

## INDIA

The Republic of India ("Bharat" in Hindi) is a truly unique nation. With an area of 3.3 million square kilometers, it is about one-third the size of the United States. However, its current population of 1.1 billion is approximately four times that of the U.S., and makes it the second most populous nation on the planet. Only the People's Republic of China is larger. It is also the world's most populous parliamentary democracy, encompassing fifteen official languages and a bewildering array of other languages and dialects. It embraces great philosophical and religious diversity as well, with more than 800 million Hindus, 140 million Muslims, 26.4 million Christians, 22 million Sikhs, 7.7 million Buddhists, 5.5 million Jains, and more than 4 million other believers. It also possesses an enormous military establishment with more than 1.2 million men and women in uniform. The list of superlatives goes on, but you get the picture. Even without its long history and rich culture, India would be in the front rank of the world's nations based on its vast size alone. On the other hand, India is also typical of many of the small nations listed in these pages. The modern Indian Republic is one of those that arose in the chaotic period just after the end of WWII, and therefore its history and development, like that of so many other nations, is bound up with the events and crises of the last half of the "Century of Conflict".

It was on August 14th, 1947 that Britain formally recognized the independence of its largest and most important colonial possession. India's first independent years were plagued by the consequences of the mandated partition of the sub-continent into the two new dominions of India and Pakistan. Refugee resettlement, economic disruption, inadequate resources, and continuing communal conflicts (as more than 10 percent of India's population remained Muslim) made effective administration nearly impossible. Then, only a few months after independence, the Hindu Raja of Kashmir decided that his state should become part of India, in spite of the fact that eighty percent of its population was Muslim. This led to an uprising, which was quashed by Indian troops and an on-again off-again war between India and Pakistan over the province. A UN cease-fire in January 1949 stopped the fighting, and India formally annexed Kashmir in January 1957. The conflict over Kashmiri sovereignty, however, continues unabated.

In October 1962, a month-long war was waged between India and The Peoples Republic of China (PRC) along India's Northeast and Northwest frontiers. After years of fruitless negotiations, the Chinese struck and overran Indian army units all along the line using characteristic Chinese infiltration tactics. The war ended when the Chinese unilaterally stopped fighting and the ground gained has never been given back. The Indian army's self confidence and reputation, reinforced by a century of victories under the "Raj", suffered severe damage, and one of the consequences of this was an increased boldness on the part of neighboring Pakistan.

Both India and Pakistan had been conducting regular raids into each other's Kashmiri territory for some time by August of 1965. But it was India that crossed the disputed border in strength on August 24th, and brought matters to a head. On September 1st, Pakistan launched "Operation Grand Slam", a major combined-arms offensive toward Jammu. But the offensive gained little momentum and was followed by indecisive maneuvering by both sides, culminating in a large tank battle near Sialkot. By this time, both sides' supply system had begun to break down. Neither India nor Pakistan had planned for a prolonged war, and this was aggravated by an arms embargo against both sides by England and America. A cease-fire took effect on September 23rd. In a few months both sides returned to their pre-war positions. The ensuing "peace" lasted less than six years.

In 1970, the Awami League, a group advocating East Pakistani autonomy, gained the majority of seats in the Bengali National Assembly. The Pakistani Government responded by dissolving the assembly to prevent an expected vote for independence. After a short campaign of civil disobedience, Sheikh Mujibar, the league's leader, declared the Independent State of Bangladesh on March 26th, 1971. The Pakistani president, Yahya Khan, ordered a ruthless suppression of this independence movement that created millions of refugees and resulted in 100,000 Bengali deaths. Things might have ended right there, had India not seized the initiative.

Internationally, Pakistani atrocities had created a sympathetic atmosphere toward the rebels. Large numbers of Bengali soldiers began defecting in disgust from the Pakistani Army, including 20,000 men of the East Pakistani Rifles, and many of the defectors received sanctuary, weapons, and training in India. The initiative began to pass to the rebels by mid-year with the government losing control of all but the largest towns and cities. The situation further deteriorated when the U.S. cancelled all arms shipments to Pakistan in anger over human rights abuses connected with the suppressions. It soon became apparent to Pakistan that, unless they took the offensive, the situation was hopeless.

