31 MARCH 1980

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JPRS L/9006 31 March 1980

# **USSR** Report

MILITARY AFFAIRS
(FOUO 6/80)



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# USSR REPORT MILITARY AFFAIRS

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GENERAL KIR'YAN DISCUSSES THE 'CHINESE THREAT'

Turin LA STAMPA in Italian 28 Dec 79 p 3

[Interview with Soviet Maj Gen Mikhail Kir'yan, in Moscow, by Bernardo Valli, date not given: "Moscow's Nightmare--a Chinese-Japanese-U.S.--European Axis--Beijing's Diabolical Plots"]

[Text] The USSR is afraid of being encircled by a tricontinental alliance. She puts the West on guard against an unpredicatable China which allegedly dreams of emerging as the sole master from the smoking ruins of the world. A general says, "It is impossible to destroy her entire nuclear arsenal." The Soviets do not trust Carter, and even less do they trust his adviser Brzezinski.

The prospect of a Chinese-Japanese-United States--European Western axis continues to be Moscow's permanent nightmare. It will continue to be her specter in the 1980's, too. Such a tricontinental agreement would mean "encirclement," with all the consequences, fears and anxieties the word has implied since 1917. It is within this obsessive framework that the frenetic diplomatic activity being touched off in all directions by Moscow must be seen: in the West, the offensive against the European missiles and on behalf of the American ratification of SALT II (the treaty on strategic nuclear weapons), and, in the East, the simultaneous negotiations with Beijing for the purpose of arriving at an agreement between the two nations. The USSR already feels the vise tightening and is trying to loosen its grip.

The numerous unknowns of the feared equation (in which the human masses of the Chinese and the technology of the capitalists would be placed side by side like two algebraic expressions) are insistently stressed. The greatest of these unknowns, which is pointed out in conversations with Westerners with the intention of dissuading them from becoming friendly with the Chinese, is the "unpredictability" of Beijing. "Be careful," the Soviets say, in substance, "playing the Chinese card against the USSR could be dangerous. Tomorrowit might be used against you."

This theme is not flattering to the Chinese, who are depicted as exploiters who would like to make use of their anti-Sovietism to assist the West

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but tomorrow would be willing, for all practical purposes, to change their attitude if they thought it would be advantageous for them. In order to bring the "four modernizations" (industry, agriculture, defense and education) into being, Beijing is in need of foreign aid in the form of capital and technology.

According to the Soviet experts in Far Eastern affairs, the industrialized countries with market economies—and particularly the United States, Japan and the FRG—distributed \$23 billion to the PRC in the form of various types of credit after the fighting between China and Vietnam. But the assistance allegedly amounts to very little by comparison with the boundless Chinese ambition. However, that generosity leaves the successors of Mao indifferent, for they are not inclined in the slightest to adjust their aims permanently to Western aims.

The Chinese are allegedly aiming at obtaining the leadership of the Third World, and in order to accomplish that project successfully "they are seeking to aggravate the contradictions existing between the two different world systems for the purpose of provoking political and military incidents—that is, an armed conflict between the USSR and the United States." I read those words in a publication concerned with post-Mao China. The authors, Leonid Gudoshinov and Rostislav Neronov, both from the Far Eastern Institute, assert that the leaders in Beijing are plotting a diabolical conspiracy on a world level. According to these two Muscovite Sinologists, HUA Guo-feng, DENG Xiao-ping and company are dreaming of emerging from the smoking ruins of the world as the sole masters.

A warning to the West emerges from this apocalyptic interpretation of Chinese thought: Do not let yourselves be fooled, do not be so naive, march alongside us to contain the Asiatic masses! Stripped of all propagandistic tinsel, the Soviet message is clear: Let us return to the bipolarity which, in the past few decades, has made it possible for us to build the relaxation of tension which now is treatened.

I spoke of the "Chinese peril" with General Mikhail Kir'yan, and authentic major general. He has an impeccable uniform, decorations, high boots, well-combed short hair, a regular profile and grayish-blue eyes. In an American uniform, he could appear in a Hollywood war movie. But his hands clash with the rest of his appearance; they are stumpy and knotted, the hands of a peasant. They are reassuring. I cannot successfully imagine them pushing the buttons for the third world war--the nuclear one.

General Kir'yan has good sense. He speaks the simple language of military people. "Certainly," he says, "China does not have a force comparable with the Soviet or the NATO forces, but one cannot ignore the presence of such a neighbor as that." For that reason, a conspicuous part of the Red Army is deployed in the East. The general is particularly concerned with numbers. He imagines fanatical hordes. I ask him whether it would be possible, without too great a risk and at a single blow, to destroy the entire nuclear

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arsenal of the PRC. He replies that the project cannot be carried out. In spite of the fact that China has a deterrent force which is inferior by far to that of the Warsaw Pact or NATO, "it is not possible to destroy all her nuclear material."

It is very probable that the Soviets, like the Americans before their reconciliation with Beijing, have nursed the idea of depriving China of her military nuclear materiel. But they no longer can consider doing that. They have to take into account the development involving Chinese missiles pointed at the USSR, even though that is a slow-moving development. The general did not say that, but that is the conclusion I drew from his discourse.

I also asked him whether the possibility of a Soviet intervention on behalf of Hanoi had been confronted during the recent fighting between China and Vietnam. He replied that the question was not raised after it became evident that the valor of the Vietnamese, encouraged by the possession of Soviet weapons, had sufficed to check the Chinese masses, "driven by fanaticism" and led by generals "lacking in knowledge of the military arts."

I persisted, asking him whether a direct Soviet intervention was possible in theory. In responding, he added a bit of diplomatic ability to his peasant good sense. "We act in such a way as to localize battles and prevent large conflicts. Certainly, if a war gets larger, none of the big powers can stay out of it. We cannot leave our brothers—let us say, our younger brothers—alone and exposed while the Americans can assist the other side. Taking such a step can lead to a world war. Anyway, I repeat that when fighting starts we try to limit it."

I asked the general what he thought of the possibility of concerte military assistance to Beijing by the United States? He said that the United States would like to have a strong China, but at the same time they do not know "in what direction she will move in the future." The fact is that they do not trust her too much, and therefore they avoid providing her with concrete military assistance. Like the politicians and the experts, the military also consider China to be a treacherous terrain for the Americans, and therefore in a certain sense it is capable of being recovered by the Soviets, or at least we let them think so, with the hope that Washington, assailed by doubts, will not bet too heavily on the Chinese card.

The first phase of the Sino-Soviet negotiations in Moscow ended in a stale-mate. After days of exhausting negotiations, the principle of the usefulness of and the need for dialog was recognized. That was not too outstanding a result, but it is one which leaves a number of possibilities and contingencies open—that is, it leaves the Soviets a certain amount of room for maneuvering.

The factor of China continues to qualify Moscow's opinions to a large extent. The Europeans Giscard d'Estaing and Helmut Schmidt were highly appreciated when they did not imitate Carter in his approaches to the PRC, and it is

known that the Soviets do not love that great Beijingese tarot expert, Zbigniew Brzezinski, the White House's foreign affairs adviser. Carter does not arouse their enthusiasm, either. They think he is irresolute and that he has unpredictable character traits. But they often attribute what they perceive as negative in him to the influence of Brzezinski. It is as if the latter played the baleful role of Mr Hyde in the split personality of the American president, who sometimes succeeds in being the good Dr Jekyll.

At the Institute of the United States and Canada, an efficient tool of the new Soviet technocracy, the deputy director, Vitaly V. dimirovich Zurkin, spoke to me with charm and precision of the American situation—of the uncertain re-election of Carter and the just as uncertain success of Kennedy. He had just returned from Washington and his observations were fresh. I think I can perceive that a defeat of the former—of Carter—would not be displeasing. Brzezinski, the architect of the dangerous and truly difficult Chinese—Japanese—United States—West European axis would leave the White House along with him.

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BOOK EXCERPTS: DOSAAF TRAINING IN UZBEKISTAN

Moscow K NOVYM RUBEZHAM  $\sqrt{\text{TO}}$  NEW HEIGHTS in Russian 1979 signed to press 26 Apr 78 pp 1, 2, 3-4, 57-71, 72

[Annotation, Table of Contents, Introduction and last chapter from the book by A. Khodzhibayev, Izdatel'stvo DOSAAF USSR, 50,000 copies, 80 pages]

[Text] The chairman of the Central Committee of the Uzbekistan DOSAAF describes the development of mass defense and military-patriotic work in the republic, the creation of training facilities by the DOSAAF organizations, and the training of young men for military service and equipment operators for the countryside.

