

ready afoot months earlier. Reagan's proposed alternative to a crisis had the effect of unmasking the ongoing Soviet intentions. Once the President presented an offer of a real solution to the missiles-crisis threat, the Soviets were forced to expose the fact that they had not intended to have any serious pre-crisis negotiations.

There is no other explanation in sight, but that they are refusing to negotiate seriously with President Reagan for a very simple reason: They intend to plunge the world into the new missiles crisis, and have assured themselves that they will force the White House into a humiliating backdown into strategically decisive margins of concessions.

If so, and no other rational explanation of Andropov's behavior corresponds to the accumulation of evidence, then Andropov is a bigger fool than Khrushchev. Since Andropov's behavior presently is consistent with one relying on Tavistockian varieties of psychological-warfare tactics, we must presume that he imagines himself to be relying on the objective scientific foundation of psychology. Perhaps he sees himself as being psychologically scientific, objective,

and not an adventurer.

For my part, I shall do what lies within my means to persuade Secretary Andropov that his course of action is unscientific, and is objectively adventuristic lunacy.

It appears to be the case, that Secretary Andropov has learned nothing from the President's March 23, 1983 address. Had Secretary Andropov been scientific, he would have observed in the President's actions a quality of "command decision" which no President had shown in 20 years. This quality of personality is totally opposite to the Tavistock "cowboy profile" which fits precisely the psychological-warfare characteristics of Soviet preparations for a missiles crisis since November 1962. Secretary Andropov should seat himself comfortably, seating himself as any wise man would who was anticipating a new shock. The quality of command-decision seen on March 23, 1983 is a repeatable quality.

Secretary Andropov, you are facing something beyond Tavistock's comprehension. It would be better for all concerned, if you would stop the adventurous games and get down to negotiations.

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## Documentation

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# Ogarkov states war readiness is 'timely and appropriate'

*The following article, titled "Victory and the Present," was published in the Soviet daily Izvestia, on May 9, 1983 by Nikolai Ogarkov, Chief of General Staff of the Armed Forces, First Deputy Minister of Defense of the U.S.S.R., and Marshal of the Soviet Union.*

May 9, 1945 occupies a special place in the historical annals of the first country of Soviets in the world. This was the day of our great victory over fascist Germany, the victory of the forces of progress and humanism over black reaction and barbarism. At the price of enormous sacrifice and deprivation, our people and its army not only defended the freedom and independence of the motherland, but they also provided international assistance to many peoples of Europe and Asia, thus opening the gates to the path towards further social progress and democracy on earth.

Soviet citizens and Soviet soldiers and sailors are celebrating the 38th anniversary of victory in an atmosphere of great success in the political and labor areas and under conditions of growing prestige of the Soviet state on the world scene.

Together with us, this holiday is being celebrated by the working people of the fraternal countries of socialism and all progressive humanity.

### I.

Mankind has lived through many wars, great and small. But in terms of its political goals, scope and brutality, World War II has no equal in history. Sixty-one states and more than 80 percent of the world population were drawn into its crucible. The flames of war burned for 2,194 days and nights on the territory of 40 countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa and on the expanses of all the world oceans, and it claimed more than 50 million human lives.

The Second World War was unleashed by international imperialism. There is no question that the burden of responsibility for its preparation and unleashing lies above all with the Hitlerite fascist clique and the leaders of its satellites—Fascist Italy and militarist Japan. But in this context it must never be forgotten that a significant responsibility for the outbreak of the world conflagration lies with the ruling circles of the United States, England, France and a number of other

capitalist states in power during those years. They reared the fascist hordes in Central Europe as an instrument to be directed against the Soviet Union.

Today it is obvious that the politicians and strategists of Washington, London, and Paris seriously miscalculated at that time. Fascist Germany preferred to begin its march to world domination by an attack on the neighboring capitalist countries, and by 1941 it had devoured half of Europe. Under the conditions that had arisen, England, France and later the United States were compelled to join in the creation of an anti-Hitler coalition. However, even after that, as history showed, they in no way strove for the quickest possible defeat of the Hitlerite Reich, but they played a double game—they aimed at the maximum depletion of both the Soviet Union and fascist Germany in the war, setting themselves the goal of ensuring their own leading position in the post-war world. It is thus no coincidence that they did not open a second front in Western Europe in 1942, as had been agreed upon, but waited until June 1944.

Victory over fascism was won by the joint efforts of the nations and armies of many countries. However, the decisive contribution in the defeat of the fascist-militarist bloc was made by the Soviet Union. It was on the Soviet-German front—the main front of World War II—that the fate of victory was decided. And no bourgeois falsifiers can hide that historical truth.

The victory won in the Great Patriotic War [the war between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, 1941-45] over the enemies of our motherland was the victory of the Soviet social and state system. Socialism endured the severest hardships with honor and it manifested its indisputable superiority over capitalism in all fields—political, economic, social, ideological, and military. On the battlefields of the Great Patriotic War, the immortal name of the great Lenin, the organizer and founder of our army, loomed over the Soviet troops.

In fierce struggle with the enemy, the Soviet armed forces, our military science, and military art won a convincing victory. During the war years, Soviet troops conducted tens of strategic operations, around 250 front operations, and many hundreds of army operations, the overwhelming majority of which are even now considered as exemplary of advanced military art. They concretely testify to the unparalleled heroism of Soviet soldiers and the force of Soviet arms, to the great talent of Soviet field officers and the combat maturity of staff officers and political workers.

Especially fruitful during the war years was the activity of the Stavka [Headquarters] of the Supreme General Command, headed by J. V. Stalin. Key positions in the Stavka were occupied by Deputy Supreme Commanders, Marshals G. Zhukov and A. Vasilevskii, as well as other members of the Stavka of the Supreme General Command and its main control body, the General Staff.

The outcome of the struggle with the bitter enemy was decided not only on the battlefields, but also on the home

front. During the war, our industry, despite the significant losses and destruction which it suffered, produced more than 100,000 tanks, 830,000 guns and mortars, more than 112,000 airplanes and a great deal of other equipment and military technology—almost twice as much, and of better quality, than fascist Germany and its satellites combined.

The bold leader, organizer, and commander of the Soviet people and its armed forces in the last war was our glorious Communist Party. Armed with Marxist-Leninist doctrine, it confidently led the Soviet people to their great victory.

The victory over fascism—the strike force of international reaction—demonstrated to the entire world the insuperable vital force of the new society borne by Great October. The first socialist state in the world emerged from the war even stronger. The greatest historical consequence of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War was the formation of the world socialist system. This historic victory created the conditions for the stormy progress of the national liberation movement of oppressed peoples.

The outcome of the Great Patriotic War once again convincingly demonstrates that imperialism is incapable of turning back the wheel of history. This outcome is a bitter warning to the lovers of military adventures and the latter-day pretenders to world hegemony.

There is no force in the world that could stop the victorious march of socialism on the planet—nor will there ever be!

## II.

With the conclusion of World War II, nations genuinely hoped that the enormous sacrifices which they had delivered to the altar of victory would forever remove the horrors of war from their lives, and that finally a lasting and long-awaited peace could be affirmed on earth.

The reactionary circles of the West acted differently. The gunfire from World War II had not yet died out when the leaders of the United States began to work out new aggressive plans, this time against the U.S.S.R.—their ally in the anti-Hitler coalition. Possessing a monopoly on nuclear arms, the military and political leadership of the United States already in 1945 considered the possibility of using them on the territory of the Soviet Union. Subsequently, one after another, their increasingly sinister plans appeared: in 1948, the “Charioteer” plan, calling for the use of 133 atom bombs on 70 Soviet cities in only the first 30 days of the war; in 1949, the “Dropshot” plan, calling for the use of 300 atomic and 250,000 tons of conventional bombs with the annihilation of 85 percent of Soviet industry; in 1950, the “Trojan” plan, calling for the use of more than 300 atomic bombs but on 100 Soviet cities. In order to carry out these plans, aggressive military-political blocs were formed (NATO, CENTO, SEATO and others), and an entire network of military bases and other military objects were created around our country. They number one and a half thousand by the present time.

It was by no means the desire for consolidating peace that

gave rise to new military doctrines in the United States. Their very names: in the late 1940s and 1950s, "massive retaliation"; in the 1960s, "flexible response"; in the 1970s, "realistic deterrence"; and in the 1980s, "direct antagonism"—testify to the shameless aggressiveness of American imperialism. And it is not accidental that the United States is redoubling its arms budget from year to year, that it is opening one after another ever newer channels for the arms race, convulsively attempting to undermine the economy of the Soviet Union and attain military superiority. And all this is being done under the cover of unpardonably mendacious, long out-of-date ideas about some sort of mythical "Soviet military threat."

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*It must never be forgotten that a significant responsibility for the outbreak of world conflagration lies with the ruling circles of the United States, England, France. The lessons of World War II, and especially the Great Patriotic War, urgently demand that the Soviet Union show the highest degree of vigilance and ... unceasing concern about defense capabilities.*

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But it is not merely a question of ideas, not only of doctrines and budgets, but also of aggressive actions. In the post-war period, Washington has threatened to use force more than 200 times, and it has repeatedly used force in fact.

At present the United States, using the CIA and the special services of the NATO countries, is carrying out numerous provocations and diversions and economic sabotage with the aim of destabilizing the international situation and driving a wedge into inter-state relations and unleashing military conflicts.

The United States is continuing to build up its undeclared war against Afghanistan; it is organizing bloody orgies in El Salvador; it is intensifying its military provocations against Cuba and Nicaragua. It provoked the senseless war between Iran and Iraq; it is lending all kinds of support and incitement to the Israeli aggressors in the Middle East, the plundering actions of the South African racists in Angola and Mozambique, and the anti-human, bloody regime in Chile. On our

Far Eastern borders, the United States is drawing Japan, which is increasingly gripped by militarist fever, into its aggressive plans.

Today, as in the 1930s, the threat of a new world war is growing. World imperialism, international Zionism, and reaction are attempting to carve up the world in their own way. This course has become particularly dangerous in recent times in connection with the actions of the Reagan administration. Hypocritically holding forth on its alleged longing for peace, the U.S. administration is stubbornly ignoring the peace-loving proposals of the U.S.S.R. and other countries of the Warsaw Pact. The White House "Directives in the Defense Sector for 1984-1988" include as a primary goal "the annihilation of socialism as a socio-political system." In addition to this, on March 23 of this year the President of the United States announced that the United States is beginning development of a new generation of anti-missile weapons, something that will inevitably entail a new round of the arms race and will necessarily have a negative effect on the entire international situation.

In contrast to the aggressive course of the United States, the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community are steadfastly and consistently pursuing a policy aimed at peaceful cooperation. They have advocated a fundamental resolution of the problems of disarmament and prevention of a nuclear catastrophe and a new world war. This is precisely the aim of the Soviet peace initiatives presented by General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov. They call for the removal of the material means of waging war as well as the creation of political barriers to the outbreak of war. They encompass both nuclear and conventional arms. They take into account the legitimate interests of the security of the European nations as well as the nations of the entire world.

Speaking at the dinner held in honor of a GDR [East German] party and state delegation, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, referring to talks on intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe, noted that our position is that the U.S.S.R. should not have more missiles or warheads than the NATO side during any mutually agreed period. If the number of warheads on the English and French missiles are reduced, we will reduce the number of warheads on our own intermediate-range missiles by an equal number. The same approach might also be extended to that class of aviation weapons deployed in Europe. In this way, there would be an approximate parity between the U.S.S.R. and NATO both in respect to intermediate-range nuclear delivery vehicles—that is, missiles and aircraft—and in respect to the number of warheads they carry, with that parity level being considerably lower than it is today.

"Anyone who again says 'No' in response to this proposal of ours," said Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, "will be assuming a heavy responsibility before the nations of Europe and the entire world. . . ."

"All peoples and governments should reflect on the de-

gree of this danger and do everything to safeguard peace and to turn the course of events back towards détente.”

These peace initiatives and far-reaching proposals have been received with understanding and hope by the world public. Unfortunately, there is as yet no positive reaction from the governments of the NATO countries. And this is necessarily a disturbing fact.

The lessons of World War II, and especially the Great Patriotic War, urgently demand of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community that they show the highest degree of vigilance and compel them to show unceasing concern about their defense capabilities.

### III.

The preparation of our armed forces and the development of Soviet military science and military art are realized on the basis of the invaluable experience of the Great Patriotic War. In the course of the war, Soviet military doctrine and the basic tenets of our military thought were subjected to a severe test. And they withstood the trials of war. But the war did introduce corrections as well. It gave much which was new in the theory and practice of military affairs. The experience acquired in battles is still widely applied today in the practice of operative, combat, and political preparation of our troops.

Forty years have passed since the Great Patriotic War. In that time radical quantitative and qualitative changes have occurred in military affairs. Military art does not stand still. And a new war, if it is unleashed by the imperialists, will differ sharply from the last one.

Since the 1950s, the decisive means of armed struggle has been nuclear arms. The arsenal of various kinds of nuclear warheads and delivery vehicles accumulated in the world now totals many tens of thousands. Such quantitative changes have led to qualitative changes; that which was possible to achieve by nuclear arms 20 to 30 years ago has now become impossible for the aggressor. A devastating nuclear counter-strike awaits him!

At the same time, there is an accelerated improvement of existing strategic and operative-tactical weapons systems and the creation of new such systems based on the latest achievements of electronics and other engineering sciences. Significantly improved automatized systems of command and control of troops and equipment, and new, highly effective conventional weapons systems are being developed and introduced. The scope of such systems is also being significantly expanded. In the United States, for example, space-based military attack systems and weapons complexes based on new physical principles are being created. All this will naturally influence the character of a possible war, and the forms and methods of preparation for and conduct of modern operations and battle.

For this reason, it is not merely important to recall the lessons of the past war and the conclusions of military art of those years, but most important—on the basis of experience acquired, *to see and understand the perspective of development of military affairs in the future, and dialectically, cre-*

*atively, think through the changes occurring in the means and methods of armed struggle and to take timely and appropriate measures to further raise the combat-readiness of our land and naval forces [emphasis in the original].* Narrow-mindedness and a stubborn, mechanical, and unreflective clinging to old ways is dangerous under modern conditions.

Taking into account the changes occurring in military affairs and the aggressive preparations of the United States and its allies, there must be an especially well-considered and harmonious development of the branches of the Soviet armed forces, the fighting arms, and special forces, as well as modernization and improvement of the organizational structure of the forces and command and control organs.

In a new war, should the imperialists manage to unleash one, it will be impossible to contain military actions within any limited scope, as the strategists from Washington maintain. It will inevitably encompass all of the territories of the combatant states. It will be difficult to distinguish the combat front from the home front. The methods of solving tasks may also be different, especially in the beginning of the war. It is this that dictates the specific role and significance of the initial period of the war under modern conditions.

The experience of the initial operations of the Great Patriotic War has already introduced serious corrections in previously prevailing views. In 1941, large-scale operations developed all at once on a vast front, with deep penetration, and they were conducted with extremely decisive goals.

Now the situation in this respect has become even more complicated. Most imperialist states constantly have various long-range weapons of enormous destructive strength in a combat-ready state. Already in peacetime they maintain highly mobile armed forces units capable of immediately beginning military action without advance deployment. This determines the unprecedentedly tense and demanding character of operations in the initial period of the war and demands from the defensive side, in the very first hours; clear-cut and active operations to repluse the attack. Under present-day conditions, such operations may be of decisive significance, as is demonstrated by the experience of local wars. This requires a profound analysis and comprehensive study of the aggressive preparations of imperialism and its true military doctrines and conceptions. This will permit the timely detection of the possibility of unexpected actions and the new means and methods of armed struggle which might be used by the aggressor.

The experience of the last war showed the extreme importance of command and control of land and naval forces for the successful conducting of military actions. Now, the demands on military command and control of the Armed Forces in operations on land, at sea and in the air, the demands on their consistency, reliability, and operative nature have acquired a qualitatively new character. Decisions will be made in short periods of time, missions will be carried out in a matter of minutes, and the art of fulfilling them will be highly demanding. This brings about the necessity of having,

in peacetime, organs of command and control which could immediately go into action at the outbreak of war without a lengthy period of reorganization.

To this end, our armed forces are constantly raising the combat-readiness of our troops and staffs as well as the field, air, and naval training of the personnel. The organizational structure of the land and naval forces and the command and control bodies are being improved, and military-theoretical thought is continuously being developed. The Leninist principles of building and preparation of our armed forces are still today fundamental in the examination of all questions associated with the strengthening of the defense might of our motherland.

Of course, combat-readiness and the combat capabilities of the armed forces are an important element, but by no means the only element involved in strengthening the defense of the state. As the experience of the past war showed, the armed forces can operate successfully only when they rest on a powerful scientific-technological and economic base, which functions reliably during the course of the war. Therefore, in the interests of strengthening the defense capability of the country, the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet government are carrying out important measures to further heighten the defense potential and mobilization preparedness of industry, agriculture, transport, and other branches of the national economy, and to prepare them in time for the transition to a war footing if required. A great deal of work is also being done on the patriotic education of Soviet citizens in the spirit of great responsibility for the defense of their socialist fatherland, as well as efforts on the organization of universal military training and preparation of young people for military service. All this guarantees that the Soviet Union and its allies will be reliably secured from attack by an aggressor.

Victory Day is one of the happiest and dearest holidays we have. It is a symbol of the greatness of the immortal feat performed by the Soviet people and their armed forces in the bitter years of the Great Patriotic War. On this day we lower our battle flags in memory of the Soviet citizens who gave their lives for the freedom and independence of our motherland and for the happiness of our people. On this day we praise our war and labor veterans, the heroes of the combat front and the home front, soldiers in the reserves and in retirement—all those who steadfastly and courageously defended the honor and independence of the great Soviet fatherland. We express our heartfelt gratitude and boundless appreciation to our native Leninist Party, under whose experienced leadership the Soviet people won a world-historical victory in the Great Patriotic War and are now confidently proceeding along the path towards communism.

Steadfastly fighting to build communism in our country and to consolidate universal peace, the Soviet people and the soldiers of its heroic armed forces will always remember the bitter lessons of the last war and will do everything necessary to ensure that no one will ever be able to take us by surprise.

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