

Section 7 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 geopolitical importance in terms of sea lines of communication, connecting the Asia-Pacific region with the Middle East and Europe.

India shares borders with many countries, and has non-demarcated border issues with China and Pakistan. India has multiple ethnic groups, religions, cultures, and languages,¹ and there are concerns about the activities of ultra-leftists and secession and independence movements, as well as the movements of Islamic extremists stationed across the India-Pakistan border.

On the diplomatic front, the Modi administration that was inaugurated in May 2014 has maintained the neighborhood first policy, which emphasizes strengthening relations with South Asian countries, while expanding the focus of strengthening India's external relations to the Asia-Pacific region, in accordance with the "Act East" policy.² In addition, the administration has carried out proactive foreign policy, placing priority also on India's relations with the United States, Russia, Europe, among other areas. In the defense domain, maintaining preparedness at its land borders and addressing the threat of terrorism remain major concerns. At the same time, the administration has also recently attached importance to ensuring maritime security, especially in the Indian Ocean. Furthermore, the administration has made efforts aimed at modernizing its military by expanding foreign companies' direct investment in India's defense industry under the "Make in India" initiative and promoting the

domestic production of equipment through enhancing technological cooperation with other countries. Moreover, the administration has deepened collaboration with other countries to strengthen maritime security cooperation. In February 2016, India held an international fleet review for the first time in 15 years, inviting 24 foreign military vessels from 21 countries.³

2 Military Affairs

India's security environment is directly linked to its neighboring countries and the regions of West Asia, Central Asia, Southeast Asia, East Asia, and the Indian Ocean; and India recognizes that strategic-economic factors impose upon them an increasingly larger responsibility. 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 UN PKOs. In order to respond rapidly and effectively to diversified security issues, the Government and defense forces remain fully prepared to tackle all challenges.

Based on the nuclear doctrine of 2003, India adheres to the following policies: minimum nuclear deterrence, the no-first-use nuclear policy, no use against non-nuclear weapon nations, and maintaining the unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests that it announced immediately after the nuclear test in 1998.⁴ India promotes the development and deployment of various ballistic missiles. India conducted launch tests of "Agni 5" in December 2016 and "Agni 4" in January 2017 and reportedly started developing "Agni 6," which is alleged to have a range of up to 10,000 km. It is deemed that the country aspires to extend the ranges of ballistic missiles

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

² It is regarded that based on the progress of the "Look East" policy intended to strengthen India's relations with ASEAN, the "Act East" policy which advocates a more practical approach has been adopted since the inauguration of the Modi administration.

³ On February 6, 2016, the Indian Navy held an international fleet review off the coast of Visakhapatnam in eastern India participated by 70 Indian vessels as well as 24 vessels from 21 countries including the United States, China, Brazil, Malaysia, Vietnam, Russia, and the United Kingdom. The destroyer Matsuyuki participated from the MSDF. President Pranab Mukherjee of India, who reviewed the international fleet, stated that the international fleet review signified "our common desire to use the seas to promote peace, cooperation and friendship, as also to develop partnerships for a secure maritime future."

⁴ The Bharatiya Janata Party led by Prime Minister Modi referred to revising the nuclear doctrine in its 2014 election manifesto. However, following criticism from inside and outside the country, Prime Minister Modi later reportedly indicated that the party does not intend to revise the policy.

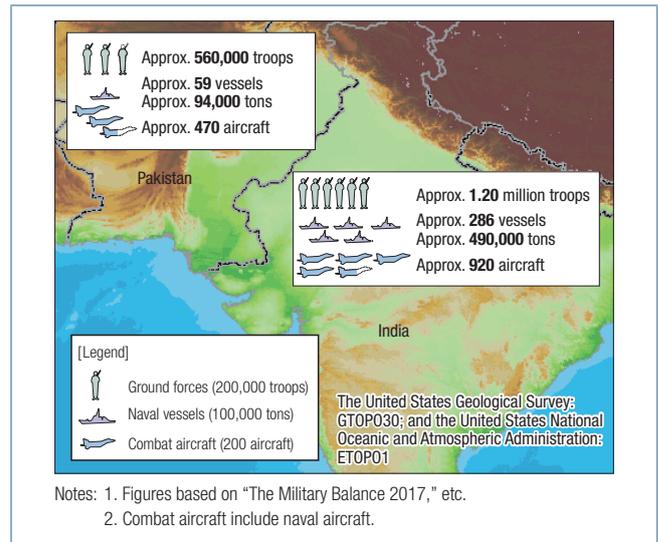
and make other performance improvements. In regard to cruise missiles, India jointly develops “BrahMos” with Russia and deploys them. India is also developing a ballistic missile defense system.⁵

In recent years, India has been injecting efforts into modernizing its naval and air forces in particular. As a part of these efforts, it 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.⁶