The book is designed for DOSAAF activists.

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Introduction	

More than 50 years ago, a defense society was created in our nation upon the initiative of the workers. In working under the leadership of the Communist Party and in close cooperation with the party, soviet, Komsomol and other social organizations, the Order of Lenin and Order of the Red

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Banner All-Union Volunteer Society for Assistance to the Army, Air Force and Navy [DOSAAF] has carried out enormous work in the area of propagandizing and actually realizing Lenin's ideas on the defense of the socialist fatherland. During the years of its existence, it has become a truly mass patriotic organization of the Soviet people.

The DOSAAF organization of Uzbekistan is one of the detachments of this society. In its ranks are more than 5 million persons who are members of 20,000 primary organizations. The basic work in the area of ideological tempering and military-patriotic indoctrination of the workers, and particularly the younger generation, is concentrated in these organizations.

The republic DOSAAF each year provides the army and navy with thousands of skilled drivers of motor vehicles and tractors, electricians, parachutists, radio operators, equipment operators and other specialists. At present one out of every three inductees receives a military-technical specialty in the DOSAAF training organizations. In the activities of the DOSAAF organizations a great place is given to the training of specialists for the mass technical professions in the national economy and having a military application. The military-technical types of sports are being developed, and these foster in the young people such qualities as endurance, discipline, steadfastness and courage.

Within the system of the Uzbek DOSAAF there are 8 sports federations and 16 types of sports are supported. At present around 2.5 million young men and women are pemanently engaged in parachuting, motor vehicle, motorcycle, radio, underwater, boating and shooting sports, as well as model making.

The Uzbek DOSAAF carries out all work in the area of indoctrinating and training the young people in the DOSAAF schools and clubs, in their ideological and moral tempering and in the acquiring of military-technical knowledge and military specialties in close cooperation with the other republic social organizations. This helps to solve comprehensively the problems of both the indoctrination and training of future military personnel, as well as to achieve definite successes in carrying out complicated tasks.

The achievements of the republic DOSAAF in the military-patriotic indoctrination of the workers and on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the formation of DOSAAF were recognized by the Diploma of the Presidium of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet and the Jubilee Honorary Insignia of the USSR DOSAAF. This is a great honor for us.

A great deal has been done, and definite successes have been achieved. But conceit and complacency are alien to us. Life does not stand still, and the high results are good only for today, but tomorrow they will not meet the increased demands.

V. I. Lenin taught that one must not be satisfied with what had been achieved, but rather one must "go constantly onwards, achieve continuously more, and move constantly from the easier tasks to the more difficult ones."

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These words of Lenin's have a particular meaning for all of us. We see our tasks in searching for new, still unused opportunities to further raise the effectiveness and quality of our work.

With enormous enthusiasm the Uzbek DOSAAF members, like all the Soviet people, greeted the Letter of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU and the Komsomol Central Committee to the party, soviet, economic, trade union and Komsomol organizations and to the workers of the USSR "On Developing the Socialist Competition for Fulfilling and Overfulfilling the 1978 Plan and Strengthening the Struggle to Increase the Efficiency of Production and the Quality of Work." Meetings and assemblies of the collectives were held in the DOSAAF training and sports organizations. Their participants spoke of the unanimous desire to celebrate the third year of the five-year plan by new successes, to raise the level of military-patrictic and mass defense work, and to show a thrifty and economic attitude toward the training and sports equipment and all property.

This letter literally shook up the entire DOSAAF aktiv, and helped them develop the socialist competition more widely, as well as to disclose and eliminate a number of "bottlenecks."

The basis of our work with the personnel has been primarily a profound elucidation and practical realization of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the provisions and conclusions of the reports by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet L. I. Brezhnev at the extraordinary Seventh Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the ceremony devoted to the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and the December (1977) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. "It is essential," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the plenum, "to preserve and strengthen the labor zeal and rhythm of the jubilee competition. Today we must work better than yesterday, and tomorrow better than today. This is the slogan of the day. And better means an emphasis on quality, on efficiency, and on a rise in labor productivity. Precisely here lies the core of the socialist obligations, like generally all our economic activity."

These words apply fully to us as well, to the workers of the DOSAAF organizations, and to all members of the society.

And we will make every effort to carry out the tasks posed by the party....

Organizational Work, Goals and Tasks

The great effectiveness of all the DOSAAF work depends primarily upon the good organizational activities of the committees. In recent years the Uzbek DOSAAF Central Committee, the oblast, city and rayon committees have done a great deal to improve the style and methods of their work. They have begun more effectively to submit urgent questions of mass defense, military-patriotic, training and sports work to the sessions of the presidiums and plenums, as well as regularly hear the reports of the chairmen of the rayon, city and primary DOSAAF organizations.

The Eighth All-Union DOSAAF Congress reemphasized that one of the most important tasks for the committees is a further broadening of the DOSAAF membership, the creation of primary organizations in all labor and educational collectives, and the turning of them into centers for mass defense work among the population. In carrying out these demands, the Uzbek DOSAAF Central Committee as well as the oblast, city and rayon DOSAAF committees have carried out a number of measures to strengthen the primary organizations and increase their activities.

These questions have been repeatedly discussed at the presidiums and plenums of the committees. Practical help was provided on the spot in creating the training facilities and in studying and disseminating advanced experience in defense work. Over the last 2-3 years, more than 2,000 primary DOSAAF committees have been formed in the republic. Over this time more than 800,000 workers, kolkhoz members, white collar personnel and students have joined the organization. This work assumed a particularly broad scope during the jubilee year of 1977. At present 84 percent of the total number of the republic's workers, students and school children are members of DOSAAF, as well as 98 percent of all the Komsomol members.

Greater attention has been paid to the activities of the primary organizations by the oblast, city and rayon DOSAAF committees. This applies primarily to Ferganskaya, Andizhanskaya, Namanganskaya and Tashkentskaya oblasts. Here the corresponding committees ably direct the primary DOSAAF organizations. They respond effectively to the needs and requests of the DOSAAF collectives, and they constantly see to it that the activities of each of them be energetic and focused.

For example, the primary DOSAAF organization at the Tashkent Plant imeni Oktyabr'skaya Revolyutsiya (A. Mallayev, chairman) has done good work. Under the leadership of the party committee and with the support of the administration, the trade union and the Komsomol organization, the DOSAAF committee has been able to create the necessary conditions for the employees to master the bases of military knowledge and the military technical types of sports. Inductees undergo basic military training at the plant training center, shooting and motor vehicle sections are available for them, and a circle of radio and telegraph operators is at work. At the museum of military and labor glory, meetings are organized between the youth and party and labor veterans and participants of the Great Patriotic War, lectures and reports are given, and talks are held on military—patriotic subjects.

A good word must be said about the primary DOSAAF organization at the Kolkhoz imeni V. I. Lenin in Shafirkanskiy Rayon of Bukharskaya Oblast. This collective has been the initiator of a socialist competition among the kolkhoz DOSAAF organizations of the oblast, and has held first place in it. The Komsomol members and youth of the kolkhoz have made hikes to Navoi, Bukhara, Samarkand and Gazli, they have become acquainted with the history of the establishing of Soviet power in these cities, and have visited the sites of the fierce battles against the Basmach [Anti-Soviet

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Bands]. Meetings were held with participants of the revolution, the Civil and Great Patriotic wars and the labor veterans N. Khuzhayev, K. Mustafayev, M. Khalimov, N. Oblokolov, A. Mukhamediyev, Yu. Safarov, M. Akhadov and others. The DOSAAF members from the kolkhoz have taken an active part in the measures to hold months and weeks of mass defense work. In the kolkhoz hall of combat glory there are stands and photographic exhibits telling about the combat feats of the Soviet people and their Armed Forces in the Great Patriotic War, the labor veterans, the patriotic activities of DOSAAF, and the work of its local primary organization.

Good facilities have been created for training, and there are three technical training classrooms, a 50-meter rifle range, and a weapons storeroom. In 1976, 306 DOSAAF members received technical specialties, in the following year, 165 persons did, and this is 26 percent of the total number of members in the primary organization.

