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. In particular, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, located at the east end of the country, are close to the Straits of Malacca, and 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 nation. 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. Foreign Policies

(1) Basic Posture
India has been promoting economic liberalization and reform since the 1990s. Against the backdrop of a favorable economy, the country is actively engaging in multilateral diplomacy, thereby steadily increasing its presence in the international community. In the field of security as well, 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.

(2) 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.

The U.S.-India joint declaration, which was made when then Prime Minister of India Vajpayee visited the United States in November 2001, confirmed that qualitative improvement should be made for future bilateral relations. In January 2004, the two countries announced that they had agreed to expand mutual cooperation in the following three areas: non-military nuclear activities, space programs and high-technology trade, aiming to form a strategic partnership between the two countries. In July 2005, Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh visited the United States and made a joint statement with 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 his six years as president of the United States, and agreed with Prime Minister Singh to strategically strengthen bilateral relations.

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 security. Furthermore, in February of this year, U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates...
paid a visit to India and held discussions with Prime Minister Singh and other leaders.\footnote{143}

India and the United States have made active military exchanges, including joint military exercises. The Indian and U.S. navies carried out the joint naval exercise Malabar 07-1 off the coast of Okinawa in April of last year, and in September also held Malabar 07-2 off the coast of the area surrounding the Bay of Bengal. Malabar 07-2 was participated in by aircraft carriers of the U.S. and Indian navies in which anti-air, anti-submarine, anti-surface warfare, and other exercises were carried out, thus enhancing the joint exercise with the United States in terms of both quality and quantity.\footnote{144}

As for cooperation in civilian nuclear activities, U.S. President George W. Bush changed the previous policy prohibiting cooperation with countries not participating in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and agreed in July 2005 with Indian Prime Minister Singh on the cooperation in civilian nuclear activities for India, who is not yet a member of the NPT, in reply to India’s implementation of various measures in terms of reduction of its military size and non-proliferation of weapons. Subsequently, in March 2006, U.S. President Bush agreed with Indian Prime Minister Singh on specific measures for the implementation of cooperation in civilian nuclear activities. Furthermore, in December 2006, the U.S. Senate and Congress passed the U.S.-India Peaceful Atomic Energy Cooperation Act, which enables cooperation in civilian nuclear activities with India, where comprehensive safeguards by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) were not applied. The act was signed by President Bush and enacted in the same month.

In July 2007, India and the United States announced that they had completed negotiations on the bilateral agreement for peaceful nuclear cooperation. In August 2007, the two countries announced the text of the bilateral agreement on Cooperation for Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy. In November 2007, India and the IAEA started negotiation to finalize an India-specific Safeguards Agreement with the IAEA.

\begin{figure}[h]
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\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image.png}
\caption{The “Malabar 07-2” [U.S. Navy]}
\end{figure}

(3) China

India has been trying to improve relations with China through mutual visits by leaders despite the national border issues between the two countries and concerns over Chinese nuclear weapons and missiles and the modernization of its military force, including naval forces. In June 2003, then Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee visited China for the first time in the past 10 years as Indian Prime Minister and signed with Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao the Declaration on Principles for Relations and Comprehensive Cooperation\footnote{145} between the Republic of India and the People’s Republic of China. In November 2003, the Indian and Chinese navies carried out joint naval exercises for the first time off the coast of Shanghai. Furthermore, 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 prosperity.\footnote{146} 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 meetings.\footnote{147} Furthermore, in December
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of 2007, the first joint military exercise by the armies of the two countries – an India-China anti-terrorism joint
exercise – took place in Yunnan Province in China. In addition, in January of 2008, Indian Prime Minister
Singh visited China, and with Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao signed a joint document aiming for “A Shared Vision
for the 21st Century.”

