

APPROVED FOR RELEASE: 2007/02/08: CIA-RDP82-00850R000300050038-2

28 NOVEMBER 1980

WELSH, W. H. (FOUO 16/80)

1 OF 1

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

JPRS L/9418

28 November 1980

USSR Report

MILITARY AFFAIRS

(FOUO 16/80)

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

COPYRIGHT LAWS AND REGULATIONS GOVERNING OWNERSHIP OF MATERIALS REPRODUCED HEREIN REQUIRE THAT DISSEMINATION OF THIS PUBLICATION BE RESTRICTED FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

JPRS L/9418

28 November 1980

USSR REPORT
MILITARY AFFAIRS
(FOUO 16/80)

CONTENTS

USA: Intelligence and Foreign Policy (Radomir Georgiyevich Bogdanov, Andrey Afanas'yevich Kokoshin; SSHA: INFORMATSIYA I VNESHNYAYA POLITIKA, 1979) ...	1
Soviet View of U.S. National Security Doctrine (V. F. Petrovskiy; DOKTRINA 'NATSIONAL'NOY BEZOPASNOSTI' V GLOBAL'NOY STRATEGII SShA, 1980)	9
Book Excerpts: Yepishev on Ideological Work (A. A. Yepishev; IDEOLOGICHESKAYA RABOTA V SOVETSKIKH VOORUZHENNYKH SILAKH, 1979)	17
Book Excerpts: Dialectics of Military History Research (V. T. Login; DIALEKTIKA VOYENNO-ISTORICHESKOGO ISSLEDOVANIYA, 1979)	35
Book Excerpts: Warsaw Pact Tasks and Organization (V. G. Kulikov; VARSHAVSKIY DOGOVOR-SOYUZ VO IMYA MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, 1980)	45

- a -

[III - USSR - 4 FOUO]

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

USA: INTELLIGENCE AND FOREIGN POLICY

Moscow SSHA: INFORMATSIYA I VNESHNYAYA POLITIKA (USA: Intelligence and Foreign Policy) in Russian 1979 signed to press 7 Mar 79 pp 213-224

[Annotation and excerpt from book by Radomir Georgiyevich Bogdanov and Andrey Afanas'yevich Kokoshin, Nauka, 4550 copies, pages]

[Text] The present monograph examines the role of intelligence in the elaboration and making of foreign policy decisions in the United States. A critical analysis is given of the features of intelligence practice in the State Department and other U.S. foreign policy departments, the types and forms of intelligence circulating in the state machinery and its role in foreign policy activities.

2. Types and Forms of Information Products Circulating
In the U.S. Foreign Policy System

[Excerpt] Analysis of the forms of intelligence products for the needs of foreign policy prepared within the "intelligence community" is of definite interest. In American practice two basic types of foreign policy intelligence are distinguished: "finished" and "raw." Information which has undergone analysis and been compared with other intelligence is placed in the "finished" category. "Raw" intelligence has not been evaluated or compared with other information. From this viewpoint intelligence from U.S. foreign representatives is "raw," but most of it is of value in preparing "finished" intelligence.

The "intelligence community" prepares three categories of "finished" intelligence: synopses of current events, basic or encyclopedic digests and forecasts. Some American specialists feel that one of the basic shortcomings of "finished" intelligence is the excessively long list of documents of this type circulating in the administration. For the departments of the administration where foreign policy decisions are made, the "Report on the Results of Observation of Conditions"⁷ is issued. This report is prepared by the Council's interdepartmental committee, the functions of which include observation of the possibility of armed conflict arising in any part of the globe, especially conflict threatening the security of the United States or its allies. There are also no fewer than 10 official

7. See: Marchetti, V., and Marks, D., "The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence," New York, 1974, pp 97-100.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

synopses of events. The CIA Department of Current Intelligence issues three separate documents of this type. The most important of them is known as the President's Intelligence Checklist. This document contains approximately 10 pages and simply lists the events of the past day, dealing in greater detail with the questions which are of interest to the president at present. The document is delivered to the White House in the early morning, and during the president's trips it is transmitted to him via equipment. The content of the document is not submitted to the members of the "intelligence community" for approval, but usually it presents their general viewpoint.⁸

The CIA also prepares the "Central Intelligence Bulletin," which is delivered to the White House and all Cabinet members every morning. Lower level officials who need foreign policy intelligence because of the nature of their work receive copies of the bulletin. It usually contains from 15 to 20 pages and is supplied with the necessary graphs and maps. This bulletin only includes major topics, but the material is considerably more extensive than in the President's Intelligence Checklist. The content of the bulletin is submitted in its entirety to a special "intelligence community" committee for approval. Members of it who do not agree with the interpretation of particular events may add their personal opinion to the bulletin. The bulletin is also sent to American representatives abroad in order to familiarize them with the official viewpoint on different international events.

Along with the top secret bulletin the CIA publishes a secret bulletin intended for officials without clearance for top secret materials. It is also distributed to U.S. foreign representatives, and it basically duplicates the top secret bulletin with certain deletions.

Current intelligence originating from the military department is provided by the Defense Intelligence Agency [DIA]. It issues three daily reports. One of them is the Intelligence Bulletin. The top secret version of the Central Intelligence Bulletin differs from it chiefly in its more detailed coverage of events. The DIA Intelligence Bulletin is issued on 30-40 pages as a rule, and it touches on a much wider range of events than the CIA top secret bulletins; it is intended for the information of the secretary of defense and his closest associates and for the Joint Chiefs of Staff. It includes military intelligence which touches on the foreign policy interests of the United States. The bulletins are also distributed to all American military staffs and military attaches abroad as an official daily briefing from Washington.

The intelligence agency also issues a secret version of the daily top secret bulletin. It is known as the Intelligence Bulletin, which is circulated in Washington and distributed to the major U.S. armed forces abroad and to all American

8. Here and infra, see: "The Intelligence Community," New York, 1977; Morrison, J., "Kissinger: Uncertain Greatness," New York, 1977; McGarney, P., "CIA: The Myth and the Madness," New York, 1972; Marketty, V., and Marks, D., "CIA: The Cult of Intelligence," New York, 1974.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

military attaches and which, like the CIA secret report, is in content an adapted version of top secret information.

The third type of daily report issued by the DIA is the so-called OP-INT (operative intelligence). Material of an operative and intelligence nature intended for the secretary of defense, his closest associates and the Joint Chiefs of Staff is presented in generalized form on 10 or more pages. A document of this type was first issued at the very beginning of the war in Vietnam and since then has come to cover conditions throughout the world. The necessity of this type of report is determined by the following considerations: American military operations often provoke retaliatory action by the other country without receiving a complete interpretation from the "intelligence community." Thus certain representatives of the administration do not always know about the nature and purpose of American military operations.

In addition to numerous daily detailed reports issued by the National Security Agency for the information of members of the "intelligence community" the agency prepares a Daily Intelligence Bulletin which covers basic information received the day before via equipment and which draws conclusions which are not formulated in professional language in order to be understood in foreign policy circles not associated with the "intelligence community." In addition, the agency issues daily regional bulletins which cover the course of events in specific regions of the globe. The bulletins are intended for use in the regional offices of the State Department and in the International Security Agency of the Defense Department. Such questions as, for example, the training of the Soviet Army, Navy and troops in anti-aircraft defense receive detailed coverage in the bulletin.

The Pentagon's National Indications Center, which heads a broad network of different notification and indication centers, also issues daily reports for the "intelligence community" and government circles which make decisions concerning foreign policy questions. The center processes all "raw" materials incoming in 24 hours and selects from 80 to 100 of the most important communications. Excerpts or complete texts are distributed in Washington in the form of a 35-50 page daily report which is called the Report of the NIC Officer on Duty.

The State Department issues daily top secret material--the Diplomatic Bulletin, which contains information with a direct relationship to foreign policy. This bulletin is distributed by telegraph to diplomatic representatives abroad and to the departments in Washington.

The Foreign Broadcast Information Service issues daily summaries of full texts of the most important broadcasts in the last 24 hours. They are widely used in government and academic circles.

The above mentioned documents comprise the basis for the "intelligence community's" work in providing the government with foreign policy intelligence but do not completely cover the entire range of the "community's" information activities. For example, so-called "coaching"--official briefings conducted by the secretary of defense for different government circles--is widespread in Washington. Every morning for 15-30 minutes several officials of the department orally brief

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

congressional committees and subcommittees, the work groups of the National Security Council and the Defense Department leadership.

Second in activity in this field is the State Department's Intelligence and Research Agency, which every morning briefs the secretary of state at a meeting and his colleagues on the National Security Council. The State Department and Defense Department briefings are accompanied by demonstrations of visual aids, slides and in some instances, films. In terms of the effect they produce, they may be compared with the evening news of the American broadcasting companies NBC, CBS and ABC.

Every day official Washington is swamped with versions of daily intelligence bulletins sent by telegraph and prepared by the numerous armed forces abroad.

Current intelligence materials are not limited to daily reports. The CIA issues a top secret version of TIME Magazine weekly. The events which took place in every region of the world during the past week are described in great detail in 35-40 pages. The publication is supplied with photographs, maps, diagrams, etc. A secret version of the weekly is published for persons without clearance for top secret material. This publication is circulated in Washington and distributed abroad to all CIA services and American embassies and to all American military staffs abroad.

The National Security Agency prepares a weekly report which covers information received from around the world through intelligence channels by means of communication in a wider context than in the daily reports. Weekly reports on specific regions are also issued; they are distributed to all institutions in Washington which deal with intelligence materials by means of communication. Copies of these documents are transmitted by telegraph to the NSA, all embassies and the American armed forces.

The Foreign Broadcast Information Service issues a weekly digest of the content and nature of socialist country broadcasts. It is circulated in government circles and distributed to the libraries of individual colleges.

The Air Force intelligence service makes a film available weekly to all interested officials. As a rule it runs about 45 minutes. Such films for official use depict the activities of the American air force in different parts of the globe.

Furthermore, information of government circles is achieved using so-called "facts for consideration." They are issued occasionally by departments which are part of the "intelligence community." As a rule once a week one or two such reports appear from each department. Devoted to detailed analysis of current problems, they present an in-depth study of the question in its historical aspect. The topics of the reports are varied. There are several ways of distributing these special materials. By order of the State Department this material can be sent only to the secretary of state and White House officials; through the Defense Department, to all U.S. armed forces; through the CIA this material can go to the members of the NSA. There is no established channel for distributing these materials, but they play a substantial role in the process of foreign policy decision making,

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

as they are a departure from everyday routine and an attempt to present current events in a broad context.

The Foreign Broadcast Information Service issues a widely used summary called the "Summary of International Responses." The United States' every step in the field of foreign policy is evaluated from the viewpoint of the reaction which it produces in the press and radio of the entire world.

The need for so-called "basic" intelligence information was most acutely realized at the time of the invasion of Tarawa during the Second World War. Because of incorrect information on tides the troops were landed on coral reefs 1500 yards offshore, an error which resulted in the deaths of many American soldiers. So that such a thing would never happen again, the CIA was entrusted with the task of ensuring the collection of "basic" information. One of the departments entrusted with this function was the Department for Contacts which initially engaged in the collection of objects, such as tourist road maps, which are trivial at first glance. The activity of the department received further development when the State Department selected special officials for the post of geographical coordinators whose job included photographing of roads, bridges, coastal zones, telegraph poles, power plants, urban and rural houses and samples of police and military uniforms throughout the world. All this information is collected at the CIA, where a dossier of photographs for each country of the world is kept in the Central Reference Department.

One result of the work in collecting "basic" information is the National Intelligence Survey--a six-part encyclopedia about all countries of the world. The information collected in this publication gives basic facts about the country, beginning with the topography of the region with emphasis on analysis of geographical objects of military significance: shores and beachheads, macadam roads and railroads, ports and harbors, climatic conditions, and ending with basic information on the economic system of the country, the demographic composition of the population, politics and government, urban and rural ways of life, armed forces, the public health and medicine organs and the security service.

An increasingly important field of information activity is the field of economics. Practically each of the member departments of the "intelligence community" prepares a quarterly, semi-annual and annual report on such subjects as foreign aid to other countries and trade, industry, agriculture, transport and communications in a specific country. During the fiercest bombing of North Vietnam the DIA prepared a monthly report called "Estimate of Damage Inflicted by Bombing," in which data on the number of trucks, bridges, barges and trains destroyed or damaged were correlated with data on the resources remaining at the country's command and an attempt was made to evaluate the result of the previous 30 days' bombing.

Under the influence of the events of the energy crisis and the general economic crisis of 1974-1975 which struck the capitalist economic system, such questions as the provision of fuel and energy resources and the status of energetics as a whole in different countries of the world, analysis of possible ways to expand American exports and foreign investments, the status and outlook for the development of the international exchange and finance system, etc., have played a much more important role in the preparation of information and

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

analytical documents of the intelligence service and other subdivisions of the U.S. foreign policy mechanism. In connection with this the CIA, for example, has for the past two years issued among its special materials and reports a weekly summary of events in the field of oil extraction, transporting and trade on a global scale. The given topic is also the subject of continuing studies by a number of subdivisions of the State Department, the information and analysis service of the Department of Energy created in 1977 and by the appropriate offices of the Treasury Department.

Despite the growing attention of the information and analysis subdivisions of the foreign policy departments to political economic problems, it is apparently still lagging behind the traditionally predominant attention to military and political problems. At the same time it is clear to specialists that problems exist in the field of economic intelligence that must be surmounted in order to ensure the political leaders of adequate information appropriate to the present level of foreign policy significance of new and old economic problems. Today military intelligence requires enormous outlays on a system for obtaining and initially processing information while most of the economic data necessary for making political decisions is not secret. In the opinion of the Murphy Commission experts the problem is, rather, competent scientific, analytical treatment of large files of economic information. And in order to solve this problem it is not enough to strengthen only the CIA's capabilities in this field. This commission feels that this is precisely where it is acceptable and even necessary to have duplication in the analysis of complex economic problems, which will be justified even with regard to the cost of this analysis. Consequently it is suggested that not only should the analytical resources of the intelligence service for processing economic information be strengthened but the results of the appropriate intelligence and analytic work of the subdivisions of the State Department, Treasury Department, the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture and the President's Council of Economic Advisers should also be used more actively.

The field of science is still another important field of research in which the CIA, DIA, NSA and, recently to an increasingly greater degree, the State Department take an active part, in the process duplicating each other to a significant extent. They regularly publish technical descriptions and evaluations of all weapon systems, major and minor, and issue monthly, semi-annual and annual reports on the Soviet and Chinese programs for development of rocket and space technology, on the production of airplanes in Israel, the electronics industry in Japan and its space research and on other questions of scientific and technical development. These basic materials are distributed within the "intelligence community" as "basic" information for analysts. Moreover, and this is very important, they go to the military planning organs which must be well informed on events taking place in the socialist countries.

