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A NEW EDITION OF A SCHOLARLY WORK ON WAR AND THE ARMY

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By Col S. Lukonin

The fourth edition of Marxizm-Leninizm o voyne i armii (Marxism-Leninism on War and the Army), the work of a group of authors, has come out in a great number of copies<sup>1</sup>. There has invariably been a great demand for it among Soviet readers, particularly officers and generals of the Soviet Armed forces. The heightened interest in this book is due to the great importance and urgency of the problems with which it deals. Under modern conditions, when revolutionary changes are occurring in the military field, theoretical problems of war and the army have assumed urgency and importance. With regard to these problems, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is constantly called upon to fight against various reactionary bourgeois theories and against modern revisionists and dogmatists.

As the authors correctly emphasize, "Marxist-Leninist doctrine of war and the army is a theory called upon to solve the sociological problems of the origin, course, and outcome of wars in world history, especially in the modern era" (p. 4). Being a constituent part of dialectical materialism, this doctrine serves as the philosophical-sociological basis of Soviet military theory and practice. "It is of primary importance for the solution of present-day problems of war and peace and the development and strengthening of the armed forces of the socialist states" (p. 5).

Mastery of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on war and the army, constructive study of it, and bold application of it in the practical work of strengthening the military might of our country have been and continue to be important tasks of Soviet military cadres. Preceding editions of this book have already been of great assistance to officers in the accomplishment of these tasks. The new edition continues this noble mission.

Preserving everything that was good in the previous editions, the staff of authors have revised the book both as to structure and content of some of the chapters and sections. In it is systematically and consistently set forth the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on war and the army, based on the classical works of Marxist-Leninism, the program of the CPSU, and the decisions and materials of the congresses of our party, meetings

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1. Marxism-Leninism on War and the Army, Fourth edition, revised and enlarged. Maj-Gen N. Ya. Sushko and Col S.A.M. Tyushkevich, editors, Voenizdat, 1965. 384 pages.

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or representatives of the fraternal communist and workers' parties, and the October (1964) and subsequent Plenums of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

In the book are reflected all the new achievements of Marxist-Leninist theory on war and the army, with a consideration of the radical changes in the relationship of social forces in the international arena and the revolution in military affairs.

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Among the structural changes, the most important, in our opinion, is the inclusion of a new chapter devoted to a consideration of the methodological problems of Soviet military theory (Chapter 7). The effort of the authors to meet the growing interest of military cadres in the problems of methodology in the now so rapidly developing military field deserves every commendation. Also certainly provoking interest is the inclusion of a special section on the modern revolution in the military field (Chapter 6). Other chapters and sections have been greatly brought up to date and systematized: in the first chapter is set forth the problem of the relationship of war and politics under conditions of the use of weapons of mass destruction. The second chapter more clearly expounds the social character and types of wars of the modern era. There is shown more fully the relation of Marxist doctrine on war and the army to Soviet military doctrine and military science, and to the practice of training and indoctrination of personnel of the army and the navy. In short, there is much that is new, interesting, and instructive in the book.

We believe it is necessary to dwell, if only briefly, on certain chapters and sections of the book.

Considering war as a social-political phenomenon (Chapter 1,), the authors reveal its essence, origin, and causes, and logically follow out the interrelation of war and politics, the economic basis of various wars, and the connection between war and ideology. They provide criticism of bourgeois theories of the causes, the nature, and the role of wars in history. In the book it is stated with emphasis: "From the point of view of Marxism-Leninism the basic question in the analysis and appraisal of war should be that of its social-political nature" (p. 14). And this is right: without discovery of its social-political content, it is impossible to understand either the essential nature of war in general or the specific peculiarities of each war in particular.

In continuing the analysis of the essence of war, the authors show two of its interrelated aspects as social phenomena. The political interests of the warring classes and states determine the goal of the war, and armed conflict, the means of attaining the goal. At the same time it is concluded that war, especially under modern conditions, "a special qualitative condition of society as a whole" (p. 17). In this connection there is subjected to criticism the views of some of our military theoreticians, and philosophers who advance the "thesis of the identity of war and armed conflict".

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the authors show convincingly enough that war does not consist only of armed conflict, although there can be no war without it. Armed conflict constitutes the distinguishing mark of war, its specific, but the waging of war is not limited to it. With the beginning of war, the whole life of society changes qualitatively. All the material and spiritual forces of the people, of the country, are directed toward assuring victorious progress and outcome of the armed conflict. A world war, if one were to be started by the imperialists, "would be a complex and many-sided process, in which, along with the activities of the armed forces, there would develop economic, diplomatic and ideological conflict. All these forms of conflict, as well as armed conflict, will be subordinated to the policies of the belligerent states and will be guided by them" (p. 18).

Here it would have been better to call attention to the fact that all non-military means of conflict become different in time of war.

