

# Military Asymmetry and Instability in Emerging Nuclear States: India and Pakistan

Rodney W. Jones

Policy Architects International

March 12-13, 2002

Fourth Nuclear Stability Roundtable  
"Strategic Stability and Global Change"

# Emerging Nuclear State Rivals - Conditions of Nuclear Stability

- ❑ High nuclear threshold (strong conventional defenses)
- ❑ Secure 2nd-strike capabilities (robust C<sup>4</sup>I)
- ❑ Rough parity in size and defense space
- ❑ Neither falling behind other's 1st strike edge (good early warning?)
- ❑ Allies to fill gaps and generate uncertainty

# Actual Situation in South Asia

- ❑ Indian conventional forces burgeoning, Pakistan's falling behind
- ❑ Pakistan's dubious second-strike capability
- ❑ Intense political conflict over Kashmir
- ❑ Low-intensity warfare active in Kashmir
- ❑ Escalation potential to nuclear war
- ❑ C<sup>4</sup>I fragile, crisis-unstable

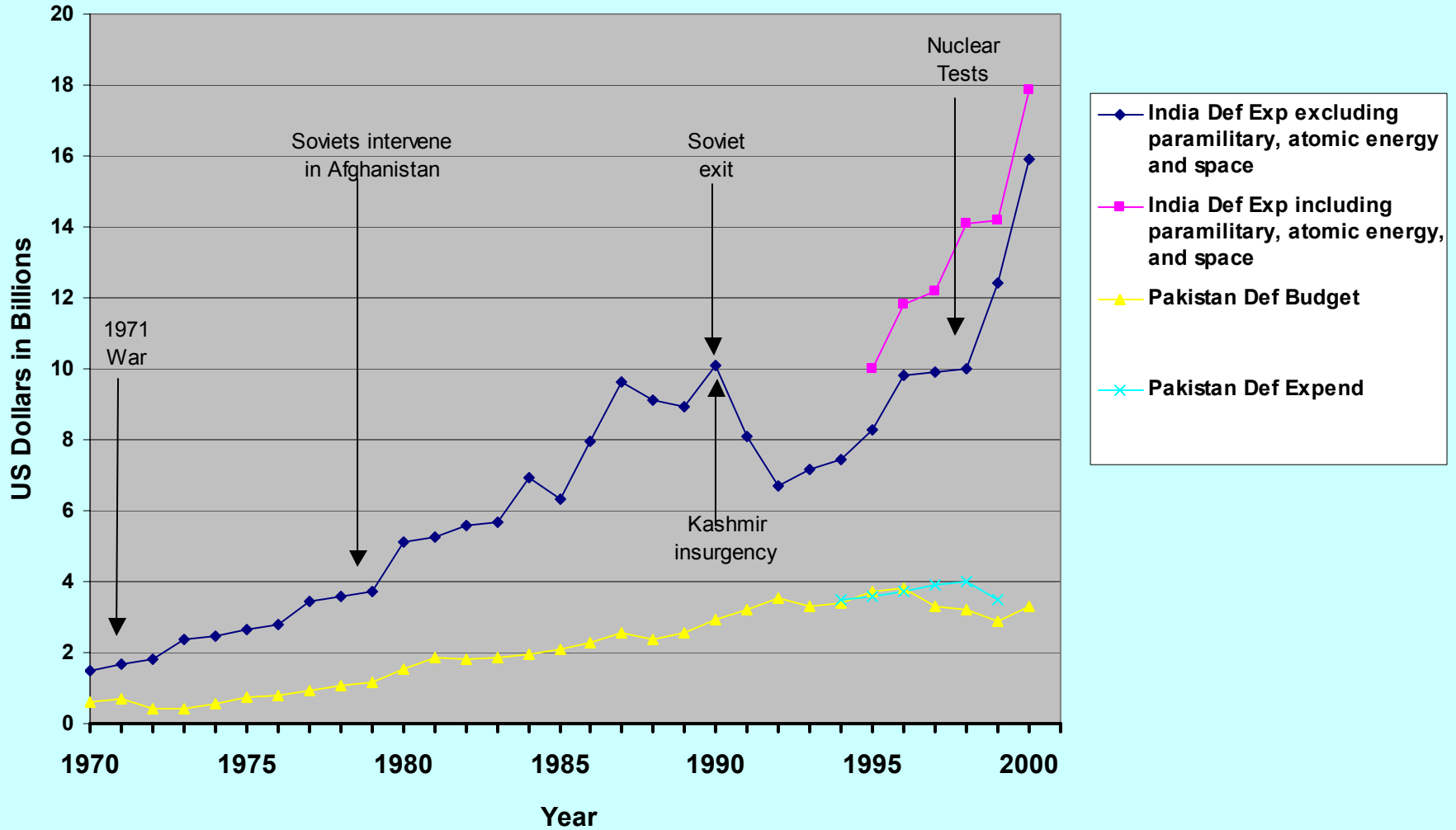
# Conventional Military Asymmetry Data

- ❑ Linear comparison of defense expenditure outlays (IISS data, massaged)
- ❑ Trend comparison of quantitative levels of conventional military equipment
- ❑ Trend comparison of qualitative measures of conventional arms capability

