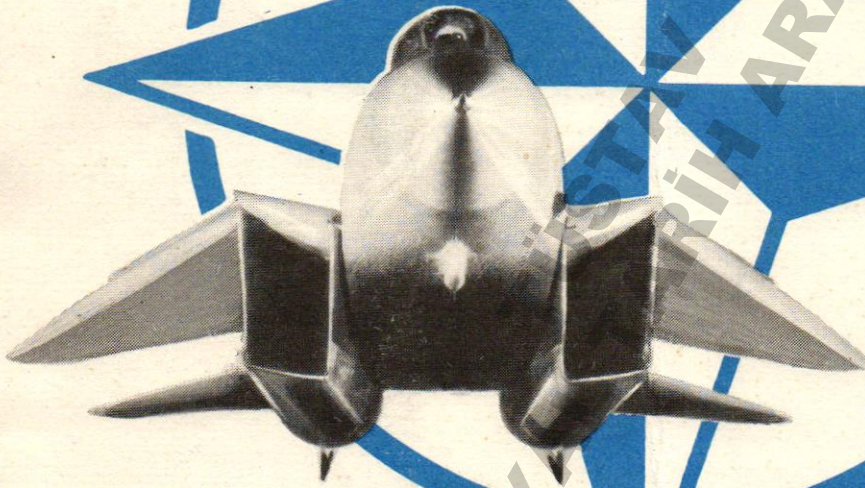




NEW
TIMES

NATO



INSTRUMENT OF AGGRESSION

A SURVEY

"NATO: Instrument of Aggression." Capsuled into the four brief words of the title of this supplement to our magazine is the whole nature of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, now nearly 35 years old.

In the postwar years the United States has been the chief architect of the policy of imperialist military blocs against the socialist world, and above all the Soviet Union. One after another bloc and pact has been formed under the aegis of Washington, which aspires to this day to world domination. In this sinister system NATO has been and remains the kingpin. It is the foremost embodiment of the imperialist policy of, as Lenin put it, "jointly strangling socialism." Lenin warned that the capitalist states might combine in military coalitions to combat the world revolutionary process. The record has borne this out.

The capitalist powers' biggest "mailed fist," NATO is the principal instrument of U.S. global strategy, one designed to recast the world to the Washington specification. And it is in NATO that we observe a new feature — a standing military organization.

Never for a moment does this aggressive bloc pause in the build-up of its military muscle. And that is another manifestation of the deepening general crisis of capitalism, of the weakening of its position on the world scene. It is on the warpath of the crusade against socialism that the NATO chiefs seek a way of escape from the crisis and solutions to the problems bedeviling the capitalist world.

Today NATO is also the main weapon of the capitalist class in its efforts to maintain its rule and suppress the revolutionary working-class movement and all the democratic forces in the world. Among the evidences of it is the bloc's drive to extend its sphere of operation, reaching out to more and more new areas.

Over the years NATO strategy has undergone modifications, new conceptions and doctrines have been adopted, but the basic aim has remained the same: to "contain," "roll back" and destroy socialism and halt decolonization and social renewal of the world. NATO poses menace not only to the socialist countries. It is a menace to all the world's peoples. On more than one occasion it has brought the planet to the brink of the nuclear abyss.

But the purposes of this aggressive bloc are not destined to be realized. The earnest of it is the growing defence capability of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community. The consistent and principled policy of the socialist countries protects mankind against the criminal maniacs who would gamble with its very existence. To NATO's military adventurism the Warsaw Treaty countries oppose a policy of peaceful coexistence and general and complete disarmament.

In this supplement to New Times the reader will find an account of the creation of NATO, its relations with the Warsaw Treaty states, and the evolution of its nuclear and other doctrines; also material showing who is out to upset the existing military parity, and an outline of the proposals made by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to prevent a further drift towards war.

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In compiling this supplement the following Soviet pamphlets and other materials were used: "Whence the Threat to Peace," Military Publishers, Moscow, 1982; "How to Avert the Threat to Europe," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1983; "Militarism," Political Publishers, Moscow, 1983; "Imperialist Policy of Bloc-Building," Military Publishers, Moscow, 1980; "Imperialist Military-Political Alliances," by Boris Khalosha, Nauka (Science) Publishers, Moscow, 1982, and Foreign Military Review; as well as magazines NBI, Horizont (G.D.R.); Stern, Spiegel (West Germany); U.S. News and World Report, Newsweek, Time, Business Week (U.S.A.); Economist (Britain); Express, Nouvel Observateur (France); Panorama (Italy), and newspapers Neues Deutschland (G.D.R.); Sunday Times (Britain); Norrskensflamman, Dagens Nyheter (Sweden); Die Welt (West Germany); International Herald Tribune and NATO Review.