Around 400 persons participate in the circles for rifle, motorcycle and motor vehicle sports and in the applied military polyathalon [All-Round Competitive Tournament]. Make-up teams are fielded for these types of sports and they have successfully competed in the rayon matches, constantly winning prize places. Some 18 percent of the participants in the competitions have received sports caregories. Some 436 persons have passed the standards of the GTO [Ready for Labor and Defense] in marksmanship.

The primary DOSAAF organization includes 97 percent of the total number of persons working on the kolkhoz. The plans have been fulfilled in terms of members dues and the selling of DOSAAF lottery tickets for 1976-1977.

Due to the constant attention shown by the superior DOSAAF committees, the activities of the primary DOSAAF organizations in the VUZes have increased significantly. The collective of the Tashkent State University imeni V. I. Lenin has won first place in the competition for the best organization of mass defense and military-patriotic work among the primary DOSAAF organizations. Here talks, lectures and reports are given regularly on the defense of the socialist fatherland, on the strengthening of the nation's defense capability, and on the revolutionary, military and labor traditions of the Soviet people. On the faculties and in the academic groups of the university, there are frequent meetings with war veterans, the Heroes of the Soviet Union and Heroes of Socialist Labor, and outstanding men in military and political training from the troop units. The university DOSAAF members take an active part in the months and weeks of mass defense work, as well as in the propagandizing of civil defense knowledge.

The DOSAAF members have equipped a room of military glory on the military chair, and 12 DOSAAF corners on the faculties. There are 18 sports and technical circles. Systematic training for young men of induction age is provided with active aid by the defense collective of the university's military chair. Some 2,324 students have passed the standards of the GTO complex, and 1,809 of them have received mass sports categories.

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With the support of the DOSAAF committee, the university administration is building a standard 50-meter rifle range, to supplement the already existing 25-meter one. The sports and technical sections work in two training classrooms. The organization has constantly fulfilled ahead of time the financial plan for collecting membership fees and distributing DOSAAF lottery tickets.

In the republic work is being improved in the school primary defense organizations, and there are around 6,000 of them. They bring together more than 1.3 million students. A study of the activities of the primary collectives in the schools of Tashkentskaya, Ferganskaya, Andizhanskaya, and Namanganskaya oblasts has shown that they have acquired interesting and instructive experience.

Thus, the primary DOSAAF organization of the secondary school No 32 in Papskiy Rayon of Namanganskaya Oblast, in participating in the All-Union Competition for the Best Organization of Mass Sports Work in Honor of the 50th Anniversary of DOSAAF, won first place in the rayon. Here Lenin readings, special-subject evenings and film festivals are constantly held. Lectures and reports are given in which they explain the legacy of V. I. Lenin on the defense of the socialist fatherland, the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the Eighth All-Union DOSAAF Congress on further strengthening the defense capability of the nation, and the glorious revolutionary, military and labor traditions of the Soviet people are propagandized.

A DOSAAF corner has been set up in the school, and its stands reflect the development of DOSAAF over the 50 years. Each month a wall newspaper is published entitled "The Young Patriot." For important dates, photo exhibits on military-patriotic subjects and combat leaflets are put out.

In just one year, this defense collective trained 320 GTO insignia holders and 260 rated athletes. All the graduates of the school have passed the GTO, and 90 percent are rated athletes in shooting.

It would be possible to mention other republic DOSAAF organizations which have become centers of mass defense work among the population. The "secret" of their success consists in well organized leadership by the rayon, city and oblast DOSAAF committees which use diverse forms and methods of organizational activities for this. This "secret" also consists in the high level of organization and efficiency of the DOSAAF workers, in the well organized control over the fulfillment of decisions, in the differentiated system of training the activists in practical work, in the effective selection of the committee chairmen, in propagandizing the experience of the best, in the providing of aid to the primary organizations by the schools and sports and technical clubs, and in professional contacts with the leaders of the labor collectives.

The republic DOSAAF Central Committee and the oblast committees constantly focus attention on the questions of improving the quality and effectiveness

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of mass defense work in the primary organizations, and they are concerned that ever new collectives rise to the level of the leading ones. To a significant degree the successful solving of these problems has been aided by the all-Union competitions dedicated to the 50th anniversary of DOSAAF for the best organization of mass defense and military-patriotic work in the training and primary organizations.

In carrying out the demands of the Eighth All-Union DOSAAF Congress, the republic DOSAAF committees have begun to direct the socialist competition more concretely, in working to raise its effectiveness, the publicizing and comparing of results, and in employing moral and material forms of commending the leaders.

Having responded to the initiative of Tul'skaya Oblast and the other DOSAAF organizations of the country, the DOSAAF organization of our republic has also assumed increased socialist obligations in honor of the 60th anniversary of Great October. The initiators were the organizations of Ferganskaya Oblast, Uychinskiy Rayon (Namanganskaya Oblast), the primary organizations of the Tashkent Diesel Locomotive and Railway Car Repair Plant imeni Oktyabr'skaya Revolyutsiya, the Pravda Kolkhoz in Verkhnechirchinkskiy Rayon (Tashkentskaya Oblast), and the collectives of the Bukhara Unified Technical School and the Markhamatskiy Sports-Technical Club (Andizhanskaya Oblast). The DOSAAF committees have provided constant leadership over the competition, and have involved the primary, training and sports organizations in it, in achieving the complete fulfillment of the assumed pledges. This has made it possible to raise mass defense work to a new level.

Inspired by the report of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet L. I. Brezhnev at the extraordinary Seventh Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, by the ratification of the Basic Law of the nation, the USSR Constitution, in our republic the DOSAAF members at the Tashkentkabel' [Tashkent Cable] Plant and the Yangiyul' Model DOSAAF Motor Vehicle School in Tashkentskaya Oblast have come forward with a new patriotic initiative. They have assumed increased obligations under the motto: "A Shock Finish for the Jubilee Year!" The Uzbek DOSAAF committees have carried out great organizational work, and the initiative has been supported everywhere. In a militant mood and full of inexhaustible creative energy, the primary and training DOSAAF organizations have fought for the high-quality and complete fulfillment of the high obligations. And the results have been good.

The competition helped to activate all the work, and in particular, to improve the quality of training of young persons for service in the Armed Forces. The passing of the examinations of the GAI [State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate] by the students of the training organizations on the first try is now 98 percent, 65 percent of the students have become outstanding in studies, almost 100 percent have won the GTO insignia, and 75 percent are rated athletes. The plan for training specialists for the national economy has been fulfilled. The military and technical types of sports encompass 15 percent of the republic's population. The annual income portion

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of the financial plan was fulfilled by all the  ${\tt DOSAAF}$  committees by the 60th anniversary of Great October.

The competition in the republic DOSAAF organizations is gaining new strength. Each of them is endeavoring to reinforce and add to what has been achieved in the jubilee year, and to assume new heights in improving defense work and bettering its quality for all indicators.

In recent years the DOSAAF committees have extended their professional cooperation with the trade unions, the Komsomol, the Znaniye [Knowledge] Society, the Soviet War Veterans Committee, the military commissariats, the troop units and political bodies, the educational, vocational-technical training, culture and mass information bodies and the sports organizations. Together with many of them, very important mass, military-patriotic measures are carried out, and in addition conferences, meetings, competitions on military-patriotic subjects and so forth are conducted.

This work has picked up particularly during the period of perparing for the 50th anniversary of DOSAAF, the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Armed Forces. The coverage of military-patriotic work has been significantly extended on the pages of the republic, oblast and rayon newspapers, as well as in the TV programs and radio broadcasts. Expeditions to the museum of the Red Banner Turkestan Military District and to the military units have begun to be held more often, and here the youth becomes acquainted with the military traditions, the equipment and weapons, and sees army life with their own eyes.

In turn, the DOSAAF committees along with the other organizations participate in the mass patriotic movement including the all-Union youth and Komsomol hike to the sites of the revolutionary, military and labor glory of the Soviet people, in conducting the paramilitary "Zarnitsa" [Summer Lightning] and "Orlenok" [Eaglet] games for school children, and in the competitions for the best organization of mass sports work in the schools and vocational-technical schools.

