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Translation

THE COLLECTIVE DEFENSE OF SOCIALISM

By

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THE COLLECTIVE DEFENSE OF SOCIALISM

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ANNOTATION

[Text] This volume presents the main points of the documents of the 26th CPSU Congress pertaining to cooperation among the socialist nations in the area of strengthening their defense capability: the author discusses activities of the Warsaw Pact Organization to ensure reliable defense of peace and socialist achievements, and presents an analysis of the international situation, which dictates the necessity of further strengthening the unity of the nations of the socialist community. This book is intended for a broad readership.

INTRODUCTION

International imperialism, led by the United States, nurturing aggressive plans against the USSR and the entire socialist community, is continuing feverish war preparations. The military expenditures of the NATO countries are increasing year by year. Growth of the war machine of the imperialist powers is being accompanied by retrogression by militarist circles in the West, particularly the United States, to positions of "cold war" and "policy of strength" [politiki sily]. The present U.S. administration, to please the narrow, selfish interests of the bosses of the military-industrial complex, is intensively whipping up anti-Soviet, anticommunist hysteria, which has taken on a particularly furious character in connection with the events concerning Poland and Afghanistan.

Expanding the scale of militarist preparations and material preparations for a nuclear missile war, the imperialists are endeavoring on the one hand to strengthen their military blocs, particularly NATO, while on the other hand they are endeavoring to weaken by any means the unity of the socialist countries, including in the area of defense.

Assuming ever increasing significance in these conditions is a consistent campaign by the nations of the socialist community to strengthen the unity and cohesiveness of their ranks. "We are fighting," emphasized CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in the Central Committee Accountability Report to the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, "for the just cause of peace and security of peoples, for the interests of working people. The truth of Marxist-Leninist teaching is on our side. Our strength lies in unity and solidarity."¹ Guided by this thesis, the CPSU Central Committee and Politburo devote unabating attention to strengthening friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries and are doing enormous work in the interests of developing and deepening our mutual relations with them. Like work is being performed in the other nations of the socialist community.

The ideas of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union are stressed in the constitutions of the brother nations. "This," stated L. I. Brezhnev, "represents great trust in our country, and we respond in kind. The new USSR Constitution proclaims friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance with the socialist nations to be the cornerstone of Soviet foreign policy."² Unity, solidarity and comprehensive cooperation among the socialist countries,

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grounded on the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism, constitute a powerful weapon in their joint struggle for peace and international détente, and in organization of effective resistance to any and all aggressive attacks by imperialism and its attempts to infringe upon the interests of socialism, to place an obstacle in the path of progressive changes in the world, and to regain the role of rulers of the destiny of peoples.

For more than a quarter of a century now the Warsaw Pact Organization has been reliably promoting successful implementation of collective efforts on the part of the nations of the socialist community in defending the achievements of socialism. The 26th CPSU Congress highly praised its influential and beneficial role in international affairs and the fruitful activities of its agencies in strengthening peace and general security.

Elaborating grandiose plans of economic and cultural construction and directing the constructive activities of peoples, the Communist and worker parties of the socialist countries are keeping a close watch on development of international events and are taking collective measures to ensure that their military-political defensive alliance possesses everything required for reliable defense of the revolutionary achievements of socialism and world peace.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, page 10.
2. Ibid., page 6.

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Chapter One. VICTORIOUS ADVANCE OF SOCIALISM

The Great October Socialist Revolution ushered in a new era in world history, the principal content of which is the transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism. Socialism, peace, and freedom, inscribed on the banner of the Great October Revolution, have become reality in countries which have embarked on the road of building a new society. The emergence and development of a world socialist system is the main result of the international consequences of the October Revolution and a reliable guarantee of the further advance of mankind.

In present-day conditions leading trends in societal progress are determined more than ever before by growth in the might of the world socialist community. It constitutes a most important factor of social progress and the principal revolutionary force of the present day, demonstrating by its economic, socio-political and spiritual development the great vital strength and triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. "There is no country or group of countries, no ideological or political current," noted L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress, "which has not felt the influence of socialism to one degree or another."¹

The world of socialism appears before mankind as a dynamically developing social system, which has accomplished in a practical manner liberation of working people from oppression and exploitation, which has secured their sovereignty, flourishing of culture and increased prosperity of the masses, equality and brotherhood of all peoples and nationalities. The indissoluble alliance of the nations of the world socialist community -- an international alliance of a new type -- constitutes a reliable foundation for successful development of these countries. Continuous and diversified interaction among equal socialist nations has become a practical reality in their relations and has firmly entered the consciousness of the brother peoples, who see in this an embodiment of Lenin's prediction that socialism "is creating new, higher forms of human intercourse, where the legitimate needs and progressive aspirations of the working-people masses of /any [it.]/ nationality will be satisfied for the first time in an international unity..."²

Together with the flourishing of each socialist nation and strengthening of the sovereignty of the socialist states, their interrelationships become increasingly closer, and there arise more and more elements of commonality in

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their policies, economics, and social affairs, and the level of their development gradually equalizes. Entering into and serving as a most important manifestation of the overall process of the comprehensive drawing together of the brother countries is socialist economic integration. In the formation of its foundations and in its further development cooperation within the framework of the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance (CEMA) is of great significance.

The activities of CEMA constitute a concrete embodiment of a new, socialist type of international relations. Today we point with legitimate pride to the major projects of the joint labor of the brother peoples of the nations of the socialist community. They include the "Soyuz" [Alliance] natural gas pipeline, which stretches almost 3000 kilometers, the "Mir" [Peace] power system, expanded with new power transmission lines, the Ust'-Ilimsk Pulp Mill, the Erdenet Mining and Concentration Combine in Mongolia, nickel plants in Cuba, plus many other construction projects.

As we know, /the decisive battle front of competition with capitalism is to be found in the domain of the economy and economic policy./ The successes of the CEMA member nations in the economic domain present a vivid contrast with those processes which are taking place in the world capitalist system, clearly demonstrating the advantages of genuine socialism. In spite of the fact that recent years have not been the most favorable for the economies of a number of socialist nations, the rate of economic growth in the CEMA member nations in the last decade was twice that in the developed capitalist countries. While occupying approximately 19 percent of the world's territory and containing 10 percent of the world's population, the CEMA member nations today produce approximately one-third of world industrial output.

Discussing the competition between socialism and capitalism in the area of the economy, we must remind the reader of a statement made by L. I. Brezhnev on this subject in the book "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth]: "There is taking place in the world a rivalry between two social systems. It began during Lenin's life, it is continuing today, and comparisons are unavoidable -- who has produced how much steel, how much petroleum, how much electricity, grain, and cotton. We resort to these calculations, as do our ideological adversaries. Forced to admit that in many respects the Soviet Union has caught up with the United States, for example, and has far outstripped that country in a number of major economic indicators, our adversaries constantly emphasize those economic indicators in which the largest capitalist power has not yet yielded preeminence.

"At the same time they assiduously ignore and attempt to conceal from their readers and listeners those historical conditions in which we and they were existing. And yet in this, to quote their words, 'honest' competition one side, protected by an ocean against enemy invasions, was profiting from every war, while the other side was the target of constant acts of provocation, was bearing the ponderous burden of wars and devastation, and in many areas was forced to begin practically from zero."³

/The results of the constructive activities of the Soviet people/ look particularly impressive in this light. In spite of the fact that out of the 64 years during which our nation has been in existence, approximately two decades

were devoted to wars which had been forced upon us and subsequent rebuilding of the economy, our country's percentage share of world output, which amounted to approximately 5 percent before the revolution and about 1 percent in 1922, has risen to 20 percent. Nor has world output been marking time during all these years.

The scale of our country's development during the years of the 10th Five-Year Plan is impressive. During this period USSR national income increased by 400 billion rubles over the preceding five-year period. More than 1200 large industrial enterprises came on-stream. Industrial output volume increased by 717 billion rubles. Those branches which determine technological progress were developing at an accelerated pace. Fuel production, generation of electric power, and production of ferrous and nonferrous metals increased.

The advantages of socialism are particularly graphically evident in a comparison between the economic development of the Soviet Union and the largest country in the capitalist world -- the United States. In the period 1970-1979 national income in the USSR rose by 57 percent, and only by 33 percent in the United States; industrial output grew by 72 percent and 41 percent respectively. This fostered a substantial reduction in the gap in level of economic development between the two countries. At the present time USSR national income comprises approximately two-thirds of U.S. national income. While the Soviet economy has been steadily growing, the United States, as well as the other leading capitalist countries, have experienced crisis-proportion production declines three times in the last 10 years. Thus the hopes of bourgeois political leaders and economists that the scientific and technological revolution and state-monopoly control will save capitalism from profound economic shocks were buried once and for all.

New prospects for building communism are specified in the "Basic Directions of Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period up to 1990," adopted at the 26th CPSU Congress. The significance of this document goes beyond the framework of our country. This is determined not only by the substantial percentage share of the USSR in the world economy and politics. The /plan of peaceful construction/ advanced by the party, a plan of building, a plan of productive activity by the people of a great socialist country, expresses the great significance of the revolutionary-transforming activities of the CPSU: "Everything on behalf of man, for the benefit of man!" Not one capitalist country has such plans. Herein lies one more convincing evidence of the triumph of the ideas and practical realities of genuine socialism.

The grand program of economic, sociopolitical and spiritual development of the USSR for the 1980's, specified at the 26th CPSU Congress, is entirely directed toward a peaceful building process. In the 11th Five-Year Plan our country's national income is targeted to increase by 18 percent, industrial output by 26 percent, and average annual agricultural production by 13 percent. At the same time an entire system of measures was specified for improving conditions on and off the job, improving housing conditions, providing foodstuffs and manufactured goods, medical care and public education, as well as environmental protection. Public consumption funds will increase by 23 percent during the five-year

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period. As in the past, a substantial portion will be expended on social security, public education and health care, development of culture and the arts, organization of rest and recreation for working people, and improvement of public transportation services.

A special food program is being drawn up for the purpose of further raising the living standards of Soviet citizens, a program which aims at securing a substantial increase in agricultural production and securing a closer link between agriculture and those branches involved in storage and processing of and trade in agricultural commodities. The party considers continuation of a policy of all-out intensification of agricultural production and its further technical retooling on the basis of new technology to be the main prerequisite for boosting agricultural productivity.

There is a large volume of work to be accomplished in the forthcoming five-year period in the area of capital construction. Work will be continued on improving the distribution of productive resources both in previously developed and in new regions. Plans call for increasing their comprehensive development and specialization and for measures to be taken to make economic interrelations more efficient. Such territorial-production complexes as the Western Siberian, Sayan, Angara-Yenisey, Timan-Pechora, Southern Yakut, Pavlodar-Ekibastuz, Southern Tajik, and others will undergo further development. There will be extensive work in progress on the economic exploitation of a vast zone adjacent to the Baykal-Amur Mainline.

Present and future achievements of the Soviet Union as a component part of the world community of socialist nations signify further strengthening of the position of genuine socialism and /growth of the economic might of the entire socialist community./ Party congresses held in the brother socialist countries have shown that the CPSU and the other ruling Communist and worker parties are following a course of policy aimed at transforming the 1980's into a period of intensive production and scientific-technical cooperation among the socialist countries. Great significance in accomplishing this task is attached to such important questions as bringing the structures of economic mechanisms closer together, further development of direct links between ministries, associations and enterprises participating in co-production, establishment of joint firms, and other forms of uniting our efforts and resources.

We must state that the effect of such cooperation is expressed not only in economic indicators. Coordination of plans and direct links between thousands of enterprises and organizations actively promote formation of the socialist way of life and foster indoctrination of the broad masses in a spirit of collectivism and socialist internationalism. Outright financial grant assistance to Vietnam, which in 1979 was the victim of barbaric aggression on the part of China, and to Kampuchea, which had been reduced to ruin by Beijing's henchmen, serves as a vivid example of manifestation by the peoples of the brother socialist nations of their characteristic spirit of collectivism and international solidarity.

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Mutual relations among the member nations of the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance are not limited to the domain of the economy. They are also characterized by political and cultural ties which are constantly growing stronger, and by close cooperation in the area of foreign policy. Cooperation among the brother socialist nations is embracing more and more new domains. A graphic example of this is successful implementation of the Interkosmos Program. As was emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress, cosmonauts of the nations of the socialist community are working not only for science and the national economy. They are also performing a political mission, demonstrating the strength and indissolubility of the friendly relations among the socialist countries.

An influential and beneficial role in European affairs, as well as in international affairs as a whole, is played by the /military-political defensive alliance of the socialist nations -- the Warsaw Pact Organization,/ which was established more than a quarter of a century ago, and particularly its Political Consultative Committee (PCC). The documents and recommendations adopted by the PCC and the initiatives which it puts forward are constantly discussed at the most important international forums. The Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the Committee of Ministers of Defense are also working fruitfully within the framework of the Warsaw Pact Organization. Peace initiatives by the allied nations, acting in a united front in the international arena, exert considerable influence on the foreign policy of the capitalist countries. Constituting the nucleus of the system of collective security of the socialist nations, the Warsaw Pact Organization has time and again exerted a sobering effect on the imperialist warmongers.

Creation of a military-political defensive alliance of socialist nations was dictated by the necessity of resisting the aggressive aspirations of imperialism. Its activities are grounded on the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence of nations with differing social systems and the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism, equality before the law, respect of the independence and sovereignty of nations, and noninterference in one another's internal affairs. The main goal and historic mission of the Warsaw Pact Organization is the struggle for peace and security of peoples. The fraternal alliance of peoples of the nations of the socialist community has been effectively performing this noble mission during the entire period of its many years of existence.

The 26th CPSU Congress highly praised the role which the Warsaw Pact is playing in defense of the achievements of socialism, preserving and strengthening international security. "...The military-political defensive alliance of the socialist nations," states the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report, "is faithfully serving the cause of peace. It has everything it needs in order reliably to defend the socialist achievements of peoples. And we shall do everything to ensure that this continues in the future as well!"⁴

The strength of the ties of friendship among the brother socialist nations is determined to a considerable degree by the fact that a /new type of inter-governmental relations, unprecedented in history/ -- genuinely just, equal,

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and fraternal -- has formed between them. These relations, which are steadily developing on principles of socialist internationalism, became possible thanks to a commonality of root goals and interests of the peoples of the nations of the socialist community, a societal system, ideology, political and economic systems of the same type, and thanks to the unity and cohesion of the ruling Communist and worker parties and a correct ratio of international and national interests in their policy. "Relations between nations have long been called international," L. I. Brezhnev stated in this connection at the 26th CPSU Congress. "But only in our time, in the world of socialism, have they genuinely become relations between peoples. Millions and millions of people participate directly in them. This, comrades, is a fundamental achievement of socialism, a great service of socialism to mankind."⁵

A decisive and ever increasing role in forming the entire aggregate of inter-relations among socialist nations is played by the /brother Marxist-Leninist parties./ Their indissoluble alliance comprises a solid foundation, a living soul, the community's guiding and organizing force.

Annual get-togethers between L. I. Brezhnev and the leaders of the Communist and worker parties of the brother socialist nations, which have become a fine tradition, constitute an effective political instrument which promotes strengthening of the position of world socialism. Major questions pertaining to bilateral cooperation, general problems of the socialist community, and fundamental questions of international affairs and foreign policy of the socialist countries are discussed in the course of these meetings, and new decisions and initiatives are drawn up and coordinated for joint action in the international arena.

Major tasks pertaining to the development of cooperation among the socialist nations were discussed at meetings held in the Crimea in the summer of 1981. Questions pertaining to intensification of the economies of the brother nations, specialization and co-production in various branches of production occupied the attention focus. The will of the socialist countries to do everything possible to resolve complex international problems on the basis of the peace initiatives advanced at the 26th CPSU Congress was confirmed during these talks. Leaders of the brother parties and nations stated a warning in connection with the danger which could arise as a result of implementation of U.S. and NATO plans to deploy new U.S. missiles in Europe, as a result of escalation of military budgets and the decision of the U.S. Government to produce neutron weapons. The 1981 Crimean meetings confirmed the will of the nations of the socialist community to strengthen their unity and not to slacken efforts aimed at ensuring reliable defense of the achievements of socialism and at strengthening peace and the security of peoples.

The practice of holding multilateral conferences of secretaries of the Central Committees of the brother parties, at which the present world situation is analyzed, ways to achieve further expansion of joint ideological activities are detailed, and the tasks and goals of ideological cooperation are concretized has also become an important form of international ties. Such forms of relations as visits by delegations and working groups representing central committees, local party agencies, establishments, educational institutions, and friendly armies are becoming more and more widely practiced.

Unswerving adherence to the principles of socialist internationalism and uniting of the efforts and resources of the brother peoples enables Communist and worker parties successfully to carry out plans of building socialism and communism and to look with confidence to the future. This is particularly important in view of the fact that in recent years the brother socialist countries have been compelled to carry out constructive tasks in conditions which have become more complex. Endeavoring to impede the objective course of history, to regain their lost position and to achieve superiority over the socialist nations, the imperialists are pursuing an extremely dangerous, adventurist policy in the international arena. Continuing further escalation of the arms race, they are at the same time mobilizing all means of ideological struggle in order to undermine the confidence of the masses in genuine socialism and to intoxicate their consciousness with the poison of anti-Sovietism and anticommunism.

The imperialists and their accomplices are systematically carrying out hostile campaigns against the socialist countries, are slandering and distorting everything which is taking place in these countries. Exerting ideological pressure on the socialist world, they are counting on its internal "erosion." At the same time international imperialism is attempting to drive a wedge into the unity of the nations of the socialist community and to undermine the ideological and sociopolitical cohesion of peoples which are proceeding along the path of building communism. The Beijing leaders, who have become direct accomplices of imperialism in the struggle against genuine socialism, the world Communist movement and other revolutionary and progressive forces of the present day, are marching shoulder to shoulder with imperialism.

The events of recent years once again confirm that the well-known Lenin thesis that "the more we are victorious, the more the capitalist exploiters learn to unite and shift to more resolute attacks"⁶ has retained its validity right up to the present day. A graphic example of this is the events in Poland. International imperialism, directing the actions of domestic antisocialist forces, undertook an attempt to undermine the foundations of the socialist system in this country and to turn it into a focal point of tension in Europe. Reactionary circles in the West, stepping up the hostile campaign against the socialist countries, seek to utilize the events in Poland in order to discredit the ideals and principles of socialism. They are counting on a development of events in Poland which could lead to a change in the correlation of forces in Europe and in the world as a whole, and to a weakening of the socialist community. Polish Communists and all elements of the Polish people who are faithful to the principles of socialism are working to overcome the crisis situation. The meeting of top officials of the Warsaw Pact member nations which was held in Moscow in December 1980 became an important political support for socialist Poland. This meeting demonstrated that Polish Communists, the Polish worker class, and the working people of this country will always be helped by their friends. The subsequent development of events has confirmed this. In a situation where the U.S. Government, by means of economic and political blackmail, is attempting to force the Polish Government to give up the measures it had taken to normalize the situation, the Warsaw Pact countries are giving Poland comprehensive assistance and support.

