

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 1.2 billion following China and has significant 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 in the country, but it has an administration elected through free and fair elections under the multi-party system and is the world's largest democratic country¹. 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 Security and Defense Policies

In an environment of evolving security challenges, which include non-traditional and asymmetric threats, India pursues a robust and autonomous security strategy which involves strengthening of her own defense capabilities. India also shows its interests in involving in cooperating with regional and international efforts towards promotion of peace and stability².

In fact, India participates in 10 United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (PKO), with approximately 8,100 personnel as of May 2012³. India has been sending naval vessels off the coast of Somalia/Gulf of Aden to conduct coast guard surveillance operations against piracy since October 2008⁴.

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 in 1998⁵.

The Indian Armed Forces include ground forces of 13 corps with approximately 1.13 million personnel; naval forces of two fleets of about 160 warships, totaling approximately 420,000 tons, and air forces of 19 combat air wings and others with roughly 860 combat aircraft. India is expanding procurement of equipment from foreign countries as well as joint development with them to modernize its weaponry, and has emerged as the world's largest arms importer⁶. India currently possesses one aircraft carrier and plans to introduce one aircraft carrier from Russia at the end of 2012, which is currently being repaired, while it also plans to deploy one domestic aircraft carrier in 2014, currently under construction.

In July 2009, India's first domestic nuclear submarine was launched. India also acquired one Russian Akula-class nuclear submarine in April 2012⁷. India is currently promoting preliminary design for joint development and production of fifth-generation fighter jets with Russia⁸, and in January 2012

¹ The country has a Muslim population exceeding 100 million.

² The Annual Report of the Ministry of Defense of India published in May 2011 pointed out that the global security continued to be adversely affected by continuing conflict and violence in the world. Even though the possibility of conventional full-scale inter-state war is reckoned to have reduced, the security environment has become complex, with incidence of low intensity conflicts and asymmetric threats taking various forms, including domestic and trans-national terrorism, narco-terrorism, cyber warfare and piracy. Furthermore, a secure, stable peaceful and prosperous neighborhood is central to India's security construct. India continues to pursue active and collaborative engagements with her neighbors with a view to promoting mutual understanding and regional peace and stability.

³ The number of personnel from the Indian forces engaged in U.N. peacekeeping operations has been ranked either third or fourth in the world since 2001.

⁴ In October 2008, the Indian government approved the dispatch of Navy vessels on a patrol mission to the Gulf of Aden, and in November 2008, a frigate of the Indian Navy sank a fishing vessel which had been hijacked by pirates.

⁵ The nuclear strategy disclosed in January 2003 mentioned continuing export controls of nuclear weapons, missile-related parts and technologies, participation in the Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty negotiations and commitment towards the world free of nuclear weapons, but at the same time, provides that the country reserves the option to retaliate with nuclear weapons against biological/chemical attack.

⁶ Source: Statistics from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), June 2012

⁷ The submarine is named Chakra. It is reported that the submarine is on a 10-year lease to India at around \$1 billion contract. India is also reported to have become the world's sixth country after the U.S., Russia, France, the U.K. and China to operate nuclear submarines.

⁸ India and Russia signed an agreement to jointly develop and produce fifth-generation fighter jets in October 2007. They also signed another agreement in December 2010 to develop and produce 200 to 250 fighter jets, specifying two-seat models and enhanced thrust engines for the aircraft to be developed and produced. It is the largest military procurement in India's history.

selected the French Rafale for the 126 Medium Multirole Combat Aircraft deal; the selection process started in June 2007⁹.

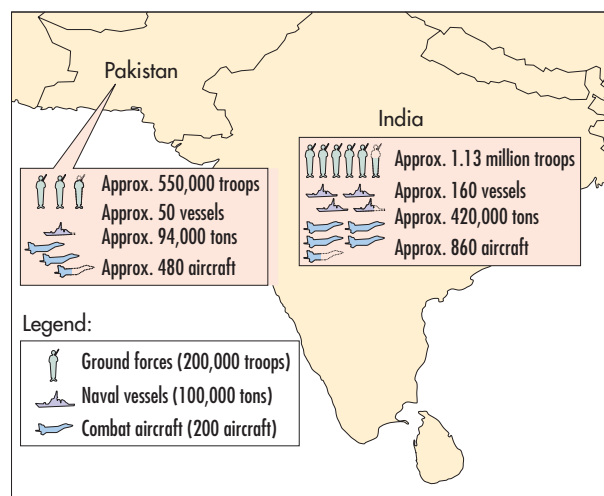
India is also developing various types of ballistic missiles. India succeeded in the first test launch of the ballistic missile “Prahaar” in July 2011. In addition, India succeeded in the first test launch of the ballistic missile “Agni 4” capable of carrying a nuclear warhead in November of the same year, and the first test launch of the ballistic missile “Agni 5” in April 2012¹⁰.

