

Section 6. South Asia

1. India

1. General Situation

India is surrounded by many countries and has long coastlines totaling 7,600km. The country has the world's second largest population of more than one billion following China and has great influence in the South Asian region. Also, it has a geographic position that is significant in maritime traffic, connecting the Asia-Pacific region with the Middle East and Europe. India is expected to play an important role in maritime security.

India has multiple races, religions, languages and cultures within it, but it has an administration elected through free and fair elections under the multi-party system and is the world's largest democratic nations¹⁷². Also, India shares a lot with major developed countries including Japan in terms of fundamental values and systems, such as liberalism, democracy and a market economy.



Indian Navy frigate conducting operations off the coast of Somalia
[Indian Navy]

2. National Defense Policy and Security Situation

India, as its national security policies, lists the possession of military capabilities to protect national interests and the minimum level deterrent against nuclear threats; response to various security challenges ranging from terrorism and low-intensity conflicts to conventional wars and nuclear wars; and enhancement of international cooperation to deal with new threats such as terrorism and weapons of mass destruction.

In fact, India actively participates in peacebuilding assistance, including U.N. Peacekeeping Operations. As of February 2009, about 9,000 personnel are involved in 10 peacekeeping operations¹⁷³. India has been sending naval vessels off the coast of Somalia to conduct coast guard surveillance operations against piracy since October 2008¹⁷⁴.

In response to the successive terrorist attacks in Mumbai in November 2008, India increased its defense budget by 35% in February 2009 to facilitate the prompt procurement of equipment for the Special Forces¹⁷⁵.

India intends to maintain minimum credible nuclear deterrence while committing to no first use on nuclear weapons and maintaining the unilateral moratorium (temporary suspension) on nuclear tests that it announced immediately after the nuclear test conducted in 1998. In addition, in its nuclear doctrine released in January 2003, India expressed its commitment to continuing export controls of nuclear weapons and missile-related materials and technologies, and participating in the Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty negotiations, as well as to creating a nuclear-free world. However, the doctrine declares that India will retain the option of retaliating with nuclear weapons in the event of a major attack against India by biological or chemical weapons.

The Indian Armed Forces include ground forces of 13 corps with approximately 1,100,000 personnel; naval forces of two fleets, totaling approximately 344,000 tons, and air forces of 19 combat air wings and others with roughly 660 combat aircraft. India currently possesses one aircraft carrier, and in addition to promoting a construction plan for one new domestic aircraft carrier, will introduce another aircraft carrier from Russia upon completion of repair work as explained later. In January 2009, Airborne Early Warning and Control Systems (AWACS) of Russian-made IL-76 transport aircraft equipped with Israeli radars were delivered to India. In

addition, in conjunction with the retirement of the now-degraded MiG-21 fighter-interceptors, India is planning for procurement of multi-purpose fighter-interceptors, and in February 2007 Indian Defense Minister Antony announced that the country would procure 126 multi-purpose fighter-interceptors through a bidding process¹⁷⁶.

India is currently building up a ballistic missile that can load a nuclear warhead. In September 2003, India announced that it would operationally deploy the Agni-2 intermediate-range ballistic missile with the army. In September 2008, mid-range ballistic missiles (Agni 3) were deployed at the army and it has been reported that India has begun development of the Agni-4 long-range ballistic missile¹⁷⁷.

India is working toward the practical realization of ballistic missile defense as a defensive response measure to threats against the homeland. In November 2006, December 2007, and again in March 2009, a missile interceptor test was conducted, and reported as a success¹⁷⁸. India has started negotiations with the United States on its ballistic missile defense system¹⁷⁹. (See Fig. I-2-6-1)

3. Foreign Policies

(1) Basic Posture

India has been promoting economic liberalization and reform since the 1990s, and is actively engaging in multilateral diplomacy, thereby steadily increasing its presence in the international community. India's rapid expansion of military cooperation with friendly nations not only strengthens the security environment of the South Asia region, but also is expected to enhance security worldwide. In recent years, India has been making efforts to expand military exchanges, such as by conducting joint exercises with various other countries¹⁸⁰.

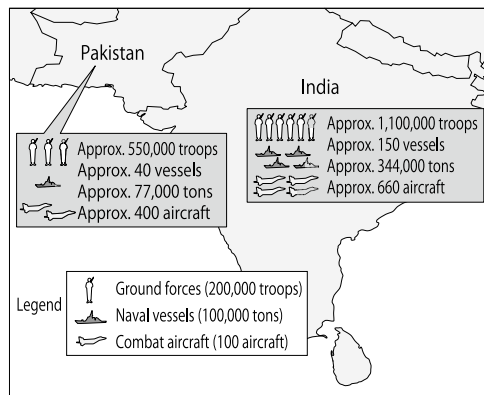


Airborne Early Warning and Control aircraft designed for the Indian Air Force [AFP/JIJI]

(2) Relations with the United States

India is actively striving to strengthen bilateral relations with the United States, while the United States is also promoting the expansion of involvement in India in line with the economic growth of India, thus leading to increasingly stronger mutual relationships in various fields.