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MYTHS AND THE FACTS

The North Atlantic bloc came into being on April 4, 1949. The treaty on its establishment says that it was "set up for collective defence, for the preservation of peace and security," for the purpose of saving mankind from the "Soviet threat."

This myth, which is as old as our state, was needed once again to conceal the West's true, aggressive aims. The Western politicians knew very well that the Soviet Union had no intention of attacking anybody. At the time of NATO's establishment, John Foster Dulles, then a Senator and later U.S. Secretary of State, declared: "The information given me, publicly and privately, by our own government and by heads and leaders of European governments, does not indicate that the Soviet Union now contemplates large-scale military aggression in Europe."

Nevertheless, the Western members of the anti-Hitler coalition renounced the policy of maintaining friendly relations with the U.S.S.R. Why? World War II had wrought a substantial change in the alignment of forces in the world. The Soviet Union's prestige and influence had grown. A community of socialist countries had come into being. The colonial system had begun to crumble. At the same time Germany, one of the mainstays of the capitalist camp, had been vanquished. War had exhausted Britain and France. The United States was the only major power whose economy had not suffered and had in fact become considerably stronger in the war years. Besides, Washington held the monopoly on atomic weapons. The atom bomb, U.S. General Maxwell D. Taylor wrote, encouraged the belief that "an ultimate weapon was in the hands of our Air Force which would allow the United States to impose a sort of Pax Americana on the world."

This is how a former adviser of the President Franklin D. Roosevelt commented on the political course

of his successor, Harry Truman: "As soon as he stopped being commander-in-chief in a hot war against Germany and Japan, he became commander-in-chief in a cold war against Russia."

Anti-Communist "Fraternity"

While the American President was the commander-in-chief of the cold war, Winston Churchill was its godfather. In his notorious Fulton speech of March 5, 1946, he called for struggle against the Russians. To this end Churchill proposed to create a "fraternal association" of the English-speaking nations.

The Marshall Plan, so called after the U.S. Secretary of State who declared in June 1947 Washington's readiness to help rebuild the European economy, became an important milestone on the road of creating the anti-communist "fraternity." American aid was not really disinterested. Its military objective was revealed by President Truman himself who admitted: "Our programme of economic aid to Europe must ... be directed to support of the European military build-up, rather than to promoting further general economic expansion."

The propaganda outcry about the "threat from the East," the economic difficulties, the growing influence of the Left-wing forces in France, Italy and other countries rallied the West European capitalist leaders under the banner of anti-communism. On March 17, 1948, Britain, France, Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg signed the Brussels Treaty on the establishment of the Western Union. But a multitude of barriers appeared on the way of this union's conversion into a military bloc... "No nation was willing to make any sacrifice of sovereignty for the common good," wrote British Field Marshal Montgomery, who became Chairman of the Comman-

ders-in-Chief Committee of the Union.

Irritated by the sluggishness of the West Europeans, the United States decided to take the establishment of the anti-communist alliance into its own hands. Memorandum No. 7, adopted by the National Security Council in March 1948, said that the rout of the forces of world communism, headed by the Soviets, was of vital importance for the security of the United States. This aim, it went on, could not be achieved by means of a defensive policy. For this reason, it said further, the United States should take upon itself the leading role in organizing a worldwide counteroffensive with the aim of mobilizing and strengthening U.S. forces and the anti-communist forces of the non-Soviet world, and also of undermining the might of the communist forces.

On April 4, 1949, the U.S. Secretary of State, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Canada, the member countries of the Western Union and also Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Portugal and Italy signed the North Atlantic Treaty in Washington. The New York Daily News wrote that in concluding the treaty the West had created a military alliance whose aim was war with Soviet Russia.

Washington has played first fiddle in this alliance from the very outset. It is watching sharply that the allies keep in step. Punishment awaits the "offender." Back in 1950 the NATO countries signed a secret agreement known as OPLAN 100-1 (operations plan 100-1). Under this agreement they assumed the commitment not to stop short of using arms in the event of action against

the existing order in their countries. "Contingency" provisions were made for the employment of the senior partner's troops to suppress movements allegedly threatening the strategic interests of the United States.

Document No. 70/5 was drawn up by NATO headquarters and, as was noted by the Milan weekly ABC which revealed its contents, provided for the introduction of NATO troops into Northern Italy in the event of "political instability in that country." Such plans do not exist only on paper. It is enough to recall the events in Greece in 1967, in Portugal in 1974, and the threat to take measures in Italy in 1976 if Communists were included in the government.