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The imperialists and their accomplices should have long since comprehended the fruitlessness of their hopes of succeeding in turning back the course of history and destroying the achievements of socialism. "The history of world socialism," stressed L. I. Brezhnev in the Central Committee Accountability Report to the 26th CPSU Congress, "has seen all kinds of trials, it has contained both complex and crisis elements. But Communists have always boldly met the enemy's assault and have emerged victorious. This is the way things have been and will continue to be. Let nobody doubt our common resolve to secure our own interests and to defend the socialist achievements of peoples!"⁷

Mankind sees the socialist community as the vanguard of social progress. Guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism, the CPSU and the other brother parties of the socialist nations are persistently and consistently implementing a policy of /expanding cooperation with countries which have become liberated from colonial oppression/ and which have entered upon the path of independent development.

The powerful upsurge in the national liberation struggle evoked by the great October Revolution, which became even more intensified with the formation of a world socialist system, has led to the elimination of colonial empires and the formation of more than 100 young independent states. The processes which are taking place in these countries affect the destiny of dozens of peoples who together comprise more than 50 percent of the world's population. Some of the liberated countries decline the capitalist path of development and set as their goal the building of a society which is free of exploitation and orient themselves toward socialism. The number of these countries is growing, and the progressive reforms being carried out in these countries are deepening.

Of enormous importance for the fate of national liberation revolutions is their link with genuine socialism. Liberated countries have true and dependable friends in the person of the Soviet Union and the other nations of the socialist community, friends who are ready and willing to give them help and support in their development along a progressive path. A total of 1180 industrial enterprises, electric power stations, water engineering, agricultural and other projects for the national economy have been constructed or are being constructed in the governmental sector of liberated countries with the assistance of the USSR. These include metallurgical enterprises designed for an annual production of 26 million tons of steel, and electric power stations with an aggregate generating capacity of more than 15 million kilowatts. Projects to build 69 irrigation systems, to put into exploitation approximately 740,000 hectares of new land, are being constructed with Soviet aid.

The Soviet Union has also greatly assisted in training indigenous cadres in developing countries. Each year 70-80 thousand citizens of these countries receive various forms of production, vocational-technical, secondary specialized and higher education and training within the framework of cooperation with our country, which exerts considerable influence on qualitative renewal of the social structure of previously backward countries.

The socialist community is giving economic and technical assistance to a total of 78 developing countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. As of 1 January 1979 2685 industrial and other facilities had come on-stream in these countries with the participation of CEMA nations. Tens of thousands of specialists from the USSR and other socialist nations are working at construction sites in the countries of Asia and Africa, in industry and agriculture, at hospitals and educational institutions in these countries.

Together with the other brother countries, our country also helps strengthen the defense capability of the liberated nations when they make such requests. We know, for example, of what enormous significance has been the selfless international assistance by the USSR and Cuba to the peoples of Angola and Ethiopia in defending their revolutionary achievements and in repulsing aggression against these African nations organized by imperialist circles. The resolute position taken by the Soviet Union helped prevent imperialist military intervention in Iran.

Our country is rendering great assistance in defending the achievements of the April revolution to the people of friendly Afghanistan, against which imperialism unleashed a most genuine undeclared war. This assistance, given at the request of the Afghan Government, is fully in conformity with the treaty of friendship, good-neighbor relations and cooperation between the USSR and the DRA signed in 1978, and with the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter, which recognizes the inalienable right of individual and collective defense to a nation subjected to any form of armed attack (Article 51), that is, the right to request and receive assistance, including military, from other countries. In rendering such assistance to Afghanistan, the Soviet Government is guided by the definition of act of armed aggression ratified by the UN General Assembly. As we know, according to this definition, aggression covers not only a direct attack by the armed forces of one nation against another, but also the infiltration of armed bands, irregular forces or mercenaries which perpetrate acts of employment of armed force against another country.

The consistent campaign being waged by the USSR and the other nations of the socialist community to eliminate focal areas of international détente is of great importance for retaining national independence by liberated countries and their movement along the path of progress. The USSR and the other nations of the socialist community seek to achieve a just political settlement of the crisis in the Near East and resolutely support the struggle of the Arab peoples to liquidate the consequences of Israeli aggression, against the anti-Arab Camp David separate peace deal, and for implementation of the just demands of the Arab people of Palestine. Young nations and fighters for national independence in other regions of the world as well have a firm and consistent defender of their interests in the nations of the socialist community. This also applies in full measure to Southern Africa, the peoples of which are struggling against apartheid and for the liberation of Namibia, which is being illegally held by the racists of the Republic of South Africa; and to East Africa, where the question of the necessity of armed defense of the revolutionary achievements of the peoples of Ethiopia and Mozambique is still on the agenda; and to Southeast Asia, where plans for new aggression against Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea are being nurtured to the noisy accompaniment of the anti-Vietnam and anticommunist campaign being waged by the imperialists and by Beijing.

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The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries support the nonaligned movement, which recently entered the third decade of its existence. Recently we have witnessed stepped-up attempts on the part of the imperialists and China to emasculate the antiimperialist thrust of this movement, to split its ranks, to place them in opposition to the socialist community and other progressive, peace-seeking forces. These attempts are receiving a proper rebuff, however. The nonaligned movement is continuing to play an important role in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, against war and aggression.

The great life-giving strength of Marxism-Leninism, which is constantly absorbing the diversified international political experience of the worker class and all working people, is with each passing year becoming increasingly more determining in evolution of the world revolutionary process. /The achievements of genuine socialism [real'nogo sotsializma] are exerting increasingly greater influence on the course of the class struggle in the capitalist countries, / forcing capitalism to make certain social concessions to the worker class. The struggle of the worker class of the capitalist countries against the omnipotence of the monopolies, for the rights of the working people, for peace and security of peoples is steadily continuing to intensify under the influence of these factors and the deepening general crisis of capitalism. Actions by the working people have begun to be characterized by great scope and diversity of forms.

The international worker class and its political vanguard -- Communist and worker parties -- approached the 1980's with confident stride. They are presently active in 94 countries. In the last 10 years approximately 800,000 new fighters have joined their ranks in Western Europe alone. The international Communist movement, at the headwaters of which stood V. I. Lenin, has for decades now been the most influential political force of our era, advancing forward the entire development of mankind.

Expressing the interests and aspirations of the broadest segments of the population, Communist and worker parties are moving in a united front to champion preservation of the fruits of détente and advance of the cause of disarmament, and are raising up the masses in the struggle to free mankind from the threat of a nuclear missile catastrophe. This consistent campaign by the Communists, as was stressed at the 26th CPSU Congress, serves as a "great unifying element and powerful factor in further cohesion and growth of the prestige of the world Communist movement."⁸

The successes of the world Communist movement, the attractive force of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and growth in the prestige and influence of genuine socialism are evoking fierce resistance on the part of the class enemy. The bourgeoisie and its ideologues, opportunists and revisionists of every ilk are stepping up the struggle against the Communists. They are attempting to falsify Marxism-Leninism, to emasculate its revolutionary essence, to find "contradictions" [protivorechiya; also translates as conflicts] between the theory of scientific socialism and the practical activities of the socialist countries, and to discredit the socialist way of life.

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In the capitalist countries reactionary circles are endeavoring to discredit the policy of the Communist parties, to shift them into the channel of social-reformism, and to isolate them from the people. Bourgeois propaganda, in its endeavor to undermine the political prestige of the international Communist movement, is claiming the existence of disagreements in its ranks, which are allegedly of an insuperable nature. Giving a rebuff to these fabrications, the 26th CPSU Congress stressed that differences in approaches to solving concrete problems and debates between Communist parties are caused primarily by the complexity and diversity of the tasks facing them.

"Our party," the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report states in this regard, "proceeds from the position that differences in opinion between Communists are surmountable, of course if they are not fundamental differences between revolutionaries and reformists, between creative Marxism and dogmatic sectarianism and leftist adventurism. Here of course there can be no compromises -- today, just as during the time of Lenin. But when Communists are fighting for a common revolutionary cause, we proceed from the position that patient comradely discussion of differing views and positions optimally corresponds to their common goals."⁹

In the past as well, Communist parties had differing opinions on various questions. Time and practical experience, however, have again and again confirmed the vitality of Lenin's statement that many disagreements "can and definitely will disappear: this result will be produced by the logic of joint struggle against a truly formidable adversary, the bourgeoisie..."¹⁰ The Communists always have responded and continue to respond to the intrigues of imperialism and its accomplices with international unity of their ranks and by a consistent struggle against bourgeois ideology, revisionism and dogmatism, for the purity and innovative development of Marxism-Leninism, for close cooperation of all revolutionary forces and effective solidarity with genuine socialism, against all manifestations of anti-Sovietism.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress], page 79.
2. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Works], Vol 26, page 40.
3. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom: rechi, privetstviya, stat'i, vospominaniya" [Following a Leninist Course: Speeches, Messages of Greeting, Articles, Reminiscences], Moscow, 1979, Vol 7, page 95.
4. "Materialy...", op. cit., page 6.
5. Ibid.
6. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 40, page 244.

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7. "Materialy...", op. cit., page 10.
8. Ibid., page 18.
9. Ibid., pp 17-18.
10. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 39, page 255.

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Chapter Two. INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER OF DEFENSE OF SOCIALIST ACHIEVEMENTS

K. Marx and F. Engels, the founders of scientific communism, proceeding from the experience of the class struggle in conditions of premonopoly capitalism, reached important theoretical conclusions on the /necessity of arming the worker class and creating its military organization for defense of socialist achievements against domestic and external enemies./

As we know, these theses were stated by K. Marx and F. Engels at a time when there had not yet occurred any victorious socialist revolutions and the task of comprehensive elaboration of a teaching on defense of the socialist state was not on the agenda. The new historical conditions of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions demanded further innovative development of the Marxist military-theory legacy and elaboration of concrete questions pertaining to military organization of the victorious proletariat and armed defense of its revolutionary achievements. And this task fell to the lot of our Communist Party and its founder and leader, V. I. Lenin. It was resolved in an organic link with development of the theory of socialist revolution. Leninist teaching on dictatorship of the proletariat and on the conditions of its achievement and consolidation constituted for the party a point of departure for the formulation and comprehensive elaboration of military questions.

V. I. Lenin, on the basis of a thorough analysis of the development of capitalist countries at the stage of imperialism, reached the conclusion of the impossibility of the victory of socialism simultaneously in all countries and substantiated the possibility of such a victory initially in a few or even in one single capitalist country. This victory, he stressed, will cause "not only friction but also a direct endeavor by the bourgeoisie of other countries to defeat the victorious proletariat of the socialist state. In these cases war would be legitimate and just on our part. It would be a war for socialism...."¹

The theoretical conclusions reached by V. I. Lenin were fully confirmed by the subsequent course of historical development of mankind. With the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the defense of socialism became an immediate practical task, a most important component part of the struggle of the working people for socialism. As V. I. Lenin foresaw, the forces of domestic and external counterrevolution immediately proceeded to act in a united front against the achievements of the working people. International

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imperialism was the organizer of the armed struggle against the young Soviet Republic. The imperialists of Germany, Great Britain, France, the United States, Japan, and other countries united in their endeavor to strangle the world's first socialist revolution. They not only gave economic and political support to the overthrown classes of capitalists and landowners and armed the domestic counterrevolution, but also threw against the young Soviet Republic regular armies numbering in the thousands.

Thus life once again confirmed the correctness of one of the most important theses of Marxism-Leninism, which states that the bourgeoisie will never agree voluntarily to yield power to the working people, that it will endeavor to strangle the revolution at all costs. "The transition from capitalism to communism," wrote V. I. Lenin, "is an entire historical era. Until it ends, the exploiters will inevitably retain hopes of restoration, and this /hope [it.]/ will be transformed into /attempts [it.]/ at restoration. And following the first serious defeat, the overthrown exploiters... will throw themselves into battle, with redoubled energy, with fury and hatred grown a hundred times over, to gain the return of the 'paradise' which has been taken from them...."²

Elaborating the theoretical and practical problems of organizing defense of the achievements of the revolution, V. I. Lenin comprehensively revealed the specific features of wars in defense of socialism. Pointing to their class, revolutionary, just and general national character, at the same time he substantiated the /integral unity of national and international tasks in the matter of defending the achievements of socialism,/ dictated by a commonality of class interests of the various national detachments of the proletariat and the coalescence of their goals in the struggle against capitalism.

V. I. Lenin considered unification of the efforts of the workers of all countries, their fraternal solidarity and mutual assistance to be an essential condition for gaining victory over the bourgeoisie. "Capital," he stated, "is an international force. In order to defeat it, an international alliance of workers, an international brotherhood of workers is needed."³ Historical experience shows that as the front of the liberation struggle broadens, as class battles in the capitalist countries intensify, and as additional peoples escape from the power of capital, the bourgeoisie resists with increasing tenacity and unifies its efforts more and more closely on an international scale. This in turn demands a closer unity of peoples which have taken the path of socialism and further consolidation of all international revolutionary forces. "...Standing against the enormous front of imperialist powers," V. I. Lenin stated in this connection, "we who are fighting imperialism comprise an alliance which requires close military unity, and we view all attempts to disrupt this unity as an absolutely impermissible phenomenon, as betrayal of the interests of the struggle against international imperialism."⁴

At the same time V. I. Lenin emphasized that for the working people of Russia preservation and strengthening of the Soviet State is not only a national duty but also constitutes fulfillment of one's international duty to the worker class and the working people of other countries, optimal support of the world revolutionary movement. Responding to a demagogic attack by a group of "leftist Communists," he wrote in May 1918: "It is /mandatory [it.]/ to defend

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the /socialist [it.]/ homeland namely in the interests of 'strengthening the tie' with international socialism. He who would have a frivolous attitude toward defense of that country in which the proletariat has already won victory destroys the tie with international socialism."⁵

/During the years of civil war and foreign military intervention, the worker class placed the great force of proletarian solidarity in opposition to counter-revolution./ Its international solidarity constituted one of the most important sources of victory over the united forces of imperialism. A political, economic and military alliance of Soviet republics -- a genuine embodiment of Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism -- became unified and strengthened in the flame of civil war. For the first time in history an organized military force was in the hands of the worker class, a force which, international in origin, became a mighty bulwark protecting the achievements of socialism in the struggle against the imperialist aggressors, an obstacle in the path of their bandit policy and predatory wars of plunder.

The Great October Revolution also constituted a school of internationalism for millions of working people in other countries. It evoked an unprecedented surge of internationalist solidarity on the part of the international proletariat. The working people of England, Germany, France, the United States and other countries saw in the Land of Soviets a support of the world revolutionary movement and a faithful ally in their struggle against the rule of capital. "Not one soldier, not one cartridge against Soviet Russia!" "Peace with Russia!" "Hands off Soviet Russia!" -- the workers of many countries came to the defense of the cause of the Great October Revolution under such slogans as these.

The finest representatives of the working people of a number of countries in Europe and Asia took active part in armed defense of the socialist achievements of the Russian proletariat. At that time more than 250,000 internationalist fighting men joined the Red Army -- Poles, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Serbs, Croats, Czechs, Slovaks, Romanians, Germans, Mongols, Koreans, Chinese, and representatives of other peoples. Dozens of international units operated at various times on the civil war fronts. Defending together with the Soviet people the achievements of the Great October Revolution, these internationalist fighting men wrote unfading pages into the history of the fighting alliance of the working people of the various countries.

Accepting with gratitude the fraternal assistance of the peoples of other countries, the world's first socialist state and its army themselves carried out with honor their internationalist duty. During the first years of existence of the Soviet Republic, when it was fighting off furious attacks by the united forces of imperialism and domestic counterrevolution, our people and their Red Army were doing everything possible to support the revolutionary struggle of the worker class of Finland, Germany, Austria, and Hungary.

From the very first days of establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat in Hungary in 1919, the Red Army High Command prepared, on V. I. Lenin's instructions, a plan for establishing a common front of Soviet Russia and Soviet Hungary. The difficult situation on the civil war fronts made it necessary temporarily to postpone implementation of this plan. The forming

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of international units to assist the proletariat of Hungary did not, however, cease even in this adverse situation. A large group of Russian soldiers who were in Hungary as prisoners of war fought valiantly in the ranks of the Hungarian Red Army. In addition, the Hungarian Soviet Republic was given effective diplomatic support.

Assistance from the land of Soviets was of decisive significance for the fate of the brother Mongolian people. When the Provisional Government of Mongolia turned to Soviet Russia in June 1921 with a request for help in the struggle against the bands of Baron Ungern and domestic counterrevolution, our country sent into Mongolia a 10,000-man expeditionary corps. The vital strength of proletarian solidarity was also brilliantly manifested in joint actions by Soviet and Mongolian forces to rout the Japanese aggressors who in the summer of 1939 invaded the territory of the MPR in the Khalkhin-Gol area.

The Soviet State gave the Chinese people considerable political and moral support and military-economic assistance in their struggle for national independence and freedom.

Assistance by the Soviet Union to the Spanish Republic in 1936-1939 constituted a bright page in the history of international proletarian solidarity, when with the connivance of the governments of Great Britain, France and the United States, Spain was invaded by the fascist hordes of Germany and Italy. More than 3000 Soviet volunteers fought in the international brigades of the Republican Army.

Proletarian internationalism, tempered in the flame of the Great October Socialist Revolution and civil war, and in subsequent class battles of the international proletariat, became a powerful factor in the strengthening and development of socialism and the international revolutionary movement, and a genuine support of the working people of the entire world in the struggle against international reaction.

/The Soviet people displayed unshaking loyalty to their internationalist duty during the years of the Great Patriotic War./ The Soviet Armed Forces, under the guidance of the Communist Party, inflicted a crushing defeat on Hitlerite Germany and its satellites, successfully defending the freedom and independence of the socialist homeland, and carried out a great liberation mission in respect to the countries of Europe and Asia which had been enslaved by German fascism and Japanese militarism.

The Soviet Union was the main force which blocked the path of German fascism in carrying out its monstrous schemes. It bore on its shoulders the brunt of the war and played a decisive role in the defeat of Hitlerite Germany and subsequently of militarist Japan as well. Falsifiers of history are continuing in their attempts to remove this unparalleled feat from the memory of peoples. Facts are stubborn things, however. And they testify that the Soviet-German front was the main front in World War II. Suffice it to say that up to mid-1944 from 190 to 270 enemy divisions were fighting simultaneously on the Soviet-German front, while from 9 to 20 divisions were operating against British and American troops in North Africa, and from 7 to 26 divisions

in Italy. Even following the landing of Anglo-American troops in Northern France, the bulk of fascist Germany's army continued to fight against the Soviet Armed Forces. Of the 13,600,000 men lost by the fascist Wehrmacht as killed, wounded or captured during World War II, fascist losses on the Soviet-German front totaled 10 million men. The Hitlerites lost three fourths of their aircraft and the bulk of their tanks and artillery on this same front.

In the course of combat operations our army liberated from German-fascist and Japanese occupation the territories of a number of countries in Europe and Asia with a population of approximately 200 million. A total of seven million Soviet officers and men, more than 1 million of whom were killed, took part in the liberation of the European countries. Total Soviet Armed Forces losses in carrying out the liberation mission in the countries of Europe and Asia exceeded three million killed, wounded and missing in action. The Armed Forces of the USSR, carrying out their internationalist duty to the fullest, gained the profound gratitude of the peoples of the liberated countries.

