

Section
7 South Asia

1 India

1 General Situation

With a population of more than 1.3 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. With the permeation of the concept of "Indo-Pacific" in the international community, India has increased its presence as a geopolitical player, while the international community in return has increasingly high expectations for the country's role.

India 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, and deepened collaboration with other countries.

2 Military Affairs

With the increasing uncertainties and challenges in the international security environment, India considers it needs to actively commit to defense and security cooperation with its partners in order to fulfill the domestic public demand for security and expectations from the region and the international community.

As a part of the efforts to modernize its naval and air forces, 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.³ Furthermore, under the "Make in India" initiative, the administration is promoting expansion of foreign companies' direct investment in India's defense industry and the domestic production of equipment through enhancing technological cooperation with other countries.

With respect to its naval capabilities, 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 with aid from France and Italy. 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, which was built with support from Russia, in August 2016. Furthermore, in January 2019, India announced its collaborative project with a foreign company to domestically build six conventional submarines. Furthermore, in 2009, India concluded an agreement with the United States to purchase eight P-8I 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-8I 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 fighter aircraft from France in September 2016 as part of India's plan to introduce

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 According to the statistics from 2013 to 2017 in SIPRI YEARBOOK 2018, edited by SIPRI

medium multi-role combat aircraft (MMRCA).⁴ With Russia, India concluded an agreement in December 2012 to purchase 42 additional Su-30 fighters. With the United States, India concluded an agreement in 2010 to purchase ten C-17 transport aircraft and had introduced all of these aircraft by 2014.

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

Based on the nuclear doctrine of 2003, India adheres to the following policies: credible minimum 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. India promotes the development and deployment of various ballistic missiles. India conducted the seventh test launch of “Agni 5” in December 2018 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 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

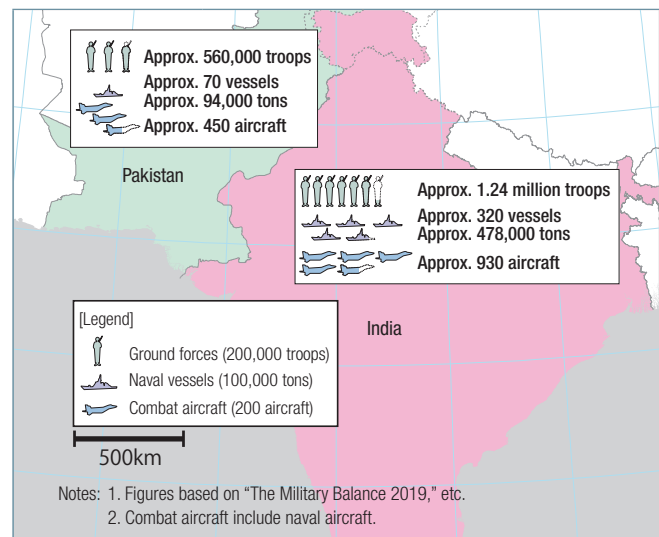
3 Relations with Other Countries

(1) Relations with Pakistan

India and Pakistan have disputes over the sovereignty of Kashmir,⁶ and have had three armed conflicts of significant scope. The territorial dispute over Kashmir has long been in contention between India and Pakistan, with dialogues repeatedly resuming and suspending due to frequent cross-border attacks along the Line of Control (LOC).

In December 2015, the foreign affairs ministers of the two countries agreed to resume the dialogue. However, this effort was failed by subsequent cross-border attacks. Prime Minister of Pakistan Imran Khan, who took office in August 2018, sent a letter to Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi to call for the recommencement of dialogues. They once agreed to hold the first foreign affairs ministers’ meeting in

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



nearly three years, but then India annulled this agreement, denouncing the Pakistani militant group that crossed the border and abducted and murdered three Indian police officers. Dialogues have been suspended ever since. In February 2019, a Pakistan-based terrorist group committed a suicide bombing in Jammu and Kashmir, a region occupied by India, killing 40 personnel of India’s Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF). Following this incident, Indian aircraft trespassed on Pakistan’s airspace and conducted air strikes. In return, Pakistani aircraft crossed LOC and conducted air strikes on the Indian side. Other than that, some exchanges of fire have also taken place along LOC. The tension between the two countries is intensifying in Kashmir.