With respect to its naval capabilities, India decommissioned one aging British-built aircraft carrier INS Viraat in March 2017. India introduced the Russian-built conventional powered aircraft carrier INS Vikramaditya in November 2013, and is also building one indigenous conventional powered aircraft carrier INS Vikrant.⁷ With regard to submarines, India acquired one Russian-built Akula-class nuclear-powered attack submarine INS Chakra in April 2012 under a lease arrangement. It reportedly placed into service its first indigenous ballistic missile and nuclear submarine INS Arihant in August 2016. Furthermore, in 2009, India concluded an agreement with the United States to purchase eight P-8 patrol aircraft. India has so far deployed all eight aircraft to a base in southern India facing the Bay of Bengal, and in July 2016 it concluded a purchase agreement for an additional four P-8 patrol aircraft.

With respect to its air force capabilities, India is refurbishing its existing fighter aircraft. Moreover, it signed an agreement to purchase 36 Rafale aircraft from France in September 2016 as part of India’s plan to induct medium multi-role combat aircraft (MMRCA).⁸ With Russia, India has concluded an agreement in December 2012 to purchase 42 additional Su-30 fighters. India has also been deepening military technological cooperation with Russia,

Fig. I-2-7-1 Military Forces of India and Pakistan (approximate)



including the joint development of the Fifth Generation Fighter Aircraft based on the PAK FA being developed by Russia. With the United States, India has concluded an agreement in 2010 to purchase ten C-17 transport aircraft and has inducted all of these aircraft by 2014.

In addition to aircraft carriers and nuclear submarines, India undertakes the development and indigenous production of tanks and light combat aircraft. However, delays in their development present challenges for India’s domestic production of equipment.

[Q See](#) Fig. I-2-7-1 (Military Forces of India and Pakistan (approximate))

3 Relations with Other Countries

(1) Relations with Pakistan

India and Pakistan have disputes over the sovereignty of Kashmir,⁹ and have had three armed conflicts of significant scope. The territorial dispute over Kashmir

⁵ Regarding missiles that India possesses, the following have been indicated:

“Prithvi 2”: a mobile, single-stage liquid-fuelled ballistic missile with a range of about 250-350 km

“Agni 1”: a mobile, single-stage solid-fuelled ballistic missile with a range of about 700-1,250 km

“Agni 2”: a mobile, two-stage solid-fuelled ballistic missile with a range of about 2,000-3,500 km

“Agni 3”: a mobile, two-stage solid-fuelled ballistic missile with a range of about 3,000-5,000 km

“Agni 4”: a mobile, two-stage solid-fuelled ballistic missile with a range of about 4,000 km

“Agni 5”: a mobile, three-stage solid-fuelled ballistic missile with a range of about 5,000-8,000 km

“Agni 6”: a three-stage solid/liquid-fuelled ballistic missile with a range of about 8,000-10,000 km

“BrahMos”: a solid/Ramjet supersonic cruise missile with a range of about 300-500 km

Ballistic missile defense system: India is developing a two-stage intercept system consisting of a missile for high altitude interception (PAD) up to 80 km in altitude and a missile for low altitude interception (AAD) up to 30 km in altitude

⁶ According to SIPRI.

⁷ The indigenous aircraft carrier INS Vikrant is 262.5 m long, has a standard displacement of 40,642 t, and is scheduled to be commissioned in 2018.

⁸ Since 2007, India has been implementing a project to induct 126 MMRCA. In 2012, India announced that it selected the French Rafale aircraft. In April 2015, during his visit to France, Prime Minister Modi expressed India’s intention to swiftly purchase 36 Rafale aircraft. It is believed that a purchase agreement was signed in September 2016 and discussions are still ongoing regarding the model of the remaining 90 aircraft.

⁹ India asserts the accession of Kashmir to India, based on the Instrument of Accession document by which the ruler of Kashmir acceded to India at the time of Pakistan’s independence, and contends that this matter should be resolved through bilateral negotiations on the basis of the 1972 Simla Agreement (an agreement on the peaceful resolution of disputes and the withdrawal of their military forces that was reached following a summit meeting held in Simla in northern India). On the other hand, Pakistan declares that this should be decided through a referendum, in line with a 1948 UN resolution. The two countries have taken a significantly different fundamental stance towards the resolution of the dispute.

has long been in contention between India and Pakistan, with dialogues repeatedly resuming and suspending.¹⁰