Study of the personalities of the top-level leaders of other countries is a traditionally important aspect of the activity of the intelligence service. The DIA and CIA keep extensive dossiers on political, public and military figures. These dossiers contain not only biographical information but also all possible information on the views and positions of a particular leader reflected in his written or oral statements or other sources. The DIA regularly issues a

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Collection of Biographies of the Officers of Foreign Armies, and the CIA prepares materials on the political and public figures. This type of information becomes necessary when a sudden change of government occurs and it is necessary to determine the possible directions of the new leadership's activities.

The distribution of the armed forces of countries which are potential enemies is a part of "basic" intelligence material. The military specialists who work on planning are constantly updating their plans and thus require daily and weekly reports on changes in the distribution of the forces of possible enemies of the United States. The CIA, DIA and NSA and also the staff of the four branches of the service prepare daily, weekly, monthly and quarterly reports intended for the military planning organs of the United States.

An important aspect of most of the analytical materials produced by the "intelligence community" is analytical forecasting of events. As a rule the research begins with an inquiry from the president or one of his closest assistants to the "intelligence community." For example, the question may be one like this: "In what direction will the foreign policy of Communist China develop after certain events?" The inquiry initially goes to the Board of National Estimates-- a group of the 12 highest officials in the intelligence apparatus, former ambassadors and military. The Council defines the wording of the problem more exactly, divides it into feasible components and then sends them to the appropriate intelligence departments. During the first stage of work the basic points of the future material are outlined. Then each department prepares its part and sends it to a CIA department, the Office of National Estimates, for preparation of the first version. When the rough draft is ready it is distributed to all members of the "community," the experts of which get together at work sessions to eliminate all discrepancies from the rough draft. As a rule three or four sessions are required to achieve preliminary agreement on the working level.

When a member of the Council who is not directly responsible for this problem verifies that all departments have had an opportunity to express an opinion on the rough draft, he presents a new version for examination by the U.S. Intelligence Board. This board, which consists of representatives of all the intelligence departments of Washington is like a board of "community" directors. As a rule, the report presented for their scrutiny still contains a number of discrepancies and objections by different departments. The board members attempt to resolve all contradictions in order to present a collective report to the president and the NSA, but they are by no means obliged to achieve complete agreement on all aspects of the question under discussion. As a rule, however, during the final stage they succeed in achieving a certain compromise in the analysis.

An estimate produced on special inquiry is known as a "Special National Intelligence Estimate." It is a version of the "National Intelligence Estimate," which is prepared regularly. Comprehensive analysis of the military strength and intentions of the Soviet Union is performed annually. Continuous observation of specific countries is conducted with the aim of presenting the military circles which develop strategic plans with a complete description of the basic trends in the country's domestic and foreign policy, the stability of its government and the possibility of changes.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

In reference to the events of the period of the outbreak of the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1973, R. Cline, former deputy director of the CIA and the State Department Intelligence and Research Office, names a number of basic components of the "National Intelligence Estimate," intended for use at the NEA level: analysis and forecasting of the possible actions by the USSR under conditions of intensification of the conflict, the probability of different versions of the development of this conflict directly between Israel and the Arab countries and the consequences of specific actions by the United States as applied to the two above mentioned components of the problem.¹⁰

In this case one of the principal results of analysis of the information is forecasting, which is not performed solely in the highest circles of the "intelligence community." For example, the Defense Department, which continuously strives to have information on the capabilities and intentions of prospective enemies, has developed its own system which differs from the above described procedure and which makes it possible to perform studies in the field of armaments in the usual way. The units of the Joint Staff which handle planning problems have reached agreement with the DIA on regularly issuing the so-called "Joint Intelligence Planning Estimate."

The DIA and the intelligence services of the branches of the service jointly develop forecasts of the enemy's capabilities in the field of armaments without enlisting other members of the "intelligence community" in this work. This results in a significant savings of time, eliminates discrepancies and makes it possible to circulate forecasts on different types of armaments. This has serious consequences, since such a procedure enables the Defense Department to continue to improve arms without needing analysis of the DIA forecasts by the intelligence departments without a direct interest in the given question.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka", 1979

9380
CSO: 1807

10. Cline, R., "Policy Without Intelligence," FOREIGN POLICY, No 17, Winter 1974-1975, p 129.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

SOVIET VIEW OF U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY DOCTRINE

Moscow DOKTRINA 'NATSIONAL'NOY BEZOPASNOSTI' V GLOBAL'NOY STRATEGII SSHA
(The National Security Doctrine in U.S. Global Strategy) in Russian 1980
signed to press 20 Dec 79 pp 1-10, 355

[Annotation, table of contents, and introduction from the book by V.F. Petrovskiy,
Moscow, Mezhdunarodnyye Otnosheniya, 9000 copies, 335 pages]

Excerpts

This book reveals the essential features of the "national security" doctrine as the ideological-theoretical platform of the monopolistic ruling clique of the United States and traces the adaptation of this doctrine to the new strategic situation in the world resulting from the growing strength of the forces of peace, socialism, and progress. The program goals of U.S. "national security" and means of achieving them (material potential, ideology, and diplomacy) are reviewed and the struggle in U.S. political circles concerning the issues of detente, primarily military detente, are discussed.

The book is intended for specialists in international affairs and teachers at higher educational institutions.

Table of Contents:

Introduction 3

Chapter 1. The Origin and Evolution of the U. S. National Security Doctrine 11

Chapter 2. Foreign Policy Goals 46

 The Priorities of the "Global Conflict" of the Two Systems 52

 The Directorate of the Capitalist World Instead of Interdependence 74

 Opposition to Progressive Changes Under the Guise of Creating a "New World Order" 94

Chapter 3. Military Force - the Principal Instrument of U. S. National Security 119

 The Foundation of "Strength" 120

 The Parameters of the Application of Military Force 128

 Forms of Use of Military Force in Foreign Policy 144

 Ideological-Propaganda Cover for the Military Force Approach 168

Chapter 4. National Security Resources 183

 Material Potential 184

 The Moral Factor 207

 Diplomacy 237

Chapter 5. The National Security Mechanism 256

 The President and the National Security Council 258

 The Department of State 273

 The Military and Intelligence Departments 285

 The "Administrative Strategy" in the National Security Field 295

Chapter 6. Disarmament - the Path to True National Security 301

Notes 323

Appendices: Chart 1. The Military-Political Obligations of the United States (Foldout No 1)

 Chart 2. The Organizational Structure of the U. S. National Security Council (Foldout No 2)

Introduction:

The determining feature of the contemporary world situation is the turn toward alleviation of international tensions or detente.

Evaluating detente from the standpoint of the late 1970's, it is impossible not to see that detente has already gone through a certain testing in practice

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

and has confirmed that it has profound roots in reality, that it is not based on factors of the moment, but rather on the true interests of states with different orders in cooperation. The principal area of such interest is reducing, and ultimately eliminating, the threat of thermonuclear disaster. Solving this problem requires unceasing joint efforts by all countries to normalize the international situation, restrict the arms race, and eliminate centers of tension. Another area of common interest is development of broad mutually advantageous cooperation in economic and scientific-technical affairs.

It is also apparent that detente has already brought about a certain beneficial change in the entire system of international relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. Not only has there been a general improvement in the world political climate, but also a change has occurred in the nature of relations among states with different social orders, a change from cold war and confrontation to negotiations on a broad range of issues of mutual interest. The common interests of different states with respect to various important problems and areas of world politics have acquired a solid foundation in treaty law. Political consultation and long-term programs of economic and scientific-technical cooperation are being introduced more and more broadly in international relations. The results of detente are especially felt in Europe, which was the principal focus of bloody conflict during the world wars and endured a high degree of tension during the cold war period.

The most important result of these changes is that the danger of nuclear missile warfare has been mitigated.

While it arose from the objective needs of world development, detente at the same time became possible owing to subjective factors. The path to detente was literally "opened" by the purposeful peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union. The peace programs formulated at the highest forums of the CPSU, the 24th and 25th congresses, outlined concrete ways and means to use objective opportunities to modify international relations. A turn toward realism by Western political leaders also played a definite part.

Progress toward detente is not, however, easy. Significant and influential forces oppose the transformation of international relations to a basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence; these forces cover a broad spectrum, from the bosses of NATO to the Maoists. Their efforts are directed to preventing a further mitigation of international tension and improvement in relations between the capitalist countries and the Soviet Union. An important place among these forces belongs to the most reactionary circles in the imperialist countries, above all the United States, which is the principal guardian and protector of the world capitalist system. The vast array of various interwoven interests involved with maintaining a high level of international tension in order to protect the position of imperialism gave rise to the military-industrial complex, which brings together groups of monopolies that depend entirely on military orders, top military leaders, and a certain number of politicians, in particular in the U. S. Congress. The mouthpieces of the complex, various committees and associations, work by every means to build up a militaristic state of mind and exacerbate the international situation. The military-industrial complex is the most important permanently active factor

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

which stimulates the militant-aggressive tendency in the politics of the capitalist countries and "works" stubbornly against detente.

There is also another circumstance that creates major obstacles to reordering relations between the capitalist and the socialist countries. During the period of its existence, and especially during the cold war years, American militarism has created a real ally in its own image and likeness: a large group of philosophers and sociologists who base their views on the necessity of insuring a "position of strength" for the conduct of foreign policy. A certain way of thinking has taken shape in U. S. academic literature which puts force above common sense and hinders revision of goals that have been overturned by the changed ratio of forces in the world.

The doctrine of "national security," which plays a growing role in U. S. global strategy, is a special type of political philosophy in this category.

Of course, American authors prefer to speak of a "policy" of national security, not a doctrine. But if we begin from the concepts of the doctrine that have become established in American practices as officially formulated, universal guidelines, we cannot fail to see that the ideas of national security officially set forth in the 1947 national security law have subsequently been formulated as a doctrine in the statements of virtually all American administrations, beginning with the Democratic administration of H. Truman which proclaimed it. Although they express doubt concerning the advisability of a doctrinal approach in foreign policy, nonetheless the representatives of the J. Carter administration in reality appeal to national security considerations at different levels so often that these considerations indeed sound like the working doctrine of the present administration.

At the same time, it must be kept in mind that the national security doctrine is different from those doctrines, widespread in foreign policy practice, which establish principles of U. S. behavior (actions) in international affairs (isolationism, the Monroe Doctrine, the "open door" doctrine, "freedom of the seas," and the "Truman and Nixon doctrines"). The national security doctrine deals with principles of a different type which determine the choice of means and methods of insuring the interests of U. S. ruling circles in conditions of war and peace on a global scale. For perfectly understandable class reasons, official American documents and political literature do not call these real interests and objectives by their true names, but rather clothe them in the garb of above-class, all-people's slogans. In this way, the national security doctrine rationalizes U. S. policy, which is fundamentally imperialistic, and puts it in acceptable terms of the supposed basic interests of the country.

In view of its purpose, the national security doctrine comes close to military doctrine, which contains the principles of building up and using armed forces. Overall it acts as the connecting link between foreign policy and military doctrines. The place and role of the national security doctrine are determined by the fact that it serves as an ideological-theoretical platform for the unique national security system that has been put together within the American state and is used to plan and make key governmental decisions in the fields of foreign policy and the use of the armed forces.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Study of national security problems now plays a large part in various elements of the political and academic complex.

The conversion of the problems of national security into an independent field of academic research, which occurred soon after the end of World War II, was linked, in the first place, with the continuing militarization of U. S. foreign policy and the appearance of a qualitatively new weapon, the nuclear missile, which made reinterpretation of military force and the possibilities of its application a paramount issue, and, in the second place, the growing awareness that under the new conditions military problems could not be viewed in isolation, in a vacuum so to speak, that they would have to be coordinated with both foreign and domestic political and economic considerations.

Growth of the state national security mechanism led to a strengthening of its ties with the "academic community" and to its subordination to the interests of military business and the politics of the ruling class. Representatives of academic circles (some of whom had already been used for this purpose during World War II) were given the task of presenting studies and works on specific aspects of national security to various governmental bodies. Academics are regularly enlisted for work in the government, and many of them become full-time civil servants. At the same time the opposite processes are also occurring, where employees of government institutions go off to academic jobs. The establishment of special organizations, known as "think tanks," which are subordinate to the departments of the Air Force, Army, Navy, and Defense and carry on research in the national security field is very important. One of the most important of them is the Rand Corporation. The exchange of personnel and information led to a significant intensification of efforts by the academic community to develop topics in this field.

National security problems are the core of the research activity of the "strategic analysis" school, which engages in comprehensive development of strategic issues in foreign policy: long-term diplomatic, economic, military, and ideological actions.

Most of the studies in this subject area view national security through the prism of either a conflict that determines the policy of the country or the interaction of different states.¹ Studies in the first category usually reflect the point of view that national security is attained by maximum exertion of state power in conflict situations, in other words, the development of national security policy should be based on the premise that the state can only be secure if it is superior in power to other states or groups of states. Counterbalancing this view is the view of researchers in the second group, who emphasize the development of forms and methods of state interaction more than building up state power. This approach assumes that national security policy should be guided by the principle that state security can only be strengthened if the reliability of the entire system of international relations is strengthened.

The works of authors who believe that the goal of national security is to build up strength can be classified into three types by the subject of investigation: military, economic, and political.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Many studies on national security issues focus attention on military problems, which reflects the view, firmly established in American writing, that national security is primarily linked to solving military problems. Despite the fact that studies in the 1960's and first half of the 1970's greatly expanded the object of investigation, taking it beyond purely military problems, issues such as strategy, tactics, weaponry, and rear planning continue to be the center of attention in many studies. Many works deal with the questions of nuclear weapons and the technology of their production (H. Kissinger, R. McNamara, H. Kahn, and J. Kahan),² working out an optimal strategy for future all-out wars (H. Rowen),³ techniques of "deterrence" (B. Brodie, A. George, and R. Smoke),⁴ limited wars (R. Osgood),⁵ and the like.

Beginning in the 1960's the authors of studies on national security questions have markedly increased their interest in the material potential of the state. Attempts have been made to define and evaluate all elements that make up the "national economic potential that is essential to wage war" and to formulate economic criteria for selecting alternative systems of weapons (K. Knorr and G. Schlessinger).⁶ It is noteworthy that these approaches have found practical application at the Defense Department where strategic programs are often viewed on this plane and economists occupy positions that permit them to make important decisions. In a broader sense, both the representatives of academic circles and economists working in the government both in the United States and in other countries devote considerable attention to the problem of distribution of national resources and development of criteria to satisfy the competing demands of the military and civilian sectors of the economy.

