DEFENSE DIPLOMACY IN US-INDIA STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP

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RESEARCH AIM-
The purpose of this study is to appraise about the role of Defense diplomacy in U.S. – India strategic relationship. The study will primarily focus on huge potential that the Indian defense market holds the common security challenges that the two countries face and common training values, interests and visions that they share. It will examine that how defense diplomacy can play an important role in further strengthening this strategic relationship between the two countries.

SCOPE OF RESEARCH-
The scope of this research focuses and highlights that what is the role of defense diplomacy in U.S. – India strategic relationship. It also deals with the defense cooperation, counter-terrorism and internal security, joint military exercise, military education and training between the two countries.

At last it deals with U.S. support for India’s membership in UNSC and UN peacekeeping. Challenges of defense diplomacy have been also discussed.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY-
The research methodology adopted for the purpose of the study is Doctrinal. Sources of data used are both primary and secondary, i.e., namely statutes, books, articles, reports and online websites.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE-
In this research D.C. Bhattacharyya has beautifully describe the concept of ‘International relations’ and India- U.S relations and the defense and security system and its impact on each other.

CENTRAL ARGUMENT-
This research is basically focusing on the central argument over how the defense diplomacy is effective in both the countries, i.e. U.S and India and how it is helpful in making healthy relations between the two.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS-
1. What is present status of U.S. - India defense cooperation?
2. What has been achieved in recent years through defense diplomacy between the two nations?
3. What are the challenges and problems that they are likely to face in further strengthening bilateral relationship?
4. What is the future of this relationship and how will defense diplomacy address their common challenges and concerns?

RESEARCH SCHEME-
CHAPTER01- INTRODUCTION
CHAPTER02- DEFENSE COOPERATION-
• DEFENSE TRADE
• CIVIL NUCLEAR COOPERATION
• DEFENCE COOPERATION
• COUNTER TERRORISM AND INTERNAL SECURITY
• JOINT MILITARY EXERCISE
• MILITARY EDUCATION AND TRAINING
Defence diplomacy plays an important role in achieving specific foreign and security policy objectives of nations. It facilitates cooperation at political and economic level. Since the end of cold war and collapse of Soviet Union, the U.S.-India relations have improved considerably. Defence diplomacy has also helped in building trust and confidence between the two nations. After the cold war, India reoriented its foreign policy and security due to need of the emerging international security environment. Even U.S. decided to maintain ‘cooperative engagement’ with militaries of the friendly countries.

Lessening of differences on many global as well as bilateral issues promoted military in both countries to utilize opportunity to develop closer relations. The visit of Lieutenant-General Claude M. Kickleighter, commander-in-chief, U.S. army pacific command, to India in 1991 marked a turning point in the relationship.

‘Kickleighter proposals’ helped in expansion of cooperation and partnership between militaries of two countries. Executive steering groups ESGs) were established in both countries to intensify military-to-military cooperation followed the formation of navy and air force EGSs in March 1992 and August 1993.


U.S. programmers related to defense diplomacy emphasis on military cooperation and assistance which include International military education and training; non-combat and non-technical training in areas like defense management, civil-military relations and military justice, foreign military interaction involving a wide range of military to military contacts with other states, foreign military financing in form of grants and loans, joint combined exchange training of special forces, military sales, program that allow transfer of weapons or training to other states in emergency circumstances or to dispose of surplus military equipment and enhancement of ability of other states to contribute to international peacekeeping missions.
achievement of foreign and security policy goals. Defense diplomacy in broader context is the use of armed forces in operation other than war and building on their trained expertise and discipline to achieve national and foreign objectives abroad.¹

On the other side Defense cooperation is ‘any arrangement between two or more nations where their armed forces work together to achieve mutual aims and objectives’.

These objectives are-

1. To promote intra and extra regional peace and stability through dialogue and cooperation.
2. To promote mutual understanding on defense and security challenges.
3. To enhance transparency and openness.
4. To imbibe ‘best practices’ by observing specific aspects of functioning of the militaries of more advanced countries.