Their plan of action was simple. Although India enjoyed the advantage of interior lines, and greater military muscle, their forces were widely dispersed and it would take time for them to concentrate. The Pakistani's would strike in the West while fighting a holding action in Bangladesh in the belief that they could make significant gains before India could react effectively. The offensive would include two full armored divisions and ninety percent of the Pakistani air force. They also hoped they could draw Indian army units from the Chinese border in the belief that the Chinese, sensing weakness, would strike as they had in 1962. In the East, they deployed their forces in numerous fortified strongpoints. They expected these to delay any Indian offensive long enough for either a UN cease-fire or Chinese intervention to insure success in the West.

This is not as fanciful as it sounds. Experience in the 1965 war had shown the Indian Army incapable of deep advances or complicated maneuvers. The Pakistanis expected a series of set piece battles and little real movement after their initial thrust. If they were defeated in the East, they hoped they could use territory gained in the West as a bargaining chip in the negotiations that would follow any cease-fire.

Their opponents realized that victory must come quickly or not at all. Both the U.S. and the PRC were allied with Pakistan. They didn't think the U.S. would risk intervention while embroiled in Vietnam, but China was another matter. The last thing India wanted was another war in the Himalayas. Their plan was based on smashing East Pakistan and setting up a friendly regime in Dacca before Pakistan could stop them. Lt. Gen. General J.S. Aurora, their commander in the East, put together a detailed plan of attack aimed at defeating the Pakistanis in just over two weeks, involving a five-pronged advance converging on the capital; Dacca.

Combat operations commenced on December 3rd, 1971 with a surprise Pakistani air attack on India's western bases. But, the Indians, realizing their vulnerability, had dispersed their aircraft beyond the range of the Pakistanis, rendering it ineffective, and followed up with an attack of their own. As a result, Pakistan was never able to gain air superiority over the more numerous Indian air forces.

Internationally, Pakistan was now cast in the role of the aggressor, and India could "counterattack" without fear of censure. They launched their planned offensive in the East, led primarily by lightly armed "Mountain" divisions supported by light armor and helicopters. These, well trained, flexible units bypassed Pakistani defensive positions and drove forward at the impressive rate of fifteen kilometers a day. This enabled them to overwhelm any organized Pakistani reaction by the sheer speed of their advance. The Pakistani

defense was also hamstrung by approximately fifty thousand local guerrillas operating in their rear, providing the Indians with logistic and intelligence support, and pinning down Pakistani reserves.

Meanwhile, the Pakistani offensive in Kashmir had advanced no more than ten miles before Indian forces, making full use of difficult terrain, ground it to a halt. This was followed by an Indian counterattack that gained back all the lost ground. The Pakistani's then shifted their efforts south, but Indian air superiority made them vulnerable, and this effort also came to nothing. Pakistani hopes for a UN cease-fire were opposed by India's ally, the Soviet Union, and while the UN debated, India officially recognized Bangladesh and launched its final offensive in the East. U.S. President Richard Nixon pressured the UN in support of Pakistan and, on December 15th, the General Assembly demanded a cease-fire, but India ignored this. The Pakistani command in Bangladesh, now demoralized, asked for a conditional cease-fire but settled for surrender on December 17th, 1971. The Indian "Blitzkrieg" in Bangladesh had cost them 2,400 dead and 6,200 wounded. Pakistan had lost 4,000 dead, 10,000 wounded and a staggering 93,000 prisoners! Indian success was due, primarily, to their single-minded pursuit of a clearly defined objective; victory in Bangladesh, and their unstinting allocation of resources to this objective.