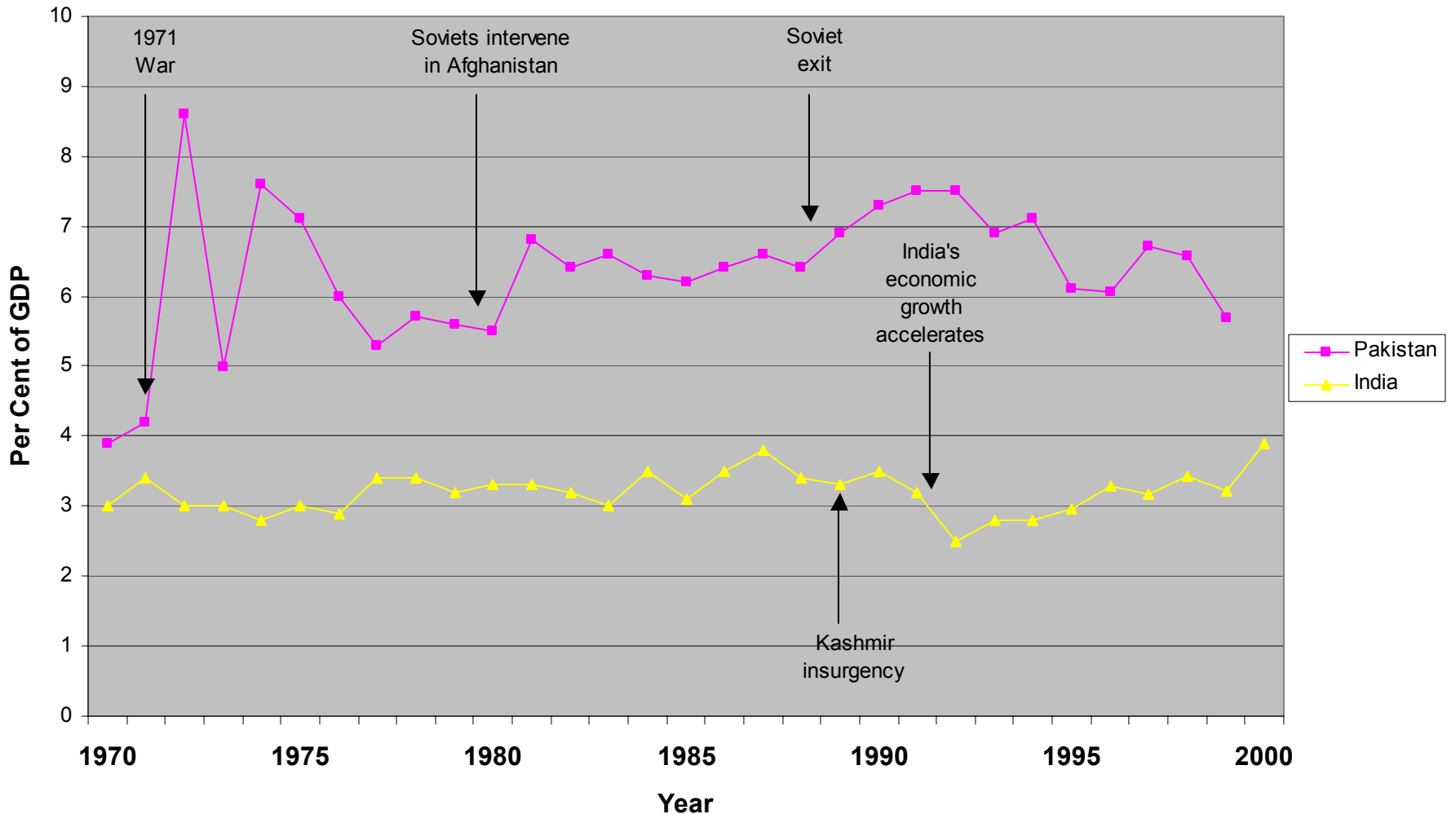
# Defense Budgets and Burdens

- ❑ Comparing India and Pakistan, 1970-2000
- ❑ Defense expenditures - in US dollars
- ❑ Defense expenditures - as % of GDP