The heroic example of the Soviet people and their army in the struggle against Hitlerite Germany fostered an upsurge in the antifascist movement in the enslaved countries of Europe. More than 2 million patriots took part in the resistance movement just in Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, Poland, France, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. German antifascist fighting groups led by the German Communist Party were waging a struggle against the Hitlerite regime in difficult conditions.

Patriotic forces in a number of European countries established their own liberation armies during the years of World War II, armies which took part, together with the Soviet Armed Forces, in the concluding battles against the German-fascist invaders. The Soviet Union rendered great assistance in building these armies, furnishing combat equipment, weapons and other essential gear for forming units and combined units. The first units and combined units of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Romania were established on the territory of the USSR.

The Czechoslovak People's Army dates from the formation of a Czechoslovak infantry battalion in the city of Buzuluk in December 1941. This battalion received its baptism of fire in March 1943 near the village of Sokolovo in the vicinity of Khar'kov. USSR decorations and medals were awarded to 87 men in this battalion for courage and heroism displayed in this action. Company commander Jr Lt Otakar Jaros was the first soldier in a foreign unit to be posthumously awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union, while battalion commander Ludvik Svoboda was awarded the Order of Lenin. The Czechoslovak 1st Brigade was formed on the basis of this battalion and sent to the front at the beginning of October 1943. Fighting as an element of the First Ukrainian Front, it took part in the battles for liberation of Kiev, capital of the Ukraine. That same year formation of a tank battalion, an air-force fighter squadron and an airborne brigade commenced.

As Soviet forces were approaching the border of Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Government, at the request of the foreign bureau of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the Czechoslovak command authorities, ordered immediate formation of

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the Czechoslovak 1st Army Corps. In the summer of 1944 the corps was ready to enter combat and was placed operationally under the commanding general of the First Ukrainian Front. It gained a wealth of combat experience in the course of intensive battles in the Eastern Carpathians in September-October 1944. On 6 October, as a result of an assault on the Dukla Pass, successfully completed jointly with Soviet troops, the men of the Czechoslovak corps set foot on native soil. The slogan "With the Soviet Union Forever!", born on the Dukla, became a lodestar for all Czechs and Slovaks who were fighting for freedom and independence. Czechoslovak soldiers fought for more than 7 months as an element of the Fourth Ukrainian Front to liberate their homeland.

Thanks to comprehensive assistance and support by the Soviet people, forming of the Polish Army began on the territory of our country. The Polish 1st Infantry Division, named after Polish national hero Tadeusz Kosciuszko, became its first combined unit. On 12 October 1943 this division, as an element of the 33d Army of the Western Front, entered battle with the German-fascist invaders near the small Belorussian locality of Lenino. The Soviet Government awarded decorations and medals to 239 officers and men of the Polish division for courage and valor displayed in this battle.

The army of People's Poland grew and matured together with Red Army victories. Formation of the Polish 1st Corps began in August 1943; soon the Polish 1st Army was formed on the basis of this corps, successfully operating as an element of the First Belorussian Front in the Lublin sector. The Polish 2d Army was subsequently formed on liberated Polish soil. Both armies became elements of the Polish Army, which was more than 400,000 men strong by war's end. Joint combat actions by Soviet and Polish troops in the course of the Lublin-Brest, Vistula-Oder, East Pomeranian, Berlin and Prague offensive operations constituted important landmarks along the road of development and strengthening of our fighting alliance.

The fighting comradeship of the Soviet and Romanian peoples developed in the difficult wartime conditions. Defeats sustained by the German-fascist forces on the Soviet-German front and effective propaganda work fostered activation of an antifascist and patriotic movement among Romanian Army personnel captured by Soviet troops. In September 1943 a conference of representatives of Romanian prisoners of war appealed to the Soviet Government for permission to form volunteer units on Soviet soil to take part in the struggle against fascism. With our country's support, by spring of 1944 Romanian antifascists had formed the Tudor Vladimirescu 1st Volunteer Infantry Division. As an element of the Second Ukrainian Front, it took part in combat against the Hitlerites in the Iasi-Kishinev Operation.

Exploiting favorable conditions created by the advance of Soviet troops, patriotic forces in Romania, led by the Communists, overthrew the military-fascist regime in Romania in August 1944 and turned their weapons against Hitlerite Germany. Operating as a component of the Second Ukrainian Front, Romanian troops fought for liberation of their native land against the Hitlerite occupation forces, and subsequently fought successfully, together with the troops of the Red Army, for liberation of the brother peoples of Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

At the beginning of February 1945 the Budai Volunteer Regiment was formed of Hungarian military personnel who had come over to the side of the Soviet forces. Following liberation of the Hungarian capital, the regiment was withdrawn to the city of Jaszbereny, where the 1st Infantry Division of the new Hungarian Army was formed. In January-May 1945 the Soviet Union gave Hungarian patriotic forces fraternal assistance in forming two infantry divisions and two railway brigades.

A total of 19 infantry, 5 artillery and 5 air divisions, 6 infantry and air-borne, 8 tank and motorized rifle, 12 artillery and mortar, and 5 combat engineer brigades, as well as a large number of other units and subunits of friendly armies were armed and trained during the war years with the assistance of the Soviet Union. By war's end the total numerical strength of these units amounted to 550,000 men. The Soviet command authorities allocated to them, just from the resources of the central supply agencies, 16,500 guns and mortars, more than 1,100 tanks and self-propelled guns, more than 2,300 aircraft, plus large quantities of other weapons and combat equipment.

The friendly armies, which had grown in numbers and had become strengthened in combat, took active part in the final battles in the European theater of military operations. Troops of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, for example, fought shoulder to shoulder with Soviet troops in the Belgrade Operation. Two Romanian armies and one Bulgarian army gave considerable support to the troops of the Second and Third Ukrainian fronts in liberating Hungary. Combined units of the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia and the Bulgarian 1st Army took part in the Vienna offensive operation conducted by Soviet forces. Two Romanian armies and one Polish army, a Czechoslovak army corps and a Hungarian railway brigade fought together with the troops of three Ukrainian fronts in the Prague Operation. The Mongolian People's Republic proved to be a reliable friend and ally of our country in the difficult years of the Great Patriotic War. The fraternal Mongolian people, true to the principles of proletarian internationalism, provided the Red Army with a large quantity of horses, food supplies, and warm clothing. The Revolutionary Mongolia tank column and the Mongolian Herdsman air squadron were formed with financing by the working people of that country. In August 1945 the 80,000-man Mongolian People's Army took active part, together with Soviet troops, in defeating the Japanese militarists in Manchuria.

Thus the brotherhood in arms which was born in the first years of existence of Soviet rule experienced further development during the years of World War II. The fighting alliance of brother peoples and armies which formed in the course of the war successfully withstood the test of strength in the final battles against the hordes of Hitlerite Germany and militarist Japan.

World War II ended with total defeat of the aggressors, with a result unforeseen by the imperialists: a large number of countries in Europe and Asia fell away from the capitalist system. Socialism advanced beyond the framework of a single country and became transformed into a world system, which was the second most important event after the Great October Revolution. "In a protracted and the most difficult war in the history of our homeland," reads the CPSU Central Committee decree entitled "On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution," "the Soviet people accomplished a feat

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unparalleled in the history of mankind. They succeeded not only in defending their freedom and independence but also made a decisive contribution to the cause of saving European and world civilization from destruction by the fascist barbarians."⁶

The Great Patriotic War reaffirmed the vital strength of the Leninist teaching on defense of the socialist homeland and the correctness of the Leninist description of wars waged by working people for the sake of saving socialism and their revolutionary achievements. V. I. Lenin's statement that "that people in which the majority of workers and peasants have recognized, felt and seen that they are defending their own, Soviet rule -- rule by the working people, that they are defending that cause the victory of which will guarantee to them and their children the opportunity to utilize all the benefits of culture and all things created by human labor will never be defeated"⁷ has proven to be prophetic.

With formation of the world socialist system, /the Leninist theses on the international character of defense of socialist achievements experienced further development in the decisions of the Communist and worker parties of the socialist countries./ This was dictated by the necessity of ensuring favorable external conditions for successful accomplishment of the tasks of building socialism and communism in a situation of intensifying aggressive intrigues by imperialism, consolidation of the forces of international reaction, and its unceasing attempts to split the unity of the socialist nations in order to destroy them one by one.

Unswervingly following the principles of proletarian internationalism, the CPSU and the other ruling Marxist-leninist parties, immediately following the conclusion of World War II, took essential measures to establish close economic, political and military cooperation among their countries. The USSR gave effective economic assistance to the young nations which had embarked upon a socialist road of development, assistance which helped them overcome the severe consequences of the war and to proceed with organization of societal production. Subsequently multilateral cooperation within the framework of the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance enabled the countries of the socialist community to accomplish through joint efforts many important economic and scientific-technical tasks, which also had a positive effect on strengthening their defense capability.

In the first postwar years military-political cooperation on the basis of /bilateral treaties/ of friendship and mutual assistance constituted the principal form of unification of efforts of the socialist countries to defend those countries. The first such treaties were treaties signed by the USSR during World War II: with Czechoslovakia on 12 December 1923, with Yugoslavia on 11 April 1945, and with Poland on 21 April 1945. After World War II came to an end, the Soviet Union entered into similar treaties with the Mongolian People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Hungarian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the People's Republic of China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and the German Democratic Republic. The majority of socialist countries also entered into similar treaties with one another.

During this period the process of establishing national armies was being concluded in all the young socialist nations, armies which in their class essence became armies of a new, socialist type. Thanks to the solicitude of the Communist and worker parties, they were provided with weapons and combat equipment which were up-to-date for those times, and there occurred improvement in their combat proficiency and ideological-political indoctrination of personnel.

Immediately following World War II the imperialists, extremely dissatisfied with its results, commenced active preparations for another world war, hoping that they would be able to "replay" the lost battles of the 20th century and destroy socialism. At the same time they sharply activated the policy of "cold war," the main content of which was undisguised blackmail, threats, acts of provocation, and outright aggressive actions directed against the socialist countries. U.S. imperialism, which at that time possessed a monopoly on the atomic bomb, moved to the head of the forces which were threatening mankind with a new world military conflagration.

In 1949 the imperialist powers hammered together the aggressive North Atlantic bloc (NATO), and by the middle of the 1950's they had established like military-political blocs in Southeast Asia (SEATO) and in the Near East (CENTO). Pushing of military preparations by the aggressive blocs was accompanied by a frenzied arms race and by the establishment of an extensive network of U.S. military bases along the borders of the USSR and the entire socialist community. The NATO bloc, which was directed against the Soviet Union and the other socialist nations, virtually split Europe into two opposing military camps.

Simultaneously with establishment of the NATO bloc, proclaimed by its organizers as a "defensive organization," with the aim of deceiving Western European public opinion, a plan was drawn up deep within the Pentagon, on the instructions of President Truman, for preparing for and waging an atomic war against the USSR and its allies under the code name "Dropshot." Just as today, U.S. ruling circles were counting on the flame of nuclear war raging in the countries of Europe but not touching U.S. soil.

The war was tentatively planned to commence in 1957. A total of 300 atomic bombs were to be dropped during the first 30 days of the war, which in the opinion of the plan's authors were to crush the Soviet Union's will to resist and to force it to surrender. If massive nuclear strikes did not lead to swift surrender, the bombings were to continue, with simultaneous commencement of coordinated strategic offensive operations from various directions, with the aim of crushing the Soviet forces in Central Europe.

One's attention is drawn by the clearly marked class character and political aims of the war schemes directed against the USSR. The plan of Operation "Dropshot" emphasized, for example, that "the very nature of the socialist system presents the most serious threat to U.S. national security." Therefore the main political objective of war against the Soviet Union consisted primarily in destroying the Soviet sociopolitical system, as well as stripping the Soviet Union of its unified nationhood, in order to ensure that in the future nothing could prevent establishment of U.S. world hegemony. In order to

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achieve this goal, the territory of the Soviet Union was to be split up into separate occupation zones -- Western, Ukrainian-Caucasus, Western Siberian, Ural-Turkestan, and East Siberian-Far Eastern. Occupation troops stationed in key industrial and administrative centers would maintain control of the territory of the USSR and its allies and observe compliance with the terms of surrender.

At approximately the same time the British chiefs of staff committee was drawing up on a priority schedule plans for nuclear bombardment and employment of bacteriological weapons against the Soviet Union. According to their calculations, they would be delivered on 58 Soviet cities with a population of more than 100,000 persons each. Moscow, Leningrad, Arkhangel'sk, Baku, and other industrial centers were selected as priority targets.

The end of the U.S. nuclear monopoly forced U.S. ruling circles to scrap Operation Dropshot. But this did not mean that the imperialist powers had given up their intentions of destroying the socialist world with the aid of armed force. Stubbornly adhering to an aggressive course of policy, they continued, contrary to the will of peoples, their policy "from a position of strength," which contained the threat of another world war. In December 1954 a meeting of the NATO Council adopted a decision to equip the armies of this bloc with nuclear weapons, while somewhat later the Paris Agreements, signed by the NATO member countries, were ratified and went into effect on 5 May 1955, opening the door to NATO to the FRG. Having become a member of NATO, West Germany, which at that time was governed by the revanchist right wing of the monopoly bourgeoisie, became actively involved in the arms race and soon became a most important component of the system of aggressive blocs established by the imperialist powers. A focal point for another world war was ripening in the center of Europe.

This development of the international situation confirmed the correctness and farsightedness of V. I. Lenin, who stated that peoples taking the socialist path of development "definitely need a close military and economic alliance, for otherwise the capitalists... will crush and strangle us one by one."⁸ Under the prevailing conditions the brother parties of the socialist countries were faced with the objective necessity of elaborating a unified program of actions for the purpose of ensuring reliable defense of revolutionary achievements and strengthening the world socialist system. It was essential to place in opposition to the united forces of international imperialism the unified might of the peace-seeking socialist nations and to establish a reliable system of their collective defense and security. Toward this end a conference was convened in May 1955 in Warsaw, capital of the Polish People's Republic, at which the heads of the governments of Albania,⁹ Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, the USSR and Czechoslovakia signed on 14 May 1955 a treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance, which has gone down in history as the /Warsaw Pact./

Creation of the Warsaw Pact Organization was of enormous international significance. It vividly embodied the Leninist ideas of proletarian internationalism and the necessity of unity and solidarity of the socialist countries in defense of their revolutionary achievements and in the struggle against

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aggressive imperialist forces. Constituting a genuinely defensive alliance, the Warsaw Pact Organization has no other aims than the defense of socialism, securement of a firm peace for the benefit of all peoples, and creation of favorable external conditions for accomplishing the tasks of building socialism and communism.

The aims of the Warsaw Pact are formulated in its preamble. It states that the Contracting Parties have decided to enter into this Treaty "in order to ensure their security and in the interests of maintaining peace in Europe."¹⁰ Confirming their aspiration for strengthening international peace and security, the parties to the Treaty pledged "to refrain in their international relations from the threat of force or the use of force and to resolve their international disputes by peaceful means."¹¹ They declared their willingness "to participate in a spirit of sincere cooperation in all international actions aimed at ensuring international peace and security,"¹² and "to seek the adoption, in agreement with other nations which desire to cooperate in this matter, effective measures toward a general arms reduction and banning of atomic, hydrogen and other mass destruction weapons."¹³

Guided by the interests of peace and security, the Warsaw Pact member nations pledged to consult with one another on all important international questions affecting their common interests, as well as to hold urgent consultations whenever in the opinion of any member nation there arose the threat of military attack on one or several Warsaw Pact members. If it proved impossible to eliminate such a threat, Article 4 of the treaty would come into effect. According to this article, in case of an armed attack in Europe against one or several Warsaw Pact member nations, each member nation, individually and by agreement with other members, is obligated to give the attacked country or countries immediate assistance by all means which seem necessary to that country, including the employment of military force.

In order to achieve advance preparation for effective joint defense, the parties to the treaty agreed to establish a Joint Command with military forces assigned to it, a command operating on the basis of jointly specified principles. At the same time they pledged to take other coordinated measures requisite for strengthening their defense capability; not to participate in any coalitions or alliances and not to enter into any agreements the aims of which are contrary to the provisions of the Treaty, and to act in a spirit of friendship and cooperation with the aim of further development and strengthening of economic and cultural ties.

An important feature in the Warsaw Pact is the content of Article 9, which states that this Treaty "is open to accession by other countries, regardless of their societal or governmental system, which express their willingness, by means of participation in this treaty, to promote unification of the efforts of peace-seeking nations with the objective of ensuring peace and the security of peoples."¹⁴

Thus the content of the Warsaw Pact is entirely permeated by the ideas of peace. There has been no other military-political alliance in history with such noble aims and tasks. Herein lies its root difference from the alliances and blocs linking the nations of the capitalist world. Regardless of

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the form of imperialist alliances, they always aim at preparation for and initiation of aggressive wars and impeding of social progress. Suffice it to mention the activities of the NATO bloc, the participation or support of which has been involved in every more or less major act of aggression perpetrated since 1949.

In the period since establishment of the Warsaw Pact Organization, /Marxist-Leninist teaching on defense of the achievements of socialism has been enriched with new theses and conclusions, / advanced and formally stated in documents of congresses of Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist countries and international conferences of Communist and worker parties in 1957, 1960, and 1969. An important place in this teaching is occupied by theses and conclusions which describe imperialism as the source of contemporary wars, which reveal the aggressive thrust of its bloc policy, and which substantiate the objective necessity of collective defense of socialism and define its principal forms and means.

A conclusion on the possibility of averting another world war and the necessity of uniting peace-seeking forces to defend socialism and peace throughout the world, for example, received support at the 1957 Conference of Representatives of Communist and Worker Parties of the Socialist Countries, and the thesis on the necessity of defending socialist achievements against domestic and external enemies as a most important mechanism of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism was formally stated.

It was pointed out at the 1969 International Conference of Communist and Worker Parties that "as in the past, the spearhead of the aggressive strategy of imperialism is directed primarily against the socialist nations. Imperialism refuses to renounce direct armed struggle against socialism. It is continuously escalating the arms race, is attempting to activate military blocs created for purposes of aggression against the Soviet Union and the other socialist nations, is intensifying the ideological struggle against them, and is attempting to impede their economic development."¹⁵ The conference stressed that the defense of socialism is the international duty of Communists and that as long as the aggressive NATO bloc continues to exist, an important role is played by the Warsaw Pact Organization in preserving and defending peace and the world socialist system, and in guaranteeing the security of the socialist countries against military attack by the imperialist powers.¹⁶

The entire course of events since 1955 and incessant attempts by international imperialism to split and destroy piecemeal the world socialist system have confirmed that the national independence and the very existence of each socialist nation can be reliably guaranteed only through the joint efforts of the entire socialist community. No one country, be it large or small, can ignore the necessity of cooperation with the other socialist nations in the realm of defense and cannot ignore the need for military unity. Military isolation from the other nations of the socialist community, just as economic or political isolation, merely plays into the hands of the enemies of socialism, since this makes it easier for them to carry out their sinister schemes.