U.S. relations with India improved during the last half of the 1980s with greater trade, scientific cooperation, and cultural exchanges. Rajiv Gandhi, India's Prime Minister since the death of his mother, Indira Ghandi, helped launch a seven-nation South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), whose annual meetings offered the leaders of India and Pakistan, as well as their smaller neighbors, opportunities to discuss and resolve problems. Using the SAARC as a platform, India accused Pakistan of sending armed agents across the Punjab border into Indian Kashmir. In late 1989, strikes, terrorism, and unrest escalated there. By early 1990 the area was rocked by a series of violent explosions and fierce exchanges of heavy fire along the cease-fire borderline. New Delhi responded by suspending local government, and rushing in additional troops until the entire state was put under curfew and martial law and refused to discuss the matter with any foreign powers. India insisted that the situation was purely a "domestic" matter and should be dealt with by Indians alone.

The Indian government was also confronted by unrest in nearby Sri Lanka. Conflict between the island's Sinhalese Buddhist majority and its Tamil Hindu minority exploded into civil war in the 1980's. After several SAARC meetings between Rajiv Gandhi and Sri Lanka's president, Jayawardene, the two leaders signed a peace accord that provided the Tamils with an autonomous province within a united Sri Lanka. India agreed to prevent Tamil separatists from using its territory, notably Tamil Nadu, for training and shelter and sent a PeaceKeeping Force (IPKF) to disarm the "Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam" and other groups. The IPKF, however, soon found itself embroiled in fighting the "Tamil Tiger", and by 1989 India bowed to Sri Lankan pressure to pull out its troops. In March 1990, with its mission unaccomplished, the last of the IPKF had been withdrawn.

Since the last major military operations in Kashmir in 1999, violence has been ongoing there. India has been able to do little about this, or the fighting in the Punjab, in Assam, or Jammu. Opposition spokesmen say this reflects considerable national apathy, and point to the aging Prime Minister Vajpayee as a symbol of India's current political impotence. They believe that since the collapse of the Soviet Union, India's traditional policy of non-alignment no longer has any meaning, and advocate a closer relationship with the United States. But it is India's nuclear program that causes the greatest concern worldwide. Following a series of nuclear tests in 1998, India publicly stated that it would use these weapons only in self-defense. In the words of Prime Minister Vajpayee, "There will be no first use." Somehow, with the roar of Pakistani artillery shells echoing through the Vale of Kashmir, and the rattle of terrorist gunfire outside India's parliament building, these words don't seem all that reassuring.

## FOREIGN WEAPONS

OT-62 - CZ, 81mm Brandt Mortar, AMX13/75 - FR; 40mm L/60, 81mm L16, 6lbr ATG, 25lbr, 105mm Abbot, 5.5", 155mm FH70, Centurion - UK; 75mm M116 "Pack" Howitzer, 106mm M40 RcR, 4.2" M84, M3 Stuart, M4 Sherman - US; All other foreign weapons - RU

