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WORKSHEET - 1

India and USA

Foundation PT CUM MAINS
WORK-SHEET

Part - 1

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India and USA

Global politics is changing rapidly and it has its effects on global relationships as well. Now the focus of the nations have shifted to **unilateralism, protectionism and isolationism** from **peace, joint cooperation, multilateralism and liberalism** usually propagated by institutions such as the **United Nations, the World Trade Organisation and the International Court of Justice.**

- Global politics is disturbed by the disruptions caused by the **trade war between the US-China and Brexit** impacting other nations' relations with them and with each other. India also stands at a crossroads in terms of its foreign policy approach in these turbulent times.
- India has to make **crucial decisions** in such times to sustain and the options available are-
 - Continue with the time-tested stable policy of non-alignment and strategic autonomy.
 - Follow unilateralism and be a permanent treaty ally of one of the superpowers.
 - Forge new relations and explore fresh territories by adopting the strategy of multi-alignment and transactional autonomy.

Relationship Dynamics

- It can be elaborated into three main categories-
 - **Good Phase-** It is linked to the historic terms like the U.S. civil nuclear deal, the ongoing defence cooperation and the signing of “Foundational Defence Agreements” which are the Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement (COMCASA), the Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA) and the Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement for Geo-spatial Cooperation (BECA) etc.
 - **Bad Phase-** It is linked with the current trade challenges, the U.S.'s hyphenation of India with China in its trade war and its call for the removal of the ‘developing country’ tag assigned by the WTO.
 - **Ugly Phase-** It was when the U.S. sent its fleet towards India to assist Pakistan during the 1971 war.

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- The good outweighs the other two but a sense of scepticism remains because of India’s multilateral outreach, especially with respect to the procurement of defence material from Russia and Indian military’s presence in Afghanistan.
- India also needs to remain mindful of the unpredictability and inherent contradictions in U.S. foreign policy and, at the same time, capitalise on U.S. ‘isolationism and retrenchment’ by maintaining its time-tested policy of non-alignment and strategic autonomy.

Recently, the **US President, Donald Trump visited India**. While only three of the nine US Presidents during 1947-2000 visited India, every President in the last two decades has visited India at least once.

Many **reasons** could be ascribed to the higher frequency of visits — **a shift in global geopolitics in the post-Cold War era, India’s economic ascent, the rise of an assertive China, and India’s place on the global high table**. Relations between India and the US have transformed from being **Estranged democracies (during the cold war) to Strategic partners (in the Post-cold war era)**.

Note:

- **Estranged democracies:** US and India, though being the oldest democracy and largest democracy respectively, remained detached during the cold war.
- **Strategic partners:** US and India, in the post-cold war era (after 1991) turned into strategic allies.

During the cold war, India got tilted towards the Soviet Union after the 1971 Friendship Treaty, which was a response to the continuing U.S. tilt towards Pakistan and the beginnings of convergence between US and China. At present, India and US convergence is due to potentially hegemonic China in the Indo-Pacific region.

In this context, the visit of the US president further cements the **strategic convergence** between India and the US.

Takeaways From the Visit

- The agreement signed for defence purchases worth \$3-billion, including **American helicopters (MH-60 Romeo helicopters)**, has led to both sides signalling more cooperation in defence, military exercises and technology sharing.

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- MoU signed for **Petronet to invest in American gas company Tellurian.**
- A commercial agreement for **Westinghouse to build six nuclear reactors in Andhra Pradesh.**
- Along with these two leaders shared strong language in references aimed at **China’s hegemony in the South China Sea** as well as the **Belt and Road Initiative.**
- However, there was **no agreement** on the trade deal.

Divergence In India-US relations

- **Trade Deal: Trade has been a major bone of contention between India and the US.** India has been referred by the US, as “**tariff king**” that imposes “**tremendously high**” import duties. Donald Trump formulated **America First policy**, on the economic dimension, it means reducing the U.S. 's trade deficits with major trading partners, including India.