India is developing the ballistic missile defense system and succeeded in a ballistic missile interception test in February 2012¹¹.

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

Fig. I-1-6-1

Military Forces of India and Pakistan (approximate)



Notes: 1. Figures based on Military Balance 2012, etc.
 2. Combat aircraft include naval aircraft.

3 Relations with Other Countries

(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 countries. The country has also been importing multiple weapons and acquiring related technologies through the military cooperation with various countries supported by its recent economic growth.

(2) Relations with the United States

India is actively striving to strengthen bilateral relations with the United States. The United States is also promoting involvement in India in line with expansion of the relationship derived from the economic growth of India. These lead to deeper relationships in various fields¹².

⁹ Candidates for 126 MMRCA included U.S. F/A-18 and F-16, Russian MiG-35, GRIPEN of Sweden, Typhoon jointly developed by a group of European corporations and Rafale of France. It is reported that in April 2011, all the candidates were eliminated except Typhoon and Rafale, and Rafale was selected as the final candidate in January 2012. The deal for the 126 fighter aircrafts is estimated to touch US\$10 billion but using option for 63 more will cost around US\$15 billion in total.

¹⁰ According to the Ministry of Defense of India “Prahaar” is an approximately 150km-range and ground-to-ground strategic missile. It is pointed out that “Agni 4” is a ballistic missile with an approximately 3,500km-range, mobile, and two-stage solid propellant; and “Agni 5” is a ballistic missile with an approximately 5,000-8,000km-range, mobile, and three-stage solid propellant.

¹¹ In March 2011, in Wheeler Island in eastern Orissa Province, India conducted tests of intercepting ballistic missiles, and it reportedly succeeded in shooting them down six times in a row. Then U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates told reporters at the press conference during his visit to India in February 2008, “Missile defense talks with India are in the very initial stages. We have just started to talk about conducting a joint analysis about what India's needs would be in the realm of missile defense and where cooperation between us might help advance that.”

¹² “Report to Congress on U.S.-India Security Cooperation” of the U.S. Department of Defense issued in November 2011 states that the United States and India are natural partners, destined to be closer because of shared interest and values and our mutual desire for a stable and secure world.

In November 2009, Prime Minister Singh made an official visit to the United States, announcing a joint statement with President Obama reconfirming the global strategic partnership between the two countries and promoting security and anti-terrorism measures on a global scale. President Obama also made an official visit to India in November 2010 to meet with Prime Minister Singh¹³.

Regarding security affairs, U.S. Secretary of Defense Panetta visited India in June 2012 and had talks with Prime Minister Singh and Defense Minister Antony. They discussed the security situation in the Asia-Pacific region and cyber security. Also in the same month, Minister of External Affairs Krishna visited the U.S. and held the third U.S.-India Strategic Dialogue with U.S. Secretary of State Clinton. They discussed security affairs, such as terrorism and cyber security, and the expansion of trading cooperation. India and the United States have carried out military exchanges actively, and army, navy and air forces have been conducting joint exercises on a periodical basis¹⁴. India has expressed an interest in U.S. weapons, and signed an agreement to purchase P-8 patrol aircraft¹⁵ and C-17 transport aircraft¹⁶ in 2009 and in November 2010, respectively.

(3) Relations with China

India has been trying to improve relations with China under a framework of “Strategic and Cooperative Partnership” 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.