One of the principal areas of research in the national security field is analysis of the process of making decisions that are appropriate to a developing situation. On this subject a number of works have been written on the priority of military-strategic interests over political interests in working out the political line and the role of the government and military-industrial complex in making national security decisions (S. Huntington, A. Yarmolinsky, and M. Halperin).⁷

There are only a few studies which, directly or indirectly, advance the idea that national security is dependent on strengthening interaction among states. It is very noteworthy that this interaction is chiefly limited to the bounds of the capitalist system, and for this reason the issues of integration and strengthening ties among allies are made paramount. Among the fields where interaction among states is considered desirable and possible, the studies assign a significant place to arms control in its official conception.

The study of national security problems in American writings involves broad use of the latest social science methods such as game theory, simulation theory, information theory, input/output analysis, and systems analysis. In addition, techniques borrowed from psychology, sociology, and anthropology are often used in reviewing national security problems.

The American authors studying problems of national security typically absolutize the subjects they are investigating. They believe that concentrating attention primarily on national security, and not on international relations

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

and foreign policy, offers greater opportunities for systematizing the growing mass of empirical data than are presented by traditional approaches. Observing that the idea of "national security" in fact arose as the result of dissatisfaction with the concept of "national interests," they see many advantages in studying international relations and foreign policy from the standpoint of national security. In the opinion of American researchers, this approach provides a convenient system of comparisons which offers a possibility of comparing events that are not outwardly comparable and promotes systematization of the vast amount of diverse comparative data obtained by means of traditional analysis of foreign policy. The orientation to national security, American authors emphasize, adds a new measure to the theory of conflict situations in traditional foreign policy and provides an opportunity for comprehensive analysis of general international problems. Finally, analysis done from the standpoint of national security presupposes the establishment of an interrelationship between domestic and foreign policy actions by states and begins from the notion that the behavior of a state in the world arena can only be understood in the context of the national security policy it follows. Thus this analysis makes it possible to consider foreign and domestic policy together, as an instrument for defending the same values and, ultimately, maintaining the national and international systems that suit the ruling classes in the West.

Critical notes are also beginning to be heard lately in the vast stream of literature on national security problems. Among the representatives of what is called the "neorevisionist" school, the views of the prominent American political scientist H. Laswell are widespread today. He believes that with the establishment of the national security system there appeared a "garrison state" in which "policy is managed by specialists in the use of force."⁸

The broad use of the principles of the national security doctrine in practical politics and the considerable volume of primarily apologetic literature in the United States on this subject make it urgently necessary to have a critical analysis of this doctrine, to reveal the true purpose concealed behind its outward conceptual pluralism — the power approach to international affairs, and to determine realistic ways to resolve such a truly important problem as national security in the present day.

FOOTNOTES

1. American authors discern the source of the concept of "national security" in the theory of "national interest." The first definition of national security in the categories of national interest was given by the American journalist and sociologist W. Lippmann. "The nation is in a state of security," Lippmann wrote, "when it is not forced to sacrifice its lawful interests to avoid war and when it can defend these interests, if necessary, by war" (W. Lippmann, "U. S. Foreign Policy: Shield of the Republic," Boston, 1943, p 5).

As American political scientist A. Wolfers recognizes, however, even with the standard acknowledgement that states must have such interests, the simple conversion of "national interest" into "national security interests" did not lead to any satisfactory solution to the problem of defining "national security" (see A. Wolfers, "National Security as an

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Ambiguous Symbol," POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY, 1952, Vol 62, pp 481-502". Different viewpoints on the question of the interrelationship of the categories of "national interest" and "national security" are quite broadly represented in the 1976 collection of works entitled, "U. S. Foreign Policy: Principles for Defining National Interest" (New York, 1976).

New attempts to define this concept appeared with the spread of behaviorism and systems analysis in American writing. In the work of American sociologist M. Kaplan "System and Process in International Politics" (New York, 1957), national interests and the interests of national security are considered as just one, although important, aspect of the problem of maintaining the international system.

It is typical that all these attempts to define national security take a non-class approach to the object of study and ignore the decisive importance of the socioeconomic essence of this phenomenon.

2. See H. Kissinger, "Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy," New York, 1975; R. McNamara, "The Essence of Security. Reflections in Office," New York, 1968; H. H. Kahn, "On Thermonuclear War," Princeton, 1960; J. Kahan, "Security in the Nuclear Age. Developing U. S. Strategic Arms Policy," Washington, 1975.
3. See H. Rowen, "National Security and the American Economy in the 1960's," U. S. Congress Joint Economic Committee, Study Paper No 18, 86th Congress, 2nd Session, Washington, 1968.
4. Brodie, B., "Strategy in the Missile Age," Princeton, 1959; A. George and R. Smoke, "Deterrence in American Foreign Policy. Theory and Practice," New York, 1974.
5. See R. Osgood, "Limited War: The Challenge to American Strategy," Chicago, 1957.
6. See K. Knorr, "Military Power and Potential," Lexington, 1970; G. Schlessinger, "The Political Economy of National Security. A Study of the Economic Aspects of the Contemporary Power Struggle," New York, 1960.
7. Huntington, S., "The Common Defense: Strategic Programs in National Politics," New York, 1966; A. Yarmolinsky, "The Military Establishment. Its Impact on American Society," New York, 1971; M. Halperin, "National Security Policy-Making: Analyses, Cases and Proposals," Lexington, 1975.
8. Laswell, H., "The Garrison State Hypothesis Today - Changing Patterns of Military Politics," New York, 1962.

COPYRIGHT: "Mezhdunarodnyye Otnosheniya", 1980

11,176
CSO: 1801

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

BOOK EXCERPTS: YEPISHEV ON IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Moscow IDEOLOGICHESKAYA RABOTA V SOVETSKIKH VOORUZHENNYKH SILAKH (Ideological Work in the Soviet Armed Forces) in Russian 1979 signed to press 7 Sep 79
pp 1, 334, 332-333, 3-6, 7-9, 51-52, 89, 130, 161-162, 194-199, 200-201, 232, 268, 304, 327-331

[Annotation, table of contents, introduction, excerpts from chapters, and conclusion of book by Army Gen A.A. Yepishev, second, supplemented edition, Moscow, Voenizdat, 1979, 50,000, 334 pages]

[Excerpts]

This book reviews timely issues of ideological work in the Soviet Armed Forces, the Marxist-Leninist conditioning of military cadres, and patriotic indoctrination of young people in light of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the decree of the CPSU Central Committee entitled "Further Improvement in Ideological and Political Indoctrination Work." It gives a significant place to problems of ideological confrontation on military issues and to exposing the reactionary ideology and aggressive policies of imperialism and the hegemonistic, great-power policies of Maoism under contemporary conditions.

The book is intended for a broad group of readers.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Table of Contents

Introduction	3
Part 1. Ideological Work and Ways to Make It More Effective	
Chapter 1. Marxism-Leninism — the Theoretical Foundation of Party Activity	7
1.1. Marxist-Leninist Ideology and Problems of Building Communism. Military Development as a Constituent Part of It	9
1.2. Marxism-Leninism and the International Activity of the CPSU. The Role of the Soviet Armed Forces in the Contemporary World.	18
1.3. The Increased Role of the CPSU in Military Development and Ideological Activity	
1.4. The 25th CPSU Congress on the Pressing Challenges of Ideological Work	41
Chapter 2. Ideological Work Under Contemporary Conditions and Its Characteristic Features	51
2.1. The Principles of Ideological Work and Its Characteristic Features	52
2.2. Ways To Increase the Effectiveness of Ideological Work and Its Criteria	61
2.3. The Comprehensive Approach in Ideological Work	81
Chapter 3. Ideological Work and Indoctrination of Army and Navy Personnel	89
3.1. Ideological Means of Communist Indoctrination	89
3.2. Formation of a Communist Worldview — the Heart of Ideological Work	98
3.3. Instilling Ideological Conviction in Soviet Fighting Men	109
3.4. Ideological Work and Questions of Instilling Discipline	118
Chapter 4. Ideological-Theoretical Training of Military Cadres	130
4.1. Ways To Improve the Teaching of Social Sciences at Military Schools	130
4.2. Military Problems in the Social Sciences	141
4.3. The Constitution of the USSR — the Ideological-Theoretical Document of the Party and State	148
Chapter 5. Issues of Patriotic Indoctrination	161
5.1. The History of the Great Patriotic War as a Factor in Patriotic Indoctrination	162
5.2. The Combat Traditions of the Soviet Armed Forces — an Important Means of Ideological Indoctrination	168
5.3. Art and Patriotic Indoctrination	175
5.4. A School of Moral-Political Conditioning, Courage, and Heroism	181

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Part 2. The Ideological Struggle on Military Issues

Chapter 6. The Ideological Struggle in the Field of the Methodology of Military Theory 200

 6.1. The Methodological Role of the Marxist-Leninist Doctrine of War and the Army 201

 6.2. The Concept of the Essence of War as an Object of Ideological Struggle 209

 6.3. The True Causes of the Occurrence of Wars 218

Chapter 7. The Struggle Against Bourgeois Falsifiers in the Field of Military History 232

 7.1. Military History — an Arena of Ideological Struggle 232

 7.2. The Bourgeois Myth of the Origin of World War II and the Contribution of the Allies to the Victory over Fascism 243

Chapter 8. The International Character of Defending Socialism and Ideological Sabotage by the Bourgeoisie 268

 8.1. The Objective Necessity of Defending Socialism 268

 8.2. Internationalism and the Defense of Socialism 276

 8.3. The Warsaw Pact Organization and Its Imperialist Critics 282

 8.4. Instilling Soviet Fighting Men with Implacable Hostility to Bourgeois Ideology and the Enemies of Socialism 294

Chapter 9. The Fabricated "Soviet Military Threat" and the Real Threat to Peace 304

 9.1. The Underlying Cause of the Myth of the "Soviet Military Threat" 305

 9.2. The Growth of Militarism — the Real Threat to Peace 310

 9.3. Militarism and the Foreign Policy of Imperialism 319

Conclusion 327

Introduction:

The building of a developed socialist society in the USSR, the enormous rise in the material and nonmaterial potential of the country, and the successes of the CPSU and Soviet State in the struggle to bolster peace on earth have created broad opportunities for achieving the program objectives of our party with respect to developing a new type of person.

Our party has always and consistently followed the Leninist doctrine of devoting special attention to raising the consciousness of the masses. The 25th CPSU Congress stressed that the "party considers instilling communist consciousness and the readiness, will, and ability to build communism to be a constant concern." Without comprehensive development of the builder of a communist society and without this person's high level of consciousness it is not possible to build the material-technical base of communism and shape communist social

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

relations. Therefore, the party works on all of these problems comprehensively, on a single front.

Ideological work has always been a focus of party attention. There is no area of public life or production activity of Soviet people that is outside the sphere of ideological influence. Ideology and party ideological work today have become a mighty spiritual force whose role is steadily growing. There are two determining groups of factors in the growth of the role of CPSU ideological work under contemporary conditions.

The internal factors express the need for continued comprehensive ideological substantiation and support for communist building and solving its problems. This means party theoretical work, predicting social phenomena, raising the new type of human being, creating a socialist moral climate in collectives, strengthening friendship among peoples, and other crucial questions in which ideological means have an exceptionally large part. The process of building communism objectively presupposes increased attention to ideological problems.

One of the new manifestations of CPSU concern for the nonmaterial development of Soviet people and their ideological conditioning is the decree of the party Central Committee, adopted on 26 April 1979, entitled "Further Improvement in Ideological and Political Indoctrination Work." This important general party document puts the tasks of ideological work set forth by the 25th CPSU Congress in concrete form, summarizes accumulated experience in this area, and formulates new requirements for the organization, content, and methodology of ideological and political indoctrination work.

The external factors make ideological work more significant; they are expressed in intensification of the struggle between the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the ideas of capitalism. In the new international situation where, thanks to the efforts of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties, a certain normalization of relations between states with different social orders has taken place, ideological struggle has not lessened at all, but rather has become noticeably sharper. Militaristic circles, the military-industrial complex, all kinds of "madmen," as well as opportunists of all stripes are intensifying their ideological sabotage against the socialist world. For this reason, the steps, measures, and actions being taken to organize and carry out ideological countermeasures to bourgeois influence occupy a growing place in ideological work. This influence may show up in different forms and spheres. Therefore, as emphasized in the CPSU Central Committee decree of March 1978 entitled "The State of Lecture Propaganda and Steps To Improve It," instilling implacable hostility to bourgeois, Maoist, and revisionist ideology is one of the paramount challenges of ideological work. Under contemporary conditions the state of international relations and the political struggle in the international arena exercise a very direct influence on problems of ideological struggle and many questions of indoctrination. In the current phase of building communism when the process of social development has accelerated and the scale of economic building has increased, when the educational and cultural level of Soviet people is growing rapidly, and when the principles of peaceful coexistence are becoming established in the international arena at the same time as ideological struggle broadens and becomes more complex, the significance of ideological work and the attention given to it by the whole party are increasing immeasurably.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

It is common knowledge that all ideological work in the USSR Armed Forces is organized in full conformity with the directives and decisions of our party, which devotes constant attention to the questions of communist indoctrination of Soviet people and their ideological conditioning.

The CPSU Central Committee decree of June 1976 entitled "Tasks of Party Education in Light of the 25th CPSU Congress" emphasizes that ideological work and Marxist-Leninist training are expected to arm communists and all working people with knowledge of the ideological heritage of Marx, Engels, and Lenin and the historical experience of the CPSU, a clear understanding of party policies, and the ability to defend the principles of communist ideology, Soviet patriotism, and proletarian internationalism, evaluate new phenomena in public life from a scientific standpoint, and draw correct conclusions for practical work.* These objectives can be accomplished by meaningful, well-organized, carefully thought-out ideological work that brings its influence to bear on all the men, on all army and navy personnel. Thus, ideological work as a specific non-material factor now affords a powerful accelerator in solving economic, social, and political problems and questions of military development. The above-mentioned decree of the CPSU Central Committee was a strong new impetus to improving the quality and effectiveness of ideological work. This document reviews a broad range of issues whose solutions will make it possible to substantially raise the effectiveness of the forms and methods of ideological work and to strengthen its ties with the life and practical activities of building communism.

There is no area of military activity today, combat and political training, combat duty, activities to strengthen military discipline and organization, leisure activities, and everyday life, which could be represented as outside the sphere of ideological influence. New heights in improving military skills, raising combat readiness, and in moral-political and psychological toughening of personnel have been achieved by intensifying the ideological influence in units and on ships. The main thing is to insure a steady rise in the intellectual level and effectiveness of ideological work.

This problem can be solved primarily by further improvement in the training and skills of ideological workers. Success in the struggle to improve troop combat readiness, develop socialist competition, and strengthen military discipline depends significantly on the ideological conditioning, level of theoretical training, and methodological skills of ideological workers.

It is important to consider here that ideological workers are not just people who are expected, on the basis of their job description, to work on ideological indoctrination, but rather all generals, officers, and warrant officers [praporshchiki, michmany], all who are involved with questions of training and indoctrination. This requirement follows directly from the CPSU Central Committee decree "Increasing the Role of Oral Political Agitation in Fulfilling the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress." This decree says that it is "important to develop the Leninist tradition of constant and compulsory participation by leadership cadres in the political indoctrination of the working people by all means, using diverse forms of work for this purpose."