In pursuance of this:

- In June 2019, the Trump administration decided to terminate India’s benefits under the **Generalised System of Preferences (GSP) scheme**, which provides preferential, duty-free access for over \$6 billion worth of products exported from this country to the US.
- Removal from the GSP list amidst rising trade tensions prompted India to finally impose retaliatory tariffs on several American imports. **This made the US approach the WTO against India.**
- The office of the **US Trade Representative (USTR)** has underlined India’s measures to restrict companies from sending personal data of its citizens outside the country as a “key” barrier to digital trade.
- Also, the US has long demanded greater access to American agriculture and dairy products. For India, protecting its domestic agriculture and dairy interests was a **major reason to walk out of the RCEP agreement.**
- **US-Pakistan Equation:** US has softened its position on Pakistan in the last seven months, due to the role Pakistan can play in the **Afghan deal** (between the US and the Taliban), likely to be signed on February 29, 2020.

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- In return, Pakistan wants the US to engage with India on the Kashmir issue (**internationalising the Kashmir issue**). Whereas India maintains the view that Kashmir is a bilateral issue between India and Pakistan and no third party can be engaged in it.
- **Internal Issues in India:** India-US strong strategic partnership is also based on an idea of “**shared values**” of democracy, rule of law, religious freedom and protection of minorities. However, the revocation of Article 370, the new citizenship law and the NRC is testing this “shared values” principle.
 - Though the US president maintained that these matters are internal to India, criticism from the US Congress and some parts of US civil society is pushing the US administration to tell India to bring Kashmir to normalcy and not go ahead with the new citizenship law followed by the NRC.

Convergence in Indo-US relations

In the post-cold war era, India's relationship with the US on defence and strategic issues has strengthened. This can be reflected in the following:

- A foundational military agreement that allows for the sharing of encrypted communications and equipment (**COMCASA- Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement**).
- A change in U.S. export control laws that places India in a privileged category of NATO and non-NATO U.S. allies.
- The signing of an Industrial Security Annex that will allow for greater collaboration among the two countries' private defence industries.
- A new ‘**2+2**’ **foreign and defence ministers dialogue**.

Second 2+2 Indo-US Ministerial dialogue was held in Washington. The first 2+2 was held in New Delhi September last year after the mechanism was approved by Prime Minister Narendra Modi and President Donald Trump.

What are Indo-US 2+2 dialogues?

The 2+2 dialogue is the highest-level (Ministerial) institutional mechanism between India and the USA that brings together the perspectives of the two countries **on foreign policy, defence and strategic issues**.

- India also holds such dialogue with Japan as well
- India also holds 2+2 dialogue with Australia at the foreign secretary and

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defence secretary level

Key highlights of second 2+2 dialogue

- **During this meet, both India and the US have agreed to deepen their bilateral cooperation in areas of defence, counter-terrorism and trade, and to work with like-minded countries for a free and open Indo-Pacific region.**
- **At the dialogue, both sides also committed to further deepen military-to-military cooperation, including between the Indian Navy and the US Navy Fleets under US Indo-Pacific Command, Central Command, and Africa Command and intend to expand similar cooperation between their respective Armies and Air Forces.**
- **The two sides concluded the Industrial Security Annex during the visit.**
- **Priority initiatives have been identified for execution under the Defence Technology and Trade Initiative (DTTI) programme.**
- **The Ministers committed to a common vision for the India-U.S. Major Defense Partnership (MDP) that recognizes their countries’ shared desire to build a comprehensive, enduring, and mutually-beneficial defence partnership and to expand all aspects of their security and defence cooperation.**
- **The two sides also applauded the establishment of the new tri-service, amphibious exercise – TIGER TRIUMPH – as a tangible demonstration of the growing scope and complexity of military cooperation. The Ministers decided to hold TIGER TRIUMPH annually, in formats to be decided mutually**
- **The USA welcomed India’s invitation to join the 2020 MILAN multilateral naval exercise and plans to participate.**
- **They also decided to continue the discussion on the Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement (BECA) in 2020 to enable greater geospatial information-sharing.**
- **The Ministers noted their intent to explore collaboration on testing and certification in defence and aerospace sectors and establishment of Maintenance Repair and Overhaul (MRO) facilities in India.**