So Defense diplomacy not only promotes interoperability between the armed forces and good defense relations among participating countries but also creates mutual confidence and trust between the countries at large.

Due to India’s emergence as a regional power, a potential market and its importance in maintaining a stable balance of power in Asia- U.S. - India defense relationship is developing.²

This relationship is helping two in combating international terrorism, preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), ensuring security of resources such as energy and water, illegal migrations, human right abuses, piracy, drug trafficking and gun running, climate change and environment degradation.

1. DEFENSE TRADE-

PM Modi visited the U.S. on 26-30 September 2014. He held meetings with President Obama, member of U.S. Congress and political leaders, including from various states and cities in U.S. and interacted with members of President Obama’s Cabinet.

A vision statement and a joint statement were issued during visit and on the visit by President Obama’s visit to India on 25-27 January, 2015 as Chief guest at India’s Republic day. During the visit two sides issued a Delhi declaration of friendship and adopted joint strategic vision for Asia pacific and the Indian Ocean Region.

On the second meeting by PM Modi on 23-28 September 2015 during which he held a bilateral meeting with President Obama, interacted with leaders of business, media, academics, the provincial leaders and the


Indian community, including during his travel to the Silicon Valley.\textsuperscript{3}

In 2016 PM visited U.S. for multilateral Nuclear Security Summit hosted by President Obama in Washington D.C on 31\textsuperscript{st} March-1 April. PM Modi was sixth Indian PM to address the U.S. congress.

This is frequent interaction between the leadership of the two countries, including telephone calls and meetings on sidelines of international summits.

President Trump and PM Modi have spoken thrice over phone since the former’s election in November 2016. A hotline has been established between PM’s office and U.S. white house.

2. CIVIL NUCLEAR COOPERATION-
Bilateral Civil nuclear cooperation agreement was finalized in July 2007 and signed in October 2008. During P.M Modi’s visit to the U.S in September 2014, the two sides set up a contact group for advancing the full and timely implementation of India-U.S. civil nuclear cooperation agreement and to resolve pending issues.

Nuclear power Corporation of India Ltd. and Westinghouse are in talks toward finalizing the contractual arrangements and addressing related issues.

3. DEFENSE COOPERATION-

Due to ‘New framework for India-U.S Defense relations’ in 2005 defense relationship has emerged as a major pillar of India- U.S. strategic partnership and resulting in intensification in defense trade, joint exercises, personnel exchanges, collaboration and cooperation in maritime security and counter-piracy and exchanges between each of three services.

Defense framework Agreement was updated and renewed for another 10 years in June 2015.

The two countries now conduct more bilateral exercises with each other than they do with any other country. India participated in Rim of the Pacific (RIMPAC) exercise in July-August 2016 for the second time with an Indian Naval Frigate. Bilateral dialogue mechanisms in the field of defense include Defense Policy Group (DPG), Defense Joint Working Group (DJWG), Defense Procurement and Production Group (DPPG), Senior Technology Security Group (STSG), Joint Technical Group (JTG), Military Cooperation Group (MCG), and Service-to-Service Executive Steering Groups (ESGs).

The agreements signed during the past one year include, Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Association (LEMOA) signed in August 2016, Fuel Exchange Agreement signed in November 2015, Technical Agreement (TA) on information sharing on White (merchant) Shipping signed in May 2016 and the Information Exchange Annexed (IEA) on Aircraft Carrier Technologies signed in June 2016.

Aggregate worth of defense acquisition from U.S. Defense has crossed over US$ 13

India and the United States have launched a Defense Technology and Trade Initiative (DTTI) aimed at simplifying technology transfer policies and exploring possibilities of co-development and co-production to invest the defense relationship with strategic value. The DTTI Working Group and its Task Force will expeditiously evaluate and decide on unique projects and technologies which would have a transformative impact on bilateral defense relations and enhance India's defense industry and military capabilities. During President Obama's visit in January 2015, the two sides agreed to start cooperation on 4 DTTI pathfinder projects and 2 pathfinder initiatives, which are currently at various stages of execution. During RM's visit in December 2015, the two sides also identified opportunities for bilateral cooperation in production and design of jet engine components.

