

Section 6 South Asia

1 India

1 General Situation

With a population of more than 1.2 billion on its vast land, India is the world's largest democratic country. It has achieved steady economic growth in recent years, and has significant influence in the South Asian region. Also, it is located in the middle of the Indian Ocean, which is of strategic and geographical importance in terms of maritime traffic, connecting the Asia-Pacific region with the Middle East and Europe.

India shares borders with many countries, and has unresolved border issues with China and Pakistan. India has multiple ethnic groups, religions, cultures and languages¹, and there are concerns about the activities of ultra-leftists and secession and independence movements, as well as the movements of Muslim radicals stationed across the India-Pakistan border.

In May 2014, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) (Indian People's Party), which was the opposition party in the general election held due to the expiration of the term of the Lok Sabha (lower house), won 282 seats, more than a majority of the seats. As a result, Narendra Modi took office as the new Prime Minister. The BJP's election manifesto refers to policies, such as the promotion of military modernization, strengthening of cross-border counterterrorism measures, and the revision of India's nuclear doctrine. Therefore, the specific defense policies that India will adopt will be a point to watch out for.

2 Military Affairs

India's security environment is directly linked to its neighboring countries and the regions of West Asia, Central Asia, Southeast Asia, East Asia, and the Indian Ocean; and India recognizes that strategic-economic factors impose upon them an increasingly larger responsibility. In view of the multifaceted security concerns and the global dimensions of the challenges, India has strengthened cooperative relations with other countries and has long been actively participating in UN Peacekeeping Operations (PKO). In order to respond rapidly and effectively to diversified security issues, the government and defense forces remain fully prepared to tackle all challenges.

¹ The country has a Muslim population exceeding 100 million, although the majority of the country's population is Hindu.

Based on the nuclear doctrine of 2003, India adheres to the following policies: minimum nuclear deterrence, the non-first-use obligation, no use against non-nuclear weapon nations, and maintaining the unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests that it announced immediately after the nuclear test in 1998. India promotes the development and deployment of various ballistic missiles. Launch tests were successfully carried out of “Prithvi 2” (range about 250km) in August, October, and December 2013; “Agni 5” (range about 5,000-8,000km) in September 2013; “Agni 3” (range about 3,000-5,000km) in December 2013; and “Agni 4” (range about 3,500km) in January 2014. In addition, it is reported that India started developing “Agni 6” (range about 8,000-10,000km)², and aspires to improve the range of its ballistic missiles. In regard to ballistic missiles, India jointly develops “BrahMos” (range about 300km) with Russia, deploying these to the army and navy. India is also developing a ballistic missile defense system, and an interception test was successfully carried out in April 2014.

In recent years, India has been injecting efforts into modernizing its naval and air forces in particular. As a part of these efforts, it is expanding procurement of equipment from foreign countries as well as joint development with them, and has emerged as the world’s largest arms importer³. With respect to its naval capabilities, India has introduced one British-built aircraft carrier, *Viraat*, and in November 2013, the Russia-built aircraft carrier *INS Vikramaditya*. It is also building one domestic aircraft carrier *Vikrant*. With regard to submarines, India launched its first domestically made nuclear submarine *INS Arihant* in 2009. In April 2012, India acquired one Russian-built Akula-class nuclear submarine *Chakra* on a lease. Furthermore, in 2009, it concluded an agreement with the United States to purchase eight P-8 patrol aircraft. As for its air force, in addition to remodeling its existing fighters, in January 2012, India selected French Rafale for the 126 Medium Multirole Combat Aircraft deal; the selection process started in 2007. In 2010, it concluded an agreement with the United States to purchase 10 C-17 transport carriers. It is also strengthening military technological cooperation with Russia, concluding a contract in December 2012 to purchase 42 Su-30 fighters, as well as jointly developing the fifth-generation fighter PAK FA. India is also engaged in the development of indigenous light combat aircraft.

