

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 ethnic groups, 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 nation²³⁶. 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.

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 destruction²³⁷.

In fact, India actively participates in peacebuilding assistance, including U.N. peacekeeping operations. As of May 2010, about 9,000 personnel are involved in 9 peacekeeping operations²³⁸. India has been sending naval vessels off the coast of Somalia to conduct coast guard surveillance operations against piracy since October 2008²³⁹.

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 of about 150 warships, totaling approximately 350,000 tons, and air forces of 19 combat air wings and others with roughly 670 combat aircraft.

India is expanding the procurement of equipment from foreign countries and also joint development as the Russian and former Soviet equipment which comprises 70% of its arsenal becomes obsolete. 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 July 2009, India's first domestic nuclear submarine was launched. Further, it is reported that one Russian *Acula* class nuclear submarine will be supplied to India during this year. 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 A.K. Antony announced that the country would procure 126 multi-purpose fighter-interceptors through a bidding process²⁴⁰.

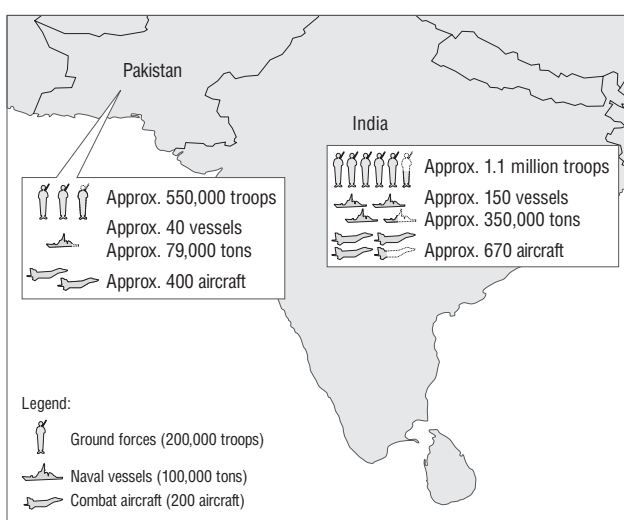
India is currently building up a ballistic missile that could load a nuclear warhead. In September 2003, India announced that it would operationally deploy the Agni-2 intermediate-range ballistic missile with the army²⁴¹. In February 2010, it succeeded in the fourth test launch of the Agni-3 intermediate-range ballistic missile and it

is reported that India had begun development of the Agni-5 intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM)²⁴².

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, missile interceptor test was conducted, and reported to be a success²⁴³. India has started negotiations with the United States on its ballistic missile defense system²⁴⁴.

(See Fig. I-2-6-1)

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



Notes: 1. Figures based on Military Balance 2010.
2. Combat aircraft include naval aircraft.

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 countries²⁴⁵.

(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.

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, President Bush in turn visited India for the first time in six years as president of the United States²⁴⁶, and agreed with Prime Minister Singh to strategically strengthen bilateral relations. Further, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton visited India in July 2009²⁴⁷, and Prime Minister Singh made an official visit to the United States in November of the same year for talks with U.S. President Barack Obama²⁴⁸.

As for cooperation in civilian nuclear activities, in October 2008, then Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and then Foreign Minister Pranab Mukherjee signed the U.S.–India Civil Nuclear Cooperation Agreement.

In the security field, in June 2005, then Indian Defense Minister 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 security²⁴⁹. Secretary of Defense Gates visited India in January 2010 for talks with Prime Minister Singh and Defense Minister Antony to discuss antiterrorism measures, Indian–Pakistan relations, the problem of Afghanistan, and overall regional security.

India and the United States have carried out active military exchanges, including joint military exercises. The “Malabar 09” exercise was carried out with additional participation from Japan off the coast of Okinawa during April and May of 2009²⁵⁰. The “Yudh Abhyas 2009” joint training exercises were carried out in India in October 2009 with participation by Stryker wheeled armored personnel carriers from the United States to train for the War on Terror²⁵¹.

India has expressed an interest in U.S. weapons. India has already purchased a used amphibious ship from the United States²⁵², and the United States has approved the sale of a P-8 patrol aircraft to India²⁵³ in March 2009.