During the jubilee year there was further development of sponsorship ties for the republic DOSAAF schools and clubs by the troop units. The Political Directorate of the Red Banner Turkestan Military District and the political bodies constantly participate in conducting measures relating to the ideological conditioning and moral-political training of the students in the DOSAAF training organizations, in the assemblies and seminars with the leaders of the political exercise groups and the propaganda activists of DOSAAF, and in meetings of outstanding men in military and political training with the students of the DOSAAF training organizations. Taking an active part in this work are the commander of the Red Banner Turkestan Military District, Col Gen S. Belonozhko, and the member of the military council and chief of the district political directorate, Lt Gen V. Rodin, as well as other generals and officers from the district staff and head-quarters.

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The republic DOSAAF committees together with the trade union and Komsomol organizations, the involved ministries and committees, are working on preventing crime and a lack of supervision over minors and young people. They participate in the work of the police support points and in creating defense-sports health camps for the youth, and involve the young men in the technical circles and sports sections.

The DOSAAF collectives of Ferganskaya, Namanganskaya and Andizhanskaya oblasts have been models of professional cooperation with the trade union, Komsomol, sports and other organizations. They not only maintain constant ties with them, but also seek advice on how to better carry out one or another task, they regularly exchange information, and work out joint plans. The chairmen of the corresponding departments and social organizations are elected to the DOSAAF committee, while the DOSAAF activists, in turn, are members of the leading trade union and Komsomol bodies. It has become a practice for the DOSAAF committees to approve joint decrees with the trade union, Komsomol and sports organizations aimed at further improving mass defense work. This has provided positive results.

In our republic, ties with the civil defense [CD] staffs are being constantly broadened and strengthened. The DOSAAF committees and the CD staffs use diverse forms of verbal and printed propaganda as well as visual agitation for the purposes of explaining to the population their duties in carrying out CD measures. The DOSAAF committees have begun to take an active part in the conducted CD months, weeks, 10-day periods and days, as well as in training the specialists for their formations. The workers form the CD staffs take an active part in the activities of the DOSAAF committees, the training centers for basic military training, and the training organizations. It is a pleasure to note that the republic CD chief of staff, Maj Gen S. Akhundzhanov, as well as staff workers have repeatedly spoken to the students of the training organizations as well as in the zonal courses for training the DOSAAF leadership.

Recently many republic DOSAAF committees have improved their organizational work. They have learned to solve the diverse questions of their practical activities in a professional, efficient and skilled manner, as well as to carry out a commenced matter to its end. Characteristic for such committees is the ability to find the main element in the diverse work of DOSAAF, to think out a decision to the last details, and to choose the best ways and methods for carrying it out. These committees also excel in the tenacity and purposefulness in achieving the designated goals. The leading workers of the committees have begun to visit the primary organizations, schools and sports-technical clubs more often, and to give them practical help on the spot.

In the republic more attention has begun to be paid to the recruitment, placement and indoctrination of the regular DOSAAF workers and the broad group of volunteer activists. We constantly see to it that the committees, the training and sports organizations are headed by politically mature and energetic persons who organically combine party loyalty with profound competence, discipline with initiative and a creative approach to the job.

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As a whole we have developed an effective system for training the regular DOSAAF workers. Training courses, seminars and meetings are conducted regularly with them. On a planned basis and in accord with the set standards we send them to the central and zonal courses for the retraining of the DOSAAF leadership.

In our republic a majority of the leading positions is held by well-trained persons who have rich vital and practical experience. Among the chairmen of the primary organizations and the rayon and city committees, 80 percent are communists and Komsomol members, more than 90 percent are workers with a higher and secondary education, and over 75 percent with practical experience in the defense organizations. The committees have begun to show greater exactingness for their personnel.

The republic DOSAAF possesses a large activist army. Over 200,000 persons have been elected to its committees and auditing commissions alone. More than 4,000 people are members of sports federations and club councils. Some 37,000 people work on the volunteer and lecture groups of the committees. The leaders of the military-technical circles, the instructors, coaches, and umpires for the military-technical types of sports comprise an enormous detachment of activists.

The veterans of the Great Patriotic War have made a significant contribution to the activities of the DOSAAF organizations. Actively working in our DOSAAF are the Heroes of the Soviet Union, Cols (Ret) B. Babayev and Sh. Umarov, Candidate of Historical Sciences and Col (Ret) A. Mamadzhanov, Candidate of Historical Sciences, Docent, Col (Res) K. Zaynulin, Cols (Res) N. Bereznyak, M. Shmelev and M. Movsesyants, as well as V. Yefimov, V. Nikitin, F. Sayutin and M. Golovach. V. Glebskiy, M. Rogozhin, V. Korobtsov, E. Muminov, F. Zhebrovskiy and G. Saidov have put a great deal of effort into organizing mass defense, military-patriotic, training and sports work.

The central and oblast DOSAAF committees of the republic regularly hold plenums and sessions of the presidiums at which they discuss and solve such major questions as improving the effectiveness of military-patriotic propaganda, bettering the quality of specialist training for the Armed Forces and the national economy, developing the socialist competition, developing the military-technical types of sports, raising capital construction, the training and indoctrination of personnel, and financial-economic activities to a higher level, holding DOSAAF lotteries, and so forth.

A five-man bureau has been chosen from the membership of the Presidium of the Republic DOSAAF Central Committee for directing current work. The previous year affirmed the necessity and utility of this body. At its sessions the bureau discussed the questions of an organizational and executive nature, and heard reports by the chairmen, the deputy chairmen of the DOSAAF committees, the chiefs of the training organizations and the sportstechnical clubs. It organized the preparation of questions to be brought up at the presidium, it concentrated its attention on checking on the

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fulfillment of decisions and plans, and on the recruitment and indoctrination of personnel, and took measures to strengthen discipline.

In constantly carrying out the principle of collective leadership, the DOSAAF committees continuously link this to the observance of all the requirements of democratic centralism, and in particular, to the necessity of raising the personal responsibility of each worker for the assigned job. The Uzbek DOSAAF Central Committee has constantly strengthened the demands made upon the staff [regular] workers. At the same time, the best of them are systematically commended and are submitted for awards of the USSR DOSAAF Central Committee, as well as those of the Presidium of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Over the last 5 years, 2,600 staff workers and activists of the republic DOSAAF have been awarded the chest DOSAAF insignias "For Active Work," 8,600 have received diplomas of the USSR DOSAAF Central Committee and the Uzbek DOSAAF Central Committee, and 22 persons have received the honorary diplomas of the Presidium of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet. A. Shelukhanov, G. Saidov and G. Tarasov have received the title of Honored Worker of Physical Culture and Sports of Uzbekistan. Orders have been presented to A. Zemzyulin, V. Korobtsov, U. Shakirdzhanov, N. Kharchenko, A. Kogdanin, and others.

With the marked rise in the level of mass organizational work, one of its bottlenecks for a long time has been control over the fulfillment of decisions taken. In improving the style of work, at present the DOSAAF committees are endeavoring first of all to raise the effectiveness of control and the check on fulfillment as a reliable and tested means of indoctrinating the personnel, promptly preventing shortcomings, and disclosing and disseminating advanced experience.

The Uzbek DOSAAF Central Committee in 1977 alone organized comprehensive checks on the Syrdar'inskaya, Samarkandskaya, Surkhandar'inskaya, Namanganskaya and Karakalpakskaya oblast DOSAAF organizations. The commissions became acquainted with the positive experience gained by these organizations, they disclosed the existing shortcomings, they took effective measures to eliminate them, they taught the workers on the spot to carry out their duties, and passed on knowledge and experience. The results of the checks were discussed at a session of the Presidium of the Republic DOSAAF Central Committee.

The following fact must also be pointed out. Recently, the practical aid from the oblast committees to the inferior levels has become more effective. Here chief attention has been concentrated on eliminating the shortcomings and errors, on preventing them and training the personnel using positive experience. "It is impossible to learn to solve one's problems by the new procedures of today," said V. I. Lenin, "if yesterday's experience has not opened out eyes to the incorrectness of the old procedures." A profound analysis of the activities of the organizations makes it possible to find the correct ways for solving the pending tasks.