## TABLES OF ORGANIZATION AND EQUIPMENT INFANTRY AND MOUNTAIN DIVISIONS: 1965

**Generation: II, Air Superiority Rating: 70, Class: Conscripts, Base Determination Factor: 40%**

|                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| Infantry Company:            | 3xTL2 Infantry(A), 1xTL2 Infantry Support   |
| Support Company:             | 1x81mm L16 Mortar(3)/Truck, 2x106mm M40 RcR/Jeep <u>or</u> 2x6lbr ATG/Truck, 1xTL2 Infantry(R)/Jeep   |
| Armored Squadron:            | 5xM4 Sherman  |
| Cavalry Squadron[R]:         | 3xAMX-13/75 <u>or</u> M3 Stuart   |
| Engineer Company:            | 3xTL2 Engineer/Truck  |
| Infantry Regiment:           | 1xTL2 Infantry(A) HQ, 4xInfantry Company, 1xSupport Company   |
| Engineer Battalion:          | 3xEngineer Company  |
| Armored Regiment:            | 3xArmored Squadron  |
| Field Artillery Regiment:    | 3xTL2 25lbr Mk 2(3)/Truck   |
| Medium Artillery Regiment:   | 3x5.5"Howitzer(3)/Truck   |
| Mountain Artillery Regiment: | 3x75mm M116 "Pack" Howitzer(3)/Truck  |
| Infantry Brigade:            | 1xTL2 Infantry(A) GHQ/Truck, 1xTL2 Infantry(R)/Truck, 3xInfantry Regiment, 1x4.2" M84 Mortar(3)/Truck |
| Mountain Brigade:            | 1xTL2 Infantry(A) GHQ/Truck, 1xTL2 Infantry(R)/Truck, 3xInfantry Regiment, 1x4.2" M84 Mortar(3)/Truck |
| Artillery Brigade:           | 2xField Artillery Regiment, 1xMedium Artillery Regiment   |
| Mountain Artillery Brigade:  | 3xMountain Artillery Regiment   |
| Infantry Division:           | 3xInfantry Brigade, 1xArmored Regiment, 1xCavalry Squadron, 1xEngineer Battalion, 1xArtillery Brigade |
| Mountain Division:           | 3xInfantry Brigade, 1xCavalry Squadron, 1xEngineer Battalion, 1xMountain Artillery Brigade            |

- Notes: 1) Truck transport may be provided for any unit if desired.  
2) One infantry regiment may be a "Ghurka" regiment. Ghurkas are rated "Professional".

#### INDIAN ARMORED DIVISION: 1965

**Generation: II, Air Superiority Rating: 70, Class: Conscripts, Base Determination Factor: 40%**

Motorized Infantry Company: 3xTL2 Infantry(A)/Truck, 1xTL2 Infantry Support/Truck  
 Support Company: 1x81mm L16 Mortar(3)/Truck, 2x106mm M40 RcR/Jeep, 1xTL2 Infantry(R)/Jeep  
 Armored Squadron: 5xCenturion Mk13 or M4 or M4A3 or M4A3E8 "Sherman"  
 Armored Recon Squadron[R]: 3xAMX-13/75  
 Engineer Company: 3xTL2 Engineer/Truck

Field Artillery Regiment: 3xTL2 25lb Mk 2(3)/Truck  
 Medium Artillery Regiment: 3x5.5" Howitzer(3)/Truck  
 Anti-Aircraft Regiment: 3x40mm/L60 "Bofors"/Truck  
 Infantry Regiment: 1xTL2 Infantry(A) HQ, 4xInfantry Company, 1xSupport Company  
 Engineer Battalion: 3xEngineer Company  
 Armored Regiment: 3xArmored Squadron

Motorized Brigade: 1xTL2 Infantry(A) GHQ/Truck, 3xMotorized Infantry Regiment, 1xArmored Regiment  
 Armored Brigade: 1xCenturion Mk13(GHQ), 3xArmored Regiment  
 Artillery Brigade: 2xField Artillery Regiment, 1xMedium Artillery Regiment

Armored Division: 2xArmored Brigade, 1xMotorized Brigade, 1xArmored Recon Squadron, 1xEngineer Battalion, 1xArtillery Brigade, Anti-Aircraft Regiment

- Notes: 1) One infantry Regiment may be a "Ghurka" Regiment. Ghurkas are rated "Professional".

#### INDIAN INFANTRY AND MOUNTAIN DIVISIONS: 1971

**Generation: II, Air Superiority Rating: 70, Class: Conscripts, Base Determination Factor: 35%**

Infantry Company: 3xTL2 Infantry(A), 1xTL2 Infantry Support  
 Support Company: 1x81mm L16 Mortar(3)/Truck, 2x106mm M40 RcR/Jeep or 2x6lb ATG/Truck, 1xTL2 Infantry(R)/Jeep  
 Armored Squadron: 5x"Vijayanta" or T-54 or M4A3  
 Cavalry Squadron[R]: 3xAMX-13/75 or PT-76  
 Engineer Company: 3xTL2 Engineer/Truck