The prophecy of John Foster Dulles, one of NATO's founders, has come true. He said that the North Atlantic bloc to a greater extent was closer to becoming an effective police force of the international community than any other organization.

Nuclear Poker

Historians have noted an interesting detail: when playing poker with Truman Churchill never raised the stakes to more than 25 cents. In politics, however, he was prepared to gamble recklessly. In 1948 Churchill suggested to the U.S.A. to start an atomic war against the U.S.S.R. if Moscow refused to withdraw from Berlin and the eastern part of Germany. At that time Washington declined this proposal on account of its "practical shortcomings." Neither did the U.S.A. carry out a whole number of its own plans of launching atomic attacks against the Soviet Union—"Charioter," "Cogwheel," "Gunpowder" and "Fleetwood." One of them, "Dropshot," was drawn up in 1949, after the inception of NATO, and provided for the participation of

all member countries of the bloc in the nuclear war. The Soviet Union was initially to be attacked with some 300 atomic bombs. After that 250 divisions of the U.S. and its allies were to invade East European countries and the U.S.S.R. The concluding stage of the plan provided for



A U.S. Marine during NATO exercises on the Danish island of Bornholm.

NATO Council meeting in Bonn, 1982, which proclaimed the "absolute necessity" of a further arms build-up. The June 1983 meeting took new peace-endangering decisions.



the occupation of the enemy's territory by 37 divisions.

Why didn't the United States cross the nuclear threshold then and capitalize on its monopoly possession of weapons of mass destruction? Many NATO historians view this as graphic evidence of Washington's peaceful intentions and humaneness. But why did these qualities not prevent the U.S. Administration from destroying Hiroshima and Nagasaki, why did they not stop it from spilling blood in Korea, Vietnam and many other parts of the world?

One of the reasons for this is revealed in the NSC-68 Memorandum of 1950. A surprise attack on the Soviet Union would have an adverse impact on many Americans, it was noted in this document. People in other countries, especially in Western Europe, would have reacted similarly, the more so after the occupation of the U.S.S.R., the Memorandum said. But the second reason was that prior to September

1949, i.e., when the U.S.S.R. had created its own nuclear arms, Washington had only a limited number of nuclear bombs and means of delivering them. According to American data, by the end of 1948 the Pentagon's arsenals contained some 100-150 of them. Estimates made by the Washington strategists showed that this amount was not enough. But the main thing was that, although these strategists were aggressive-minded, they were aware that attacking the Soviet Union was fraught with risk.

So the United States and its partners started building up their forces. The "sword and shield" conception, approved by the third session of the NATO Council in January 1950, formed the backbone of the North Atlantic bloc's military policy. American atomic weapons and bombers were to play the role of the "sword." The task of creating the "shield," i.e., conventional armed forces, was entrusted chiefly to the West European countries.

The Americans proposed that the NATO "shield" should have a West German carcass. At first the West European members of the bloc fiercely resisted this idea because memories of the atrocities committed by Hitler Wehrmacht were still very much alive. But the U.S. imposed its will on the West Europeans and on May 8, 1955, the F.R.G. became the 15th member of the North Atlantic Treaty (earlier, in 1952, membership was granted to Turkey and Greece).

As a result of the expansion of the bloc and intensive military preparations NATO already had more than 50 divisions at its disposal by early 1955, as against 12 in 1949. The bloc's military spending trebled in the first five years of its existence.

After liquidating the atomic monopoly of the United States, the Soviet Union proposed an agreement on the prohibition of the use of these weapons of mass annihilation. What was Washington's response? In January 1950 President Truman instructed the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission "to continue its work on all forms of atomic weapons, including the so-called hydrogen or super-bomb." In November 1952 the United States exploded a thermonuclear device. In response to this new threat to its security the Soviet Union tested its own thermonuclear bomb in August 1953. On announcing this explosion the Soviet government stated its readiness substantially to reduce armaments and to reach agreement on the prohibition of atomic and other types of weapons of mass destruction.

NATO TODAY

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization has 16 members: the U.S.A., Britain, France, Italy, Canada, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Norway, Portugal, Iceland, Turkey, Greece, the F.R.G. and Spain. (France left the bloc's military organization in 1966, while Spain "froze" its accession to NATO's military bodies in 1983.)

The total area of the bloc's member countries comes to about 22.3 million square kilometres and the aggregate population is upwards of 620 million.

