Chen May Yee, *With Help from Next-Generation AI, Indian Villagers Gain Easier Access to Gov't Serv.*, MICROSOFT: NEWS (May 23, 2023), <https://news.microsoft.com/source/asia/features/with-help-from-next-generation-ai-indian-villagers-gain-easier-access-to-government-services/>.

<sup>48</sup> Sanjay Gupta, *Google for India 2023: Partnering India's Success in a New Digit. Paradigm*, GOOGLE: INDIA BLOG (Oct. 19, 2023), <https://blog.google/intl/en-in/partnering-indias-success-in-a-new-digital-paradigm/>.

<sup>49</sup> Carnegie Endowment, *Why the U.S. and China Militaries Aren't Talking Much Anymore* (Aug. 11, 2021), <https://carnegieendowment.org/posts/2021/08/why-the-us-and-chinese-militaries-arent-talking-much-any-more?lang=en>.

<sup>50</sup> Paul Haenle, *Why the U.S. and Chinese Militaries Aren't Talking Much Anymore*, CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INT'L PEACE: POSTS (Aug. 11, 2021), <https://carnegieendowment.org/posts/2021/08/why-the-us-and-chinese-militaries-arent-talking-much-any-more?lang=en> (Though this might change as a result of the summit meeting between Presidents Joe Biden and Xi Jinping held in November 2023, where the leaders agreed to restart military dialogues through a number of channels); see also Scott Kennedy, *U.S.-China Rel. in 2024: Managing Competition Without Conflict*, CTR. FOR STRATEGIC AND INT'L STUD.: ANALYSIS (Jan. 3, 2024), <https://www.csis.org/analysis/us-china-relations-2024-managing-competition-without-conflict>.

<sup>51</sup> K. ALAN KRONSTADT, CONG. RSCH. SERV., REPORT NO. IF12438 (VERSION 5), INDIA-U.S.: MAJOR ARMS TRANSFERS AND MILITARY EXERCISES, <https://sgp.fas.org/crs/row/IF12438.pdf>, (last updated May 30, 2024).

<sup>52</sup> *Id.*

<sup>53</sup> *Id.*

Aeronautics Limited that includes potential co-production of the F414 jet engine in India.<sup>54</sup>

## V. CONCLUSION

The relationship between India and the U.S. has grown over the last decade in the areas of trade, technology, and military cooperation. At the same time, the relationship between U.S. and China is deteriorating on all those fronts.

Even if the United States desperately sought it, it would likely not have had a chance of a strong relationship with India in the first 40 years of India’s history as an independent nation. At that time, India pursued a non-alignment foreign policy and an inward economic development model aimed to shore up domestic industry. Once those policies changed, India became more receptive to both a political and economic relationship with the U.S. As India looked outwards, the U.S. gaze may have also shifted to India as a counterweight to China in Asia. However, India does not seem to be interested in an exclusive relationship with the United States. It continues to maintain strong political and economic ties with Russia and refuses to condemn Russia’s war in the Ukraine.

In some ways, India may seem like the next China, but there are also factors that suggest that the relationship between India and the United States may be more enduring than the Chinese-U.S. relationship.

The basic tenants of democracy and human rights lie at the foundations of the Indian and U.S. governments (even if both deviate from them on many occasions). Additionally, people who draw their heritage originally from India occupy key positions in the U.S. administration, Congress, and businesses. This is due in large part because of their high educational achievement at the time they emigrated from India, but also because of their ability to speak English fluently.<sup>55</sup> Indeed, the Indian American community though only 5 million in size, is one of the most prosperous communities in the United States.<sup>56</sup> This community also helps connect the two countries in many ways.

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<sup>54</sup> See *How Modi and Biden Turbocharged India-U.S. Ties*, BBC NEWS (June 23, 2023), <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-65982053>.

<sup>55</sup> See Tom Chiang, Jr., *Why Indian Am. are Successful*, 21 CONTEXTS, (Oct. 3, 2022), 64, at 64.

<sup>56</sup> *Indians in U.S. Wealthier with Average Household Earning of \$123,700: Rep.*, ECON. TIMES (August 25, 2021, 5:31 PM), <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/nri/migrate/indians-in-us-wealthier-with-average-household-earning-of-123700-report/articleshow/85623601.cms?from=mdr>.