

Pentagon Plans To Publish Study

Describing Soviet Armed Strength

Officials Say Document Is Designed to Dispel Doubts Over Buildup

By **BERNARD GWERTZMAN**

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 26 — The Reagan Administration plans to make public a detailed description of Soviet military strength next week to document its contention that the West faces an increasing threat from the Soviet Union.

The portrayal of Soviet military power is packaged in a glossy, 99-page

Preface from the document, page 38.

booklet that includes color charts, drawings and photographs to demonstrate the growth of Soviet strength.

Officials said the purpose of the publication, to be released at a news conference by Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger, possibly on Tuesday, is to dispel the doubts, particularly in the United States and in Western Europe, about the Administration's contention that the Soviet Union is embarked on a major spending campaign to gain military superiority over the West.

U.S. Responding With Buildup

The Reagan Administration has embarked on a large spending campaign of its own, in which the Pentagon, almost alone of the government departments, is being allowed to increase its outlays in coming years.

As part of an acknowledged public relations campaign, Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. made a trip to West Berlin and Bonn earlier in the month to speak out against what he depicted as a Soviet threat to Western Europe and to stress the need for the West to match the Soviet buildup.

Last week, in a letter to Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Soviet leader, President Reagan drew attention to the Soviet buildup as one of the aspects that was troubling the United States.

Mr. Haig is believed to have discussed this concern when he met with Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko of the Soviet Union on Wednesday in New York. The two men will meet again in New York on Monday.

Most of the basic facts in the booklet, which is titled "Soviet Military Power," have been made public in testimony be-



The New York Times

Caspar W. Weinberger

Soviet Might: A U.S. View

Report Cites Strength But Lacks Conclusion

By **LESLIE H. GELB**

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 26 — In a 99-page report plus a preface, including photographs and artistic renditions of Soviet weapons, the Department of Defense paints a picture of a huge and dynamic Soviet military machine. But there is no new information, no conclusion, no systematic comparison with American forces, only the impression of relentless and almost overwhelming Soviet military power.

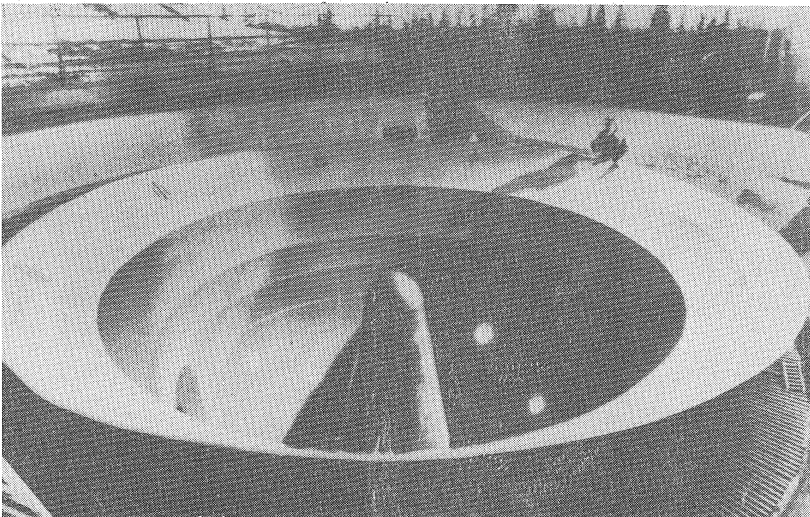
The report stops short of saying what Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger has said on many occasions — that the United States is now in "a position of dangerous imbalance with the Soviet Union."

Consistent With Campaign Charge

But its content is fully consistent with that message and with Ronald Reagan's charge in the 1980 Presidential campaign that the Soviet Union had achieved military superiority over the United States.

Among the very few challenges to this assumption are the annual studies of the military balance prepared by the International Institute for Strategic Studies, a research group based in London.

These studies have expressed concern about "trends" in the balance tipping toward Moscow, noting particular areas of Soviet advantage, but have also called attention to continued American military strength and to the great risks



A Soviet intercontinental ballistic missile in its silo at an unidentified site. The U.S. booklet says the Soviet ICBM arsenal includes 7,000 nuclear warheads.

Pentagon to Issue Booklet on Soviet Armed Might

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fore Congress or in specialized military publications. But the idea behind this publication, which was printed by the Government Printing Office, is to inform a wider public about what Mr. Weinberger, in a preface, calls "the threat to Western strategic interests posed by the growth and power projection of the Soviet armed forces."

