

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

Chapter I describe the introduction which consists of the Significance of Appointing the Topic, Background of the Problem, Research Questions, Theoretical Framework, Implementation of Theory, Hypothesis, Purpose of writing, the Scope of Research, Methods of Research, and Organization of Writing.

A. The Significance of Appointing the Topic

At the personal level, the world of Defense and Security is very challenging. The changing environment and the dynamism of international arena have made the evolution on this subject due to the country's willingness to survive and ruling their social and political life domestically and internationally in relatively good and stable situations. India considered as one of the new rising superpowers alongside with China is very concern towards their military and defense industry capabilities. India is highly aware that the capability of their defense and military will affect and determine the potential of success of their foreign policy goals regarding present and future. Moreover, their decision to be closer with Washington regarding defense cooperation is exciting since they have conducted a close relationship with Moscow since the era of Cold War. So, it is also necessary to understand comprehensively about the constellations and dynamism among the Countries that involved in this writing.

B. Background

India exceeded China as the world's largest importer of weapons systems in the years of 2006 until 2010, reflecting the State's purposes of modernizing its military and project military competencies to past the subcontinent. Therefore, India's Ministry of Defense (MOD) plans to spend about US\$80 billion on military modernization programs until 2015, which some analysts expect will maintain India heading in the direction to be one of the biggest defense importers in the

following decade. Over the years of 2001 - 2010, the spending on defense budget has remained between 2.3% and 3.0% of India's GDP. Throughout the same time, the MOD shifted approximately 5% of its aggregate expenditure for the military in preferring to the State's Air Force and Navy. The MOD's department of defense research & development, consist of nearly fifty research labs, has remained constant at approximately 6% of the MOD's budget (Lombardo, 2011).

Military ties between India and Russia have been conducted since the period of the Cold War, to respond to the US and Pakistan alliances in 1954. Although they have the approach of non- alignment, in the foreign policy did not bother India's attempt to be closer with Russia and China at that time. The war defeats from China in 1962 had bolstered India to modernize their armed forces and try to create an opportunity with the West as their Supply line, but they chose the Soviet Union as their arms supplier instead of West. Soviet seen the cooperation has to do with geopolitical advantages, while India considered it to based on economics and stood as an alternative business agreement due to the clauses of benefiting financial terms and the planning for licensed manufactured domestically (Jyotsna, 2006).

Within the area of defense cooperation, India has an extensive relationship with Russia. The positive relations showed by the status of India as the second biggest arms importer of Russia's weapons. Refer to the data in 2003 until 2013, the exports value of Russian defense industry was \$21 billion or can be estimated 31 percent of their total exports, and 75 percent of imports value for India as a whole. It is an incredible fact that no other countries import more than 5 percent to Russia weapons at a similar period. They also built an institutionalized politico-military-technology structure with the task to monitor all possible troubles in their military-technical cooperation (Backes, 2013).

The so-called "Program for Military-Technical Cooperation" signed in 2005 escorted the defense partnership between India and Russia, and it is valid until 2020. Before that, they have created the structure to manage the entire variety of problems with the military-technical cooperation called The India-Russia Inter-Governmental Commission on Military Technical Cooperation (IRIGC-MTC) in 2000. The ultimate goals of this commission are to advance and intensify the military and technical cooperation in the boundary of research and development, production and after-sales support of armament systems and various military equipment. Both States also have conducted periodic exchanges of military personnel and joint military exercises named *Indra* started in 2003, while the first joint exercise took place in Russia was *Indra-2012* (Taludkar, 2013).

On the other sides, there are tensions and dynamics to some extent, in the bilateral relations between India and the US in the period after World War (WW) II and the Cold War. The actions of the US to implement arms embargo towards India (and also Pakistan) during the first Indian-Pakistani (Indo-Pak) war on Kashmir in 1948 had dissatisfied them. The relations had also worsened since India's actions to refuse for signing the Nuclear Non-Proliferation agreement (NPT) at 1968. In the next 40 years, the distinction over the nuclear policy is the primary obstruction in U.S. – India relations. It had turned into worsened momentum when India's action to take a nuclear test at Pokhran in 1974. Also, India firmly opposed the US-backed permanent extension of the NPT in 1995 (Pedro, 2016).