During Secretary Carter's visit in April 2014, two more G-2-G DTTI projects were added to the list. The DTTI meeting in Delhi in July 2016 decided to broaden its agenda by setting up five new Joint Working Groups on: Naval Systems; Air Systems, Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance; Chemical and Biological Protection; and Other Systems.

During the visit of Prime Minister to the U.S. in June 2016, the U.S. recognized India as a "Major Defense Partner", which commits the U.S. to facilitate technology sharing with India to a level commensurate with that of its closest allies and partners, and industry collaboration for defense co-production and co-development.

4. COUNTER- TERRORISM AND INTERNAL SECURITY -

Cooperation between U.S and India in counter-terrorism has seen considerable progress with intelligence sharing, information exchange, operational cooperation, counter-terrorism technology and equipment. India-U.S. Counter-Terrorism Cooperation Initiative was signed in 2010 in order to expand collaboration on counter-terrorism, information sharing and capacity building and a Homeland Security Dialogue was announced during President Obama's visit to India in November 2010 to further deepen operational cooperation, counter-terrorism technology transfers and capacity building. This dialogue contains two rounds, held in May 2011 and May 2013, with six Sub-Groups steering cooperation in specific areas. In December 2013, India-U.S Police Chief Conference on homeland security was organized in New Delhi. Police Commissioners from India's top four metropolises paid a study visit to the U.S. to learn the practices of megacities policing in the U.S. in November 2015.

The two sides have agreed on a joint work plan to counter the threat of Improvised Explosives Device (IED). For further enhance the counter terrorism cooperation between India and the U.S., an arrangement was concluded in June 2016 to facilitate exchange of terrorist screening information through the designated contact points. India-

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4 "Post-Obama, India May Get Best of US Technologies", The Economics Times, New Delhi, November 21, 2010; and, "First Super Hercules Aircraft to be Delivered to India Next Week", The Hindu, New Delhi, December 10, 2010.
U.S. Joint Working Group on Counter-Terrorism held its 14th meeting in July 2016 in Washington DC.

5. JOINT MILITARY EXERCISE-

In the recent times, the US-India military exchanges have reached an all time high considering the number of joint military exercises. While the US and Indian armies planned to undertake nine joint exercises in India in 2010, the air forces and the navies of both the nations are also planning similar programmers for the year 2010-11. India conducts the maximum number of joint military exercises with the US, and their growing strategic partnership is taking these operations to highly advanced level.

In some last few decades India and the US have held over 60 exercises. While India is keen to gain the practical experience of learning through military war games, the US is also interested in learning from the Indian expertise in various fields as improvised explosive devices (IED) detection, counter-insurgency and mountain and jungle Warfare skills. In November 2010, the US and Indian troops held annual joint military exercises involving airborne specialist operations in sub-zero temperatures at joint Base Elmendorf-Richardson in Alaska. Even Indian and American Special Forces also engaged in the “Vajra Prahar” counter-terrorism exercise at the Belgaum commando school in Karnataka, India.5

The US army itself viewed “Yudh Abhyas” (war games) as “a challenge, something unique and definitely a lesson in patience with the language barrier,” as it involves training foreign troops in American operational doctrines. During the exercise, training included instruction on various US army weapons systems, evaluating and evacuating a casualty, and hands-on training with the engagement skills trainer. The weapons training included hands-on instruction on the M-4 carbine with which the Indian troops later performed live-fire training.

The US soldiers and their Indian counterparts also took part in cultural exchanges to improve partnership readiness and cooperation between the two armies. The exercise further aimed at sharing peacekeeping experiences with focus on counter-insurgency and counter-terrorism in a semi-urban scenario.

Yudh Abhyas is a regularly-scheduled, conventional forces training exercise, sponsored by US army (Pacific) and the Indian army. The exercise is designed to promote cooperation between the Two militaries to promote interoperability through the combined military decision-making process, through battle tracking and maneuvering forces, and exchange of tactics, techniques and procedures. Continued robust exercises and exchanges will Expand contacts between the US and Indian Militaries.