More recently, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif of Pakistan was invited to Prime Minister Modi's swearing-in ceremony in May 2014. In December 2015, on his return from visiting Afghanistan, Prime Minister Modi made a surprise informal visit to Pakistan. In this regard, both countries have demonstrated readiness to improve their relations. Meanwhile, it remains uncertain whether bilateral dialogues would be sustained, with the postponement of their vice foreign ministerial meeting in both August 2014 and January 2016.¹¹ Armed clashes between the two militaries have repeatedly taken place in the Kashmir region. The large-scale armed clashes in October 2014 reportedly killed and injured civilians. Furthermore, in January 2016, armed forces intruded into an Indian Air Force base adjacent to the Kashmir area, killing and wounding security personnel and others. In September 2016, armed insurgents attacked an Indian military base on the Indian side of Kashmir, reportedly killing and injuring a number of troops. In the same month, the Indian Army announced that India's military crossed the Kashmir Line of Control to carry out a localized attack on a terrorist camp located on the Pakistani side. In this manner, the Kashmir issue remains a concern for both countries.

(2) 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 the expansion of the relationship derived from the economic growth of India. The two countries conduct joint exercises, such as Malabar,¹² on a regular basis. In addition, in recent years, the United States has become one of India's major equipment procurement destinations.¹³

In January 2015, then President Obama visited India

to attend its Republic Day celebrations as Chief Guest. The leaders agreed that they would expand technology cooperation to include co-development and co-production of equipment. Furthermore, the leaders affirmed that they would deepen cooperation in the field of maritime security, and agreed that cooperation between their navies would be expanded, including upgrading their bilateral naval exercise Malabar that is conducted between the two countries. In December 2015, then Minister of Defence Manohar Parrikar of India visited the United States. The two sides held talks on strengthening various defense cooperation, and confirmed the progress made in the technology cooperation consultations related to aircraft carriers and jet engines conducted by their joint working group. In such ways, their cooperation in the field of security has expanded. In addition, when Prime Minister Modi visited the United States in June 2016, the United States recognized that India is a "Major Defense Partner." In August 2016, in a joint statement of the U.S. and Indian defense ministers, the United States agreed to elevate defense trade and technology sharing with India to a level commensurate with its closest allies and partners. Also, a memorandum was signed concerning logistics support cooperation.

In June 2017, Prime Minister Modi visited the United States. At his first summit meeting with President Trump, the two sides agreed to continue to strengthen their strategic partnership. In the area of security, they underscored the importance of Malabar, and furthermore, the United States proposed the sale of unmanned aerial systems.

(3) Relations with China

[Q See](#) Chapter 2, Section 3-3-5 ((3) Relations with South Asian Countries)

(4) Relations with Russia

[Q See](#) Chapter 2, Section 4-5-2 (Relations with Asian Countries)

¹⁰ Dialogue between the two countries was suspended due to the Mumbai terror attack in 2008, but it resumed following the February 2011 talks by their Vice-Ministers of Foreign Affairs. In 2011, both countries affirmed the importance of peacefully settling all outstanding issues between the two countries through dialogue. Pakistan then decided to grant India most-favored nation status.

¹¹ In December 2014, Minister of State for External Affairs Vijay Kumar Singh attributed the postponement of the meeting in August that year to the meeting between Pakistan's High Commissioner and Kashmiri leaders of organizations which seek Kashmir's secession from India. The meeting was ultimately held in March 2015. It is suggested that the meeting in January 2016 was postponed due to the attack on the Indian Air Force base that occurred in the same month.

¹² The Malabar was initially a bilateral naval exercise between the United States and India. Then, Japan, Australia, and Singapore joined Malabar 07-2, and Japan participated in Malabar 09, Malabar 14, Malabar 15, and Malabar 16.

¹³ According to SIPRI.

2 Pakistan

1 General Situation

Wedge between the powerful South Asian nation of India and politically-unstable Afghanistan, and sharing borders with China and Iran, Pakistan is placed in a geopolitically significant and complex position. In particular, Islamic extremists 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 United States' war against terrorism in Afghanistan, the Government of Pakistan has been struggling as its domestic security situation has worsened, with issues such as growing anti-U.S. sentiment and retaliatory terrorism by Islamic extremists. Prime Minister Sharif who took office in June 2013 conducted peace consultations holding up a policy of dialogue with armed forces. However, these forces committed a series of terrorist attacks, and in June 2014, the Pakistan Armed Forces launched a military operation against these forces.

Following a school attack in Peshawar in the same year, upon revising the Constitution, Pakistan developed the National Action Plan that includes establishing a special military tribunal to try terrorist suspects, and announced that the Armed Forces would continue with and step up its mop-up operation. Subsequently, while it appears that terrorist attacks have decreased considerably, other attacks have been never ceasing. In January 2016, an attack targeting a university in Charsadda in northeast Peshawar occurred, killing and injuring many students and others,¹⁴ and terrorist attacks have continued to occur sporadically since then.