# Chart 1. Defense Expenditures, India and Pakistan, 1970-2000

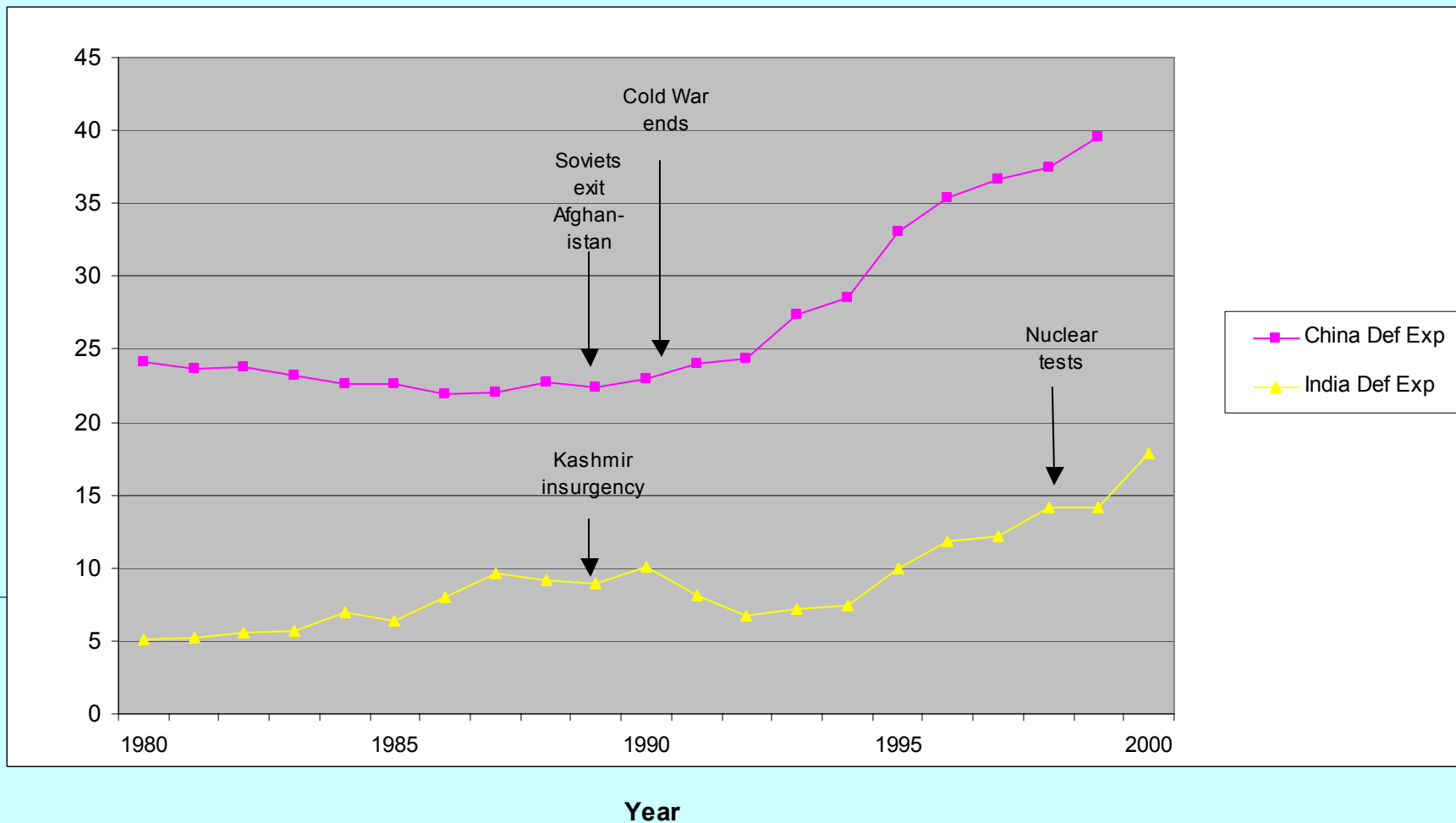


### Chart 2. Defense Expenditures as Per Cent of GDP - India and Pakistan, 1970-2000



### Chart 3. Comparison of Chinese and Indian Defense Expenditure, 1980-2000

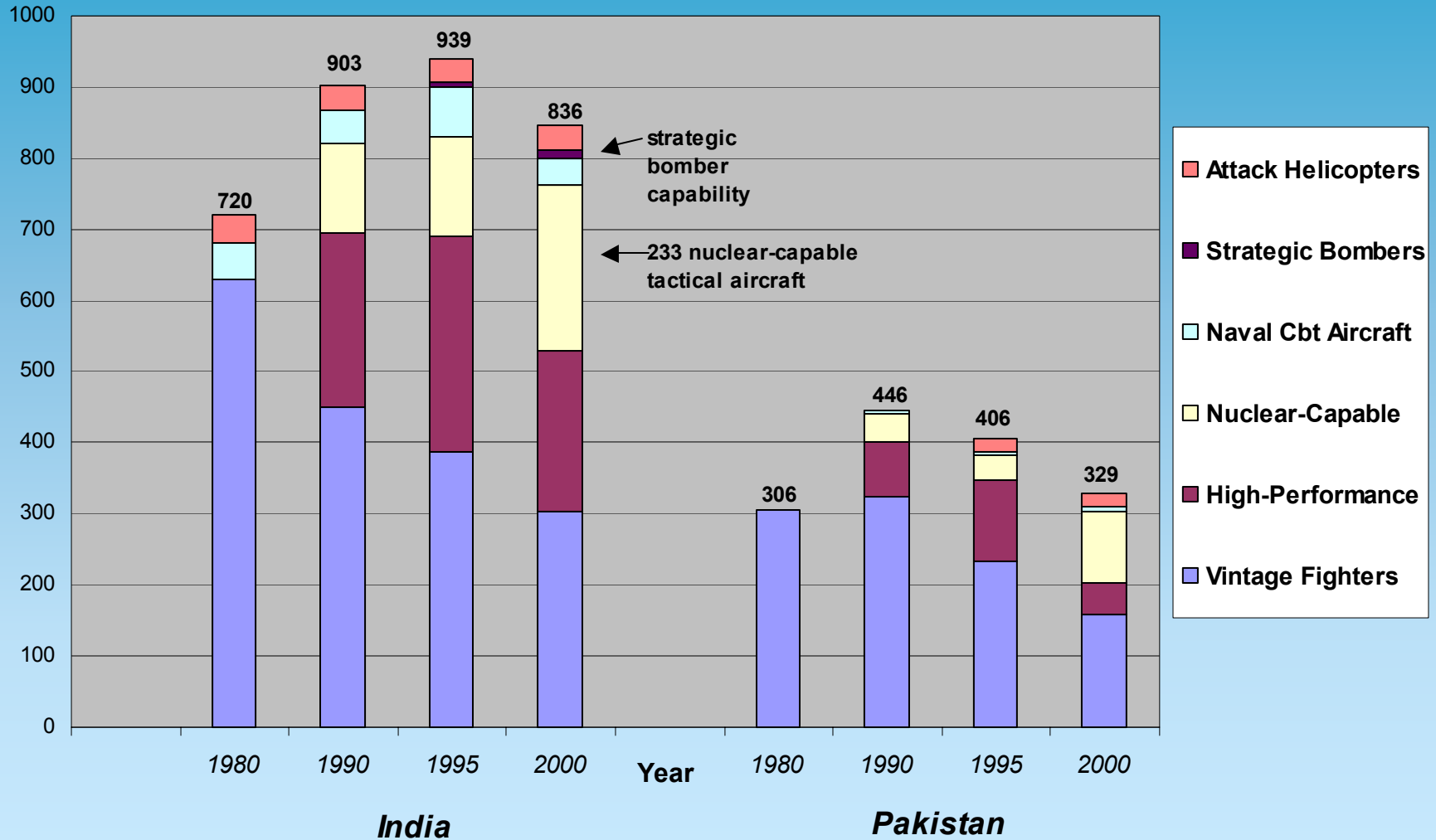
US Dollars in Billions