Infantry Regiment: 1xTL2 Infantry(A)HQ, 4xInfantry Company, 1xSupport Company  
 Engineer Battalion: 3xEngineer Company  
 Armored Regiment: 3xArmored Squadron  
 Field Artillery Regiment: 3xTL2 25lb Mk 2(3)/Truck or 122mm M42(3)/Truck  
 Medium Artillery Regiment: 3x5.5"(3)/Truck or 130mm M46(3)/Truck  
 Mountain Artillery Regiment: 3x75mm M116 "Pack" Howitzer(3)/Truck

Infantry Brigade: 1xTL2 Infantry(A) GHQ/Truck, 1xTL2 Infantry(R)/Truck, 3xInfantry Regiment, 1x4.2" M84 Mortar(3)/Truck  
 Mountain Brigade: 1xTL2 Infantry(A) GHQ/Truck, 1xTL2 Infantry(R)/Truck, 3xInfantry Regiment, 1x4.2" M84 Mortar(3)/Truck  
 Artillery Brigade: 2xField Artillery Regiment, 1xMedium Artillery Regiment  
 Mountain Artillery Brigade: 3xMountain Artillery Regiment

Infantry Division: 3xInfantry Brigade, 1xArmored Regiment, 1xCavalry Squadron, 1xEngineer Battalion, 1xArtillery Brigade  
 Mountain Division: 3xInfantry Brigade, 1xCavalry Squadron, 1xEngineer Battalion, 1xMountain Artillery Brigade

- Notes: 1) Truck transport may be provided for any unit if desired.  
2) One infantry Regiment may be a "Ghurka" Regiment. Ghurkas are rated "Professional".  
3) The Indian Army contained 1x"Vijayanta" regiment, 2xT-54 regiments, and 2xPT-76 regiments in 1971.  
4) Other divisions may contain an M4 "Sherman" regiment or no tank regiment.  
5) The T-55 became the standard tank shortly after 1971.

#### INDIAN ARMORED DIVISION: 1971

**Generation: II, Air Superiority Rating: 70, Class: Conscripts, Base Determination Factor: 40%**

Mechanized Infantry Company: 3xTL2 Infantry(A)/OT-62A  
 Support Company: 1x81mm L16 Mortar(3)/Truck, 2x106mm M40 RcR/Jeep, 1xTL2 Infantry(R)/Jeep  
 Armored Squadron: 5x"Vijayanta"  
 Armored Recon Squadron[R]: 3xAMX-13/75  
 Engineer Company: 3xTL2 Engineer/Truck  
 Mechanized Regiment: 1xTL2 Infantry(A) HQ, 4xInfantry Company, 1xSupport Company  
 Engineer Battalion: 3xEngineer Company

Armored Regiment: 3xArmored Squadron  
 Field Artillery Regiment: 3x105mm Abbot(3)  
 Medium Artillery Regiment: 3x5.5"(3)/Truck or 3x130mm M46(3)/Truck  
 Anti-Aircraft Regiment: 3x40mm/L60 "Bofors"/Truck

Motorized Brigade: 1xTL2 Infantry(A) GHQ/Truck, 3xMechanized Regiment, 1xArmored Regiment  
 Armored Brigade: 1x"Vijayanta"(GHQ), 3xArmored Regiment  
 Artillery Brigade: 2xField Artillery Regiment, 1xMedium Artillery Regiment

Armored Division: 2xArmored Brigade, 1xMotorized Brigade, 1xArmored Recon Squadron, 1xEngineer Battalion, 1xArtillery Brigade, Anti-Aircraft Regiment

#### INDIAN INDEPENDENT ARMORED BRIGADE: 1971

**Generation: II, Air Superiority Rating: 70, Class: Conscripts, Base Determination Factor: 35%**

Mechanized Infantry Company: 3xTL2 Infantry(A)/BTR-60PB  
 Support Company: 1x81mm L16 Mortar(3)/Truck, 2x106mm M40 RcR/Jeep, 1xTL2 Infantry(R)/Jeep  
 Armored Squadron: 5xCenturion Mk13 or T-54 or T-55 or "Vijayanta"  
 Armored Recon Squadron[R]: 3xAMX-13/75  
 Engineer Company: 3xTL2 Engineer/Truck