According to data of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, the bloc's armed forces number 5.5 million effectives, and over 9.5 million with reservists. In Europe the NATO ground forces number over 2 million men.

The bloc's armed forces have more than 1,000 ICBMs, 440 launchers of theatre and tactical missiles, more than 20,000 tanks, 8,000 combat planes (including more than 2,000 nuclear-capable ones) and about 2,000 warships.

In the years of NATO's existence its military spending has increased 13 times over to more than \$3 trillion.

NATO's share in the total military spending of the capitalist world exceeds 60 per cent, while the average share of military spending in the budgets of NATO countries is about 21 per cent.

Per capita military spending in NATO countries now amounts to about \$450 a year.

Washington's response was to build up its strategic aviation. By the mid-1950s the United States created the basis of its present network of bases on the territory of its NATO partners and other countries located not far from the frontiers of the U.S.S.R. and its allies. The idea was that the combination of the bases with strategic delivery vehicles, which the U.S.S.R. did not have at that time, would give Washington an absolute superiority over Moscow. There was also another important task which the U.S. hoped to solve by setting up its forward-based forces. Admiral Sherman, the U.S. Chief of Naval Operations, frankly declared in 1951 that carrying the war as far away as possible from the U.S. was a basic concept of American strategy. American experts held that the distance and the ocean separating Europe, where the bulk of the Pentagon's nuclear armada was deployed, from the American continent would ensure the strategic invulnerability of the United States. That very same invulnerability thanks to which the United States had only six civilian casualties in World War II.

But Washington miscalculated once again. Already in 1955 American specialists saw with their own eyes the first Soviet strategic bombers at a military parade in Moscow. They were staggered even more by what took place on October 4, 1957. The successful launching of

the first Soviet earth satellite spelled the appearance of intercontinental ballistic missiles which finally put an end to the geographic invulnerability of the United States. Whereas in the past, when planning nuclear wars, the American strategists proceeded from the possibility of limited retribution at the hands of the potential adversary, now the situation has changed totally.

Crash Missile Build-Up

Common sense, it seemed, said it was time to stop. But Washington and its NATO partners stepped up the arms race. Whereas in 1956 the United States had 68 B-52 strategic bombers, in 1959 they already had 500. The nuclear missile programme was being carried out at a fast pace. In 1960 the United States launched the world's first missile-firing submarine. In November 1961 U.S. Defence Secretary Robert McNamara said to President Kennedy that American nuclear might was several times greater than that of the Soviet Union. In 1962 McNamara admitted that "in manpower alone, NATO has more men under arms than the Soviet Union and its European satellites." These two statements demonstrated once again to the whole world that the "Soviet threat" was only a pretext for keeping the arms race going.

The military flywheel of the

North Atlantic bloc continued to pick up speed. In the first half of the 1960s the United States and Britain advanced several extremely dangerous plans of turning NATO into a "fourth nuclear power." (At

with a megaton warhead. NATO's experimental "atomic ark," the missile destroyer Claude V. Ricketts, set sail in January 1965. Then there was talk of missile submarines to be built in the United States with

NATO's military organization in 1966. Explaining this step President Charles de Gaulle remarked: "The question on the whole is to restore normal sovereignty over everything that is really French, i.e., land, sky, sea and armed forces." (It should be noted that pro-Atlantic accents are becoming increasingly pronounced in the foreign policy pursued by Paris. At the conference of the seven leading capitalist countries in Williamsburg in May of this year France fully supported its military-political decisions. This June a NATO Council session was held in the French capital for the first time since 1966.)