*See PRAVDA 12 June 1976.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

The present book is devoted to a review of certain pressing problems of ideological work in the Armed Forces in the current phase. The author hopes that it may prove useful to the ideological cadres of the army and navy who are working hard to strengthen the ideological influence on all facets of army and navy life.

Part One. Ideological Work and Ways To Make It More Effective

Chapter 1. Marxism-Leninism — the Theoretical Foundation of Party Activity

The essence of ideological work, of course, is making people aware of Marxist-Leninist ideas and seeing that they are realized in practice, in people's actions. In large part success in the constructive labor of the Soviet people and defending their revolutionary achievements depend on the maturity of the individual and social consciousness. That is precisely why V. I. Lenin stressed that "development of the consciousness of the masses remains, as it always has been, the foundation and principal content of all our work."*

The strength of our system is in the consciousness of the masses, in the presence of communist ideology at the service of the party and the people. The 25th CPSU Congress emphasized that the CPSU organizes the work of communist indoctrination, like all its revolutionary-transforming activity, on the solid foundation of Marxist-Leninist theory. Marxism-Leninism is the only reliable basis for developing correct strategy and tactics. It gives us an understanding of the historical perspective and helps determine directions of development for many years into the future and to orient ourselves correctly in international events.

The ideology of Marxism-Leninism, which expresses the fundamental class interests of the working masses, has become the practice of millions of people. Communism long ago changed from a "specter stalking across Europe" into a mighty reality that determines the course of contemporary world development. The strength of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism lies in the fact that, as the only truthful reflection of real social processes, they enable the working masses to fundamentally transform the world.

Marxist-Leninist ideology enables the Communist Party to formulate questions raised by experience at the proper time and to decide them correctly. It relies in its development on the achievements of revolutionary experience and gives the mighty weapon of social foresight to those who fight for communism. Marxism-Leninism concentrates the creative experience of the world revolutionary movement and the vast achievements of the Soviet Union, which has built a developed socialist society, and of all the fraternal countries of socialism. Marxism-Leninism discloses specific ways and means of creating the material-technical base of communism, improving social relations, and raising a new type of human being. Marxism-Leninism arms the builders of the new society with a scientific theory of defending socialist achievements: the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of war and the army.

*Lenin, V. I., "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [complete Works], Vol 13, p 376.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

We find exhaustive answers to various questions of building communism in the works of K. Marx, F. Engels, and V. I. Lenin. They worked out a harmonious system of philosophical, economic, and sociopolitical knowledge. Vast erudition, brilliant dialectical thinking, profound knowledge of life, and great revolutionary fervor enabled these giants to substantiate the process of struggle for communism in a comprehensive, scientific manner.

Under new historical conditions V. I. Lenin creatively elaborated Marxist theory and led the struggle of the proletariat and of all working people to implement the ideas of scientific communism in a real social setting. His entire life was given to the great cause of liberating the working people from capitalist oppression. The fundamental change in human history, the change from capitalism to socialism, is linked to the name of Lenin, the founder of the Communist Party and the inspiration and organizer of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Lenin's life personifies heroism. It was a life spent in creative thinking and tireless revolutionary action, in intellectual political battle. Lenin embodied the most outstanding characteristics of a proletarian revolutionary: powerful mind, all-conquering will, holy hatred of slavery and oppression, revolutionary fervor, consistent internationalism, boundless faith in the creative strength of the masses, and great organizational brilliance.

Lenin always followed Marx's urging not just to explain the world but to change it. The great leader was history's first example of an organic combination of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice, the high flight of creative thought and the unsurpassed skills of an organizer of proletarian class struggle. Lenin wrote dozens of books and booklets and thousands of articles, reports, speeches, letters, and comments. He has given us a literary heritage that contains all the wisdom of revolutionary experience and knowledge. Numerous meetings and discussions with workers, peasants, soldiers, and scientific and cultural figures and the colossal labor of an organizer, spokesman, and leader — Lenin did all of these.

The truth and profound historical correctness of his work and ideas have been confirmed by the entire course of social development and the experience of the world revolutionary movement. The majestic triumph of the ideas of Leninism finds profound expression in the inexorable, progressive development of Soviet society, in the constructive works of the entire socialist community, and in development of the world revolutionary process.

Chapter 2. Ideological Work Under Contemporary Conditions and Its Characteristic Features

By ideological work we mean party activity to indoctrinate the working people in the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and insure that they participate actively in the process of building communism. This is one of the most important facets of party activity and insures successful construction of a new society.

Under current conditions, as emphasized above, the volume, scale, and significance of ideological work have increased noticeably. An intensification of the role of ideological influences is felt everywhere in army and navy experience. Whether it involves the development of new principles of Soviet

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

military science, concrete issues of cadre training and the political and vocational growth of military specialists, or questions of raising combat readiness and bolstering military discipline, everywhere ideological means are given a special role. There is no place in military service where the intensified role of ideological influence cannot be felt.

By definition ideological work embraces three crucial elements. The first is the development of communist ideology and instilling the vital ideas of Marxism-Leninism in people's consciousness and forming communist convictions and a scientific worldview on this basis. The second element is using various ideological means to achieve a situation where the ideas of Marxism-Leninism mastered by people are realized and embodied in practice, in their actions and behavior. The third element expresses party activity directed at the struggle against everything that is alien, anti-Marxist, and hostile. This means the constant conflict and offensive struggle against bourgeois, opportunist, and Maoist ideology.

A knowledge of the structure of the ideological process makes it easier to plan and organize work in the unit, on board ship, or at a military school. Commanders, political workers, and party organizations begin this process from party decisions and the program documents of the CPSU. Under conditions of the Armed Forces these objectives of ideological work are pursued in the process of the struggle to raise the level of troop combat readiness, strengthen military discipline, and further socialist competition.

Ideological work is an important means of developing spiritual maturity and communist consciousness in Soviet people and Soviet fighting men. Thanks to the efforts of the party in the field of ideological work the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are spreading and being grasped by people; they are being put into practice in building communism. The organization and content of ideological indoctrination in the army and navy, as in society as a whole, is accomplished on the basis of the profoundly scientific Leninist principles of ideological work.

Chapter 3. Ideological Work and Indoctrination of Army and Navy Personnel

The greatest objective of our party is concern for the human being, for comprehensive human development. To communists, L. I. Brezhnev said, the intellectual, spiritual growth of each person is especially valuable because "the comprehensive and harmonious development of the human individual is our highest objective."* All ideological influence and propaganda work aims at forming a scientific worldview and communist conviction in people.

Raising (indoctrination) of a new type of person is a multifaceted problem. The many different types of indoctrination reflect both the complexity of the individual personality and the diversity of the objective conditions in which it forms. The indoctrination of Soviet people and Soviet fighting men is communist in content. The theoretical foundations, principles, and class

*Brezhnev, L. I., "O Kommunisticheskom Vospitanii Trudyashchikhsya" [Communist Indoctrination of Working People], Moscow, 1974, p 430.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

orientation of communist indoctrination were thoroughly substantiated by V. I. Lenin. In practical ideological work commanders and political workers make broad use of the infinitely rich Leninist heritage, which enables them to carry on the process of communist indoctrination of Soviet fighting men on a scientific basis.

Chapter 4. Ideological-Theoretical Training of Military Cadres

In the complex makeup of the Soviet general, officer, or any fighting man it is the high ideological level that welds together their competence, courage, discipline, and sense of responsibility. Ideological-theoretical conditioning occupies the central place in training military cadres. This is an expression of the general rule noted by the 25th CPSU Congress that "mass study of Marxism-Leninism is a crucial characteristic of the development of public consciousness in the current phase." A thorough understanding of communist ideology creates a solid worldview and ideological platform for the development of Soviet military cadres.

Chapter 5. Issues of Patriotic Indoctrination

The developed socialist society that has been built in the USSR is characterized by a new level of development of the material base: the economy, productive forces, and science and technology. The highly developed nationwide economy is an interrelated economic complex that embraces the economies of all the Union republics. It develops according to a single state plan in the interests of the entire country and of each republic and provides a solid foundation for building and defending communism. The current phase of economic development makes it possible to solve the problems of improving and strengthening the material-technical base of the military might of the Armed Forces much more efficiently.

This is promoted by the fact that we, as the 25th CPSU Congress noted, have achieved a high level of growth in industrial output. The Soviet Union has become the world leader in volume of production of coal, iron ore, cement, steel, petroleum, and mineral fertilizer. We have achieved significant growth in scientific-technical potential as well.

The growth in the moral strength of the mature socialist society and its Armed Forces has also been truly astounding. The decisive factors for a further improvement and strengthening of the Soviet Army and Navy and bolstering their morale are attainment of a high level of social class and ideological-political unity in our society and the firm establishment of close and harmonious relations among friendly classes, social groups, peoples, and nationalities. The higher stage of maturity of socialist relations in our country has a beneficial effect on further growth in the moral superiority of the socialist armed forces over the armies of the probable aggressors. The establishment of common patriotic and international interests of the Soviet people is having an increasing impact on the formation and functioning of military collectives and the social unity of army and navy fighting men; it is the determining factor in further ideological-political unification of Armed Forces personnel and instilling outstanding moral-fighting and political qualities in them.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Ideological conviction in the spiritual makeup of the Soviet fighting men reveals itself most vividly in Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism. Commanders, political workers, and party and Komsomol organizations are doing a great deal to see that these exceptionally important qualities are organically inherent in every Soviet fighting man. There are very rich opportunities today for patriotic and international indoctrination of Soviet people: propaganda for revolutionary, labor, and combat traditions; the struggle of the party to strengthen the friendship among USSR peoples; the great contribution of the USSR to the international cause of forming a world socialist system; outstanding military anniversaries.

Part Two. The Ideological Struggle on Military Issues

The current phase of historical development of human society is characterized by a continuing consolidation of the position of socialism in the world. Leninism today has become not just the theory, but also the practice of hundreds of millions of people. The Soviet Union, the first country of socialism, vividly demonstrates the great historical heights which socialism has attained. The economic might of our country is steadily growing and the material and cultural standard of living of Soviet people is rising. Recent years have given new evidence of the continued international solidarity of the countries of the socialist community, and this is a decisive factor in world social progress today.

The vigorous, enterprising international policy of the CPSU, relying on the great strength and reputation of the Soviet State and the efforts of the other fraternal countries of socialism have permitted positive changes in the present world situation. Detente today is not just a theory, slogan, or well-meaning wish. It has to its credit numerous good deeds, entirely concrete and tangible advances. However, the fact that the enemies of detente have not laid down their arms is apparent. Attacks on detente come from different directions: the military-industrial complex, the leaders in Beijing, and various reactionary forces. "These forces," L. I. Brezhnev said in his talk to the voters of the Bauman district of Moscow on 2 March 1979, "use the 'Soviet threat' they have fabricated to demand the appropriation of more and more billions for military spending and the development of increasingly fanatical and destructive types of weapons. They are trying to suppress the people's liberation movement by force and intervene in the domestic affairs of other countries. The position of the leaders of China is increasingly close to the policies of imperialism. Everybody today sees that their policies are now the most serious threat to peace in the world."

Despite the series of steps toward international detente which certain imperialist circles have been forced to take, the aggressive nature of imperialism remains unchanged. Imperialism remains the source of war, international conflict, and social and national oppression of working people owing to its socioeconomic essence. Although imperialism's potential has been curtailed by the change in the ratio of forces, the danger of war by imperialism has not passed. The struggle between the two diametrically opposed systems continues in the most diverse spheres and forms. Peaceful coexistence, of course, is a specific form of class struggle during which the most varied means of struggle, with the exception of military means, are used.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

The Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence presupposes, in the first place, a desire to exclude war as a way to decide disputes between states. In the second place, the successful implementation of this principle in practice would insure favorable external conditions for carrying out our majestic plans and programs. Finally, peaceful coexistence does not mean a relaxation of class struggle against the bourgeoisie. It does not apply to relations between antagonistic classes, but operates only in relations between states with different orders. Struggle in the political, economic, ideological, and other fields does not stop under conditions of peaceful coexistence.

Ideological struggle, a specific form of class struggle, is becoming especially important today. This is implacable, class struggle. The arena is the entire world, all the primary spheres of social life: politics, ideology, culture, and law. In this struggle the socialist system develops and reaffirms social progress and shows its unlimited ability to develop all the creative potential of peoples and individuals. Capitalism, by contrast, defends and tries to preserve its characteristic system of exploitation, spiritual bankruptcy, the threat of new wars, racial discrimination, national inequality, and the like. In recent years the working masses and working class of the capitalist countries have become increasingly determined in their struggle for social rights and against the omnipotence of the monopolies. They increasingly demand an end to the arms race and new steps toward peaceful coexistence with the socialist countries.

Given a certain degree of detente in the present stage of development the ideological struggle has taken on large scope and great acuteness. It encompasses all forms and levels of consciousness and permeates all spheres of intellectual life, influencing the attitudes and behavior of the popular masses, who are the ones who determine the fate of great political events, revolutions, and wars.

The ideological struggle, by which we mean the reflection of the struggle between the social systems in the sphere of consciousness, is a permanently active, invisible front that comprises the hearts and minds of people. It is human beings, with their worldviews, convictions, opinions, ideals, feelings, and moods who are the principal object of the ideological struggle. The results and consequences of the struggle are not seen immediately. They are discovered in time and take the most diverse forms, finding reflection in individual and social consciousness in one way or another. They can be judged ultimately by actual deeds, the actions of people, and their social orientation and level of social activism. Under conditions where positive processes are taking place in international relations, certain imperialist circles are trying to step up their ideological sabotage against socialism and progress and intensify subversive activities in the ideological area. The different mass information media make it possible to draw enormous numbers of people on our planet into the orbit of the ideological struggle.

The current phase of the struggle has a number of special characteristics.

In the first place, the growing economic, political, and defensive might of the countries of the socialist community is steadily altering the ratio of forces in the international arena in favor of socialism. This forces the

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

imperialists to adapt to the new conditions. Economic competition and ideological struggle more and more often come to the forefront of the competition between socialism and imperialism. Detente causes alarm and confusion in those circles who preferred the bitterness of the cold war. For them detente and the thaw in the international climate mean a decline in profits and a worse market situation. That is why their camp sends out a steady stream of new "ideological expeditions" against socialism and spends lavishly for the most varied subversive ideological activities within the socialist community. This is illustrated by reports in the Western press on the expanded activities of the notorious anti-Soviet radio station Radio Liberty, on the delivery of a new Voice of America radio unit to South Korea to transmit to the Soviet Far East, on the continuing practice of sending hot-air balloons carrying provocative antisocialist materials into the socialist countries, and other such things.