In April 2010, Prime Minister Singh and Chinese President Hu Jintao met through the BRICs Summit Meeting and confirmed their efforts to resolve unsettled issues related to

their borders. In December 2010, Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao visited India to meet Prime Minister Singh, and reached an agreement to establish a mechanism for regular exchange of visits between heads of state/government to embody a strategic and cooperative partnership¹⁷. In December 2011, the fourth China-India Defense and Security Consultation, a vice ministerial meeting, was held in New Delhi, which led to an agreement to further promote mutual trust and strengthen exchange and cooperation in various fields.

(4) Relations with Russia

India has maintained a close relationship with Russia through mutual visits made annually by both leaders and the signing of the Declaration of Strategic Partnership. In December 2011, Prime Minister Singh visited Russia for talks with then Russian President Medvedev and then Prime Minister Putin, and affirmed further enhancement of the Strategic Partnership, in addition to signing agreements on military-technical cooperation¹⁸.

India has been promoting the deal for aircraft carrier¹⁹ and joint development of supersonic cruise missiles with Russia, the main supplier of weapons to India²⁰. In March 2010, then Prime Minister Vladimir Putin visited India. During the visit, he concluded a purchase contract for 29 MiG-29K carrier-based fighter aircraft, and held talks on the joint development of multi-role transport aircraft²¹.

In December 2010, then President Medvedev visited India and signed a preliminary design contract for fifth-generation fighter aircraft²². At the India-Russia annual Defense Ministers meeting in October 2011, both countries announced that they would finalize the second stage of the preliminary design contract before September 2012. The two countries have also conducted joint military exercises since 2003²³.

13 The both countries agreed to enhance and strengthen the “global strategic partnership”. In addition, the United States endorsed India to join the U.N. Security Council for the first time, and they agreed to lift export restrictions against India of high technology related to some fields including national defense.

14 The army has conducted annual field exercise known as “Yudh Abhyas” since 2004. Joint annual naval exercises known as “Malabar” and “Habunag” have also been conducted. Air force has conducted biennial joint exercise called “Cope India.” The “Malabar” was a bilateral exercise between the United States and India, but five countries including Japan, Australia, and Singapore participated in “Malabar 07-2”, and three countries including Japan participated in “Malabar 09”. “Malabar 10,” “Malabar 11” and “Malabar 12” were conducted as a bilateral exercise.

15 P-8 is a new type of U.S. Navy patrol aircraft. The United States had not exported the aircraft overseas before it did to India. A total of eight aircraft are scheduled to be delivered to India.

16 India requested the United States to sell 10 C-17 transport aircraft to India in January 2010. The purchase agreement was announced when U.S. President Obama visited India in November 2010.

17 In the talks, both countries agreed to continue talks in order to reach an equitable accord acceptable to both countries. They also announced that efforts would be made to protect the peace and security of border regions.

18 The joint statement included deepening of the strategic partnership.

19 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.

20 In March and December 2010, India announced the successful test launch of the same missile “Brahmos.”

21 The two countries signed an agreement on the joint development of multi-role transport aircraft in September 2010.

22 In addition to the joint design of fifth-generation fighter aircraft, the two countries also concluded an agreement for the supply of the cruise missile “Brahmos,” that was being jointly developed, to the Indian Army, and issued a joint statement on contents including the expansion of trade, strengthening cooperation in the nuclear energy sector, and Russia’s support for India as a strong candidate for a permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council.

23 The joint exercise “Indra” has been conducted since 2003, and has been held a total of five times up until “Indra 2010.” It has been announced in 2012 that “Indra 2012” will take place in Russia.

(5) Relations with the Other Countries

With regard to relations with Bangladesh, Prime Minister Singh visited Bangladesh in September 2011 for the first time in 12 years as the prime minister of India and met with Prime Minister Hashina and signed a Protocol to Land Boundary Agreement, which had been agreed upon in 1974²⁴.

Furthermore, India has been emphasizing relations with East Asian countries²⁵, including the members of the Association of

Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

India also aims to enhance relations with African states²⁶. In May 2011, the Second Africa-India Forum Summit was held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia and both sides agreed to develop their partnership.

2 Pakistan

1 General Situation

Pakistan, with approximately 180 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-related materials and technologies, Pakistan's attitude towards the international fight against terrorism and non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction is attracting increasing international attention.