Of particular interest are the maps included in the publication, disclosing for the first time the approximate location of Soviet launchers for long-range and medium-range missiles armed with nuclear warheads. A map, omitting place names, shows the SS-20, a mobile medium-range missile, to be based largely in the western part of the Soviet Union, with its range including all of Western Europe, Iceland and parts of the Middle East and North Africa.

NATO Decision on Missiles

It was the concern over the buildup of the SS-20 that prompted the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to take steps to deploy new American Pershing missiles and cruise missiles in Western Europe starting in 1983-84. The booklet says that, as of July, some 250 SS-20 missiles, each carrying three warheads, had been deployed. Of these, 175 missiles with 525 warheads "are deployed opposite the NATO countries."

There has been considerable opposition in Western Europe to the deployment of the American missiles, and when Mr. Haig was in West Germany, he was asked by reporters why the United States had not made public its evidence about the SS-20 deployment. There had been discussion in the past of making available satellite pictures of the deployment, but this booklet limits itself to diagrams and maps and descriptive material.

The booklet is not an attempt to provide an analysis of the balance of forces in the world or in Europe. Few comparative data on Western forces are provided. When comparisons are made,

they are inevitably to show Soviet superiority.

Submarine Comparison With U.S.

For instance, in the section on submarines, it is stated that "the Soviet Navy currently operates some 377 submarines, including 180 nuclear-powered submarines, compared to 115 in the United States Navy."

The booklet does say that the United States currently leads the Soviet Union in advanced technology, but it warns that "the Soviets have dramatically reduced the U.S. lead in virtually every important basic technology."

"The United States is losing its lead in key technologies, including electro-optical sensors, guidance and navigation, hydroacoustics, optics and propulsion," it says. "In many areas where the United States continues to lead the Soviets, their technology has achieved a level of adequacy with respect to present military requirements."

Mr. Weinberger, in his preface, says the Soviet armed forces, now 4.8 million men, have continued to grow over the last 25 years "at a pace that shows no sign of slackening."

All elements of the Soviet armed forces — the strategic rocket forces, the ground forces of the Army, the Air Force, the Navy and the air defense forces — continue to modernize with an unending flow of new weapons systems, tanks, missiles, ships, artillery and aircraft. The Soviet defense budget continues to grow to fund this force buildup, to fund the projection of Soviet power far from Soviet shores and to fund Soviet use of proxy forces to support revolutionary factions and conflict in an increasing threat to international stability.

Details on a Tank Manufacturer

To demonstrate the resources being given to the Soviet military sector, the booklet discusses a large freight-car and tank manufacturing plant at Nizhni Tagil, a city of 400,000 people in the Ural industrial region, which is off limits to foreign travelers.

Generally available Soviet publications mention only the civilian aspect of the plant, which manufactures more than a fourth of all Soviet freight cars, which totaled 63,000 last year.

According to the Pentagon booklet, the plant, with 8.3 million square feet of floor space, also makes T-72 tanks, and in 1980 manufactured 2,500 of them. The T-72 is the largest tank in the Soviet inventory, pending the development of a new T-80 tank, also mentioned in the booklet.

To illustrate the size of the Nizhni Tagil plant, the booklet shows a map of Washington, in which the plant area would extend from the Lincoln Memorial to Capitol Hill, about two miles.

Details of Forces Presented

In discussing the Soviet forces, the booklet makes these points:

6 Soviet ground forces have grown to 180 divisions, an increase of 30 since 1967, and "have achieved the capacity for extended intensive combat in the central region of Europe." Seventy-nine percent of the ground forces are stationed inside the Soviet Union, 15 percent in Eastern Europe, 3 percent in Mongolia, and 2 percent in Afghanistan. The Soviet Union has fielded 8,100 tanks and 20,000 artillery pieces. So, "let units are being equipped 'with a new, faster, better armor' — T-64 and T-72 tanks." Some artillery units "include new, heavy mobile artillery, multiple rocket launchers and self-propelled, armored 122-mm and 152-mm artillery guns."

More than 5,200 helicopters are available to the armed forces, including increasing numbers of Mi-4 and Mi-24 helicopter gunships used to support ground forces on the battlefield.

More than 3,500 Soviet and Warsaw Pact tactical bombers and fighter planes are deployed in Eastern Europe alone, and in each of the last eight years, "the Soviets have produced more than 1,000 fighter aircraft."

6 The Soviet Union is adding to its number of nuclear warheads against

Western Europe, China and the United States. The intercontinental missile force and the submarine-launched missile force are being modernized, with stress on accuracy and explosive force. The Soviet intercontinental strategic arsenal includes 7,000 nuclear warheads.