(4) 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 missile. In January 2007, then
Russian President Vladimir Putin visited India and both leaders announced a joint statement as well as signed
agreements, including one for the construction of nuclear power plants and an intergovernmental agreement on
the peaceful use of the Global Navigation Satellite System (GLONASS). In November 2007, Indian Prime
Minister Singh visited Russia, and held talks with then President Putin.

Russia is a major supplier of weapons to India. 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 issues.

In addition, the two countries have conducted joint military exercises since 2003.

(5) 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).
Historically on good terms with Japan, India has been deepening cooperation with Japan in various fields
including economy and security based on a global partnership.

In May 2006, India’s then Defense Minister Mukherjee visited Japan and announced a joint statement along
with Director General of the DFAA Nukaga. In this statement, the two countries agreed to deepen dialogue and
cooperation in the field of defense cooperation.

3. National Defense Policy
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
cooparation to deal with new threats such as terrorism and weapons of mass destruction.

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 12 corps with approximately 1,100,000 personnel; naval
forces of two fleets, totaling approximately 355,000 tons, and air forces of 19 combat air wings and others
with roughly 570 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 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 of 2007 Indian Defense Minister Antony announced that the country would procure 126 multi-purpose fighter-interceptors through a bidding process\textsuperscript{157}.

In recent years India has been actively proceeding with the development of a ballistic missile capable of mating with a nuclear warhead. In September 2003, India announced that it would operationally deploy the Agni-2 intermediate-range ballistic missile with the army. Various types of ballistic missiles have been launched for tests in India, and it was reported that in May 2008, the Agni-3 intermediate-range ballistic missile was successfully test-launched for the third time. It has also been reported that India has begun development of the Agni-4 long-range ballistic missile\textsuperscript{158}.

In addition, India is working toward the practical realization of ballistic missile defense as a defensive response measure to threats against the homeland. In December 2007, a missile interceptor test was conducted, and reported as a success\textsuperscript{159}. (See Fig. I-2-6-1)

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

2. Combat aircraft include naval aircraft.

2. Pakistan

1. General Situation

Pakistan, with approximately 150 million people, borders India, Iran, Afghanistan, and China, and is one of the most geopolitically important countries in Southwestern Asia. Currently, Pakistan’s attitude towards the international fight against terrorism and non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction is attracting increasing international attention.

In recent years, Pakistani President Musharraf has been improving relations with India, including over the Kashmir issue, and has also expressed his support for the U.S.-led anti-terrorism measures and non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Islamic extremist groups, both at home and abroad, have criticized President Musharraf’s policy, and in December 2003 there were two assassination attempts on the president. In addition, the administration of President Musharraf, who has entered his second term as civilian president, is facing direct threats, including the assassination of former Prime Minister Bhutto in December 2007 and serious terrorist attacks.
Going forward, achieving stability in Pakistan is crucial from the viewpoint of enhancing the international fight against terrorism, preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and securing stability in South Asia.

2. Foreign Policies
Pakistan, while attaching importance to friendship and cooperation with Islamic countries, maintains close relations with China as a countermeasure against India. Since the 9/11 attacks on the United States, Pakistan has been expressing its intention to join the U.S.-led fight against terrorism. 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 lifted. 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 2006, 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 sharing.

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

3. 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 75,000 tons; and air forces including 12 air combat wings with a total of roughly 380 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 2005. It also conducted the test launch of the Shaheen 2 (Hatf-VI) intermediate-range ballistic missile in February 2007. From January to February 2008, in exercises of the Army Strategic Force Command (ASFC), the Strategic Missile Group (SMG), following actions in 2006, 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. The India-Pakistan Relationship
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 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.

India and Pakistan held vastly different opinions on Kashmir, and the solution of the issues was thought to be difficult. However, in February 2004, “multiple dialogues” for the normalization of relations between the two countries, including on the Kashmir issue, were initiated, and definite progress can be seen in the bilateral relationship. As tensions between the two countries have been mitigated, the question of whether they may solve the issue in the future is attracting much attention from the international community.