In February 2008, Pakistan People's Party became the leading party in the general election, and Yousaf Raza Gilani became Prime Minister in March 2008 and Asif Ali Zardari became President in September 2008. Since the inauguration of the regime, the administration has been struggling as the domestic security situation has worsened with issues such as growing anti-U.S. sentiment¹ while supporting the U.S.-led war against terrorism, and retaliatory terrorism by armed groups. Regarding the issue associated with the prosecution of President Zardari, the Supreme Court found then Prime Minister Gilani guilty in April 2012, and declared his retroactive disqualification from membership of parliament in June of the same year. As a result, in the same month, the National Assembly held an election and appointed former Minister of Information and Technology Raja Pervez Ashraf as new prime minister. The turmoil is sometimes

caused in the internal affairs as seen in the intense conflicts between the administration and the Supreme Court like this case.

2 Defense Policies

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 94,000 tons; and air forces including 12 air combat wings with a total of roughly 480 combat aircraft.

In recent years, Pakistan has been actively proceeding with development of ballistic missiles capable of carrying a nuclear warhead and cruise missiles. The recent successive test launches of the cruise missile "Barbur" (Hatf 7) (October 2011 and June 2012), the ballistic missiles "Shaheen 1A" (Hatf 4) (April 2012), "Ghaznavi" (Hatf 3) (May 2012), and "NASR" (Hatf 9) (May 2012), and the cruise missile Raad (Hatf 8) (May 2012) indicate that Pakistan is steadily deploying ballistic and cruise missiles to its forces².

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

¹ - ²⁴ It has been reported that the exchange of 111 Indian enclaves in Bangladesh and 51 Bangladeshi enclaves in the Indian territory has taken place. The Annual Report of the Ministry of Defense published in May 2011 describes the India-Bangladesh relations have improved significantly.

²⁵ The Annual Report of the Ministry of Defense published in May 2011 indicates that the security situation in East Asia underlines the need for initiatives for building trust and confidence in the region and that the establishment of ADMM (ASEAN Defense Ministers Meeting) Plus forum of ten ASEAN and eight non-ASEAN countries, including India, is seen as an effort to establish an open and inclusive security architecture for the region. Furthermore, India's policy is to encourage and participate in cooperative approaches to ensure that the critical sea lanes in the region are kept open, secure and free for navigation and defense aircraft.

²⁶ The Annual Report of the Ministry of Defense published in May 2011 points out that the salience of Africa in international security is increasing and an added strategic dimension is required in view of the emerging security challenges.

² - ¹ Anti-U.S. sentiment in Pakistan has been growing as a result of the Osama Bin Laden mop-up operation by the U.S. forces in the territory of Pakistan in May 2011 and the air attacks on border posts in Pakistan by NATO in November 2011.

² Regarding ballistic and cruise missiles that Pakistani are test launching, the following are indicated:
 "Babur" (Hatf 7): a cruise missile with the range of approximately 750km
 "Shaheen 1A" (Hatf 4): an improved model of "Shaheen 1" with an approximately 750km-range, mobile, and single-stage solid propellant ballistic missile
 "Ghaznavi" (Hatf 3): an approximately 290km-range, mobile, and single-stage solid propellant ballistic missile
 "Nasr" (Hatf 9): an approximately 60km-range, mobile, and solid propellant ballistic missile
 "Raad" (HATF 8): a cruise missile with the range of approximately 50km

3 Relations with Other Countries

(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 issue³ and others.

The territorial dispute over Kashmir has long been the bone of contention between India and Pakistan, with dialogues repeatedly resumed and suspended.

The dialogue between the two countries had been suspended due to Mumbai terror attack in November 2008, but it resumed in February 2011 as a result of the talk by the vice-ministers of foreign affairs. Following this, Minister of Foreign Affairs Khar visited India to meet Minister of External Affairs Krishna in July 2011, and affirmed the importance of peaceful resolution to all outstanding issues lying between the two countries through dialogues⁴. In November 2011, Pakistan granted India most favored nation status, showing the move for improving relations. Furthermore, it is reported that then Prime Minister Gilani and Prime Minister Singh hold talks in Maldives and confirmed the continuation of dialogue. In April 2012, President

Zardari visited India to have talks with Prime Minister Singh and both emphasized the progress in the negotiation process.