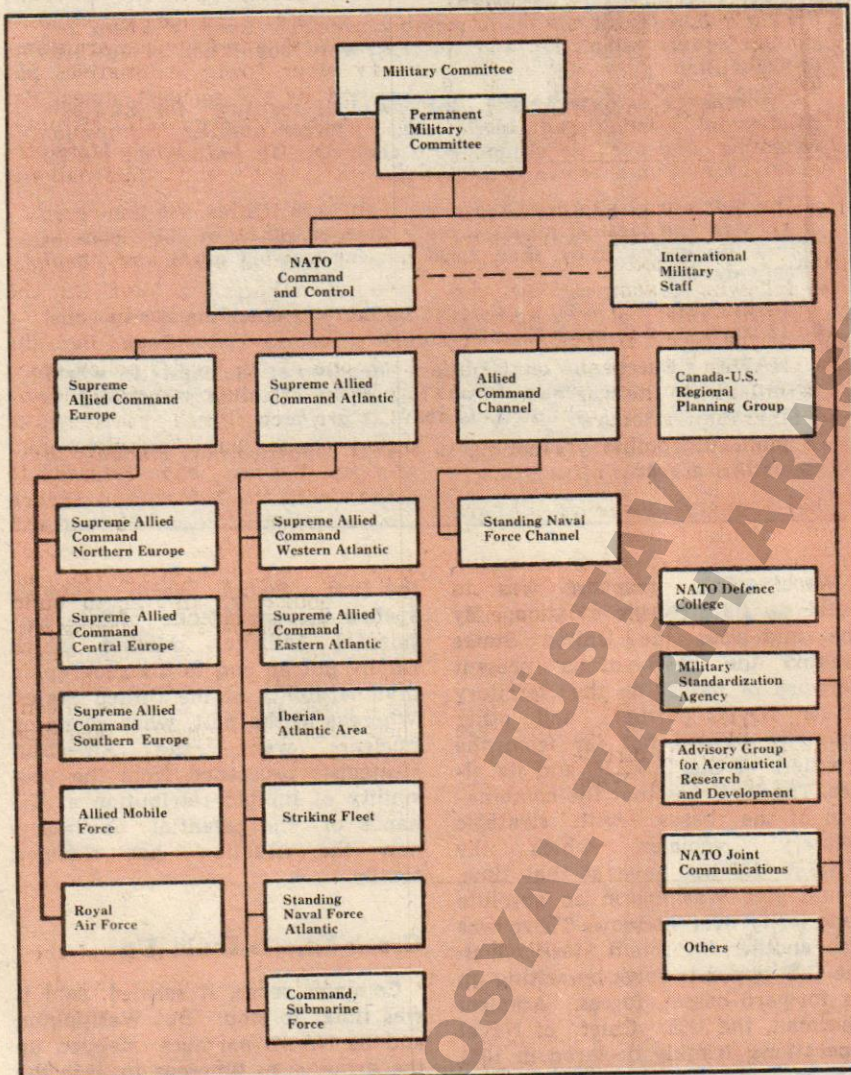
But let us return to the late 1950s and early 1960s. The U.S. engaged in a crash missile build-up in the hope of attaining "absolute" strategic superiority. On becoming President in 1961 John F. Kennedy, a Democrat, inherited from his Republican predecessor not only a fleet of strategic bombers but also 12 Atlas intercontinental ballistic missiles and two nuclear submarines. When vacating the White House in 1969 the Democrats left the Republicans 1,000 ICBMs and 41 nuclear submarines. Their aim, however, was not attained.

In April 1969 President Richard Nixon officially admitted that nuclear parity existed between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.

Peaceableness, NATO-Style

Military parity could not but leave its imprint on the policy of the United States and its partners. In 1967 the NATO Council approved the Harmel Plan, the first NATO document which said that military security and the policy of détente did not contradict each other. Since the Soviet Union had always favoured peaceful coexistence, the new elements in the position of Washington and its allies brought about the conclusion of a number of peace agreements. The F.R.G. recognized the postwar frontiers by concluding treaties with the U.S.S.R., Poland and Czechoslovakia. The treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the treaty on the limitation of strategic arms—SALT-1—and other documents were signed. The European Conference on Security and Co-operation was held in 1975. But the greater the assets of détente became, the louder its opponents in NATO grew. For instance, General Walter Walker, then NATO Commander in Northern Europe,

NATO'S MILITARY STRUCTURE



that time Britain already had nuclear arms too.) The main danger of these plans was that they envisaged giving the F.R.G. access to the nuclear button. That country's leaders of those days did not conceal their revanchist ambitions and refused to recognize the postwar borders. West German Foreign Minister Dr Heinrich von Brentano stressed, for instance, in a government statement in 1957: "The German people cannot recognize the Oder-Neisse line either as the present or the future border of Germany." Bonn also claimed the "right to sole representation of the whole of Germany."

Initially it was planned to create a surface fleet of 25 ships, each armed with eight Polaris missiles

money provided by all the allies. And then again the theme of surface ships cropped up. But one element was invariably present in all these plans: extensive participation of West German seamen in the multinational crews and a certain degree of control over nuclear arms by the F.R.G.

As a result of Soviet warnings about the serious consequences of such a step and the negative stand of France, Italy and several NATO countries this question was taken off the Atlantic agenda in the latter half of the 1960s.