## Chart 4. Composition of India's and Pakistan's Air Forces 1980-2000

### Combat Aircraft

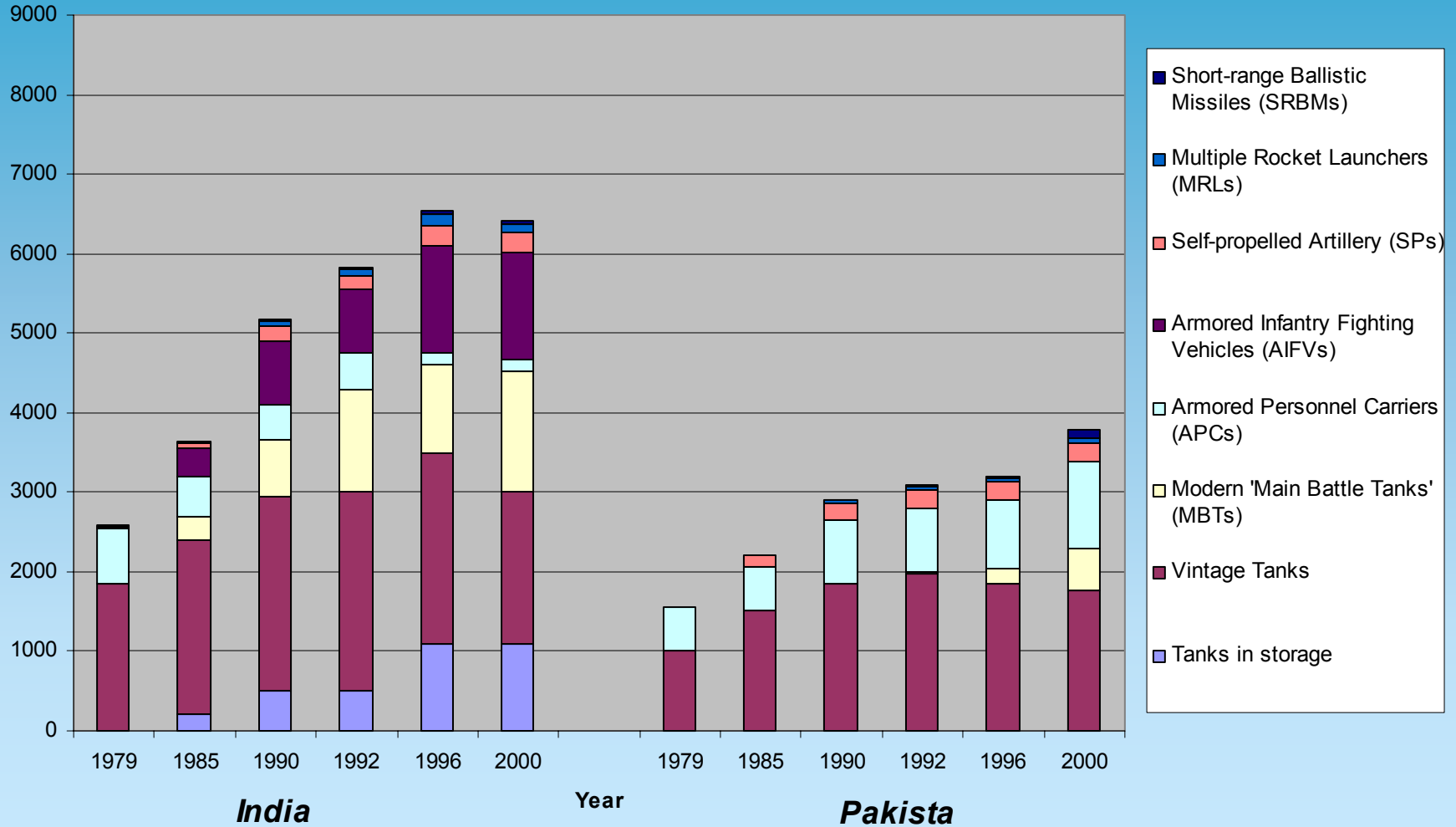


**Table 1. Nuclear-Capable Strike and Reconnaissance Aircraft  
India and Pakistan - 2000**

<b>Aircraft Type</b>	<b>Operating Radius</b> (km, unrefueled)	<b>Inventory</b>	<b>Supplier</b>
<b>India</b>			
