

the development of missile capability is expressly tied to the threats perceived to emanate from India's traditional enemies, China and Pakistan. However, neither regional nor extra-regional threats to Indian security seem to explain or justify the growth of the Indian navy. An examination of the major developments in the force structure since 1965 is revealing:

1965	1975	1985
1 Aircraft Carrier	1 Aircraft Carrier	1 Aircraft Carrier
2 Cruisers	2 Cruisers	1 Cruiser
3 Destroyers	3 Destroyers	3 Destroyers
8 Frigates	26 Frigates	23 Frigates
6 Minesweepers	8 Minesweepers	19 Minesweepers
2 Amphibious	4 Amphibious	13 Amphibious
39 Naval Aircraft	8 Submarines	8 Submarines
	89 Naval Aircraft	62 Naval Aircraft

There does not appear to be anything extraordinary about the naval build-up in the twenty years to 1985. Indeed, given India's regional responsibilities and trading patterns it would seem to be a modest response to rapidly changing circumstances in the Indian Ocean. Additions to the fleet since 1985, however, have caused more concern:<sup>32</sup>

1986-87	1987-88	1988-89
1 Aircraft Carrier	2 Aircraft Carriers	2 Aircraft Carriers
3 Destroyers	4 Destroyers	5 Destroyers
23 Frigates	21 Frigates	24 Frigates
18 Minesweepers	18 Minesweepers	17 Minesweepers
11 Amphibious	13 Amphibious	10 Amphibious
8 Submarines	11 Submarines	14 Submarines
50 Naval Aircraft	50 Naval Aircraft	(including 1 nuclear-powered) 81 Naval Aircraft

It is, of course, the leasing of a Soviet *Charlie*-class nuclear-powered submarine (the INS *Chakra*) in early 1988 that has caused the most controversy. Thus far, the submarine serves training purposes, with Soviet sailors on board, and is most probably not armed with its normal complement of cruise missiles. It is when the potential of this major force multiplier is considered in light of the acquisition of India's second aircraft carrier in mid-1987, and the navy's stated determination to purchase or build a third carrier in the near future, that legitimate

<sup>32</sup> All tables from *The Military Balance*, 1965-66, 1975-76, 1985-86, 1986-87, 1987-88, 1988-89.