See ► *Figure I-1-6-1 (Military Forces of India and Pakistan (approximate))*

² The ranges of each missile are referred from “Jane’s Strategic Weapon Systems (2013).” It has been reported that Prithvi 2 is a mobile ballistic missile, liquid-fuelled; Agni 3 is a mobile two-stage ballistic missile, solid-fuelled; Agni 4 is a mobile two-stage ballistic missile, solid-fuelled; Agni 5 is a mobile three-stage ballistic missile, solid-fuelled; Agni 6 is a three-stage ballistic missile, solid/liquid fuelled; and BrahMos is a mobile solid-fuelled supersonic cruise missile.

³ Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), “Trends in International Arms Transfers, 2013” (March 2014)

3 Relations with Other Countries

(1) Relations with Pakistan

India and Pakistan have disputes over the sovereignty of Kashmir⁴, and have had three armed conflicts of significant scope. The territorial dispute over Kashmir has long been in contention between India and Pakistan, with dialogues repeatedly resuming and suspending. Dialogue between the two countries was suspended due to the Mumbai terror attack in 2008, but it resumed following the February 2011 talks by their Vice-Ministers of Foreign Affairs. In 2011, both countries affirmed the importance of peaceful solution to all outstanding issues between the two countries through dialogue. Pakistan granted India most-favored nation status. Subsequently in September 2013, a summit meeting was held, demonstrating that both countries are intent on improving their relations. However, the Kashmir issue still remains a concern for both countries, with frequent outbreaks of armed conflict in the Kashmir region in 2013, leading both countries to protest against each other.

(2) Relations with the United States

India is actively striving to strengthen bilateral relations with the United States. The United States is also promoting engagement with India in line with expansion of the relationship derived from the economic growth of India. The two countries conduct joint exercises, such as “Malabar”⁵, on a regular basis. India procures U.S. weapons and is also engaged in security consultations. In June 2013, U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry visited India, and held the 4th U.S.-India strategic dialogue with Salman Khurshid, Minister of External Affairs of India. The two sides affirmed the significance of the peaceful solution of maritime disputes, and discussed enhancing technological cooperation toward joint production and joint development of equipment, the situation in Afghanistan, among other matters. In addition, in September of the same year, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh visited the United States and held a summit meeting with President Barack Obama. Discussions took place concerning security, with the two sides announcing a joint statement regarding enhancing defense procurement, India’s participation in the RIMPAC 2014, and intelligence exchange on terrorists.

(3) Relations with China

⁴ India has made assertions on the accession of Kashmir to India, based on the Instrument of Accession document whereby the ruler of Kashmir acceded to India at the time of Pakistan’s independence. On the other hand, Pakistan has declared that this should be decided through a referendum, in line with a 1948 UN resolution. The two countries have taken a significantly different fundamental stance toward the resolution of the dispute.

⁵ The “Malabar” was initially a bilateral exercise between the United States and India. Then Japan, Australia, and Singapore joined “Malabar 07-2,” and Japan participated in “Malabar 09.” “Malabar 10” and subsequent exercises have been conducted as bilateral exercises between the United States and India.

See ► *Part I, Chapter 1, Section 3-3, Paragraph 5 ([3] Relations with South Asian Countries)*

(4) Relations with Russia

See ► *Part I, Chapter 1, Section 4-5, Paragraph 2 (Relations with Asian Countries)*

2 Pakistan

1 General Situation

Wedged between the powerful South Asian nation of India and politically-unstable Afghanistan, and sharing borders with China and Iran, Pakistan lacks strategic depth, which places the country in a geopolitically significant and complex position. In particular, Muslim radicals conduct activities across the Pakistan-Afghanistan border, and Pakistan's attitude towards the war against terrorism draws much attention from the international community.

While supporting the U.S.'s war against terrorism in Afghanistan, the government of Pakistan has been struggling as its domestic security situation has worsened, with issues such as growing anti-U.S. sentiment and retaliatory terrorism by Muslim radicals. As a result of the 2013 general election conducted in May 2013 at the House of Parliament, Nawaz Sharif was elected Prime Minister, who holds up a policy of dialogue with armed forces. In February 2014, peace consultation with armed forces was conducted for the first time. However, since then, these forces committed a series of terrorist attacks, and in June of the same year, the Pakistan Armed Forces launched a military operation against these forces.