Mechanized Regiment: 1xTL2 Infantry(A) HQ, 4xMechanized Infantry Company, 1xSupport Company  
 Engineer Battalion: 3xEngineer Company  
 Armored Regiment: 3xArmored Squadron  
 Field Artillery Regiment: 1x105mm Abbot(3), 2xTL2 25lb Mk 2(3)/Truck

Armored Brigade: 1x"Vijayanta"(GHQ), 3xArmored Regiment, 1xMechanized Regiment, 1xField Artillery Regiment, 1xArmored Recon Squadron

#### INDIAN INFANTRY AND ARMORED DIVISIONS: 1990-1999

**Generation: III, Air Superiority Rating: 80, Class: Conscripts, Base Determination Factor: 30%**

Infantry Company: 3xTL3 Infantry(A)/Truck  
 Mechanized Infantry Company: 3xTL3 Infantry(A)/BMP-1 or BMP-2  
 Support Company: 1x81mm "Brandt" Mortar(4), 1x106mm M40 RcR, 1xTL3 Infantry Support, 1xAGS-17, 2xTruck  
 Armored Squadron: 5xMedium Tank  
 Recon Squadron[R]: 3xT-55, BMP-1/-2 or PT-76  
 Engineer Company: 3xTL3 Engineer Infantry/Truck

Infantry Battalion: 1xTL3 Infantry(A) HQ, 4xInfantry Company, 1xSupport Company  
 Mechanized Regiment: 1xTL3 Infantry(A) HQ/BTR-50PK, 4xInfantry Company, 1xSupport Company  
 Engineer Battalion: 3xEngineer Company  
 Armored Regiment: 3xArmored Squadron  
 Field Artillery Regiment: 3x130mm M46(3)/Truck or 155mm FH70(3)/Truck  
 Artillery Regiment (SP): 3x105mm FV433 "Abbot"(3)  
 Anti-Aircraft Regiment: 3xZSU-23/4

Infantry Brigade: 1xTL3 Infantry(A) GHQ/Truck, 3xInfantry Battalion, 1x120mm "Brandt" Mortar(3)/Truck  
 Mechanized Brigade: 1xTL3 Infantry(A) GHQ/BTR-50PK, 3xMechanized Regiment, 1x120mm "Brandt" Mortar(3)/Truck  
 Armored Brigade: 1xT-72B(GHQ), 3xArmored Regiment  
 Artillery Brigade: 3-5xField Artillery Regiment

Infantry Division: 3-5xInfantry Brigade, 1xArmored Regiment, 1x Recon Squadron, 1xEngineer Battalion, 1xArtillery Brigade, Anti-Aircraft Regiment

Armored Division: 3-5xArmored Brigade, 1xMechanized Brigade, 1xRecon Squadron, 1xEngineer Battalion, 1xArtillery Brigade, Anti-Aircraft Regiment

Notes: 1) Indian Medium Tanks in this period may include any available variants of the T-54/55, T-62, T-72, or Vijayanta.  
 2) Light Tanks may include PT-76 and AMX-13 types.  
 3) Some Russian built T-90s became available in 1999.

#### TACTICAL NOTES

Studying the war between India and China in 1962, and India's three wars with Pakistan in 1965, 1971, and 1999, the first thing that struck me was how evenly matched the sides were. All three armies had their advantages, but victory seems to have depended more on superior tactics and strategy than on superior weapons. Therefore, it should be easy to construct entertaining and balanced scenarios from these conflicts. India always depended on air superiority and placed great faith in tactical air support. Don't forget to include this aspect of Indian tactics in any scenario. And don't forget the "Ghurkas". Including a battalion of these professionals in any scenario "order of battle" adds a lot of color and excitement.