6. MILITARY EDUCATION AND TRAINING-

A key element of the US engagement process through defense diplomacy is the enlarged International Military Education and Training (IMET) programmed. The IMET programmed is an instrument of US national security and foreign policy and a key component of US security assistance that provides training on a grant basis to students from allied and friendly nations. The United States IMET assistance to India has gone up from $0.5 million in 2001 to $1.364 million in 2009.6 Below is the account levels for IMET for fiscal years 2006-2011, including 2006-2009 (actual-funding actually provided in fiscal years 2006-2009, including supplemental funding), 2010 (estimate funding allocations for the 2010 fiscal year) and 2011 (requested-funding requested under the president’s fiscal year, 2011 budget).

In essence, the IMET, whose estimated allocation for India was $1.2 million in 2010, allows its personnel to attend courses from the 2000 offered annually at some 150 US military schools, receive observer or on-the-job training in addition to orientation tours. In comparison, Pakistan’s IMET allocation has more than doubled from $2.03 million in 2006 to $5 million in 2010.

Moreover, in October 2010, the US announced to a whopping $2.29 billion in new military aid to Pakistan to bolster its army’s anti-terror capabilities, notwithstanding India’s concerns that Islamabad has been diverting much of this assistance against it. Two billion of these amounts are under the foreign military financing programmers and $29 million is being given under IMET funding.

External affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj and Defense Minister Nirmala Sitharaman will hold talks with their American counterparts Mike Pompeo and James Mattis. The maiden India-US 2+2 Dialogue will be held on 6 July, 2018. The key issues that would be discussed would include counterterrorism, cyber security, defense cooperation and regional security.

CHAPTER03-US SUPPORT FOR INDIA’S MEMBERSHIP IN UNSC AND UN PEACEKEEPING-

The US President Obama and Prime Minister Singh in their joint statement noted that “India and the United States, as global leaders, will partner for global security, especially as India serves on the security council over the next two years” starting from January 1, 2011.

They also agreed “to hold regular consultations on UN matters, including on the long-term sustainability of UN peacekeeping operations.” President Obama’s support to India’s inclusion in the UN Security Council is also an important manifestation. The Indian military has been a very active participant in UN peacekeeping operations since the

India was also one of the founding members of the UN and has consistently shown great interest in and commitment to the initiatives of the world body towards maintaining global peace and security.

The first deployment started in 1950’s, when India sent troops to Korea in 1953-54. It has participated over forty UN peacekeeping missions. Its troops have taken part in some of the most difficult operations, and their professional excellence has won them universal admiration. Its forces have demonstrated their unique capacity of sustaining large troop commitments over prolonged periods. It has considerable experience in de-mining activities and made a significant contribution to demining work in various peacekeeping missions. Opportunities are also provide for training to military officers from different countries. Additionally it established the Centre for UN Peacekeeping (CUNPK) in New Delhi in September 2000, to provide a level of training equal to the level of commitment. This training institution fulfils the training and concept-related requirements of India’s UN peacekeeping obligations, while enabling future peacekeepers to benefit from India’s vast peacekeeping experience. India’s unique combination of being the largest democracy in the world with a strong tradition of respect for rule of law and the successful experience in post-colonial nation-state building makes it particularly relevant in the context of twenty-first century peace-building.

India’s large contribution to UN peacekeeping operations over the past few decades have also contributed towards further improving defense cooperation with a large number of countries, especially with the US. The US has an elaborate training programme and funding for training other nations in peace keeping operations under the Global Peace Operation Initiative (GPOI). The US funds for UN training and simulation facilities in target countries. Though India chose not to join GPOI as a partner, but Indian personnel have participated in some GPOI training events through the use of non-GPOI funds. India’s defense cooperation also leads to optimizing of UN peacekeeping as well as disaster management. However, much more can still be done in this field to further advance foreign and security policy objectives of the two nations.