In the second place, the successes of the socialist countries in a setting of progressively worse capitalist ills make the ideas of socialism increasingly attractive to broad masses of people in the world. It is no longer possible to accomplish anything with the anticommunist cry of the extremists alone. The attacks of bourgeois propaganda are becoming more and more subtle. Many so-called theories are appearing with advice on "improving," "liberalizing," and "democratizing" socialism; in reality they are nothing but antisocialist ideological sabotage. The bourgeois "advisors," masking their true objectives by expressing "sympathy" for socialism, are in fact trying to upset the international unity of the socialist countries and their armies and sow doubt as to the historical truth of communist ideals. We cannot forget here V. I. Lenin's warning that such "zealots" would like to "kill Marxism with kindness, smother it in embraces."* The bourgeois ideologists, taking advantage of international detente, try to drag the principle of peaceful coexistence into the field of ideological relations, into the sphere of social consciousness. They would like to make the notorious idea of "free dissemination of ideas, people, and information" into a way to legalize their ideological sabotage against the socialist countries, into a method of obtaining certain ideological and political advantages for themselves. Our position on this issue is perfectly obvious. We have supported and will support the broadening of cooperation with the capitalist countries in the field of culture, the exchange of various types of information, and mutually advantageous contacts, but only if it takes place within an atmosphere of respect for the laws, customs, procedures, and sovereignty of each country and promotes greater trust between peoples and mutual spiritual enrichment.

In the third place, the ideological struggle in our day has taken on an all-encompassing global nature because of the rapid growth of mass information media. According to UNESCO figures, the number of radio and television sets in the world today is approaching 1 billion. Mass information media create the possibility of drawing enormous masses of people into the orbit of ideological struggle. As L. I. Brezhnev has observed, "All the instruments for influencing minds that the bourgeoisie possess, the press, movies, and radio,

*Lenin V. I., "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Works], Vol 26, p 227.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

have been mobilized to confuse people, to instill them with the idea that life is almost perfect under capitalism, and to slander socialism. The airways are literally jammed with all kinds of fabrications about the life of our country and the fraternal socialist countries."* To the USSR alone several dozen bourgeois stations broadcast around the clock; the total volume of broadcasting is more than 1,500 radio hours a week. It should be emphasized that the equipment of the armed forces of imperialism is used actively for subversive work. According to evidence from American Senator W. Fulbright, the Pentagon propaganda machine has 260 radio stations and 91 television stations which are used extensively in the anticommunist "war of the minds." All this demands constant vigilance and readiness to repulse any fabrications by our enemies.

In the fourth place, the problems of war and peace and issues of military theory continue to be one of the objects of sharp ideological conflict. The continuing danger of war and the fate of peace arouse and involve the interests of millions of people as never before. Therefore, the approach to military issues exposes the class position and orientation of various social groups, states, and individuals very clearly. Imperialist propaganda, taking advantage of a certain relaxation of tension, tries to distort, falsify, and "revise" many generally accepted historical facts from World War II and cast doubt on the methodological principles of Marxism that characterize wars in the present age.

Therefore, the moral-political and class conditioning of military servicemen becomes even more important. Imperialist propaganda, openly cooperating with the Beijing chauvinists, is steadily increasing the stream of lies, slander, and misinformation directed at the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries. On the crests of its murky waves this stream carries, sometimes in camouflaged form, a violent element of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism. This stream contains many ideological sallies directed at the servicemen of the Soviet Armed Forces. The enemy's ideological attacks are based on an attempt to poison the consciousness of servicemen with slander against socialist reality, to distort the essential features and purpose of the Soviet Armed Forces, to discredit commanders and political leaders, to incite nationality differences, and to equate our army and navy with the armed forces of the imperialist countries. The point is always the same: to undermine the spiritual foundations of our military might, the moral-political unity of personnel, and their solidarity around the Communist Party.

In view of the characteristics of the ideological struggle today presented above it is advisable to consider a few principles which, in our view, are very important for strengthening countermeasures against enemy ideological sabotage in the military sphere.

Chapter 6. The Ideological Struggle in the Field of the Methodology of Military Theory

The principal contradiction of the present day is the contradiction between socialism and capitalism. It manifests itself in many different spheres,

*"Materialy XXIV S"yezda KPSS' [Materials of the 24th CPSU Congress], p 91.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

including the sphere of ideology. The decree of the CPSU Central Committee entitled "Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Indoctrination Work" emphasizes that "imperialist propaganda, with which the Beijing chauvinists and aggressors now openly cooperate, is waging a continuous and furious offensive against the minds of Soviet people, attempting to poison their consciousness by using the most sophisticated methods and up-to-date means in order to slander Soviet reality, discredit socialism, and make imperialism and its plundering, inhumane policies and practices, attractive."

Under current conditions where definite, positive changes have taken place in international relations, acute struggle does not cease in the field of military theory or in other spheres of ideology. In this sphere we see a conflict between two views of war and the army which are opposite in their class essence, and two approaches to the problems of military affairs: the Marxist-Leninist approach and the bourgeois approach. Exposing bourgeois views is an important methodological, ideological, and political challenge.

As many facts illustrate, bourgeois ideologists are making especially bitter attacks on the fundamental principles of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of war and the army relating to the essential features of wars in the contemporary age. Thousands of books, monographs, articles, and studies of the military policy of socialism are conducted and published in the bourgeois world each year and conferences and symposiums on problems of military theory are organized. Upon careful familiarization with all of this material we can identify a characteristic feature: an anticommunist, anti-Soviet orientation. And although many works today have an outwardly pacifist character, their anti-socialist goals remain unchanged. What explanation can be given for the heightened attention paid by bourgeois ideology to questions of military theory and the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of war and the army? When answering this question the following aspects should be singled out.

Chapter 7. The Struggle Against Bourgeois Falsifiers in the Field of Military History

A pattern of growth in the forces of socialism and consolidation of its position and influence in the world is clearly seen in the historical fabric of events, the kaleidoscope of facts and phenomena. In the age of the transition of humanity from capitalism to socialism the ideas of scientific communism are being made into a reality in the process of the revolutionary struggle and creative activity of the popular masses. Historical experience and practical socialist building demonstrate convincingly the living truth of the Marxist-Leninist theory and show graphically the advantages of the new social order. History teaches us. Its lessons are extremely important and instructive because a thorough analysis of historical experience makes it possible to identify the objective rules and trends of social development, correctly understand the present, predict the future soundly, and go forward boldly to realize it in practice. That is why the reactionary forces, who have no historical perspective, so persistently deny the existence of patterns in the development of human society and depict the historical process as a spontaneous accumulation of random events and use every means to distort the lessons of history by their biased presentations.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Chapter 8. The International Character of Defending Socialism and Ideological Sabotage by the Bourgeoisie

Study of the results and lessons of the last war, the cases of heroism by Soviet people, and the international character of the Soviet Armed Forces is very important in the ideological-political indoctrination of Soviet fighting men. A knowledge of history, of the deep-rooted sources of our power and invincible strength, makes it possible to consolidate the intellectual convictions of the men and give them confidence in the ultimate triumph of communist ideals.

Chapter 9. The Fabricated "Soviet Military Threat" and the Real Threat to Peace

The international climate has begun to change for the better as the result of the peaceful offensive undertaken in recent years by the CPSU and the parties of the fraternal countries. In a number of sectors of the struggle between the two systems the leaders of the capitalist state have been forced, as the result of the change in the ratio of forces in favor of socialism, to take certain steps toward peaceful coexistence. An important step in this direction was the signing of the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II) by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and President J. Carter. Although it does not stop the arms race, it is a real means of restraining it, especially with respect to quantitative dimensions.

The turn away from cold war to a policy of sober realism is, however, meeting increasing resistance from imperialist reactionaries. Fearing the social consequences of detente, militaristic circles are searching for pretexts to use to discredit and undermine this process. L. I. Brezhnev has observed that "in recent times the enemies of detente and disarmament in the NATO countries, all those political generals and militant politicians, have begun to raise a propaganda barrage, spreading lies about the supposedly dangerous military superiority of the Warsaw Pact countries to the NATO bloc in Europe and about certain aggressive intentions in Europe that they ascribe to the Soviet Union." The reactionary myth of the so-called "Soviet threat" is today the principal weapon in the ideological arsenal of bourgeois propaganda.

Conclusion

In the current phase of world development with the struggle between the two systems, socialist and capitalist, the responsibility of the Soviet Armed Forces to the party and the people increases. The importance of the historical task of the army and navy to insure favorable conditions for building communism in our country and building socialism in the fraternal countries is even more apparent today. That is why it is so important for party political and ideological work to devote special attention to explaining to servicemen the foreign policy of our party and the current international situation, which is highly complex, contradictory, and dynamic. It is very important for every soldier, seaman, sergeant, warrant officer, officer, and general to have a clear, thorough picture of the main lines of foreign policy followed by the CPSU Central Committee to consolidate peace, preserve international security, and insure favorable external conditions for building socialism and communism. It is important to see that there are still influential forces in the world

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

who do not have an interest in detente, forces who are doing everything possible to make the international situation more tense.

Political and ideological analysis of international events taking place in different regions of the world should lead army and navy cadres and all military men to a correct understanding of their personal responsibility for the destiny of our country and for improving the combat readiness of the units, ships, and formations.

Ideological indoctrination and all ideological work must be done in such a way that our Armed Forces are ready at any time to repulse the attack of any aggressor, no matter where it may originate, so that if an aggressor attempts to attack our country he will suffer a devastating retaliatory blow, so that no accident can catch us off guard.

Thanks to the concern of the CPSU and the heroic labor of the Soviet people and Armed Forces personnel, our defense is strong in every element. Soviet fighting men are on duty, vigilantly guarding our native land and the peaceful labor of Soviet people in the West and the East, in the North and the South, on all our borders, on land, in the air, and at sea, under all conditions.

The Armed Forces also perform their international duty with honor. Soviet troops continue their combat watch alongside the allied armies on the forward edge of defense of the socialist world, in East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, and enjoy the respect and support of the fraternal peoples. Soviet seamen represent our country honorably on the world ocean.

The Soviet Armed Forces are a mighty collective of steadfast, courageous, and skillful defenders of our native land, men who are conscious of their patriotic and international obligations and perform them with honor, men who are absolutely devoted to the party and the people. The high praise for the might and combat readiness of the Soviet Armed Forces given in the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 25th party congress, which was presented by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, and in his speech at the 18th Congress of the Komsomol are the best tribute to our military cadres, the communists of the army and navy, and to all Soviet fighting men who are contributing their vast and inspired labor to insuring the security of the Soviet Union.

All the thoughts and deeds of Soviet fighting men are permeated with a consciousness of their great responsibility to the party and to the country and with a patriotic concern that the peaceful labor of the Soviet people will be reliably guarded against any accident in the future. Like all Soviet people, our fighting men base their activities on the common task of raising the qualitative indicators and efficiency of labor by every means and increasing the sense of responsibility for performance of one's duty to the homeland. It is the honorable and important duty of command and political personnel, political agencies, and party organizations of the Armed Forces to increase the effectiveness of party political work to meet the demands of the 25th CPSU Congress. Ideological work has an important part to play in meeting the challenges set before the Armed Forces for maintaining constant combat readiness.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

We achieve our principal objective by means of ideological work. This is forming a communist worldview and communist convictions in the men, those powerful spiritual stimuli which inspire a person to make decisions and act. These things, the worldview and convictions, are the deepest sources of the strength of moral-fighting qualities, discipline, and psychological steadfastness among our troops.

The 25th CPSU Congress, analyzing experience with communist indoctrination, stressed the need for further improvement in the process of shaping the new type of human beings as one of the principal party challenges in building communism. This work is even more important today. This is true, first of all, because the great cause of building communism cannot move forward without comprehensive development of the human being. The more difficult and glorious the challenges placed before society are, the greater the demands for spiritual maturity and political, class conditioning will be. These qualities can be forged chiefly by ideological means, combining the process of mastering Marxist-Leninist ideas with the struggle to implement them in reality. Precise and accurate class viewpoints and implacable hostility to everything alien are developed in the process of ideological work and the collective norms of communist morality take root. Raising the new type of human being is a component part of the program of building communism. At the same time, it is a powerful factor in accelerating our forward movement.

In the second place, the importance of ideological work in raising the new type of person is increased because of the scientific-technical revolution, which exerts an enormous influence on the entire course of development of our society and causes major social changes in all spheres of life. The scientific-technical revolution demands that Soviet people have an even higher general educational and cultural level. At the same time, it objectively intensifies the personal responsibility of members of society for improving the scientifically sound, intelligent use of modern technology in the process of socially useful labor and management of production.

In the third place, the importance of shaping the new Soviet person is magnified by external factors. They are related primarily to the heightened class struggle, in its ideological form, between the two opposed social systems in the world arena. The increase in various forms of exchange among states and the development of economic, trade, and scientific-technical cooperation lead to an increase in direct human contacts, to direct conflict among different ways of life, ideals, and worldviews.

The new type of person is being shaped in a setting of acute ideological struggle in the international arena. Its invisible front embraces the hearts and minds of billions of people, and with the rapid growth of mass information media today we must give constant attention to these questions. Bourgeois propaganda, using radio, television, the press, and other channels on a massive scale, now usually tries to influence people's political convictions and ideological positions indirectly, not directly. Therefore, it is essential to follow the class line consistently in questions of indoctrination, to take clear and precise ideological positions, and to enhance revolutionary vigilance by every means.

Thus, when speaking of the primary areas of ideological work and ways to improve it in the unit and on board ship we may say, on the basis of the decisions of the 25th party congress that the main thing in this process is indoctrinating fighting men in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, devotion to their socialist homeland, people, Communist Party, and Soviet Government, profound understanding of their military duties, and constant readiness and ability to perform it.

We have everything we need to meet this challenge: the most progressive social order, Marxist-Leninist ideology, the moral-political unity of the Soviet people, and the scientific leadership of the Communist Party over all aspects of Soviet life, including development of the Armed Forces. The country nourishes the army and navy spiritually and in material terms. It supplies it with equipment and weapons and provides human reserves. Because the development of the Armed Forces themselves takes place in the spirit of general Soviet building, ideological work and the moral-political and psychological training of the troops are not done in isolation, within the limits of the military organization, but rather are intimately tied to the general tasks being accomplished by the people and the party.

Each stage of social development makes new demands, sets new challenges for ideological work and for all fighters on the ideological front.

As regards foreign policy this refers to the necessity to intensify the struggle against bourgeois ideology and the ideology of contemporary opportunism. Insuring that this struggle is aggressively pursued promotes the dissemination of the vital ideas of Marxism-Leninism on our planet and consolidation of the world position of socialism.