The United States was uncomfortable enough with India's approach towards non- alignment movement in the Cold War period, and also the dependence for the arms and equipment supply from the Soviet Union, for example, the MiG fighter aircraft. On the other perspective, India and Pakistan seemed to be regional proxies for the US and Soviet Union, and it had no significant impact on the betterment of India- US relations.

Some certain involvement on their relations was emerged within the years, mainly in the field of nuclear policy when the US and India accomplished Nuclear Cooperation Approval and Nonproliferation Enhancement Act in 2008. This accord was fundamental in making a better political relation, functioning as the buffer of current and future defense cooperation (Pedro, 2016).

The India Abroad newspaper featured that the “strong and growing” Defense Partnership is a “centerpiece” for the whole bilateral relationship between India and US. Later on, some further steps have been taken by both Countries to deepen their defense relationship. The significant increasing trends of purchasing US military equipment has been made by India from zero in 2008 to around \$9 billion in 2013 with plenty more forecasted in the years after. In the next ten years, India willing to advance their military hardware from the Soviet era with the estimated cost of \$100 billion. A series of dialogue between The US Defense Secretary, Ashton Carter and the senior Indian officials in July 2012, with the purpose to enter towards the further steps in their defense ties, move away from only a buyer-seller ties into a broader recognition in mutual understanding of U.S.–India security ties (Inderfurth, 2013). Then, in June 2013, India has notified the latest Defense Procurement procedure that specializes in promoting indigenization and creating a level playing field for the Indian Defense Industry, later on, the document renewed in 2016.

A Joint Statement in April 2013 was agreed by Ashton Carter and Indian Defense Minister Manohar Parrikar, to intensify the relations of Indo- US military. The partnership of both countries will lie on the Defense Technology and Trade Initiative (DTTI) in order to broaden Indo-U.S. military-industrial ties and favor Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s “Make in India” efforts to bolster India’s indigenous defense industry. The extra points for both countries are the attempt to increase the number of joint military exercises, then

to prepare the “new opportunities to deepen cooperation in maritime security and Maritime Domain Awareness; military-to-military relations; the knowledge partnership in the field of defense; and regional and international security matters of mutual interest” (Inderfurth, 2013)

Some projects carried out beneath DTTI such as the two new pathfinder projects on Digital Helmet Mounted Displays and also the Joint Biological Tactical Detection System. The Defense Minister of both Countries was also affirming the intense of consultations and exchanges on aircraft carrier design, operations, and jet engine technology. Both sides need to be ready in the progress of India- US science and technology cooperation involving “the finalization of four government-to-government project agreements in the area of science and technology cooperation: Atmospheric Sciences for High Energy Lasers, Cognitive Tools for Target Detection, Small Intelligent Unmanned Aerial Systems, and Blast and Blunt Traumatic Brain Injury” (Pedro, 2016).

Defense Secretary Ashton Carter and Indian Defense Minister Manohar Parrikar signed a 10-year defense framework agreement On June 3, 2015, underlining the expanding of Defense Cooperation for both Countries. The agreement itself is a continuation of progress after President Barack Obama and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi met in January 2015. The Agreement will bolster the DTTI with the concept that India and the US collaborate closely to develop their military capabilities. It included plans to collaborate in developing a mobile solar energy power source that might be utilized in rural areas and developing a lightweight protective suit useful in chemical and biological hazard environments (US DoDNews, 2015).

C. Research Question

Based on the problem explained in the background, so the writer would like to raise the research question, which is:

Why India signed a 10-year defense framework agreement with the US in 2015, despite India has already had a close relationship in defense cooperation with Russia?

D. Theoretical Framework

In order to explain the signing of the Agreement by the Indian Government, it needed instruments for analyzing systematic and relevant data. In order to answer and describe the problems in this writing, it is necessary to choose suitable and proper foundation of theory and concepts.

1. Realism

Realism as one of the traditional theory in international relations has a long history and become one of the cores to the western theory and practice of international relations. Basic Realist ideas and assumptions are: (1) pessimistic view of human nature; (2) a conviction that international relations are necessarily conflictual and that international conflict is ultimately resolved by war; (3) a high regard for the values of national security and state survival; (4) an essential skepticism that there can be progress in international politics that is comparable to that in domestic political life. Whether it is past or present, most of the famous realist IR theorist, still hold towards these ideas and assumptions (Sorensen, 1999).