6 There are now eight classes of Soviet submarines and eight classes of major surface ships, including nuclear-powered cruisers and new aircraft carriers under construction. "This growing naval force emerging from large, modern shipyards is designed to support sustained operations in remote areas in order to project Soviet power around the world," the booklet says.

6 Soviet air defenses include 10,000 surface-to-air missile launchers at 1,000 fixed sites in the Soviet Union.

6 There are 135 major military industrial plants in the Soviet Union, with over 400 million square feet of floor space, a 34 percent increase since 1970.

Mr. Weinberger, in his preface, says that "there is nothing hypothetical about the Soviet military machine."

"Its expansion, modernization, and contribution to projection of power beyond Soviet boundaries are obvious," he says. "A clear understanding of Soviet armed forces, their doctrine, their capabilities, their strengths, and their weaknesses is essential to the shaping and maintenance of effective U.S. and allied armed forces."

Soviet Might: U.S. Sees Huge Military Machine

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and uncertainties attending any actual combat between the two superpowers.

Western military experts agree that over the last 20 years, the Soviet Union has made a major effort to redress the balance of forces, and that Soviet forces today are bigger and much better than they were in 1960 and 1970. Beyond that, the experts are divided, some arguing that there is now an overall balance, with the Soviet Union ahead in certain respects and the United States in other respects, and others saying that Moscow is now superior. The new Pentagon report provides data to support the view of Soviet superiority.

In those few instances where the Pentagon report compares Soviet and American military efforts and weapons, the Russians are usually portrayed as superior, but the evidence presented is incomplete.

For example, the report says that over the last 25 years the Soviet Union has devoted an average of 12 to 14 percent of its gross national product to the military. In the same period the American average was about 7 percent. But the report does not point out that during this period the size of the American economy averaged at least twice that of the Soviet Union. Thus, overall expenditures on the military tend to even out.

Soviet Spending More Than U.S.

Although it is generally agreed that Moscow has been spending more for arms and men than Washington over the last decade, this accounting does not include allied expenditures. When the military spending of the United States and its allies is compared with that of the Soviet Union and its allies, the picture is quite different. Spending by the United States, its NATO allies, Japan and China has been and remains higher than military spending by the Soviet Union, its Warsaw Pact allies, Cuba and Vietnam.

Although the report does not discuss these comparisons, it does point to their effects on Soviet military deployments. It is publicly acknowledged for the first time that the Russians put as many of their high-quality combat divisions along the border with China as in Europe.

Of the 80 divisions in Europe, 5 percent are category 1 (the highest in readiness, training and supplies), 20 percent are category 2 (the middle rating) and 75 percent are category 3 (the least ready). Of the 45 divisions along the bor-

der with China, 15 percent are category 1, 35 percent category 2 and 50 percent category 3.

Twenty-five divisions are in the central part of the Soviet Union and can be used readily in either direction.

U.S. Technology Lead Challenged

The report also makes some general comparisons about technology, saying the United States "lead in basic military technology is presently being challenged." It implies that the United States can no longer rely on its customary technological superiority to offset Soviet numerical superiority.

The report says, and it is generally agreed, that Moscow now leads in the development of high-powered laser weapons and electrical power sources for directed energy weapons. It adds that Washington still leads by two to seven years in microelectronics, computers and jet engines.

The last complete comparison of Soviet and American military technologies was made in February 1980 in testimony to Congress by Dr. William J. Perry, then Under Secretary of Defense for Research and Development. In comparing 20 basic technologies, he said the United States was ahead in 15, equal in 5 and behind in none. These included areas such as computers, optics and nuclear warheads.

As for high-technology weapons actually deployed by 1980, Dr. Perry found that 30 systems, the United States was ahead in 14, behind in 7, and equal in 9. These included weapons such as tanks and aircraft.

250 SS-20 Missiles

The new report says that the Russians have now deployed 250 SS-20 medium-range missiles, mostly in Europe, with a total of 750 warheads, and that 65 more are under construction. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization does not have any comparable weapons and will not have them until new Pershing and cruise missiles are deployed beginning about 1983.

The future deployment of these American missiles has become a major political issue in Europe, as has the United States decision to produce neutron weapons. Moscow has conducted a major propaganda campaign against these weapons and against the increase in American military spending generally.

Mr. Weinberger and his aides have said privately that they hope that this new report on Soviet military power will turn some of the spotlight of world opinion on new Soviet military increases.

Preface From U.S. Booklet on Soviet Military

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 26 — Following is the preface, signed by Secretary of Defense Casper W. Weinberger, to the 99-page booklet titled "Soviet Military Power."