Indeed, one of the crucial tasks of ideological indoctrination work, as the CPSU Central Committee decree entitled "Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Indoctrination Work" emphasizes, is to help Soviet people recognize the falseness of bourgeois slander and bring people the truth about the first country in the world where socialism was victorious. It is important to remember here that a lack of flexibility and practicality in treating pressing issues only serves our class enemy.

With respect to domestic policy the principal task of our ideological work is to provide nonmaterial support for continued growth in the combat might of the Soviet Armed Forces and their constant combat readiness. This task arises from the need to shape a communist worldview among the broad masses of working people and the servicemen of the Soviet Army and Navy and to instill the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in them. We have everything necessary to carry out these tasks which the party has given to us.

COPYRIGHT: Voenizdat, 1979

11,176
CSO:1801

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

BOOK EXCERPTS: DIALECTICS OF MILITARY HISTORY RESEARCH

Moscow DIALEKTIKA VOYENNO-ISTORICHESKOGO ISSLEDOVANIYA (Dialectics of Military History Research) in Russian 1979 signed to press 1 Aug 80 pp 1, 3-7, 214-219, 220-221

[Introduction, table of contents and conclusion from book by V. T. Login, Izdatel'stvo "Nauka," 1350 copies, 221 pages]

<u>Excerpts</u>	Contents	Page
	Introduction	3
Chapter 1.	The Nature of Military History Research.....	9
	The Essence and Characteristics of Military History Research...	9
	The Structure of Military History Research.....	22
Chapter 2.	The Application of Dialectical and Formal Logic in Military History Research.....	37
	Characteristics of the Application of Principles of Dialectical Materialism to the Understanding of Military History.....	37
	The Role and Importance of the Laws and Categories of Dialectics in the Performance of Military History Research..	53
	The Importance of the Laws of Formal Logic in Military History Research.....	72
Chapter 3.	Analyzing Sources of Information on Military History--The Starting Point for a Scientific Understanding of Military History.....	88
	The Essence and Characteristics of Military History Sources...	88
	Laws Governing the Development of Military History Sources, and Their Typology.....	100
	The Critique of Military History Sources: The Synthesis of a Source.....	109

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

	Page
Chapter 4. The Basic Stages and the Forms of Scientific Reconstruction of Military History and the Development of Knowledge on Military History.....	134
Facts of Military History--The Basis for the Scientific Reconstruction of Military History.....	134
The Correlation Between Description and Explanation in the Reconstruction of Military History.....	148
Chapter 5. The Truth and Proof in Military History Research: The Reliability of Information.....	171
The Substance and the Scope of the Concept of Truth and the Criteria of Truth in Military History Research.....	171
The Class and Gnosiological Roots and the Methods of Bourgeois Falsification of Military History.....	191
Conclusion	214
Introduction	

The tasks set for the social sciences by the 25th CPSU Congress with respect to developing basic and applied research and its call for improvement in the effectiveness and the quality of scientific work fully apply to the science of military history. In order successfully to accomplish these tasks for military history as a science it is important for us to elaborate the theoretical problems involved and questions pertaining to the dialectics and the logic of military history research.

V. I. Lenin said the following about the need for further development of the dialectics of scientific understanding: "Relying upon Marxists' application of Hegel's materialistically perceived dialectic, we can and must develop all aspects of this dialectic... commenting through examples of Marxists' application of dialectics, as well as through examples of dialectics in the area of economic and political relations, of which recent history, especially modern imperialist war and revolution, provides an extraordinary abundance."¹ These instructions from Lenin are still valid today.

In recent years questions pertaining to the dialectics, the logic and methodology of scientific understanding have become a subject of lively discussion at symposiums and conferences on the social sciences. The tasks of Soviet philosophers and historians, of representatives of all the social sciences who are working on problems pertaining to the dialectics, the logic and methodology of scientific understanding, were defined in the decree issued by the CPSU Central Committee on 14 August 1967: "On Measures to Further the Development of the Social Sciences and to Enlarge Their Role in the Building of Communism."² In accordance with this document the constituent congress of the USSR Philosophical Society defined

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

the study of precisely these problems as urgent tasks.³ Guided by Marxist-Leninist theory Soviet scholars have performed a great deal of research on problems pertaining to the methodology of the science, the dialectic and logic of the cognitive process itself and have accomplished a great deal toward ascertaining its peculiarities in various areas of science. The results of these studies have been published in a number of monographs and collections of articles.⁴ Military scientists have made a definite contribution to the elaboration of problems pertaining to the dialectic and the logic of scientific understanding and its methodology. Books have been published on the dialectics of war and the development of military affairs.⁵

Scientists are continuing to demonstrate increasing interest in questions pertaining to the methodology of the social sciences and the dialectics and logic of scientific understanding, however. This fact was demonstrated in particular by the All-Union Theoretical Conference on Current Problems of Methodology in the Social Sciences held in January of 1977. The conference appealed to philosophers and representatives of the other social scientists to make an all-out effort to work out urgent logical and methodological problems pertaining to specific sciences.

It is equally important to thoroughly elaborate problems pertaining to the dialectic and the logic of military history research.

Military history is a complex science. It consists of a system of information on events and processes in military history. Military history is most closely linked to military science and to general history. This does not mean, however, that military history is subservient to either of these sciences. This issue can only be properly resolved by analyzing the objective criteria and the principles involved in the classification of sciences.

As a science, military history comprises a specific system of knowledge with its own developmental logic, which reflects certain laws of objective reality (the natural laws underlying the genesis and development of an object of learning, such as war and the army). In this sense the science of military history performs an intrinsic scientific-cognitive function, that of formulating, accumulating and systematizing information on the events and processes of military history, as well as of reconstructing (recreating in the form of knowledge) the military past.

As it fulfills its gnosiological function and endeavors to recreate in the form of knowledge actual events and facts out of the military past, to correctly appraise and interpret them and present them to society, the Marxist science of military history coincides in this respect and to a significant degree (within the limits indicated above) with analogous tasks and functions of Marxist universal history.

The science of military history also fulfills other functions and performs other tasks, however, which coincide with the tasks and goals of military science. The most important of these consist in steadying the extremely

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

rich body of combat experience and passing it on to new generations. Military history serves as a means of expanding the perspective of military cadres and of developing creative thinking in the commanders and political workers of the Soviet Army and Navy, and as a means of learning from this experience. By studying military operations of various types and of varying scope, it is of direct assistance to military science, providing it with the valuable material essential for developing theoretical views and practical recommendations for the Armed Forces, taking modern conditions into account.

The ideological function and the ideological task which stems from that function and is performed by the science of military history are important. Military history is an area of acute ideological struggle. Ideologists of the bourgeoisie and of right-wing and "leftist" opportunism are doing everything possible to belittle the great history of our people and the role of the USSR in the battle against fascism and in the achievement of victory in World War II, to discredit the liberation mission of the Soviet Armed Forces and deprecate Soviet military art. The Soviet science of military history provides a fitting rebuttal to the falsifiers of military history.

The Soviet science of military history is exceptionally valuable in that it provides an important means of indoctrinating the workers. By revealing our people's heroic past and their revolutionary and combat traditions the science of military history helps to raise the morale of the Soviet people and develops in them a sense of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, communist ideological conviction and loyalty to the cause of socialism and communism. It thereby contributes directly to the development of the moral-political factor--an extremely important component of our nation's defense strength.

And so, the bonds between military history and military science, between military and universal history, are natural and essential. Military history is also closely interlinked with such social sciences as philosophy, political economy, scientific communism, psychology, jurisprudence and others.

The status of the dialectics, logic and methodology of military history research and the degree to which problems have been worked out are factors directly determining whether the science of military history successfully performs its tasks.

The necessity to elaborate questions pertaining to the dialectics of military history research is created primarily by the complexity of the very process of understanding the military past. Analyzing this process and revealing its laws and specific features will make it possible to avoid methodological errors, which will ultimately and inevitably result in distortion of reality. Elaboration of the dialectics of the process of forming an understanding of military history and elaboration of the logical

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

and methodological problems of the Marxist science of military history are also necessitated by the increased demands made of the quality of scientific works.

The urgent need to develop this subject is also related to the need to study and summarize the extremely rich body of experience in scientific research amassed by military historians. It is extremely important for us to study the experience of the research teams working on comprehensive problems of military history, such as the group of authors of the 12-volume "Istoriya vtoroy mirovoy voyny 1939-1945" [A History of World War II, 1939-1945]; the works "Vtoraya mirovaya voyna 1939-1945 gg. Voenno-istoricheskiy ocherk" [World War II, 1939-1945: A Military History Outline], "Istoriya voyennogo iskusstva" [A History of Military Art], "Osvoboditel'naya missiya Sovetskikh Vooruzhennykh Sil vo vtoroy mirovoy voyne" [The Liberation Mission of the Soviet Armed Forces in World War II], and others. This is especially apparent in the creation of the multi-volume "Istoriya vtoroy mirovoy voyny 1939-1945," which more than 200 authors are helping to write. The growing trend toward the creation of collective works on military history is attested by the fact that more than three-fourths of the total number of scientific works have been produced by a collective creative effort. We believe that this makes it necessary to resolve not only organizational and methodological issues, but also questions of the methodology and logic of scientific research and of its dialectics. In recent years there has been an increasing trend among military historians to create basic works of a historical-theoretical nature. It is the large-scale studies, in which thorough analysis of the facts is combined with broad theoretical summarizations, which comprise the main trend in the development of history as a science.

It should be pointed out that a certain amount of success has already been achieved in the accomplishment of this task. A significant advance has been toward explaining the essence of the concepts "methodology" and the "logic of scientific research" and defining the range and the nature of the problems involved. Another positive development is the fact that we have clarified the points of view of various authors on a number of controversial questions, including the interpretation of the concepts "scientific fact" and the "correlation of the objective and the subjective moments in scientific information," methods of substantiating and proving the truth, and others. On the general philosophical level, however, these concepts still need further study. Certain success has been achieved in the study of the dialectics and the logic of scientific understanding and of the Marxist-Leninist methodology of military history. The scientific conferences held on the 150th anniversary of the birth of K. Marx and F. Engels and on the 100th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin made a valuable contribution to the study of the military-theoretical and the historical legacy of the founders of Marxism-Leninism.⁶ The work "Marksistsko-leninskaya metodologiya voyennoy istorii" [Marxist-Leninist Methodology of Military History], which is in its second edition, is of

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

great importance to the science of military history.⁷ However, such matters as the essence, the structure and specific features of military history research, its historiographical basis, degrees and forms of development of knowledge on military history, proof of their fidelity, and the role and importance of the laws and principles of dialectical and formal logic in the formation of knowledge on military history require further scrutiny. In this book I have undertaken to clarify the above questions and to fill in gaps in their resolution.

The author wishes to express his sincere gratitude to all those whose advice and comments helped in the preparation of this work.

Conclusion

An analysis of the dialectics of military history research shows that its focus is upon the reproduction in the form of scientific knowledge of the military activities of state, classes, political parties and popular masses, and that its purposes are to study and summarize the experience of military history, to derive helpful lessons and conclusions from that experience for the modern theory and practice of military affairs, and to strengthen the nation's defense capability and the patriotic indoctrination of the people.

The task of the science of military history includes the study of the specific mechanism giving rise to and unleashing specific wars under specific historical conditions and in the combination of the economic, sociopolitical and ideological facets and the military aspects themselves; the history of military organizational development, including the organizational development of the armed forces; the history of military equipment and weapons as a means of accomplishing the tasks of the war; and the development of military art, military-theoretical and military-historical thought.

The truly scientific understanding of military history is not limited to a simple description of facts, but explains them scientifically and reveals their causes and the laws underlying their occurrence, their functioning and development. It thoroughly reveals the natural links between war, the army, military art and military affairs as a whole, and the society's socioeconomic structure, and indicates the socioeconomic and political conditions giving rise to the military-historical processes and events.

As a diversified science, the science of military history comes under the general laws governing the scientific depiction of reality. The laws and principles involved in the dialectics and the logic of scientific understanding are also the laws and principles of military history research. As a historical form of depicting reality, the latter has much in common with knowledge in the area of universal history, while the specific nature of the research subject is due to the fact that military history is by the nature of its substance also related to the military sciences. The specific features of military history research, then, are a result of the

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

historical form of the learning process, on the one hand, and of the specific nature of war, the army and military affairs as a whole, as the subject of military history research, on the other.

The science of military history studies phenomena which, as a rule, cannot be directly observed, but can be studied mainly by means of sources presently available to the historian. There are two factors stemming from this circumstance. In the first place, the development of the understanding of military history is influenced by the perception of two subjects-- the author of the source being studied and the military historian studying it. Secondly, it involves certain difficulties and specific methods of checking the accuracy of the results.

The specific nature of military history research is influenced to a certain degree by the exceptionally complex, contradictory and multifaceted nature of the actual processes and developments in the military past, particularly wars. This leaves its mark upon the nature and the substance of the historiographical base and on the entire research process.

The continued development of the science of military history requires not only all-round specialized training, but methodological preparation as well. A knowledge of the general laws of scientific understanding and of the peculiarities of military history research, its methodology and logic is an extremely important condition and stimulus for raising the scientific level, the quality and the effectiveness of the research.

The logical structure of a scientific understanding of military history is composed of a number of interrelated and interconditioned phases. Specific tasks are performed and a specific conceptual mechanism and the necessary group of research techniques and methods are used in each of the phases. Each research phase is therefore a stage of scientific reconstruction of the events and processes of military history which are the subject of study and each phase involves a different degree of investigation of their essence.

In order successfully to perform the tasks of military history research all of its phases must be based on the dialectical-materialistic principles of scientific understanding, the foundation of which is formed of a materialistic understanding of history.

A scientific reconstruction of military history begins with an analysis of known sources. The primary question, however, is what kind of meaning is invested in this extremely important concept of methodology and logic of military history research. An analysis of this concept, based on the Leninist theory of reflection, shows that military history sources include everything which is a product of the social activity of people in the military area, reflects that activity and contains a certain kind of information about it, thereby making it possible to study the military past.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

The results of the activity of people in the military area of the social-historical process and the forms in which that activity is reflected are highly diverse. This accounts for the existence of various types of military history sources. At the contemporary stage, written sources are of decisive importance for military history research. Special research methods and techniques are required along with general ones for studying each type and kind.

An analysis of the patterns involved in the creation of written military history sources and of their characteristics indicates an urgent need for the thorough elaboration of theoretical problems surrounding military historiography and of specific methods of scientific criticism of all types and kinds of sources.

The successful accomplishment of tasks involved in the scientific reconstruction of military history depends to a great degree upon a correct understanding of the nature of military history facts and of the correlation between the empirical and the theoretical, between facts and conclusions. These issues occupy a central position in the struggle between materialism and idealism in the area of methodology of universal and military history.

The objective and the subjective moments are closely interwoven in the substance of a scientific fact. The objective aspect has the main role in its substance, while the subjective, or evaluative, aspect is secondary. The scientific fact of military history must adequately and accurately reflect an actual event. Objective scientific facts can serve as the criterion of accuracy and as a means of substantiating the principles and conclusions of the science of military history.