Realist thus operates with a core assumption that world politics unfolds in international anarchy (can be understood as a system with no overarching authority. No world government so that the main point of foreign policy is to protect and defend the interest of the state in world politics, and international relations are understood by realist as primarily a struggle among the Great power for domination and security (Sorensen, 1999).

2. Balance of Power

One of the concepts that can support the explanations mentioned above is the Balance of Power. The concept of

balance of power can be described in some terminology of the balance of power, which means each of state involved, possess power in the equilibrium situation or one of the states in this context to possess a relatively higher power compared to the other (Sorensen, 1999).

As one of the most effective techniques for managing power in the international system based on a competitive relationship among States. Morgenthau defined Balance of Power as (1) a policy aimed at a particular state of affairs; (2) an actual state of affairs; (3) an approximately equal distribution of power, and (4) any distribution of power, but the international consensus also needed in terms of the acceptance of the competing nations in the balance of power system in order to preserve the international peace (Dougherty, 1990).

One of the interpretations of the balance of power is a balance of power as equilibrium. This interpretation involved a model in the aggregation in order to explain and predict the state actions based on the systematical characteristics. The equilibrium can be seen as a relationship between the main variables on the system (such as the distribution of resources or state's position and policy), that so tight, so a changing in one variable can cause an impact towards the other variable. The equilibrium could be preserved if the variables do not change too fast and too many. These approaches assume that as long as the distribution of resources quite balances among five or more actors, their policy will be moderate, and the efforts of one actor to gain hegemony position will be prevented by the balancer power (Mas'ood, 1994).

So, in the concept of balance of power it is essential that state as an actor possesses some goals or policies that made and formulated by its Statesman. States Actors involved consider that the concept of Balance of Power

will be benefited them. They sometimes made a step to jump ahead from “the actual situation happened” to “the situation that should happened” which means that the *balancing* effort should be maintained (Mas’oed, 1994). India’s policy in signing the Defense Framework Agreement in 2015 with the US, show the real actions from the Indian Government to create cooperation with the US Government. Here, Ministry of Defense of both Countries is the representation party in terms of formulation of defense and military cooperation, to meet common interest of each other in the scope of present and future. Especially for India, this Agreement could strengthen the capability of their military, and bolster Defense Industries and Arms Trade of both States.

In perception and reality, India has some multiple challenges in the field of defense and security. Firstly they have been in the intense animosity with its main rival Pakistan from the past until present. Both Countries is a Nuclear Power States and already combat in three wars and for sure consume the mind and energy from their Military Officials. The Strategic balance in South Asia Region has always been maintained through by the two States through its Nuclear Deterrence (Nuclear Weapon, Nuclear Doctrines, and Missile developments), Conventional Deterrence in Weaponry System and also Role of Major Powers such as the US, Russia (mainly the former Soviet Union) and China. All the Great Power indeed posses some interests to maintain and enlarge their influence in the entire Asia- Pacific Region.

From the neighbor in the northeast part, India see the Giant China and give serious attention towards China’s robust military modernization, although the relations of both States is relatively stable. However, China in its White Paper mentioned their goals in order to expand strategic missile and space-based sources. They robustly, bolster the blue- water navy program to exercise

operations in the far waters, which in here is the Indian Ocean as the “backyard” Sea of India. China also has given assistance for some Countries in which they have some issues with India in the littoral region such as Pakistan, Burma and Sri Lanka. It is one of the China's efforts to make their interest safe, mainly in the hydrocarbon energy transportation. Afterward, many Scholars in India commented that the China's help for Pakistan as part of encirclement strategy for India and bolster their influence in the South Asia Region.

So the constellations and dynamics of the Countries involved such as India, the US, Russia, China and Pakistan are significant things to be examined in this undergraduate thesis. For India, the decision to sign the Defense Framework Agreement in 2015 with the US can be seen as future preparations to build independent and robust defense industries. It is not just to get profit in arms sales later on, but also to support their military armament with increased capabilities to meet the present and future challenges in defense and security matters. Also, by conducting some specific military exercises with the US can be beneficial both in tactical and technical to make efforts to rebalance towards China's influence in the Asia Pacific Region. And some dynamics that happened among India, Pakistan and the US strategically give some benefits for India in front of Pakistan as the main rival in the South Asia Region.