But Washington's openly dictatorial stance and the gradual change in the international climate prompted France to withdraw from



The aggressive alliance is relentlessly stockpiling armaments.

stated that a firm "No" should be said to the tendency of mutual balanced reduction of armed forces (MBFR). He added that the MBFR was empty talk and a "foolish deal." His chief, General A. Goodpaster, former NATO Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, concluded his demands for further military preparations with the following words: "I consider the right question is not how long it has been since World War II, it is how long it is before World War III."

An agreement on the annual increase of actual military spending by 3 per cent was reached at the May 1978 session of the NATO

Council. The session adopted a programme of military preparations spanning a period of 10-15 years. The following example illustrates the present rates of "modernization" of the bloc's armed forces. In 1983 the West European countries alone will add to their arsenals 1,000 new tanks and armoured vehicles, more than 300 combat planes, 30 surface ships and two submarines.

The military spending of the North Atlantic bloc exceeded \$300 billion in 1982. But just as three and a half decades ago the NATO leaders continue to justify their huge spending on the arms race by waving the mythical "Soviet threat" bogey.

Facts show that NATO continues to give preference to the arms race and rejects efforts directed at curbing this race. Thus, Washington has

refused to ratify the SALT-2 Treaty, has "frozen" some talks and openly sabotages the negotiations in progress. NATO remains deaf to the Warsaw Treaty countries' proposal to conclude a treaty on the mutual renunciation of the use of armed force and on the maintenance of relations of peace between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries. It rejects the idea of prohibiting the first use of nuclear arms and many other peace initiatives put forward by the socialist states. Yet the NATO leaders have the effrontery to say that the bloc's foremost aim is peace and international security!

Professions of peace were again to be heard at the NATO Council meeting in Paris this June. But the NATO "peaceableness" is just a myth, just a camouflage for the backbone of the bloc's policy—confrontation. In their communiqué the ministers confirmed readiness to deploy cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Europe, and refused to reckon with the British and French nuclear potential in the overall balance of forces at the Soviet-American talks in Geneva. They assumed obligations further to build up military preparations, laying emphasis on the latest technology. They also gave the NATO countries the a priori right to interfere in conflicts outside the sphere of operation of the North Atlantic Treaty.

THE EUROGROUP

The Eurogroup, a new element within NATO that is not formally included in the bloc's official structures, appeared in 1968. It consists of Belgium, Denmark, the F.R.G., Greece, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, Turkey, Britain, and Portugal.

This special "European nucleus" of NATO was formed with the aim of securing a solution of current military problems to suit West European governments and above all to co-ordinate joint plans of armament and rearmament.

It has been officially proclaimed that the Eurogroup is called upon to increase the contribution of the West European states to the alliance's military programmes, in other words, to take a bigger part in the militaristic preparations of the United States. Initially, the Eurogroup really did lay much emphasis on "financial participation" in NATO's military programmes.

But with the passage of years, the members of the Eurogroup began laying increasing stress on the development of their own programmes. As a result there came into being a mechanism of military co-operation of eleven West European states. In 1972 the Eurogroup reached agreement on the principles of co-operation in research, development, production and purchase of military equipment and on the standardization of armaments.

The Eurogroup's share in financing NATO's militaristic preparations in Europe is growing constantly. Today the Eurogroup's military outlays amount to more than 30 per cent of NATO's total. The group's arsenals have also grown considerably.

The Eurogroup's activities today are wholly in line with the policy of Washington, which is out to make its European allies shoulder the burden of the arms race and draw them into the bloc's practical military preparations.

Lev SEMEIKO, M. Sc.

NUCLEAR SCENARIO

Nuclear strategy, the core of the NATO military doctrine, has undergone substantial modifications over the past three-odd decades. Its three basic tenets, however, remained the same: 1) the "Soviet military threat" exists (a pretext for the continued build-up of nuclear arsenals); 2) the NATO nuclear potential is designed merely to "contain" possible "aggression" (an attempt to conceal its true, aggressive, purpose); 3) the security of the NATO countries cannot be ensured unless the aggregate nuclear potential of the Atlantic allies is superior to that of the Warsaw Treaty countries, with the United States supplying the bulk of the nuclear arms and not shunning the prospect of being the first to use them.

"Massive Retaliation"

The Atlantic bloc began to build its "triad"—conventional armaments, theatre nuclear weapons and strategic forces in the early 1950s. The emphasis was placed on a surprise attack with U.S. strategic nuclear arms in accordance with U.S. "massive retaliation" strategy which, among other things, proclaimed the readiness of the United States to use nuclear weapons in any part of the world allegedly to "defend the West," but actually to achieve its own foreign policy objectives.