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We give great significance to efficiency, accounting and reporting. The Presidium of the Uzbek DOSAAF Central Committee discussed these questions at a session. Sharp criticism was directed against the Syrdar'inskaya and Dzhizakskaya oblast committees for omissions in work. The decree approved by the presidium was discussed at seminars and assemblies with the chairmen of the oblast, rayon and city committees, the primary organizations, the chiefs of the schools and sports-technical clubs, and the deputy chairmen of the oblast committees for mass organizational work and military-patriotic propaganda. This made it possible to greatly improve the situation in efficiency, accounting and reporting, and this has told favorably on all the activities of DOSAAF, including organizational ones.

There has been a noticeable increase in organizational work at the Ferganskaya, Andizhanskaya, Bukharskaya and Tashkentskaya oblast DOSAAF committees, the Uichinskiy Rayon committee in Namanganskaya Oblast, the Ul'yanovskiy Rayon committee in Kashkadar'inskaya Oblast, and the Nukus, Yangiyer and Yangiyul' city DOSAAF committees. They have learned to solve many questions efficiently and effectively, and to promptly take and implement measures to carry out the designated plans and decisions made. At present their workers are more often in the primary organizations, the schools, sports-technical clubs, and provide them with practical help.

As an example, let us take the DOSAAF committee of Ferganskaya Oblast. Inherent to it is a constant desire to improve the style of leadership over the inferior organizations, professionalism, and a creative approach to solving the pending tasks. Here they skillfully organize the competition, they effectively direct the fulfillment of the assumed obligations, and propagandize their results in the verbal and visual agitation. Checks and reciprocal checks are organized on the fulfillment of obligations, and publicizing and comparing of results are guaranteed.

The style of work has also been improved in the Tashkentskaya DOSAAF committee, and above all in the area of leading the rayon and city committees and the primary DOSAAF organizations. This has helped to intensify their activities. Thus, the Bekabad and Chirchik city DOSAAF committees and the Leninskiy, Kirovskiy, Ordzhonikidzevskiy and Pskentskiy rayon committees in the oblast have carried out the planned quotas for training and sports work, for the collecting of membership dues, and for distributing DOSAAF lottery tickets. They regularly hold plenums, presidium sessions, instructional exercises and seminars with the chairmen of the primary organizations and the volunteer activists.

Over the last 2 years, the rayon and city DOSAAF committees in the oblast have checked the work of more than 1,500 primary organizations and provided help to them. Over this same time, the DOSAAF obkom has conducted a comprehensive check on many of the rayon and city committees and primary organizations, all the schools and a majority of the sports-technical clubs. The results of the checks were reviewed at the presidiums of the city, rayon and oblast committees. Work in eliminating the detected shortcomings has been planned and organized.

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The oblast DOSAAF committees have devoted a great deal of attention to the recruitment and indoctrination of the leading cadres. Particular concern has been shown for the persons newly elected and appointed to positions. As a rule, they are invited to the DOSAAF obkom where they are acquainted with the basic leading documents, colloquiums are held, and specific instructions and advice are given. Then the committee workers travel to the spot where they give practical aid to the newly appointed head of the school, the sports-technical club, to the newly elected committee chairmen, and they help them become familiar with the job, plan work and organize contacts with the appropriate organizations.

The Yangiyul' city DOSAAF committee has acquired good experience in the training and indoctrinating of personnel. Here each month exercises are held with the regular workers and activists, where they are acquainted with the leading documents of the superior committees, experience is exchanged, and new assignments are given. The party and soviet leaders often speak before the DOSAAF activists of the city.

The republic DOSAAF committees and organizations work in a situation of constant attention from the party and soviet bodies. The state of our work has been repeatedly discussed in the Central Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party, the republic Council of Ministers, and at meetings of the primary party organizations and the party activists of the rayons, cities and oblasts. The Central Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party and the Council of Ministers have approved a special decree aimed at improving party leadership over the DOSAAF committees and organizations, and at providing them with help from the soviet, trade union and Komsomol bodies.

The party bodies on the spot, in carrying out this decree, have done a great deal to improve the organizational activities of the DOSAAF committees and organizations, as well as the style and methods of their work. The party bodies in every possible way have increased the feeling of responsibility for the assigned job among the DOSAAF leadership, and have seen to it that the communists and Komsomol members take an active part in the work of the DOSAAF collectives and help them in organizational and propaganda activities, and in the recruitment, placement and indoctrination of the personnel.

In providing leadership over DOSAAF, the party bodies have indoctrinated its personnel in a spirit of high ideological and party loyalty, tenacity in achieving the set goal, a feeling for the new, and a critical evaluation of the results of their own activities.

Life constantly confronts the DOSAAF organizations with ever new tasks. And each of them requires both a new approach and new methods of solution. Hence the necessity arises of constantly improving the forms and methods of the work of the committees, as well as constantly mastering the Leninist style of leadership.

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Innovative search, constant progress and dissatisfaction with what has been achieved—such an attitude toward work has assumed particular urgency in light of the tasks posed by the 25th CPSU Congress, a congress which focused on the questions of improving quality and efficiency in all spheres of party, economic and ideological work. As throughout the nation, the problem of improving quality and efficiency has moved to the forefront in the activities of DOSAAF.

An improvement in the efficiency and quality of work of the DOSAAF organizations has a concretely expressed purpose. This is to involve all the DOSAAF members in active mass defense work, to raise the ideological level and effectiveness of military-patriotic propaganda and the militancy of all the DOSAAF committees and organizations, arl to train worthy recruits for the Soviet Armed Forces and skilled specialists for the national economy.

We have worked and are continuing to work on this....

\* \* \*

Yes we can certainly say that the Uzbek DOSAAF organizations in recent years have taken a great step forward. Mass defense work has been improved, the propagandizing of military knowledge has become more effective, and there have been better results in the military-patriotic indoctrination of the workers, in the training of youth for military service, as well as specialists for the mass technical professions for the national economy. The military-technical types of sports have gained further development. The volume of capital construction has risen, the training facilities have been improved, economic activities have become better, and the financial situation of the DOSAAF organizations has become stronger.

In working on the fulfillment of the demands of the party and the government and the Eighth All-Union and Fifth Republic DOSAAF congresses, the Uzbek DOSAAF organization has become stronger in ideological and organizational terms, it has acquired rich experience, and has become a noticeable force in the sociopolitical life of the worker collectives and the student youth. The primary DOSAAF organizations have become stronger in organizational terms and have intensified their activities. The organizational work of the committees has been further developed, and the style and methods of work have been improved.

The preparations for and celebrating of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy have helped to activate mass-defense, training and sports work and heroic patriotic indoctrination.

The republic DOSAAF members have a feeling of the greatest pride for their socialist motherland. They unanimously approve and wholeheartedly support the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet state and the indefatigable practical activities of the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo headed by L. I. Brezhnev.

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Inspired by the decisions of the December (1977) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and by the report of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, L. I. Brezhnev, the DOSAAF members of Uzbekistan are working constantly on carrying out the tasks confronting them. They are fully determined to constantly move forward, as V. I. Lenin pointed out, and to constantly attain more.

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# PROBABILITY METHODS FOR EVALUATING ARMAMENT EFFECTIVENESS

Moscow VEROYATNOSTNYYE METODY OTSENKI EFFEKTIVNOSTI VOORUZHENIYA (Probability Methods of Evaluating Armament Effectiveness) in Russian 1979 signed to press 16 Feb 79 pp 1, 2, 95, 3-4, 5-7

[Annotation, table of contents, and excerpts from book edited by Prof A. A. Chervonyy, Voyenizdat, 1979, 8,000 copies, 95 pages]

[Excerpts] Authors' collective: A. A. Chernovyy, V. A. Shvarts, A. P. Kozlovtsev, V. A. Chobanyan.

The book presents the basic principles of combat effectiveness theory as applicable to field artillery firing. Indices of fire effectiveness and approximate methods for their evaluation are presented.

The book is intended for officers, students in military academies, and officer candidates of military schools who are studying questions of armament combat employment.

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#### Introduction

Ensuring high effectiveness is one of the urgent problems in the development of military equipment and armament. The literature on the theory and practice of evaluating armament effectiveness contains no established definition of the term "combat effectiveness": in the narrow sense, it is an evaluation of the firepower or effectiveness of the fire of individual models of armament which are intended for the destruction of ground targets, and in the broad sense--reconnaissance, firepower, combat readiness, mobility, fire control, material-technical support, enemy counteraction, and so forth. In this booklet, the combat effectiveness of artillery armament is considered in the narrow meaning.