CHAPTER 04 - COOPERATION IN HUMANITARIAN AND EMERGENCY SITUATIONS

The United States and India can build on the successful humanitarian crisis cooperation demonstrated in their joint response to the 2004 Asian tsunami. Joint naval exercises have served to further consolidate the ability of their navies to work together, along with others in Asia, and this should clearly continue. A much more engaged maritime

and humanitarian cooperation will unfold as India modernizes its naval capabilities.\(^8\)

India’s decision to purchase maritime surveillance aircraft from an American supplier (Boeing) will give it stronger warning capabilities in its own region, and the prospect of more extensive Indian defense procurement from US suppliers would further enhance US’ ability to coordinate response. India does have its own developmental needs, but in recent years it has made important direct contributions to other countries (such as Afghanistan) facing situations of scarcity. And in 2008, the Indian government granted an export exemption that allowed the World Food Programme to purchase Indian rice for provision to 22 countries with severe needs (Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Haiti, among others). So close coordination between the US and India, especially in cases where India offers substantially more cost-effective means for providing assistance, mark the beginning of new kinds of humanitarian cooperation.

Furthermore, while US army and disaster relief personnel cooperated with India in the aftermath of tsunami disaster in December 2004, India reciprocated by airlifting supplies to victims of Hurricane Katrina in August 2005.\(^9\) The US undersecretary of defense for policy Michele Flournoy in her speech at the Asia Society in July 2010 stressed that “We will continue to build on our experience working together on disaster assistance and humanitarian relief, and develop procedures to facilitate more seamless cooperation in future contingencies.”

CHAPTER05- INDIA AS ANET SECURITY PROVIDER IN THE INDIAN OCEAN REGION-

Making note of India’s growing influence in global affairs, US Defense Secretary, Robert Gates said that India is a strategic partner and “a net provider of security in the Indian Ocean and beyond” with the growth of its military capabilities. The Quadrennial Defense Review report of 2010 also makes it clear that as the economic power, cultural reach and political influence of India increases, it is assuming a more influential role in global affairs.\(^10\)

This growing influence, combined with democratic values it shares with the United States, an open political system, and a commitment to global stability, will present many opportunities for cooperation. The report noted “India has already established its worldwide military influence through counter piracy, peacekeeping, humanitarian assistance, and disaster relief efforts. As its military capabilities grow, India will contribute to Asia as a net provider of


security in the Indian Ocean and beyond”. On the other hand, the report expressed concerns over the lack of Chinese transparency over its military development. As an emerging global economic and trading power, India has a vital stake in maritime security, especially since global mercantile trade now constitutes 41 per cent of the GDP. Of this, 77 per cent of the trade and over 90 per cent by volume is carried by sea.

Now, 70 per cent of crude and oil products are being carried through the Indian Ocean. In this regard, the QDR report states that the US has a substantial interest in the stability of the Indian Ocean region as a whole, which will play an ever more important role in the global economy. In addition, the Indian Ocean provides vital sea lines of communication that are essential to global commerce, international energy security and regional stability. Ensuring open access to the Indian Ocean will require a more integrated approach to the region across military and civilian organizations”.

As the main resident power in the Indian Ocean region, we have a vital stake in the evolution of a stable, open, inclusive and balanced security and cooperation architecture in the region. By definition this would need to be a consensus-based process, where all the stakeholders who have a legitimate presence in the region make their respective contributions to regional security”. The Indian navy, thus, is seeking a cooperative regional approach to maritime security, as demonstrated by its recent participation in regional naval exercises. The increasing interoperability in India’s military exercises with foreign navies offers its navy an advantage in security operations. These exercises assist in developing skills for joint operations to address problems related to piracy, terrorism, drug trafficking, the smuggling of arms and people as well as disaster relief and humanitarian assistance. Interoperability has also facilitated institutionalized cooperative naval exercises with the navies of the United States and with other countries like Russia, UK.

CHAPTER 06- CHALLENGES TO DEFENSE DIPLOMACY-

1. Managing Bilateral Relations-

United States and India both countries are facing challenges in managing their relations with regard to the many regional and global security issues that they face. These relate to their policy positions on their relationships with Pakistan, China and Iran. Issues such as climate change, nuclear non-proliferation, international financial crisis, energy and environment are also very important. However, bilateral cooperation on the Indian armed forces’ structural reform, domestic counter insurgency, personnel acquisition and management reform, among others offers opportunities that might offset the areas of disagreement. 11

India faces a complex strategic environment in the region as well as at home. Indian strategy has responded by showing maximum flexibility in terms of security partners but without compromising of domestic development. The US and India continue to make enormous strides toward the type of strategic relationship that befits the status of each as a leading democracy but without being in a de facto alliance.