Facts alone do not produce a scientific reconstruction of military history. The connections between facts must correspond to the connections and the correlations in the objective reality itself. These basic principles and requirements apply to all areas of scientific knowledge. It is especially important as applicable to military history research, however. In military history even insignificant deviations from these requirements, a change of accent in determining the place, the role and the importance of a specific incident, are seriously detrimental to the accurate explanation of events and processes from the military past. Military history facts are distinguished from theoretical forms of knowledge of military affairs in the reproduction of the past by the fact that they are organically interwoven into the fabric of the scientific reconstruction. Without this the reconstruction would not only become abstract and lack an authentic basis, but would simply be impossible. Military history facts are distinguished by the fact that they have an importance in and of itself, as well as the fact that they are primarily synthetic and static and extremely far-reaching.

As a dialectical process the reconstruction of military history includes the description of facts, their appraisal and explanation, and the

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

conclusions, generalizations and concepts drawn from them on the past military events and processes under study. The purpose of describing the facts is to reflect the genetic and structural-functional ties, as well as the relationships of the phenomena being studied.

Explanation of the established and described facts constitutes a higher degree of reconstruction of military history. The main function of the explanation is to reveal the essence of the events and processes under study by clarifying the internal ties between the facts. Its tasks also include those of revealing the conditions, the causes and the patterns involved in the occurrence and the functioning of the events and processes being studied.

The explanation of facts is actually the theory of those facts. While every fact taken separately reflects and establishes only a certain aspect or moment of the event being studied and the description, by systematizing the facts, provides certain ideas about the ties linking them (primarily external ties), in the explanation process significant facts and the essential ties and relations between them are brought out, the essence and the specific features of the event being studied are clarified, and scientific facts are brought into the theoretical concept of the given event.

The need to raise the scientific-theoretical level of military history research makes it urgent to devote greater attention to the comprehensive explanation of the events and processes being studied and to revealing the natural laws governing their development. The main condition for the performance of this task is to base the scientific explanation of facts of military history and the reconstruction of military history on the materialistic understanding of history and on Marxist-Leninist theory as a whole.

Improving the quality and effectiveness of military history research involves correctly understanding the problem of the truth, the criterion of truth and the correlation of the absolute and the relative moment in them. The general tenets and principles of Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the truth are fully applicable in the historical sciences, including the science of military history. However, we must take a differentiated approach to the matter of the authenticity of knowledge about military history and methods of establishing and verifying it. An analysis of the process of military history research and the formation of authentic knowledge about events of the military past have shown this to be an extremely complex process, which includes a number of different levels. As a result, we must distinguish between the authenticity of the fact, the conclusion, the summarization and the scientific concept (or theory) of the event being studied. Authentic facts in and of themselves do not provide a true reconstruction of military history. Reactionary bourgeois historians frequently derive erroneous conclusions and form false concepts out of perfectly authentic facts. It is therefore extremely important to establish the extent to which the relationships into which the given, true facts have

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

been placed correspond to reality, where the accents are placed and upon precisely which facts. This is of basic importance for establishing the truth and exposing the gnosiological roots and methods of the bourgeois falsification of military history, and makes it possible to combat them more effectively.

Social-historical experience is the criterion of truth in military history research, as it is in other areas of learning. However, there are peculiarities involved in verifying the authenticity of knowledge of military history at the various levels and in the various phases. The authenticity of factual information is verified by establishing the reliability of the sources which depict the event being studied and by comparing a number of reliable sources. Conclusions and concepts are verified not by means of individual true facts alone but by the sum total of the interrelated, reliable facts.

The formation of authentic information depends greatly upon the researcher's methodological points of departure and upon his methodological training. Marxist-Leninist methodology orients military historians toward an organic combining of communist-party-mindedness and objectivity in the scientific reconstruction of military history and tells them to strictly observe all the principles and tenets of materialistic dialectics and the dialectical method throughout the entire study--from the critical analysis of sources to the development of the theory (or concept) of the event being studied. It also makes the historian aware of the need to consider the specific nature of the object of study and the characteristics inherent in application of the dialectical and general scientific methods at the empirical and the theoretical level of the study, and to correctly combine these methods with special research techniques.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka", 1979

11499
CSO: 1801

44

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

BOOK EXCERPTS: WARSAW PACT TASKS AND ORGANIZATION

Moscow VARSHAVSKIY DOGOVOR-SOYUZ VO IMYA MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA (The Warsaw Pact - Alliance in the Name of Peace and Socialism) in Russian 1980 signed to press 4 Feb 80 pp 1, 2, 5-10, 294-295, 268-271

[Information on authors, annotation, table of contents, introduction, and conclusion, from book edited by Mar SU V. G. Kulikov, Voyenizadat, 30,000, 295 pages]

[Excerpts] This book was prepared by a group of authors from Headquarters, Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact Nations, and the Institute of Military History of the USSR Ministry of Defense. The group was headed by Army General A. I. Gribkov (introduction, the section "The Armed Forces of the USSR" in Chapter 7 and the conclusion); Lieutenant General M. G. Titov (Chapter 6 and section 1 of Chapter 7); Major General L. Y. Solov'yev (the section "The Czechoslovak People's Army" in Chapter 7); Colonel A. V. Antosyak (Chapter 5 and the section "The Army of the Socialist Republic of Romania" in Chapter 7); Colonel G. A. Arzumanov (Chapter 9); Colonel V. G. Gavrilov (Chapter 3); Colonel P. A. Kochegura (the section "The Polish Army" in Chapter 7); Captain 1st Rank I. S. Maslennikov (Chapter 8); Colonel A. A. Migolat'yev (Chapter 1); Colonel V. I. Fomin (Chapter 2 and the section "The Hungarian People's Army" in Chapter 7); Colonel I. I. Shinkarev (the section "The Bulgarian People's Army" in Chapter 7 and the Chronicle of Important Events of the Warsaw Pact Organization); Colonel B. M. Yablokov (Chapter 4 and the section "The National Army of the GDR" in Chapter 7). Lieutenant General T. Krystev, Major General L. Fazekash, Major General K. Gotval'd, Division General S. Antos and Lieutenant General B. Kuchera helped with the writing of Chapter 7.

Annotation

This book discusses the purposes and the nature of the Warsaw Pact and the history of the creation and development of the defense alliance, tells about the work of the Warsaw Pact Organization and presents an analysis of the international situation, which necessitates close unity among nations of the socialist commonwealth.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

The book was written for a broad range of readers interested in the history of the creation and the practical work of the Warsaw Pact Organization.

Contents	Page
Introduction.....	5
Chapter 1. Marxism-Leninism on Unity and All-Round Cooperation Among the Socialist Nations.....	11
1. The International Nature of Marxist-Leninist Doctrine on the Defense of Socialism.....	11
2. The Economic, Sociopolitical and Ideological Principles Underlying the Unity and Cooperation of the Socialist Nations...	22
Chapter 2. The Birth and Development of the Military Commonwealth.....	29
1. The Fighting International of Revolutionaries.....	29
2. In Joint Battles Against Fascism and Imperialist Aggression.....	37
3. The Military Commonwealth of European Socialist Nations in the Postwar Period (1945-1955).....	52
Chapter 3. The Creation of NATO and Steps Taken by the Socialist Nations of Europe to Insure Their Security.....	58
1. Imperialism's Aggressive Policy: The Creation of the North Atlantic Bloc.....	58
2. Measures to Defend the Sovereignty and Strengthen the Security of the Socialist Nations.....	73
Chapter 4. The Warsaw Pact - An Alliance in the Name of Peace and Socialism.....	84
1. The Purposes and the Nature of the Warsaw Pact: The Structure of Its Organs.....	84
2. General Principles and Bases of the Pact.....	99
3. The Warsaw Pact - A New Phase of Cooperation Among the Socialist Nations.....	107
Chapter 5. Foreign Policy Cooperation Among the Warsaw Pact Nations...	113
1. The Laws and Principles and the Machinery of Foreign Policy Cooperation.....	113
2. In the Struggle for European Security and for a Just Resolution of Europe's International Problems.....	121
3. For the Freedom and Independence of Peoples and for the Prevention of a New World War.....	136

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

	Page
Chapter 6. Military Cooperation Among the Warsaw Pact Nations.....	144
1. The Principles of Military Cooperation Among the Warsaw Pact Nations.....	144
2. The Main Areas, Forms and Methods of Military Cooperation Among the Allied Nations and Their Armies.....	150
3. The Composition of the Joint Armed Forces and the Leading Military Organs of the Warsaw Pact Organization.....	162
Chapter 7. The Armies of the Warsaw Pact Nations.....	169
1. General Principles and Features of Military Organizational Development in Nations of the Socialist Commonwealth.....	169
2. The National Armies.....	172
The Bulgarian People's Army.....	172
The Hungarian People's Army.....	179
The National People's Army of the GDR.....	185
The Polish Army.....	193
The Army of the Socialist Republic of Romania.....	200
The Armed Forces of the USSR.....	207
The Czechoslovak People's Army.....	216
Chapter 8. The Economic Bases of Joint Defense Among the Socialist Nations.....	223
1. The Essence and the Main Features of the Economic Base for the Defense of the Socialist Coalition.....	223
2. The Enlargement of Economic Mutual Assistance Among the Socialist Nations.....	234
Chapter 9. Revolutionary Vigilance - An Extremely Important Condition for Insuring the Peace and Security of Peoples..	253
Conclusion	268
Appendix.....	272

Introduction

The history of mankind has seen numerous military-political alliances concluded among nations. They had various purposes and met with various fates. There has never before been an alliance, however, which has performed such a prominent role in the preservation and strengthening of peace as the Warsaw Pact.

The Warsaw Pact Organization was created by European nations which had set out on a path of socialist development on 14 May 1955 in response to stepped-up acts of aggression on the part of the imperialist states. Only 10 years had elapsed since the defeat of Hitlerite Germany, but the ominous

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

clouds of war had thickened once again over the European continent. The situation created made it necessary for the socialist nations to take immediate steps to organize their defense.

The defeat of fascism was an event of worldwide historical importance, which deeply affected the entire course of world development. This was not just a military victory but an economic, political and moral victory as well. It led to the overthrow of the exploitative classes by the peoples of a number of European and Asian nations and the formation of the world socialist system, to intensification of the world revolutionary process, the downfall of the colonial system and further intensification of capitalism's general crisis.

Naturally, none of this suited the ruling circles of the imperialist states, and they immediately made preparations to review the results of the war, hoping to regain lost positions by means of atomic weapons. There began a process of organizing the forces of imperialism under the aegis of monopolistic capital in the United States, to which imperialism's economic and then its political and military center had shifted from Europe. The United States unequivocally declared its claim to world supremacy. In his December 1945 message to Congress, American President H. Truman underscored the fact that the United States of America was assuming responsibility "for world leadership."

Once again, mankind was faced with the issue of war and peace, because the imperialist states were clearly preparing for a new attack upon the Soviet Union and other nations following a socialist path of development. They felt that it was still not too late, if not to destroy them at least, to drive back the forces of socialism and slow the development of the world revolutionary process by armed means, taking advantage of the American monopoly on the atomic bomb.

A speech made by former British Prime Minister W. Churchill on 5 March 1946 in the American city of Fulton contained a direct appeal for a "crusade" against the Soviet Union and the people's democratic nations. This speech became essentially an ideological manifesto of American-British imperialism and laid the foundation for the "cold war" against the socialist states. This was followed by the "Marshall Plan," which was in fact a tool of economic expansion by American imperialism. The "Truman Doctrine" was announced in March 1947, which constituted a militant foreign policy program of the American government and proclaimed the right of the United States to interfere in the affairs of any nation.

On 17 March 1948, England, France, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg formed the first postwar military-political grouping, the Western Alliance, and a supreme joint command of the armed forces of that alliance was created in October of that same year. Creation of the Western Alliance was an act of

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

great danger to the cause of peace, which set into motion a process of accelerated development of the system of aggressive imperialist blocs and the division of the world into two antagonistic military groupings. Only a year later, on 4 April 1949, 12 Western states signed the North Atlantic Pact in Washington and created the aggressive NATO bloc, which included the United States, England, France, Italy, Canada, Iceland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg and Portugal. In 1952 Turkey and Greece were also drawn into NATO.

The militarization of West Germany was accelerated during that same period. The Paris Agreements were concluded in October of 1954, which opened the way for West Germany to enter into aggressive military blocs and on 5 May 1955, following ratification of those agreements, it became a member of NATO and gained the right to form a 500,000-men army.

Creation of the powerful military coalition of imperialist states in NATO resulted in the abrupt intensification of tensions in Europe and throughout the world and in acceleration of the arms race. This was the most extensive anti-Soviet, antisocialist conspiracy history had ever known. It undermined the very foundations of peaceful cooperation among peoples and focused directly upon preparations for war. This situation made it essential to counter the combined forces of international, militant imperialism with the united strength of Europe's peace-loving socialist states. In other words, the Soviet Union and the nations of Europe following a path of socialist development needed their own military-political organization, which could give them a reliable system of collective defense and restrain the aggressive undertakings of the imperialist powers, thereby contributing to the preservation and strengthening of peace and to the positive development of international relations.

And this organization was created. It was the Warsaw Pact Organization. Thanks to the consistent, vigorous and persistent action of the Warsaw Pact the peoples of the European continent have lived in peace for a long time now and are advancing, step by step, along the path of strengthening and developing the commonwealth and creating a common European system of collective security.

The Warsaw Pact is a new type of military and political alliance, an alliance of nations of the victorious proletariat, an alliance for peace and socialism. Its work is based on the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence among nations with different social systems and the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism, equality, respect for the independence and sovereignty of nations, and noninterference in the internal affairs of one another. The main objective and the historical designation of the Warsaw Pact Organization is one of striving for peace and security of peoples. And the fraternal alliance of the peoples of nations in the socialist commonwealth have effectively performed this noble mission throughout the many years it has functioned.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

The 25th CPSU Congress attached great value to the role played by the Warsaw Pact in the defense of socialism's conquests and in the preservation and strengthening of international security. "This pact," the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee states, "is reliably serving the cause of peace and socialism. The importance of initiatives put forth in recent years by our Political Consultative Committee is obvious to all. After all, many of them have served as the basis for decisions made at important international forums or have been reflected in a number of important bilateral international acts."¹ At the first conference of the Political Consultative Committee--the highest organ of the Warsaw Pact Organization--held in Prague back in 1956, the members adopted the Declaration of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid of the Warsaw Pact Nations, which called upon all European nations to create a system of collective security in Europe.

Consistently pursuing their constructive policy of peace, the Warsaw Pact nations at the 1960 Moscow conference of the Political Consultative Committee (PKK) approved the proposal of universal and total disarmament made by the Soviet Union at the United Nations. A year later, at the regular meeting of the PKK, they reviewed the matter of clearing up the remains of World War II by concluding a peace treaty with both German states.