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Industrial Security Annex

- The Industrial Security Annex (ISA), signed between India and the U.S. at the second 2+2 dialogue in Washington, will open the door for U.S. defence companies to partner with the Indian private sector for several multi-billion dollar deals in the pipeline, especially the deal for 114 fighter jets.
 - It will enable the release of more advanced technology and information to India and help make it part of the global supply chain in the defence sector
-
- The bilateral Strategic Energy Partnership was launched in April 2018 under which India has started importing crude and LNG from the US. Now, the US is India's sixth-largest source of crude oil imports and hydrocarbons.
 - Inauguration of the first India-US tri-service military exercise and expansion of existing military exercises.
 - Inclusion of India and South Asia in the US Maritime Security Initiative.
 - These intense engagement has helped achieve robust support from the US against terrorism.
 - This was evident after the Pulwama attack, leading to the designation of Jaish-e-Mohammad chief Masood Azhar as a global terrorist under UN Security Council Resolution 1267.
 - Also, placing Pakistan on the grey-list of the **Financial Action Task Force**.
 - The US under its Pivot to Asia policy views India as an ideal balancer to check the aggressive rise of China. Therefore, the US has formulated the concept of Indo-Pacific to counter China in the South China Sea and the Indian ocean.
 - The US has designated India as an integral part of the **Indo-pacific** narrative by the conception of **Quad**.

What is the US's CAATSA law?

- The Countering America's Adversaries through Sanctions Act (CAATSA), aims at taking punitive measures against Russia, Iran, and North Korea.
- The Act primarily deals with sanctions on the Russian oil and gas industry, defence and security sector, and financial institutions, in the backdrop of its military intervention in Ukraine and its alleged meddling in the 2016 US presidential elections.

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- The Act empowers the US President to impose at least five of 12 listed sanctions enumerated in Section 235 on persons engaged in a “significant transaction” with the Russian defence and intelligence sectors.
- The State Department has notified 39 Russian entities including almost all major Russian defence manufacturing and export companies/entities.

How India would have affected by this law?

- Almaz-Antey Air and Space Defence Corporation JSC, the manufacturers of the S-400 system, are in the list of 39.
- If implemented stringently, CAATSA would impact Indian defence procurement from Russia.
- Apart from S-400s, India has procurements like 1135.6 frigates and Ka-226T helicopters as well as joint ventures like Indo Russian Aviation Ltd, Multi-Role Transport Aircraft Ltd and Brahmos Aerospace.
- It would also affect purchase of spares, components, raw materials and other assistance.
- The bulk of India’s military equipment is of Soviet/Russian origin including the nuclear submarine INS Chakra, the Kilo-class conventional submarine, the supersonic Brahmos cruise missile, the MiG and Sukhoi fighters, Mi helicopters, and the Vikramaditya aircraft carrier.

What are the reasons behind this exemption?

- CAATSA impacts Indo-US ties, and dents the image of the US as a reliable partner at a time when it is projecting India as a key player in its Indo-Pacific strategy.
- US administration for countries like India has favoured relief, citing the “strategic opportunity” that India presents, and also the opportunity “to trade in arms with India”.
- Indeed, the US defence industry sees India as a major market, Over the last decade, deals with India have grown from near zero to \$15 billion.
- Both in term of the number and value of contracts, the US is way ahead of other major suppliers.
- The CAATSA exemption also underlines the growing defence and security cooperation that has seen India sign a logistics pact with the US.
- Also US designated India as a Major Defence Partner, and both countries coming together on Indo-Pacific strategy, the newly resurrected Quad.

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- It also marks an acceptance by the US of the point of principle that as a sovereign country, India cannot be dictated on its strategic interests by a third country.

Way Forward

- Despite the historic nuclear deal (2008), civilian nuclear cooperation has not taken off, but the agreement with Westinghouse to build six nuclear reactors will finally bring US nuclear energy on Indian soil.
- In order to counter China in the maritime domain, India needs to fully engage with the US and other partners in the Indo-pacific region, in order to preserve the freedom of navigation and the rules-based order.
- In international politics, there are no permanent friends and no permanent enemies, only permanent interests in such a scenario India must continue to pursue its foreign policy of **strategic hedging**.