2 Military Affairs

Pakistan claims that maintaining nuclear deterrence against the nuclear threat posed by India is essential to ensure national security and self-defense. In the past, the so-called Khan network was involved in the proliferation of nuclear-related materials and technologies⁶.

Pakistan has been actively proceeding with development of ballistic missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads and cruise missiles, and has conducted a number of test launches in recent years. In 2013 and 2014, Pakistan conducted test launches of the ballistic missiles "Nasr," "Ghaznavi," and "Shaheen 1." It is deemed that Pakistan is steadily deploying ballistic and cruise missiles to its forces⁷.

⁶ Pakistan is believed to have started its nuclear program in the 1970s and conducted its first nuclear test near the Changai District of the Balochistan Province in 1998. In 2004, it came to light that nuclear-related technologies, including uranium enrichment technology, had been transferred to North Korea, Iran, and Libya by Dr. Khan and other scientists, who had led the nuclear program in Pakistan.

⁷ Regarding missiles that Pakistan possesses, the following are indicated:

Pakistan is the world's third largest importer of weapons, importing most of its weapons from China and the United States⁸. Pakistan concluded a contract to purchase four Sword-class frigates from China, which have already been delivered; and is conducting a joint development of the JF-17 fighter aircraft. Pakistan has introduced 18 F-16C/D fighter jets by 2011 from the United States.

3 Relations with Other Countries

(1) Relations with India

See ► *Part I, Chapter 1, Section 6-1, Paragraph 3 ([1] Relations with Pakistan)*

(2) Relations with the United States

Besides supporting the activities of the U.S. Forces in Afghanistan, Pakistan cooperates with the war on terror by launching mop-up operations against Muslim radicals in the Pakistan-Afghanistan border area. Recognizing the efforts of Pakistan, the United States designated it as a "major non-NATO ally" in 2004.

The two countries conducted strategic dialogues since 2010, and the United States provided Pakistan with military support. However, these were suspended after U.S.-Pakistan relations deteriorated as a consequence of the Osama Bin Laden mop-up operation conducted by the U.S. Forces in the territory of Pakistan in May 2011. In October 2013, dialogue was resumed after summit meetings were held between U.S. President Obama and Prime Minister Sharif of Pakistan. In January 2014, a strategic dialogue was held between U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry and Advisor to the Prime Minister of Pakistan Sartaj Aziz for the first time in three years. Pakistan urges the United States to immediately end its drone attacks on Muslim radicals in Pakistani territory, and the Pakistan government has protested repeatedly⁹. Furthermore, it was reported that in an all-party conference organized by the leaders of the ruling and opposition parties in September 2013, the government adopted a resolution asserting that the U.S. drone

"Nasr" (Hatf 9): a mobile, solid-fuelled ballistic missile with a range of about 60km

"Ghaznavi" (Hatf 3): a mobile, single-stage solid-fuelled ballistic missile with a range of about 290km

"Shaheen 1" (Hatf 4): a mobile, single-stage solid-fuelled ballistic missile with a range of about 750km

"Raad" (Hatf 8): a cruise missile with a range of about 350km

"Babur" (Hatf 7): a cruise missile with a range of about 750km

⁸ Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), "Trends in International Arms Transfers, 2013" (March 2014).

⁹ In November 2011, NATO forces conducted air attacks on border posts in Pakistan, causing casualties to Pakistan soldiers. Pakistan strongly condemned this action and retaliated by closing the ground supply route for the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). In response to the apology made by then-U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton about air strikes against Pakistani patrol posts, Pakistan decided to reopen the ground supply lines in June 2012.

attacks were a clear violation of international laws. The United States, on the other hand, blames Pakistan for providing safe zones to Muslim radicals in Afghanistan, which imposes threats to the United States. Thus, the relationship between the two countries, including their stance on the war on terror, continues to draw much scrutiny.

(3) Relations with China

See ► Part I, Chapter 1, Section 3-3, Paragraph 5 ([3] Relations with South Asian Countries)