This period also saw the birth of a concept providing for the employment of tactical nuclear weapons in the theatre of operations. In 1952 Britain also acquired nuclear weapons of its own. In 1953 the United States started deploying tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, thus creating a fundamentally new strategic situation in the continent. The Carte Blanche Exercise NATO held in 1955 showed that even at that stage nuclear war would have spelled disaster for the European nations. Nevertheless, at the end of that decade the United States began to deploy over 100 medium-range missiles in

Europe, a move that placed the security of the Soviet Union in still greater jeopardy. When France developed its own nuclear arms in 1960 there came into being an intra-NATO "triple alliance." NATO was thus the first to hinge its military doctrine on nuclear weapons.

It was only logical of the Soviet Union taking defence counter-measures. In 1949 it put an end to U.S. monopoly in nuclear arms, and in the mid-1950s set about deploying its strategic air force capable of reaching targets on American territory and then its intercontinental nuclear missile, all of which made U.S. invulnerability a thing of the past. Under the circumstances, the U.S. leaders no longer considered the "massive retaliation" strategy satisfactory since its realization was bound to lead to the destruction of the United States as a result of a Soviet retaliatory nuclear strike. The establishment of a Soviet nuclear counterweight in Europe was another factor that caused a revision of NATO nuclear strategy.

"Flexible Response"

The "flexible response" strategy adopted in the beginning of the 1960s owed its origin to the new military and political situation in the world and envisaged several variants of fighting the war: with conventional weapons at the start and subsequently, along with the escalation of the conflict, with tactical and then strategic nuclear weapons. The new strategy, though assigning a bigger role to conventional arms, was still based mainly on nuclear weapons. The United States' allies did not accept it until 1967 because they feared that it would hesitate to use strategic nuclear weapons when itself faced with the threat of annihilation and that nuclear war confined to Europe might prove powerless to contain "Soviet aggression." It took Washington quite some time to persuade its allies of the reliability

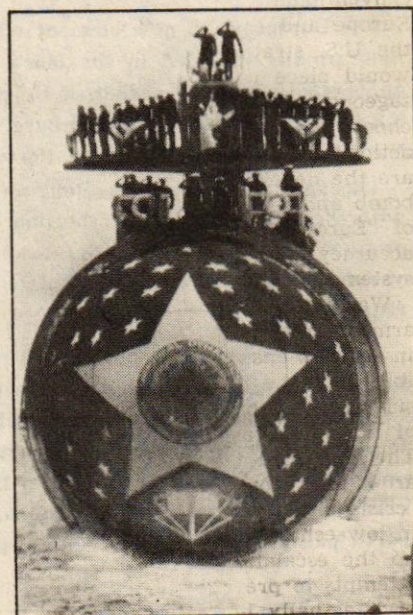
NATO: INSTRUMENT OF AGGRESSION

ty of its nuclear guarantees and of its readiness to "sacrifice New York for the sake of Hamburg." In return for its "nuclear umbrella," the United States demanded of its European allies to accelerate the build-up of their conventional arms, and recognize the U.S. leading role in NATO, primarily in nuclear planning.

In the 1960s the United States continued to enhance its nuclear potential in Europe—by 50 per cent in the first three years of the decade and to 7,200 warheads by 1968. The figure mentioned by an authoritative Congressman for 1972 was already 10,000 warheads (about one third of them intended for American troops and the rest for the allies). Modernization of delivery vehicles, including those capable of reaching Soviet territory, never stopped. In the 1970s forward-based nuclear forces alone were powerful enough to destroy up to 20 per cent of the Soviet population and industry. Yet the build-up of the combined nuclear arsenal of the NATO countries is proceeding apace, the U.S. strategic arsenal included. The objective is clear: to achieve superiority in all types of nuclear weapons—tactical, "Eurostrategic" (medium-range) and strategic.

The "flexible response" doctrine presupposes first use of nuclear weapons by the NATO countries. Washington's European allies have always held that they should be put into action at an early stage, in the first days of the conflict (low nuclear threshold), believing that in

The U.S. atomic submarine Ohio carries 24 Trident 1 missiles.



this case NATO's nuclear potential would bring the maximum dividends, both militarily and politically. In the 1960s the United States favoured the "nuclear pause" (one month long) variant, hoping to keep its own territory safe as long as possible from Soviet retaliatory nuclear strikes that would inevitably come the moment the conflict entered its nuclear stage. In 1970 and later an accord reached within NATO provided for a lower nuclear threshold with the view to ensuring, in conditions of strategic parity, a "realistic deterrence" of the Soviet Union with a threat of the earliest possible nuclear strike. Staking on a "limited nuclear war," the United States wanted to confine the nuclear conflict to Europe and to terminate it on favourable terms without recourse to an unlimited exchange of nuclear fire. This approach, which the United States veils in assurances to honour its nuclear commitments, is still causing apprehension among some of its European allies. The NATO Command believes that the vague reference to the timing of the bloc's nuclear strike is a positive factor, complicating things for the Soviet armed forces.