India-US relation remains critical for the shaping of world order in the 21st century. In order to realise the full potential of relations, the two governments must now strive to complete the unfinished agreements and set the course for a **Comprehensive Strategic Global Partnership**.

Conclusion

- It is the official right of the sovereign nation-states to make formal ties and bonds based on mutual interdependence.
- India and the U.S. should strengthen their relationship on global and regional levels and look for issues of common interest which can provide enormous opportunities for both countries to work closely in reshaping the global political order.
- Both nations have the potential to grow together without comprising India's situation due to unilateralism by benefitting of mutual interests and understanding each other better.

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Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement

BECA will allow India to use the **geospatial maps of the USA** to get pinpoint military accuracy of automated hardware systems and weapons such as cruise and ballistic missiles.

- BECA is an important precursor to India **acquiring armed unmanned aerial vehicles such as the Predator-B** from the USA. Predator-B uses spatial data for accurate strikes on enemy targets.
- BECA is **one of the four foundational military communication agreements** between the two countries. The other three being GSOMIA, LEMOA, CISMOA.
- Initially, India had reservations to **geospatial mapping on the grounds of national security**, but they were later addressed by mutual dialogue and discussion between the two countries.

General Security Of Military Information Agreement

- GSOMIA allows **militaries to share the intelligence** gathered by them.
- Signed by India in 2002.
- An extension to the GSOMIA, the **Industrial Security Annex (ISA)**, was signed at the 2+2 dialogue in 2019.
- ISA provides a framework for exchange and protection of classified military information **between the USA and Indian defence industries**.

Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement

- LEMOA allows both countries to **have access to each other’s designated military facilities** for refueling and replenishment.
- Signed by India in 2016.

Communications and Information Security Memorandum of Agreement

- COMCASA (Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement) is the India specific version of CISMOA.
- Valid for 10 years, COMCASA aims to provide a legal framework for the **transfer of highly sensitive communication security equipment from the USA to India** that will streamline and facilitate interoperability between their armed forces.
- Signed by India in 2018.

Other Maritime Developments Between India and the USA

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- A **maritime information agreement** is also under active deliberation between India and the USA. Once concluded, India will have such arrangements with all Quad countries.

High-stake agreements

Of the three foundational defence pacts between India and the United States, only one has been signed

COMCASA: The Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement facilitates transfer of encrypted communication systems, and is a key requirement for the U.S. to share high tech military hardware

COMCASA and Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement (**BECA**), which facilitates exchange of geospatial information, are pacts not signed yet due to severe criticism

- It was feared that signing these agreements would mean compromising India's age-old military ties with Russia and access to their weaponry systems

LEMOA: Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement. India signed the pact in 2016. The agreement gives militaries of both the nations access to each other's military facilities, without making it automatic or obligatory, mostly for the purposes of refuelling and replenishment



Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (Quad) is the informal strategic dialogue between India, USA, Japan and Australia with a shared objective to ensure and support a **free, open and prosperous Indo-Pacific region**.

In increasing military to military interactions, the USA has also posted a liaison officer at the Navy's **Information Fusion Centre for Indian Ocean Region (IFC-IOR)** meant to promote **Maritime Domain Awareness (MDA)**.

- The Information Fusion Centre serves countries that have **White Shipping Information Exchange** (White-shipping refers to commercial shipping information about the movement of cargo ships) agreements with India.
- **MDA** is defined by the **International Maritime Organization** as the effective understanding of anything associated with the maritime domain that could impact the security, safety, economy, or environment of a country.

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Recently, India posted a liaison officer at the USA Navy Central Command in Bahrain.

Analysis

The Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement largely pertains to geospatial intelligence, and sharing information on maps and satellite images for defence. BECA will provide Indian military systems with a high-quality GPS to navigate and missiles with real-time intelligence to precisely target the adversary. It will give access to topographical and aeronautical data and products that will aid navigation and targeting.