These difficulties must be managed in order to fulfill the promise inherent in the relationship.

2. Reliability of Supply and US Export Control Reforms-

India’s doubts as to the reliability of the US as a supply partner, the United States’ reluctance to release certain technology, and worry over the transferability of specifications to less-trusted, third end-users. These doubts have their origin in the United States imposition of sanctions after India’s nuclear tests in 1974 and 1998 and have not been entirely removed despite subsequent, positive developments in the bilateral relations.

India has not yet signed the three agreements that the US wants India to sign such as the Logistics Support Agreement (LSA), the Communication Interoperability and Security Memorandum of Agreement (CISMOA), and the Geospatial Agreement, each required under US domestic laws in order to transfer sensitive defense technology. India seeks recognition from the US that it is a special partner entitled to receive certain priorities and concessions that are not extended universally.12 If the US wants its appropriate share of the large economic opportunity presented by India’s defense market, it is necessary for the political and bureaucratic leadership of the two countries to remove discretionary barriers and extend administrative and regulatory preferences.

• DIFFERENCES ON COUNTERTERRORISM-

In its avowed war against terrorism the US was not only accepting the support of a state, India has been asking to be declared terrorist, but also appears to have succumbed to Islamabad’s blackmail and done a deal behind India’s back. However, India, with its stable democratic institutions and strong credentials on the socio-economic front is being increasingly looked upon as a country which can make significant contributions towards world peace and stability. The transformation of defense relationship through the mechanism of defense diplomacy is essential that could help meet these challenges.

CONCLUSION

The US-India strategic relationship is evolving in response to the changing role of India as a regional power, growth of the Indian economy and technology, and its attendant impact on the US regional and global interests. The most important strategic convergence is that both nations seek regional stability, support nonproliferation and want to counter international terrorism and religious extremism. In the coming years, defense cooperation will thrive if this remains embedded in the larger context of the bilateral relations and cooperation encompassing political and economic relations. It can be said that defense diplomacy would continue to play a larger role in building trust and confidence between the two nations on a range of issues that the two nations face. The transformation in India-US defense cooperation in recent years has strengthened mutual understanding on regional peace and stability, enhanced both countries, respective capacities to meet humanitarian and other challenges such as terrorism and piracy, and contributed to the development of the strategic partnership between India and the United States.

The two Governments resolved to further strengthen defense cooperation, including through security dialogue, exercises, and promoting trade and collaboration in defense equipment and technology. The two leaders also pledged that as strategic partners, India and the United States would continue to consult each other closely on regional and global developments, and remain sensitive to each other’s interests.

In recent years, the two countries have made substantial progress in their strategic relationship. The launching of US-India joint working group (JWG) on counterterrorism in 2000, high technology cooperation group (HTCG) in 2002, statement of principles for US-India high technology commerce in 2003, next steps in strategic partnership (NSSP) in 2004, Energy Dialogue in 2005, civil nuclear cooperation in July 2006 are significant achievements to further promote and strengthen strategic relations. Moreover, a ten year programme of defense cooperation signed in June 2005 between the two countries encompasses advanced joint exercises and training, expanded defense trade, defense technology transfer, missile defense collaboration, and defense procurement and co-production.

Hence, the strategic partnership agreements signed between the two countries formalized collaboration on the transfer of high technology, civil nuclear energy, economic capacity building, trade and investment, science, education, agriculture, and other areas, all designed to achieve their security and foreign policy interests and further develop US-India strategic relationship. From a long term perspective, it is imperative that the two countries need to work toward building architecture for a durable defense relationship while keeping the core national interests intact. If both sides play their diplomatic cards wisely, this strategic relationship could shape the geopolitical contours of the 21st century in a manner that enhances peace, stability and prosperity in the world over.

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