Chapter

Section

# **South Asia**



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.

On the diplomatic front, the second Modi administration that was inaugurated in May 2019 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. 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, too, the administration has attached importance to ensuring maritime security, especially in the Indian Ocean, and deepened collaboration with other countries. As well as attaching importance to the Indian Ocean, on which India depends for its trade, the Indian Maritime Security Strategy published in October 2015 defines the nation's primary areas of maritime interest as an extensive marine area centered on India, encompassing the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and the Strait of Malacca. In addition, the strategy states that India will become a "net security provider" in the maritime neighborhood.

India has non-demarcated border issues with China and Pakistan. India has multiple ethnic groups, religions, cultures, and languages, 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.

## 2 Military Affairs

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 second-largest arms importer.1 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.

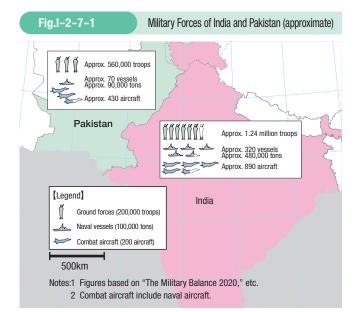
With respect to its naval capabilities, India operates the Russian-built conventional powered aircraft carrier INS "Vikramaditya," and is also building one indigenous conventional powered aircraft carrier INS "Vikrant" with aid from France and Italy. With regard to submarines, India acquired one Russian-built Akula-class nuclear-powered attack submarine INS "Chakra" in April 2012 under a lease arrangement and the two countries signed a deal in March 2019 for the lease of another Akula-class nuclear-powered attack submarine. It also reportedly placed into service its first indigenous ballistic missile and nuclear submarine INS "Arihant," which was built with support from Russia, in August 2016. In January 2020, India test-fired a K-4 submarine-launched ballistic missile from an underwater platform. Furthermore, India is making progress with the indigenous production of six conventional submarines in collaboration with France, commissioning the first of six license-built submarines, INS "Kalvari," in December 2017, and the second, INS "Khanderi," in September 2019. In January 2019, India decided to move forward with a project to produce another six conventional submarines locally in partnership with a foreign company. It has deployed the eight P-8I patrol aircraft purchased from the United States to a base in southern India and, in July 2016, concluded a purchase agreement for an additional four P-8Is.

With respect to its air force capabilities, India signed an agreement to purchase 36 Rafale fighter aircraft from France in September 2016 as part of India's plan to introduce medium multi-role combat aircraft (MMRCA). Handover of the fighters began in October 2019.

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

According to the statistics from 2014 to 2018 in SIPRI YEARBOOK 2019, edited by SIPRII

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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. As well as conducting the test launches of "Agni 5" in December 2018 and "Agni 2" in November 2019, India has reportedly started developing "Agni 6," which is believed 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 has deployed the supersonic cruise missile "BrahMos" jointly developed with Russia and is also developing the hypersonic cruise missile "BrahMos II" and a ballistic missile defense system.2

## 3 Relations with Other Countries

## (1) 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 the exercises, such as Malabar<sup>3</sup> with Japan taking part, on a regular basis. In addition, in recent years, the United States has become one of India's major equipment procurement destinations.4

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 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. In November 2019, the two countries held their first tri-service exercise "Tiger Triumph," with the participation of India's Army, Navy, and Air Force, and the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps.

### (2) Relations with China

Q See Section 2-3-6 (3) of this Chapter (Relations with South Asian Countries)

#### (3) Relations with Russia

Q See Section 4-6-5 (2) of this Chapter (Relations with Asian Countries)

## (4) Relations with South Asian and Southeast Asia Countries

In the "Transformational Diplomacy" published in June 2015, India clearly set out the neighborhood first policy, aimed at strengthening relations with other South Asian countries. Based on this policy, India agreed in November 2019 to provide Sri Lanka with US\$4.5 billion in aid to fund anti-terrorism measures, and agreed in December 2018 to provide the Maldives with US\$4.7 billion in support for economic development. In the case of Bangladesh, India agreed in April 2017 to provide US\$4.5 billion to support economic development and also concluded a memorandum of understanding on defense cooperation, which included US\$500 million in defense-related aid.

Reports specify these missiles as follows. Agni 5: a mobile, three-stage solid-fueled 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.

The Malabar was initially a bilateral maritime exercise between the United States and India. Japan has participated in the Malabar since 2007, and Malabar 17, Malabar 18 and Malabar 19 were conducted as trilateral exercises among Japan, the United States and India.

According to the statistics from 2014 to 2018 in SIPRI YEARBOOK 2019, edited by SIPR

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Based on its Act East policy, India continues to engage with Southeast Asian nations and other countries in the Asia-Pacific region on a bilateral, regional, and multilateral basis, promoting economic and cultural relations, as well as pursuing the development of strategic relationships. Leveraging its experience of using Russian equipment, India provides Vietnam, Malaysia, and other users of such equipment with support for capacity building. In September 2019, India, Singapore, and Thailand held their first trilateral maritime exercise.



## 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 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.

## 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. It is believed to have begun nuclear development in the 1970s and conducted its first nuclear test in 1998.

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 its

first test launch of the ballistic missile "Ababeel," which is capable of delivering multiple warheads, using Multiple Independently-Targetable Re-entry Vehicle technology, in January 2017. Like it did in the previous year, it conducted another test fire of the submarine launched cruise missile "Babur" in March 2018. Pakistan is thought to be steadily increasing the capabilities of its missiles, firing the "Shaheen 1" ballistic missile in November 2019, following India's launch of a ballistic missile.<sup>5</sup>

Pakistan is the world's 11th-largest importer of weapons, and it is pointed out that approximately 60% of its weapons are imported from China. Pakistan jointly developed the Al-Khalid tank and the JF-17 fighter aircraft with China. It is currently using the 85 indigenously produced JF-17 Block I and Block II aircraft, and has begun manufacture of the JF-17 Block III. Pakistan is reportedly also planning to purchase from China eight submarines, which Pakistan is positioning as the "backbone of the Navy." Four will be built in China, with the remainder to be built in Pakistan.

## 3 Relations with Other Countries

#### (1) 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.

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

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.

According to the statistics from 2014 to 2018 in SIPRI YEARBOOK 2019, edited by SIPRI

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.

Amid ongoing tense relations between the two countries, Prime Minister Imran Khan visited the United States in July 2019 and held his first summit with President Trump. During these talks, they exchanged views on anti-terrorism measures and peace in Afghanistan, as well as discussing ways of restoring the two countries' relationship. Just before Prime Minister Khan's visit to the United States, Pakistan sought to highlight its anti-terrorism efforts to the United States by

arresting Hafiz Saeed, a co-founder of the Pakistan-based Islamist extremist group Lashkar-e-Taiba, on whom the U.S. Government had placed a bounty for being a ringleader of the 2008 Mumbai attacks. After the talks, Prime Minister Khan disclosed his feeling that the two countries had gained a deeper understanding of each other, stressing that "Pakistan will do everything possible to ensure that this [Afghan] peace process goes forward." With the desire for an improvement in relations evident in such developments, the response by both countries will be the focus of attention.

## (2) Relations with China

Q See Section 2-3-6 (3) of this Chapter (Relations with South Asian Countries)

## **Disputes over the Sovereignty of Kashmir**

India and Pakistan have disputes over the sovereignty of Kashmir,<sup>7</sup> 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 crossborder attacks along the Line of Control (LOC).

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.