<b>Modern</b>			
Su-30 MK	1,200	40	Russia
Mirage 2000H/TH	1,475	35	France/UK
Jaguar S(I)	900	88	France/UK
MiG-29 (Fulcrum)	630	64	Russia
<b>Vintage</b>			
MiG-21 MF/PFMA	250	69	Russia
MiG-23 BN/UM	350	53	Russia
MiG-27 (Flogger)	390	147	Russia
<b>Strategic (Long-Range)</b>			
Tu-142 (Bear F) ASW	6,200	8	Russia
Ilyushin-38 (marit recon)	3,600	5	Russia
Tu-22M (Backfire)	4,430	4	Russia
<b>Total</b>		<b>513</b>	
<b>Pakistan</b>			
<b>Modern</b>			
F-16 A/B	850	25	US
<b>Vintage</b>			
Mirage IIIEP	500	16	France
Mirage 5	500	52	France
<b>Total</b>		<b>93</b>	

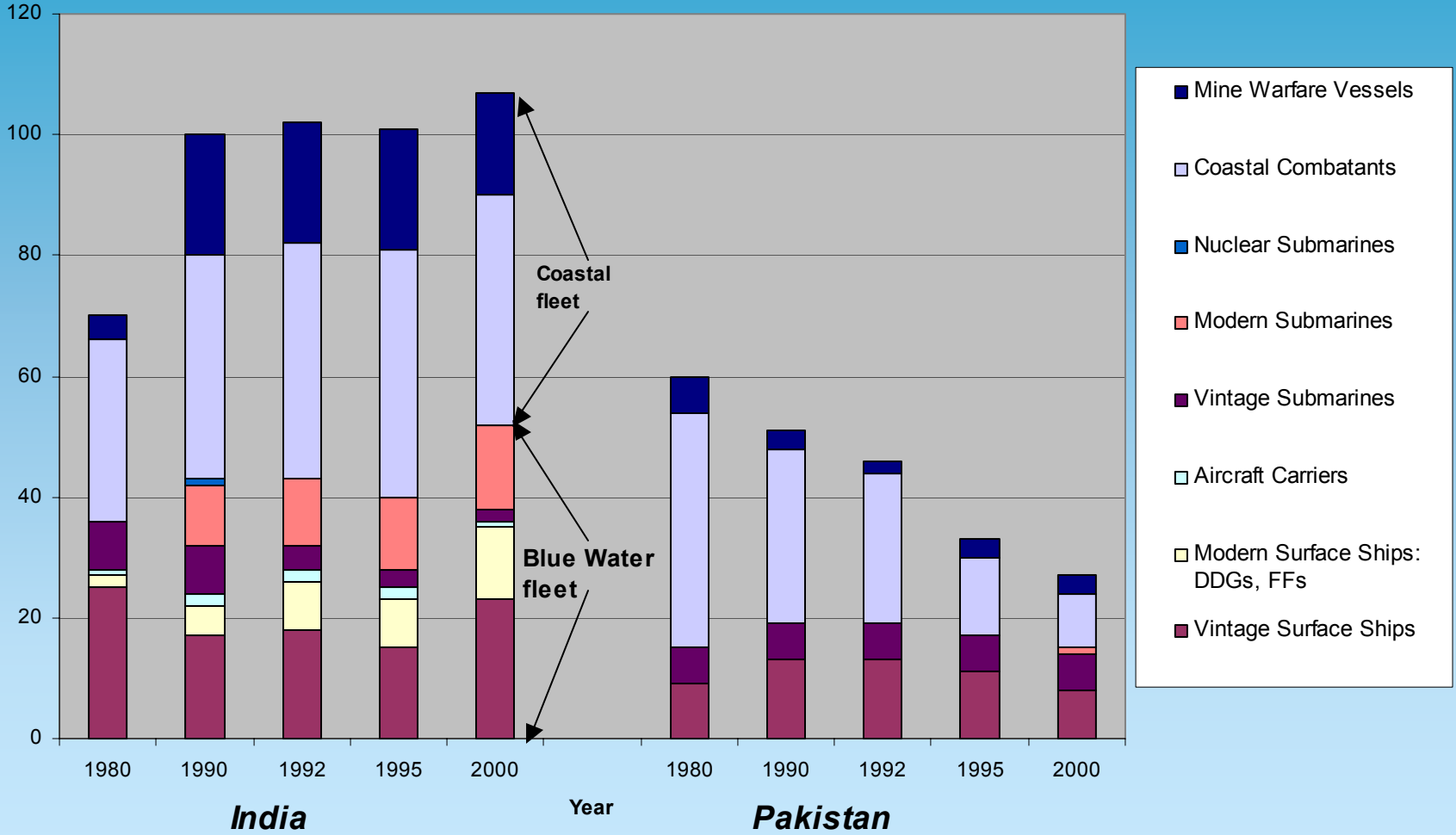
## Chart 5. Composition of India's and Pakistan's Ground Forces - Armor and Artillery, 1979-2000