(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 then 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 in 10 years. 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 prosperity²⁵⁴. In November 2006, Chinese President Hu Jintao visited India, the first time in 10 years, that a Chinese president met with Indian Prime Minister 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 meetings²⁵⁵. Further, in October 2009, Prime Minister Singh spoke with Premier Wen when visiting Thailand to attend the East Asian Summit and agreed to steadily close the gap regarding views on the border issue between the two countries and make efforts to reduce tensions²⁵⁶. The first China-India security talks were held in Beijing in November 2007, with the second talks held on December 2008 in Delhi and the third on January 2010 again in Beijing. At the third talks, agreement was reached to strengthen mutual trust and improve cooperation while celebrating the 60th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations. 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 — a China–India anti-terrorism joint exercise — took place in India²⁵⁷.

(4) Relations with Russia

India has maintained a close relationship with Russia through mutual visits made annually by both 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 missile²⁵⁸. In December 2009, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh visited Russia for talks with Russian President Dmitry Medvedev and Prime Minister Vladimir Putin. In addition to a joint statement by the leaders of both countries²⁵⁹, agreements were signed including an intergovernmental agreement regarding cooperation in military technology²⁶⁰.

Russia is a major supplier of weapons to India. In January 2004, then Russian Defense Minister Sergei 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 issues²⁶¹. Further, Russian Prime Minister Putin visited India in March 2010 to conclude a contract for the purchase of 29 MiG-29K carrier based fighter aircraft and to discuss joint development of a multipurpose transport and a fifth generation fighter aircraft.

In addition, the two countries have conducted joint military exercises since 2003²⁶².

(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)²⁶³.

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 faced difficulties controlling the government, being stuck between the war on terror led by the United States and the acts of retaliatory terrorism stemming from anti-U.S. sentiment being carried out by armed groups in the country. A major cleanup operation was launched in October 2009 against Islamist insurgents in the South Waziristan Agency in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas in the northwest of the country and it has been reported that several insurgent bases have been neutralized. In February 2010, Chief of Army Staff Ashfaq Parvez Kayani stated that the primary

goals of military operations in the Agency had been achieved. However, terrorist attacks thought to be retaliatory are increasing, causing many civilian casualties²⁶⁴.

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 79,000 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 August 2005²⁶⁵. From January to February 2008, in exercises of the Army Strategic Force Command (ASFC), the Strategic Missile Group (SMG), following actions in 2006²⁶⁶, 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 March 2004, the 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 issue and others²⁶⁷.

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 time²⁶⁸, 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. Later efforts of the international community, led by the United States, served to put a hold on any further deterioration of the relations between the two countries²⁶⁹. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh of India and Prime Minister Syed Yusuf Raza Gillani of Pakistan met for talks in Egypt while attending the Non-Aligned Movement summit in July 2009, where they issued a joint statement and agreed in principle to restart the multiple dialogues to discuss the outstanding issues which had been stopped since the successive terrorist attacks in Mumbai²⁷⁰. In February

2010, in New Delhi, vice foreign ministers' talks were restarted after one and a half years, at which they agreed to continue contact. Later in the year, a summit meeting and a foreign ministers' conference were held, in April and in July respectively. However, the "multiple dialogues" have not yet restarted.

(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. Further, it has been reported that production of the JF-17 fighter aircraft developed jointly between the two countries had begun in July 2009.²⁷¹

Also, since the 9/11 attacks on the United States, Pakistan has expressed its intention to cooperate with the efforts against terrorism by the United States and others²⁷². 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 lifted²⁷³. 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, then

U.S. President George W. Bush visited Pakistan and strongly praised Pakistan's support for anti terrorism issues. The two countries confirmed their policy of promoting terrorism-related information sharing²⁷⁴. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates visited Pakistan in January 2010 for talks with President Zardari, Prime Minister Gillani, and Chief of Army Staff Kayani to discuss the reevaluation of strategy in Afghanistan and Pakistan and Pakistan's role therein²⁷⁵.

Regarding the issue of nuclear proliferation involving Pakistan, then President Pervez 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 activity²⁷⁶.