E. Hypothesis

The tentative answers that can be taken as India decided to sign the Defense Framework Agreement in 2015 with the US due to some reasons as follow:

To conduct some specific military exercises with the US in order to balance against the rising and influence of China mainly in the Asia-Pacific region and to strengthen the

Defense Industry of India in order to support the capabilities of their military in the present and future.

Also, also to strengthen the position of India *vis a vis* Pakistan as the main rival in the South Asia Region.

F. Purpose of Research

The purpose of this writing is to describe specific problems objectively, so the writing of this undergraduate thesis particularly has some purposes to:

Give a description and clear explanation about the significance of signing the Defense Framework Agreement in 2015 for India. And then, to understand comprehensively about the efforts of India together with the United States as their counterpart in balancing the influence of China in the Asia- Pacific Region.

Also, to give a clear explanation on how India would benefiting from the Agreement, related to Pakistan as their traditional and main rival in South Asia Region and then examining the dynamics after the Agreement was signed.

G. Scope of Research

In this Undergraduate Thesis, the scope of this research is in the period of signing the Defense Framework Agreement in 2015 in the period of Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Defense Minister Manohar Parrikar, up until the later development in 2018. However, it is also important to notice, the years before the signing of the Agreement in order to understand the process of both Countries came into the Agreement and the dynamics of the involved Countries.

H. Methods of Research

The technique used by the authors was library study taken from various literature related to the research to be conducted either in the form of Books, Journals, and Publications. Besides, the data also gained by searching across valid multiple data sources internet such as the official website from the Embassy, and trustworthy news website (Suharsono, 1996).

Research Techniques

1. Types of Research

The research used by the author is descriptive qualitative to describe the topics. Qualitative research is conducted through an intense and /or prolonged contact with a "field" or life situation, the researcher attempts to capture data on the perception of local actors "from the inside", through process of deep attentiveness, of empathetic understanding, and of suspending or "bracketing" preconceptions about the topics under discussions (Miles, 1994). So the qualitative research stressed on the content analysis based on the existing valid data in the form of statistics, written or spoken words, the observed behavior of a figure in order to describe the existing problems, based on substantial evidence of the research result that has been conducted.

2. Data and Type

Data is any information or information on all matters related to the research, the data required in this research is secondary data, i.e., data that arranged in the form of indirect form such as documents relating to the cases that researched.

I. Organization of Writing

This undergraduate thesis consists of five chapters, and each chapter will explain in detail into several sub-chapters. The description inside chapter 1 is connected with the other chapters and hopefully will create a coherent and systematics writing

Chapter I: This chapter contains the significance of appointing the topics, background of the problem, research questions, theoretical framework, implementation of theory, hypothesis, the purpose of writing, the scope of research, methods of research, and organization of writing.

Chapter II: This chapter contains about Indian defense policy, the aims of Indian defense Policy, the profiles of Indian military power, the containing of Defense Framework

Agreement that signed in 2015 and how India and US came into the Agreement.

Chapter III: This Chapter contains about the history of relations between India and China, then examining China as new rising global super-power. The core in this chapter is to explain the impacts and benefits of the agreement for India in two subtopics. First is how the agreement showed the effort of India together with the US to maintain regional security and balancing China's influence in the Asia- Pacific Region by conducting joint military Exercises with the US. Second, is to show the efforts to strengthen India's Defense Industry in order to upgrade India's Military equipment by bolstering arms trade between India and the US.

Chapter IV: This Chapter will describe about the history of conflicts between India and Pakistan, in the scope of past and present. Then to give clear explanation on the development in the counter-terrorism programs between India and the US and also the dynamics after the agreement was signed. And also, to show that the series of Defense Cooperation until the signing of the Defense Framework Agreement 2015 can strengthen the position of India *vis a vis* Pakistan as the main rival in the South Asia Region.

Chapter V: This chapter contains conclusion

References