Fig. I-2-6-1
Military Forces of India and Pakistan (approximate)



Notes: 1. Figures based on The Military Balance 2009.
 2. Combat aircraft include naval aircraft.

In July 2005, Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh visited the United States and made a joint statement with then U.S. President George W. Bush that the relationship between the two countries would transform into a global partnership through which they would cooperate in the fields of space exploration, nuclear energy for civilian applications, and military and non-military technologies. Subsequently in March 2006, former President Bush in turn visited India for the first time in his six years as president of the United States¹⁸¹, and agreed with Prime Minister Singh to strategically strengthen bilateral relations.

As for cooperation in civilian nuclear activities, in October 2008, then Secretary of State Rice and then Foreign Minister Mukerjee signed the U.S.-India Civil Nuclear Cooperation Agreement, allowing the United States to supply nuclear technology and nuclear fuel to India, a non-signatory to NPT (Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons).

In the security field, in June 2005, then Indian Defense Minister Pranab Mukherjee and then U.S. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld signed a 10-year military agreement called the New Framework for the U.S.-India Defense Relationship, based on the recognition that the U.S.-India defense relationship is an important pillar in the mutually beneficial relations between the two countries, which are changing over time. In March 2006, the U.S. Department of Defense announced its intention to enhance cooperation with India on security issues, including maritime security¹⁸². Furthermore, in February 2008, U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates paid a visit to India and held discussions with Indian Prime Minister Singh and other leaders.

India and the United States have carried out active military exchanges, including joint military exercises. In August 2008, the Indian Air Force participated for the first time in Exercise Red Flag 08-4, which took place at Nellis Air Force Base in Nevada¹⁸³. In October 2008, U.S. and Indian forces conducted Exercise Malabar in the Arabian Sea. U.S. Navy aircraft carriers participated in the exercise, and anti-air, anti-submarine and anti-surface warfare exercises as well as on-site inspections were carried out. Through these exercises, joint exercises with the United States were enhanced in terms of both quality and quantity. During April and May 2009, Malabar 09 was carried out with the additional participation of Japan¹⁸⁴.

India takes the stance that it intends to expand its procurement source of weapons to a global scale, and has expressed an interest in U.S. weapons. India has already purchased a used amphibious ship from the United States¹⁸⁵, and the United States has approved the sale of a P8 patrol aircraft to India¹⁸⁶.

(3) Relations with China

India has been trying to improve relations with China through mutual visits by leaders despite the Tibet issue and unresolved national border issues between the two countries as well as concerns over Chinese nuclear weapons and missiles and the modernization of its military force, including naval forces. When Chinese Minister of National Defense Cao Gangchuan visited India in March 2004, the two countries agreed on the expansion of military exchanges. Subsequently in December 2004, based on this agreement, a visit to China by an Indian Chief of Army Staff was made for the first time by the two countries' Vice Foreign Ministers. When Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao visited India in April 2005, the two countries reached an agreement on establishing a strategic and cooperative partnership for peace and prosperity¹⁸⁷. In November 2006, Chinese President Hu Jintao visited India for the first time in 10 years as the Chinese president to meet with Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. Both agreed that the development of a strategic and cooperative partnership between China and India is commonly recognized as an important issue and announced a joint declaration that includes holding regular summit meetings¹⁸⁸. In January 2008, Indian Prime Minister Singh visited China and signed a joint statement titled the Shared Vision for 21st Century. Furthermore, in December 2007, the first joint military exercise between the armies of the two countries—an India-China anti-terrorism joint exercise—took place in Yunnan Province in China. In December 2008, the second joint exercise—an India-China anti-terrorism joint exercise—took place in India¹⁸⁹.

(4) Relations with Russia

India has traditionally been on friendly terms with Russia and maintains close relations with the country through mutual visits made annually by their leaders. In October 2000, the two countries signed the Declaration of Strategic Partnership to further strengthen their bilateral relations, and have been promoting acquisition of T-90 tanks by India from Russia as well as joint development of a supersonic cruise missile¹⁹⁰. In December 2008, Russian President Dmitry Medvedev visited India and both leaders published a joint statement and signed agreements, including an intergovernmental agreement on the construction of nuclear power plants.

Russia is a major supplier of weapons to India¹⁹¹. In January 2004, then Russian Defense Minister Ivanov visited India and concluded a contract to sell a retired aircraft carrier, the Admiral Gorshkov, to India. Also in January 2007, then Russian Defense Minister Ivanov visited India and conducted a consultation meeting on military technology cooperation, joint exercises, and other issues¹⁹². Furthermore, both countries are reported to have been promoting the joint development of fifth-generation fighter aircraft¹⁹³.