Other Foundational Agreements

The BECA follows three other agreements:

1. The General Security of Military Information Agreement (**GSOMIA**) was signed by the government of Atal Bihari Vajpayee back in 2002. It aims to protect the military information shared by the US.
2. The Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (**LEMOA**) was signed a full 14 years later in 2016. It aims to provide mutual logistics support around the world.
3. The Communication Compatibility and Security Agreement (**COMCASA**) was signed in 2018. It aims to facilitate communication between the weapons platforms of the two armed forces.

Significance of Signing of BECA

Converging Indo-Pacific Strategies: Signing of BECA will fast-forward the integration of the **Indo-Pacific strategic** of their two countries.

- Further, this is in sync with increasing formalization of **QUAD**, which can be seen in the recent joining of Australia in the Malabar naval exercises.
- India will be able to keep a close watch on the movements of Chinese warships in the Indian Ocean.
- Moreover, its signing comes at a time when India is locked in one of its most hostile standoffs with China along their disputed border in the Himalayan region.

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- **Deep Military Implications:** While LEMOA means one partner trusts the other enough to expose its valuable assets, COMCASA means one is confident that it can rely on encrypted systems to connect the two militaries, and BECA means it can share highly classified information in real time without fear of being compromised.

All this signals the level of trust that has developed between the two countries and their militaries, faced with an increasingly aggressive China. BECA allows more intensive engagement between the armed forces —from interoperability to intelligence-sharing and joint defence research to production of weapons.

- **Multi-Polar World Order:** Substantive and institutionalised cooperation between the two defence establishments will serve the long-term interests of a rising India and an America that is restructuring its global security burden.

Associated Issues

- **India’s Aversion to Alliance System:** Signing of these four foundational agreements would mean India getting strategically more close to US.
 - From the perspective of the US, in order to counter China, it would want India to be getting close to an alliance system.
 - However, one aspect which remains unchanged is the Indian strategic establishment’s aversion to the term alliance.
 - From the heyday of non-alignment to the present day possibilities of multi-alignment, this idea that alliances are inherently bad has been a constant in India’s mainstream strategic thinking.
- **Dependence on Russia:** India is one of the world's biggest defence equipment buyers, but around 60-70% of its inventory is supplied by Russia.
 - Further, the US wants India to move away from Russian equipment and platforms, as it feels this may expose its technology and information to Russia.
- **Compromising Strategic Autonomy:** Many foreign policy experts in India are of the view that, by synchronising its systems with those of the US, it will enable the US to enter its decision-making loop.
 - It is something that no sovereign country would like.

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- **Divergence of Foreign Policy Interest:** There is divergence on foreign policy interests between US and India, especially relating to Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran.
 - On account of Indian Ocean issues, the US would want India’s cooperation in the South China Sea, but India’s primary naval challenge is in the western and north-western Indian Ocean.

Way Forward

- **Expanding Scope of Convergence:** If both the US and India want India to become a genuine strategic balancer to China, they need to leapfrog economic and technological cooperation.
 - Thus, the US and India are now in talks of an “innovation partnership” that must develop along with all the military-to-military bonhomie taking place.
- **Maintaining Strategic Autonomy:** India must clarify to the US that, it can sign the civil nuclear pact, it can sign foundational defence agreements, it can converge on the Indo-Pacific but it won’t lead to an alliance relationship.
 - Further, India should realise agreements are a scrap of paper, unless they are backed by a mutuality of interest at the given time. Therefore, must continue its efforts of strategic hedging with our global powers.

Conclusion

Signing of BECA will allow India and the US to act together and get into a better position to shape the regional and global environment in favour of peace and stability. However, both countries must not glamourize this signing as these agreements are not an end in themselves they are a means to a larger end – security and prosperity of its citizens.

All the best

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Class explanation- mind map

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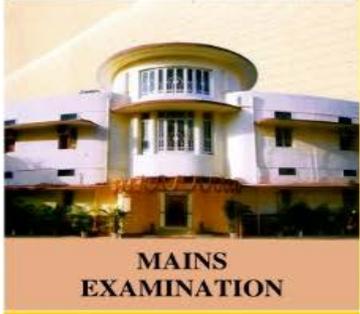
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