(2) Relations with the United States

After the 9/11 attacks, Pakistan declared that it would cooperate with the United States and other countries on counterterrorism efforts⁵. Its cooperative stance was accorded with international regard, and sanctions imposed by the United States as a result of the 1998 nuclear tests were lifted⁶. In light of counterterrorism efforts, military cooperation between the United States and Pakistan has continued to be strengthened even after the Obama administration inaugurated in January 2009.

In March 2010, then Minister of Foreign Affairs Qureshi held a first Strategic Dialogue with U.S. Secretary of State Clinton in Washington. The subsequent dialogues held in July and in October the same year. During these dialogues, the United States affirmed its continued support for Pakistan, while Pakistan affirmed its continued commitment toward counterterrorism efforts. However, after the U.S. forces conducted Osama Bin Laden mop-up operation in the territory

³ The two countries have adopted greatly different positions in relation to solving the Kashmir territorial issue. India's territorial claim over Kashmir is based on a document from the Maharaja of Kashmir to India, while Pakistan claims that the territorial claim over Kashmir should be decided through referendum in accordance with the 1948 U.N. Resolution.

⁴ The Annual Report of the Ministry of Defense of India published in May 2011 states that India supports the dialogues with Pakistan, however, Pakistan needs to take effective steps to address India's concerns about terrorism originating from the territory under Pakistan's control.

⁵ Pakistan has supported the fight against terrorism led by the United States and other countries. For example, it provided logistical support for the U.S. operations against Afghanistan, and carried out operations to clean up terrorists in the border regions of Afghanistan. Also, Pakistan started dispatching warships to naval operations in the Indian Ocean in April 2004. In appreciation of this support from Pakistan, the United States designated the country as a Major Non-NATO Ally. Furthermore, in March 2011 the navies of Australia, China, France, Germany, Japan, Russia, the U.K., the U.S. and others participated in the third multinational naval exercise "Aman 2011" hosted by Pakistan.

⁶ At the same time, the sanctions that had been imposed also on India by the United States and other countries due to India's nuclear test were lifted.

of Pakistan in May 2011, the dialogue was suspended. Both countries later reached an agreement to continue strategic talks⁷, but relations between the two countries intensified again when NATO forces conducted air attacks on border posts in Pakistan in November 2011, causing casualties of Pakistani soldiers. Pakistan strongly condemned the U.S. saying the attack was a violation of its sovereignty and Pakistan retaliated by closing the ground supply route for Internal Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan and by removing U.S. forces from the airbase in Pakistan, which had been used by the U.S. forces for the war on terror.

(3) Relations with China

Pakistan, while valuing the friendly/collaborative relations with Islamic countries, maintains close ties particularly with China to counter the influence of India. In May 2011, then Prime Minister Gilani visited China to meet with Chinese President Hu Jintao and agreed to strengthen the strategic partnership⁸. It is reported that at the Summit, then Prime Minister Gilani thanked China for supporting independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Pakistan after the killing of Osama Bin Laden and stated in August 2011 that the relations with China was an important pillar of Pakistan's foreign policy. Furthermore, both nations have enhanced military exchanges and the first joint exercise of air forces of both countries, "Shaheen -I" was conducted in March 2011 and a joint anti-terrorism exercise, "YOUYI 2011"⁹ was conducted in Pakistan in November 2011.

⁷ In October 2011, Marc Grossman, the U.S. Special Envoy to Afghanistan and Pakistan, visited Pakistan and met with President Zardari, then Prime Minister Gilani, Minister of Foreign Affairs Khar and the Chief of Army Staff Kayani. At the joint press conference following the meetings, the Special Envoy Grossman announced that dialogues would continue. On October 21, 2011, the U.S. Secretary of States Clinton visited Pakistan and met with the Foreign Minister Khar and announced at the joint press conference following the meeting that terrorism is a threat to both countries and the U.S. and Pakistan share a desire to annihilate radicals, such as the Taliban and Haqqani Network.

⁸ Then Prime Minister Gilani met with Premier Wen Jiabao and said "Pakistan and China have affirmed that both countries will remain good neighbors, friends and partners no matter how the global situation may change."

⁹ Joint anti-terrorism exercise has thus far been conducted a total of four times since August 2004.