The book analyses in detail the role of politics in the preparation, starting and direction of a war, and also the effect of war on politics. From this analysis the authors reach a conclusion as to the importance of the organic unity of a political approach to military problems and an excellent knowledge and sober consideration of specific military circumstances and principles of waging armed conflict for the attainment of victory.

As we have already said, the books deal separately with the relation of politics and war when the use of weapons of mass destruction is involved. (pp. 29-30) It is correctly noted that the increase in the power of means of destruction leads not to diminution but to increase of the role of politics in the control of war, for directly at the disposition of the governments of the belligerent states are means of armed conflict of unprecedented effectiveness. However, at the end of this paragraph there is what we think is a vague and contradictory statement about the possible consequences of a nuclear world war. This is all the more disappointing when in the second chapter (pp. 89-90) this question is expounded fairly clearly.

Examining the economic basis of wars, the authors analyze the economics of modern imperialism and disclose the reasons for the increase in aggressiveness of the imperialist states in the present era. "It is just because capitalism in its higher stage is on the verge of decline and ruin, going through a new, third stage of its crisis, that its aggressive aims are not only not declining, but are increasing still more" (pp. 37-38).

The section, "War and Ideology," not only examines theoretical questions of the role of ideology in war, but traces its role historically through various wars of the past, and reveals reasons for the growth of the role of ideology in modern war.

Unfortunately, some of the statements in this section are in the nature of general opinions and declarations without the necessary foundation in evidence. (pp.48-49).

In our opinion, the section on modern bourgeois theories of war is written interestingly and with a militant party spirit. The most widespread bourgeois views on war are subjected to criticism: the theory of coercion (nasiliye), the theory of the "salvation of civilization," racist and chauvinistic views, Malthusianism and geopolitics, and clerical and psychological conceptions of war. It would be useful to introduce some fresh material into this section.

The book examines in detail the social character and types of wars of the modern era (Chapter 2). The scientific solution of these problems is of primary importance for determining the political lines of communist parties, the working class, and all workers, in relation to each specific war of our time. Speaking of just and unjust wars, the authors write: "Any war waged by a people in the name of liberty and social progress, for liberation from exploitation and national oppression or in defense of the independence of their state, against an aggressive attack, is a just war ... A unjust war is contrary to historical progress" (pp. 70-71).

The position is well-founded that the legality and justice of revolutionary-liberation wars must not be confused with the question of the expediency of using military means of struggle for social progress and national independence. Oppressed classes and peoples take up arms not by choice, but by necessity, forced to this by the oppressive actions of the exploiters.

The authors examine the social bases of classification of wars, considering the basic clashes of interests which result in military conflict and the social forces which enter into armed conflict. Proceeding from this, they define the actual and possible wars of the modern era: (1) world war between opposing social systems; (2) civil wars; (3) national-liberation wars; and (4) wars between bourgeois states (pp. 79-80).

Unfortunately, in describing the types of wars the authors missed the opportunity to emphasize the different, directly contradictory nature of wars of one type. Thus, speaking of a world war which the imperialists might start, they assert that "it would be regressive in its effect on social development and most reactionary in its political content" (p. 82).

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This statement is true only with regard to one side -- the imperialist side. But in a world war there will also be another side -- the socialist countries. And here nothing is said about the just nature of war from the point of view of the latter. The book thoroughly examines the relation of war and socialist revolution. Presenting the Lenin thesis that revolutions are not made to order, but are brought about by a complex of a great number of internal and external causes, the authors write: "War is not an indispensable element of this complex; it is not a determining condition of revolution. Between war and revolution there is no constant, unvarying relationship" (p. 85). On the basis of concrete historical material, the book traces the complicated and contradictory relation of war and revolution, and those new features which have arisen in the relationship of nuclear war and the world revolutionary process. The authors give the detailed characteristics of civil wars and wars of national liberation. It should be noted that the section on national-liberation wars is somewhat drawn-out because of inclusion in it of material on the national-liberation struggle in general. Also, only one side of civil wars and national-liberation wars is considered -- the just side, and the other side -- unjust war waged by counter-revolution and by colonialists -- is omitted.

The chapter, "Wars in Defense of the Socialist Fatherland," has been revised in the new edition. In it are revealed the basic characteristics of such wars: their undeniable justness, their revolutionary nature, their involvement of the whole people, and their international character. But we think the chapter still has not been brought up to the necessary scientific-theoretical level, and it is excessively drawn-out.

In a separate chapter (Chapter 5) in the new edition are selected materials on the armed forces of the socialist states. This deals with the following subjects: the social nature, historical mission and main distinguishing features of the armies of the socialist states, and their development, training and indoctrination. The authors depend not only on very rich military experience and the glorious progress of the Soviet armed forces, but also utilize interesting material from the history of the establishment and development of armies of the other socialist countries, picking out those general features which are characteristic of all the armies of the new, socialist type. The book clearly formulates and provides sound basis for the four main distinguishing features of these armies: their truly popular (narodnyy) character, the friendship and fraternity between peoples, and the friendship of the peoples of all the countries of socialism and of the armies of fraternal internationalism toward the working class and the toilers of the non-socialist countries. These traits of the armies of the socialist countries find their generalized expression in their spiritual aspect, in moral and political superiority to the armies of the bourgeois states.