(2) Relations with the United States

India is actively striving to strengthen bilateral relations with the United States. In line with the expansion of the relationship derived from the economic growth of India, the United States is also promoting engagement with India. It sees India as a partner that shares universal values and strategic interests with the United States in the region. The two countries conduct joint exercises, such as Malabar⁷ with Japan taking part, on a regular basis. In addition, in recent years, the United States has become one of India’s major

⁴ Since 2007, India has been implementing a project to introduce 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.

⁵ Reports specify these missiles as follows. 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. Also, India is reportedly developing a ballistic missile defense system. According to reports, it is 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 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.

⁷ The Malabar was initially a bilateral naval exercise between the United States and India. Japan has participated in the Malabar since 2007, and Malabar 17 and Malabar 18 were conducted as trilateral exercises among Japan, the United States and India.

equipment procurement destinations.⁸

At the Summit Meeting in January 2015, two leaders agreed that they would expand technology cooperation to include co-development and co-production of equipment. The leaders also 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. Furthermore, at the Defense Ministerial Meeting in December 2015, 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, attack helicopters, and C-17 transport aircraft. In September 2018, the first U.S.-India “2+2” Meeting was held. In this meeting, the two countries signed the Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement (COMCASA), which aims to promote access to advanced defense systems and ensure the optimal use of a U.S.-made platform owned by India, while also agreeing to conduct tri-service bilateral exercises.

(3) Relations with China

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

(4) Relations with Russia

Q See Chapter 2, Section 4-6-2 (Relations with Asian Countries)

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. Although the Pakistan Armed Forces’ reinforced operation to crackdown on militant groups has reportedly drastically decreased terrorism, terrorist attacks have continued to occur sporadically.

Against such backdrop, the Pakistani government has continued its counter-terrorism operation, “Radd-ul-Fasaad,”

since 2017, while also working on the construction of fences and guarding stations along the border with Afghanistan to prevent the entrance of extremist groups. In December 2018, Prime Minister Khan announced that Pakistan had helped in the U.S.-Taliban dialogue, and that the country would do everything within its power to further the peace process in Afghanistan.

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.⁹

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

⁸ According to the statistics from 2013 to 2017 in SIPRI YEARBOOK 2018

⁹ 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.

missile “Raad” in January 2016. Pakistan also conducted its first test launch of the ballistic missile “Ababeel,” which is capable of delivering multiple warheads, using MIRV technology, in January 2017. Like it did in the previous year, it conducted another test fire of submarine launched cruise missile “Babur” in March 2018. It is deemed that Pakistan is steadily increasing the military capabilities of its missiles.¹⁰

Pakistan is the world’s ninth largest importer of weapons, and it is pointed out that 70% of its weapons are imported from China.¹¹ Pakistan purchased four Sword-class frigates from China, while at the same time it has engaged in the joint development of the JF-17 fighter aircraft with China and has introduced 85 aircraft through indigenous production. It is reported that Pakistan has also agreed to purchase four additional frigates from China, while also planning to purchase eight submarines, of which four will be built in China and the other four will be built in Pakistan. Although Pakistan introduced 18 F-16C/D fighter jets received from the United States by 2011, due to the recent degradation of the Pakistan-U.S. relationship, it has been pointed out¹² that weapon imports into Pakistan seem to be on the decline.

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 then Prime Minister Sharif of Pakistan, and in January 2014, Pakistan and the United States held their first strategic dialogue in three years.

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.

The United States, on the other hand, has condemned Pakistan for allowing Islamic extremists in Afghanistan to take haven, which poses a threat to the United States. In August 2017, “No partnership can survive a country’s harboring of militants and terrorists who target U.S. Service members,” President Trump said. The same month, the United States announced the suspension of \$205 million in Foreign Military Assistance to Pakistan, which was provided by the Department of State (DOS). Following this, it also announced the suspension of DOS’ security assistance to Pakistan in January 2018 and the suspension of \$300 million of the Coalition Support Funds in September 2018. These measures will not be lifted until the Pakistani Government takes decisive action against terrorist groups, including the Afghan Taliban. Attention will be paid to further action by the two countries moving forward.

(3) Relations with China

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

¹⁰ Reports specify these missiles as follows. 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.

¹¹ According to the statistics from 2013 to 2017 in SIPRI YEARBOOK 2018

¹² According to SIPRI YEARBOOK 2018