In the creation and operation of armament, the necessity arises to employ quantitative methods for evaluating its combat and economic effectiveness which permit the determination of:

--at the designing stage--the most efficient design versions and the most economical methods for their creation.

--in the course of proving ground and troop tests--the actual values of effectiveness indices of armament models as well as information necessary to ensure effectiveness in series production and when put into operation;

--at the operating stage--the qualitative substantiation of decisions adopted by the command in questions of the operation of specific armament models and planning their combat employment.

Since the methods for combat employment of armament models are worked out on the basis of an estimate of combat effectiveness, an understanding of the essence of quantitative effectiveness indices and the ability to conduct at least elementary calculations for their evaluation are required for their study and successful practical use.

Combat effectiveness indices have a probability nature and, therefore, the practical recommendations which are worked out on their basis are justified only on the average with their repeated employment. Methods for evaluating combat effectiveness are especially valuable when comparing individual models and methods for their combat employment. As regards absolute estimates of combat effectiveness, they possess less accuracy and reliability than relative estimates. Therefore, they should be considered only as initial data for making decisions, and not as finished decisions.

Quantitative methods for evaluating the combat effectiveness of field artillery should be used with consideration of combat experience in employment.

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An understanding of the principles in evaluating the combat effectiveness of field artillery fire, the norms of shell expenditure on the accomplishment of combat missions, and methods of fire is a mandatory condition for the adoption of the most effective decisions in the planning, preparation, and conduct of combat operations.

Tasks and General Principles for Evaluating Combat Effectiveness

The degree of conformance of possible or obtained results from the combat employment of armament to the necessary or required results is called the /combat effectiveness of this armament/ [in boldface]. Combat effectiveness is the basic characteristic of any armament's quality.

The /evaluation of combat effectiveness/ [in boldface] is a scientific method for determining combat effectiveness indices for armament which are necessary for working out tactical-technical requirements for newly created armament and evaluation during its operation.

The basic methods for evaluating the effectiveness of armament were worked out in the works of Russian and Soviet scientists-artillerymen. The first of them was the work by the outstanding Russian artilleryman, V. N. Shklarevich, "On Means for Establishing the Correct View on the Properties of Firearms," which was published in 1871. It provided an evaluation of the effectiveness of field artillery fire and the principles for the use of its quantitative indices as properties of firearms. The evaluation of effectiveness as a scientific method for the study of questions in artillery fire was employed from the moment of conception of the theory of fire (the science of artillery fire).

An especially significant role in evaluating the effectiveness of fire was played by the works of Academician A. N. Kolmogorov and, in particular, "The Number of Hits with Several Shots and General Principles for Evaluating the Effectiveness of a Firing System," which was published in 1945. These methods received their further development in the works of Soviet scientists G. I. Blinov, P. A. Gel'vikh, V. G. D'yakonov, and others.

The evaluation of combat effectiveness can be divided arbitrarily into the following stages:

- --formulation of the evaluation tasks and determination of the initial data necessary for their accomplishment;
- --selection of combat effectiveness indices and the method for their determination:
- --determination of numerical values of the selected combat effectiveness indices which conform to specific initial data;
- --processing the results of determining the numerical values of the selected combat effectiveness indices, analysis of the results obtained, and their

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presentation in a form which is practicable for use in the accomplishment of practical tasks.

Formulation of the tasks is the most difficult element in evaluating combat effectiveness and consists of obtaining numerical values of selected combat effectiveness indices for a model of armament being considered with accuracy and reliability sufficient for practical purposes and with the minimum expenditure of personnel and equipment. The task should be posed in such a manner that its accomplishment is possible using the indices which can be determined by relatively simple methods and that all necessary data are obtained as a result of its accomplishment.

The selection of combat effectiveness indices requires an analysis of the basic properties of the indices being considered, the disclosure of the ties between them, and the selection of their most effective combination which ensures obtaining the maximum possible amount of information for the solution of practical tasks. Not only the complexity and duration of the studies, but also the correctness of the solution of practical tasks depend on the effective selection of the indices.

Selection of the method for determining combat effectiveness indices depends on the time for the conduct of computational work and the cost price of the work to be accomplished. The basic method of determination is the computer method with the employment of electronic computers which is not always possible among the troops where the determination of the indices should be based on very simple computational means.

When using the results of the evaluation of live firings it should be remembered that combat effectiveness indices are probability characteristics and contain far from complete information on the actual combat effectiveness of armament. Many factors which exert a substantial influence on effectiveness do not submit at all to mathematical description. Therefore, their numerical values should also be looked upon as initial data which, along with other data, can be used in making decisions relative to the combat effectiveness of armament and the methods for its combat employment.

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#### BOOK EXCERPTS: U.S. AND NATO AS WAR THREATS

Moscow SShA I NATO: ISTOCHNIKI VOYENNOY UGROZY (The U.S. and NATO: Sources of Military Threat) in Russian 1979 signed to press 4 Jun 79 pp 2-3, 5-10, 246-252, 253-254, 255

[Annotation, Table of Contents, Introduction and Conclusion from the book by N. Petrov, N. Sokolov, I. Vladimirov and P. Katin, Voyenizdat, 40,000 copies, 255 pp; the book is published in the series "Imperializm: Sobytiya, Fakty, Dokumenty" (Imperialism, Events, Facts and Documents)]

[Text] The book examines the aggressive nature and basic directions of military policy in the major capitalist states under present-day conditions, and brings out the danger of this policy for socialism, for the revolution-ary workers and national-liberation movement, and for the entire world. On the basis of scientific and factual material, the authors show the paths of militarization in the United States and the other states of the NATO military bloc, the reactionary aim and goals of their military organizational development, and the arms race instituted by them.

The book is designed for a broad range of readers.

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#### Introduction

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution proclaimed the birth of a new Soviet society which propounded as its main foreign policy aim the freeing of mankind from war and providing a lasting peace in the world. For more than 60 years the Soviet Union has fought consistently and constantly to achieve this goal proposed by the founder of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, V. I. Lenin. The peace-loving goals of Soviet foreign policy have gained the force of the basic state law and have been officially set down in the new USSR Constitution.

The realization of these high and noble aims has been the goal of the specific foreign policy initiatives undertaken by the Soviet Union within the framework of the Program for the Further Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation and for the Liberty and Independence of Peoples approved by the 25th CPSU Congress. The active and purposeful policy of the USSR and the entire socialist commonwealth has contributed to the positive shifts in the world situation, to the ever stronger establishing of the principle of peaceful coexistence in the practices of international relations, and to a lessening of international tension.

The good changes in the world which have been particularly noticeable in the 1970's have been primarily a consequence of the change in the balance of forces in the world in the favor of socialism, and an outgrowth of its greater economic and military might and increased political authority. They have also been the result of the successes achieved by the international workers movement and by the forces of national liberation. An understanding of the new realities by a portion of the ruling circles in the capitalist world has also played a definite role in realizing a lessening of international tension.

The historical initiative in the global conflict of the two sociopolitical systems has shifted into the hands of socialism. One after another world imperialism is losing its positions and can no longer, as before, with impunity control the course of world events or impose its will on the peoples following a path of independent development. A narrowing of the possibilities of imperialism does not mean, however, that its aggressive essence has changed. Although a lessening of tension is steadily becoming the

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leading trend in world development, it would be premature to feel that the threat of a world thermonuclear war is past.

By its very nature, imperialism is a reactionary system which contains the sources of aggression and predatory wars. Lenin's evaluation of the basic content of imperialist policy as a policy aimed at the winning of global hegemony remains valid. "World domination," wrote V. I. Lenin, "is, to put it briefly, the content of imperialist policy, the continuation of which is imperialist war." The Marxist approach to an evaluation of imperialism makes it possible for us to feel that the positive changes in the world cannot serve as grounds for complacency.