The book gives much attention to revealing and substantiating such important principles of Soviet military development as increasing the leading role of the Communist Party in the life and activity of the armed forces, and strengthening the activity and influence of the party organizations in the army and navy. The great importance of the decisions of the October (1964) and subsequent Plenums of the Central Committee of the CPSU for the development of our armed forces is emphasized. The authors call attention to the importance of systematic, well-provided party-political work.

The new edition examines in detail the conditions, causes and factors determining the course and outcome of military operations and of a war as a whole (Chapter 6). Unquestionably praiseworthy is the fact that in the exposition of these very important military-philosophical problems the authors proceed not from formulas and diagrams put out by somebody, sometime, but from present-day actual conditions. They trace the dependence of the military power of the state on the level of the economy, the degree of development of natural and social sciences, the psychological and political state of the society, and the fighting power of the armed forces, and on the relative power of the forces of the opposing sides. In bringing to light these problems, the criticisms and desires expressed in judging previous editions are taken into account. In particular, a new, very important section on the modern revolution in the military field and its effect on the military power of states (or coalitions), is included. The authors strive to reveal the causes and essential nature of this revolution and its decisive effect on the military power of states.

Examining the role of scientific and engineering progress in the radical changes which have occurred in the military field, in the methods and forms of waging armed conflict, the authors stress the influence of politics and ideology on these changes: "The present revolution in the military field began and continues on two diametrically opposing social-political bases and under different ideological influences" (p. 248).

We must not fail to note the interesting and, in our opinion, profound exposition of the economic bases of the military power of the state. The authors correctly emphasize that the role of economic conditions in a thermonuclear war has not only substantially increased but also has essentially changed. Now the possession in advance of the necessary stock of nuclear charges and the means of delivering them to targets has assumed special importance, especially various types of missiles, and also other modern weapons and all possible materiel necessary for waging war.

A definite virtue of the book is the thorough study by the authors of the dependence of military power not only on the development of natural sciences and engineering, but also on that of social sciences. The book shows, in particular, the dependence of military power on the development of natural sciences, engineering, and social sciences. The



book shows, in particular, the enormous importance of the social sciences, the nucleus of which is Marxism-Leninism, and also scientific research in such currently leading branches of natural science as nuclear physics, radioelectronics, cybernetics, chemistry of high-molecular compounds, biology, and others. On this basis, the authors consider the scientific potential of a country (or a coalition) to be "the level and rate of development of scientific thought, its capability of rapid and effective solution of problems of the development of society and of science itself. This includes natural, social, and military sciences" (p. 275).

In studying the psychological (moral'no-) and political bases of military power, the authors define the essence and content of the morale of the people and the army and of the morale (moral'nyy) potential, and explain the influence of the social-political system and the war aims on the morale of peoples and armies, showing the increase in importance of the morale factor in a nuclear missile war.

The reader will find much that is new and instructive in that part of the book which considers the essence and the elements of the combat power of the armed forces. Here a sociological analysis of the problems presented is based on a great amount and variety of information on modern military developments.

The concluding chapter (Chapter 7), "Marxist-Leninist Doctrine on War, and Problems of Methodology of Soviet Military Theory," appears for the first time in this work. The authors examine the most important principles of methodology of Soviet military science, arising from the laws and basic categories of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, especially the categories of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on war and the army. Interesting and important problems are presented, the solution of which will promote further strengthening and development of the fruitful union of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and Soviet military science. Not everything in this chapter has been brought up to the required level. There still is not the necessary consistency and logical harmony in the exposition of the problems posed; certain formulations are unclear. But what has been done certainly deserves favorable comment.

We should also speak of some general defects of the book. First of all, it is too long (384 pages). This is due, in our opinion, not so much to the multitude of problems dealt with as it is to the unevenness of exposition. Some chapters are very long-drawn-out. For example, in the third chapter ("Wars in Defense of the Socialist Fatherland"), as mentioned above, there is much material having only a remote connection with the subject: discussions of the distinguishing features of a socialist fatherland, the role of the masses of the people in history and in the struggle for socialism, etc. As a result the length of the book has been unjustifiably extended by 45 pages. In addition, there are repetitions in the book. Probably the:

editors are primarily to blame for this. For example, both the third and fifth chapters deal with the combat cooperation of armies of the socialist countries. On pages 150 and 293 the same quotation from Lenin is given.

From our brief review of this book, it may be concluded that the authors have created a useful and important scientific work, in which are set forth the most important achievements of Marxist-Leninist theory, at its present level of development, on war and the army. The book will serve as a good textbook for ideological-theoretical training of officers.

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