2 Military Affairs

Pakistan takes the position 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.¹⁵

Pakistan has been actively proceeding with the development of ballistic missiles and cruise missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads, and has conducted a number of test launches in recent years. In 2015, Pakistan conducted two test launches of the ballistic missile "Shaheen 3" in March and December, and a test launch from an aircraft of the cruise missile "Raad" in January 2016. Pakistan also conducted a test launch of the cruise missile "Babur" from a submarine and a test launch of the new ballistic missile "Ababeel" in January 2017. It is deemed that Pakistan has steadily increased the military capabilities of its ballistic and cruise missiles.¹⁶

Pakistan is the world's seventh largest importer of weapons, importing most of its weapons from China and the United States.¹⁷ Pakistan concluded a contract to purchase four Sword-class frigates from China, which have already been delivered. Pakistan jointly develops the JF-17 fighter aircraft with China and has inducted 69 aircraft through indigenous production. Pakistan is also considered to have recently conducted negotiations with China to newly purchase four frigates and eight submarines. Pakistan has inducted 18 F-16C/D fighter jets by 2011 from the United States.

¹⁴ On January 20, 2016, an armed group attacked Bacha Khan University using guns and bombs, killing 21 people including students and injuring dozens. A faction of Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) claimed responsibility. In the attack against a military-run school in Peshawar in December 2014 believed to be perpetrated by TTP, a total of 148 people reportedly died, including students.

¹⁵ Pakistan is believed to have started its nuclear program in the 1970s 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.

¹⁶ Regarding missiles that Pakistan possesses, the following have been indicated:
 "Nasr" (Hatf 9): a mobile, single-stage solid-fuelled ballistic missile with a range of about 60 km
 "Ghaznavi" (Hatf 3): a mobile, single-stage solid-fuelled ballistic missile with a range of about 290 km
 "Shaheen 1" (Hatf 4): a mobile, single-stage solid-fuelled ballistic missile with a range of about 750 km
 "Ghauri" (Hatf 5): a mobile, single-stage liquid-fuelled ballistic missile with a range of about 1,300-1,800 km
 "Shaheen 3" (Hatf 6): a mobile, two-stage solid-fuelled ballistic missile with a range of about 2,750 km
 "Ababeel": a new ballistic missile with a range of about 2,200 km
 "Raad" (Hatf 8): a cruise missile with a range of about 350 km
 "Babur" (Hatf 7): a supersonic cruise missile with a range of about 750 km

¹⁷ According to SIPRI.

3 Relations with Other Countries

(1) Relations with India

Q See Chapter 2, Section 7-1-3 ((1) Relations with Pakistan)

(2) Relations with the United States

Besides supporting the activities of the U.S. Forces in Afghanistan, Pakistan cooperates with the war on terror by launching mop-up operations against Islamic extremists in the Pakistan-Afghanistan border area. Recognizing the efforts of Pakistan, the United States designated it as a “major non-NATO ally” in 2004.

The two countries conducted strategic dialogues from 2010, and the United States provided Pakistan with military support. However, these were suspended after U.S.-Pakistan relations deteriorated as a consequence of the then Osama Bin Laden mop-up operation conducted by the U.S. Forces in the territory of Pakistan in May 2011. In October 2013, dialogue was resumed after summit meetings were held between then President Obama and Prime Minister Sharif of Pakistan. In January 2014, a strategic dialogue was held between then U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry and Advisor to the Prime Minister of Pakistan Sartaj Aziz for the first time in three years.

This dialogue was held again in January 2015. During his visit to Pakistan, then Secretary Kerry welcomed the mop-up operation conducted by Pakistan’s Armed Forces against insurgents, and announced the provision of about US\$250 million to assist temporary displaced persons (TDPs). In October 2015, Prime Minister Sharif of Pakistan visited the United States. During his meeting with then President Obama, the two sides confirmed that the efforts of the two countries and the U.S. military assistance were contributing to improving Pakistan’s counter-terrorism capabilities.

Meanwhile, Pakistan urges the United States to immediately end its drone attacks on Islamic extremists in Pakistani territory, and the Pakistan Government has protested repeatedly.¹⁸

The United States, on the other hand, condemns Pakistan for providing safe zones to Islamic extremists in Afghanistan, which poses threats to the United States. Attention will be paid to developments related to the relationship between the two countries, including their stance on the war on terror.

(3) Relations with China

Q See Chapter 2, Section 3-3-5 ((3) Relations with South Asian Countries)

¹⁸ In November 2011, NATO forces conducted airstrikes on border posts in Pakistan, causing casualties to Pakistani soldiers. Pakistan strongly condemned this action and retaliated by closing the ground supply route for ISAF. Additionally, it is reported that at an all-party conference organized by the leaders of the ruling and opposition parties in September 2013, the Government adopted a resolution asserting that the U.S. drone attacks were a clear violation of international law.