

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 the issue of the unresolved borders with China and Pakistan. India has multiple ethnic groups, religions, cultures and languages<sup>1</sup>, 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.

## 2 Military Affairs

India's security environment is directly linked to the neighboring countries, Central Asia, Southeast Asia, Persian Gulf nations, and the Indian Ocean region, and India recognizes that strategic-economic factors impose an increasingly larger responsibility on it. 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 the UN Peace Keeping Operations (PKO). In order to respond rapidly and effectively to the diversified security issues, the government and defense forces remain fully prepared to tackle all challenges<sup>2</sup>.

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 states, 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. In recent years, it has successfully launched Prahaar (range of 150km) in July 2011, Agni 4 (range of 3,500km) in November 2011, and Agni 5 (range of 5,000–8,000km) in April 2012, for the first time in all cases. India is reported to have started developing Agni 6 (range of 8,000–10,000km)<sup>3</sup>, in pursuit of improving the performance by extending the range of ballistic missiles. A ballistic missile defense system is also under development and interception tests were successfully carried out in February and November 2012.

India is expanding procurement of equipment from foreign countries as well as joint development with them, and has emerged as the world's largest arms importer<sup>4</sup>. India currently possesses one aircraft carrier, the British-built Viraat, and plans to introduce another, Vikramaditya, from Russia in 2013, while it is also building one domestic aircraft carrier Vikrant. In 2009, India's first domestic nuclear submarine, Arihant, was launched. In April 2012, India also acquired one Russian-built Akula-class nuclear submarine Chakra on

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

2 The Annual Report 2011–2012 for the Ministry of Defense of India

3 The ranges of each missile are referred from "Jane's Strategic Weapon Systems (2012)." It is reported that Prahaar is a road mobile ballistic missile propelled by solid-fuel, Agni 4 is a road mobile two-stage ballistic missile propelled by solid fuel, Agni 5 is a road mobile three-stage ballistic missile propelled by solid fuel, and Agni 6 is a three-stage ballistic missile propelled by solid/liquid fuel.

4 The total amount from 2008 through 2012 is taken from the database of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI).

a lease. As for its air force, India concluded a contract with Russia to acquire 42 Su-30 fighters in December 2012, and in January 2012 selected French Rafale for the 126 Medium Multirole Combat Aircraft deal; the selection process started in 2007.

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

### 3 Relations with Other Countries

#### (1) 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<sup>5</sup>, on a regular basis. India is also interested in procuring U.S.-made weapons, and concluded contracts to purchase 15 P-8 patrol aircraft in 2009 and 16 C-17 transport aircraft in 2010 from the United States. The two countries also hold discussions on security issues. Then-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. Also in the same month, then-Minister of External Affairs Krishna visited the U.S. and held the third U.S.-India Strategic Dialogue with then-U.S. Secretary of State Clinton. They discussed security affairs and the expansion of trading cooperation.

#### (2) Relations with China

India remains conscious and watchful of the implications of China's military profile on its neighboring countries, and India and China have unresolved border disputes. At the same time, both India and China are trying to improve their relationship under a framework of "Strategic and Cooperative Partnership for Peace and Prosperity", in various areas of economy and energy. As for military exchange, Indian and Chinese armies had conducted joint counter terrorism exercises, Hand-in-Hand, in which their armies participated from 2003 to 2008. No joint exercise has been conducted since then<sup>6</sup>, but in September 2012, then-Minister of National Defense Liang Guanglie visited India to hold talks

with Defense Minister Antony, and both parties agreed to resume the joint exercise at the earliest possible time.

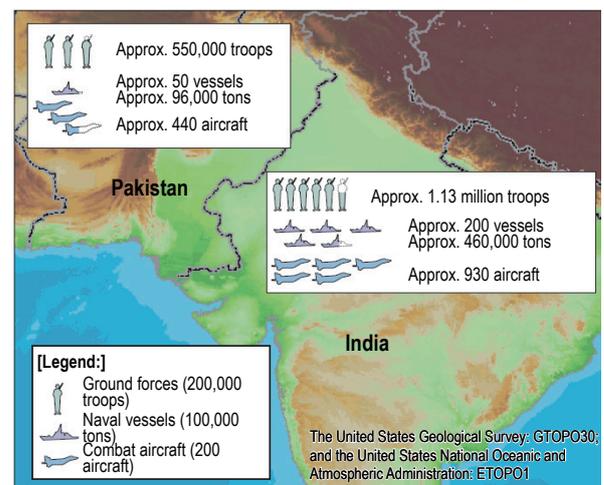
#### (3) Relations with Russia

India has maintained a close relationship with Russia through mutual visits made under the Declaration of Strategic Partnership. In December 2012, Russian President Putin visited India to talk to Prime Minister Singh. They discussed the promotion of cooperation in the areas of nuclear power, military technology, and space. Russia is the largest supplier of weapons for India, accounting for over 30 percent of Russia's defense exports<sup>7</sup>. India and Russia have strengthened cooperation in military technology by conducting joint development of a fifth generation fighter PAK FA and ultra-sound cruise missile BrahMos, and have conducted joint counter terrorism exercises by their armies and navies, codenamed INDRA, since 2003.