In addition, the two countries have conducted joint military exercises since 2003¹⁹⁴.

(5) Relations with Southeast Asian Countries

Since the latter half of the 1990s, India has been emphasizing relations with East Asian countries, including ASEAN members. In October 2003, it signed the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC)¹⁹⁵.

2. Pakistan

1. General Situation

Pakistan, with approximately 160 million people, borders India, Iran, Afghanistan, and China, and is one of the most geopolitically important countries in Southwestern Asia. Since Pakistan borders Afghanistan and in the past the so-called Khan network was involved in the proliferation of nuclear weapons technology, Pakistan's attitude towards the international fight against terrorism and non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction is attracting increasing international attention.

The military government established by General Pervez Musharraf (then Chief of Army Staff) who effected a military coup d'état in October 1999 came to an end after nine years and Asif Ali Zardari was elected President in September 2008. However, soon after his inauguration, President Zardari was faced with difficulties controlling the government, being stuck between the war on terror led by the U.S. and the acts of retaliatory terrorism stemming from anti-U.S. sentiment being carried out by armed groups in the country¹⁹⁶. Thus it is not yet known where the instability of Pakistan will lead.

2. National Defense Policy

Pakistan claims that maintaining nuclear deterrence against the nuclear threat posed by India is essential to ensure national security and self-defense.

The Pakistan Armed Forces include ground forces of nine corps with approximately 550,000 personnel; one naval fleet of about 40 warships, totaling approximately 77,000 tons; and air forces including 12 air combat wings with a total of roughly 400 combat aircraft.

In recent years, Pakistan has been actively proceeding with development of a ballistic missile capable of mating with a nuclear warhead and cruise missiles. Pakistan first test-launched the Babur (Hatf-VII) cruise missile in November 2005¹⁹⁷. From January to February 2008, in exercises of the Army Strategic Force Command (ASFC), the Strategic Missile Group (SMG), following actions in 2006¹⁹⁸, it consecutively conducted test launches of various intermediate-range ballistic missiles it owns, including the Ghauri (Hatf-V), and the Shaheen 1 (Hatf-IV). And in April 2008, the first test launch of the intermediate-range ballistic missile Shaheen

2 (Hatf-VI) was conducted. This seems to demonstrate that Pakistan is steadily deploying ballistic missiles to its forces. (See Fig. I-2-6-1)

3. Foreign Policies

(1) Relations with India

India and Pakistan, which became independent from the former British India after World War II, have had three large armed conflicts over the Kashmir territorial issue¹⁹⁹ and others.

The territorial dispute over Kashmir has continued, with dialogues repeatedly resumed and suspended, and it constitutes one of the root causes of confrontation between India and Pakistan.

However, in February 2004, “multiple dialogues” for the normalization of relations between the two countries, including on the Kashmir issue, were initiated. Although definite progress had been seen in the bilateral relationship before this time²⁰⁰, no fundamental solutions to the issues were in place and relations between the two countries had become tense again after the successive terrorist attacks in Mumbai in November 2008. Now, with the efforts of the international community, led by the United States, a further deterioration of the relations between the two countries has been put on hold²⁰¹. Nonetheless, the situation is still unpredictable.

(2) Relations with other countries

Pakistan, while attaching importance to friendship and cooperation with Islamic countries, maintains close relations with China as a countermeasure against India. In October 2008, President Zardari visited China and held talks with President Hu Jintao, allowing both leaders to reach a consensus to raise the strategic partnership to a new level. It has been reported that both countries concluded a purchase contract regarding FJ-17 fighter aircraft in March 2009²⁰².

Since the 9/11 attacks on the United States, Pakistan has been expressing its intention to join the U.S.-led fight against terrorism²⁰³. This cooperative attitude was highly appreciated by the international community, and the sanctions that had been imposed on Pakistan by the United States and other countries due to Pakistan’s nuclear test in 1998 were lifted²⁰⁴. Pakistan strengthened military cooperation with the United States in the fight against terrorism. In March 2005 the United States decided to sell F-16 fighters to Pakistan, lifting its freeze on the sale that had lasted over 20 years. Furthermore, in March 2007, former U.S. President Bush visited Pakistan, expressing deep appreciation for Pakistan’s support in the global fight against terrorism, and the two countries confirmed their policy of promoting terrorism-related information sharing²⁰⁵.

Regarding the issue of nuclear proliferation involving Pakistan, then President Musharraf disclosed in February 2004 that some Pakistani scientists, including Dr. Khan, were involved in nuclear proliferation, although the president denied the Pakistani government’s involvement in any kind of proliferation activity²⁰⁶.