### Vehicles and Systems



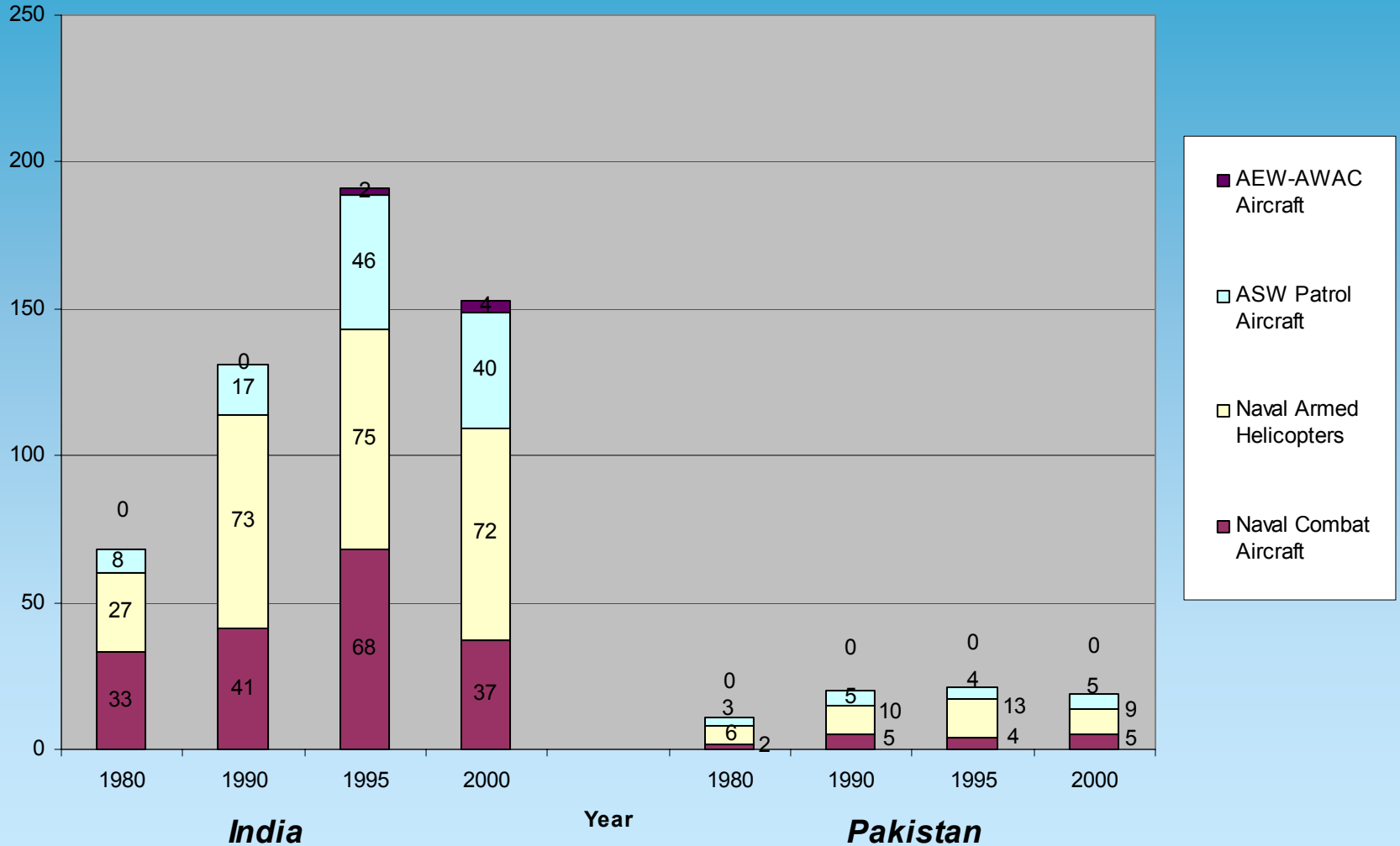
### Chart 6. India's and Pakistan's Naval Forces, 1980-2000