Viewing the international character of the defense of socialist achievements as one of the general laws and patterns of the socialist revolution, the building of socialism and communism, Marxist-Leninist science at the same time reveals the specific features of manifestation of this mechanism in different concrete historical situations.

An important feature of the defense of socialism in the present-day situation is the fact that it is organized in conditions of a correlation of forces in the world arena which has shifted in favor of socialism, as well as further aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism and increased aggressiveness on the part of imperialism. The established military-strategic balance between the nations of the socialist community and the imperialist bloc prevents international imperialism from determining the fate of countries and peoples as it sees fit, subordinating them to schemes of reestablishing its world domination, and restricts its capabilities to crush the struggle of the masses for national independence, liberation from capitalist exploitation, and against the omnipotence of the monopolies. Hence the endeavor on the part of imperialist nations to disrupt the military-strategic balance by means of an unchecked arms race and to achieve superiority. Hence their brazen adventurism and willingness to gamble away the vital interests of mankind for the sake of their narrow selfish aims, which today characterize the policy of the most aggressive imperialist circles.

Only the unified might of the nations of the socialist community can stand up to and restrain these misanthropic aspirations of international imperialism. This is why representatives of the Warsaw Pact member nations were forced to declare at the 15 May 1980 meeting of the Political Consultative Committee: "...as long as the NATO bloc exists, and as long as it continues building up its military potential in the endeavor to gain military superiority, the members of the Warsaw Pact will undertake all necessary measures to maintain their defense capability at the requisite level. They will always display concern for the reliable security of their peoples."¹⁷

Another specific feature of the present international situation, which exerts considerable influence on organization of the defense of socialist achievements, is the fact that the Chinese leaders have become a direct accomplice and ally of imperialism. They have established close ties with the most aggressive forces of the North Atlantic bloc and have drawn China onto a path of hostile policy toward the USSR and the other nations of the socialist community. This was graphically demonstrated by the barbaric attack by the Chinese militarists on socialist Vietnam in 1979 and is being confirmed today by continuing acts of provocation on the Vietnam and Laos borders and by all-out assistance to the bands of Pol Pot supporters and Afghan basmachi. "Unfortunately, there have been no changes for the better in Beijing's foreign policy," stated the Central Committee Accountability Report to the 26th CPSU Congress in this connection. "It continues to be aimed at aggravation of the international situation and is aligned with the policy of imperialism."¹⁸

It follows from this that militarist China presents a serious danger to peace-loving peoples. These are the realities. And this also demands further unity of the socialist countries and increases the responsibility of each nation for

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effectiveness of measures being taken to strengthen national security and the security of the entire socialist community.

A scientifically substantiated, consistent, and coordinated policy on the part of Communist and worker parties and their unswerving loyalty to the principle of proletarian, socialist internationalism assume particularly great importance in this complex international situation. Therefore the present stage in organization of the defense of socialist achievements is characterized by further growth in the leadership role of Marxist-Leninist parties in military organizational development.

Guided by the Leninist thesis of dialectical unity of the economic, scientific-technical, moral-political potentials and military potential proper as the principal components of the defense might of the state, the Communist and worker parties of the socialist countries are doing everything necessary to ensure that the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact member nations are at a level in conformity with the demands of today's war. And, as is demonstrated by exercises held each year, definite success has been achieved in this. All allied armies and the Joint Forces are presently armed with modern combat equipment and weapons and comprise a powerful fighting organism bound together by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and by the noble, lofty goal of selfless service to the cause of defense of peace and socialism.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Works], Vol 30, page 133.
2. Ibid., Vol 37, page 264.
3. Ibid., Vol 40, page 43.
4. Ibid., pp 98-99.
5. Ibid., Vol 36, page 292.
6. "O 60-y godovshchine Velikoy Oktyabr'skoy Sotsialisticheskoy Revolyutsii: postanovleniye TsK KPSS ot 31 yanvarya 1977 goda" [On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution: CPSU Central Committee Decree of 31 January 1977], Moscow, 1977, page 6.
7. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 38, page 315.
8. Ibid., Vol 40, page 46.
9. Representatives of Albania ceased participation in the activities of the Warsaw Pact Organization in 1962, and Albania withdrew from this organization in 1968.
10. "Organizatsiya Varshavskogo Dogovora: dokumenty i materialy 1955-1980" [The Warsaw Pact Organization: Documents and Materials, 1955-1980], Moscow, 1980, page 6.

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11. Ibid., page 7.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., page 9.
15. "Mezhdunarodnoye soveshchaniye kommunisticheskikh i rabochikh partiy: dokumenty i materialy" [International Conference of Communist and Worker Parties: Documents and Materials], Moscow, 1969, page 287.
16. Ibid., pp 303-304.
17. "Organizatsiya...", op. cit., page 269.
18. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress], page 11.

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Chapter Three. THE WARSAW PACT -- RELIABLE SHIELD OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

Creation of a military-political alliance of socialist nations was an act of unfading historical significance. The period subsequent to establishment of the Warsaw Pact demonstrated how correct and essential this measure was. Unification of the capabilities of the brother socialist countries enabled them to establish a reliable system of defense against aggression on the part of the imperialist powers, with this objectively fostering stabilization of international relations and strengthening of peace in Europe and throughout the world.

The international solidarity of the Soviet Union and the other nations of the socialist community time and again had a sobering effect on the imperialist aggressors and forced them to renounce their criminal schemes. Such was the case in 1956, for example, when the Soviet Union rendered fraternal assistance to the Hungarian people in crushing a counterrevolutionary insurrection unleashed by domestic reactionaries with the active assistance of the imperialist powers. In August 1961 the Warsaw Pact member nations resolutely supported protective measures taken by the government of the GDR along the boundary with West Berlin, which was being utilized by international imperialism for subversive purposes. The allied nations, true to the principles of socialist internationalism, did not remain indifferent when the socialist system in Czechoslovakia was threatened in August 1968. Through the joint efforts of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, and Poland, effective assistance was given to the Czechoslovak people in defending their socialist achievements and in thwarting an attempt by the imperialists and their accomplices to wrest this country from the world socialist system.

The Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact member nations also came out resolutely in defense of the socialist revolution in Cuba, which was made the target of aggression and blackmail on the part of U.S. imperialism. Nor did they leave socialist Vietnam in the lurch. As a result of comprehensive assistance and support rendered to the heroic Vietnamese people by the brother socialist countries, the largest-scale attempt by U.S. imperialism since World War II to crush a socialist nation by armed force and to strangle a national liberation revolution ended in failure. As was already noted, the brother peoples of the socialist nations also gave Vietnam assistance in repulsing Chinese aggression in 1979.

But of course the main result, crowning more than 25 years of activity by the Warsaw Pact Organization, is the securement of peace and prevention of another world war. "The skies above Europe have been peaceful for more than 30 years now," stated L. I. Brezhnev in a speech in Prague on 31 May 1978. "This is very important. It would seem that history has never before bestowed such a lengthy peace on the peoples of our continent. And the peoples should be clearly aware that this is in large measure, and even to a decisive degree a result of the fact that half of Europe today is living in conditions of socialism. Peace in Europe is in large measure a result of our common efforts and the coordinated foreign policy of the Warsaw Pact member nations."¹

The struggle for peace, the results of which in the final analysis determine the fate and future of mankind, is being waged today from an immeasurably stronger position than at any time in the past. The unified might of the nations of the socialist community and their coordinated foreign-policy activities, thanks to which an extensive aggregate of interlinked constructive measures was carried out, have made it possible to break a tragic cycle: a world war, followed by a brief respite of peace, followed by another world war. The Peace Program proclaimed at the 24th CPSU Congress and subsequently further developed at the 25th and 26th congresses, has become an effective factor in mobilizing the forces of peace and progress and achieving further development of the process of détente. This Program was approved by the allied nations as a common foreign-policy platform of the entire socialist community. It also received the support and approval of the peoples of developing and capitalist countries, all those to whom peace and the future of mankind are dear. And the ruling circles of the leading capitalist countries were compelled to reckon with this Program in their policies.

As a result of the vigorous and consistent activities of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community, an improvement in the international situation was achieved in the 1970's. The deepening process of détente became increasingly filled with concrete economic and political content. This success of the policy of détente logically proceeded from enhancement of the international role of the socialist nations and the influence of their coordinated policy on the world situation.

A large part of the credit for the fact that the brother socialist nations are acting in a united front in the international arena goes to the /highest political agency of the Warsaw Pact Organization -- the Political Consultative Committee (PCC)./ Decisions on root problems affecting the common interests of the Warsaw Pact member nations are collectively elaborated at PCC meetings, and major questions connected with strengthening the defense capability of the allied countries and performance by these countries of their pledges in the area of joint defense are examined and settled at these meetings. The adopted decisions reflect the coordinated, unified position of the allied countries.

By mutual agreement, meetings of the PCC are held alternately in the capitals of the brother countries. They are usually held at the highest level, with the participation of the general (first) secretaries of the Central Committees of the brother Communist and worker parties and the heads of government.

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Participation in the work of the PCC meetings by the leaders of the ruling parties and heads of government gives the adopted decisions considerable weight and greatly raises the international prestige of this body.

The principle of sovereign equality is the basic principle governing the activities of the Political Consultative Committee. Representatives of all allied nations enjoy equal rights in placing questions on the agenda, in discussing them and reaching decisions on them. The idea of collective elaboration of a common, coordinated policy of the socialist nations is formally stated in the text of the treaty and is unswervingly implemented. Collective discussion of the international situation and synthesis of the experience of carrying out joint actions enables the participants in the PCC meetings deeply to reveal the general patterns and trends of world development, to determine the main direction and specify correct points of reference for carrying out a coordinated foreign policy.

The main problems which continuously occupy the center of attention of the Political Consultative Committee include the following: the struggle to prevent another world war, for collective security in Europe and a just solution to its problems; defense of the achievements of socialism and strengthening of the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries; support of peoples struggling for their freedom and independence.

One of the most important problems of foreign policy activity of the Warsaw Pact member nations is the /campaign for peace and the establishment of a reliable system of European security./ This is understandable, for Europe is one of the most important regions in the world. During two world wars the bloodiest battles took place here, vast areas were devastated, and the greatest number of persons were killed. The European continent continues today to remain that area on our planet which is the most sensitive to changes in the international climate. Concentrated here is the greatest quantity of military forces and various weaponry, as well as the greatest danger of outbreak of another world war. For this reason the Warsaw Pact member nations are constantly applying maximum efforts to create a system of international relations whereby wars will never again break out in Europe, and relations between countries will be constructed on principles of peaceful mutual cooperation.

The PCC has come forth with a great many concrete proposals pertaining to military détente in Europe. A declaration was adopted at the very first PCC meeting, in Prague in January 1956, which expressed a deep aspiration for peace. It stressed that peaceful conditions for development of the European countries can best be guaranteed by creating a collective security system which would replace the existing groupings. Toward this end a proposal was made to negotiate an appropriate agreement among a number of European countries, including the USSR, Great Britain, France, as well as the United States. With the aim of creating the requisite trust among nations, the PCC proposed that the member nations of the Warsaw Pact Organization and NATO pledge to renounce the employment of force and to resolve disputes solely by peaceful means. The PCC also proposed a treaty of nonaggression among neighboring countries and the establishment in Europe of a special "arms limitation and control" zone.²

At the Moscow meeting of the PCC in May 1958 the Warsaw Pact member nations presented constructive proposals on entering into a nonaggression pact between

the NATO member nations and the member nations of the Warsaw Pact.³ A Soviet proposal calling for a peace treaty with Germany and an end to the occupation arrangement in West Berlin was unanimously supported at a meeting of foreign affairs ministers of the Warsaw Pact countries in April 1959, while the PCC meeting in March 1961 once again declared the urgent need to eliminate "remnants of World War II by concluding a peace treaty with both German states and, in connection with this, neutralizing the focal point of danger in West Berlin, by transforming it into a demilitarized free city."⁴

The peace-seeking proposals by Warsaw Pact member nations were accompanied by concrete steps which confirmed the seriousness of their intentions. The Warsaw Pact countries repeatedly reduced their armed forces. In 1955-1959 their numerical strength was reduced by 2,596,500 men, with a corresponding reduction of arms, military equipment and defense expenditures. In 1960 the Soviet Union unilaterally reduced its armed forces by an additional 1,200,000 men, after which their strength level was lower than that proposed in 1956 by the Western powers, and below the actual strength level of U.S. forces. Thus within only five years after establishment of the Warsaw Pact Organization, the member nations reduced their forces by 3,796,500 men.⁵ They also made numerous reductions in military forces in subsequent years.

At the same time the Warsaw Pact countries were continuing to increase diplomatic activity, seeking a move toward détente and strengthening of peace in Europe. In January 1965 the PCC drew the attention of the European community to the danger of plans to establish multilateral NATO nuclear forces. A proposal to convene an All-European Conference on Security in Europe, which subsequently played an important role in the campaign for international détente, was first presented at that same meeting. The PCC also proposed an agreement on a nuclear arms freeze and the establishment of atom-free zones in Europe, and reaffirmed its willingness to conclude a nonaggression pact with the NATO member nations. At the same time the participants in the meeting warned the Western powers that if the plans for multilateral NATO nuclear forces were carried through, the socialist countries would be forced to take response measures to guarantee their own security. The firm position taken by the socialist countries and support of this position by the peace-loving world community resulted in thwarting of the schemes of the NATO bosses, which threatened the cause of peace.

The following year the Warsaw Pact member nations signed in Bucharest a special Declaration on Strengthening Peace and Security in Europe, which specified an extensive program of actions. In particular, this program called for implementation of such measures as the simultaneous dismantling of existing military alliances or at least disbanding of the NATO and Warsaw Pact military organizations; partial measures to achieve military détente on the European continent, including the closing down of foreign military bases, withdrawal of troops on foreign soil, reduction of the numerical strength of the armed forces of both German states and establishment of nuclear-free zones; prevention of FRG access to nuclear weapons in any form; recognition of the presently existing borders between European countries; peaceful settlement of the German question on the basis of the fact of existence of two German states, the permanent stability of their borders and renunciation of acquisition of nuclear weapons by these nations; convening of a general European conference to discuss questions of ensuring security in Europe and arranging for general European cooperation.

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The proposals drawn up at the Bucharest meeting were further developed at PCC meetings held in March 1969 in Sofia and a year later in Budapest, as well as at the Moscow PCC meeting in August 1970. In particular, an appeal to all European countries was adopted at the Budapest meeting, "appealing for cooperation in convening a general European conference and creating the necessary preconditions for this conference to be successful and justify the hopes which peoples place in it."⁶

The author felt it was necessary to present the events of past years in such detail in order to remind the readers of the great efforts required by the socialist nations in order ultimately to achieve the international détente which occurred in the 1970's. The consistent campaign of the Warsaw Pact Organization for strengthening peace and détente led to a considerable increase in its prestige and influence on development of international relations. The peoples of the European countries, in spite of the slanderous lies of bourgeois propaganda, became increasingly more convinced of the peace-seeking intentions of the USSR and the other nations of the socialist community and of the constructive and substantiated nature of their proposals aimed at strengthening peace and security in Europe. All this could not help but exert a positive influence on the international political climate of the 1970's.

An important place among the most significant events of those years is occupied by normalization, on the basis of corresponding treaties, of relations between the USSR, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Polish People's Republic and the GDR on the one hand and the FRG on the other, as well as the signing of the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin, which signified a decisive step toward formal recognition of the results of World War II and postwar development in Europe. Bilateral treaties concluded between the socialist countries and the FRG stated formal recognition of the borders existing between them, recognized the western boundary of Poland along the Oder and Neisse rivers, and contained the declaration that the contracting parties had no territorial claims and would not advance such claims in the future. An agreement on West Berlin, signed by the USSR, the United States, Great Britain and France, contained, among other points, the important provision that relations between the city's western sectors and the FRG "would be maintained and develop taking into consideration the fact that these sectors would continue not to be a component part of the Federal Republic of Germany and would continue in the future not to be governed by the FRG."

The Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, convened in 1975 at the initiative of the socialist countries, constituted a major success of the policy of peace. This conference confirmed the inviolability of the postwar boundaries established between countries and elaborated the principles which are to guide the mutual relations of the nations participating in the conference, and specified new prospects for long-term peaceful cooperation among them.

Thanks to the efforts of the nations of the socialist community, during those years success was also achieved in making headway in some of the areas of arms limitation. In particular, new advances were made along the path of limiting strategic arms and thus holding the arms race in check in its most

dangerous direction. For example, an antimissile defense system limitation treaty and a provisional agreement on certain measures in the area of strategic arms limitations (SALT I) were concluded between the USSR and the United States. Additional documents were signed during L. I. Brezhnev's 1973 visit to the United States: an agreement on preventing nuclear war; basic principles of further strategic arms limitations talks; an agreement on scientific and technical cooperation in the area of peaceful uses of nuclear energy, plus others.

Tangible results were also achieved, especially in Europe, in the area of normalization of relations between countries with differing social systems and in development between them of political contacts, trade-economic relations on a basis of equality, scientific-technical and cultural relations.

Consequently, international relations in the 1970's were positive on the whole, favorable for the cause of peace and social progress. Consolidation and further development of this progress would be in the root interests of all peoples. At the end of the 1970's and beginning of the 1980's, however, aggressive imperialist forces placed in opposition to positive processes of world development a policy which attests to their unwillingness to consider the realities of today's world. U.S. ruling circles led a crusade against the policy of international détente. They set about strenuously to destroy everything positive which had been achieved in Soviet-American relations with considerable difficulty in the preceding years. Ratification of SALT II was stymied; negotiations on other arms limitation items were unilaterally suspended. The United States, with the support of the other imperialist powers, proceeded to pursue a policy of disrupting the military-strategic balance which had been established between the socialist world and the capitalist world, of achieving military superiority, and of dictating its will to the socialist nations "from a position of strength."

The arms race unleashed by the imperialists represents the greatest threat to the cause of peace and security of peoples. It became sharply intensified following the May (1978) and December (1979) NATO Council meetings, and assumed an unprecedented scale under the present U.S. Reagan-Haig administration. For example, U.S. arms expenditures amounted to 24.1 percent of the annual budget in 1981. They will increase by an additional 25 percent in 1982 and will reach a total of more than 220 billion dollars -- a peacetime level unparalleled in U.S. history. In the period 1981-1986 President Reagan proposes spending on the military the astronomical sum of 1.5 trillion dollars (in 1981 prices).

Intense efforts are in progress in the United States on development of the MX intercontinental ballistic missile system, targeted to become operational in 1987. Simultaneously work is in progress on development of the Trident submarine-launched nuclear missile system, a new strategic bomber, a nuclear-powered "supercarrier," etc. Development of laser, space and other weapons based on new physical properties is proceeding at an accelerated pace. There has been a sharp increase in expenditures on the development of new, "binary" chemical munitions -- artillery shells, bombs and mines filled with two substances which, upon combining, form a lethal gas. In spite of protests by the world community, manufacture of neutron warheads has begun.