The complex intertwining of positive and negative trends in the development of the international situation and the greater attempts by influential reactionary circles in the United States and the other NATO countries to force the world back to the times of the Cold War show that the process of a lessening of tension is no guarantee against momentary delays or even possibly a turning back. As was pointed out by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his report at the joint session of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on 2 November 1977, "international relations are presently at the crossroads leading either to a growth of confidence and cooperation or to a growth of mutual fears, suspicions and the stockpiling of weapons—paths leading ultimately either to a lasting peace or at best to a balancing on the brink of war."<sup>2</sup>

Under present-day conditions, imperialism has not abandoned the idea of military force. The bourgeoisie continues to view the army as a powerful weapon of class rule and aggressive policy. The cult of force was and remains a distinguishing feature of the practice and ideology of the exploiting classes. In the definition of F. Engels, "violence merely preserves exploitation." V. I. Lenin, in emphasizing that an approach of force stems from the very essence of capitalism, pointed out that "under capitalism, any other basis or any other principle of sharing except force is impossible." The role allocated by imperialism to the factor of force predetermines the high place of military policy in the arsenal of means used by the monopolistic bourgeoisie for the attaining of its class goals.

The sphere of military policy in the imperialist states includes legislative enactments and practical measures which encompass two areas. In the first place, the use of military force (or the threat of using it) for achieving the aims of state policy in peacetime and wartime. Secondly, the direct organizational development of the armed forces as a basis for ensuring that imperialism will successfully carry out its missions with the aid of force.

The aims of imperialist military policy are determined by the interests of the monopolistic bourgeoisie. Prior to the Great October Socialist Revolution and the formation of two opposing systems in the world, the chief aim of imperialistic military policy of any developed state was to ensure military superiority of one capitalist nation over the other for winning world

domination, markets and a sphere for the investment of capital. After Great October, in accord with the view of V. I. Lenin, "the reciprocal relations of peoples and the entire worldwide system of states are determined by the struggle of a small group of imperialist nations against the Soviet movement and the Soviet states headed by Soviet Russia." Thus, at the basis of the present-day military policy of imperialism lies a reactionary idea, the essence of which is to eliminate the world capitalist system, to enslave the developing nations economically and politically, and to neutralize the communist and workers movement in the developed capitalist states.

The anti-Soviet, reactionary essence of the military policy of imperialism is manifested most vividly in the dynamics of military expenditures. During the time which the NATO bloc has existed, with its main task being the preparation for war against the USSR and the other socialist countries, its members have spent 2.218 trillion dollars for military purposes. In 1976, the military allocations of the NATO states surpassed by 37-fold the corresponding expenditures of all countries of the world in 1929. Here the maximum increase of military expenditures has occurred in recent years.

The ideologists and politicians of imperialism have endeavored to justify the unprecedented growth of military allocations by false assertions of the supposed "Soviet threat." Various fabrications have been concocted that the USSR was supposedly preparing actively to start a nuclear war or was excessively increasing its weapons.

True reality shows the falseness of all these fabrications. The improving of Soviet defenses is a matter forced on us and caused by the necessity of defending the victories of socialism. Here Soviet expenditures on defense have declined both in absolute figures and in relative terms for the entire total of the state budget. While in 1971, these expenditures were 17.8 billion rubles, in 1974, they were 17.6, while in 1976, they had declined to 17.4 billion rubles, and in 1977 and 1978, to 17.2 billion rubles. Correspondingly, the share of military outlays in the Soviet budget over these years was 11, 9.1, 7.8, 7.2 and 7.0 percent.

No "Soviet threat" exists. "This is all a monstrous lie--from start to finish," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th CPSU Congress. "The Soviet Union does not intend to attack anyone. The Soviet Union does not need a war. The Soviet Union is not increasing its military budget....
Our nation has consistently and unswervingly fought for peace, and has constantly come forward with specific proposals aimed at reducing weapons and at disarmament."

The smokescreen of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism cannot conceal the true purpose of the military and political activities of imperialism. Aggressive military preparations are growing, and the militarization of the economy of the capitalist states is intensifying. Ever new types of weapons of mass destruction are being developed. The militaristic circles of the United States and the other imperialist countries have not abandoned the

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hope of achieving military superiority over the USSR, and as a result of this the threat of aggression against the socialist commonwealth exists, and this includes the use of strategic nuclear missile forces. On the territories of the European, Asian, African and Latin American countries and in the world ocean, foreign military forces have been deployed and these rely on a dense network of military bases and supply points. The numerous military political blocs are increasing their activities, attempts are being made to bring new states into the existing reactionary military alliances, and ideas have appeared of creating multilateral aggressive organizations involving the young developing nations. For strengthening their positions in the struggle against world socialism, the imperialist circles are endeavoring to utilize acute conflict situations and crises in various "hot spots" of the world.

The imperialists endeavor to conceal the criminal nature of their military policy by an entire system of carefully elaborated views disseminated by bourgeois propaganda in the form of various "theories," "doctrines," and "strategies." The anticommunist and anti-Soviet basis of them cannot always be easily ascertained, since the used lies and falsifications are extremely shifty. For this reason one must not underestimate the impact of reactionary views which poison the awareness of people and which give an incorrect and distorted view of the essence of present-day trends in the international situation.

The task of progressive mankind in the area of broadening and deepening detente and extending it to the entire world requires an elucidation of those factors and causes which underly the resistance to this process. A profound understanding of the essence of the military aspects of imerialist policy is an essential condition for solving this problem. In the book offered to the reader, the authors have set as their goal to reveal the anticommunist and anti-Soviet nature of the military-political concepts of the United States, the main driving force of reaction, and the aggressive NATO bloc, the focus of militarism, and using actual material show the practical deeds of imperialism which under the conditions of detente is endeavoring to carry out its goals primarily by military force.

#### FOOTNOTES

- 1V. I. Lenin, Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 30, p 85.
- <sup>2</sup>L. I. Brezhnev, "Velikiy Oktyabr' i Progress Chelovechestva" [Great October and the Progress of Mankind], Moscow, 1977, p 27.
- 3K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 20, p 156.
- 4V. I. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 26, p 353.
- <sup>5</sup>Ibid., Vol 41, p 242.

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6"Materialy XXV S"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1976, p 22.

#### Conclusion

The question of war and peace is the main problem and the solution to it to an enormous degree determines the future fate of mankind. The threat of a new world war, if it is not prevented, can end as a tragedy for mankind. The military policy of imperialism, in representing a practical expression of the interests of those influential forces which do not wish to abandon the bankrupt concepts of the policy of "from a position of strength," complicates the generally positive development of international relations. The military-industrial complex which brings together militaristic groupings, the national and international monopolies producing weapons, governmental and scientific circles involved with military programs, and other supporters of the Cold War, employs the most refined means to thwart or at least hold up the process of detente. They have not abandoned the criminal ideas of unleashing a nuclear war and for the sake of their selfish class interests are ready to sacrifice tens and hundreds of millions of lives.

Nor have the economic roots of the military danger been eliminated. In the capitalist world private ownership of the means of production still exists. In a situation of inflation, stagnation and crisis phenomena in the economy, with an unchecked rise in prices for vital necessities and with the survival of mass unemployment, sociopolitical contradictions become ever more acute. The reaction of the capitalist countries sees the way out of the dead end which has arisen in the further militarization of all life of society. An unrestrained arms race is viewed as the most reliable source of enrichment. The so-called "Soviet military threat" has been proposed as the pretext for forcing the population to pay for the new military outlays. The true aims of the organizers of the hullabaloo in the West over the question of the supposed "military threat" from the socialist states are to create a sort of propaganda screen for concealing imperialist policy. The leaders of our party and state have spoken repeatedly on the complete absurdity of such assertions. In an interview with the West German newspaper VORWARTS, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out: "The Soviet Union for its sake feels that approximate equality and parity are sufficient for the needs of defense. We have not set for ourselves the goal of achieving military superiority. We are also aware that this very concept loses any meaning with the presentday enormous arsenals of already stockpiled nuclear weapons and delivery systems."1

In the West military force is viewed as one of the most important means for ensuring imperialist interests in wars and military conflicts. It is viewed as a military potential which includes those forces and means which are on call as well as those which can be deployed in the event of war. It is viewed as a means for applying political pressure in peacetime, and as a basis and expression of state prestige.