The Soviet armed forces today number more than 4.8 million men. For the past quarter century, we have witnessed the continuing growth of Soviet military power at a pace that shows no signs of slackening in the future.

All elements of the Soviet armed forces — the strategic rocket forces, the ground forces of the Army, the Air Force, the Navy and the air defense forces — continue to modernize with an unending flow of new weapons systems, tanks, missiles, ships, artillery and aircraft. The Soviet defense budget continues to grow to fund this force buildup, to fund the projection of Soviet power far from Soviet shores and to fund Soviet use of proxy forces to support revolutionary factions and conflict in an increasing threat to international stability.

Details of Structure Provided

To comprehend the threat to Western strategic interests posed by the growth and power projection of the Soviet armed forces, it is useful to consider in detail the composition, organization and doctrine of these forces, their ideological underpinning, and their steady acquisition of new, increasingly capable conventional, theater nuclear and strategic nuclear weapons systems.

It is equally important to examine the U.S.S.R.'s industrial base, its military resource allocations, and continuing quest for military-technological superiority which contribute to the effectiveness of its armed forces and proxy forces, and which support the Soviets' position as world leader in arms exports.

Strength Exceeds 180 Divisions

The facts are stark: The Soviet ground forces have grown to more than 180 divisions — motorized rifle divisions, tank divi-

sions and airborne divisions — stationed in Eastern Europe, in the U.S.S.R., in Mongolia, and in combat in Afghanistan. Soviet ground forces have achieved the capacity for extended intensive combat in the central region of Europe.

The Soviets have fielded 50,000 tanks and 20,000 artillery pieces. The Soviet divisions are being equipped with the newer, faster, better armor T-64 and T-72 tanks. Some artillery units, organic to each division, include new, heavy mobile artillery, multiple rocket launchers and self-propelled, armored 122-millimeter and 152-millimeter guns.

More than 5,200 helicopters are available to the Soviet armed forces, including increasing numbers of Mi-4 and Mi-24 helicopter gunships used in direct support of ground forces on the battlefield.

Fighter Output 1,000 a Year

More than 3,500 Soviet and Warsaw Pact tactical bombers and fighter aircraft are located in Eastern Europe alone. In each of the last eight years, the Soviets have produced more than 1,000 fighter aircraft.

Against Western Europe, China and Japan, the Soviets are adding constantly to deliverable nuclear warheads, with the number of launchers growing, with some 250 mobile, SS-20 intermediate-range ballistic missile launchers in the field, and with three nuclear warheads on each SS-20 missile.

The Soviets continue to give high priority to the modernization of their intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) force and their submarine-launched ballistic missile (SLBM) force, stressing increased accuracy and greater warhead throwweight. The Soviet intercontinental strategic arsenal includes 7,000 nuclear warheads, with 1,389 ICBM launchers, 950 SLBM launchers and 195 long-range bombers. This does not include some 150 nuclear-capable Backfire bombers.

The Soviets have eight classes of submarines and eight classes of major surface warships, including nuclear-

powered cruisers and new aircraft carriers, presently under construction. This growing naval force emerging from large, modern shipyards is designed to support sustained operations in remote areas in order to project Soviet power around the world.

The Soviet air defense forces now have 10,000 surface-to-air missile launchers at 1,000 fixed missile sites across the Soviet Union.

The growth of the Soviet armed forces is made possible by the U.S.S.R.'s military production base which continues to grow at the expense of all other components of the Soviet economy. There are 135 major military industrial plants now operating in the Soviet Union with over 400 million and 400 million square meters in floor space, a 34 percent increase since 1970. In 1980, these plants produced more than 150 different types of weapons systems for Soviet forces and for export to client states and developing countries.

85,000 Soldiers in Afghanistan

Today, the Soviets have more than 85,000 men fighting in Afghanistan. Soviet naval forces are deployed in the major oceans of the world. The U.S.S.R. is giving increased access to military facilities and is supporting proxy conflicts in Africa, Southwest Asia, Southeast Asia and the Western Hemisphere.

There is nothing hypothetical about the Soviet military machine. Its expansion, modernization and contribution to projection of power beyond Soviet boundaries are obvious.

A clear understanding of Soviet armed forces, their doctrine, their capabilities, their strengths and their weaknesses is essential to the shaping and maintenance of effective U.S. and allied forces.

The greatest defense forces in the world are those of free people in free nations well informed as to the challenge they face, firmly united in their resolve to provide fully for the common defense, thereby deterring aggression and safeguarding the security of the world's democracies.