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The U.S. military is carrying out far-reaching plans of carrying the arms race into space, as is attested by the launch program involving the space shuttle "Columbia." One of the principal tasks of this program is perfection of a laser-weapon guidance system. Space shuttles would be employed for the purpose of regularly transporting spy satellites and other heavy military equipment into space. Considerable funds have been allocated for development of a long-range optical surveillance system which is to be deployed in space.

Vigorous U.S. efforts to strengthen NATO are also continuing. Under pressure applied by U.S. ruling circles, military appropriations of the NATO countries increased 12-fold from 1949 through 1980. A particularly rapid growth is noted from the end of the 1970's, when a long-term military program was adopted, calling for an immense growth of the combat capabilities of the armies of these countries by 1995. In 1980, for example, they spent almost 225 billion dollars for militaristic purposes, with the European NATO members spending approximately 80 billion of this amount -- almost 10 billion dollars more than in the preceding year. In 1981 this sum increased to 300 billion. Growth of military expenditures will also continue in subsequent years, since the United States presented an ultimatum at the December (1980) meeting of the NATO Council, demanding that its European partners strictly adhere to the decision calling for an annual increase in military expenditures of not less than 3 percent. At the same time the process of militarization of the economy is advancing at a rapid pace, especially in the leading NATO countries, and advances in science and technology are becoming increasingly subordinated to tasks of preparing for war.

The buildup of the military might of imperialism is proceeding along many lines. We should mention first and foremost the NATO decision to deploy new U.S. intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe: 108 Pershing II launchers and 464 Tomahawk land-based cruise missiles. Public protests in Western Europe to this decision had not yet died down when the new U.S. Administration demanded at the Rome meeting of the NATO Council (1981) a new analysis of the correlation of forces [sootnosheniya sil -- also translates as "balance of power"] between the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries and elaboration of NATO "technical requirements" in intermediate-range nuclear missile weapons. The Pentagon is now talking about deploying 1500-2000 missiles on the European continent.

Buildup of NATO military power in the area of conventional arms is also proceeding at full speed. Plans call for increasing the strength of the U.S. armed forces by almost a quarter of a million men by 1986. U.S. and FRG ground forces are taking delivery on the new Abrams and Leopard-2 tanks, which are from 50 to 100 percent superior in performance characteristics to the models they are replacing. An extensive array of antitank weapons is being developed: alongside TOW, MILAN, and HOT antitank missiles, the HELLFIRE antitank missile, with an automatic guidance system, has now become operational. Particular attention is being focused on saturation-equipping combined units with antitank helicopters. Air forces are taking delivery on new F-15, F-16, A-10 Tornado and Jaguar aircraft. The decision has been made to deploy on board U.S. Navy warships, beginning in January 1982, cruise missiles with an effective range in excess of 1000 kilometers. In general-purpose naval forces there is taking place further improvement and development of attack, ASW, mine warfare and amphibious landing forces, which should substantially increase

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their combat capabilities. The organizational structure of forces is correspondingly changing. Reorganization of British combined units and units was completed last year. FRG ground forces are transitioning to a new organizational structure which, in the opinion of Western experts, will increase their combat capabilities by approximately 30 percent.

According to the design of NATO military-political leaders, accomplishment of the long-range military program will constitute the material basis for implementation of new military doctrines and strategic plans by the NATO member nations. As we know, in 1967 the United States replaced the doctrine of "massive retaliation" [massirovannogo vozmezdiya] with the strategy of "flexible response" [gipkogo reagirovaniya]. The latter is now being subjected to strong influence by a new U.S. strategy -- the strategy of "realistic deterrence" [realisticheskogo ustrasheniya], the heart of which is the idea of "limited nuclear war" [ogranichennoy yadernoy voyny], advanced in the notorious "Directive 59" of former U.S. President Carter. The Pentagon is presently elaborating a "new military strategy." While fully retaining the ideas of the Carter directive, it additionally demands that the U.S. armed forces and economy be prepared to wage simultaneously two major, protracted "non-nuclear wars" [neyadernyye voyny] -- in Europe and in the Near East, as well as participation in a minor conflict in any other part of the world. Thus buildup by the NATO nations of their military power is being accompanied by a shift in military-political conceptions from "containment" to "preventive strike" [preventivnomu udaru], from "sufficiency" [dostatochnosti] to "superiority" [prevoskhodstvu]. Directive 59 plainly specifies the possibility of the United States launching a nuclear missile first strike against "military targets" [voyennym ob'yektam] in the Soviet Union.

We must note that these plans are being increasingly condemned in progressive circles, particularly in the countries of Western Europe. This is indicated by mass demonstrations, statements by political leaders and representatives of the clergy, the appearance of increasing numbers of peace committees, the holding of forums, peace weeks, and statements by scholars working with problems of security. And this is understandable, for implementation of the schemes of the NATO strategists threatens Europe, especially its civilian population, with incomparable misfortunes. To understand this, it suffices to ponder the following figures. A total of 10 million persons were killed in World War I, only 5 percent of whom were civilians, while in World War II 50 percent of the more than 50 million deaths were civilian. During the war in Korea civilians comprised 84 percent of total casualties, while during the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, as is attested by the figures of Stockholm's International Institute for Investigation of the Problems of Peace, more than 90 percent of those killed were civilians. It is not difficult to imagine what densely-populated Europe can expect from a future world war, if the imperialists unleash such a war.

Concentration of U.S. nuclear missile weapons in the Western European NATO countries, the intention to deploy in these countries new intermediate-range missiles, neutron weapons, new types of chemical weapons and other barbaric means of waging war have given rise among the population of these countries to a valid fear that the Americans could turn Europe into a nuclear confrontation

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zone. Under pressure from the masses, the ruling circles in a number of European countries are attempting, although cautiously at present, to ensure that the new Washington administration takes their interests fully into account in shaping its foreign policy, in particular the urgent necessity of diplomatic contacts with the USSR.

Such a reaction on the part of the Western Europeans to U.S. "concern" for their "security" impelled U.S. ruling circles once again to resort to a device which is typical in the capitalist world -- an attempt to lay the blame on the Soviet Union for initiation of another round of escalation of the arms race. Imperialist propaganda commenced an extensive campaign against a nonexistent "Soviet military threat." As we know, such campaigns have long since been an integral element of political life in the United States. They are used to push military appropriations through Congress, in attempts to reverse the process of détente, etc. Now they have decided to employ this technique on an international scale.

To accuse the Soviet Union of a desire for war is not only unjust but blasphemous to the highest degree. Everybody knows that the peoples of the socialist countries experienced more than any other countries the bloody horrors of the last war. The Soviet Union lost more than 20 million lives in that war, 20 percent of Poland's population perished, and the peoples of the other socialist countries also sustained enormous casualties. We should also like to remind the bourgeois falsifiers and their accomplices of several additional figures: the USSR lost approximately 30 percent of its national wealth during the years of World War II, while Britain's national wealth declined by only 0.8 percent, that of France by 1.5 percent, while for the United States the war signified an economic boom, as a result of which that country's percentage share in the capitalist world's industrial output rose to 62 percent by 1947, as compared with 41.4 percent in 1937.

Soviet citizens are justly proud of the contribution which our country is making to the great cause of the struggle for world peace. The struggle to lessen the threat of war and to hold the arms race in check always has been and remains a key focus of the foreign policy activity of the Communist Party and Soviet State. From the moment of the Great October Socialist Revolution, from the very first foreign policy act of the Soviet Government -- the Peace Decree -- socialism has consistently waged a campaign for peace, at first in the person of the Soviet Union, and later the community of socialist nations. And its contribution toward solving this most urgent, most important problem for the destiny of mankind has been truly great. "It is quite obvious," state the documents of the 26th CPSU Congress, "that today the Soviet Union and its allies constitute the main support of peace on earth to a greater extent than ever before."

Confidence in the peace aspirations of the Soviet Union is penetrating more and more into the consciousness of the masses throughout the world. Encountering this fact, which is unpleasant for them, the propagandists of the myth of a "Soviet threat" resort to all kinds of falsifications. Utilizing the powerful mass information media to implant a distorted structure of reasoning into the consciousness of their fellow citizens, they deliberately distort the

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foreign policy ideas of the Soviet Union, embodied in CPSU program documents, in legislative enactments of the Soviet Union, and in all its practical international activities.

The disseminators of the myth of a "Soviet threat" claim a "lag of the West" [otstavanii zapada] in the area of nuclear missile weapons. In order to bolster this fabrication they scrupulously calculate, for example, Soviet medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe, while they totally ignore U.S. forward-based nuclear forces and the nuclear potentials of U.S. European allies. A similar juggling of input data is also typical of calculations aimed at proving the superiority of the USSR in the area of conventional arms.

Equally groundless are attempts by imperialist propaganda to substantiate the dangerous decision to deploy new U.S. intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe with the claim that the Soviet Union has deployed missiles of a new class in Europe (designated "SS-20" in the West), allegedly securing Soviet superiority in this area of weaponry. The truth, however, is as follows:

/In the first place [it.]/, for a number of years now the number of medium-range nuclear-weapon delivery vehicles in Europe has remained approximately equal. Exhaustive figures on weapons of this type are contained in replies by L. I. Brezhnev to questions put by the editors of the magazine DER SPIEGEL in November 1981: the NATO countries possess 986 such means of delivery, and the Soviet Union -- 975. In analyzing the correlation of nuclear forces between the opposing sides one cannot take in isolation only one weapon category, land-based missiles, for example. Nuclear potential must be examined in the aggregate, since only on this basis can the principle of equal security of the two sides be observed.

/Secondly [it.]/, in replacing old missiles with new ones, the Soviet Union, with the aim of preserving nuclear parity, not only did not increase the total number of medium-range nuclear weapon delivery vehicles by a single unit, but even reduced the total number -- one or two old missiles were removed simultaneously with the deployment of each new missile in the Soviet Union.

/Thirdly [it.]/, if we consider total number of nuclear warheads, right now NATO intermediate-range weapons can carry approximately half again as many as the corresponding Soviet weapons. Thus replacement of old missiles with new ones has not resulted in giving the Soviet Union superiority in this area. The total yield of Soviet medium-range missile warheads also did not increase but even decreased.

We must note in all frankness that U.S. Government spokesmen themselves do not believe the lie of "Soviet military superiority" [voyennom prevoskhodstve] which was fabricated on their instructions. U.S. Secretary of State A. Haig, for example, recently acknowledged in a speech that "in the most important area of strategic nuclear forces there continues to remain an approximate parity between our two countries." General Rogers, Haig's successor as supreme commander of NATO Joint Forces in Europe, gave the following reply to

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the direct question of whether he believes "that the Russians will soon have an advantage [preimushchestvo], in connection with which they may be tempted to launch an attack on NATO": "I do not consider that a possibility."

Having failed with the myth of "military superiority," imperialist propaganda is developing speculation [spekulyatsiyu; also translates as seeking to profit] on the subject of a "Soviet military threat" in another dangerous direction. In the West, and in the United States in particular, increasingly persistent efforts are being made to convince the public that the very development of military-strategic parity constitutes a threat on the part of the Soviet Union, that observance of the principle of equality and equal security is impossible without... U.S. military superiority.

Typical in this regard is a letter by a group of senators, widely publicized by the U.S. mass media, a letter sent in December 1979 to the then U.S. president. The letter claimed that the USSR had reached parity [pariteta] with the United States in strategic arms, that it had brought to an end NATO superiority in tactical nuclear forces, that it was diminishing NATO superiority in tactical air forces, and that it had built a navy "which threatens traditional Western superiority on the open sea. Enumerating these measures, which were clearly aimed only at ensuring reliable defense of the USSR, the senators characterized them, without a twinge of conscience, as "upsetting the military balance" [narusheniye voyennogo ravnovesiya]. Such an experienced politician as W. Brandt also noted the widespread occurrence of dangerous views of this kind: "Our American friends are of the opinion that the United States should definitely be stronger than the Soviet Union, that this is a law of nature."

For what purpose does U.S. imperialism so persistently seek to achieve military superiority? In any case not for the defense of Europe against a "Soviet invasion." This is obvious even to bourgeois politicians. The West German magazine DER SPIEGEL stated the following in this regard in the spring of 1981: "...Experts are in unanimous agreement that additional arming is superfluous from a military-technical standpoint. No expert with even the slightest experience would dispute the fact, even in a state of drunkenness, that the Americans could respond to a Russian missile threat to Europe in any case and without additional arming."⁸

A different aim is being pursued here. One can perceive it from those threatening statements, made in a hegemonist spirit, by top-level U.S. leaders -- the President, the secretary of state, and the secretary of defense -- which are presently emanating from Washington practically every day. They speak of U.S. determination to implant "American ideals" throughout the world and willingness to employ the might of the armed forces to secure "vital U.S. interests."

The world literally shuddered upon hearing a statement from the lips of a highly placed official of the principal imperialist power -- Secretary of State Haig -- that "there are things which are more important than peace." He has publicly stated time and again that "most important of all" are the interests of the United States, of course defined in conformity with the desires of the military-industrial complex.

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The Secretary of State formulated U.S. imperial global ambitions with a cynicism rare even for the present U.S. leaders. He stated that the main goal of U.S. foreign policy is creation "of a world which would be favorable" to so-called "American ideals." In other words Washington would like to appropriate the right to recarve the world in conformity with its expansionist schemes, ignoring and flouting the legitimate rights and interests of other countries and peoples.

This is the real source of danger to peace-loving peoples! Seeking world domination today is fraught with the danger of another world war. For the Europeans such a war means the destruction of everything which has been created by the genius and labor of peoples throughout their history.

We must regretfully state that this threat is not adequately appreciated in many Western capitals. As was indicated by the Rome meeting of the NATO Council (1981), unprecedented pressure from overseas brought results which can only worsen the international situation. In exchange for vague promises by the U.S. delegation to commence talks with the USSR, the Western European partners of the United States essentially gave the green light to a new and extremely dangerous round of escalation of the arms race in Europe.

We must also note that an increase in the aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism and its endeavor to secure military-strategic superiority at all costs, as well as unceasing attempts to split the community of socialist countries, attempts which are most vividly expressed in the events in Poland, appreciably livened revanchist circles in West Germany. There are persons in that country who publicly express their joy in the fact that new U.S. intermediate-range missiles will be able to reach Moscow from West German territory in 4 minutes. Also indicative is the fact of a decision to publish modern geographic maps designating Germany's 1937 borders. Obviously there are people in the FRG who refuse to relinquish great-power dreams and who believe, as was correctly noted at the 6th Congress of the German Communist Party by the party chairman, Comrade H. Mies, that achievement of these revanchist goals can be brought closer by supporting the present U.S. policy of confrontation and missile deployment plans. "Of course," he added, "such views are pure illusion. But they represent a mortal danger. They are playing with fire."⁹

One must agree with this statement. Therefore in response to increased aggressiveness on the part of international imperialism and to initiation of a new round in the arms race by U.S. ruling circles, the USSR and the other brother socialist countries are compelled to take new measures to maintain their defense at an adequate level. "We are not advocates but opponents of an arms race," stressed L. I. Brezhnev in a speech at the official dedication of a memorial complex in the hero-city of Kiev. "We could find a quite different use for those funds which it devours. But if we are forced, we shall find a swift and effective response to any challenge by militant imperialism, for our first and most sacred duty is to guarantee the security of our country and its allies, to ensure a reliable peace for the Soviet people."¹⁰

Aware of their strength, however, the USSR and the brother socialist countries are not about to rattle sabers. We place in opposition to the dangerous and

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irresponsible policy of imperialism the peace-seeking policy of socialism, directed toward radical improvement of the international situation, toward weakening the threat of war, toward holding the arms race in check and deepening détente. In counterbalance to the imperialist strategy of aggression and war, the Communist Party and Soviet State continue to put forward the tried and tested Leninist strategy of peace and peaceful coexistence between countries with differing social systems.

Proceeding from a profoundly scientific, Marxist-Leninist analysis of the contemporary world situation, the 26th CPSU Congress advanced an entire aggregate of constructive proposals to free peoples from the threat of nuclear war. Of primary significance among the proposed measures are proposals of military détente. In particular, the USSR and its allies have proposed expanding the range of confidence-building measures [diapazon mer doveriya] specified in the Final Act of the all-European conference. The Soviet Union also expressed its willingness to extend confidence-building measures to the entire European part of the USSR -- under the condition of a corresponding expansion of the zone of confidence-building measures on the part of the Western nations -- and to hold concrete talks with interested countries on confidence-building measures in the Far East.

A decision made by the Soviet Union, pursuant to which 20,000 Soviet military personnel, 1000 tanks and other military equipment were withdrawn from the territory of the GDR, a decision reached in coordination with the other Warsaw Pact member nations, became an important confidence-building step.

Realistic ways were spelled out for moving forward in solving the extremely important problem of strategic arms limitation and reduction. The USSR is willing to continue, on the basis of equality and equal security, appropriate talks with the United States, preserving all positive advances which have been achieved in this area. In particular, the USSR proposes reaching an agreement on limiting the deployment of new submarines -- U.S. "Ohio" class, and analogous submarines in the USSR, and on prohibiting the modernization of existing and building of new ballistic missiles carried by these submarines. The Soviet Union also proposed reaching an agreement on establishing a moratorium on deployment of new intermediate-range nuclear missile weapons in Europe.

The idea of convening a special session of the UN Security Council, with the participation of the top leaders of the Council member nations and, if desired, the leaders of other countries as well, an idea advanced in the Peace Program, aims at seeking ways to improve the international climate and prevent war. These same goals are pursued by a proposal to create an international committee consisting of prominent scientists from different countries, which would demonstrate the vital necessity of preventing a nuclear catastrophe.

The Peace Program elaborated at the 26th CPSU Congress has subsequently been supplemented by new proposals, in particular a proposal to establish nuclear-free zones in various parts of the European continent, including in Northern Europe and in the Balkans, as well as a peace and cooperation zone in areas of the Mediterranean.

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Important proposals were made by L. I. Brezhnev during his visit to the FRG in November 1981. The new Soviet peace initiative, ratified by all Warsaw Pact member nations, essentially constitutes a program of curtailment [svertyvaniya] of nuclear arms in Europe. Its main elements boil down to the following.

First of all, the Soviet Union supplemented its previously advanced proposal for a moratorium, that is, while talks are in progress both sides would refrain from deploying new and modernizing existing medium-range [sredney dalhosti; also translates as intermediate-range] nuclear weapons. Now the USSR stated its willingness -- if the other side agreed to a moratorium -- as an act of good will, unilaterally to reduce a certain part of its medium-range nuclear weapons in the European part of the country.

Second, the Soviet Union stressed its intention to speak out in Geneva for a radical reduction in medium-range nuclear weapons -- not by tens but by hundreds of units. The weapons to be considered of course should include both U.S. forward-based [peredovogo bazirovaniya] weapons and corresponding British and French nuclear weapons.

Thirdly, the USSR would also be willing to reach an agreement on total renunciation [otkaze] by both sides of all types of medium-range nuclear weapons aimed at targets in Europe. In addition, the Soviet Union stated that it favored Europe ultimately becoming entirely free of nuclear weapons -- both medium-range and tactical.

The Soviet proposals, which convincingly demonstrate the will of our party and our people to defend peace, have evoked broad response and support throughout the world. They gave a new, powerful impulse to the struggle to strengthen international security, a struggle which is being persistently and consistently waged by the nations of the socialist community, Communist and worker parties in capitalist and developing countries, and all progressive mankind.

Unfortunately, the imperialist nations respond in a different way to peace initiatives by the socialist countries. They keep seeking new ways and devices to avoid accepting peace-seeking proposals and to continue their policy of aggravation of relations between West and East. Such a policy can be clearly seen, in particular, in the obstructionist position of the United States and its NATO allies in the Geneva disarmament committee. These countries construct artificial barriers impeding the committee's work, undertaking fruitless procedural debates, even engaging in speculations about rumors they themselves have instigated. The adversaries of disarmament resort not only to "turning maneuvers." They are also mounting a frontal assault on the possibility of holding talks on this committee on a number of important items.

For example, more than 3 years ago the Soviet Union, supported by the other socialist countries, presented a proposal calling for ceasing production of all types of nuclear weapons and gradual reduction of stockpiles, to and including their total elimination. A number of UN resolutions call upon the Geneva Committee to commence without delay talks on ending the nuclear arms race.

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Nevertheless such talks are not being conducted, due to opposition by the United States and its allies, who claim that such talks are "premature."

Or take the question of total and universal banning of nuclear weapons testing. It would seem that favorable conditions exist for resolving this problem, since all five nuclear powers are presently participants on the committee. The group of neutral and nonaligned nations, supported by the socialist countries, proposed establishing within the framework of the committee a special working body, with appropriate negotiations to commence without delay. But committee activities were met with an impasse in this direction as well. The United States and Great Britain stubbornly oppose formation of a working group, while China's representatives, hypocritically declaring that they do not oppose its formation, immediately stipulate that they will not consider themselves bound by any agreements reached.

Strengthening guarantees of the security of nonnuclear nations is one more vital question of contemporary world politics, the constructive position of the Soviet Union on which is well known. Lying on the negotiating table of the Geneva Committee is a draft international convention submitted by the Soviet Union together with other socialist countries. Another draft was submitted by nonaligned nations. There have also been many General Assembly resolutions on this score. Nevertheless practically nothing is being done. The reason is the same as always -- opposition by the United States and its allies, which claim that drawing up an international convention on strengthening guarantees of the security of nonnuclear nations is an "unrealistic" undertaking.

At a meeting of the Disarmament Committee held in 1981, a group of socialist countries proposed immediate commencement of talks on drafting an international convention on banning neutron weapons. The majority of committee members condemned attempts by certain Western delegations to play down the danger of the decision by the U.S. Government to produce these weapons. Nevertheless the U.S. delegation succeeded in voting down the proposal to ban these weapons. It is indicative that, while thwarting the adoption, one after the other, of constructive proposals by the delegations of the socialist nations, the United States and its allies have not presented a single serious initiative in Geneva in recent years, and have not submitted a single draft agreement in the area of disarmament.

The situation is approximately the same at the Vienna talks. The delegations of the socialist nations advanced a number of concrete proposals on freezing and reducing the military forces of the NATO and Warsaw Pact nations in Europe. The Soviet Union twice reduced the strength of its forces temporarily stationed on the territory of the GDR in order to move resolution of this problem from a standstill. The United States and the other NATO countries, however, not only refused to follow the example of the USSR but even to soften their position. On the contrary, they are making every effort to drag negotiations out, at the same time building up their military potential in Europe.

Deliberate aggravation of tension can be clearly seen in the policy of the United States and its imperialist allies not only in Europe but in other regions

of the world as well. It is a direct continuation of that policy of blackmail, threats and outright armed aggression which has been conducted by U.S. imperialism throughout all the postwar years.

According to the figures of the U.S. Brookings Institution, the United States deployed and used its armed forces to achieve political objectives on 215 occasions just between 1 January 1946 and 31 December 1975. In 19 instances the United States resorted to the threat of employment of nuclear weapons. Nor did U.S. allies lag behind that country. Since the establishment of NATO there has not been a single military conflict anywhere in the world in which member nations of this imperialist bloc have not been directly or indirectly involved. More than 100 armed conflicts, the victims of which have totaled millions of persons, have taken place in various parts of the world with the direct or concealed participation of the United States and other NATO countries.

U.S. imperialism perpetrated the most flagrantly cruel military actions in Southeast Asia. Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea were methodically devastated by massive air attacks, and every living thing was burned out with napalm and poisoned by chemical agents. The total number of victims and amount of physical destruction inflicted in these countries substantially exceeded the damage caused by the Anglo-American military forces on fascist Germany during the entire course of World War II.

Proceeding from the principle of the indivisibility of peace [nedelimosti mira] and seeking to prevent the escalation of conflicts occurring through the fault of the imperialist powers into a third world war, the Warsaw Pact nations have repeatedly issued warnings to the aggressors and drawn up concrete proposals /aimed at eliminating focal points of international tension in a number of areas of Asia and Africa./ Suffice it to say that the PCC time and again issued special declarations on the threat to peace in connection with the U.S. aggression in Indochina and on the question of establishment of a firm and just peace in the Near East. In 1970 a special declaration was adopted at the Warsaw meeting of the PCC, entitled "Ending Imperialist Acts of Provocation Against the Independent Nations of Africa." In addition, questions pertaining to strengthening the security of the peoples of Asia, Africa and other regions of the world are constantly reflected to one degree or another in statements and declarations adopted by the PCC at its periodic meetings.

Vigorous support by the socialist countries and their diversified assistance enabled the courageous Vietnamese people to gain victory in their many-years war of liberation and to sweep their country clean of foreign interventionists and their puppets. The nations of the socialist community also helped the peoples of a number of other countries in Asia and Africa defend their freedom and independence and the right to develop along their chosen road.

Thus the development of international relations in the 1970's was favorable for the cause of peace not only in Europe but in other regions as well. The efforts of the Soviet Union and all the countries of the socialist community played a salutary role. By their increased prestige and consistent peace-seeking policy they were able to achieve certain détente and to create the requisite conditions for effecting a transition from military confrontation to

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peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial cooperation. As subsequent events showed, however, this was not to the liking of international imperialism, particularly U.S. ruling circles. Analyzing the aggregate of hegemonist aspirations of U.S. imperialism displayed at the end of the past decade, one can conclude that a new stage has begun in its aggressive policy both in respect to the socialist countries and the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Today the world is witness to the fact that high U.S. officials, competing with one another in aggressiveness, are declaring U.S. intentions openly to intervene in the affairs of other countries and to crush liberation movements. U.S. President Reagan, for example, announced U.S. willingness to arm the counter-revolutionary mercenary bands being sent onto Afghan soil. Following this, Washington officially announced its intention to supply arms to Angolan counterrevolutionary organizations. We also know of the existence of special camps on U.S. territory where former members of Somoza's National Guard are training for terrorist raids and armed invasion into Nicaragua. The United States is giving direct military support to the antipopular junta in El Salvador. At the same time the Republic of South Africa, a country of barbaric apartheid practices, which is illegally holding Namibia under its colonial rule, has been declared by the United States to be a "friendly nation."

"Strengthening of the independence of liberated countries is not to the liking of the imperialists," states the Central Committee Accountability Report to the 26th CPSU Congress. "By thousands of ways and means, they are attempting to bind these countries to themselves, in order to have freer rein in disposition of their natural resources and to utilize their territories for their own strategic schemes."11

In order to strengthen its position in the Near and Middle East, in Africa, Southern and Southeast Asia, and in the Far East, Washington declares entire subcontinents to be "zones of U.S. vital interests" [zonami zhiznennykh interesov] and seeks to expand the network of U.S. military bases and facilities. U.S. imperialism is stubbornly endeavoring to conduct international affairs with the aid of force and a "big-stick policy," which has been rejected by peoples. It assigns the role of such a club, brandished over developing countries and liberation movements, to its "rapid deployment forces," the total numerical strength of which is to be increased to 230,000 men.

It is significant that the United States is hypocritically attempting to portray its gendarme activities in various regions of the world as a "campaign against terrorism," while slanderously characterizing as "complicity with terrorism" just and legitimate assistance to peoples which are defending their freedom, independence and sovereignty. The already-mentioned dishonorable device of accusing one's adversary of one's own sins is once again being employed here, for it is precisely the United States which has "become famous" for murdering statesmen and civic leaders. And terrorism by amateur extremists in the United States is marching shoulder to shoulder with organized banditry paid for and directed by the authorities. Terrorism in respect to dissidents and protesters within the United States is directed against entire countries and peoples the aspirations of which "are not to the liking" of Washington. A U.S. Navy armada of more than 30 warships hangs over Southwestern Asia as a

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mailed fist of intimidation. The 2500 U.S. bases and other military facilities, at which are stationed more than 500,000 military personnel, as well as the most destructive weapons, including nuclear, bases scattered throughout the world, have become bridgeheads of global terrorism.

Efforts by U.S. imperialist circles to encourage focal points of tension and armed conflicts present a serious threat to world peace and the security of peoples. The United States is a direct accomplice in and essentially an instigator of Israel's aggressive actions against the Arab countries of the Near East. Such actions would be impossible without the military, financial and diplomatic assistance which U.S. imperialism gives its ally.

This was once again demonstrated to the world following the bandit raid by Israeli aircraft into Iraq in the summer of 1981. Replying to the question of what U.S. policy would be in the Near East following this act of naked aggression, the President's national security advisor Allen stated that "the Israeli raid will obviously affect the Arab countries. And we hope," he added, "that Egypt's isolation from the other Arab countries will come to an end and that others will realize the advisability of sitting down at the negotiating table."¹² It is evident from these words that the attack on the research center on the outskirts of Baghdad, just as the subsequent barbaric air attacks and artillery bombardments against towns in Lebanon, are coordinated U.S.-Israeli actions aimed at intimidating the Arab countries which oppose the capitulationist Camp David agreements. Essentially this very statement by the U.S. presidential advisor constitutes a patent attempt to exert pressure on the Arabs for the sake of achieving those same aims which were pursued by Tel Aviv in perpetrating its criminal act.

The United States and its NATO allies are trying just as hard to delay an end to the war between Iran and Iraq, in order to exhaust these countries, to place them under U.S. domination, to establish control over the oil-producing areas, and at the same time to expand their base for aggression against the USSR. The United States maintains a naval armada in this same region for the same purpose -- to exert pressure on countries adjacent to the Persian Gulf and, if necessary, to occupy them. Tension in this region has reached such a high level that there has arisen a real threat of another major military flareup. "One rash step, and the flames of war could embrace the entire Near East," stated L. I. Brezhnev in a speech in Tbilisi. "And who knows how far the sparks of this conflagration will fly."¹³

In order to consolidate its domination over the most important strategic regions, sources of raw materials and energy resources, the United States is increasingly more persistently endeavoring to draw its NATO allies, as well as Japan and China, into its contemplated actions. Under pressure by the U.S. Government, NATO leaders are seeking to expand the sphere of action of this bloc. It is significant that the U.S. "right" to military adventures beyond NATO boundaries, if a threat arose there to the notorious "vital interests of the West," was officially recognized at the spring 1981 meeting in Brussels. In addition, the final official statement by the NATO Military Planning Committee even hints of the possibility of participation by NATO allies in joint actions beyond the boundaries of the bloc's "zone of responsibility." The

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Near and Middle East, the Persian Gulf, and Indian Ocean are designated in Washington as regions of "vital interests." They are also attempting to include within this category Southern Africa, Latin America, and Asia -- practically the entire world.

U.S. ruling circles are continuing their attempts to put together new aggressive military-political blocs and alliances in addition to existing ones. The U.S. military, for example, is seeking to turn Pakistan into a U.S. military strongpoint, from which other Asian countries could be threatened. Toward this end the United States concluded with Islamabad in the summer of 1981 an agreement to give the latter more than three billion dollars in military-economic aid, providing Pakistan access to the latest weaponry. This dangerous step is obviously aimed at destabilizing the situation in Southern Asia.

In the Far East the Washington-Beijing-Tokyo triangle has recently been assuming more and more clearly the configuration of an aggressive alliance. Playing into the hands of U.S. policy, Japanese ruling circles are pushing militarist preparations, in violation of that country's constitution. The Beijing leaders are ranking increasingly closer with the most aggressive imperialist circles. They seek to encourage confrontation between the NATO nations and Japan on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other. Imperialist politicians in turn are counting on drawing China deeper into anti-Soviet actions and into the campaign against détente and peace. China's services are already being utilized by U.S. imperialism, in particular in the waging of an undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and in creating a new military threat to socialist Vietnam.

Supported by the Beijing hegemonists and making use of other "Pacific allies," U.S. diplomacy is seeking to set the five ASEAN member nations (Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and the Philippines) against Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea. Playing on the militarist ambitions of certain political circles within ASEAN, imperialism is endeavoring to activate the five-member military alliance, established in 1971, between Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia, and Singapore (ANZUK). And if they are able to formalize an alliance between ANZUK and ANZUS (with a membership of the United States, Australia, and New Zealand), Malaysia and Singapore will automatically become the Pentagon's militarist bloc partners.

Reports of plans to establish a military bloc in the South Atlantic with the participation of the Republic of South Africa, of utilization of South African bases by the U.S., and of deliveries of U.S. weapons to South Africa are ominous. It is appropriate to remind the reader in this connection about the nuclear ambitions of the South African racists, which carry a threat to world peace and security. Legitimate concern is also evoked among the world community by attempts by Washington to reach an agreement with their protégés in Pretoria on the Namibia question, in order to circumvent the UN decision to grant independence to this racist-occupied territory. Who in actuality seeks world domination? The cited facts enable one to reach the only correct conclusion, that precisely those who are shouting the loudest about a "Soviet threat" are seized with imperial ambitions. It is precisely U.S. militant

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circles which use any excuse to meddle in the affairs of other peoples, for their own military-political expansion. And when there are no such excuses, they create them artificially.

The USSR and the other nations of the socialist community, while taking necessary measures to strengthen their defense capability, at the same time pursue a firm, consistent policy aimed at strengthening peace and the security of people in all regions of the world. Soviet proposals pertaining to political settlement of the Near Eastern conflict are well known. The foundation of such a settlement, in the opinion of the Soviet Union, should consist of three organically interlinked elements: cessation of Israeli occupation of all Arab lands seized in 1967; realization of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including establishment of their own state and, finally, guarantee of the security and sovereignty of all nations in the region, including Israel.

The Soviet Union, as noted above, has expressed its willingness to hold concrete talks on confidence-building measures in the Far East with all interested countries. Nor is it against discussion of questions connected with Afghanistan -- both separately and in a linkage with questions pertaining to security of the Persian Gulf. Unfortunately the Western powers, Japan and China have failed to respond to these proposals.

Also ignored was a proposal made to the Western powers, China, Japan, and all other nations with an interest in the Persian Gulf area to agree not to establish foreign bases and not to deploy nuclear or any other mass destruction weapons in this region; not to employ and not to threaten the employment of force against Persian Gulf countries; not to meddle in their internal affairs; to respect the status of nonalignment, not to draw them into military groupings with the participation of nuclear powers, and to respect the sovereign rights of the nations of this region to their natural resources; finally, not to create any hindrances or threats to normal trade and use of the sea lines of communication linking the nations of these regions with other countries of the world.

This lack of response to the peace-seeking proposals of the Soviet Union and the other nations of the socialist community impelled the USSR Supreme Soviet to address an appeal to the legislative bodies of all nations "to speak out resolutely in favor of negotiations aimed at preventing another round in the nuclear missile arms race -- honest negotiations on a basis of equality, without any preliminary conditions or attempts to impose a diktat." ¹⁴

"The USSR Supreme Soviet," states the Appeal to the World's Parliaments and Peoples, adopted at the 5th Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 10th Convocation, "solemnly declares that the Soviet Union threatens nobody and does not seek confrontation with any nation in the West or East. The Soviet Union has not sought and does not seek military superiority. It has not been and will not be the initiator of new rounds in the arms race. There is no weapon which it would not agree to limit or ban on a mutual basis, on agreement with other nations.

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/"Securement of peace has been, is now and continues to be the highest foreign policy objective of the Soviet State./ The Peace Program for the 1980's, adopted at the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, aims toward this objective. It encompasses measures to reduce both nuclear missile and conventional weapons, contains proposals on settling existing and preventing new conflicts and crisis situations, and is permeated with the endeavor to achieve deepened détente and development of peaceful cooperation among the countries of all continents. It expresses the readiness and willingness of the Soviet Union to hold talks on all vital questions of peace and security and attentively to address any and all constructive ideas by other nations."¹⁵

"...Events in the international arena," stated L. I. Brezhnev in his speech in Kiev in May 1981, "are increasingly more insistently reminding us that peace is not a blessing which is given automatically.... The peace is being threatened, and threatened seriously. It is necessary to fight for peace."¹⁶ And the socialist nations are waging such a struggle persistently and stubbornly, seeking to achieve strengthening of European and international security, an end to the arms race, and are faithfully defending the rights and interests of the peoples of the world. An important role in achieving success of the policy they pursue is played, among other factors, by the defense might of the Warsaw Pact Organization.

FOOTNOTES

1. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" [Following a Leninist Course], Vol 7, pp 350-351.
2. See "Organizatsiya Varshavskogo Dogovora" [The Warsaw Pact Organization], pp 17-19.
3. Ibid., page 37.
4. Ibid., page 66.
5. Ibid., pp 54-55.
6. Ibid., page 114.
7. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress], page 4.
8. Cited in PRAVDA, 8 June 1981.
9. Cited in PRAVDA, 30 May 1981.
10. PRAVDA, 10 May 1981.
11. "Materialy...", op. cit., page 14.

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12. Cited in PRAVDA, 22 June 1981.
13. PRAVDA, 23 May 1981.
14. PRAVDA, 24 June 1981.
15. PRAVDA, 24 June 1981.
16. PRAVDA, 10 May 1981.

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Chapter Four. FIGHTING ALLIANCE OF BROTHER ARMIES

As we know, the Warsaw Pact countries have their own military organization -- a fighting alliance of the brother armies. A certain contingent of their troops and fleets, pursuant to Article 5 of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, has been assigned to the /Joint Armed Forces [Ob'yedinennyye vooruzhennyye sily],/ which at the present time include ground troops, air defense forces, air forces, and naval forces.

The numerical strength and composition of the Joint Armed Forces, their organization, equipment and other items connected with this have been determined by the governments of each country taking into account the recommendations of the Political Consultative Committee and the Commander in Chief of the Joint Armed Forces, as well as the economic and military capabilities of each country. The troops and naval forces assigned to the Joint Armed Forces are stationed on the territory of their own countries and remain under the national ministries of defense. Their daily life and activities are regulated by the laws, statutes and military regulations existing in the Warsaw Pact member nations. The ministries of defense of the allied countries bear full responsibility for the state, equipment, combat readiness, military and political indoctrination of the personnel of these troops and naval forces. Thus the principles in conformity with which the Joint Armed Forces are constructed and operate stress the sovereign rights of each country. At the same time the rights and authorities which according to the general agreement are granted to the Commander in Chief of the Joint Armed Forces, the Staff and other agencies of the Joint Command, enable them successfully to perform their functions related to settling all matters within their competence.

/The ground troops/ of the Joint Armed Forces are armed with operational-tactical missile launchers, modern tanks and armored personnel carriers, conventional and rocket artillery, antitank weapons, means of protection against air attack, plus other weapons and equipment. Their diversified hardware enables them to perform complex combat missions both in the defense and offense. The fact that combined-arms large units, alongside modern artillery systems, are armed with tactical missiles possessing a high degree of accuracy and the capability to destroy any targets positioned within their range gives the ground forces enormous firepower.

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The combined-arms large units in the Joint Armed Forces are equipped with first-class armored vehicles which are most highly suited to operations in conditions of enemy employment of nuclear weapons. Protected by reliable armor, the tanks and infantry fighting vehicles possess a high degree of resistance to blast wave effect and substantially reduce the degree to which vehicle crews are affected by penetrating radiation. In addition, they possess excellent cross-country capability.

The combined-arms large units are also equipped with first-class antitank artillery and antitank guided missiles. Hitting enemy tanks and infantry fighting vehicles at a considerable distance, they are capable of substantially weakening the striking power of attacking enemy troops, of depriving the enemy of the capability to overcome the defense, and thus of increasing its stability when a combined unit is repelling an attack by large enemy forces.

Ground-forces combined units, units and subunits possess diversified means of protection against air attack -- self-propelled multiple-mount guns, and anti-aircraft missile systems. Ground troops air defense weapons are employed in close coordination with fighter aircraft, which makes it possible successfully to engage hostile fixed-wing and rotary-wing aircraft in any situation.

Engineer troops are a component part of ground forces. They are furnished with modern combat equipment, which makes it possible sharply to reduce the time required to perform engineer tasks in constructing cross-country roads, shelters against hostile mass destruction weapons and artillery fire, as well as in negotiating and constructing obstacles and moving troops across various water obstacles.

As we know, modern warfare is inconceivable without stable and continuous control, while control is inconceivable without communications. Today signal troops are furnished with modern radio sets and other equipment enabling them rapidly to collect and synthesize a large flow of information in conditions of enemy radio jamming, to transmit orders, instructions and commands precisely and rapidly, thus ensuring uninterrupted troop control.

/Air defense forces/ are equipped and organized in such a manner that they are capable of successfully engaging enemy aircraft. They include antiaircraft missile forces, fighter aviation, radar [radiotekhnicheskiye: also translated as radioelectronic] and special troops of various designation. Their combat power is based on antiaircraft missile systems and all-weather supersonic fighters, which have the capability of downing modern enemy aircraft on the far and near approaches to defended targets. The diversified radioelectronic devices with which the radar troops are equipped enable them to detect offensive air weapons day or night, summer or winter, at a great distance, to identify them, to determine their precise location, and thus to provide accurate target designation to antiaircraft missile troops and fighters.

/The air forces/ are equipped with multirole supersonic fighter-interceptors, supersonic fighter-bombers, supersonic tactical [frontovyye] and long-range bombers, as well as diversified helicopters. Arrival on the line of swing-wing aircraft made it possible to improve the takeoff and landing performance

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of supersonic aircraft as well as to increase flight duration at subsonic speeds. The development of VTOL aircraft expanded the operational maneuverability of fighter aviation. The high speeds and the armament of frontal [frontovoy] and long-range aviation aircraft provide the capability swiftly to hit the most diversified operational and strategic targets. An important role in air forces operations is also played by helicopter gunships [boevym vertoletam; also translates as combat helicopters] which make it possible substantially to strengthen battlefield air support of ground troops and to deliver airborne assault forces to tactical and immediate operational depth in the enemy's defense.

/Naval forces/ are equipped with missile-armed submarines and surface warships of various types, modern amphibious landing ships, aircraft, coast and anti-aircraft artillery, as well as naval infantry equipped with diversified weapons and the requisite combat technical means, which makes it capable of offering effective support to ground troops in coastal sectors.

Just as all the other uniformed services, the navies of the Warsaw Pact member nations are constantly being improved. While subordinate to their national command authorities, they work on coordination with one another for the purpose of performing common operational-strategic missions. Past exercises have confirmed that the forces of these navies are capable of reliably defending the sea boundaries of the nations of the socialist community and of successfully engaging hostile warships on the open sea.

/Military agencies of the Warsaw Pact Organization/ were established by decisions of the Political Consultative Committee, to guide the development of the Joint Armed Forces, to train personnel and to achieve combat cohesion of the component forces. As an aggregate they comprise a unified system which ensures efficient accomplishment of the tasks of strengthening the defense capability of the Warsaw Pact member nations and their reliable defense against aggression. These agencies are as follows: the Ministers of Defense Committee, the Joint Command, the Military Council, the Staff, the Technical Committee, plus certain others.

A particularly important role is played by the /Committee of Ministers of Defense of the Warsaw Pact member nations,/ established in 1969. The performance of this body was highly praised at the 26th CPSU Congress. "Organizational development of the Joint Armed Forces," noted the Accountability Report to the congress, "was conducted smoothly. Here too, as always, a good job was done by the Ministers of Defense Committee."1

The Committee is made up of the ministers of defense of the allied nations, the Commander in Chief and Chief of Staff of the Joint Armed Forces. The Ministers of Defense Committee is a permanently functioning military agency with specific duties and functions. The most important questions pertaining to strengthening the defense capability of the allied nations, organizational development [stroitel'stvo] and improvement of the Joint Armed Forces, and increasing their combat readiness are handled at its meetings.

Defense ministers preside at the Committee meetings by turns, in alphabetical order of the names of the Warsaw Pact member nations. The term of office of the next chairman commences at the moment the current Committee meeting ends. The chairman specifies with the Committee members the agenda, date and place of the following meeting (they are roughly determined at the preceding meeting) and convenes the next meeting through the Committee's working body -- Joint Armed Forces Staff. He also determines, in coordination with the Committee members, the time and place for holding an unscheduled meeting if the need for such a meeting arises. This operating procedure for the Ministers of Defense Committee proceeds from the principles of equality and sovereignty on which mutual relations among the Warsaw Pact member nations are based.

/The Joint Command/ performs important tasks within the framework of the Warsaw Pact Organization. It includes the Commander in Chief of the Joint Armed Forces, the Chief of Staff of the Joint Armed Forces, as well as the Commander in Chief's deputies for air defense, air forces, naval forces, weapons and equipment, and the Commander in Chief's deputies from each country which has assigned troops to the Joint Armed Forces. The Chief of Staff of the Joint Armed Forces serves as first deputy commander in chief.

The Commander in Chief and the Chief of Staff of the Joint Armed Forces are designated by decision of the governments of the Warsaw Pact member nations, from the military commanders of any Warsaw Pact member nation, and in their activities are guided by the decisions of these governments and by the instructions of the Political Consultative Committee. The deputy commanders in chief are appointed by the respective governments of the Warsaw Pact member nations. The Commander in Chief of the Joint Armed Forces periodically reports to the Political Consultative Committee, to the governments and the Committee of Ministers of Defense of the Warsaw Pact Nations on the results of the daily activities of the Joint Command.

The deputy commanders in chief from the allied nations, who as a rule are deputy ministers of defense or chiefs of the general staffs of the allied armies, conduct extensive activities pertaining to training the national troop contingents assigned to the Joint Armed Forces and maintaining them in a continuous high state of combat readiness. They perform their work in close coordination with the military supervisory bodies of the Warsaw Pact Organization, in particular the Military Council and Joint Armed Forces Staff.

Representatives of the Commander in Chief of Joint Armed Forces are assigned to the allied armies with the consent of the respective governments. Their tasks consist in giving the national command authorities assistance in training troops assigned to the Joint Armed Forces and in maintaining continuous and close contacts between the joint and national command authorities. Highly trained officers and general officers, with a wealth of experience in directing troops, they make a substantial contribution to the cause of strengthening the fighting alliance among the allied armies and increasing the combat readiness of the Joint Armed Forces.

/The Military Council of the Joint Armed Forces/ operates on a collective principle. Membership of the Military Council is as follows: the Commander in Chief

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(he also serves as chairman of the Military Council), the Chief of Staff and deputy commanders in chief of the Joint Armed Forces.

Questions pertaining to the combat and mobilization readiness of the Joint Armed Forces and the organizational structure of troops and naval forces are analyzed at meetings of the Military Council; measures to improve weapons and combat equipment systems as well as to improve troop control and naval forces control, measures connected with combat training of the allied armies, as well as other matters pertaining to strengthening the Joint Armed Forces are regularly discussed. Military Council recommendations are drawn up taking into account the opinions and interests of all Warsaw Pact member nations.

As a rule Military Council meetings are held at the end of each year, at which the results of operational and combat training during the preceding year are comprehensively analyzed, the tasks for the troops and fleets for the following training year are specified, and a plan of joint measures is coordinated. These meetings are usually combined with conferences of top-echelon leader personnel of the allied armies. This fosters better and more purposeful resolution of items discussed at the Military Council.

The Joint Armed Forces Staff, which is a control agency of the Commander in Chief and a working body of the Ministers of Defense committee, works with a broad range of matters pertaining to the daily life and activities of troops and fleets. Working closely with the general staffs of the national armies, it plans current and long-range joint measures, including those pertaining to operational and combat training, synthesizes experience in training troops and fleets, and drafts recommendations for utilization of this experience. One of the most important tasks of the Staff is preparation for and holding of joint exercises, training conferences, meetings, and training drills of various scale. It also plays a major role in preparing for and holding meetings of the Ministers of Defense Committee and the Military Council, in practical execution of their decisions in the combat activities of troops and staffs, and in broadening the fighting friendship of the allied armies.

An important place among agencies of the Joint Armed Forces is also occupied by the /Technical Committee/, which carries out measures pertaining to coordination of scientific research and experimental design activities involving the development and furnishing of new weapons and equipment to the allied armies.

The Staff and the other directive agencies of the Joint Armed Forces are located in Moscow, while the troops and naval forces assigned to the Joint Armed Forces are stationed on the territory and in the territorial waters of their own countries. In order to create conditions for successful performance of their assigned tasks by these bodies, they have been given the authority, privileges and immunities required for this, as defined by a special convention concluded among the Warsaw Pact member nations in 1973.

The Joint Armed Forces work in close coordination with the national people's armies, which in recent years have raised their combat proficiency to a new and higher level. They are better equipped with military hardware, their organizational structure is continuously improving, and the firepower and mobility of

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their combined units and units are increasing. Possessing everything necessary in order reliably to defend the socialist achievements and peaceful labor of their peoples, at the same time they are being trained and indoctrinated to be in a continuous state of readiness to repel and defeat the forces of imperialism if the latter perpetrate aggression against any of the Warsaw Pact member nations.

Establishment of the Warsaw Pact Organization signaled the beginning of a qualitatively new degree of military cooperation among the socialist nations, which is characterized by more active participation by each socialist country in strengthening the defense might of the fraternal alliance. Developing in conditions of socialist economic integration, military cooperation among the Warsaw Pact member nations ensures the most efficient use of manpower and material resources for strengthening the defense capability of each country and the socialist community as a whole.

Military cooperation among the Warsaw Pact nations is grounded on the same principles as relations between these countries in all other areas. They include first and foremost proletarian, socialist internationalism; complete equality and sovereignty of the various parties; unity in determining the root questions of defense of the Warsaw Pact member nations and collective responsibility for ensuring their security and defense of the achievements of socialism; guidance by the Communist and worker parties of defense of the allied countries, organizational development of their armies, and strengthening of the Joint Armed Forces.

A unity of views on fundamental questions and fruitful cooperation are characteristic features of the mutual relations among the Communist and worker parties of the Warsaw Pact nations. "In all major problems of socioeconomic development and international policy," noted L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress, "we have established a fundamental unity of views. This is a result of continuous interaction on the part of the brother Communist parties and is our common achievement."² These words also apply with full substantiation to the problems of military cooperation.

Let us examine /the principal areas, forms and methods of military cooperation/ which are the most typical for the Warsaw Pact member nations.

One of the most important areas is /coordination of efforts in matters of organizational development of the national armies/ -- improvement in the structure of military agencies, formation of units and combined units of the various branches of service and combat arms, providing them with the requisite arms, etc.

Military experts sent by the Soviet Union at the request of the governments of the brother socialist countries helped form and reorganize many combined units and units of the armies of the allied countries. This assistance was particularly intensively rendered in the period when extensive motorization of the national armies was taking place, and when they were transitioning to mastering the principles of warfare in conditions of enemy employment of nuclear weapons. Reequipping of the armies of the allied countries was at that time proceeding

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chiefly by deliveries of combat equipment and weapons from the Soviet Union. They were provided with modern tanks, artillery, aircraft, and other combat equipment of the same type as that being employed in the Soviet Armed Forces.

During those same years the Soviet Union gave considerable assistance to the national people's armies in training senior and top-echelon command cadres. Many officers of the nations of the socialist community graduated from Soviet service academies and presently occupy important positions in their national armies. The overwhelming majority of top-echelon leader personnel of the allied armies are graduates of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff Academy imeni K. Ye. Voroshilov.

In the 1950's and 1960's military cooperation consisted chiefly in the Soviet Union assisting the other Warsaw Pact member nations, while subsequently it has increasingly assumed a bilateral and multilateral character. The principle of co-production, in conformity with which the development and manufacture of specific types of weapons for all the allied armies is assigned to one or several countries, is being more and more extensively employed in arms production. The socialist countries are endeavoring to achieve increasingly greater standardization of weapons, which greatly facilitates both their manufacture and organization of supply, repair and maintenance of combat equipment, and its planned, scheduled upgrading and replacement.

In many instances the development of new equipment leads to change in the organizational structure of troops: new subunits and units appear, and there occurs in combined units and units a change in the ratio of types of weapons, communications gear, and number of military specialists. In particular, the development of tactical and operational missiles made it necessary to form appropriate units. Initially they were formed in the Soviet Army, and subsequently, after testing and verification at field exercises, in the other allied armies as well. The experience of the Soviet Armed Forces and assistance by advisers sent to the allied armies at the request of the respective governments were extensively utilized. Naturally in carrying out this measure the economic capabilities of each country were taken into consideration, as well as the ratio of combat arms established in the national armies, and the character of the potential theater of military operations.

Leading areas include military cooperation among the Warsaw Pact member nations in matters of /increasing the fighting efficiency and combat readiness of the allied armies./ The forms of this cooperation are elaborated at meetings of the Committee of Ministers of Defense and the Military Council of the Joint Armed Forces. They include the following: determination of the main tasks of combat and political training; statement of problems pertaining to elaboration of methods of mastering and combat employment of new combat equipment; coordination of time and quantity of manpower employed in holding joint operational-tactical exercises and war games; determination of combat training results for the year or completed stage and determination of tasks for the new combat training period.

Combat training in the national armies is carried out on the basis of orders issued by the ministers of defense of each member nation of the Warsaw Pact

Organization. The experience of the allied armies is extensively utilized. Exchange of experience takes place at various levels and in various forms. One widespread form is mutual visits to military units by military delegations, attendance at various training events and exercises -- especially at demonstrations held on new topic items or with employment of new combat equipment. Good results are obtained by competitions among the top subunits of the various allied armies in gunnery, deployment of guns and antitank missiles into firing position, and in the applied military sports. As a rule squads, weapon crews and platoons produce excellent results in such competitions, which makes it possible to reveal new reserve potential in training personnel and increasing their combat skills. Such competitions are particularly extensively conducted among subunits of Soviet forces temporarily stationed on the territory of allied countries and the national armies of these countries. Temporary duty assignments for officers and combat crews from allied armies to Soviet Army training centers and temporary duty assignments to special training subunits of allied armies for Soviet officers who have mastered new equipment have become a widespread form of exchange of experience and know-how in the area of mastering new combat equipment.

/Joint operational-tactical exercises,/ which organically incorporate all types of combat training mastery of which is essential for successful conduct of the battle and operation, constitute the highest form of collective preparation of the allied armies to repel imperialist aggression. Since the role of operational-tactical training is steadily growing in connection with the increasing complexity of the conditions of combat, exercises and war games of all types are acquiring ever increasing significance.

Large-scale operational exercises, with the most important elements being played out by two-sided or one-sided troop actions, have been increasingly more widely employed in operational-tactical training in recent years. A series of exercises code-named "Shchit" [Shield] was held in 1976-1979. These were followed by the "Bratstvo po oruzhiyu-80" [Brotherhood in Arms-80] and "Soyuz-81" [Alliance-81] exercises, which involved commanding generals, commanders and staffs, as well as various units and combined units of the allied armies. Such combined exercises make it possible to achieve several training objectives simultaneously: to boost the level of operational, tactical and field (sea) training of military commanders and staffs at two or three echelons simultaneously; to improve on and find new modes of teamwork between staffs and troops (naval forces) of the various allied armies; to achieve a unity of views in employment of troops, naval forces and combat equipment in performing standard operational-tactical missions.

Tactical exercises conducted at a given stage of an operational-strategic exercise take on particular importance in this light. Aggressive actions by participating units and combined units make it possible to test the practicability of commander decisions and to refine various combat performance standards. The need for such refinements is dictated by the changes which are continuously taking place in weaponry, the degree of personnel proficiency, and modes of conduct of combat operations both in friendly forces and in the forces of the potential adversary. In particular, the march capabilities of units and combined units, the time expended on their deployment into combat formations,

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on negotiating various obstacles, ability swiftly to exploit delivery of effective fire on the enemy, etc, are tested and verified at exercises.

At the same time, participation by a limited number of units and combined units in operational-strategic exercises makes it possible substantially to reduce the cost of holding such activities. In the past, when troops moved on foot and by horse transport, the cost of large-scale maneuvers was comparatively small -- the cost was almost the same as the amount spent during daily combat training. This made it possible to include a large number of troops in maneuvers. Today a vast quantity of fuel and vehicle resources would be required to transport such a large number of troops. In addition, following an exercise considerable money would have to be spent on repairing roads. Thus the form of exercise adopted in the Joint Armed Forces makes it possible, in addition to high-quality performance of training tasks, to save considerable funds and material resources.

The increasing complexity of warfare and transition to the principle of establishment of coalition operational-strategic force groupings for performance of specified tasks have placed on the agenda the question of the need for bringing even closer together the basic points of military theory by which the allied armies are guided and the methods of training command cadres. Proceeding from this, such an area of military cooperation as /development and exchange of military knowledge/ is assuming more and more significance. The most important matters pertaining to development of theory of the art of warfare are examined at conferences of top-echelon personnel of the armies, which are held at the level of commanders of combat arms and chiefs of general staffs. Major problem items which are of great theoretical and practical significance, such as determination of the principal directions of further improvement of troop control, organization of rear services and technical support, etc, are also addressed at Joint Armed Forces military-scientific conferences.

Publication of studies in the military press is a widespread form of exchange of military knowledge. The military press extensively publishes the writings of authors from the allied countries. In our country, for example, articles by military theorists and practical experts of the allied armies are regularly published by VOYENNO-ISTORICHESKIY ZHURNAL, KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL, and other periodicals. The same can be said of the military journals of the other armies of the Warsaw Pact countries. In addition, they regularly publish translations from Soviet military journals and other periodical publications. Exchange of military journals, specialized monographs and other publications is also well organized in all allied armies. All this enables command cadres, instructors at military educational institutions and representatives of military science to keep current at all times on the latest advances in military thought.

Military-scientific conferences organized within the framework of the allied armies play an important role in the development and exchange of military knowledge. In the Soviet Armed Forces such conferences are held annually at service academies, in military districts, and in groups of forces. Officers of friendly countries take part in them. The synthesized recommendations of

these conferences are published in the works [trudy] of the academies or in information bulletins of military districts and serve as material for thorough analysis of a given scientific problem. Presentation of lectures by faculty of national armies at military educational institutions of allied countries has also been practiced with increasing frequency in recent years. At the Military Academy imeni M. V. Frunze, for example, lectures have been presented by instructors from the Polish Army General Staff Academy, the F. Engels Military Academy of the National People's Army of the GDR, and the G. Rakovski Military Academy of the Bulgarian People's Army.

Constant cooperation among the allied armies occurs in the area of /training military cadres./ It began during the Great Patriotic War, when groups of officers received training at Soviet military educational institutions for Polish, Czechoslovak, and Romanian national military units. This area of military cooperation assumed a large scale in the postwar years. Countries which took the road of socialist development sent to the military educational institutions of the Soviet Union large numbers of military personnel to obtain a military higher education. Cooperation in this area helped supply the armies of the Warsaw Pact nations with well-trained officer cadres who had come from the ranks of the worker class, the working peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia.

As the number of cadres with a military higher education increased, the socialist countries established their own service academies. Both the experience of the service academies of the Soviet Army and the direct assistance of Soviet military experts were utilized in establishing national service academies and establishment of curricula at these academies. Such assistance was also rendered in preparing faculty. A number of officers of the allied armies became leading military educators after successful completion of graduate work at Soviet service academies.

Cooperation among the brother armies of the Warsaw Pact nations is not limited to matters of furnishing troops and naval forces with modern combat equipment and improving their combat skills. It is also being successfully accomplished /in the area of ideological and political indoctrination work./

As was noted in the Central Committee Accountability Report to the 26th CPSU Congress, the socialist countries today must accomplish constructive tasks in more complicated conditions. The ideological struggle has become appreciably aggravated. The West is putting into motion an entire system of devices calculated to undermine and soften up the socialist world. Endeavoring to detach people from socialism, the imperialists regularly conduct hostile campaigns against the nations of the socialist community. They slander and distort everything which is taking place in these countries and are acting with increasing sophistication and insidiousness.

Enemy propaganda attaches particular importance to ideological influence on military personnel of the Warsaw Pact member nations. Bourgeois ideologues endeavor to distort Marxist-Leninist teaching on war and the army and, first and foremost, to disparage the leadership role of the Communist and worker parties in military organizational development and to distort the causes and

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the essence of wars. Desperate attempts are being made to present in a false light the objectives and nature of the Warsaw Pact Organization and to cast onto it the blame for escalation of the arms race, aggravation of the international situation and the increased danger of occurrence of another world war.

A significant role in the subversive ideological activities of the imperialist nations and their allies is played by efforts directed toward weakening the patriotic and internationalist qualities of the fighting men of the socialist armies. They attempt by all means to deaden their patriotic and internationalist feelings, to debase the very concepts of patriotism and internationalism, calling them a "carryover from the past," and at the same time to revive and develop in people's consciousness and behavior such elements of bourgeois and philistine ideology as individualism, selfishness, private-ownership and money-grubber aspirations, nationalistic and religious prejudices.

It follows from all this that the tasks of further strengthening the defense capability of the Warsaw Pact member nations are inseparable from an all-out improvement in the level of ideological and political indoctrination work. It was particularly noted at past congresses of the brother parties that in present-day conditions it is very important to give an aggressive character to all ideological and political indoctrination work.

Therefore of great importance in the life and activities of the armies of the Warsaw Pact nations is cooperation among political agencies, party and youth organizations in matters of political indoctrination of personnel, carried out on the basis of the decisions of these countries' Communist and worker parties. In his report at the 26th CPSU Congress, L. I. Brezhnev noted that cooperation among government agencies, public organizations and production collectives of the brother socialist countries has assumed a lively and fruitful character. "Intellectual intercourse and close ties in the area of ideology and culture," he stressed, "have become a solid standard."³

This statement also applies with full validity to the armies of the Warsaw Pact member nations. Close contacts among the political agencies, party and youth organizations of the allied armies constitute an important means of strengthening brotherhood and friendship among them. They make it possible to exchange know-how in ideological work, which in large measure promotes successful accomplishment of the tasks of indoctrinating personnel in a spirit of high revolutionary vigilance, socialist patriotism, proletarian and socialist internationalism. Occupying the center of ideological measures being carried out at the present time are explanation and study with all personnel of the Joint Armed Forces of the historic documents of the 26th CPSU Congress and the materials of the congresses of other Communist and worker parties -- the most important program foundations of the life of the parties and peoples of the brother countries.

Improving the military organization of the Warsaw Pact, the Communist and worker parties of the brother socialist countries proceed from Lenin's statement that man has been and continues to be the most important, decisive force in war. "In any war," stated V. I. Lenin, "victory in the final analysis is dictated by the spirit of those masses which shed their blood on the field of

battle. ...Awareness by the masses of the aims and causes of a war is of enormous significance and guarantees victory."⁴

Political agencies base the forming of a high degree of political consciousness in military personnel on indoctrination of socialist patriotism, proletarian, socialist internationalism, hatred toward the enemies of peace, democracy and socialism, and constant readiness both for defending the homeland and for joint defense of the entire world socialist system.

Present realities in the nations of the socialist community create favorable objective conditions for indoctrinating soldier-patriots and internationalists. Patriotic and internationalist indoctrination of military personnel of the brother countries is accomplished by means of the entire structure of the socialist way of life. In addition, a well-conceived, purposeful /system of indoctrination activities/ of commanders, political workers, party, youth and public organizations has been elaborated in the brother armies.

Special classes are held in the personnel political training system, dealing with problems of unity and cohesiveness of the nations of the socialist community, strengthening and further development of the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance and the Warsaw Pact Organization, as well as problems of patriotic and internationalist indoctrination, strengthening of friendship and cooperation among servicemen of the brother armies. Many other forms of propaganda and mass agitation work are also extensively utilized for purposes of internationalist indoctrination of personnel. Questions pertaining to the fighting alliance of the armies of the brother countries are regularly addressed in lectures, reports and talks. Theoretical conferences are extensively held in subunits and units of the Soviet Army and Navy on the following topics: "V. I. Lenin on the Defense of Socialism as the Highest International Duty"; "The 26th CPSU Congress on Further Strengthening Friendship and Cooperation With the Socialist Countries"; "Socialist Internationalism in Action"; plus others.

Lecture series, specific-topic and film-lecture evenings dealing with the socialist countries and their armies are quite popular with servicemen. As a rule, they are scheduled to coincide with anniversaries of establishment of the brother countries or their armed forces and include a number of lectures on the given country and its army, and the showing of films or film excerpts on this subject matter. In the Soviet Armed Forces veterans of battles for liberation of the brother peoples from the Hitlerite invaders and officers who have served in groups of Soviet forces stationed abroad, in addition to commanders and political workers, address personnel.

Commanders and political workers devote much attention to indoctrination of warrior-patriots and internationalists in the revolutionary, fighting and labor traditions of the peoples and armies of the brother countries. An important contribution to dissemination of traditions is made by joint excursions by young people and military personnel of the allied armies to sites of revolutionary, combat and labor glory. The participants in these excursions conduct vigorous propaganda of the heroic history and internationalist mission of the Soviet Army and the joint struggle of the brother peoples for the victory of socialism. These excursions are extremely popular in the military and are playing an increasingly greater role in internationalist-patriotic indoctrination.

Festivals of feature films made at film studios in the socialist countries have also proven effective. During a festival commanders and political workers usually give talks on the country in which the film being shown was made, about that country's successes in building socialism, on its culture and national customs. This helps the men become more deeply permeated with friendly feelings toward the brother peoples of the socialist countries. As a rule display cases and stands dealing with the armies of the socialist nations are set up in club-houses, Lenin rooms and cabins. Military unit libraries make selections of books and articles dealing with the achievements of the working people of the socialist countries, the daily life and combat training of the servicemen of the allied armies.

/Joint exercises of the allied troops and fleets/ are of particular importance for indoctrination of servicemen and awareness of their internationalist duty. The very environment of such an exercise and the fact that personnel of brother armies are performing common missions help draw them closer together and foster friendship and mutual trust among them. Usually such exercises are attended by party and government leaders of the allied nations on whose territory the exercise is being held. This also helps strengthen the international community of brother peoples and their armed forces.

Commanders, political workers, party and youth organizations perform purposeful indoctrinational work with personnel in the period of preparation for and during exercises. Joint activities by commanders and political agencies of the allied armies in the area of ideological and political indoctrination work are planned and coordinated on the eve of an exercise. Meetings for exchange of information and know-how, seminars, and instruction sessions are held. Immediate supervision of political measures during the period of an exercise is handled by a joint command group, the nucleus of which consists of top-echelon personnel of the main political directorate of the army of that allied country on whose territory the exercise is being held. Large strategic formations and combined units of the other allied armies assign top-echelon political workers to it as their representatives.

A field newspaper joint staff is usually established for the period of preparation for and conduct of exercises. This newspaper is published in the languages of all the brother armies taking part in the exercise and is one of the important centers of joint information and proppanda work. In addition, a joint field radio broadcast staff is established, which organizes broadcasts, also in the different languages. Materials for the joint field newspaper and for the field radio broadcasts are prepared by representatives of each army. They also put out various leaflets and instruction pamphlets. An important role in efforts to strengthen the fighting alliance is played by press centers set up at exercises, which provide prompt information on exercise progress. A joint filming team films the most important events and interesting mock combat episodes. The films produced by this team are subsequently shown in all allied armies.

When troops reach the assembly areas and when units and combined units of the brother armies are deployed adjacent to one another, get-togethers between representatives of the allied forces are held, as well as political rallies

dedicated to the commencement of the combined exercise. In the course of an exercise considerable benefit to the cause of strengthening combat friendship is produced by exchange of command groups, reassignment of individual units to the command authorities of allied armies, as well as get-togethers for the purpose of exchanging experience and know-how in combat training among enlisted personnel and noncommissioned officers of related military occupational specialties, and the holding of joint demonstration classes and competitions. Combat friendship evenings, get-togethers between military personnel and the local civilian population, and excursions to industrial and agricultural enterprises, to the sites of past battles against the Hitlerite invaders and to historic sites connected with revolutionary battles of the worker class during pauses in operations have also proven effective. When circumstances allow, political agencies of the brother armies hold joint discussions and seminars on military-political and theoretical topics and arrange for addresses by propagandists and exchange of amateur concerts. Films produced in the Warsaw Pact nations are shown and performing artist shows are held for participants in the exercise and the local civilian population.

The holding of political rallies and military reviews of participating troops upon the conclusion of exercises have become a fine tradition. As a rule these events are attended by party and government leaders as well as top-echelon military command authorities. Addresses by the leaders of Communist and worker parties are met with enthusiasm on the part of personnel. Joint exercises invariably demonstrate the political and military unity of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member nations, constituting a genuine school of indoctrination of servicemen in a spirit of socialist internationalism and continuous readiness for immediate, selfless performance of their duty to defend the achievements of socialism.

/Sports contacts/ among servicemen of the allied armies are becoming increasingly important for indoctrination of personnel in a spirit of socialist internationalism, indissoluble friendship and fighting comradeship. Sports festivals and championships in athletic and applied military sports, held under the supervision of the Sports Committee of the Allied Armies (SCAA) [sportivnogo komiteta druzhestvennykh armiy], are a widespread form of these contacts.

The work of the SCAA is carried out according to the principles of voluntary and equal participation by representatives of the sports organizations of the committee member brother armies and free expression of creative initiative by these representatives. Current problems pertaining to the development of physical culture and sports in the allied armies are regularly discussed at SCAA meetings and scientific methods conferences, and recommendations are adopted which promote improvement in troop combat training and strengthening of international contacts among servicemen.

Soldier-athletes of the allied armies are making a significant contribution to the development of sports in their countries. This is eloquently attested by their athletic achievements at the 22d Olympic Games, held in Moscow in 1980. A total of 479 soldier-athletes from the Warsaw Pact member nations took part in the 1980 Olympics. They earned 231 Olympic medals, including 74 gold and 65 silver medals, in tough athletic competition.⁵

Athletic competitions among the allied armies always promote strengthening of international friendship among the servicemen of the allied armies and their brotherhood in arms. The calendar of these athletic competitions is extremely full. In 1981, for example, the schedule called for holding two sports festivals, 26 championships and tournaments just within the framework of the SCAA. Such competitions as the Honved cup boxing competition in Budapest, the Oder bicycle races in Frankfurt an der Oder, the Drava marksmanship tournament in Sofia, plus others have become tradition.

Mass sports competitions among units and combined units of the national allied armies and groups of Soviet forces temporarily stationed on the territory of a number of Warsaw Pact nations do a fine job of promoting the cause of internationalist indoctrination. A particularly friendly atmosphere is created at such competitions. As a rule, their organizers seek to acquaint the competition participants with the economic successes and culture of that country. Athletes meet labor and war veterans and become acquainted with the life, customs and combat training of the fighting men of the allied armies.

A special "For Friendship and Solidarity" prize was established in 1981 for the purpose of strengthening international contacts among soldier-athletes. This prize is awarded to a serviceman who has achieved an excellent athletic performance and who has also displayed toward his fellow competitors the greatest feeling of respect, comradeship, and solidarity.

/Cultural contacts/ are acquiring increasing significance in instilling patriotic and internationalist traits. Friendship evenings, get-togethers between servicemen of the brother armies, and specific-topic evening activities devoted to the community of socialist nations and their national holidays have become quite widespread. Joint amateur talent concerts, exchange of agitation-performing artist groups, and the holding of film festivals and imaginative literature exhibits have become traditions.

Particularly close ties in the area of indoctrinational work have been established /between the groups of Soviet forces temporarily stationed on the territory of allied countries and the armies of these countries/. The activities of garrison international friendship councils and volunteer patriotic and internationalist indoctrination instructors, operating successfully under the supervision of commanders, political agencies and party organizations, have gained general recognition.

Party and government leaders, veterans of the revolutionary movement, and persons in culture and art of the brother countries regularly speak in the units and combined units of Soviet forces, acquainting the men with the achievements of their countries in building socialism and with their national revolutionary traditions. Personnel of Soviet units in turn visit national military units, factories, state farms and agricultural cooperatives. Representatives of the Soviet forces address personnel of the national armies and citizens of the allied nations, telling them of the labor successes of the Soviet people, the fighting history of the Soviet Army and performance of its international duty, as well as the fighting alliance of brother armies.

In the German Democratic Republic a fighting alliance week and sports holiday entitled "Brotherhood in Arms," during which a great many diversified joint measures are conducted, have become a tradition. The other national armies and groups of Soviet forces also devote considerable attention to comprehensive mutual contacts. This work assumes a particularly large scale on national holidays and anniversaries of the armies, of the great victory over fascism, and of establishment of the Warsaw Pact Organization. Get-togethers and friendship evenings for the servicemen of the brother armies are held on these days, as well as joint official meetings at garrisons and at military units, military song festivals, amateur performer concerts, sports competitions, and get-togethers with the civilian population.

Thus in the Joint Armed Forces indoctrination of personnel in a spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism occupies a leading position in the work of commanders, political agencies and party organizations. It greatly promotes strengthening the combat power of the allied armies, the unity and solidarity of the socialist community.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress], page 6.
2. Ibid., page 5.
3. Ibid.
4. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Works], Vol 41, page 121.
5. According to SCAA figures.

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CONCLUSION

The 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was an event of world-historic significance. The great teaching of Marxism-Leninism received further development in its documents, and plans were specified for achieving growth of the economy of the USSR, the sociopolitical and intellectual development of the Soviet society, and a program was drawn up for strengthening world peace and preventing nuclear war. /"Defending peace -- today there is no more important task at the international level for our party, our people, and for all the peoples of the world,"/1 stated L. I. Brezhnev, defining the main thrust of foreign policy activity of Soviet Communists and summarizing the peace-seeking proposals of the USSR which comprised the Peace Program for the 1980's.

To defend peace in our era means to defend the most important, determining right of each individual and of all mankind -- the right to life. This enormous, vitally important and very complex task can be accomplished only through the unified efforts of all peace-loving forces in the world, and particularly through the collective efforts of the nations of the socialist community.

Creation of a military-political defensive alliance of the socialist nations of Europe, its continuous strengthening and improvement have made it possible to forge a strong shield, which reliably protects the revolutionary achievements of the brother peoples and faithfully serves the cause of peace and progress. Comprehensively embodied in the Warsaw Pact are Leninist principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism, in which are harmoniously combined the interests of the individual peoples and nations united within this organization, the socialist community as a whole, and the entire world Communist and worker movement. During the years of its existence the Warsaw Pact Organization has accomplished a great deal to counteract the aggressive schemes of imperialism and to defend peace-loving nations and peoples from foreign interference in their affairs. It is a consistent fighter for peace, universal and total disarmament, for preventing a nuclear catastrophe.

The socialist countries' love of peace, however, notes USSR Minister of Defense Mar SU D. F. Ustinov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, should not be interpreted as weakness. "The socialist countries," he stresses, "possess everything they need in order reliably to defend their peoples. The

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resources and might of the nations of the socialist community are sufficient to repel aggression, and nobody will ever succeed in bringing them to their knees."²

The Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces play a major role in holding the imperialist aggressors in check and in thwarting their schemes, which are pernicious to mankind. Their fighting unity, cohesion, and close interaction constitute one of the most important factors in countering the danger of war. Strengthening of this unity on a foundation of proletarian, socialist internationalism, which, continuously becoming enriched with new experience and content, confirms its vitality again and again, constitutes a tireless concern of the Communist and worker parties of the brother countries.

At the present stage the Joint Armed Forces are capable of standing up to any aggression. The international situation, however, gives no reason for relaxation. Remember the lessons of history, be alert, never forget the aggressive nature of imperialism, fortify steps toward peace by increased combat readiness and continuous improvement of one's moral-political, fighting and psychological qualities -- these Lenin instructions have been and remain firm for all personnel of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member nations. A continuing task of personnel of the Soviet Army and Navy is to act as an example in this for all the servicemen of the allied armies.

The years of existence of the Warsaw Pact Organization as well as its diversified and fruitful activities convincingly confirm the vital necessity of this military-political alliance. As long as the NATO bloc continues to exist, and as long as imperialist militarist forces continue escalating the arms race, the Warsaw Pact Organization and its Joint Armed Forces will work tirelessly to become stronger and better. The brother socialist countries are deeply aware of this historic necessity and are unswervingly obeying it.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress], page 31.
2. PRAVDA, 25 July 1981.

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