The layout of terrain should be done with due consideration. Battles in Kashmir, Kargil, and the Punjab should take place in valleys and around mountain passes. Truly mountainous terrain should be avoided as this generally makes for slow games. The wide open desert terrain that characterizes much of the border between India and Pakistan makes for much faster "action". Keep the environment desolate and remote, with few trees or towns.

On the other hand, the decisive fighting in the 1971 war took place in densely populated Bangladesh. Here, small farms, villages, and towns should be numerous, and water obstacles common. You can get a lot of use out of your "bridging" tanks and combat engineers here. India made considerable use of lightly armed "mountain" troops in 1971 to bypass centers of resistance. Scenarios where victory is based on how many troops the attacker can move through the defender's lines, or where the objective is deep in the enemy rear would be historically accurate. The accent should be on speed and aggressiveness.

## RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Indians greeted their 1998 series of nuclear tests with enthusiasm. According to a survey conducted in six Indian metropolitan areas, public support stood at 91%, and an additional 82% favored the building of nuclear weapons. Prime Minister Vajpayee, in a written statement to members of the UN Security Council, wrote that fear of China's nuclear capability and mistrust of their intentions combined with their still unresolved border dispute to prompt India to undertake these tests. He also accused China of helping Pakistan become a "covert nuclear state" and accused Pakistan of sponsoring terrorist activity in Kashmir and the Punjab. China responded that India was using its nuclear "muscle" as part of a strategy to dominate South Asia, and of slandering China by claiming it constituted a nuclear threat.

In March 2000, India instituted the largest single-year defense spending increase in its history, after years of static military growth. It has publicly stated the purpose of this increase as twofold; first to replace obsolete weapons systems and second to build a credible nuclear deterrent. Defense Minister, George Fernandes (no relation), has been handling procurement negotiations and hopes to acquire modern remotely piloted reconnaissance vehicles (RPV's), battlefield radars, and improved artillery. These expenditures are in addition to the heavy cost of redeploying units to the Kargil region after the 1999 "Kargil War", and the much needed purchase of more Mirage-2000 fighters and the upgrade of India's aging MiG-21's. In his words, "All out efforts need to be made to ensure the funds are optimally and speedily utilized for modernization".

India's recent internal war against rampant institutional corruption has had the effect of bringing defense ministry negotiations with various contractors to a standstill. Defense contractors and ministry officials alike are terrified of running afoul of Fernandes' intense investigation of every major defense deal of the last ten years. Ministry officials have collectively decided not to process any files regarding purchases until the investigation is complete. The only significant deal that has been completed is the one concerning the upgrade of India's 130mm field guns to 155mm. Under this contract, the "Soltam Corporation" will handle the upgrade of 180 of these guns in Israel. The "follow on" contract, whereby India purchases upgrade kits for an additional 250 guns has not been signed.

The year 2000 also included the opening of a National Strategic Defense Review (SDR), by which India hopes to begin structuring a new national security doctrine. Plans are in the works for a streamlined command structure capable of shifting efficiently from peacetime to wartime priorities and able to "retaliate effectively even in a case of significant degradation by hostile forces". In other words, India wants to know if its military command can survive a surprise attack, even a nuclear attack, and continue to function.

Unlike other democracies, India's military has never been part of the government. It's history of loyalty to the British "Raj" and a series of coups in neighboring Pakistan has led Indian politicians and civil servants to look upon military leaders with suspicion over the years. Surprisingly, the Indian military was not notified of the 1998 nuclear tests until shortly before they occurred. The Indian Army was also unaware of the considerable Indian arsenal of chemical weapons until after the government agreed to destroy them under the UN Chemical Weapons Convention. Indian military officers resent the fact that Ministry of Defense civil servants, with little or know military expertise, are the final arbiters of all resource and equipment allocations to the armed services.

The Ministry of Defense has claimed that the prevailing system has worked well for decades and does not need changing. In response, Indian officers point to the recent border conflict with Pakistan, in which three weeks were required for the army and air force to coordinate attacks against infiltrators in Kashmir. By the time the air force could launch any attacks, army casualties were already appallingly high. The National Strategic Defense Review will have to take this dangerous lack of coordination seriously and have the courage to make politically unpopular recommendations for improvements.