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Fig. I-1-6-1

Military Forces of India and Pakistan (approximate)



Notes:

1. Figures based on the Military Balance 2013, etc.
2. Combat aircraft include naval aircraft.

<sup>5</sup> 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 exercises afterward were conducted as a bilateral exercise between the United States and India.

<sup>6</sup> The reason is reported to be China's refusal to issue a visa to an Indian military officer in 2010.

<sup>7</sup> Total amount from 2008 through 2012 is taken from the database of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI).

## 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 the domestic security situation has worsened with issues such as growing anti-U.S. sentiment and retaliatory terrorism by Muslim radicals. In May 2013, amid frequent disruptions by terrorists, a general election for the lower house of parliament took place following the end of the parliamentary term. The Pakistan Muslim League (led by Nawaz Sharif), which had been in opposition before the election, became the first party, securing a much larger share of the vote than the Pakistan People's Party, which had been the pre-election ruling party.

### 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 technologies<sup>1</sup>.

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. The successive test launches of the ballistic missiles "Nasr," "Abdali," "Ghaznavi," "Shaheen 1A" and "Ghau-

ri," and the cruise missile "Raad" and "Babur" in 2012 indicate that Pakistan is steadily deploying ballistic and cruise missiles to its forces<sup>2</sup>.

Pakistan is the world's third largest importer of weapons, importing most of its weapons from China and the United States<sup>3</sup>. Pakistan concluded a contract to purchase four Sword-class frigates from China, which have already been delivered, and is conducting a joint development programme 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

India and Pakistan have disputes over the sovereignty of Kashmir<sup>4</sup> and have had three armed conflicts of significant scope.

1 Pakistan is believed to have started its nuclear program in the 1970's 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.

2 Regarding missiles that Pakistan possesses, the following are indicated:  
 "Nasr" (Hatf 9): a mobile, solid propellant ballistic missile with a range of approximately 60km  
 "Abdali" (Hatf 2): a road-mobile, single-stage solid propellant ballistic missile with a range of approximately 180–200km  
 "Ghaznavi" (Hatf 3): an approximately 290km-range, mobile, and single-stage solid propellant ballistic missile  
 "Shaheen 1A" (Hatf 4): an improved model of "Shaheen 1"; a mobile, single-stage solid propellant ballistic missile with a range of approximately 750km,  
 "Ghauri" (Hatf 5): a mobile, single-stage liquid propellant ballistic missile with a range of approximately 1300–1800km  
 "Raad" (Hatf 8): a cruise missile with a range of approximately 350km  
 "Babur" (Hatf 7): a cruise missile with a range of approximately 750km

3 Total amount from 2008 through 2012 is taken from the database of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)

4 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 the Instrument of Accession from the Maharaja of Kashmir to India at the time of Pakistan's independence, while Pakistan claims that the territorial claim over Kashmir should be decided through referendum in accordance with the 1948 U.N. Resolution.

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 2008, but it resumed following the February 2011 talk by the vice-ministers of foreign affairs. Then Minister of Foreign Affairs Khar visited India to meet India's then-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 dialogues. In November 2011, Pakistan granted India most favored nation status. This was followed by President Zardari's visit to India for a talk with Prime Minister Singh in April 2012 and then-India's Minister of Foreign Affairs Krishna's visit to Pakistan for a talk with then Minister of Foreign Affairs Khar in September 2012. All of these factors show the move for improving relations between the two countries. However, the Kashmir issue remains a concern for both countries, with the outbreak of an armed conflict in the Kashmir region in January 2013.

### (2) Relations with the United States

Besides supporting activities of 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 "major non-NATO ally" in 2004.

The two countries had conducted strategic dialogues since 2010; however, after the U.S. forces conducted Osama Bin Laden mop-up operation in the territory of Pakistan in May 2011, the dialogue was suspended. In November 2011, NATO forces

conducted air attacks on border posts in Pakistan in November 2011, causing casualties of Pakistani soldiers. Pakistan strongly condemned this action and retaliated by closing the ground supply route for Internal Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan<sup>5</sup>. Furthermore, Pakistan called for an immediate end to U.S. drone attacks on Muslim radicals in Pakistani territory in new guidelines for its relations with the United States released in April 2012. 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 attention.

### (3) Relations with China

Pakistan maintains close ties particularly with China to counter the influence of India, with active visits of leader-level officials. In June 2012, Prime Minister Zardari met with then Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao in Beijing and said that a strong bond with China is the foundation of Pakistan's foreign policy and that China is a key strategic ally of Pakistan. In September 2011, then Prime Minister Ashraf and then Prime Minister Wen Jiabao had their first talk in Beijing and agreed to strengthen the relationship in a wide range of areas, including commerce and national defense. Besides the fact that Pakistan is a major importer of Chinese weapons, both countries promote technical exchange programs, such as joint development program. Furthermore, the two countries have conducted a joint counter-terrorism exercise codenamed Friendship since 2004, and the first joint exercise of air forces of both countries codenamed "Shahen-1" was conducted in March 2011.

<sup>5</sup> In response to the apology made by then-U.S. Secretary of State Clinton about air strikes against Pakistani patrol posts, Pakistan decided to reopen the ground supply lines in June 2012.