The 1969 Budapest Conference of the PKK was an important landmark in the struggle for peace and European security. The conference adopted an appeal to all European nations calling for the preparation and conduct of a European Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. We all know that as a result of extensive joint efforts on the part of nations in the socialist commonwealth this conference took place in Helsinki in 1975, laying the foundation for a new stage in cooperation among the nations of Europe, the United States and Canada. Continuing their struggle to strengthen international security, the Warsaw Pact nations at a conference of the PKK held in Moscow in 1978 defined further ways of strengthening peace in the contemporary situation.

Finally, an important new step was taken along the path of detente with the initiative concerning disarmament presented in Berlin in October of 1979 by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Prompted by a desire to overcome the impasse reached after many years of efforts to achieve military detente in Europe and to set an example of putting words into action, the Soviet Union, after consulting with other Warsaw Pact nations, decided to carry out a bilateral reduction in the size of its forces in Central Europe and to reduce the quantity of medium-range nuclear weapons deployed in the western areas of the USSR, if NATO would abandon its plans to deploy additional, similar nuclear weapons in Western Europe.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

And so, as L. I. Brezhnev stated in his Berlin speech, the Warsaw Pact has become a reliable instrument of security for nations of the socialist commonwealth and of their joint struggle for peace.²

In the situation today peace is not simply the absence of war. Mankind has no desire to accept the continuous buildup of military potentials or the development of increasingly devastating types of weapons, which create a constant threat to its existence. Peoples need a peace which will insure the total elimination of wars from the life of society and will contribute to the creation of an atmosphere of mutual trust and unhindered development along the path of social progress. The Warsaw Pact nations are engaged in a tireless struggle to achieve just such a peace.

Today, all mankind acknowledges the enormous role performed by the Warsaw Pact Organization in the modern world. This has a great deal to do with the extensive interest demonstrated in its work by both Soviet and foreign authors. A number of major works on the Warsaw Pact have been published in the Soviet Union. They include the book "Boyevoye sodruzhestvo bratskikh narodov i armiy"³ which has been translated and published in almost all the Warsaw Pact nations, as well as such well-known works as "Boyevoy soyuz bratskikh armiy,"⁴ "Organizatsiya Varshavskogo Dogovora. 1955-1975"⁵ and "Zarozhdeniye narodnykh armiy stran-uchastnits Varshavskogo Dogovora. 1941-1949."⁶ Many works dealing with aspects of the combat commonwealth of peoples and armies of the socialist nations and the work of the Warsaw Pact Organization have also been published in other nations in the socialist commonwealth.⁷

The authors of this book set themselves the goal of demonstrating the role and importance of the Warsaw Pact, showing how it differs from pacts concluded among the imperialist states and revealing the nature and the characteristics of the Warsaw Pact Organization, which, as we know, is not simply a military and political alliance but a combat commonwealth of socialist nations, based on the common nature of their political system, ideology and economic base, on the oneness of their basic interests.

With Marxist-Leninist methodology as the basis and drawing upon the works of the Marxist-Leninist classics and a large quantity of documentary material, the book discusses the objective laws underlying the military and political unity of the socialist nations, traces the birth, the formation and development of the combat commonwealth of fraternal peoples and armies, the foundation of which was laid by the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, and tells about the most important landmarks in their joint struggle against fascism during World War II.

The authors analyze the work of the Warsaw Pact Organization as a factor strengthening peace and socialism and explain the highly diverse, enormous work carried out by the communist and workers' parties and governments of the Warsaw Pact nations to strengthen, expand and enlarge their unity and

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

all-round cooperation. Special chapters discuss forms and methods of political, economic and military cooperation among the socialist nations within the framework of the Warsaw Pact Organization, describe the importance of the aid provided by the Warsaw Pact nations to peoples joining the struggle against imperialism, a struggle for their national and social liberation, and refute the fabrications of bourgeois ideologists and their accomplices--all kinds of revisionists and Maoists--on matters pertaining to the defense of socialism's conquests.

At the same time, the fact that imperialism is still the most reactionary and aggressive force in the world today is made apparent in the book. The nature of imperialism has not changed. Wherever possible the more militant imperialist groups are attempting to retard the process of detente and to complicate the resolution of pressing problems. This trend intensified at the end of the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's, when leaders of the United States and a number of other NATO nations resumed their efforts to step up the arms race and to exacerbate the international situation. This fact is sufficiently illustrated by such acts as the forcing of new, long-term armament programs, the formation of the so-called "rapid reaction corps," the freezing for an indefinite time of ratification of the SALT II Treaty, the decision to deploy new, American medium-range nuclear missiles in a number of Western European nations, and the launching of a malicious anti-Soviet campaign. This is why the communist and workers' parties and governments of the Warsaw Pact nations base their policy on the fact that as long as the threat of imperialist aggression exists, as long as the NATO bloc is preserved and militaristic groups are engaged in the arms race, the Warsaw Pact Organization needs to and must strengthen itself in every way.

In this book the authors make extensive use of material contained in the book "Boyevoye sodruzhestvo bratskikh narodov i armiy," which was published in 1975 under the general editorship of Marshal of the Soviet Union I. I. Yakubovskiy and received a high rating by Soviet and foreign readers. At readers' conferences and in comments on the book sent to us from fraternal armies we have received many requests and specific recommendations for rewriting this book, taking into account new documents of the communist and workers' parties of the Warsaw Pact nations and the latest achievements in military-theoretical thought, as well as international events occurring since its publication, which affect the Warsaw Pact Organization to one degree or another. They have all been thoroughly studied and as far as possible taken into account in the publication of this work.

The group of authors express their gratitude to the ministries of defense of the Warsaw Pact nations and to all those readers who have sent comments on the book for the assistance which they have provided the authors with their valuable advice, requests and proposals.

52

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOOTNOTES

1. "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1976, p. 8.
2. PRAVDA, 7 October 1979.
3. "Boyevoye sodruzhestvo bratskikh narodov i armiy" [A Combat Commonwealth of Fraternal Peoples and Armies], Moscow, 1975.
4. "Boyevoy soyuz bratskikh armiy" [A Combat Alliance of Fraternal Armies], Moscow, 1974.
5. "Organizatsiya Varshavskogo Dogovora. 1955-1975. Dokumenty i materialy" [The Warsaw Pact Organization, 1955-1975: Documents and Materials], Moscow, 1975.
6. "Zarozhdeniye narodnykh armiy stran-uchastnits Varshavskogo Dogovora. 1941-1949" [The Birth of the People's Armies of the Warsaw Pact Nations, 1941-1949], Moscow, 1975.
7. They include "Organizatsiya na Varshavskiy Dogovor (1955-1975)" [The Warsaw Pact Organization (1955-1975)], Sofia, 1975; 20 ev a beke es a szocializmus szolgalataban. Budapest, 1975; Latzo A. Der Warschauer Vertrag - Instrument zur Sicherung des Friedesn. Berlin, 1972; Tarcza pokoju 20-lecia. Wyd. MON, 1975; Varsavska smlouva - Stit socializmu. Praha, 1973; Pod praporem proletarskeho internacionalizmu. Praha, 1975.

Conclusion

Created in the struggle against forces of reaction and war, the Warsaw Pact Organization has during its existence made an enormous, truly invaluable contribution to the cause of detente and the preservation and strengthening of peace. The history of its many years of work is one of vigorous struggle for universal peace, for good-neighborly relations among peoples and for a progressive future for mankind. Thanks to the intense, titanic work performed by the Warsaw Pact nations it has been possible not only to reduce the threat of a new world war, but even to solve many acute international problems.

A subject of special concern to the Warsaw Pact Organization has been and remains that of insuring the security of peoples on the European continent, where common borders are shared by states belonging to opposite social systems and where their most powerful military groupings face each other. The political atmosphere in Europe has changed markedly as a result of efforts by the Warsaw Pact nations. The all-Europe Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was an important landmark on this path. It

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

concluded with the signing of the Final Act. The Warsaw Pact nations are now engaged in a vigorous campaign to insure absolute fulfillment of the principles of this important, historic document, which defines the main paths leading to detente. Recognition by the Western powers of the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic and its entry into the United Nations, international acknowledgment of the inviolability of the western boundaries of the GDR, the Polish people's republic and Czechoslovakia, and a number of other acts resulting in a lessening of international tensions have also been a prominent result of the consolidated actions of the socialist states.

During its existence the Warsaw Pact Organization has accomplished a great deal toward counteracting the aggressive plans of the imperialist forces and for the defense of peace-loving states and peoples against foreign interference in their internal affairs. The people will never forget the aid provided by the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist nations to the heroic people of Vietnam in their struggle against American and then Chinese aggression. By way of fulfilling their international duty the states of the socialist commonwealth have given assistance to the peoples of Africa and are continuing to do so, and are working to achieve a lasting and just peace in the Near East. They are contributing to the economic and national development of peoples freed of colonial oppression, strengthening all-round cooperation with the new states, reverting the export of counterrevolution to nations which have set out on a progressive path of development, and exerting a positive influence upon the world revolutionary process.

The systematic struggle being waged by nations of the socialist commonwealth for universal and total disarmament and for the banning of weapons of mass destruction is an important part of the work of the Warsaw Pact Organization. They were the initiators of agreements banning the testing and the spread of nuclear weapons. These agreements, signed by the majority of the world's nations, reduced to a certain degree the likelihood of a nuclear war and increased the possibility of a total ban on the testing of atomic and hydrogen weapons. In June 1979, following lengthy talks, the United States and the Soviet Union signed an agreement limiting strategic offensive weapons (SALT II), the implementation of which should help to preserve peace and build up trust among peoples.

Creation of the defensive alliance of socialist states and the resultant strengthening of their political, economic and military unity, and the joint efforts of the fraternal nations in the struggle for the security of peoples and for their social progress have substantially altered the balance of power in the world in favor of peace and socialism. Naturally, this has evoked an outpouring of hatred for the socialist commonwealth on the part of reactionary imperialist groups and increased resistance on their part to the process of detente and the policy of systematic implementation of the principle of peaceful coexistence among nations with different social systems.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Recognizing the important role played by the Warsaw Pact Organization in the struggle for peace and socialism, imperialist ideologists and their accomplices are devoting all their efforts to distorting its defensive nature in the eyes of world public opinion, subverting international cooperation among peoples and armies of the socialist nations, weakening their defense strength and reducing their influence upon the development of the world revolutionary process. Reactionary imperialist forces are accelerating the arms race more and more, a race, which, whether its initiators want this or not, is of course the high road to war.

International imperialism and its striking force--the NATO bloc headed by the United States--remains the main source of military danger. This aggressive alliance of imperialist nations, created as a weapon to be used in an armed struggle against the Soviet Union and the socialist nations of Europe, has been and remains a tool for exacerbating tensions, a constant defender and encourager of counterrevolutionary forces, and the coordinating center for the struggle against the forces of peace and socialism.

Zionism is one of imperialism's active allies in its campaign against social progress and its conduct of a neocolonial policy. Zionist ideology is based on militant chauvinism, anti-Sovietism and anticommunism. Conceived in the womb of the bourgeois society, it loyally serves that society's class interests. In the contemporary situation Zionism is actually an agency of monopolistic groups, which is especially zealous in its opposition to nations of the socialist commonwealth and to the national liberation movement. Israel's role in this area is best illustrated by the fact that as the main strongpoint of international Zionism in the Near East, it has become a constant source of aggression and the danger of war.

China's hegemonistic policy, which is based on the consolidation of all anti-Soviet, reactionary forces for a struggle against peace and progress for the sake of achieving world supremacy, represents a great threat to peace. Beginning with ideological warfare against the socialist states and against the communist and workers' parties, the Beijing leaders soon switched to political and economic and then to military warfare, coordinating their actions with the most brazen forces of imperialism and reaction. China's aggression against Vietnam revealed especially thoroughly the reactionary nature of the policy conducted by the Beijing leaders. It demonstrated the ease with which Beijing could switch from a policy of blackmail to the initiation of military operations and the irresponsible way in which it can overstep the fatal line between peace and war. Betraying the socialist revolution and proletarian internationalism and caught up in a fanatical desire for world supremacy, the Chinese leadership has now become an actual ally of imperialism in the campaign against world socialism, international communism and the workers' and national liberation movements.

And so, progressive mankind today is faced with the fact that an ominous reactionary alliance has been created in the form of imperialism, Zionism

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

and Chinese hegemonism, an alliance which threatens not just the socialist world but even the future of all mankind. In view of this consolidation of aggressive forces the communist and workers' parties of the socialist states have been forced to increase their vigilance and to maintain the defense strength of their nations at the proper level.

Looking back over the path we have traveled and paying the tribute of profound respect for that which has been accomplished by the Warsaw Pact nations for detente and the preservation and strengthening of peace, the Soviet people and the workers of the socialist nations, all those who value peace and progress, can now look to the future with optimism. The future of the Warsaw Pact Organization, like its present, is determined by the need to insure the security of peoples and by the tasks involved in the struggle against the aggressive aspirations of imperialism and reaction. True to these goals and tasks, the Soviet Union and the other socialist nations in the Warsaw Pact in November of 1978 again submitted to all states and peoples an extensive program of action aimed at strengthening peace and international security. Aware of the enormous scope and difficulty of the main task of the modern era--that of strengthening peace--they formally announced that they would do everything possible to see that this great task is successfully achieved.

Interviewed by a PRAVDA correspondent on the outlook for development of the situation in Europe in light of moves by the American administration, hostile to the cause of peace, L. I. Brezhnev stated in January 1980: "We are resolutely on the side of strengthening and enlarging everything positive created over the years on the European continent by the joint efforts of states large and small. We will continue to pursue a policy of peace and friendship among peoples. In contrast to Washington's current extremist position, ours consists in continuing the talks begun in recent years in many areas for purposes of halting the arms race. This naturally also applies to problems of reducing military opposition in Europe."¹

While pursuing the proven Leninist course of steadfastly implementing the principle of peaceful coexistence among nations with different social systems, the nations of the socialist commonwealth base their practical work on the principle that as long as imperialism and its allies exist, as long as there is a danger of war, there will still be a need for the continued existence of the Warsaw Pact Organization as the main guarantor of peace and security. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other Marxist-Leninist parties of the commonwealth therefore consider all-round strengthening of the combat alliance of fraternal peoples and armies to be one of their main tasks. The importance of this principle was underscored once again at the 25th CPSU Congress. "...As long as the NATO

1. PRAVDA, 13 January 1980.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

bloc remains," the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee states, "as long as militaristic groups are pursuing the arms race, our nation, together with the other Warsaw Pact participants, will continue to strengthen this military and political alliance."²

COPYRIGHT: Voenizdat, 1980

11499

CSO: 1801

END

2. "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress], p 8.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY