4.

Prime Minister.

RA
2.iv.82.

Ref. A08003

MR WHITMORE

We shall need a brief on power to make it very clear!

on Soviet Union like.

Last autumn I showed you a copy of the United States booklet "Soviet Military Power" designed to show in graphic and photographic form the expansion of Soviet forces in comparison with those of the West. Following its appearance, the Soviet Union have now issued a riposte of about the same length and employing the same "glossy" approach. Sir Frank Cooper has drawn it to my attention, together with a copy of the minute with which it was submitted to the Secretary of State for Defence. I enclose both documents, which the Prime Minister might care to look at over Easter.

2. The booklet is a fairly effective piece of Soviet propaganda. As the covering minute points out, its description of the East/West military balance is presented in such a way as to support the Soviet thesis that there can be no question of the Soviet Union being responsible for an escalation in the East/West Arms race and that the United States has both nuclear and conventional advantages over the Soviet Union, and suggests that "the European public, however, is kept completely in the dark" (paragraph 68).

3. I have told Sir Frank Cooper's office that I am drawing the booklet to the Prime Minister's attention.

RtA

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

2nd April 1982

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"WHENCE THE THREAT TO PEACE"

Before he left on a duty visit abroad, DGI asked me to let you have a short commentary on this Soviet booklet, copies of which have recently appeared in London. DGI has seen and agreed the gist of what follows.

2. "Whence the Threat to Peace" is the Russian riposte to the US booklet "Soviet Military Power" issued last September. It is a glossy publication cleverly devised in the same style as "Soviet Military Power" but has stolen a march on the Americans by providing what the US document was widely critised for omitting - a statement on the East/West military balance.

3. The balance is presented as one of broad parity in strategic nuclear terms (which we would not dispute) and also in terms of the balance of medium range nuclear weapons in Europe (which we certainly would dispute) and which the Russians have demonstrated by the familiar use of selective evidence in which several of their own delivery systems are omitted. Rough parity is also claimed in the General Purpose Forces balance, though superiority is admitted for Warsaw Pact in some areas and for NATO in others. The greater number of USSR Ground Force Divisions is explained by the great length of state frontiers (including that bordering on China) to be defended, the implication being that this offsets the disadvantage presented by the geographical separation of the USA from Europe. In Europe, it is claimed that NATO combat ready divisions out number the Warsaw Pact's, and contain more men in each division into the bargain. It is difficult to make sense of the figures purporting to support this statement and it is likely that they have been arrived at only by including, on the NATO side, forces remote from the Central Front.

4. Much of the booklet is taken up by a detailed survey of US military forces and weapons, illustrated by pictures taken from 'Janes Fighting Ships','Aviation Week', and a variety of other Western publications. It presents the US military machine as a basically offensive weapon in the hands of a reckless administration bent on ending the present state of equilibrium and achieving strategic superiority over the Soviet Union. In support of this claim, it exploits recent statements by members of the US administration on the use of theatre nuclear weapons in a war fighting role in Europe. It also claims that

the US was responsible for originating successive modern weapons systems, and the USSR was forced to follow suit some years behind.

5. Although the booklet says little that is new, its presentation has been cleverly designed in a number of respects. To take one example, the US booklet's presentation of the area of the NIZHNIY TAGIL tank complex superimposed on Washington DC is trumped in the Soviet booklet by the same diagram on which the larger area of the "Detroit Tank Complex" is in turn superimposed. In fact, both illustrations are misleading to the extent that neither of these huge complexes is wholly concerned with tank production.

6. Fact and fiction are cunningly interwoven. I have already referred to the selective use of statistics in the section on medium range nuclear weapons in Europe (p 65) and on the conventional military balance in Europe (p 69). Other examples of selective arithmetic are the figures for tanks (p 69), US chemical warfare stocks (p 47/48) and the number and location of major US bases on foreign territories (p 26/27).

7. It is interesting to speculate how much of this booklet the Russians themselves genuinely believe. The Soviet apprehension about the Chinese is almost certainly not overstated, and the illustration of their country as being surrounded by hostile forces is probably a genuine reflection of their thinking. The Russians probably regard NATO's proposed acquisition of additional theatre nuclear weapons as a real extension of the strategic threat to them because these missiles are within the range of the USSR and would arrive with much less warning time than the ICBMs launched from the US. On the other hand, the Russians must be as aware as we are of the scope for widely different interpretations in any comparison of forces introduced by the complications of definition, coverage, operational capability and geographical distribution; and the claim on p 75 that "ever since it came into existence, the Soviet state has opposed interference in the affairs of sovereign states" must surely have been made tongue in cheek, even by a Russian. For all that, the publication has to be taken seriously, not least because of its apparent plausibility and the way in which it has used Western sources to present a picture favourable to the Soviet Union.

8. Distribution of the booklet is something of a mystery. Until now, copies have been available only from the Collet's International Bookshop by private purchase and although additional copies are said to be on the way, even the Russian Embassy does not seem to know when they will arrive. It is said to have been produced in a variety of languages and was reviewed in the 'International Herald Tribune' on 14 January and in 'The Times', 'Guardian' and 'Daily Telegraph' on 26 January.[1] All these reviews remarked on the unusual step taken by the Russians in launching the booklet at a press conference. There appears, so far, to have been no official US reaction. It may well be referred to at a press briefing which I understand is being planned in mid-March to launch the forthcoming NATO publication on the East/West military balance and in

[1] Also The Economist of 6 Feb 82

the meantime I am keeping DCPR defensively briefed against any press enquiries which might arise.

John Emott

10 February 1982

Head of DIS(CS)

Soviet Union RM

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

SIR ROBERT ARMSTRONG

I have shown the Prime Minister your minute A08003 of 2 April and the Soviet booklet "Whence the Threat to Peace" which you sent with it.

The Prime Minister has looked at the booklet and has commented that we shall need a brief on points to make in reply. Perhaps you would care to pursue this with the Ministry of Defence.

C. A. WHITMORE

14 April, 1982

WHENCE THE THREAT TO PEACE

WHENCE THE THREAT TO PEACE

MILITARY PUBLISHING HOUSE
USSR MINISTRY OF DEFENSE
MOSCOW 1982

Translated from the Russian

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Some of the photos in this book are reprinted from *Jane's Fighting Ships, US War Machine, Rockets & Missiles, Soviet Military Power, Aviation Week & Space Technology, US News & World Report, Armies & Weapons, Soldiers, Newsweek.*

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Introduction

In the 1970s, the relaxation of tensions in relations between states belonging to different socio-political systems made the cold war yield ground. The restructuring of international relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence gained momentum. But as the world was entering the 80s, and especially after the change of leadership in the White House, a sharp about-turn occurred in the policy of the United States and a number of other NATO countries. Their ruling circles began to set their sights in international relations on force and force alone. US statesmen and military leaders openly declared that nuclear war, both global and "limited", was thinkable. Large regions of the world thousands of kilometers distant from the United States were proclaimed Washington's spheres of "vital interest".

The present US Administration and its bellicose partners in other NATO countries have set out to upset the military-strategic equilibrium shaped during the past decade between the USSR and the USA, between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the North Atlantic bloc. To justify their line of securing military superiority over the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty, the myth of a "Soviet war threat" fabricated years ago is being backed up by claims that the USA and NATO as a whole have "fallen behind" in the military field and "windows of vulnerability" have appeared in the US war machine, and the like.

High-ranking political and military members of the US Administration have joined the campaign of inventing and propagating an assortment of various far-fetched conjectures. A special place in the campaign is accorded to a Pentagon pamphlet, entitled *Soviet Military Power*. Widely advertised by US mass media, it is clearly designed to frighten the public, above all in Western countries, with the military potential of the USSR, and convince it in the compulsive necessity of a further build-up of US and NATO military strength.

The Pentagon pamphlet would not have by itself deserved any special mention if it did not reflect the political tendencies reigning in the United States and directed to torpedoing detente, stoking up tensions in relations between states, and triggering an unbridled arms race.

Inasmuch as the ruling circles of the United States saw fit to publish tendentiously selected and deliberately distorted information about the Armed Forces of the USSR, it became necessary for the sake of objectivity to show the military potential of the other side, so that true conclusions could be drawn on the basis of comparative data.

This book, prepared by competent Soviet quarters, examines the present state and orientation of the armed forces and military-industrial potential of the United States of America, and other elements of the US war machine on

which the US Administration relies in its resolve to follow a policy "from positions of strength", and to secure military superiority. In order to provide an objective picture of the strategic situation now prevailing in the world, the book examines the balance of East-West military strength, and the approach of the two sides to international detente and the problems of safeguarding and consolidating peace, and curbing the arms race.

Section I—"They Call This Objective"—shows that the appraisals of the military potential of the USSR and its foreign policy and military strategy made by members of the US Defense Department, are unobjective and biased, and that the authors of the US pamphlet were anything but impartial in selecting data related to the Soviet Armed Forces.

Section II—"The US War Machine"—offers facts and figures concerning the armed forces of the United States which, already in peacetime, are deployed far away from the US national frontiers and are organizationally and numerically maintained to suit designs that have nothing to do with a defensive war; it shows their menacing growth, appraises the US war industry and the role of the military-industrial complex which is to a large measure the moving spirit behind the country's militarization policy and the emphasis on military force in international affairs, and examines the substance of present-day US military strategy.

Section III—"The East-West Military Balance"—presents authentic facts and figures to compare the strategic nuclear forces and medium-range nuclear weaponry of the two sides, and shows the correlation of the general purpose and naval forces of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

Section IV—"Two Trends in World Politics"—demonstrates facts showing the attitude of the Soviet and US governments to concluded treaties, and to arms limitation and reduction negotiations.

The book presents, alongside data provided by competent Soviet quarters, some facts and figures of the London International Institute for Strategic Studies and of official US sources, none of which can be suspected of the least sympathy for the Soviet Union.

I. They Call This Objective

The authors of the pamphlet *Soviet Military Power* saturated it with figures and commentaries about the combat strength, structure and groupings of the Soviet Armed Forces, their armaments, the number of munitions factories, and much other data about the military potential of the Soviet Union.

The nature of the material and the presentation are evidently fashioned to create an impression of impartiality and objectivity. But are the Pentagon authors really unbiased?

To begin with, it strikes the eye that given the general profusion of information, there is not the slightest data in the pamphlet on the armed forces of the USA and NATO. Nor is this accidental. If information about them had been given, everyone would have easily seen the rough military parity of the sides, the absence of any "threat to Western strategic interests", and the non-existence of the alleged Soviet "challenge" to the West.

It is essential to turn to the facts if we want to determine impartially who really challenges whom, who initiated the arms race, notably of mass destruction weapons, who has been pursuing it at an ever increasing rate for more than three decades, and who is building up military power without restraint, creating a menace to peace and the security of nations.

In August 1945, the world learned of the appearance of the most destructive weapon in history—the atomic bomb. Not only did the United States develop the bomb, but also used it, with no military need, against the civilian population of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The Soviet proposals for banning the use of nuclear energy for military purposes made subsequently were turned down by the United States. So, in face of the threatening danger, the Soviet Union took countermeasures and developed its own atomic bomb.

And that is true of all subsequent developments. The United States became the initiator of a race of strategic armaments. In the 50s, on the excuse of having "fallen behind in bombers", the Pentagon obtained large allocations from Congress and set in motion a crash program for the construction of strategic bombers. After an armada of these planes had been built, however, it was discovered that the Americans had deliberately exaggerated the number of Soviet bombers three to four times over.

In the early 60s, a howl was raised about a "US missile gap", and the United States initiated a massive deployment of ground-based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs). Then, after more than a thousand of these had been deployed, it turned out that the Soviet "missile threat" had been exaggerated 15 to 20 times over.

Simultaneously, an American program was launched to build 41 nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarines (SSBNs). At that time, no one in the world had them. And in the mid-60s, the

Pentagon began fitting submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs) with multiple re-entry vehicle (MRV) warheads. The following table shows who initiated the build-up of nuclear-powered missile submarines, ballistic missiles and nuclear warheads:

	USA		USSR	
	SSBNs/ launchers	Nuclear warheads	SSBNs/ launchers	Nuclear warheads
1960	3/48	48	none	none
1967	41/656	1,552	2/32	32
1970	41/656	2,048	20/316	316
1975	41/656	4,536	55/724	724
1981	40/648	5,280	62/950	2,000

At the end of the 60s and the beginning of the 70s, the US was the first to begin arming strategic ballistic missiles with multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicle (MIRV) warheads, starting a new spiral of the nuclear arms race. Thereupon, at crash rates, it began developing a new type of strategic weapon—air-, ground-, and sea-based long-range cruise missiles with nuclear warheads.

Finally, in 1981 the US President ordered the full-scale manufacture of neutron munitions.

As for the Soviet Union, it initiated no new types of weapons throughout post-war history. In building its armed forces, it only reacted to dangers created by the West. The USSR has never aspired to positions of military superiority, and has always confined itself to measures that sufficed to ensure dependable security for itself and its allies. This has been repeatedly and officially stated by Soviet leaders at the highest level. In his replies to *Time* magazine, Leonid Brezhnev said: "We are not seeking military superiority over the West, we do not need it. All we need is reliable security." And everything that was done, and is being done, by the Soviet Union in matters of defense is subordinated to this goal.

It is the United States that is trying to upset the prevailing military parity, the military-strategic equilibrium. That is the goal pursued by the US President in his program of comprehensive strategic arms build-up announced in October 1981.

Reagan's program extends to all the components of the strategic offensive forces, and includes deployment of M-X intercontinental ballistic missiles and new strategic bombers, construction of Trident nuclear-powered missile submarines, escalated production of various types of cruise missiles, and other projects.

So, whose is the challenge? Who has saddled the world with the arms race?

Or take facts of another kind.

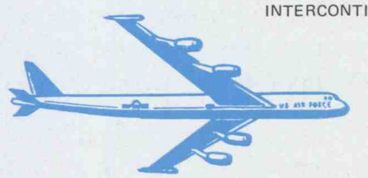
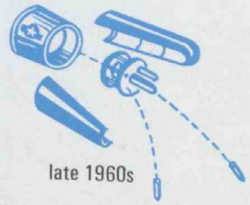
In its *Soviet Military Power* pamphlet, the US Defense Department says the Soviet Union has 1,398 ICBM launchers, 950 SLBM launchers, and 156 heavy bombers with a total payload of nearly 7,000 nuclear weapons. These figures, taken in isolation, sound impressive. But the authors of the Pentagon pamphlet make no mention of the 10,000 nuclear weapons of the US strategic offensive forces, which have 1,053 ICBM launchers, 648 SLBM launchers and more than 570 heavy bombers, plus 65 medium bombers. In addition, the United States has thousands of nuclear-capable aircraft in its forward-based forces in the proximity of Soviet territory in Europe, the Far East, and the Indian Ocean.

It should also be borne in mind that the Soviet Union is confronted not only by the United States, but also by two other Western nuclear powers, and that the threat of China's nuclear forces is, for the time being, more serious for the Soviet Union than for the United States.

Furthermore, the Pentagon is trying to frighten the world public with the growth of the Soviet Navy and its now greater capability in distant regions of the world. This is said to "challenge the West's traditional dominance of the open oceans". The US President, indeed, went so far as to say that the USA is faced with a naval "window of vulnerability".

The appearance in the Soviet Navy of air-capable ships, the *Kiev* and *Minsk*, and of a nuclear-powered missile cruiser,

INITIATIVE IN DEVELOPING NEW WEAPON SYSTEMS

USA	USSR
NUCLEAR WEAPONS	
 mid-1940s (used in August 1945)	 late 1940s
INTERCONTINENTAL STRATEGIC BOMBERS	
 mid-1950s	 late 1950s
NUCLEAR-POWERED SUBMARINES	
 mid-1950s	 late 1950s
NUCLEAR-POWERED AIRCRAFT CARRIERS	
 early 1960s	none
MULTIPLE INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE RE-ENTRY VEHICLES	
 late 1960s	 mid-1970s
NEUTRON WEAPONS	
late 1970s-early 1980s	none

the *Kirov*, is portrayed as a grave threat to the West. Yet, for these two ships, the United States has twenty, and for the one nuclear-powered missile cruiser, the United States has nine. In the 60s and 70s alone, the United States built in quick succession seven of the world's largest aircraft carriers, including three nuclear-powered, with 80,000 to 90,000 tons displacement and 90 aircraft each. The construction of a fourth nuclear-powered carrier is in the stage of completion. Its cost is 4 billion dollars.

It may be proper to recall, too, that in this period the Soviet Union was building nuclear-powered icebreakers for the peaceful development of Soviet Arctic regions.

A deliberately one-sided appraisal is also given of the armaments of the Ground Forces of the USSR. The US Defense Department pamphlet says, for example, that the Soviet Union has adapted some of its 203-mm and 240-mm artillery systems to nuclear shells. Yet it makes no mention of the self-propelled 203.2-mm nuclear-capable howitzers which the armies of the USA, the FRG, Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, Denmark and the Netherlands have had in service for dozens of years. The 155-mm howitzers that the troops of all NATO countries have in their arsenals are also adapted to firing nuclear shells. It is only fair to note, too, that more than 600 American, British and Canadian artillery systems adapted to nuclear shells are stationed in the territory of the FRG.

To back up the trumped-up claim of an "alarming Soviet military build-up", various deliberately exaggerated figures are cited in the West about the military expenditures of the USSR. Contrary to the facts, the public is being told that

ENTERPRISE NUCLEAR AIRCRAFT CARRIER.
Displacement—89,600 tons, with about
90 aircraft, including nearly
40 nuclear-capable.
The regular
US Navy has 14 aircraft carriers
(plus 6 in reserve).

SELF-PROPELLED 203.2-mm HOWITZERS.
Range—30 km. Nuclear shells fitted.
Production of neutron shells has begun.
In service with the US Army
and US Marine Corps, and armies of other NATO countries.

these expenditures are continuously rising. That they have really been practically the same over the recent years, is withheld.

The military budget of the United States, on the other hand, has been rising steadily from year to year. Its rate of growth in 1978-1980, and this according to official US figures, was in excess of 13 per cent, and as much as 19 per cent in 1981. And still higher growth rates of US and NATO military spending are envisaged in the years to come. In 1985 alone, the United States is planning to allocate more than 340 billion dollars for military purposes, and a total of 1.5 trillion dollars in the coming five years.

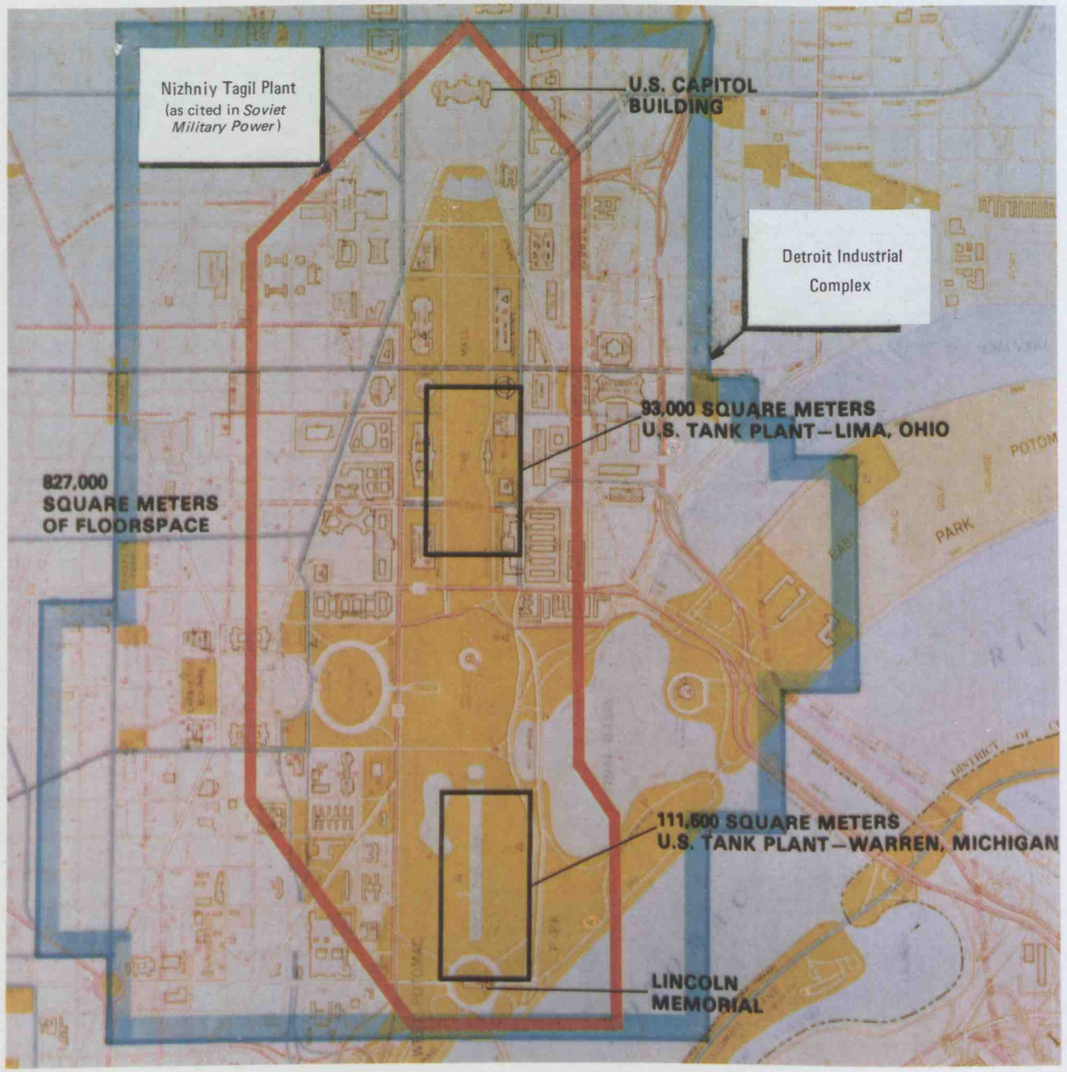
So much for military expenditures.

There is no trace of objectivity in the conjectures that the authors of *Soviet Military Power* make concerning the defense industry of the Soviet Union. They declare that the Soviet Union has 135 munitions factories. Yet not a word is said by them that in the United States arms and materiel are produced by 146 government-operated plants and nearly 4,000 large-scale private enterprises.

To impress the reader, the pamphlet draws some comparisons. One of its diagrams, for example, compares the exaggerated floorspace of the Nizhniy Tagil plant (USSR) that makes railroad cars and tanks with the floorspace of the by no means largest two American tank plants. We need only compare the Nizhniy Tagil plant with the tank complex in Detroit to see the kind of fact-juggling the Pentagon indulges in.

The US Defense Department alleges that the Soviet Union seeks a "global projection of Soviet military power". Here again, however, the Pentagon is at loggerheads with the facts, and indeed

THE FLOORSPACE OF THE DETROIT TANK COMPLEX
COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE NIZHNIY TAGIL
RAILROAD CAR AND TANK PLANT
(AS SHOWN IN THE PENTAGON PAMPHLET
SOVIET MILITARY POWER)



with its own statements. For does it not admit that the Soviet Union has military contingents in the territory of only some of its East European allies and in neighboring Mongolia and Afghanistan, and this, moreover, strictly in conformance with treaty provisions. At the same time, US military units are deployed in dozens of countries up and down the world, and there are more than 1,500 US military installations and bases overseas, chiefly in the proximity of Soviet borders.

US nuclear-capable aircraft carriers, nuclear-powered missile submarines, and squadrons of surface warships are on continuous patrol near the shores of Europe, the Far East and in the Indian Ocean. The more than 200,000-man rapid deployment forces are ready to be moved many thousands of kilometers away from the United States of America.

No less one-sided and tendentious is the account of Soviet arms shipments to developing countries. The USSR is portrayed as the biggest exporter of military hardware, though the United States accounts for nearly 45 per cent of the world arms trade. And since other NATO countries account for more than 20 per cent of the arms trade, it ought to be clear whence comes the bulk of the arms flow. It is common knowledge that US arms go to shore up reactionary and dictatorial regimes, to suppress revolutionary and national liberation movements, and to consolidate the US military presence in the recipient countries.

Like other Western propaganda publications, *Soviet Military Power* presents the fundamental principles of the foreign-policy line of the CPSU and the Soviet Government in an obviously distorted light, charging the USSR with "export of revolution", "subversive activity in other countries", and the like.

There has never been, and never will be, a single example in history that in the least confirms the fib of "Soviet export of revolution". The Communist Party of the Soviet Union acts on its conviction that revolution cannot be imposed on any country from outside; it can occur exclusively for internal reasons and conditions.

The main guidelines and principles of Soviet foreign policy are defined in the Constitution of the USSR, the Program of the CPSU, and the resolutions of CPSU congresses, and are designed to consolidate peace, and to safeguard and extend detente. In their foreign policy, the CPSU and the Soviet Government are guided by such principles as recognition of the right of each people to deal with its internal affairs without outside interference; renunciation of any attempt to establish any form of domination or hegemony over other countries and peoples or to include them in the "sphere of one's interest"; strict respect for the territorial integrity of states and the inviolability of their frontiers; complete and unconditional recognition of the sovereignty of states and their equal rights in international economic and political relations.

Conversely, numerous facts in history confirm imperialist export of counter-revolution. And in this field, the leading role since World War II belongs to the United States, as demonstrated at greater length in Section IV.

Soviet military doctrine, too, is presented in a distorted light. Referring to non-existent "Soviet publications" and "statements of Soviet leaders", the authors of the pamphlet and, for that matter, also certain officials of the US Administration, allege that Soviet military doctrine is of an aggressively offensive nature, and that the Soviet Union counts on winning a nuclear war by means of a pre-emptive strike. These allegations are entirely groundless, as are the references to the Soviet leadership. None of the Soviet Party leaders or statesmen has ever stated, nor could have stated, anything of the sort. The very opposite is true.

Soviet military doctrine is of a strictly defensive nature. This has been stated at the highest level. The Declaration of Warsaw Treaty member-countries of May 15, 1980 says in so many words:

"We have not, never had and never will have any strategic doctrine other than a defensive one."

Soviet military doctrine has been and is based on the principle of retaliatory, that is, defensive actions. The strategic nuclear forces of the USSR have never been called "strategic **offensive** forces", as is the case in the United States of America.

The Soviet Union considers any nuclear attack a capital crime against humanity. This has been reasserted by Leonid Brezhnev in October 1981, when he said that to count on victory in a nuclear war is dangerous madness. "Anybody's decision to start a nuclear war in the hope of winning it," he said, "is tantamount to suicide."

Soviet military strategy reposes on the principle that the Soviet Union will not be the first to use nuclear weapons. In fact, it is opposed to the use of any weapons of mass destruction.

Conversely, the United States of America is developing and widely advertising various military-strategic concepts of an undisguisedly aggressive nature. Despite a periodical change of names and content, their main idea invariably centers on unrestricted use of the US strategic offensive forces in a preemptive strike against the USSR. The notion that a nuclear war is winnable recurs in all US strategic concepts ever since the 1950s.

Of late, the politico-military leadership of the United States has been peddling the idea of a so-called limited nuclear war. Its true purpose is to limit use of nuclear arms to some geographic region far away from the United States. That, indeed, is what President Ronald Reagan said in October 1981: "It could be where you could have the exchange of tactical weapons against troops in the field without it bringing either one of the big powers to pushing the button." By field he quite definitely meant the European continent.

The idea of "limited" nuclear war, so popular of late with the politico-military leadership of the United States, is, in substance, no more than a variant of the "first strike" concept. But it cannot secure the desired aims of its exponents. The logic of war and the nature of modern armaments would, if nuclear war broke out in Europe or anywhere else, inexorably make it worldwide. None but completely irresponsible people can maintain that a nuclear war can be fought according to priorly elaborated rules.

The above shows how lacking in objectivity the authors of the pamphlet *Soviet Military Power* were in evaluating the so widely advertised but in fact non-existent Soviet threat to the strategic interests of the West.

It is impossible to get the correct idea of whence the threat to peace emanates without a concrete examination of the armed forces, the scale of military production, the substance of the military strategy, and the foreign-policy orientation of the United States.

II. The US War Machine

To implement its global aggressive designs, the United States maintains the largest and technically best equipped armed forces in the capitalist world. In strength and armaments, they surpass the combined armed forces of Great Britain, France, the FRG, and Italy. The total strength of the US armed forces is close to 3 million servicemen, and 1 million civilian employees.

Administratively, the US armed forces, like those of many other countries, consist of three services—army, air force, and navy. The services are in turn divided into regular troops (naval forces) and organized reserves.

In addition to the administrative structure, the US armed forces, unlike those of other countries, have an operational structure, under which all manpower and equipment are distributed among five unified and three specified commands. These commands have been set up in peacetime to direct and prepare definite military groupings for war, and to draw up advance plans of theater strategic operations suiting adopted US global policy.

In accordance with the provisions of US military doctrine to prepare and fight aggressive wars in overseas territories, the manpower and equipment of four out of the five unified commands are already in peacetime deployed outside the United States: in the European zone, the zones of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and in Central and South America. The two strongest groupings are stationed in the West and in the Orient, in the immediate proximity of the Soviet borders.

Each grouping has strategic nuclear weapon systems, diverse theater nuclear weapon systems, and army, air force and naval formations equipped with the latest armaments and brought up to wartime strength.

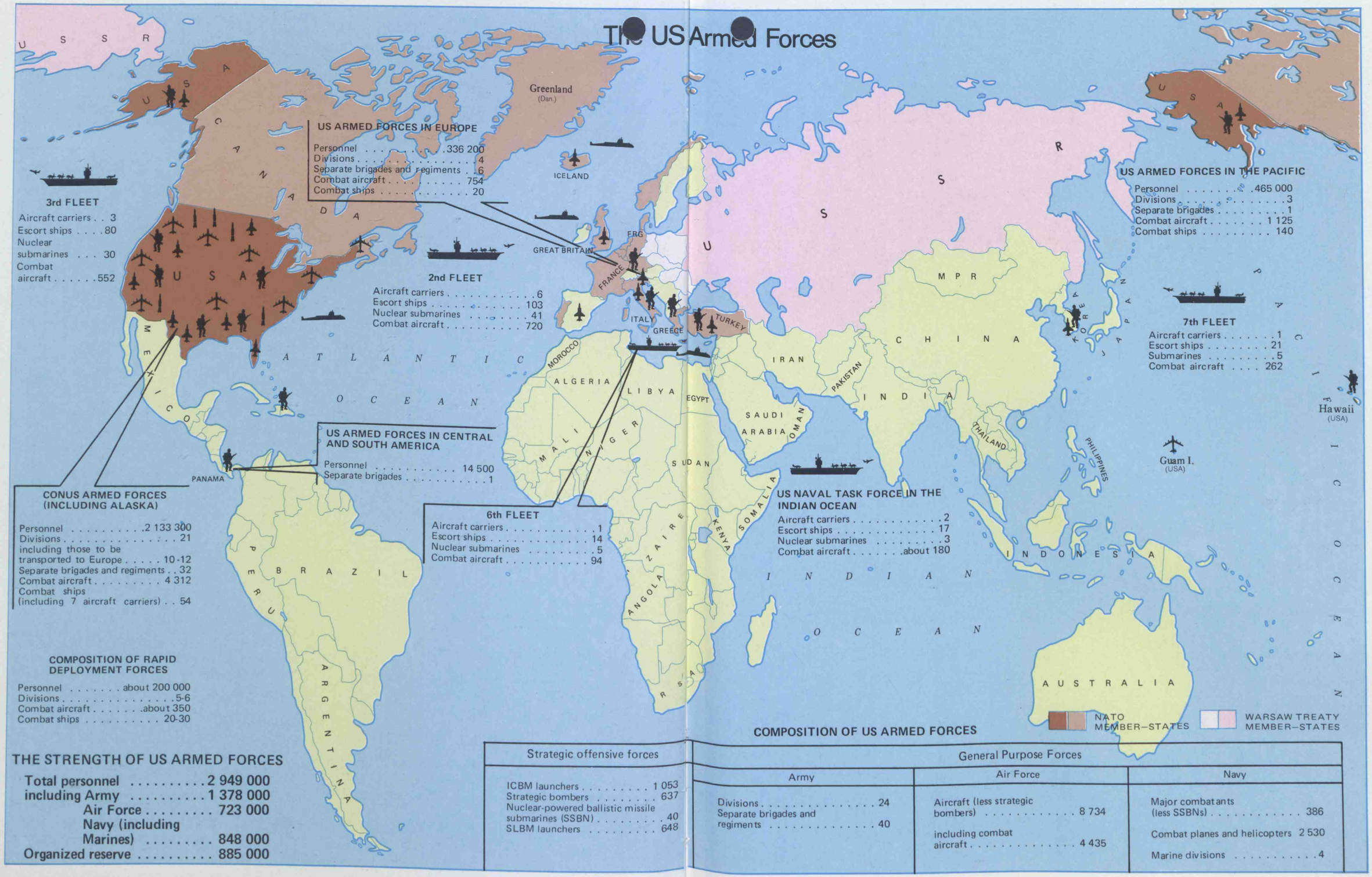
By purpose and nature of mission, the US armed forces are divided into strategic, general purpose, and strategic mobility forces, and reserves.

Strategic Forces

The backbone of the US military power and nuclear potential is the **strategic offensive forces**. These include intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), strategic aircraft, and nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarines (SSBNs). That is the so-called American strategic triad.

The combat units of the US strategic offensive forces have 2,112 nuclear delivery vehicles, including 1,053 ICBM launchers, 411 bombers, and 648 ballistic missile launchers installed in 40 nuclear submarines. These can lift about 10,000

The US Armed Forces



US ARMED FORCES IN EUROPE

Personnel	336 200
Divisions	4
Separate brigades and regiments	6
Combat aircraft	754
Combat ships	20

3rd FLEET

Aircraft carriers	3
Escort ships	80
Nuclear submarines	30
Combat aircraft	552

2nd FLEET

Aircraft carriers	6
Escort ships	103
Nuclear submarines	41
Combat aircraft	720

US ARMED FORCES IN THE PACIFIC

Personnel	465 000
Divisions	3
Separate brigades	1
Combat aircraft	1 125
Combat ships	140

7th FLEET

Aircraft carriers	1
Escort ships	21
Submarines	5
Combat aircraft	262

US ARMED FORCES IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA

Personnel	14 500
Separate brigades	1

6th FLEET

Aircraft carriers	1
Escort ships	14
Nuclear submarines	5
Combat aircraft	94

US NAVAL TASK FORCE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN

Aircraft carriers	2
Escort ships	17
Nuclear submarines	3
Combat aircraft	about 180

CONUS ARMED FORCES (INCLUDING ALASKA)

Personnel	2 133 300
Divisions	21
including those to be transported to Europe	10-12
Separate brigades and regiments	32
Combat aircraft	4 312
Combat ships (including 7 aircraft carriers)	54

COMPOSITION OF RAPID DEPLOYMENT FORCES

Personnel	about 200 000
Divisions	5-6
Combat aircraft	about 350
Combat ships	20-30

THE STRENGTH OF US ARMED FORCES

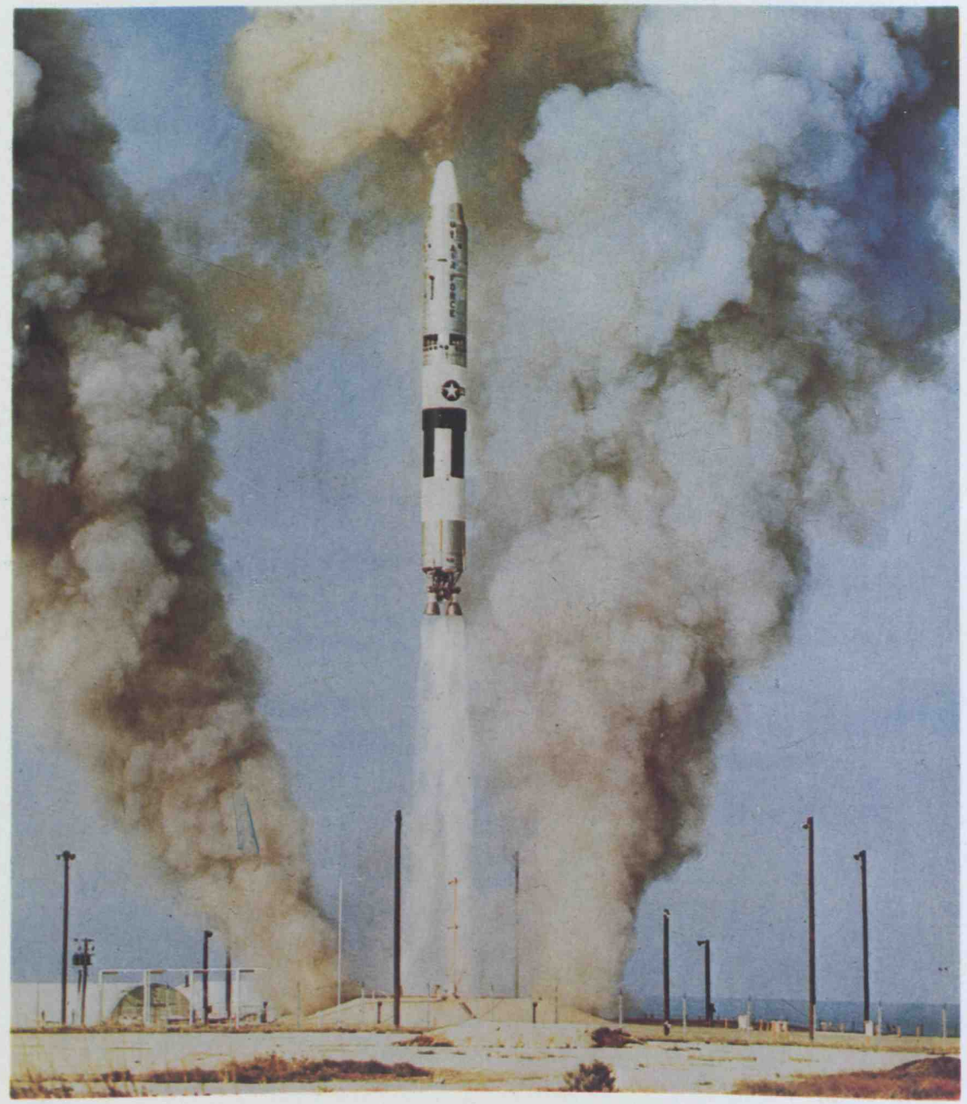
Total personnel	**2 949 000**
including Army	**1 378 000**
Air Force	**723 000**
Navy (including Marines)	**848 000**
Organized reserve	**885 000**

NATO MEMBER–STATES

WARSAW TREATY MEMBER–STATES

COMPOSITION OF US ARMED FORCES

Strategic offensive forces		General Purpose Forces		
		Army	Air Force	Navy
ICBM launchers	1 053	Divisions 24	Aircraft (less strategic bombers) 8 734	Major combatants (less SSBNs) 386
Strategic bombers	637	Separate brigades and regiments 40	including combat aircraft 4 435	Combat planes and helicopters 2 530
Nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarines (SSBN)	40			Marine divisions 4
SLBM launchers	648			



TITAN II INTERCONTINENTAL
BALLISTIC MISSILE—
the mightiest in the US strategic
nuclear arsenal.
It carries a 10-megaton
nuclear warhead.

nuclear warheads of 50 kt to 10 Mt each one launch/sortie. All in all, including reserve and mothballed heavy bombers, the US strategic offensive forces have 2,338 nuclear delivery vehicles, including 2,273 vehicles of intercontinental range, and 65 medium-range bombers specially designed for action on the European continent.

The ground-based strategic missile forces have 550 Minuteman III missile launchers, 450 Minuteman II launchers, and 53 Titan II launchers. At one launch, the US ICBMs can lift 2,153 nuclear warheads of 170 kt to 10 Mt each. These forces the politico-military leadership of the United States considers to be means of delivering a pre-emptive nuclear strike.

The sea-based strategic missile forces consist of 40 nuclear submarines armed with Trident I (216 launchers), Poseidon C-3 (304 launchers), and Polaris A-3 (128 launchers) missiles carrying over 50 per cent of total strategic nuclear force load. More than half the nuclear-powered missile submarines are on continuous combat patrol in areas ensuring delivery of nuclear strikes at targets in the interior of the Soviet Union from different directions.

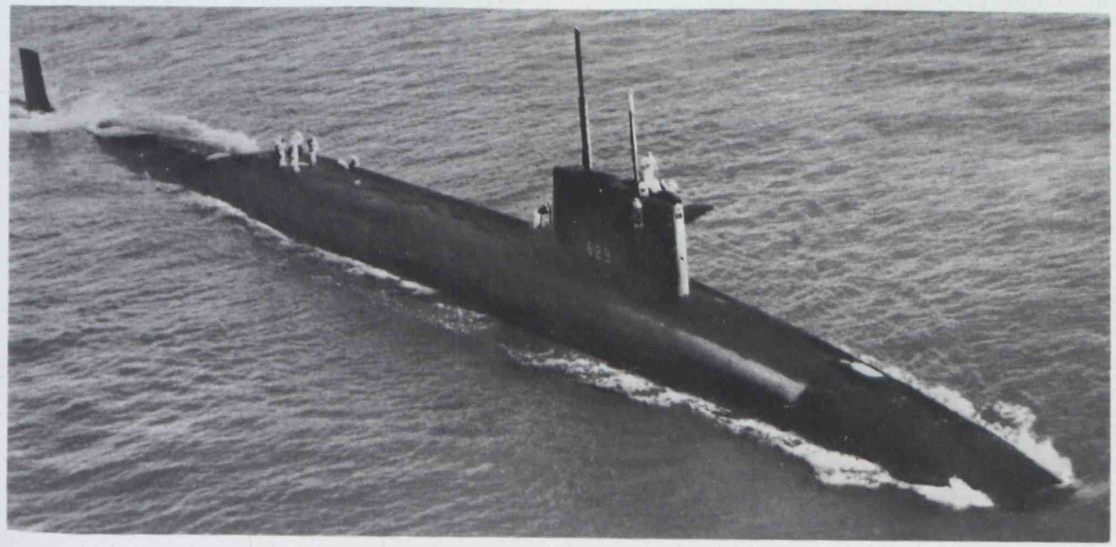
Units of the strategic bomber force have 346 B-52 heavy bombers and 65 FB-111A medium bombers. The strategic bomber force is based in the continental United States and partly on Guam in the Pacific.

Apart from their basic purpose of delivering nuclear strikes, the US politico-military leadership relies on

DANIEL BOONE
NUCLEAR-POWERED MISSILE
SUBMARINE
OF *LAFAYETTE* CLASS.

Displacement—8,250 tons,
with 16 SLBM launchers.

In the spring of 1980,
its Poseidon C-3 missiles were replaced
with Trident I (C-4) missiles.



B-52G STRATOFORTRESS
STRATEGIC BOMBER.
Range—13,700 km with full combat load.
Armed with SRAM guided missiles
and nuclear air bombs, the B-52G
and B-52H bombers are the backbone
of US strategic air force
striking power.

strategic aircraft in other missions. They are being used in peacetime as an essential means of demonstrating force. For this purpose, B-52 bombers engage in regular flights, including flights with nuclear arms on board, to regions of US "vital interests"—the Middle East, Western Europe, Australia, and elsewhere.

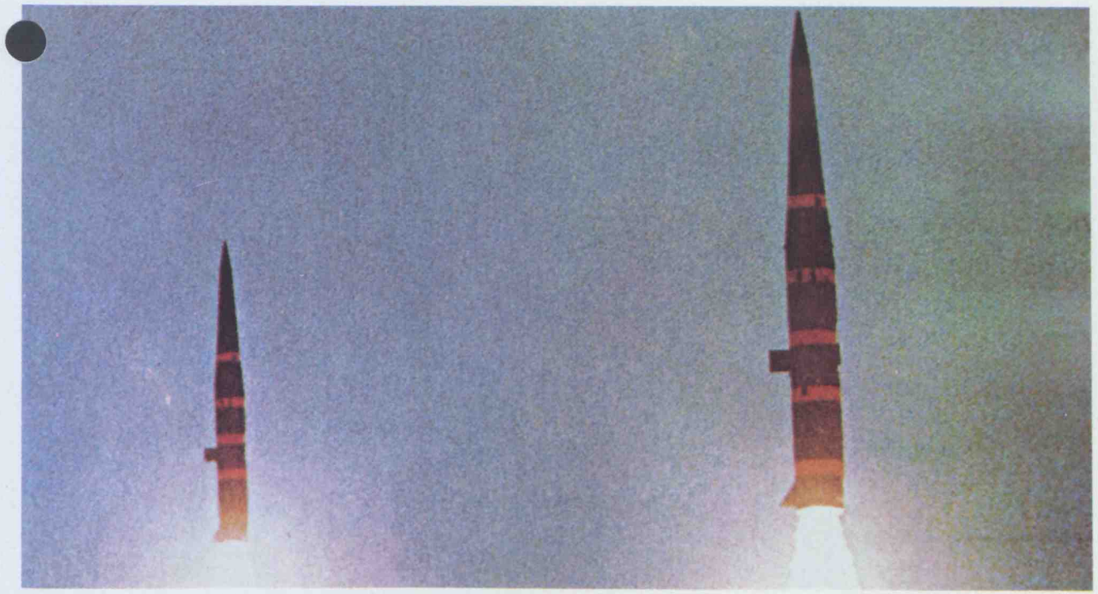
The strategic defense forces of the United States consist of the manpower and equipment of the army, air force and navy operationally subordinated to the Aerospace Defense Command. In purpose, they are subdivided into anti-missile, space defense, and anti-aircraft forces, and missile attack early warning systems. These forces augment the potential of the strategic offensive forces; continuously inform the US politico-military leadership of the global aerospace situation, and are intended for use in organizing strategic nuclear strikes.

General Purpose Forces

The US general purpose forces include ground troops, the tactical air force and navy (less nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarines). They are the chief component of the US armed forces in overseas territories and are designed, even in peacetime, to secure the global political aims of the United States. The general purpose forces are intended for independent operations or joint operations (with troops of US allies) in land and ocean war theaters, for reinforcement of armed forces in overseas territories, for show of force, and for use in crisis situations, armed support of reactionary regimes, and suppression of the national liberation movement. Armed with diverse nuclear and conventional weaponry and other up-to-date military hardware, the general purpose forces have great shock and fire power, and mobility.

The ground forces have some 200 tactical missile launchers, 11,400 tanks, 12,000 field guns and mortars, including 155-mm and 203.2-mm nuclear-capable howitzers, 16,600 anti-tank guided missile launchers, more than 5,000 anti-aircraft guns, and some 8,600 army planes and helicopters.

The general purpose air force has more than 8,700 aircraft of different types.



MULTIPLE LAUNCH OF PERSHING IA
TACTICAL MISSILES.
Range—740 km.
Nuclear warhead yield—about 400 kilotons.
US Army troops in Europe and the FRG Air Force
have 108 and 72 launchers respectively
at a high state of combat readiness.
The Pershing I system development and
deployment cost was 3 billion dollars.

The US Navy has 848 warships and other vessels (including the reserve), of which 386 are major warships, including 79 multipurpose nuclear submarines, 20 aircraft carriers (three nuclear-powered) and 287 other ships, and over 5,000 planes and helicopters, of which more than half are combat aircraft.

Meeting the requirements of the officially adopted strategic "forward base" concept the main general purpose groupings are, already in peacetime, deployed and maintained outside the territory of the United States of America.

The most powerful overseas group of US general purpose forces is stationed in Europe. Its total strength is 336,200 men, and it is armed with the latest offensive weaponry and other military hardware, has great firepower, and is, along with the FRG army, the main strike force of the Allied NATO armed forces spearheaded against the USSR and the other Warsaw Treaty countries.

The group in Western Europe accounts for nearly 30 per cent of the personnel of the regular US army, and has up to 150 tactical missile launchers (three-quarters of US total), 3,000 tanks, 2,500 field guns and mortars, more than 5,000 anti-tank guided missile launchers, and over 1,000 helicopters.

The US air force in Europe has some 850 aircraft, including 660 combat planes, out of which two-thirds are nuclear-capable. Its more than 400 F-111 and F-4 fighter-bombers are medium-range aircraft, and can deliver nuclear strikes against the entire territory of the Euro-

F-111 FIGHTER-BOMBER.
Action radius—up to 2,000 km.
Nuclear-capable.
Based in Great Britain.

pean socialist countries and the western regions of the USSR.

The Pentagon is planning a considerable reinforcement of US armed forces in the European zone with army and tactical air force manpower and equipment stationed in the continental United States. To ensure rapid build-up of the group, heavy equipment for four army divisions is prepositioned in Europe.

For combat in NATO's zone of responsibility, first of all the European zone, the US Navy maintains its Sixth and Second fleets in the Mediterranean and Atlantic, consisting, all in all, of some 180 warships, including 7 multipurpose aircraft carriers and up to 50 nuclear submarines, and over 800 combat aircraft, of which at least 240 are carrier-based nuclear-capable attack aircraft that can reach the territory of the USSR.

More than 7,000 nuclear warheads are sited in Western Europe for use by the general purpose forces. In addition, the Commander-in-Chief of US armed forces in Europe has at his disposal a few hundred Poseidon C-3 strategic missile nuclear warheads.

The general purpose group second in importance is deployed in the Pacific. It has a complement of 465,000 men, 140 warships, and over 1,100 combat aircraft.

A considerable portion of this group is stationed in the Western Pacific, including South Korea and Japan, that is, in the immediate proximity of the Soviet Far East. A special role is assigned to the naval force, notably the Seventh Fleet. Reinforcement of the naval group in the Western Pacific is provided for with forces of the Third Fleet.

A large US naval force is deployed in the Indian Ocean. Its backbone consists

of two carrier task forces (nearly 20 combat ships) of the Sixth and Seventh fleets. Up to 180 combat aircraft are based on the carriers, including 80 nuclear-capable attack planes. Reinforcement of this group is planned chiefly through shipment of the interventionist rapid deployment forces to the Middle East region. To reduce the build-up time of the task force in the Indian Ocean zone, 7 depot-ships with heavy equipment for an expeditionary brigade of the Marines are permanently berthed at Diego Garcia.

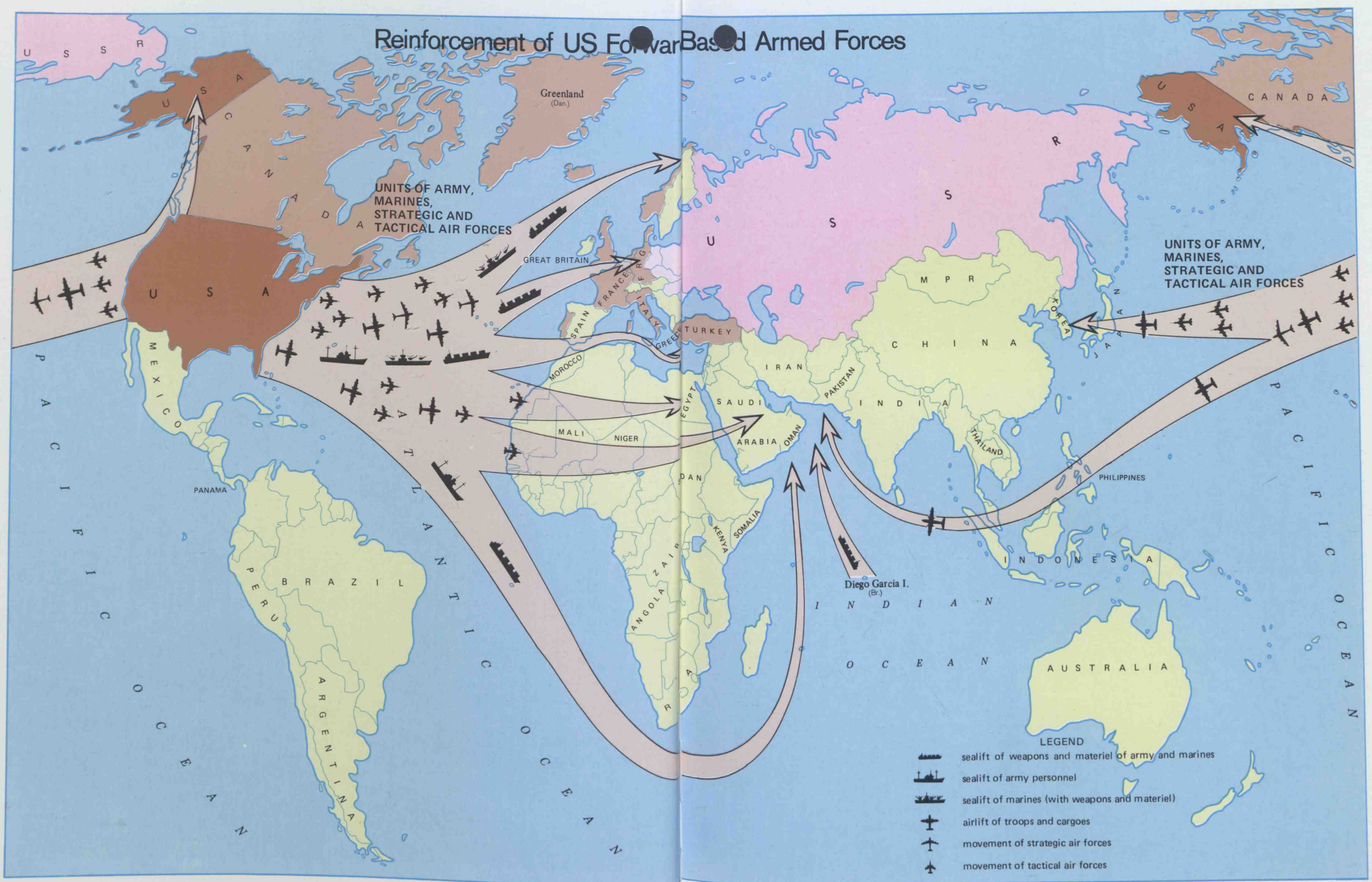
The US armed forces in the zone of Central and South America are maintained to secure US control over the Panama Canal, ensure US military presence, and counteract any national liberation movement in this region.

The general purpose forces in the continental USA are a strategic reserve intended chiefly to reinforce US armed forces overseas, notably in Europe. The bulk of their manpower and equipment come under the Readiness Command (RC), whose prime task is to organize rapid transportation of units and formations to overseas theaters of operations.

For purposes of direct armed intervention outside NATO's zone of responsibility, first of all the Middle East, the United States has activated a rapid deployment force (RDF). Its total strength stands at 200,000 regulars and 100,000

NIMITZ,
BIGGEST NUCLEAR AIRCRAFT
CARRIER IN THE US NAVY.
Displacement—91,500 tons.
It carries more than 90 aircraft,
including 40 nuclear-capable.
Carriers are continuously used by Washington
for shows of force and pressure,
especially on developing countries.

Reinforcement of US Forward Based Armed Forces



C-5A GALAXY MILITARY TRANSPORT PLANE—
the main aircraft for rapid movement of heavy arms to theaters overseas.
Range, with full load of 100 tons, is over 6,000 km.

reservists. The regular Army, Air Force and Navy have assigned to the RDF 4 divisions, several separate brigades, and special purpose and logistical ground units; 5 tactical air wings (some 350 combat planes), 28 strategic bombers, airborne command posts, tanker-aircraft, reconnaissance and AWACS planes of the USAF, and 2 or 3 carrier task forces, 3 expeditionary Marine brigades, and an air wing of the US Navy.

Strategic Mobility Forces

To secure the "world leadership" claims publicly voiced by Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, the United States devotes special attention to the development of strategic mobility forces ensuring movement of troops from its continental part to any region of the globe that it may declare a sphere of its "vital interests". These forces are crucial in raising the strategic mobility of the general purpose forces, being designed to ensure their swift operational deployment and timely reinforcement of armed forces outside the United States.

The strategic mobility forces come under the USAF Military Airlift Command (MAC) and the US Navy's Military Sealift Command.

The MAC has some 1,000 planes and helicopters of various types, including more than 600 heavy and medium military transport planes. Provisions have also been made to use over 400 reserve aircraft of civil airlines, including 340 of the latest transport and passenger

planes, and 350 military transport planes of the USAF reserve for troop airlifts.

In addition to its own facilities, the Military Sealift Command can call on some 750 ships of the National Defense Reserve Fleet and merchant marine for sealifting personnel and cargoes.

Worldwide Military Command and Control System

To control US armed forces deployed up and down the world, a worldwide system of command and control operative in peacetime has been set up, including strategic operational control centers designed for war. Preparations for nuclear war are assigned chiefly to the specified Strategic Air Command (SAC).

In each strategic zone (European, Pacific Ocean, Atlantic Ocean, Central and South America), armed forces command and control is assigned to unified commands.

Armed forces in the continental part of the United States are under the command and control of a unified Readiness Command, and of specified Aerospace Defense and Military Airlift commands.

The centralized global system of command and control consists of something like 130 top-level government and military agencies. It is called upon to ensure reliable and uninterrupted command and control of armed forces in both a protracted war, including one with massive use of strategic nuclear arms, and military operations on a smaller scale.

The top-level military agencies of the system are the primary and alternate national military command centers and the national Emergency Airborne Command Post of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS). At times of crisis and in wartime, orders to employ strategic offensive forces may be issued by them directly to ICBM launch control centers, and crews of strategic bombers and nuclear-powered missile submarines.

The functioning of the global command and control system is ensured by the Defense Department's unified communications system and a number of special purpose communications systems.

Ramified Network of Military Bases

The United States has set up a far-flung network of military bases and installations in all strategically important regions of the world to further its expansionist global policy and ensure the continuous presence, and emergency reinforcement, of large US armed forces in overseas theaters, and for advance preparations for action, primarily against the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community.

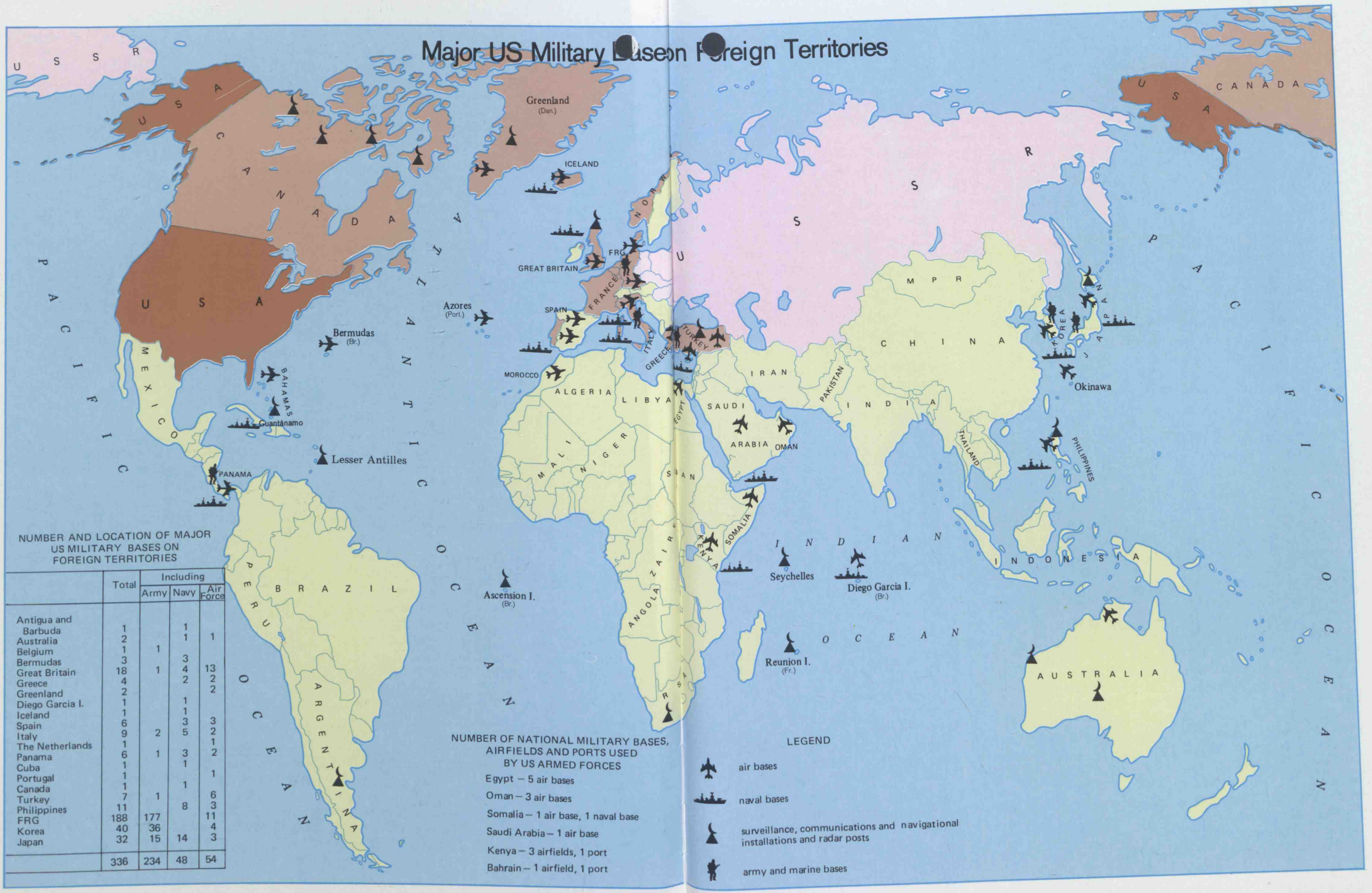
Military bases in the territory of other states are being used by the United States to exert direct pressure on the governments concerned, keeping them within the mainstream of US policy, to threaten progressive and assist reactionary regimes in the region, and to suppress national liberation movements by armed force.

US military installations overseas include large-scale air and naval bases, army and marine garrisons, positions of tactical and surface-to-air missiles, depots of nuclear weapons, ammunition and other supplies, aerospace observation posts, shore-based sonars, radio interception posts, communications centers, and other diverse installations.

At present, the United States has more than 1,500 military bases and installations in the territory of 32 countries. More than half a million US servicemen are stationed there permanently.

The greater number of US military bases are located in the immediate proximity of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, first of all in Western Europe. In the

Major US Military Bases on Foreign Territories



NUMBER AND LOCATION OF MAJOR US MILITARY BASES ON FOREIGN TERRITORIES

	Total	Including		
		Army	Navy	Air Force
Antigua and Barbuda	1		1	
Australia	2		1	1
Belgium	1	1		
Bermudas	3		3	
Great Britain	18	1	4	13
Greece	4		2	2
Greenland	2			2
Diego Garcia I.	1		1	
Iceland	1		1	
Spain	6		3	3
Italy	9	2	5	2
The Netherlands	1			1
Panama	6	1	3	2
Cuba	1		1	
Portugal	1			1
Canada	1		1	
Turkey	7	1		6
Philippines	11		8	3
FRG	188	177		11
Korea	40	36		4
Japan	32	15	14	3
	336	234	48	54

NUMBER OF NATIONAL MILITARY BASES, AIRFIELDS AND PORTS USED BY US ARMED FORCES

Egypt – 5 air bases

Oman – 3 air bases

Somalia – 1 air base, 1 naval base

Saudi Arabia – 1 air base

Kenya – 3 airfields, 1 port

Bahrain – 1 airfield, 1 port

LEGEND

- air bases
- naval bases
- surveillance, communications and navigational installations and radar posts
- army and marine bases

FRG alone, whose territory the Pentagon regards as a military springboard against the Warsaw Treaty countries, there are nearly 200 large-scale military installations. Something like 60 US military installations, including seven large bases, are located in Turkey, which borders on the Soviet Union. The Pentagon has cast Turkey as a staging area for military operations against the Soviet Union in Transcaucasia and the socialist countries in the Balkans and, indeed, as a transit base for rapid deployment forces routed to the Middle East.

Large US allocations and funds out of the joint NATO infrastructure program are being made available for the construction of new bases in connection with the planned stationing in Europe of new weapons systems (ground-launched cruise missiles, Pershing II ballistic missiles, and others), and for expanding facilities for the reception of additional large contingents of ground forces, marines and aircraft from the United States. At the same time, the Pentagon intends to move the points of permanent US army location in Europe closer to the frontiers of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

In the Far East, where the second largest US overseas force is stationed in the proximity of the Soviet border, the United States has more than 300 military installations.

The United States is urgently building a web of military bases in the Middle East, which it has declared a zone of its "vital interests". A multipurpose military base is going up at crash rates on Diego Garcia. Agreements have been concluded with Oman, Somalia, and Kenya granting US armed forces the use of national military bases there, and providing for their modernization. New military bases are to be built, too, under these agreements. The US armed forces are already using bases and airfields in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and a number of other countries. The "strategic cooperation" agreement with Israel has granted the United States unrestricted use of military bases in that country. And in South Asia the United States has, in effect, secured access to military bases in Pakistan.

Some 25 military installations are being used by the Americans on the African continent (in South Africa, Liberia, and Morocco) and on off-shore islands.

The United States unlawfully persists in occupying the territory of the Guantanamo naval base in Cuba. The base is now one of the chief staging areas for acts of aggression against socialist Cuba and the progressive states in Central America.

In the immediate proximity of the borders of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, the USA has installed more than 50 electronic intelligence centers and posts.

The ramified system of military bases and strongholds installed and maintained by the United States in foreign territories, like their planned and ongoing expansion, is a crucial element of the expansionist US drive to win world supremacy.

The Bid for Military Superiority

The emphasis on military force in settling international problems, which Washington has raised to the level of state policy, and its bid to escalate the US military presence in various regions of the world, predetermines the character and orientation of the development of the US military machine. Throughout the postwar period, the main goal pursued by the politico-military leadership of the United States in military matters was, and still is, to design a war machine whose capability would surpass that of any potential adversary, first of all the Soviet Union. To secure this goal, the country's scientific and technical potential, its material and financial resources, and its manpower, are being used to the maximum degree. All efforts are directed to continuously extending the combat potential of the armed forces as a whole, of their arms and components, and chiefly of nuclear armaments.

Build-Up of the Strategic Nuclear Potential

Ever since nuclear weapons came into the world, the Pentagon has been laying the main emphasis on building up **strategic offensive forces** to suit its plans of war preparations against the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community.

In the early 60s, the United States had some 1,900 strategic delivery vehicles (mostly strategic bombers) with more than 4,700 nuclear weapons. Not content, it began a massive deployment of the latest ICBMs and submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs). In 1967, it completed the development of its strategic "triad", consisting of 1,054 Minuteman I, Minuteman II and Titan II ICBM launchers, 656 Polaris A-2 and Polaris A-3 SLBM launchers, and 615 B-52 and B-58 strategic bombers.

In the 70s, the United States adapted 550 Minuteman I and Minuteman II launchers to Minuteman III missiles with triple warheads, and 496 Polaris A-2 and Polaris A-3 SLBM launchers to Poseidon C-3 missiles on 31 nuclear submarines (with 16 missiles of 10 to 14 warheads each). At the same time, the accuracy of the ICBMs and SLBMs was substantially heightened, Minuteman silos additionally hardened, and Minuteman III missiles equipped with remote-control devices for retargeting to targets of opportunity.

The strategic bomber force acquired SRAM attack missiles (up to 20 per B-52 bomber and 6 per FB-111 medium bomber). As a result, though the number of delivery vehicles was not increased, the US strategic offensive forces' nuclear weapons lift capability at one launch/sortie doubled in the course of the 70s. Their capacity against hardened targets and combat flexibility went up considerably.

In the 70s, while deploying available weaponry, the United States engaged in developing new weapon systems (various types of strategic cruise missiles, M-X intercontinental ballistic missiles, B-1 strategic bombers, and new warheads for ballistic missiles), and began producing new nuclear-powered missile submarines and Trident I (C-4) SLBMs. Relying on these technical resources, the United States tackled the next stage of the build-up of its strategic nuclear potential as the world was entering the 80s.

The program launched in 1979 for rearming 300 Minuteman III ICBMs with the highly accurate new Mk12A 350-kiloton warheads (circular error probable (CEP)—180 meters) is in the stage of completion.

Twelve Poseidon SSBNs have been fitted with Trident I missiles.

In September 1981, the first B-52G bomber adapted to strategic ALCM-B cruise missiles was put into service in the combat-ready force of the US Strategic Air Command. The bomber can lift 12 missiles, and will lift as many as 20 after additional modification. In just the early half of the 80s, it is planned to arm nearly half the heavy bombers of the USAF Strategic Air Command with ALCM-B missiles. For this aim, the mass production of ALCM-B missiles has already been launched.

In November 1981, the US Navy commissioned the *Ohio*, its first Trident nuclear-powered missile submarine armed with Trident I missiles. This gigantic submarine surpasses the existing Poseidon subs nearly twice in displacement, 50 per cent in number of missile launchers, 20 per cent in number of warheads, and 150 per cent in aggregate yield. In combat potential one *Ohio* class submarine is superior to 10 Polaris nu-

NUCLEAR POTENTIAL OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE FORCES

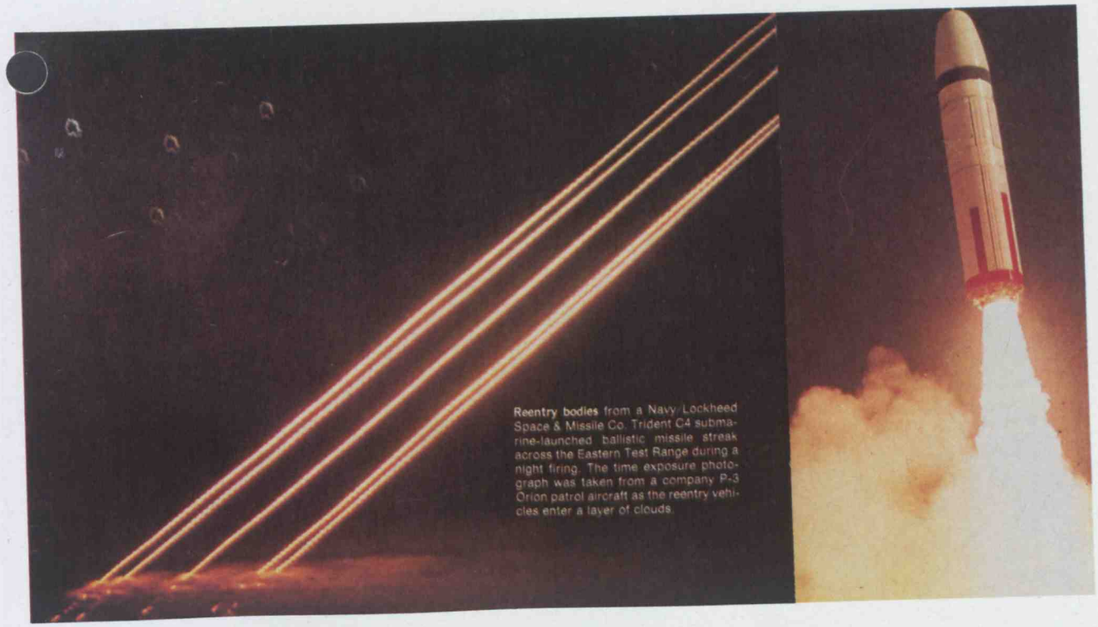
clear-powered missile submarines. The *Michigan*, the second SSBN of the Trident system, is about to be completed, and another seven subs of this class are in various stages of construction. Before 1990, the Pentagon expects to have 13 such SSBNs, and intends to continue building them in the years to follow.

In early October 1981, President Reagan announced his "strategic program" for the 80s, containing provisions for a further build-up of the strategic nuclear potential. It endorses and extends earlier adopted programs and, indeed, envisages development and deployment of new weapon systems. To implement the program, the Pentagon is planning a nearly 50 per cent increase of the share of the strategic forces in the US military budget. For 1982-1987 alone, the White House estimates expenditure under the program at 222 billion dollars.

A special place in Reagan's "strategic program" is accorded to a plan for deploying M-X intercontinental ballistic missiles. The M-X, now in its final stage of development, is designed as a first-strike weapon. It will have ten warheads of 600 kilotons each, and considering its high degree of accuracy (CEP—90 meters), it is intended for hardened targets, that is, for delivering a "nuclear knockout".

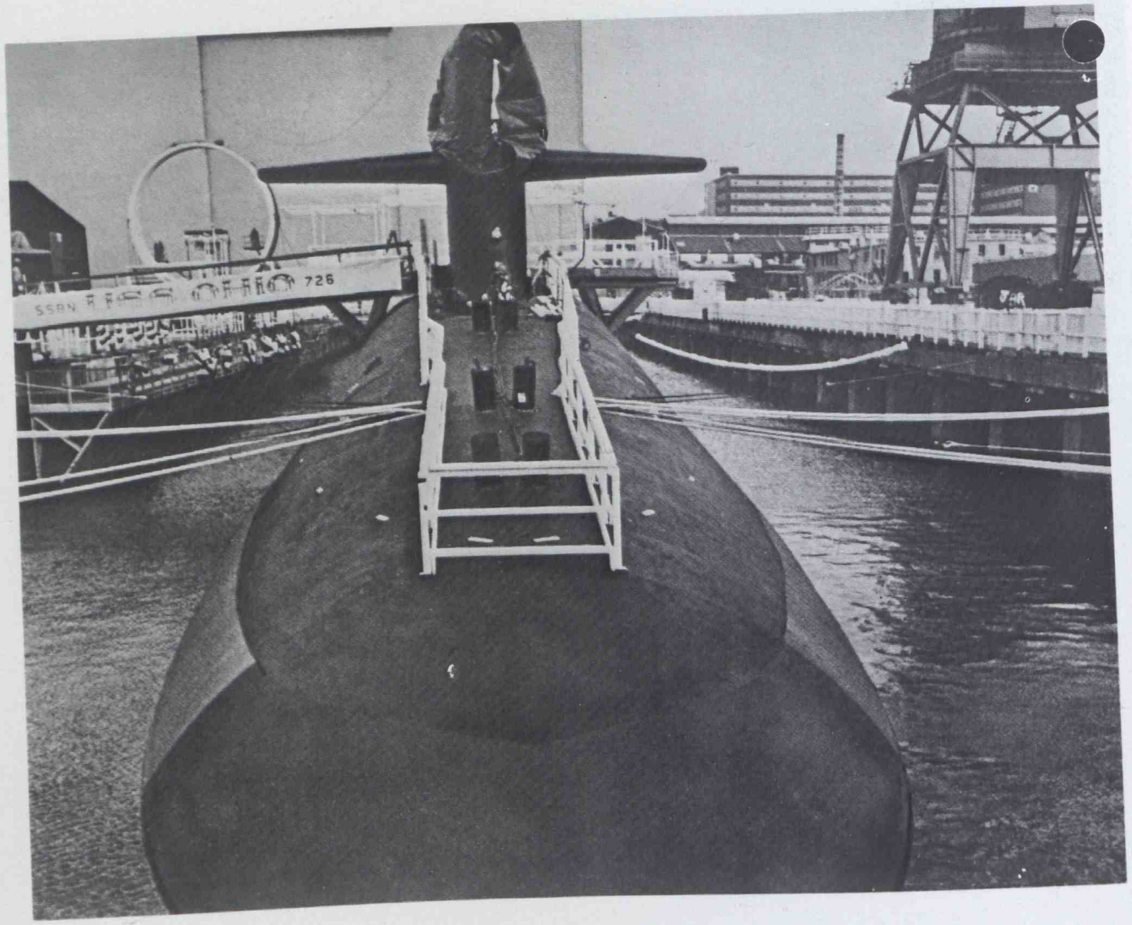
By Reagan's decision, the M-X missile will go into service in 1986. A hundred such missiles are to be stationed in hardened (after additional modification) Titan II and Minuteman silos. Furthermore, before 1984 it is planned to complete research and decide on alternative basing modes for additional M-X missiles.

Having confirmed earlier construction plans for *Ohio* class SSBNs, the Reagan Administration authorized as obligatory a program for building and deploying, from 1989 on, a new submarine-launched bal-

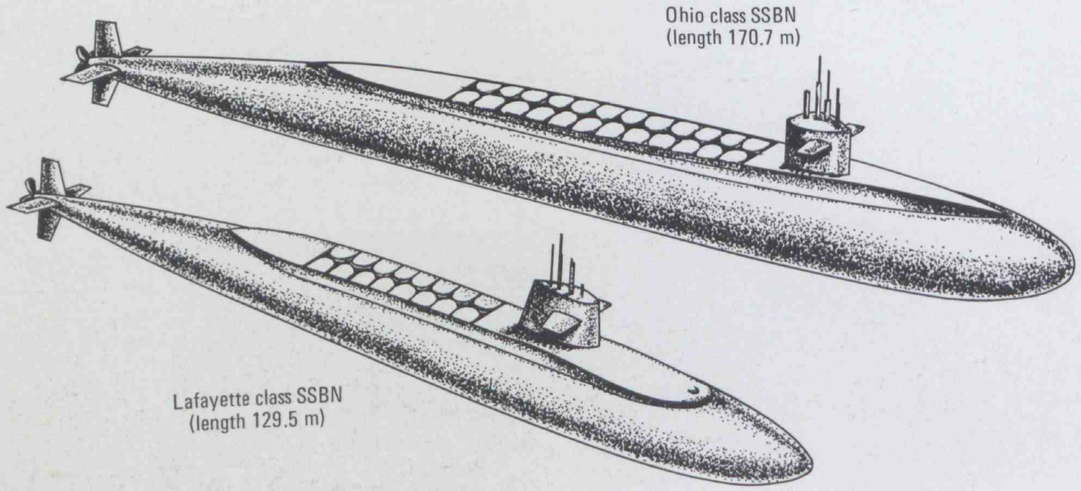


TRIDENT I (C-4) SUBMARINE-LAUNCHED BALLISTIC MISSILE.
Trial launch; left—flight of warheads in dense atmosphere.
Range—7,400 km.
Has 8 MIRV warheads of more than 100 kilotons each.
Production of 992 Trident I missiles is projected before 1990.
Four or five new British SSBNs are to be armed with these missiles in the 1990s. Total cost of development and production of Trident I missiles will approach 15 billion dollars.

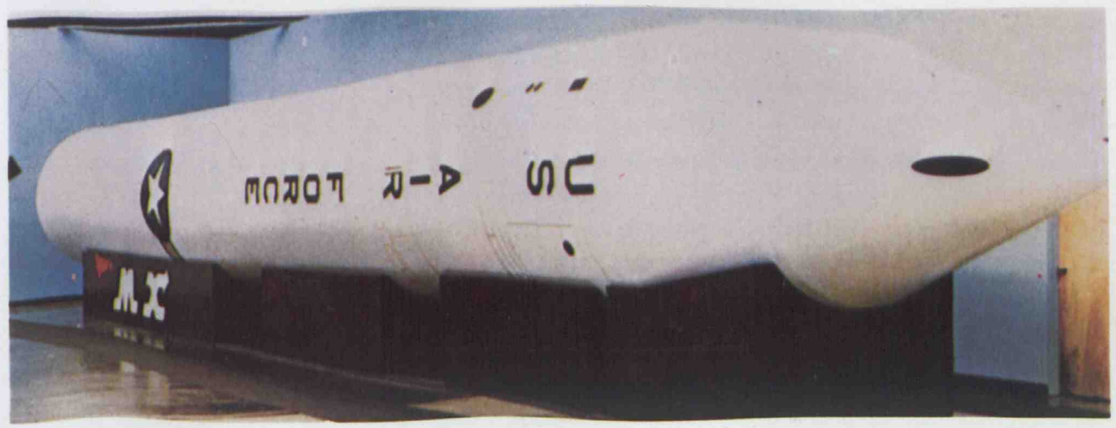
ALCM-B STRATEGIC AIR-LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILE.
Intended for nuclear precision strikes at targets in practically the entire Soviet territory.
Range—2,500 km.
Armed with a nuclear warhead of 200 kilotons.
Put in service in 1981.
By 1989 it is planned to produce 3,780 missiles for massive arming of B-52 strategic bombers and new aircraft based on the B-1.



◀ *OHIO* NUCLEAR-POWERED BALLISTIC MISSILE SUBMARINE
(below, compared with *Lafayette* class SSBN).
In November 1981,
the US Navy acquired the *Ohio*—the first SSBN of the Trident system.
The gigantic submarine,
of 18,700 ton displacement and 170.7 meters long
(height of the Washington Memorial is 169.2 meters),
is armed with 24 Trident I (C-4) missiles.
The combat capability of one *Ohio* is superior to 10 SSBNs with 160 Polaris A-3 missiles.
In 1989 the Reagan Administration plans to fit out the Trident system submarines with
a still more powerful missile,
Trident II (D-5),
which is superior to Trident I (C-4) by 50 per cent in range,
nearly 100 per cent in payload,
and more than 100 per cent in accuracy.
Activation of a squadron of 10 *Ohio* class SSBNs
in the Pacific Ocean will be completed in the current decade,
and the activation of a second squadron will be begun in the Atlantic.



MOCKUP OF M-X INTERCONTINENTAL
BALLISTIC MISSILE.
Flight tests of the latest M-X ground-based
strategic missile,
with ten independently
targetable warheads of 600 kilotons each,
will begin in the United States in January 1983.
Accuracy (CEP)—90 meters.
The M-X missile has more than triple
the number of warheads the Minuteman III has,
nearly double the yield, and is twice as accurate.
Intended for a steep build-up
of the potential for a first pre-emptive
nuclear strike.
Under Reagan's "strategic program"
deployment of M-X
missiles will begin in 1986.



listic missile, Trident II (D-5), considerably more powerful and effective than the Trident I. According to the tactical and technical specifications of the US Defense Department, the missile will have practically the same combat capability as the M-X ICBM, that is, it will be a first-strike weapon.

In addition to the earlier planned 172 B-52G bombers, Reagan's "comprehensive" program also provides for fitting out B-52H bombers (there are 96 such aircraft in the USAF SAC) with ALCM-B cruise missiles.

The earlier rejected plans of building B-1 bombers have been readopted, this time on a qualitatively new level. A new B-1B carrier of cruise missiles is to be developed on the basis of the B-1, and is to be put in service with the strategic air force in 1986. Before 1988, in addition to B-52 bombers, it is planned to build and put in service 100 such aircraft, each capable of lifting up to 30 cruise missiles. Accordingly, the ALCM-B production program has been extended by several hundred units.

At the same time, it is planned to develop a fundamentally new strategic bomber called Stealth—an aircraft which, as conceived by the Pentagon, will not be detectable by the existing air defense means. Hence, it is usable for surprise strikes. In addition to the sophisticated B-1B aircraft, it is planned to build 150 Stealth bombers in the 90s to replace the B-52s.

On completing the deployment of air-launched cruise missiles, the new strategic bombers, the M-X ICBMs, and the Trident system of SSBNs and SLBMs, the Pentagon will have raised the total deliverable number of strategic nuclear weapons in one launch/sortie by at least 50 per cent in just the current decade.

And the strategic nuclear potential will rise still higher when, by decision of the Reagan Administration, several hundred nuclear-armed Tomahawk cruise missiles, designed for high-precision strikes at targets throughout the territory of the Soviet Union, are installed on nuclear submarines.

Reagan's "strategic program" also includes a set of measures improving the system of operational control and communications of the strategic offensive forces in order to ensure reliable command in a protracted nuclear war.

	Trident I (C-4)	Trident II (D-5)
Range, km	7400	11 000
Number and yield of warheads, kt	8×100	14×150
Accuracy (CEP), m	460	90

Relative dimensions of Trident I (C-4), left, and Trident II (D-5), right, in launchers of an *Ohio* class nuclear missile submarine.

B-1 STRATEGIC BOMBER.
In the 70s the United States developed
a supersonic intercontinental B-1 bomber.
Range—9,800 km
with a maximum combat load of 34,000 kg.
On October 2, 1981,
President Reagan announced plans for developing
and putting into batch production
100 new B-1B bombers,
a modified version of B-1,
carrying cruise missiles
(30 missiles each).
Under Reagan's "strategic program"
the first squadron of 15 such aricraft
is to be activated in 1986.
Total cost of the B-1B program
will exceed 25 billion dollars.

Extensive modernization is envisaged of all components of the **strategic defense forces.**

The program for a radical restructuring of anti-aircraft defense includes deployment in the next few years of new long-range radar installations, an in effect complete renewal of the fighter fleet and of the electronic equipment of all operative air observation posts, and construction of new control centers and communication lines.

Apart from building a system of aerospace control, intensive development is under way of active means for hitting space objects, involving use as delivery vehicles of ground-based missile weaponry and interception weapons installed on F-15 aircraft.

Pentagon plans to use the manned Shuttle spaceships as a space attack system. Various reconnaissance facilities and weaponry to hit space targets, including laser, are being developed for them.

Intensive research is under way to produce effective anti-missile weaponry.

The main effort is concentrated on developing an in-depth anti-missile system that would intercept objects in outer space as well as in dense atmosphere, involving the latest weaponry, including multiple warheads banned under the Soviet-American Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems.

The Pentagon has, indeed, set its sights on laying the requisite technical foundation for the deployment of this type of operational anti-missile system already in the current decade.

The agreed schedule of the Pentagon plans for building up strategic offensive armaments and deploying anti-missile and space defense systems is timed to complete the development of a so-called first-strike potential in the 1980s.

Stepped-Up Development of General Purpose Forces

While building up the strategic nuclear potential, the US politico-military leadership is also preoccupied with raising the capability and combat readiness of the general purpose forces to back up its positions-of-strength policy. They are being armed with more sophisticated weaponry, the organisational structure and complement of command and control elements, as well as of formations and units, are being strengthened and so is the system of logistics. Strategic and tactical mobility is being heightened. The formations of the general purpose forces are being prepared for diverse missions, both with and without use of nuclear weapons.

Theater nuclear weapons. As part of the build-up of general purpose forces, the US military leadership attaches great importance to expanding the so-called theater nuclear forces, especially in Europe. Ever since 1960, the delivery vehicles and nuclear ordnance of the US armed forces deployed in Europe have undergone substantial qualitative change. Their range, accuracy and kill effectiveness have been heightened. The Corporal, Sergeant, Mace, Matador, Honest John, Little John and Lacrosse tactical missiles, and obsolescent tactical and carrier-based nuclear-capable aircraft have been discarded and replaced with new more accurate and long-range weaponry: Pershing IA and Lance missiles and F-4, F-111, A-6 and A-7 planes that can deliver nuclear weapons within a range of 30 to 2,000 kilometers.

The nuclear-capable artillery of US forces in Europe has been substantially modernized. At present, all 155-mm and 203.2-mm artillery pieces can fire nuclear shells. Their range has gone up from 15 to 30 km. At present, more than 700 US

GROUND-LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILE (GLCM) LAUNCHER.
Range—2,500 km.
Nuclear warhead yield—200 kilotons.
From 1983 to 1988 it is planned to produce 560 missiles of this type, of which 464 are to be deployed in Great Britain, the FRG, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands under the NATO Council's decision of December 1979.
The GLCMs are intended for a massive nuclear strike at targets in practically the whole of the European part of the USSR.
The estimated cost of deploying the GLCMs is 3.2 billion dollars.

nuclear delivery vehicles of just medium range, and over 600 tactical missiles and nuclear-capable artillery pieces are stationed in Europe.

From 1983 on, it is planned to begin siting new US medium-range nuclear systems (108 Pershing II missile launchers and 464 ground-launched cruise missiles) in Western Europe. They are to be deployed in Great Britain (160 cruise missiles), the FRG (108 Pershing II launchers and 96 cruise missiles), Italy (112 cruise missiles), Belgium and the Netherlands (48 cruise missiles each).

Mass production of neutron weapons started in 1981 in accordance with President Reagan's decision. The neutron munitions for the Lance missiles and 203.2-mm howitzers are designed for use outside the United States, first and foremost in Europe. The placing of these weapons in Europe or any other region will considerably lower the so-called nuclear threshold and will increase the probability of nuclear war. Moreover, the neutron weapon is in itself an offensive rather than defensive weapon (though the Pentagon is trying to prove the opposite to the layman), since it is designed to destroy personnel in shelters and permits offensive operations immediately after its use.

The plans and practical measures taken by the USA for building up the nuclear capability of general purpose forces, and above all the medium-range nuclear weapons in Western Europe, aim at changing the existing balance of forces in favor of the United States, preparing the material basis for a "limited" nuclear war in Europe and thus averting the danger of nuclear retaliation against the United States.

The building, training and technical equipment of the **army** are oriented on preparing it for operations outside the United States. It is trained and equipped for offensive operations with nuclear and chemical weapons.

During the past 20 years the emphasis in building up the army has been on its offensive capability, striking and fire power and maneuverability in the battlefield.

To increase the striking power of the army its armor fleet is being continuously updated. In the 60s and early 70s the army received a few modified versions of the M48 and M60 tanks, which were new at the time. In the latter half of the 70s they began to be gradually replaced by the more powerful M60A3 battle tanks, which at present comprise about 70 per cent of the tank force. In 1980 serial production and delivery to the army of new M-1 Abrams tanks started. It is planned to equip the army with more than 7,000 tanks of this type. As a result the tank fleet will increase by more than 40 per cent and will be considerably updated.

In re-equipping the army great importance is attached to saturating it with anti-tank, including helicopter-borne, weapons. The outdated anti-tank guided missiles (ATGM) of the 60s have been replaced by improved TOW and Dragon versions, a third generation (Hellfire) is being developed, and ATGMs now in service are being modernized. Besides their quality being improved, their numbers are being increased. A new Copperhead anti-tank artillery shell with semi-active homing by laser beam has been developed. In 1983 the new AH-64 helicopter gunship equipped with Hellfire ATGM will be delivered to the army. A new Assault Breaker firing system is being developed.

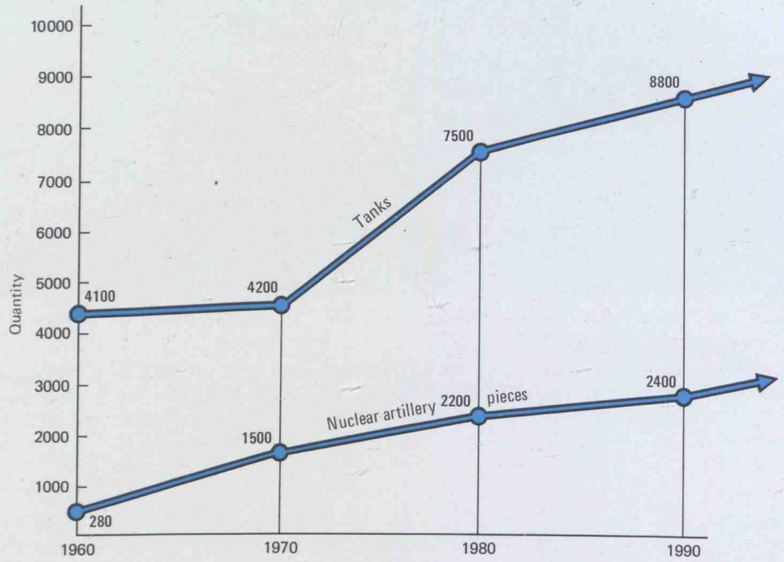
By the end of the 80s it is planned to increase the number of anti-tank weapons by almost 100 per cent and the number of helicopter gunships armed with them by 300 per cent.

Greater firepower of the army is being achieved by increasing the number and improving the quality of the field, including nuclear, artillery pieces and developing multiple-launch rocket systems. Between 1960 and 1980 the number of nuclear artillery pieces in the army increased from 280 to 2,200. There are plans to increase the number of nuclear

AH-64A HELICOPTER GUNSHIP.
To increase the fire power of the Army the USA has developed and in 1983 will supply army units with the AH-64A helicopter carrying 16 Hellfire anti-tank guided missiles with laser homing head and a 30-mm gun. The program up to 1989 envisages delivery of 536 helicopters of this type to a total of nearly 6 bln dollars.

M-1 ABRAMS MAIN BATTLE TANK.
To increase the striking and fire power of army units they have been supplied since 1980 with new M-1 tanks, which have almost twice the combat capabilities of the M60 tanks now in service. The American forces in Europe will be the first to be equipped with the new tanks. There are plans to produce more than 7,000 M-1 Abrams tanks by 1988. The first series of 3,000 tanks will be armed with a 105-mm rifled gun and subsequent ones with a 120-mm smooth-bore gun developed in the FRG. M-1 Abrams tanks will also be supplied to the US Marines. The cost of one tank is 2.5 mln dollars.

INCREASE IN NUMBER OF US ARMY TANKS AND NUCLEAR ARTILLERY PIECES (LESS RESERVE)



artillery pieces in Europe by 50 per cent by the year 1990 by raising the number of 155-mm and 203.2-mm artillery pieces in army divisions.

Large-scale deliveries to the army of M-2 infantry combat vehicles (to total more than 6,000), which began in 1981, will considerably improve the fighting capability of the motorized infantry units in the army.

In drawing up plans for operations outside the USA the American military command devotes a great deal of attention to setting up in advance weapons and combat equipment depots in the theaters of war. In addition to the already existing stockpiles of American armaments in Europe which are sufficient to equip four divisions it is planned to stockpile weapons and combat equipment for another two divisions before the end of 1982. According to the plans of the American command this will make it possible to transport six divisions from the United States to Europe within ten days of the beginning of mobilization and thus to increase the offensive capability of the forces deployed there within a shorter period of time.

To increase the capacities for airlifting troops it is planned to complete shortly the modernization of the C-141 and C-5A aircraft, to buy 40 new KC-10 cargo-refuelling air transports and according to tentative plans to acquire 200 potentially promising C-X heavy transport planes designed mainly for use by the rapid deployment forces.

As the army receives ever greater quantities of new, updated weapons and materiel, the organizational structure of its units also undergoes change. Today the army is facing a new major restructuring due to the mass service deliveries in the 80s of the latest combat equipment. Work is conducted on the organization of "Division-86", which, according to the calculations of the American command, is to have high offensive striking and fire power, increased mobility, effective anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons and the capability to carry out effective operations using mass destruc-

tion weapons and electronic warfare equipment.

In building up the **tactical air force** much attention is given to increasing its striking capabilities. During the last 15 years outdated types of aircraft have been completely replaced by modern planes. In 1976 the United States began to implement its long-term program of upgrading its tactical air force by equipping it with F-15 all-weather fighter planes, A-10 attack planes for close ground support, and F-16 fighter-bombers. It is planned to equip the tactical air force with about 3,000 of these aircraft.

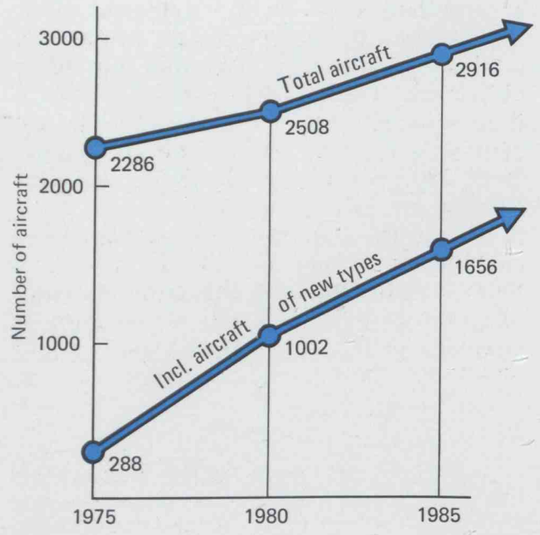
The first to be equipped with these aircraft will be the tactical air force in Europe.

Simultaneously with modernization, the number of fighter planes in the US tactical air force in Europe has been increased. During the past five years their number has increased by 20 per cent to a total of more than 600 planes. Over 80 per cent of them are designed for offensive operations. Two-thirds of the aircraft fleet are nuclear-capable.

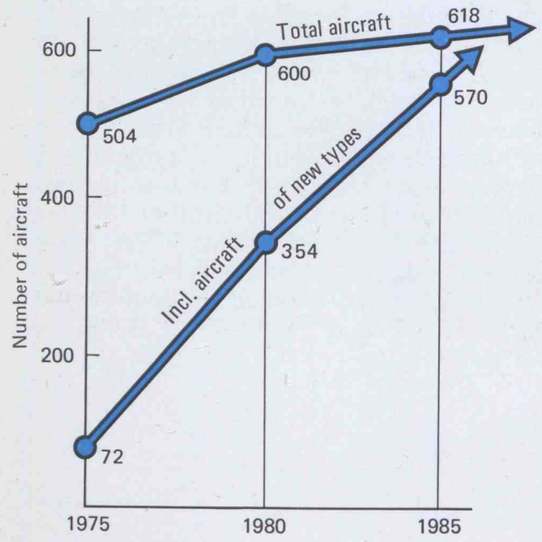
It is envisaged to further increase the number of fighter aircraft in the tactical air force in the 80s. It has been decided

F-16 FIGHTER-BOMBER.
Action radius—up to 800 km.
Nuclear-capable.
Maximum combat load
(missiles and rockets, air bombs) 6,700 kg.
In service with the US Air Force since 1979.

AIRCRAFT FLEET OF COMBAT UNITS OF US TACTICAL FIGHTER FORCE



AIRCRAFT FLEET OF US TACTICAL FIGHTER FORCE IN EUROPE



A-10 THUNDERBOLT
ATTACK AIRCRAFT.
Action radius—up to 460 km.
Maximum combat load
(missiles and rockets, air bombs) 7,260 kg.
In service with the US Air Force since 1974.

to form three more air wings by 1985 and increase the total number of tactical fighter planes to almost 3,000. In addition, in July 1981 the Air Force Command proposed forming another 3 or 4 air wings and in this connection increasing the purchases of F-16 fighter-bombers to a total of 2,000 and producing the F-15E fighter-bomber as a modified version of the F-15 fighter.

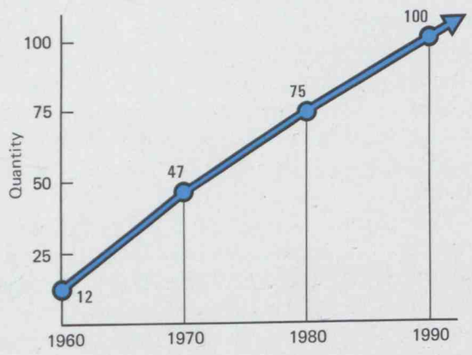
The air force reserve is also building up stocks of modern equipment. The air units of the organized reserve, which is the basis for bringing the tactical air force to full strength under the mobilization plan, receive A-10 attack planes and also F-4 Phantom and A-7 Corsair aircraft transferred from the regular air force.

The striking power of the tactical air force is being raised by equipping the air units with guided missiles and guided bombs of various types and mounting weapon guidance laser devices on the aircraft. To increase the effective use of the tactical air force it has been supplied with 23 of the 34 E-3A AWACS planes.

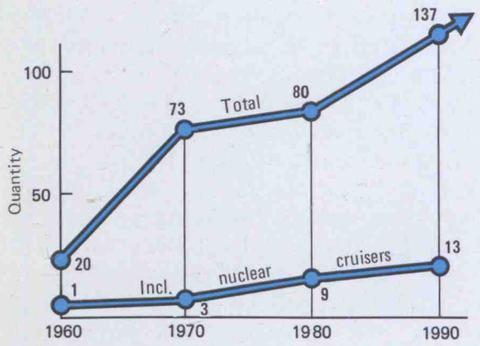
The American command envisages a number of organizational and technical measures to enhance the combat readiness and mobility of tactical air units so that by 1986 up to 80 tactical fighter squadrons (up to 1,900 planes) can be

CALIFORNIA
NUCLEAR-POWERED MISSILE CRUISER
with unlimited cruising range, an important element in support of the striking power of the US Navy aircraft carrier forces.
Displacement—11,100 tons.
Armament—Harpoon anti-ship missiles, anti-aircraft and anti-submarine missiles, guns, torpedo tubes.
There are 9 nuclear-powered missile cruisers on active duty in the US Navy.
It is planned to build 4 more.

NUMBER OF NUCLEAR SUBMARINES IN REGULAR US NAVY (LESS SSBNs)



NUMBER OF MISSILE WARSHIPS IN REGULAR US NAVY



moved from the USA to Europe within ten days.

US military leaders attach great importance to raising the capability of the **Navy**, which is assigned a special role not only in war but in carrying out their global policies, as an instrument for demonstrating force and direct military intervention.

During the last 20 years the United States has completely overhauled its Navy. It has been building nuclear surface ships (aircraft carriers and cruisers) with an unlimited cruising range, capable of operating for a long time in the most remote parts of the globe, and has replaced outdated models by new types of ships, modern weapons and equipment.

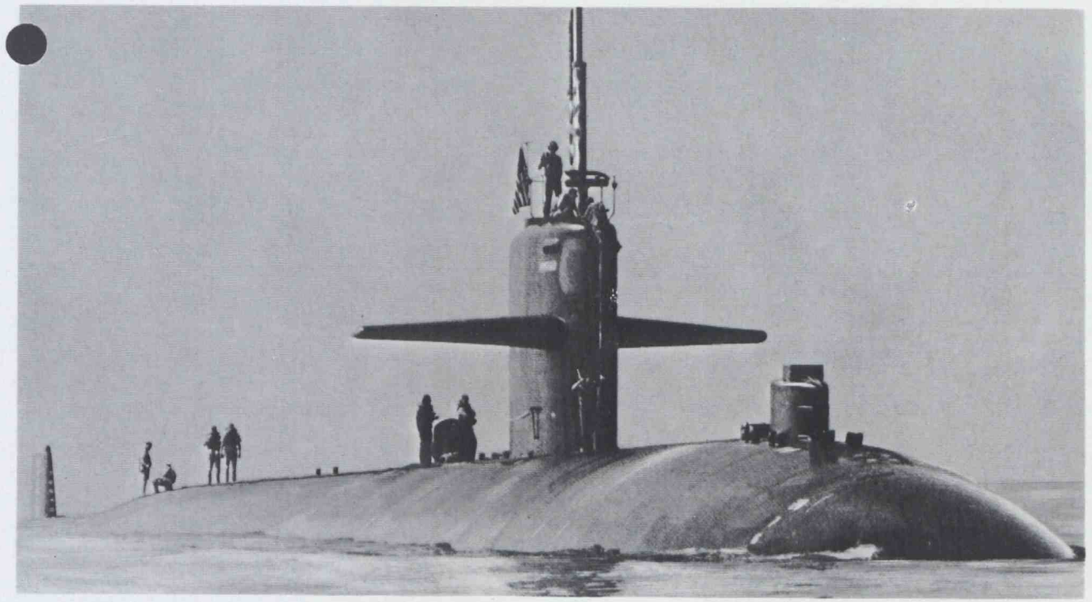
The number of nuclear-powered aircraft carriers in the US Navy has been increased to three units and that of nuclear-powered missile cruisers to nine. There has been a six-fold increase in the number of missile destroyers, missile frigates and nuclear-powered missile submarines. The program for the present decade envisages raising the number of ships in the regular Navy to a total of 600 (not counting the considerable number of vessels kept in mothballs).

The arming of surface ships with Tomahawk cruise missiles will enable them to strike at remote shore objectives and will increase their killing range against surface targets 30 times as compared with torpedoes. Nuclear-powered submarines equipped with such missiles with nuclear warheads will be able to hit in-shore targets as far away as 3,700 kilometers. The USA is planning to equip its Navy in the early 90s with some 4,000 Tomahawk cruise missiles.

Surface ships, nuclear-powered submarines and anti-submarine aircraft are being equipped en masse with Harpoon anti-ship missiles having a range 6 times that of torpedoes.

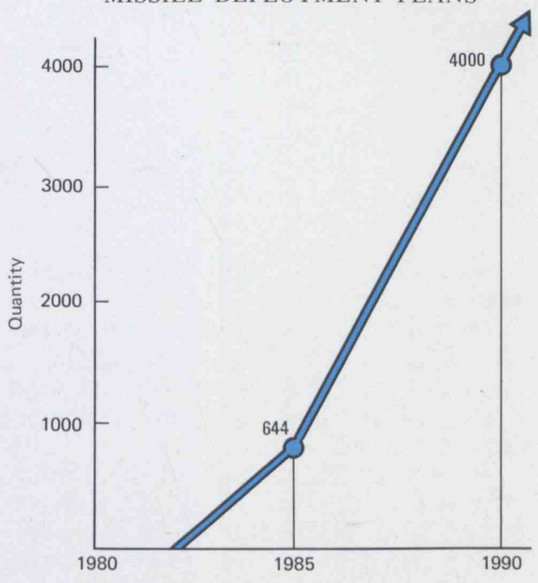
During the past 20 years the US Navy has updated its air forces by putting into service new attack planes, fighter planes, anti-submarine carrier-based and land-based aircraft (AV-8 Harrier, A-6E Intruder, F-14A Tomcat and others). A new F/A-18 Hornet plane has been developed in two versions—as fighter and attack plane—and is undergoing trials.

Work is apace to increase the fire power and modernize the armaments of the Marine Corps, a major instrument of US military interference in the affairs of sovereign states. Since 1960 the combat potential of the Marine Corps has increased several times over. Since 1970 it has had in service only modern M60 tanks, which will be replaced in the 80s by M-1 Abrams tanks. The number of field artillery pieces has risen. The 105-

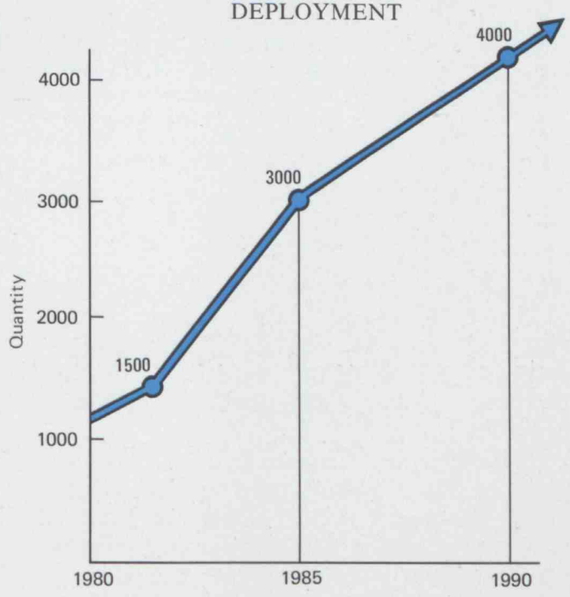


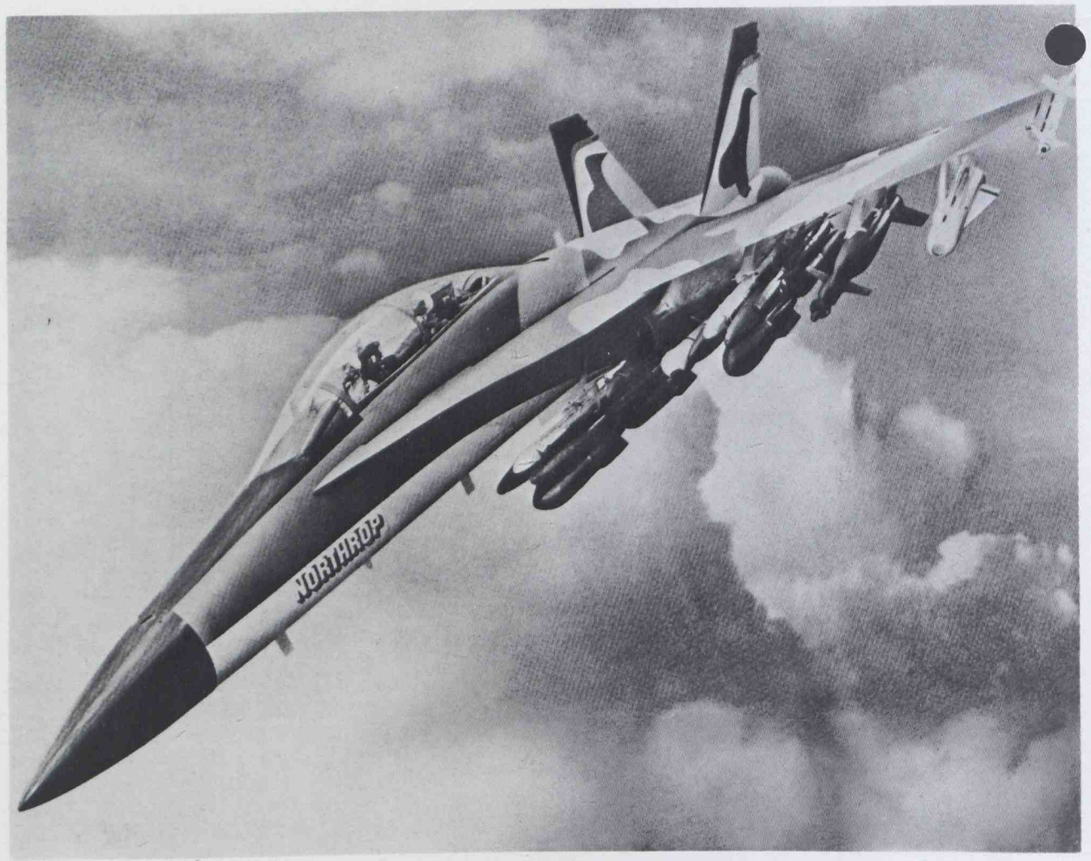
INDIANAPOLIS NUCLEAR-POWERED SUBMARINE OF THE *LOS ANGELES* CLASS.
Displacement—6,900 tons.
Armament—Tomahawk cruise missiles with conventional warheads, Harpoon anti-ship missiles, SUBROC nuclear anti-submarine missiles, torpedo tubes.
In 1984, it is planned to start equipping the *Los Angeles* class nuclear-powered submarines with Tomahawk strategic cruise missiles with nuclear warheads.
There are 15 submarines of this class in active US Navy.
Before the end of the current ten years another 25 nuclear-powered submarines of this class will be built.

TOMAHAWK CRUISE MISSILE DEPLOYMENT PLANS



HARPOON ANTI-SHIP MISSILE DEPLOYMENT





F/A-18 HORNET AIRCRAFT.
To re-equip carrier-based and Marine air forces the USA has developed a multi-purpose supersonic aircraft in two versions—the F-18 fighter and the A-18 attack aircraft.
The F-18 has an action radius of 740 km and the A-18, 1,020 km.
The combat load of the A-18 (missiles and air bombs) is 6,080 kg.
Nuclear-capable. It is planned to put the aircraft in service in 1983.
The total program of purchases is 1,377 F/A-18 planes.
The cost of one plane is 42.3 mln dollars.

mm pieces are being replaced by new 155-mm howitzers. The Marine Corps has put into service 203.2-mm artillery pieces. As a result over half of the Marine artillery has become nuclear-capable.

The Marine Corps air arm has put into service for transport and landing operations the new CH-53E Super Sea Stallion helicopter which can carry more than 90 per cent of the types of weapons in service with an RDF expeditionary Marine brigade.

To make the landing operations of the Marines more effective, amphibious landing craft are being improved and new landing ships and air-cushion landing craft are being built.

To increase the mobility of the Marine component in the rapid deployment forces it is planned to build by 1987 twelve depot-ships for storing heavy armaments and stocks of logistic supplies for combat operations of three expeditionary Marine brigades. The same purpose will be served by building special lighter-carriers capable of carrying combat equipment and various cargoes to unorganized shore areas. It is also planned to purchase 8 fast container ships, 6 of which will be re-equipped to transport a mechanized infantry division. It is envisaged that the vessels will be on a 5-day alert for embarkation.

Development and Stockpiling of New Weapons of Mass Destruction of People and Nature

In addition to the massive equipment of the armed forces with nuclear weapons, the US military and political leadership devote ever greater attention to developing, improving, deploying and stockpiling other mass destruction weapons for use against man and living nature in general.

Neutron weapons (the decision on their full-scale production was adopted by Reagan in August 1981). The genetic consequences of irradiation with even small doses of the neutrons released by the explosion will affect many generations and make themselves felt in the form of various grave diseases.

Chemical weapons. The existing stocks of chemical weapons in the USA amount to more than 150,000 tons and include over 3 million shells, tens of thousands of air bombs, hundreds of thousands of

With the coming to power of the Reagan Administration the US armed forces have intensified direct preparations for chemical and biological warfare. The Joint Chiefs of Staff is planning to have at its disposal 5 mln units of chemical munitions.
Chemical weapons are stored not only in the United States but also in other countries: there are more than 2,000 tons of American toxic agents in the FRG alone.
Richard Schweiker, US Secretary of Health and Human Services, has admitted that during their aggression in Southeast Asia the American forces employed chemical weapons in 41 operations. According to far from complete data, in South Vietnam alone the United States used up more than 100,000 tons of chemicals during the war.

mines and explosive charges and many other chemical munitions. New, binary chemical munitions have been developed. The USA has more than 10 large chemical weapon depots on its territory and in other countries, including the FRG.

During the past four years the Pentagon has almost trebled expenditures on its chemical and biological war programs. In fiscal year 1981 these expenditures topped 260 million dollars. In accordance with the Reagan Administration's instructions on considerably extending the work on chemical weapons, the Pentagon is to increase the number of chemical munitions to a total of 5 million units, to update and extend storage facilities and to replace obsolescent chemical munitions by binary ones. Four billion dollars is to be allotted for these purposes. During the next five years 2.5 billion dollars is to be spent on research and development of chemical weapons alone.

During the war in Indochina the US forces made wide use of defoliants. More than 10 per cent of the crop areas in Vietnam were affected. As a result irreparable damage was done not only to the land but also to the water ecological systems. The experts say it will take more than 100 years to restore the destroyed mangrove groves. The genetic effects of the substances used are even more dangerous for people. One of the effects officially recorded at present is a greater percentage of children born with various physical defects.

Biological weapons. In the 50s and 60s the USA was engaged in intensive work to develop agents for biological offensive operations. In order to work out the forms and methods of employment of biological weapons dozens of large-scale tests with the use of imitation microbes were conducted. Field tests were carried out with the unsuspecting population of big cities and large regions.

In 1969 the US President officially announced the termination of work to develop biological weapons and the destruction of their stocks. However, there is ample evidence that the USA is s[illegible] implementing an extensive biological program. Military-oriented work is reflected in the Defense Department budget. Most of the work, especially in the field of fundamental research, is done in the framework of other federal agencies, which have considerably extended their microbiological research, with the emphasis on genetic engineering. During the last few years dozens of laboratories with maximum anti-epidemic protection have been set up in the US government and private sectors. They study the agents of the most dangerous diseases of man and animals.

Psychochemical preparations. Since the end of the 40s the USA has been engaged in developing preparations affecting human behavior. The preparations thus obtained are tested on volunteers, prison inmates, patients of mental hospitals and on groups of people without their knowledge. The MK-ULTRA project, for example, provided for extending experiments to large organized groups.

Financing of Militarism

The policy of achieving military superiority finds expression in the steady extension of the scale of financing of militarist preparations.

During the past 20 years (1960-1980) US military spending under the National Defense Program has trebled—from 45 to 135 billion dollars. An even sharper increase in military spending is planned for the 80s. In the period between 1981 and 1985 alone expenditures on war preparations will increase by more than 120 per cent reaching 303.9 billion dollars a year by the end of 1985. Average annual rates of increase in military spending in the first half of the present decade will be higher than at the peak of US aggression in Southeast Asia. Allocations for the National Defense Program in fiscal 1986 are earmarked at 342.7 billion dollars.

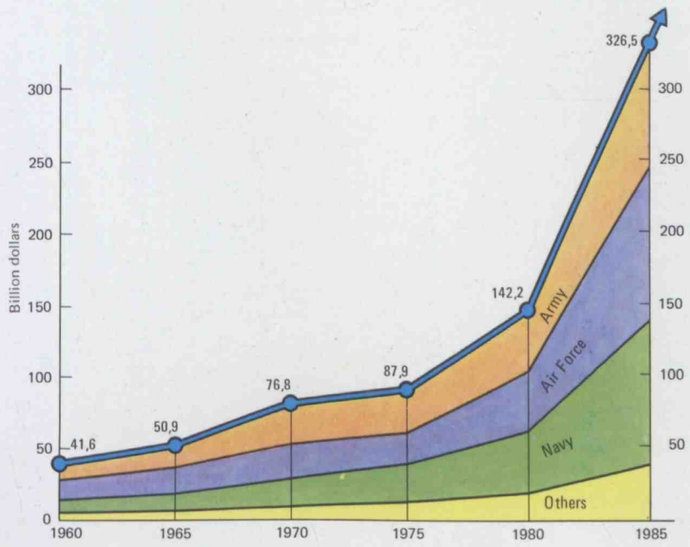
The increase in proportion of the GNP devoted to military expenditure is evidence of the high priority the American leadership gives to building up the war potential. The Reagan Administration is planning to increase its annual military spending by an average of 8.6 per cent in real terms, whereas, according to American estimates, the rates of increase of the GNP may not be more than 3.5 per cent a year. As a result the share of military expenditures in the GNP will amount to 6.6 per cent in 1985 and to nearly 10 per cent in 1990 (in 1980 it was 5.2 per cent). It is also envisaged to considerably increase the proportion of military expenditures in the Federal Budget (from 24.3 per cent in 1980 to 36 per cent in 1985) by redistributing funds in favor of military needs.

Unlike the expenditures which show the current allocations for the armed forces, long-term plans of military preparations are reflected in military appropriations. Under the five-year military program for fiscal 1982-1986 drafted by the Reagan Administration, these appropriations will total 1,500 billion dollars.

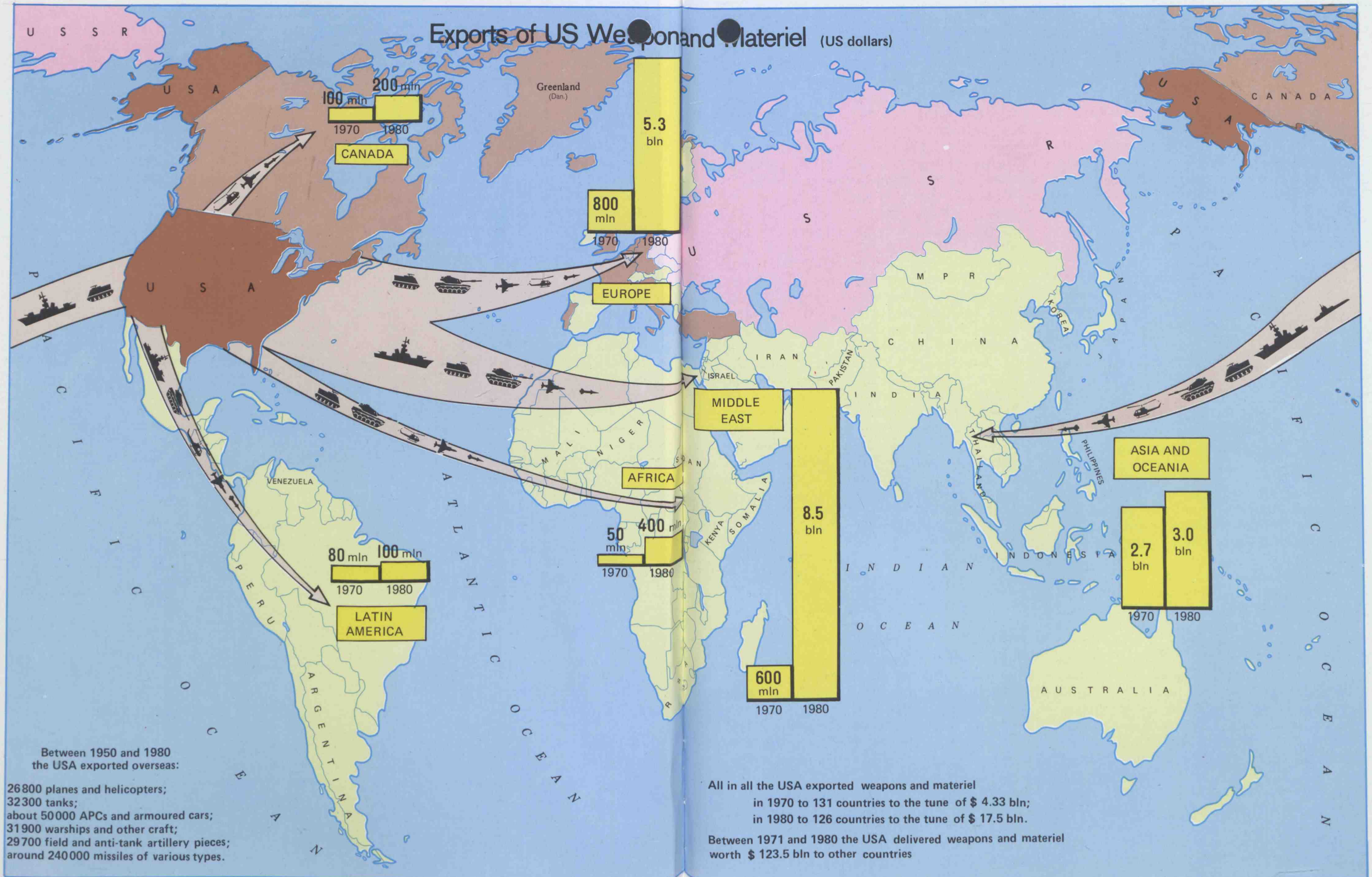
The United States allocates considerable funds for military research and development. In 1980 appropriations under this item totalled 13.5 billion dollars in the Department of Defense budget alone. A sum of 32 billion dollars is earmarked for 1985. Moreover, about 6 billion dollars will be allocated to NASA whose activities are increasingly subordinated to the interests of the Pentagon; the Department of Energy will spend more than 2 billion dollars on research and development in the field of nuclear weapons. This means that at least two-thirds of federal allocations for research and development will be used for providing scientific and technical facilities for developing new, ever more destructive strategic and general purpose weapons.

The production of new weapons systems is intensively developed. Appropriations for these purposes are rising at

US DEFENSE DEPARTMENT ALLOCATIONS



Exports of US Weapon and Materiel (US dollars)



Between 1950 and 1980
the USA exported overseas:

26 800 planes and helicopters;
32 300 tanks;
about 50 000 APCs and armoured cars;
31 900 warships and other craft;
29 700 field and anti-tank artillery pieces;
around 240 000 missiles of various types.

All in all the USA exported weapons and materiel
in 1970 to 131 countries to the tune of $ 4.33 bln;
in 1980 to 126 countries to the tune of $ 17.5 bln.

Between 1971 and 1980 the USA delivered weapons and materiel
worth $ 123.5 bln to other countries

record rates. In 1982 the Defense Department alone plans to allocate 68.5 billion dollars—four times as much as in 1975—for the purchase of weapons and materiel. As planned by the Reagan Administration, appropriations for these purposes in 1985 will total more than 100 billion dollars.

Emphasis is laid on financing the production of offensive weapons systems for the US Navy and Air Force, which are the main instrument of the US "from positions of strength" global policy. In two years (1981 and 1982) alone appropriations for purchasing aircraft and accessories for the Navy will increase by 120 per cent, for the Air Force by 60 per cent and appropriations for purchasing missile systems for the Air Force will rise by 120 per cent.

The USA, the Biggest Supplier of Arms and Military Equipment

In its plans to achieve global and regional supremacy and to extend and consolidate its military presence, the USA gives pride of place to the export of arms and extensive military and economic aid to pro-American regimes. During the past ten years US arms exports more than quadrupled to a total of 17.5 billion dollars in 1980. There has been an especially sharp increase in the flow of arms to the Middle East and Western Europe. During the 70s the main recipients of American arms were Saudi Arabia, which bought 35 billion dollars' worth of military supplies from the USA during the last decade, Iran (14 billion dollars), Israel (11 billion dollars), Great Britain, the FRG and South Korea (5 billion dollars each), Egypt, the Netherlands, Taiwan and Japan (3 billion dollars each).

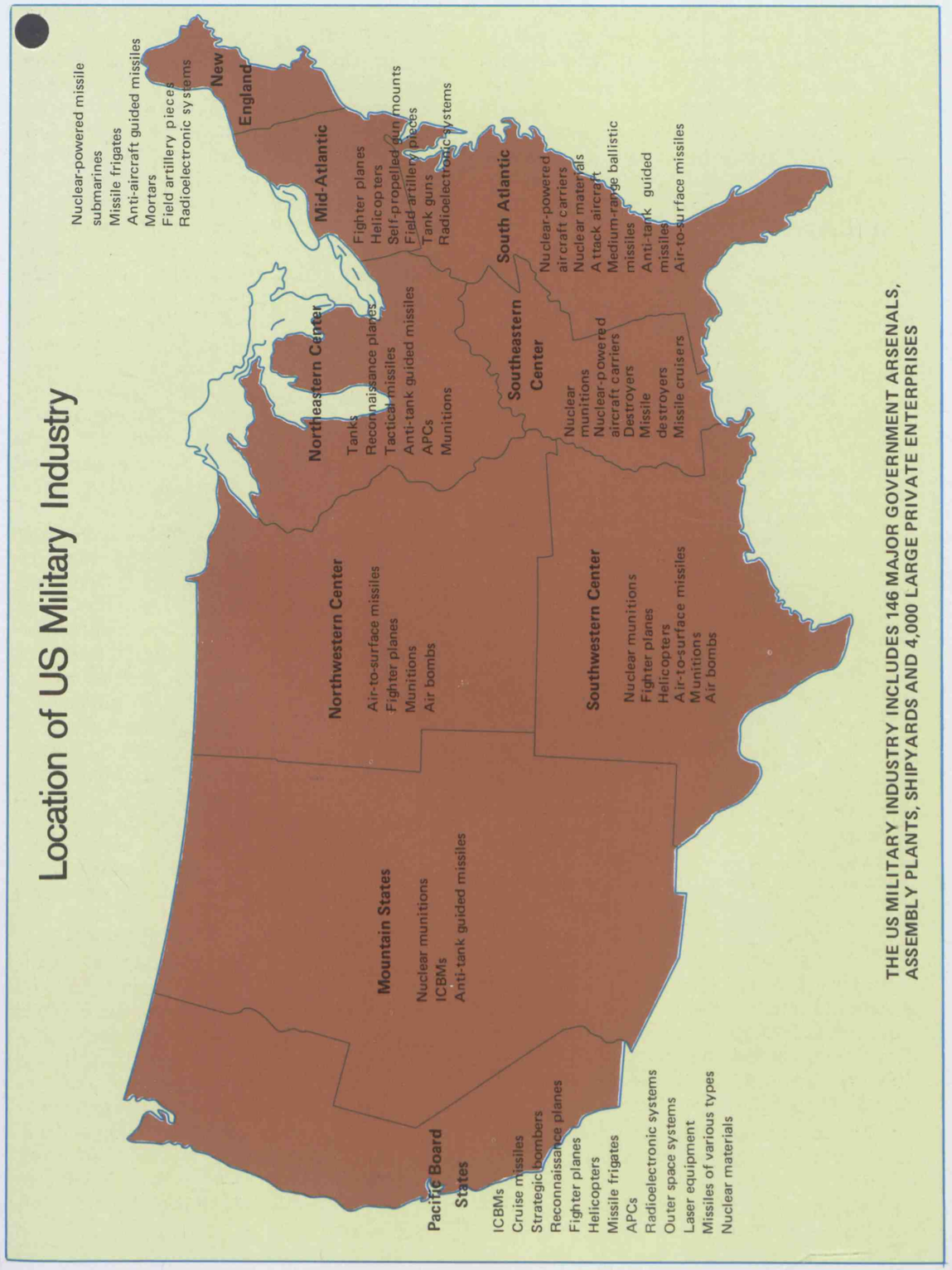
The US share in world sales of arms and military equipment is 45 per cent, that of the other NATO countries is over 20 per cent.

A distinctive feature of US military exports is an increase in sales of modern armaments: F-14, F-15 and F-16 combat planes, tactical Lance missiles, missile frigates of the *Perry* class, and tanks. At the end of 1980 the US Defense Department alone had almost 56 billion dollars' worth of foreign orders for the sale of nearly 1,000 planes and helicopters, 150 warships and auxiliary vessels, 1,100 tanks, 4,200 armored personnel carriers, 1,500 pieces of field artillery, 110,000 missiles of various types, and a large number of other items of military equipment. These arms will not only increase the military power of the recipient countries but can also be used by the United States itself, in the first place by its rapid deployment force.

As a rule, political strings are attached to the sale of arms. Addressing the House Foreign Relations Committee on November 12, 1981, US Secretary of State Alexander Haig said that the Administration would increase military assistance to and extend its strategic cooperation only with those states which helped the USA in the accomplishment of its aims.

Industrial Base of US Militarism

Washington's persistent policy of building up its military strength and achieving military superiority is leading to a close intertwining of interests between the war industry monopolies and the military and government agencies, and to an unprecedented expansion of arms production. The arms monopolies have formed, together with the military state apparatus, a powerful military-industrial complex, which has gained so much influence in the country that it is called in earnest "a state within the state".



The military-industrial complex plays a decisive role in planning military, political and economic measures, working out military strategy and concepts, drafting programs for building up the armed forces and developing new weapons systems. This gives the military-industrial complex a substantial influence on the national economy as a whole and on its militarization.

To meet the requirements of the permanent military establishment, a giant arms industry—the world's biggest in terms of output and number of enterprises—has been set up in the USA. Twenty-five thousand contractors and more than 50,000 subcontractors are engaged in fulfilling the Pentagon's orders.

The principal weapons and equipment systems are manufactured at 146 state-owned plants and some 4,000 major enterprises owned by private firms.

Enterprises working on the Pentagon's orders are distributed throughout the USA.

In fiscal year 1980, the Pentagon placed contracts with various branches of the economy for over 83 billion dollars' worth of arms, military equipment and other military supplies. Nearly half of this sum will go to the 25 biggest arms and materiel manufacturers, including the McDonnel Douglas, United Technologies, General Dynamics, Boeing and General Electric corporations, which specialize mainly in producing offensive systems such as nuclear missiles, aircraft armaments and nuclear-powered ships.

In fiscal year 1981 alone, Pentagon payments under contracts for developing and manufacturing arms and military equipment amounted to over 30 per cent of the total cost of general engineering output in the USA.

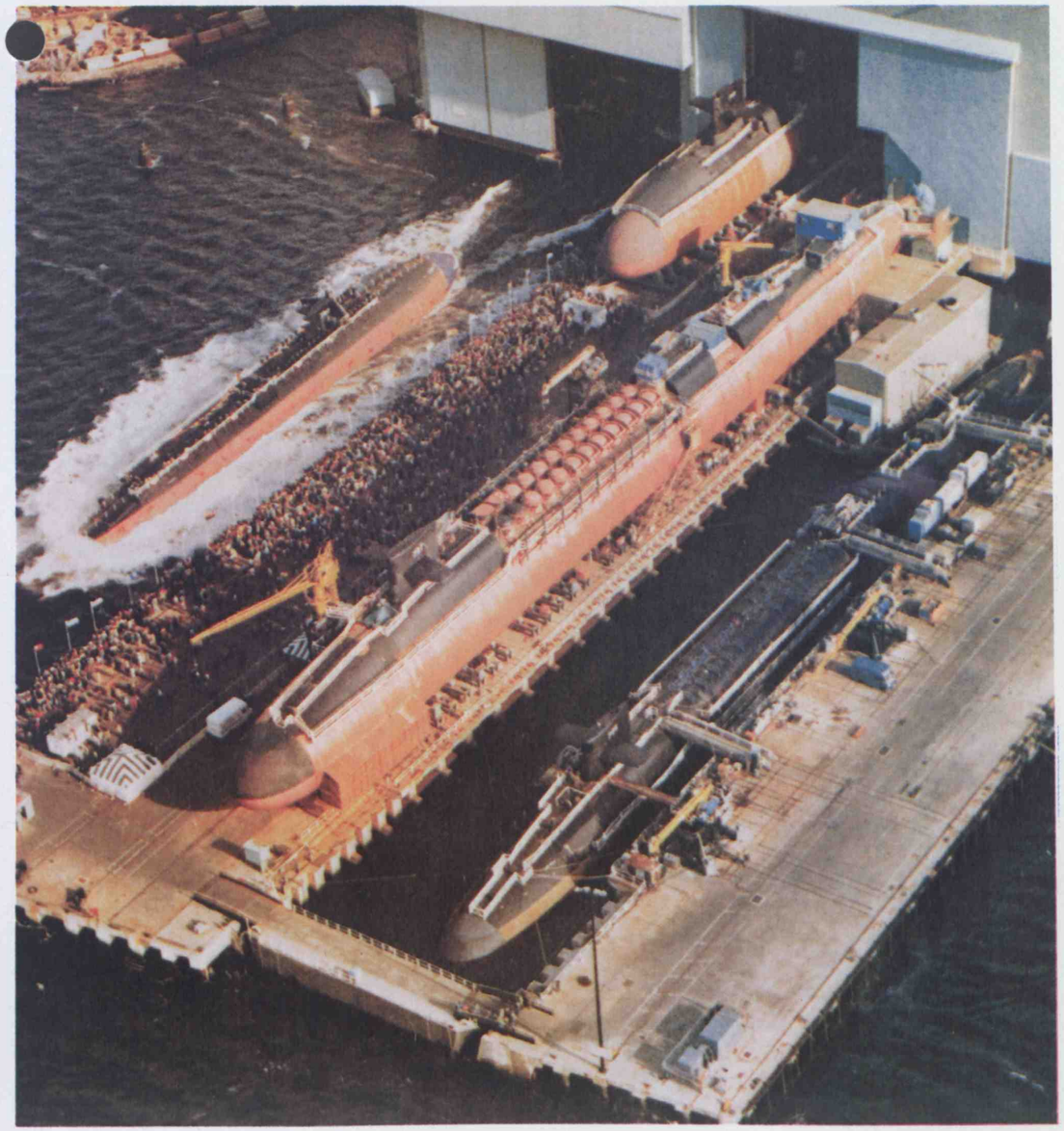
The production capacities of the US war industry are being constantly expanded, with priority given to branches specializing in producing offensive, strike weapons systems.

The US nuclear industrial complex meets the needs of all the services of the armed forces by ensuring massive provision or replacement of nuclear munitions of all possible types and purposes—from nuclear artillery shells and torpedoes within the kiloton range to 10-megaton strategic warheads. Seven plants are engaged in mass-producing such munitions. The nuclear industrial complex is being rapidly modernized to be able to meet the plans to develop and deploy new nuclear weapons systems in the 1980s. As a result, the production capacities are to be increased by nearly 50 per cent in the next few years. Simultaneously, there are plans to expand the capacities for producing fissionable materials by reactivating a stand-by reactor in 1983 and building a new one in addition to the four already in operation.

Neutron munitions—warheads for the Lance missiles and 203.2-mm artillery shells—are being assembled at the Pantex plant near Amarillo, Texas.

Highly automated flow lines have been developed for the manufacture of strategic ballistic missiles. In the 1960s, these lines provided the combat-ready troops with an ICBM launcher every day and enough Polaris and Poseidon ballistic missiles to arm up to 14 submarines a year. In the past 20 years, they produced six types of intercontinental ballistic missiles and five types of submarine-launched ballistic missiles to allow rapid massive modernization of the strategic offensive forces.

Preparations have been completed on the facilities for mass-producing a new type of strategic weapons—multipurpose cruise missiles. In addition to the existing capacities the Boeing company has built a large plant to produce over 700 ALCM-B cruise missiles a year in Kent, Washington. General Dynamics is modernizing its plant in San Diego, California, to turn out up to 500 Tomahawk missiles a year for mass supply to nuclear-powered submarines and surface ships.



OHIO CLASS NUCLEAR-POWERED BALLISTIC MISSILE SUBMARINE AND *LOS ANGELES* CLASS NUCLEAR-POWERED SUBMARINE
at the Electric Boat Division shipyard at Groton.
Under the current *Ohio* program,
the US Navy is to have 13 SSBNs
of this class by the end of 1990,
and the building of 40 nuclear-powered submarines
of the *Los Angeles* class is to be completed
in the same period.

The output of these missiles is to be stepped up to 1,000 a year.

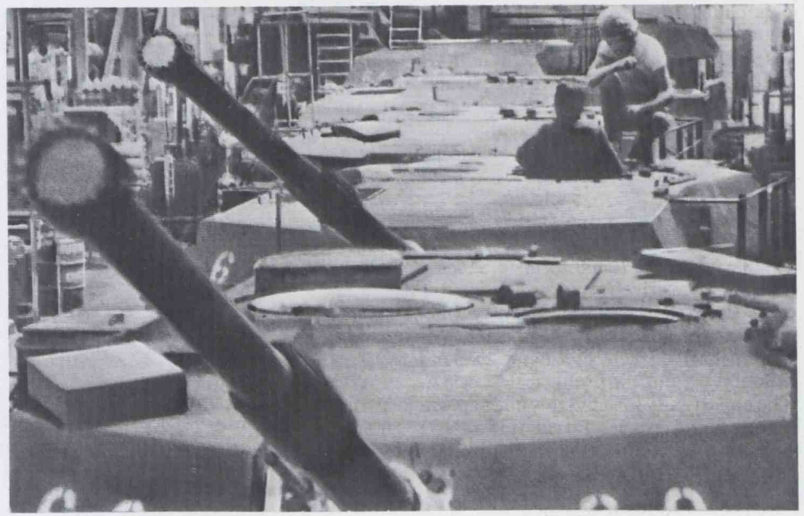
The facilities for building nuclear-powered warships are being expanded. In recent years the floorspace of the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company in Newport, Virginia, where nuclear-powered aircraft carriers and nuclear submarines are built, has been enlarged by almost 30 per cent. At present, the building of the aircraft carrier *Carl Winson* (of the *Nimitz* class), the fourth nuclear-powered aircraft carrier to be put into service, is nearing completion there. The Reagan Administration plans to continue building warships of this class during the current ten years. The Electric Boat Division of the General Dynamics Corporation is building the latest submarines of the *Ohio* and *Los Angeles* classes at its shipyard in Groton, Connecticut. Some 30 nuclear submarines of various types are under construction simultaneously at the two shipyards in Groton and Newport.

The military aircraft industry is one of the leading branches of the war industry. Its core comprises 33 major assembly plants, which produced up to 3,000 combat planes and helicopters annually in the 1970s. The aircraft production facilities are being constantly improved, as new highly automated flow lines are installed. In the past 20 years, the air force and navy tactical air arms have twice renewed their aircraft fleet. As production of new aircraft starts, the existing capacities for the production of earlier models are not curtailed significantly, enabling the US aircraft industry to remain in a high state of readiness to carry out the programs developed for modernizing the armed forces air units in the 80s and to rapidly step up the output of aircraft.

The US armor industry has a vast potential, which is maintained by more than 15 assembly plants and over 30 major enterprises manufacturing the vehicle components. The US tank-building effort is centered on the world's largest tank armory in Detroit, which, together with three tank plants, forms a unique tank-building complex capable of raising the output of armor many times over in a

F-16 FIGHTER-BOMBERS ON THE ASSEMBLY LINE.
These aircraft are mass-produced in the US and, under license, jointly by Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark and Norway. It is planned to produce a total of 3,400 F-16s, including those to be sold to countries in the Middle East, Asia and Latin America.

M-1 ABRAMS TANK ASSEMBLY LINE
at the modernized tank plant in Lima, Ohio, one of the more than 15 tank plants in the USA. The Lima plant has an annual capacity of 1,200 tanks.



short time. During the Second World War it turned out up to 1,000 vehicles a month.

The Detroit armory is producing M60A3 tanks. It has lately been modernized to a large extent, and now has a much higher capacity. It is scheduled to begin in 1982 turning out M-1 Abrams tanks, production of which began in 1980 at the previously mothballed tank plant at Lima, Ohio, the capacities of which had been doubled by extensive reconstruction. Equipped with modern high-output machinery, the plant is capable of producing 1,200 tanks a year.

The munitions industry is being modernized according to a costly program (totalling 8 billion dollars), which, besides the retooling of a number of enterprises, includes the construction of a big new plant near Picayune, Mississippi. When completed in 1983 it will raise the output of 155-mm cargo-carrying projectiles (with submunitions) by 1.5 million per year.

In accordance with the Reagan Administration's directions for building up stocks of chemical and biological weapons, the facilities producing this type of mass destruction weapons are being considerably expanded. For this purpose a plant is being built at one of the three government-owned chemical warfare depots at Pine Bluff, Arkansas, to produce new kinds of chemical ammunition—binary missile warheads, 155-mm and 203.2-mm artillery shells, air bombs, etc.

To meet the needs of its own armed forces and its export commitments to other countries, the US war industry is manufacturing several hundred types of weapons, including 47 basic systems at a total cost of over 310 billion dollars (in 1974, 40 basic systems costing 150 billion dollars).

According to Pentagon officials, the US military-industrial establishment is capable of producing all the weapons systems and equipment needed to supply the armed forces in the 1980s, and has a stand-by capacity for an immediate 50 per cent increase in the manufacture of the main tactical aircraft (A-10, F-15 and F-16), M-1 tanks and missile ships. This capacity is backed by enormous stores of strategic raw and other materials worth a total of over 15 billion dollars.

Simultaneously, the Reagan Adminis-

tration has decided on a drastic reappraisal of its policy for preparing a rapid switchover of the arms industry to a war footing. Its aim is to raise the capacity of the war industry to such an extent that it should be able to mass-produce armaments, with nearly a half of the gross national product allocated for military requirements. Bearing in mind that up to 9 per cent of the GNP was spent annually on the war in Vietnam, 15 per cent on the war in Korea, and 36 per cent on the Second World War, one will realize that the US leadership's plans for preparing the United States for war are without precedent in this century.

The US NATO allies, too, have a powerful arms industry capable of producing all types of modern weapons and materiel in huge quantities. Throughout the 70s, the leading West European countries alone developed and are now carrying out new programs for the production of about 15,000 main battle tanks, 7,000 combat aircraft, many thousands of artillery systems, and hundreds of warships. The military and political integration of the NATO countries is now unthinkable without the wide use of the aggregate capacities of the war industries in the USA and its NATO allies, coordination of arms production plans and the marshalling of resources for the joint preparation for war.

US War Strategy—A Strategy of Aggression

The US Administration's bellicose foreign policy and plans to attain military superiority are reflected in Washington's new war strategy, which US Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger calls the strategy of direct confrontation between the USA and the USSR on a global and regional scale. This overtly aggressive strategy provides for resolute use of US military power as a tool to assert worldwide dictation by US imperialism and safeguard America's "vital interests" in many areas of the world, including access to sources of strategic raw materials and energy resources. This strategy incorporates all the provisions of the notorious Presidential Directive 59.

The principal aspect of the "direct confrontation" strategy—the most dangerous for the destinies of all mankind—is that it calls for accelerated preparation of the material facilities in the US for launching wars varying in scale and intensity.

The emphasis continues to be laid on preparations for a strategic nuclear war and the multi-purpose use of strategic forces, in accordance with the "countervailing" strategy announced in Directive 59—from so-called limited nuclear strikes to their massive employment against the whole range of targets on Soviet territory.

A massive nuclear strike is planned in such a way as to reduce to the minimum the possibility of retaliation against the United States. The list of targets includes military objectives, seats of political, state and military power, major installations of the key industries, transport and communications, and the main administrative centers in the USSR. In other words, the Pentagon's strategic plans focus on striking the first, pre-emptive blow. These plans provide the basis for the deployment program of powerful high-accuracy nuclear weapons systems—M-X intercontinental ballistic missiles, submarine-launched Trident II ballistic missiles, and strategic cruise missiles.

The Pentagon's plans of "limited" operations by strategic offensive forces contain numerous variants of nuclear strikes envisaging from a few to several thousand nuclear munitions units being employed against various composite objectives in the Soviet Union and countries of the socialist community, and also in areas of US "vital interests", in particular, the Middle East. The plans of "limited" employment of strategic and other nuclear weapons lower "the nuclear threshold" and increase the possibility of militarist forces' unleashing a nuclear war, which would inevitably and unavoidably become worldwide in scale.

The new strategy contains also the Reagan Administration's directives for a long nuclear war—for "a few weeks or even months", "until victory is achieved in the war" and accordingly foresees a set of measures for ensuring a rapid build-up of strategic nuclear weapons and

MULTIPLE LAUNCH OF MINUTEMAN III ICBMs (at the Western missile testing range). The Pentagon's plans for a strategic nuclear war lay the main emphasis on a massive pre-emptive nuclear strike against the USSR.

a more flexible, maneuverable and viable system of operational control of the armed forces, as well as developing qualitatively new armaments.

The new strategy places the accent on preparations for a "limited" nuclear war which, as President Reagan officially confirmed on October 17, 1981, is regarded by the US military and political leadership essentially as a war in regions remote from the USA, primarily in Europe, a war in which the USA could evade destructive retaliation. With this aim in mind, the USA tried to get the NATO Council to adopt a decision to deploy medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, within range of practically every target in the European part of the USSR.

In Pentagon thinking, surprise attacks with high-accuracy Pershing II missiles (flight time of 5-6 minutes) on the Soviet Union's strategic weapons would reduce the impact of a retaliatory blow against the USA in the event of aggression against the USSR.

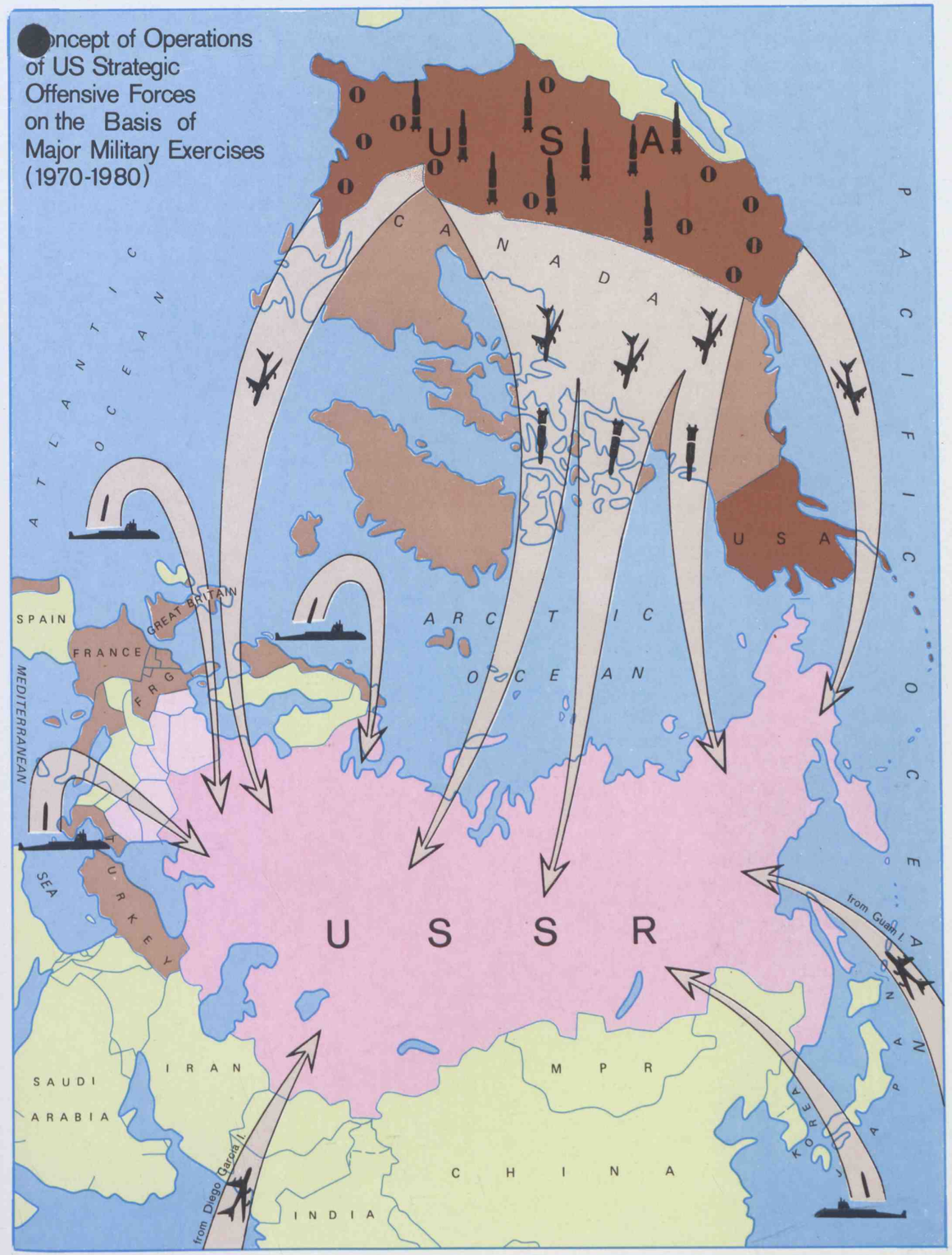
At the same time, the "direct confrontation" strategy calls for the armed forces to be prepared to wage war with conventional arms only. The Reagan Administration's idea is that in the event of conventional warfare in a theater of operations, or a limited area thereof, the United States and its allies must be ready to apply the "geographical escalation" concept, which means spreading hostilities to other theaters "where the enemy is most vulnerable", using conventional weapons.

In the Pentagon's view, such a war would embrace not only Europe, which continues to be regarded as the main theater, but the Middle and Far East, and all sea and ocean theaters as well.

Accordingly, in its plans for building up general purpose forces, the Reagan Administration is lifting the restrictions imposed on "geographical escalation" by the "two and a half" or "one and a half wars" strategic concepts, and is adopting a policy of preparing the conventional forces and

PERSHING II,
A MEDIUM-RANGE BALLISTIC MISSILE.

Range—about 2,500 km.
Carries a nuclear warhead.
Accuracy (CEP)—35-40 m.
Can be equipped with a MIRV warhead.
As decided by the December 1979 NATO Council session,
108 mobile Pershing II launchers are to be deployed on the territory of the FRG from 1983 on.
All launchers are reloadable.
Pershing II missiles are designed for surprise attacks on targets in the European part of the USSR.
A total of 917 Pershing II missiles are to be manufactured in the current ten years.



the country's military and economic potential for a long general war against the USSR and its allies simultaneously in several theaters of war, or theaters of operations. This policy is reflected in the program for overall modernization of the armed forces during the 80s, improvement of their strategic and tactical mobility, combat readiness, efficiency, training for protracted warfare, building up reserves of material resources, and expanding the mobilization possibilities of the war industry and the country as a whole.

The principles of US military strategy are tried out at staff and field exercises, varying in scale and purpose, which are considered essential for testing and amending the plans for preparing, starting and conducting war. The number of such exercises on land, in the air and at sea is growing from year to year, their scale is increasing and the areas in which they are staged are drawing nearer and nearer to the Soviet borders.

The traditional large-scale US troop exercises code-named Reforger have been supplemented, since 1971, by the Wintex strategic staff exercises and, since 1975, by the large-scale Autumn Forge maneuvers, involving more than 300,000 servicemen, 2,000 aircraft and about 500 warships every year. The exercises are staged in the western areas of the European continent, between Northern Norway and Turkey, and in the North Atlantic.

Various scenarios for a general and "limited" war, including some involving the use of nuclear weapons, against the Warsaw Treaty countries are more and more openly tested out in the course of the exercises. Major mobilization deployments and strategic troop lifts to overseas theaters, mainly to Europe, and joint operations with the use of conventional, chemical and nuclear weapons are planned and tried out.

Many of the military exercises have a clearly anti-Soviet edge: the "enemy" troops wear Soviet uniforms and use Soviet models of arms and equipment.

This edge is at its sharpest in the training schedules of the US strategic offensive forces. Whereas in the past the strategic forces staged exercises on a relatively small scale, the Global Shield exercises, unprecedented in respect of the number of troops and quantity of materiel involved, to test plans of a strategic nuclear war against the Soviet Union, have been held regularly in recent years. They include practice launchings of ICBMs and mass flights of strategic bombers in the direction of the Soviet borders. The exercise areas are bigger year by year, embracing, besides US and Canadian territory, Western Europe, Asia, Australia and the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian oceans.

Most exercises conducted by the US and NATO are manifestly provocative.

The US military strategy embodied in multi-scenario plans for waging aggressive war to satisfy the global aspirations of US imperialism, and the large-scale preparations of the material facilities for war, including one with limited use of nuclear weapons, are a danger to peace and are pushing mankind to the brink of catastrophe.

III. The East-West Military Balance

One indisputable fact must first be emphasized: an approximate military balance has arisen, and is being steadily maintained, between the USSR and the USA and between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, both in the world at large and in Europe, where the most powerful concentrations of armed forces confront each other. This plain fact has been stressed on many occasions by the most authoritative Soviet leaders. Only a short time ago, on November 6, 1981, Soviet Defense Minister Marshal D. F. Ustinov stated quite clearly: "I can confirm in all responsibility that a rough parity in strategic nuclear arms, medium-range nuclear weapons and conventional armaments exists between the Soviet Union and the United States, and between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO."

It must be stressed here that in the Soviet Union's view approximate parity is sufficient for defense needs. The Soviet Union does not seek to upset the existing equilibrium and gain a military advantage over the opposite side. Moreover, the opinion of the Soviet Union is that maintaining the military-strategic balance in the obtaining situation ensures adherence to the principle of parity and equal security of both sides and helps objectively to maintain peace in the world.

A diametrically opposite policy is pursued by the United States, its ruling circles having set themselves the aim of changing at all cost the balance of forces in the world in their favor and attaining military superiority over the USSR in the next few years. Colossal funds, unjustified by any considerations of defense needs, have been allocated to achieve this aim, which has officially been given first priority by the Reagan Administration; efforts have been doubled to build up the combat capabilities of the strategic nuclear forces, pressures are at work to bring additional US medium-range nuclear missiles to Western Europe, and plans have been announced to raise considerably the combat power and numerical strength of the US armed forces. Before we turn to the question of where or what this policy leads to, let us answer another question: what is the real relationship between the armed strength of the two sides?

Let us address ourselves to facts.

The USSR-US Strategic Nuclear Balance

By the mid-70s, an approximate balance had been struck in the quantity and quality of strategic nuclear arms between the two powers. While the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT-2) was

being drawn up, this balance was repeatedly checked and cross-checked by the most qualified experts on both sides, who came to the conclusion that approximate parity existed, with one side having 2,500 delivery vehicles and the other, about 2,300.

To further even up the levels of strength, agreement was reached at the signing of the treaty that when it came into force each of the sides would commit itself to limiting the total number of strategic arms to a maximum of 2,400 units in the beginning, and to 2,250 units from January 1, 1981. Under the Treaty, the USSR was to dismantle about 250 delivery vehicles, and the USA, about 30.

As everyone will remember, the SALT-2 Treaty was signed in the summer of 1979. Soon after the signing ceremony, James Carter, and later Ronald Reagan, who succeeded him at the White House, started making allegations that no parity existed and that the USSR had left the USA far behind in strategic arms. How is this about-turn to be explained? Could the Soviet Union, in one or two years, have achieved superiority, and a substantial superiority at that, in strategic arms, which require years and years to produce? Or had some unexpected facts come to light, which had previously been overlooked?

But no new facts had come to light. It was all sheer invention on the part of the Washington Administration leaders. US Secretary of State Alexander Haig had to admit that it was a deliberate fabrication about Soviet superiority in this field, when he stated at a meeting with the editors of US newspapers in Washington, D. C., on June 5, 1981: "And I would put in the central strategic nuclear area the fact that we are still in an area of rough equivalents." In defiance of the facts and the admission made by his colleague Alexander Haig, US Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger keeps on asserting that the US is lagging behind the USSR in strategic forces, and in order to correct the alleged imbalance it must promptly modernize its strategic tri[illegible] i.e., take into service new nuclear systems in even greater numbers and of greater destructive power than the existing ones.

In actual fact, however, the US leaders are thinking not about restoring the balance, which no one has upset, but of far different plans. Chief presidential adviser Edwin Meese admitted in Los Angeles on August 18, 1981, that the nuclear program for the 80s announced by President Reagan "was intended to enable the US to regain nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union within this decade".

It is not only senseless, it is also extremely dangerous to continue building up strategic armaments. Senseless because whatever efforts either side makes, no matter how hard it strains its powers, it would not achieve any tangible advantage, and still less superiority, in this field—the other side will not allow it.

The most authoritative Soviet leaders have repeatedly made this clear. For example, answering questions from the West German magazine *Der Spiegel*, the Soviet head of state, Leonid Brezhnev, said:

"Any dreams of achieving military superiority over the USSR would better be abandoned. If necessary, the Soviet people will be able to make further efforts and do everything required to ensure the reliable defense of their country. It would be far more reasonable and realistic to speak of maintaining the existing parity which is, as we know from experience, not a bad basis for preserving peace." On the other hand, the danger of the nuclear arms race is obvious to everyone: the qualitatively new weapons would make control over, and consequently any agreed limitation of the new systems very difficult, if not impossible. A new round in the arms race would undermine international stability and increase the danger of a war breaking out.

The Balance of Medium-Range Nuclear Weapons in Europe

Still more fabrications are being spread by US propaganda about the relation of medium-range nuclear weapons of the Soviet Union and NATO deployed in Europe. Attempts are being made to prove that Western Europe is almost defenseless in face of the "massive concentration" of Soviet medium-range missiles. All these inventions could not be farther from the truth. The numbers of medium-range nuclear weapons deployed by the USSR and by NATO have for years remained at approximately the same level—some 1,000 units on either side.

The facts will show any unprejudiced person that this is so. And the facts are as follows.

If we consider as medium-range weapons the main missile and airborne nuclear armaments of the NATO countries capable of reaching Soviet territory from sites in Western Europe and the adjoining seas, that is, those with a range (action radius) of 1,000 km or more (excluding, of course, US intercontinental strategic weapons), and the corresponding Soviet weapons of similar range deployed in the European part of the USSR, then there is at present approximate parity between NATO and the USSR in such types of weapons in Europe.

The NATO countries have 986 delivery vehicles of this type for use in Europe. This includes more than 700 US aircraft (F-111s, FB-111s, F-4s and aircraft on board aircraft carriers cruising near European shores). In addition, Britain has 64 ballistic missiles and 55 nuclear-capable bombers, and France 144 units (98 missiles and 46 bombers).

The Soviet Union has 975 units of this type.

Despite the obvious facts, Western propaganda is asserting that the Soviet Union's SS-20 missiles make it superior in medium-range nuclear weapons. It will be recalled, however, that the overall situation has not changed since the Soviet Union started replacing the obsolescent SS-4s and SS-5s with the advanced SS-20s. As the Soviet Union develops a new model, it dismantles one or even two older models and scraps them together with their launchers. Admittedly, unlike its predecessors, the SS-20 can carry three warheads, but their total yield is less than that of the old one. The replacement process has therefore reduced the total number of carriers and at the same time the aggregate yield of the Soviet medium-range nuclear potential.

While scaring the public with the Soviet medium-range missiles, US and NATO leaders deliberately say nothing about US forward-based nuclear weapons and disregard the British and French nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarines as if they did not exist, trying to compare the opposing forces in terms of land-based missiles only, out of the general nuclear potential context. This, they hope, will convince the West Europeans of the need for "additional" arming of their countries with US missiles. It must be clear to anyone with any regard for facts that this approach is at variance with the principle of parity and equal security.

Today, the nuclear potentials of both sides in Europe are approximately equal. As a matter of fact, this was confirmed not long ago by West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, US Secretary of State Alexander Haig, and other Western leaders. At present, however, they prefer—for some reason—to express other views. Still, the parity has not been upset.

It will be remembered that the NATO countries have more than once upgraded their medium-range nuclear weapons, and are continuing to modernize and stockpile them to this day. Britain, for example, is introducing improved Polaris ballistic missiles—carrying six warheads instead of the previous three—for its

US Medium-Range Nuclear Weapon Systems in Europe

The US has 723 nuclear-capable aircraft in the European theater as a means of delivery of medium-range nuclear weapons (1,000 km and over).
In addition, West European NATO countries have in service 263 nuclear delivery vehicles with a range of over 1,000 km.
In accordance with the decision of the December 1979 Session of the NATO Council the USA is planning to deploy 108 Pershing II ballistic missiles and 464 ground-launched cruise missiles (GLCMs) with a range of up to 2,500 km on the territory of West European countries, starting in 1983.

The US has stored over 7,000 nuclear munitions in more than 150 depots in Western Europe

6 aircraft carriers

160

108

48

48

96

112

The radius of action of US medium-range nuclear weapons deployed in Europe

The radius of action of new US medium-range nuclear missiles planned to be deployed from 1983 onwards

Leningrad

MOSCOW

Volgograd

Kiev

Dnieper

Volga

Crete

Cyprus

NORWAY

FINLAND

SWEDEN

IRELAND

GREAT BRITAIN

NORTH SEA

DENMARK

NETHERLANDS

BELGIUM

FRANCE

SWITZERLAND

AUSTRIA

ITALY

SPAIN

PORTUGAL

ATLANTIC OCEAN

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

MOROCCO

ALGERIA

TUNISIA

LIBYA

BALTIC SEA

POLAND

GDR

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HUNGARY

ROMANIA

YUGOSLAVIA

ALBANIA

GREECE

BULGARIA

BLACK SEA

TURKEY

USSR

CASPIAN SEA

IRAN

IRAQ

SYRIA

ISRAEL

JORDAN

SAUDI ARABIA

EGYPT

LEGEND

- Aircraft carriers
- Nuclear-capable aircraft
- Nuclear munitions depots
- Pershing II ballistic missiles slated for deployment
- GLCMs slated for deployment

submarines, and plans to equip its nuclear-powered submarines with Trident missiles, each carrying eight warheads and having a longer range, in the 90s. In France, land- and sea-based single-warhead missiles are to be replaced with missiles carrying seven warheads; by 1990 the French Navy is to have seven missile submarines, compared with the present five. The US forward-based weapons, too, are being continually renewed.

All these developments are considered a matter of course. And yet, NATO leaders are demanding that the Soviet Union should not only abandon its plans to modernize its own armaments but also destroy all its medium-range missiles (SS-20, SS-4 and SS-5). Obviously, this would mean unilateral disarmament for the Soviet Union. The more so as the NATO command are well aware that their medium-range weapons are today capable of delivering at one launch/sortie almost 50 per cent more warheads than the corresponding Soviet weapons.

In the event of another 572 US nuclear missiles being deployed in Europe, the West would gain an almost 50 per cent advantage over the Warsaw Treaty countries in the number of medium-range delivery vehicles, and NATO superiority would be even greater in terms of nuclear warheads. The nuclear parity in Europe would be upset seriously in NATO's favor. The balance of strategic forces between the USSR and the USA would be tipped, too, because the new US missiles would be strategic weapons in relation to the Soviet Union.

This point deserves special attention. Although Washington has announced officially that the new missiles are intended for defending the West European countries, it actually intends to use them to strike "pre-emptive" blows at Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles and other vital objectives in the Soviet Union's western areas, in other words, at strategic targets. It must also be realized that the Pershing II missiles, which the US intends to site in the FRG, have a range of 2,500 km and pinpoint accuracy and can strike Soviet targets within 5 to 6 minutes of launching. This alters the strategic situation substantially, not only in Europe but far beyond. The main intention underlying the US wish to site its medium-range nuclear weapons in a number of European NATO countries is not to ensure European security but rather to soften the impact of a retaliatory strike against the USA, if it attacks the Soviet Union.

This is why the additional 572 missiles must be added to the US strategic potential. Then the US will have far more strategic weapons than the USSR. Political and military circles in Washington are well aware of this. The European public, however, is kept completely in the dark.

The NATO-Warsaw Treaty Organization General Purpose Forces Balance

The balance in this field is more complicated. This is due, first, to the large number of different weapons systems each side possesses and, second, to the fact that the Warsaw Treaty countries may and actually do have superiority in certain areas and the NATO countries in others.

There is rough parity, however, in conventional armaments too. Naturally, there is no full parity in the number of divisions and armaments. The armed forces of the two sides are multiform and dissimilar and they have different structures and organization. But certain imbalances between the two sides do not upset the general balance. Efforts are sometimes made in the West to emphasize the superiority of the Warsaw Treaty countries in terms of some components of general purpose forces or armaments, such as the number of divisions, tanks, or aircraft. It is well known, however, that NATO has well-balanced armed forces, numerous conventional armaments, tactical nuclear weapons and diverse means of their delivery and a great number of anti-tank guided missiles on the European continent and in the adjacent seas. On the whole, however, the NATO countries' armed forces and the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty countries have approximately equal combat capabilities.

One can obtain some idea of the relation of general purpose forces between the two sides by comparing the number of combat-ready divisions at their disposal. Note: combat-ready, because only these can be used to begin hostilities without any additional mobilization measures. In Europe 78 divisions of the Warsaw Treaty countries face 89 NATO divisions. It should also be noted that if a full-strength American division numbers between 16,000 and 19,000 men, and a West German division, over 20,000 men, a division of the Warsaw Treaty countries has the maximum strength of 11,000 men.

True, the USSR has more divisions in its ground forces than the USA. But this is quite natural because owing to its geographical and strategic position the Soviet Union has to maintain the balance of forces not only in Europe but also in other regions adjoining its borders. The total length of the Soviet state frontiers is about 67,000 kilometers, including more than 20,000 kilometers on land. These frontiers have to be protected in the west against the threat from NATO countries, in the east and south because of the American military bases and also China with its growing nuclear potential and the largest army in the world.

Take the ratio of tactical planes and helicopters between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries:

Combat planes	1 : 1.2
Combat load deliverable within a range of 185 km	3 : 1
Helicopters	1.8 : 1

Thus, while the Warsaw Treaty countries have a somewhat greater number of combat aircraft, NATO enjoys superiority in terms of combat capabilities of the ground-support aircraft and the number of helicopters. However, considering all the factors of military power of the two sides the Soviet Union does not make this a problem, similar to the "tank problem".

The theory of the so-called tank threat from the USSR does not hold water. When he was US Defense Secretary, James R. Schlesinger wrote in his report to Congress that modern anti-tank weapons deployed in sufficient quantities offset the Warsaw Treaty countries' lead in tanks. In this context, he noted, the United States did not consider it necessary to have an equal number of tanks with the Soviet Union. It was precisely in this way the USA and other NATO countries thought it possible, as they themselves admitted, to ensure "equal combat capabilities" in tanks and anti-tank weapons.

It is true that the Warsaw Treaty countries have more tanks but the NATO countries also have quite a few. When it suits them the US and NATO leaders take into account only the tanks in the NATO Allied Command in Europe. They thus considerably minimize the number of tanks they have (allegedly, less than 12,000). In actual fact, however, there are more than 16,000 tanks in the armed forces of the NATO countries. Moreover, about 1,500 American tanks and 6,500 tanks of the West European NATO countries are stored in depots in Europe.

Taking this into consideration, the NATO countries are only slightly inferior to the Warsaw Treaty countries as far as tanks are concerned (24,000 as against 25,000).

Today, when the two sides have roughly equal technical opportunities for equipping their armed forces but have different structures and organization of forces, an objective estimate of the balance of general purpose forces can be

made on the basis of their numerical strength.

	NATO thous.	Warsaw Treaty thous.	Ratio
Regular armed forces, total	4,933	4,788	1.03:1
Ground forces, total	2,713	2,613	1.04:1
Ground forces in Europe	2,123	1,669	1.27:1

An exchange of figures at the Vienna talks on reducing forces and armaments in Central Europe (as of January 1, 1980) confirms that the ground and air forces of the two sides in Central Europe are approximately equal (NATO—991,000, Warsaw Treaty—979,000).

The Navies of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Countries

Appraising the Soviet Navy, the Pentagon leaders claim that "the Soviet Navy has been transformed from a basically coastal defense force into an ocean-going force designed to extend the military capability of the USSR well out to sea".

During the past two decades the USSR has undoubtedly improved the technical equipment and combat capability of its Navy. But the US Navy has not marked time either and has continued to increase its combat potential.

The strike forces are the chief component of the US and NATO navies. They have 25 aircraft carriers and air-capable ships (including 20 of the USA), whereas the Soviet Navy has only 2 air-capable ships designed principally for anti-submarine warfare.

The naval forces of the Warsaw Treaty countries have more small surface ships with a limited cruising range, designed exclusively to protect their coasts. The US and other NATO countries' navies have almost 3 times as many battleships, cruisers, destroyers and missile frigates equipped with missiles and designed to carry out missions in the naval task forces. The lead of the Warsaw Treaty countries in the number of submarines is more than offset by the fact that NATO has 3 times as many major warships.

The US naval aviation is 2.5 times as strong as the Soviet naval air force in terms of the number of aircraft and is even stronger in terms of striking power. US aircraft carriers carry more than 520 nuclear-capable attack aircraft which can strike at targets deep in Soviet territory. The Soviet naval air forces are designed to engage warships rather than to attack the American continent.

The trend in development of the US naval forces is far from defensive. This can be seen from the fact that the strength of the Marine Corps at the disposal of the Pentagon is almost 16 times that of the Soviet Marines (USA—190,000 men, USSR—12,000 men).

Thus, irrespective of whether we compare strategic nuclear weapons or medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe or general purpose forces of NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries, there is evidence of rough parity between them on all counts. The USA and NATO are not lagging behind.

In a TV interview on August 21, 1981 Chancellor Schmidt of the Federal Republic of Germany said: "American politicians are trying to create the impression that they are determined to restore the balance whatever the cost. In my view, the balance hasn't in fact been upset."

The balance is there, it exists, and not on paper, but in reality. There is no need for the United States to rearm, because it has never lagged behind the USSR. Rearmament on the pretext of achieving parity is in actual fact a drive for military superiority.

Comparison of the Navies of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Countries

	NATO		Warsaw Treaty		Warsaw Treaty balance
	total	incl. USA	total	incl. USSR	
Aircraft carriers and air-capable ships	25	20	2	2	−23
Submarines	279	128	385	377	+106
Battleships, cruisers, destroyers, and missile frigates	300	145	107	106	−193
Escorts (frigates) and minor anti-submarine ships	319	99	187	168	−132
Boats and minesweepers	711	168	1,059	735	+348
Landing ships and boats	541	160	132	86	−409
Warships, total	2,175	720	1,872	1,474	−303
Combat planes and helicopters	3,173	2,530	1,126	1,040	−2,047

IV. Two Trends in World Politics

In recent years two opposite trends have stood out more and more sharply in the approach of the Soviet Union and that of the United States to the solution of international problems.

The determining line in the Soviet Union's foreign policy activities has always been and still is the struggle for peace and security of nations, for detente and curbing of the arms race. Leonid Brezhnev emphasized: "No task is more important today in the international field for our Party, our people, and indeed for all nations on our planet, than to safeguard peace."

It is only natural that the problem of maintaining peace and preventing war is given so high a priority. Man has made unprecedented progress in science, production and culture. On the other hand, however, the great powers have stockpiled weapons the use of which could result in incalculable disasters for mankind and irreparable damage to our civilization. The present situation, with a nuclear sword of Damocles hanging over the nations, is a direct consequence of the arms race which has already been going on for a long time.

The unswerving peaceful line of Soviet foreign policy was reaffirmed at the 26th CPSU Congress, which advanced a series of constructive proposals on the key issues of international life, such as limitation of strategic nuclear arms and medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe; cessation of all tests of nuclear weapons and discontinuation of their manufacture and reduction of stockpiles to the point of their complete liquidation; banning the development and manufacture of all new types of mass destruction weapons; lowering the level of military confrontation in Central Europe; confidence-building measures in the military field; reducing tensions and eliminating hot-beds of conflict over enormous territories, from Central Europe to the Far East, through the Middle East, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

All these proposals are motivated by one consideration—that of clearing up the international climate, deepening detente and removing the threat of war. While pressing for a radical improvement in the situation and advancing concrete initiatives, the Soviet Union presents no ultimatums. Its proposals are an invitation to a dialogue and negotiations which can and must cover any possible measures promoting solution of urgent international problems.

United States policy is going the other way. Instead of seeking agreement on the basis of equality and equal security it gives priority to achieving military superiority; instead of curbing the arms race, it talks about rearmament and development of new, still more powerful, mass destruction weapons. Ignoring the realities of the world we live in, the US ruling circles are going out of their way to change in their favor the relation of forces on the world scene. President Reagan admitted in a talk with out-of-town newspaper editors on October 17,

1981, that the US is setting the pace in the arms race and said that the Russians will not be able to catch up with the US.

In actual fact, Washington is doing all it can to kill detente. It has set its sights on achieving domination over other countries and nations, imposing its will on them, exploiting their territories economically and using them for its military-strategic purposes.

The Soviet Union and the United States take different views of the arms limitation treaties already concluded and the talks going on. In the 70s, a mechanism for talks on disarmament on a multilateral and bilateral basis was set up on the initiative of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, matched by a measure of realism on the part of the USA. Efforts to develop and improve this mechanism became an essential part of detente and had a favorable effect on the international situation; they resulted in agreements on the limitation of strategic arms and the prevention of nuclear war, some confidence-building measures in Europe, and in the elaboration of the principles of Soviet-American relations.

The Soviet Union's attitude to its international commitments is clearly formulated in the Constitution of the USSR. The Soviet Union has never violated the standards of international law or any treaties or agreements. It has always been a reliable partner in international affairs. "If we put our signature under a treaty," Leonid Brezhnev pointed out, "we mean that we are fully resolved to stick to its letter and spirit, strictly and entirely."

The USA takes a different approach to the treaties it signs. It has become a rule in Washington to flout the international community and generally accepted standards of interstate relations. In practice the present Administration has adopted the line of torpedoing previously signed disarmament agreements. US Secretary of State Alexander Haig said: "We are a little preoccupied with the 1972 understandings ... although they were agreed upon by both sides." The US has not ratified the 1979 Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, SALT-2 signed in 1979, which could be a major contribution to curbing the arms race. Washington has not raised a finger to set in motion the 1974 treaty on limiting underground nuclear weapons tests and the 1976 treaty on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes.

Attempts are being made to water down the agreements, already in force, despite their undoubted efficiency. This concerns the interim agreement on certain measures for limiting strategic offensive arms (SALT-1) and the treaty on the limitation of anti-ballistic missile systems. For example, chief presidential adviser Edwin Meese stated publicly: "We feel there is no legal or moral commitment to abide by SALT-1...." Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger has repeatedly said that, depending on the results in the development of anti-ballistic missile systems, the USA might demand the revision or even cancellation of the anti-missile systems treaty. "If," he emphasized, "we find at the conclusion of the study that there is a far more effective system that would require revisions in the treaty, I think it's fair to say we wouldn't hesitate to seek those revisions...." This is practically a threat to undermine one of the keystones of the whole strategic arms limitation process.

The resumption of negotiations on the limitation of strategic weapons is being delayed under all sorts of excuses. Initially, US Administration officials suggested resuming these talks in 1981, now they are talking about 1982. Neither is the US position made any clearer by statements that before the Americans sit down at the negotiating table they would have, no more no less, to complete the reappraisal of their attitude to the strategic arms limitation problem. In other words, the men in Washington are waiting for themselves, while thinking up questionable conditions such as linking the talks with the Soviet Union's foreign policy moves or renunciation of the

mutually acceptable principles of arms limitation already agreed by both sides. This is a way of veiling the unwillingness of certain quarters in the USA to get down to a businesslike discussion of strategic arms issues and their desire to gain time to complete their own large-scale military programs.

The US has played a negative role in the matter of nuclear arms limitation in Europe. It will be recalled that in the autumn of 1979 the Soviet Union suggested starting concrete talks on this issue. Although, after a considerable amount of procrastination by the US, the talks on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe have moved off the dead point, everything seems to indicate that the United States is interested more in pushing through its plans to deploy 572 new US nuclear missiles in Europe than in achieving a mutually acceptable formula meeting the interests of the European nations and satisfying the principle of equality and equal security. The reason is not hard to find: it lies in the US Administration's efforts to limit only the Soviet medium-range missiles, leaving the US forward-based nuclear weapons in place.

The stance taken by the USA and its allies has virtually deadlocked the talks on mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. The socialist countries are working hard to end the deadlock; they are ready to start reduction by 5, 10, 20 or, the other side willing, 50 per cent, provided this does not upset the existing balance of forces and give one side advantage over the other. Whereas the USSR has unilaterally withdrawn 20,000 troops, 1,000 tanks and some other military equipment from the GDR, the USA has in the past four years increased the number of its troops in Central Europe by 26,000 men. Juggling with figures at the Vienna talks, the US and other NATO countries would not hear of any compromise proposals. The general impression is that they have no interest in reducing the level of military confrontation in Europe.

The US is responsible for the breakdown of talks on such important aspects of the arms limitation problem as the prohibition of chemical weapons, a complete and general ban on nuclear weapons testing, limitation of military activities in the Indian Ocean, restrictions of sales and supplies of conventional weapons, and anti-satellite systems. The Reagan Administration shows no signs of interest in resuming these talks.

The Soviet Union came out with a new important initiative at the 36th session of the UN General Assembly—it proposed conclusion of a treaty banning the siting of all types of weapons in outer space. This initiative elicited no support from the USA.

The USSR has urged the international community to adopt a declaration "To Prevent a Nuclear Catastrophe", proclaiming that states or statesmen resorting first to nuclear weapons would be guilty of a grave crime against humanity, and that all doctrines permitting first use of nuclear weapons are incompatible with human moral and the lofty ideals proclaimed by the UN. This proposal was approved by a majority of the United Nations member countries.

Answering a question from a *Pravda* correspondent in October 1981, Leonid Brezhnev said: "Why should the United States not support the proposal made by the Soviet Union at the current UN General Assembly session concerning the non-use of nuclear weapons first? Clearly if there is no first nuclear strike, there would be no second or third nuclear strike. This would naturally make absurd all talk about the possibility or impossibility of victory in a nuclear war—the question of nuclear war would fall away altogether."

The Soviet proposal drew practically no response from the US and NATO leaders.

In May 1980, indeed, the Warsaw Treaty Organization had suggested that all nations participating in the European Conference sign a treaty on not using either nuclear or conventional weapons first. This approach, too, has been brushed aside by the West.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are firmly opposed to the world's division into opposite military blocs and are calling for the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. They have advanced the proposal not to extend the existing military-political groupings in Europe and on other continents, and to form no new ones, as is duly reflected in a resolution of the 35th session of the UN General Assembly. Defying the will of the world community, however, Washington has compelled its NATO allies to sign a protocol admitting Spain to the North Atlantic bloc. The United States intends to set up new military bases on the Iberian Peninsula and build up its military presence in Europe.

These facts are, in our view, enough to show everybody who champions peace and who is girding himself for war.

Ever since it came into existence the Soviet state has opposed interference in the affairs of sovereign states.

The United States, on the other hand, has elevated interference in the affairs of sovereign states and suppression of national liberation movements by all means at its disposal to the level of its official policy. In the history of the United States military force and violence have always played a dominant role. During the two centuries of its existence the United States has unleashed more than 200 wars and colonial campaigns. William Fulbright, a well-known American political figure, wrote that the Americans had created a society whose chief occupation was violence. The grim impression was created that the Americans took wars for granted. For many years they had been either waging a war or preparing to start a war in some part of the world. War and the military had become part and parcel of the American way of life, and violence was the most important product of America, he noted.

Here are a few figures to illustrate this appraisal.

According to the American Brookings Institution, between 1946 and 1975 the United States directly or indirectly used its armed forces and threatened other countries with military interference 215 times. In 19 instances Washington discussed in earnest the employment of nuclear weapons, the USSR being directly threatened four times. The United States has initiated or participated in most military conflicts since 1945. In these conflicts for which the imperialist forces were responsible, more than 10 million people lost their lives. According to the *US News & World Report*, between December 1945 and February 1972, exclusive of 1955, 1956 and 1959, American troops, aircraft and warships interfered in practically every part of the world—in Europe, Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America.

1954. Rebels trained by the CIA and supported by American aircraft invaded Guatemala and overthrew the democratic Arbenz government.

1958. 14,000 US Marines and ground troops supported by the whole US Sixth Fleet landed in the Lebanon and helped the reactionary government to suppress the popular action.

1961. Attempted intervention in Cuba aimed at overthrowing its revolutionary government.

1962-1972. Brutal US aggression against the peoples of Indochina, whose consequences make themselves felt even now. More than 600,000 servicemen supported by the air forces and combat ships participated.

1965. American Marines and airborne troops invaded the Dominican Republic, suppressed the people's uprising and brought a counter-revolutionary junta to power.

1973. Following the mutiny of the military engineered with CIA participation, a fascist coup was carried out in Chile.

The United States is continuing its gross interference in the affairs of sovereign states to this day. It is bent on suppressing at all costs the national

liberation movement in Latin American countries. It is instrumental in the slaughter of people in El Salvador, and is engaged in subversive activities against Nicaragua, Grenada and Guatemala's national liberation forces. Military provocations and continuous threats against Cuba have grown to dangerous proportions. Some other countries of this region which do not want to follow submissively in the wake of American policy have fallen victim to blackmail and threats.

The US is intensifying its aggressive ventures in Africa. Using South Africa as its tool the United States is determined to crush the SWAPO detachments, to take Namibia under its control, to destabilize the situation in Angola and Mozambique and strengthen its positions in this strategic region.

It devotes special attention to Egypt and Sudan, considering them as starting grounds for penetration into the Middle East and Africa.

The USA is continuing to arm Israel and is seeking to station its troops in the Sinai, which may complicate even more the explosive situation in this region. Taking advantage of the situation in Egypt, the United States is making all haste to increase its military presence there.

Large naval forces are massed in the Eastern Mediterranean, the US Sixth Fleet and the US-based rapid deployment force have been alerted.

The USA has involved Pakistan in the undeclared war against Afghanistan and is using it as its stronghold in pursuing its hegemonistic aims in the Middle East and Persian Gulf area. It is increasing its aid to its puppets in South Korea, stepping up its interference in Iran, and supporting the Pol Pot bands in Kampuchea and the separatists in North-Eastern India.

No matter in what part of the planet the so-called "flashpoints" may arise, the US aggressive forces will not fail to appear there.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, prompted by its desire to ease tensions in international relations and ensure that they follow the road of detente and cooperation, to curb the arms race and lessen the danger of a nuclear war, is countering the militarist efforts of Western reactionary circles with a balanced, restrained and confident approach to the solution of international problems by negotiation and by search of mutually acceptable agreements. This policy is not prompted by considerations of momentary advantage. It is a built-in feature of socialism, which is fundamentally opposed to any policy of expansion and recourse to war or the threat of force as an instrument of foreign policy, of interference in the affairs of other nations, and of imposing one's will on them.

Conclusion

The reader has been given an opportunity to acquaint himself with the facts, including comparative data, which give an objective picture of the present world balance of military strength, and of its components. He has been informed of the magnitude of the US military potential, which the ruling circles in Washington, to judge by their deeds (rather than statements), would like to place at the disposal of the Moloch of war.

Anyone who looks at these facts impartially will see that for more than three decades the United States has been building up its war machine and initiating successive arms race spirals for anything but defensive purposes. Neither can the cause of peace benefit from the man-hating concepts of a nuclear first strike or "limited" nuclear war in Europe, from the bid to turn whole continents into a firing range for nuclear "demonstration" and "warning" shots. The peoples of Europe endured a harrowing ordeal during World War II, and it is not surprising that they consider criminal the very thought of another war, let alone a nuclear war.

Peace "from a position of strength" is what the men in Washington would like to have. These days, they are not concerned about the equality and equal security of the sides, and are bent on developing new, increasingly more destructive weapons of mass annihilation, on securing military superiority over the Soviet Union, and establishing hegemony and direct domination over other countries and nations.

It has been universally acknowledged that the Soviet Union and the United States, like the countries of Europe belonging to the opposite military alliances, are at a point of relative equilibrium in military capability, and this is confirmed by the aggregate of facts and figures on the armaments and armed forces of the two sides. This equilibrium is objectively a factor stabilizing the international situation and was, indeed, the starting point in the relaxation of tensions.

It is more than obvious that in the present conditions no one will succeed in upsetting the existing military-strategic equilibrium and winning superiority. And those who nurse any such plan are clearly exaggerating their own capacity and overlooking the capacity of the other side, which will not remain passive in face of war preparations aimed against it.

Any attempt at upsetting the equilibrium will lead to a new round of the arms race, to an aggravation of the danger of war. Whether or not the road to any increase of this danger is blocked—that is the chief problem that directly concerns each and everyone, and over which a struggle is under way today on a world scale.

The Soviet approach to this problem meets the vital interests of all peoples of the world. It means not military confrontation between states but common security. The orientation of the USSR on good-neighbourly relations and detente is not prompted by considerations of momentary advantage but by its consis-

tent and unshakable will for peace. The USSR is not going to attack anybody and does not aim to be stronger than others. There is no weapon which it would regret discarding, provided, of course, this is done on a reciprocal basis. The Soviet Union is prepared to confirm this with actions, that is, to translate it into the language of concrete obligations in Geneva, Vienna or elsewhere.

The new initiatives relating to nuclear weapons in Europe advanced by Leonid Brezhnev, head of the Soviet state, during his visit to the FRG in November 1981 are further evidence of a deep sense of responsibility for the destinies of humankind. The Soviet Union advocates a radical reduction of medium-range nuclear weapons and complete renunciation by the two sides—West and East—of all types of these weapons. And in general what it wants is to see Europe free at last from nuclear weapons.

Leonid Brezhnev gave a straightforward answer to the United States proposals in President Reagan's speech of November 18, 1981.

These proposals completely disregard the principles of equality and equal security of the sides and call for unilateral disarmament of the Soviet Union, dismantling of all Soviet medium-range missiles, while hundreds of land-based and sea-based missiles, nuclear-armed aircraft of the USA and its European allies are aimed at the USSR and the other Warsaw Treaty countries.

We in the Soviet Union would like to hope that those who formulate US policy take a more realistic approach. Unrestrained intimidation of peoples with the spurious "Soviet military threat" is no longer effective. People in the West will be able to see for themselves where the threat to peace really comes from.

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