India's dealings with Pakistan continue to include many sore issues, with conflicts over missiles, nuclear weapons, terrorism, and Kashmir topping the list. Throughout the Cold War, the U.S. depended on Pakistan as a regional bulwark against Russian influence, while Russia depended on India to serve the same purpose against China. With the Cold War over, the motives have changed, but the enmity continues. China has been working to woo Pakistan, while the Russians continue to rely on India; not against China, but as a force to help contain Central Asian nationalism. India's concern over China's transfer of nuclear technology to Pakistan was justified when Pakistan conducted its first underground nuclear detonation in 1996. To this must be added concern over recent U.S. weapons sales to Pakistan. India's response has been to abandon their previously cool relations with the U.S. and pursue a good deal of "fence mending". The U.S. is now India's most significant trading partner and the two countries are edging closer in defense matters as well. For India, building relations with Pakistan's other neighbors, such as Iran, is seen as a way of containing Pakistan. India has even attempted to convince Russia to halt arms sales to them. Considering Russia's fiscal problems, there is little hope for success here.

In terms of military hardware, India is in the midst of deciding on where it will spend the money allocated for upgrading its self-propelled artillery arm. "Bofors" has offered its 155mm FH-77BD and France its "CAESAR" system for consideration. An earlier version of the FH-77 was used in the 1999 fighting in Kashmir. Both systems are "wheeled" and compared to "tracked" systems are cheaper to purchase, operate, and maintain. Then there is the "Arjun", India's indigenous MBT. This vehicle has suffered from multiple developmental problems and has finally entered its production phase several years late, making the program prohibitively expensive. The production run will probably end after the first one hundred or so units are complete.

Between overcoming fiscal uncertainty and political wrangling, combating institutional corruption, and implementing organizational reform, India faces many hard decisions over the next few years. To say that the future course of Indian military policy is "uncertain" is a considerable understatement.

## 2002 INDIAN ARSENAL

Vehicles: 30xT-90, 300xT-72/T-72B, 300xT-55, 700xVijayanta (Stored), 800xBMP-1/2, 200xBTR-50/60, 150xOT-62/64  
AT Weapons: 106mm M40 RcR, 100mm T-12, SS-11, "Milan", AT-2, AT-3  
Artillery: 105mm Light Guns, 480x130mm M46, 410x155mm "Bofors" FH-77, 500x81mm/120mm "Brandt" Mortar, 80x122mm BM-21 MRL  
Anti-Aircraft: 20mm, 40mm L/70 "Bofors", ZSU-23/4, 120x(SA-6, SA-7, SA-8, SA-9), 50xSA-18, 12xTunguska  
Combat Aircraft: Fixed Wing: 300xMiG-21, 160xMiG-27, 100xJaguar, 55xMiG-29, 44xMirage2000, 20xMiG-23, 18xSu-30  
Helicopter: 180xAlouette III, 80xMi-17, 50xMi-8, 10xMi-25  
Small Arms: 9mm (Sterling, H&K MP5K) Submachineguns, 7.62mm FN-FAL Rifles, 7.62mm (Bren, FN MAG), .50 cal "Browning" M2 Machineguns, 1,000x106mm M40 RcR, 3.5" "Bazooka", 84mm "Carl Gustaf",

- Notes:
- 1) Actual inventories are probably below the above figures due to age and wear (especially former Soviet equipment).
  - 2) Current production of 124x"Arjun" MBT should be completed, but the program will probably be discontinued after that.
  - 3) Delivery of a total of 124xT-90 is underway and should be complete by the end of 2003.
  - 4) 300xT-72 will be upgraded to T-72G standards.
  - 5) 180x155mm "Soltam" Gun/Howitzer are on order.
  - 6) The program to produce a 155mm SP artillery weapon based on the "Arjun" chassis has been cancelled.
  - 7) A 5.56mm rifle, called the "INAS", is currently under development.

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