#### Naval Combat Vessels



## Chart 6.2 India's and Pakistan's Naval Air and Airborne Warning 1980-2000

### Aircraft



# 7. Space and Air Surveillance

## □ India

- remote sensing satellites
- 8 Tu-142M Bear
- 5 Il-38 maritime reconn
- 19 Dornier-228 reconn
- 4 HS-748 AEW
- 8 MiG-25R/U photograph
- 5 Tu-22M3 to lease

## □ Pakistan

- satellite in development
- no counterpart
- no counterpart
- 3-4 Atlantique
- no counterpart
- no counterpart
- no counterpart

## 8. India and Pakistan Air Force Procurement

### □ India

- Su-30MK FGA (new)
- Jaguar FGA (upgrading)
- Mirage 2000 (more, upgr)
- MiG-21 FGA (upgr)
- LCA (develop, since 83)
- Astra AAM
- HS-748, ELINT
- Nishant UAVs

### □ Pakistan

- FC-1, FGA (China)
- F-7MG, FGA (China)
- Mirage-3 (upgrade)

## 8 (cont) India and Pakistan - Air Force Procurement

### □ India

- Searcher-2 UAV (Israel)
- Il-78, tanker aircraft
- HJT-36 trainers (domest)
- Iskra TS-11 trainer (Pol)

### □ Pakistan



## 9. India and Pakistan - Navy Procurement

### □ India

- Adm Gorshkov A/Carrier
- SSN (ATV) for 2007
- Kilo SSK subs (Russia)
- Type 209 subs (Germany)
- Delhi DDs (domestic)
- Brahmaputra FFGs (dom)
- Krivak FF (Russia)
- Kora FSG corvette (Russ)

### □ Pakistan

- no counterpart
- no counterpart
- Khalid SSK subs (France)

## 9. India and Pakistan Naval Procurement cont

### □ India

- Super Dvora T-81 fast patrol craft (Israel)
- Harrier TMk4 (UK)
- P-3C Orion maritime patrol ASW (US)
- Dornier-228 (Germany)
- K-31 EW heli (Russia)
- Magyar LST

### □ Pakistan

- Shujat fast patrol cr (PRC)

# 10. India Pakistan Army Procurement

## □ India

- T-90 MBT (Russia)
- Arjun MBT (domestic)
- Casspir APC (S. Africa)
- Mi-17iB heli (Russia)
- Nag ATGW (domest)
- M-46 artillery upgr (Israel)
- 2S6 self-prop AA (Russia)
- T-72VT, armored recover

## □ Pakistan

- T-80UD MBT (Ukraine)
- M-113 APC (US)
- Al-Khalid MBT (domest)

# 11. India's Modernization Summary

- ❑ Slow but steady
- ❑ Import dependent for first-line equipment, despite domestic R&D programs
- ❑ Breadth and depth in capabilities, e.g. surveillance
- ❑ Blue water naval ambitions, eyes bigger than stomach
- ❑ Air and ground forces potent vs. Pakistan
- ❑ Russia main supplier, some European, Israeli

## 12. Pakistan's Modernization Summary

- ❑ Technical modernization is slow
- ❑ Dependent on China for most new equipment
- ❑ Some aircraft upgrades from Europe
- ❑ Falling far behind India in surveillance and connectivity
- ❑ Vulnerability to preemptive conventional air attack is destabilizing
- ❑ Incentive to rely on unconventional warfare

# 13. Policy Implications

- ❑ Conventional military imbalance - unstable
- ❑ Asymmetry is worsening for Pakistan
- ❑ Pakistan's nuclear threshold is dropping
- ❑ Pakistan highly dependent on China
- ❑ Pakistan, unconventional incentives growing
- ❑ US war against terrorism is opportunity to provide relief on Afghanistan and economy
- ❑ Is conventional rebalancing possible?