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The brunt of the aggressive policy of imperialism is aimed primarily against the Soviet Union, the bulwark of universal peace and social progress. The reactionary forces of capitalism see in the Soviet Union and all the socialist commonwealth the basic obstacle on the path to realizing their aggressive plans. The main strike force of world reaction is the military industrial complex of the United States, the most powerful capitalist power which has a determining influence on the shaping of the overall strategy of imperialism. Military force remains the basic instrument in the list of means used by the American ruling circles for carrying out the tasks of their global policy. A constant increase of military might, the desire to strengthen U.S. positions throughout the world by consolidating ties with allies and activating a bloc policy, and the toying with the surviving conflict and crisis situations—all of this involves the permanent threat of the outbreak of new wars and military conflicts.

U.S. military policy is based upon a principle of "intimidation" which has provided the "power" base for American foreign policy beginning with the Cold War period. This is seen in the updating of old aggressive strategic concepts and the developing of new ones, and the preparation of American armed forces for a broad range of wars, from nuclear to the so-called "counterinsurgency," from the increase in the number of army divisions, and the higher military potential of the Air Force and Navy. Precisely U.S. military policy as the basis of the overall political course of this country, is the basic brake on the further development of Soviet-American relations and international detente. As a whole, the military policy of American imperialism is characterized by a constant desire to find new ways and means, forms and methods for using military force, regardless of the development of detente in the political relations between the two social systems.

At the beginning of the 1980's, the aim of the peace-loving forces is to achieve a triumph of detente everywhere in the world. One of the most important tasks on this level is the working out of a new Soviet-American agreement on the limitation of strategic weapons (SALT-2). Such a treaty, should it be signed, ratified and put into force, will create a definite barrier on the path to the further stockpiling of the most destructive and expensive types of weapons. Here the treaty will express the principle of the equality and equal security of the parties. The coming into force of the treaty will mean that the process of damping down the arms race which has been started upon the initiative of the Soviet Union is to continue. The treaty, undoubtedly, will have a beneficial influence on the international climate as a whole.

Recent facts show that U.S. policy has been characterized by zig-zag development, that is, from the securing of American national security by talks, as can be seen from the achieving of an agreement on the basic questions of SALT-2, to the use of threats and the increase of tension. The American government periodically whips up the arms race, and proposes to increase military force over a period extending beyond the next decade. Attempts have not ceased to intervene in the internal affairs of the socialist states

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under the cover of hypocritical campaigns over the supposed "violations of human rights" in the socialist countries. Such attempts are a flagrant violation of the generally accepted standards of international law, as well as a violation of the letter and spirit of the Final Act approved in Helsinki.

Aggressive blocs are the basic instrument of imperialism in carrying out its reactionary military political aims, and among these blocs the most important place is assigned to the North Atlantic Alliance. Since the moment of its birth, this imperialistic alliance has headed an active campaign of struggle against the socialist commonwealth by carrying out the strategy of "intimidation." The political and military circles of NATO have been concerned not with preventing the outbreak of nuclear war in Europe, but rather what moment is more advantageous for them to squeeze the nuclear trigger.

The aggressive essence of the North Atlantic bloc can be seen in the growing flow of allocations for military purposes, in the strengthening of its aggressive potential, and in the planning of the arms race for years to come. The main aim of the steps undertaken by the NATO leadership is to torpedo the process of detente.

In the middle of the 1970's, within NATO tendencies began to be clearly manifested for a strengthening of the bloc in political, economic and military terms. For solving this problem, the militaristic circles of the West have endeavored to tie the Western European bloc members even more closely to the United States, to broaden its membership, and extend the zone of its activities beyond Western Europe and the North Atlantic. The NATO leadership has paid close attention to the flanks of the bloc: in the south of Europe it has intentionally not allowed a further strengthening of influence of the leftist forces, and in the north it has endeavored to extend the military presence of the bloc.

The decisions of the May (1978) session of the NATO Council have become particularly dangerous. At this session of the Atlantic militarists, a "long-range weapons program" was approved running up to 1993. In accord with this program, the member nations of this aggressive bloc assumed an obligation year after year to increase their military expenditures, and primarily for ever more costly weapons. In the course of the session, the intention was affirmed to extend the "sphere of responsibility" of this bloc to vast regions extending far beyond the limits outlined in the treaty on the setting up of the North Atlantic Alliance. Finally, during the talks between the leaders of the aggressive alliance, American officials for the first time overtly proclaimed the link between their interests, the interests of NATO and the interests of the Chinese leadership which had been against the policy of detente and called for preparations for war. In the press of the nations of the North Atlantic bloc, China is called the "l6th member of NATO." This phrase is to the liking of the Beijing leaders. In endeavoring to gain access to the NATO military arsenals, the Chinese leaders in every possible way have advertised their hostility to the Soviet

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Union, and have argued for an unrestrained arms race. This policy is all the more dangerous in that it has been supported by the most reactionary circles of the imperialist states.

Simultaneously with the speeding up of miliqary preparations, the NATO leadership has endeavored to gain military advantages by diplomacy. At the Vienna talks aimed at reducing the military confrontation in Central Europe, no specific results as yet have been achieved. The reason for the extended discussions has been the absence of any substantial changes in the position of the West. The NATO countries have rejected the constructive initiatives of the socialist state, and have continued to insist on unbalanced reductions, the realization of which would lead to an undermining of the existing approximate equality of forces in Europe, and to the gaining of one-sided military advantages by the West.

In the developing Asian, African and Latin American states, in the military policy of imperialism a major role is assigned to using the surviving conflict and crisis situations for its own selfish purposes. Indochina and Nicaragua, Zaire and the Near East—here is the global extent of imperialist military adventures. Everywhere the imperialist countries act hand in hand with the local reactionary forces, hoping to strengthen their positions in the struggle against world socialism.

Recently new foreboding indications of greater aggressiveness have appeared in imperialist policy. In using hired executioners, criminals and professional murderers, the monopolistic bourgeoisie has endeavored to put together "inter-African" and "inter-American" forces or military formations which the bourgeoisie intends to send in to suppress the liberation movements in Africa and Latin America.

A just peaceful settlement in the Near East is among the most important tasks in strengthening peace and international stability. There the situation continues to remain complicated. The growth of the Near East crisis into a new Arab-Israeli armed conflict would be dangerous both for the nations of this region as well as for the international situation as a whole. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out in a speech on 22 September 1978 in Baku, "the reason for this is the stubborn refusal of Israel and those forces backing it to consider the legitimate rights and interests of the Arab peoples, and the desire of Israel by weapons and not by diplomacy, but in any event from a position of strength, to impose its will on the Arabs.

"Recently the basic gambit for achieving this aim has been the method of behind-the-scenes separate deals with those ready to bargain away the Arab interests....

"Regardless of what 'limits' a separate agreement is couched and which conceals the capitulation of one party and strengthens the fruits of aggression of the other, that is, the aggression of Israel, it can only make the situation in the Near East more explosive."<sup>2</sup>

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The exacerbation of tension in the Near and Middle East has been abetted by the arms race stirred up here, as well as by the active attempts by the military of the United States and the other NATO countries to improve their military-strategic position on the approaches to the Near East region, both on the Mediterranean side and on the side of the Indian Ocean.

Great October for the first time in history made it possible to break away from the old concepts of omnipotent violence. Over 60 years since the main event of the century, the sphere of imperialist violence has been continuously constricted. However this objective reality has encountered rabid resistance by the international reaction. The desire of certain circles in the West to breathe life into the policy of "from a position of strength" requires from the world community a further increase of effort in the struggle for peace and international security, and more energetic actions to materialize detente. Precisely this is the policy of the CPSU and the Soviet government, as was convincingly demonstrated by the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and all the subsequent practical activities of our state. Until the positions of materialism have been finally undermined, and as long as the arms race continues and the aggressive military blocs survive, the Soviet people and its Armed Forces, along with the peoples and armies of the other socialist countries, will strengthen their defense capability, and their readiness at any time to deal a decisive rebuff to the organizers of international provocations and adventures, to the supporters of the policy of "from a position of strength," and to the enemies of the peace and security of peoples.

"No one should doubt...," emphasized Comrade L. I. Brezhnev from the rostrum of the 25th CPSU Congress, "that our party will do everything so that the glorious Soviet Armed Forces in the future will possess all the necessary means for carrying out their responsible mission of guarding the peaceful labor of the Soviet people and being a bulwark of universal peace."  $^3$ 

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>PRAVDA, 4 May 1978.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 23 September 1978.

<sup>3</sup>"Materialy XXV S"yezda KPSS," p 83.

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