New Accents

Further elaboration of the "flexible response" strategy to increase the effectiveness of the NATO military potential proceeded with due account of the military-strategic parity between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries and between the Soviet Union and the United States. The emphasis was on the acceleration of the build-up of both conventional and nuclear arms in Europe and on the speeding up of the U.S. strategic programmes that would place the bloc in an advantageous position, enabling it to choose the manner and time of "reaction." Noteworthy in this respect are the development of the neutron bomb and plans for the deployment of "Euromissiles," and of the high-accuracy (counterforce) strategic systems.

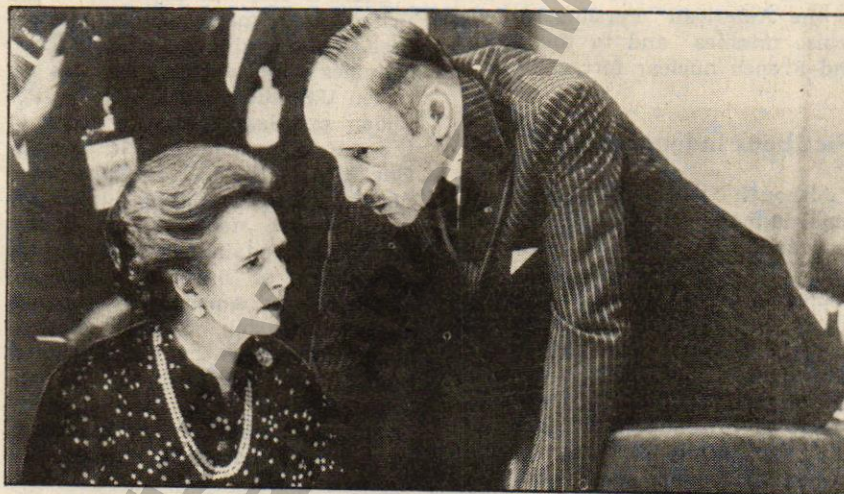
Washington's decision to equip its armed forces with neutron weapons in order to ensure still greater "flexibility of the deterrence" has considerably heightened the probability of nuclear catastrophe in Europe. The projected transfer of neutron arms to Europe in the event of a "crisis situation" and placing them in low-echelon units may only speed up the escalation of the conflict if attempts to prevent it fail. "Flexibility" actually becomes its very op-

posite, to say nothing of the extremely inhuman character of the neutron bomb as a means of mass annihilation. The deployment of mini-nukes with their smaller yield and higher accuracy will have the same results. The potential battle zone oversaturated with nuclear weapons may become the spark that will start a world nuclear conflagration.

By approving the Schlesinger doctrine of "limited strategic nuclear war" (advanced in 1973 by the then U.S. Defence Secretary and named after him), a war which

New accents also appeared as regards the scope of the nuclear strikes—from shows of strength over unpopulated areas to an all-out protracted nuclear war. What emerges is a single NATO nuclear strategy which has been elaborated by the Pentagon as envisaged by the "flexible response" strategy and is to be put into practice in the event of a "Soviet invasion."

A recent emphasis in this strategy is on a massive first strike to the entire depth of the Warsaw Treaty formations in the European theatre.



Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and NATO Secretary-General Joseph Luns are in perfect sympathy.

Washington expects to win by destroying Soviet strategic targets in a first nuclear strike, its European allies also approve the use of "Euro-strategic" weapons for the purpose.

Washington's plans for the deployment of MX, Trident and long-range cruise missiles, as well as its orbital anti-ballistic missile systems, are aimed at acquiring the capacity for a first neutralizing strike.

The projected deployment in Europe of some 600 new American nuclear missiles capable of hitting strategic targets deep in the European part of the U.S.S.R. is fraught with great danger. These missiles are to perform the functions which after World War II were assigned to the U.S. strategic forces alone. In this way NATO "Eurostrategy" is being extended far beyond the "theatre of operations," strictly limited in the past, and is made to serve U.S. global nuclear strategy. The same aims underlie Britain's intention to arm its submarines with long-range and high-accuracy Trident 2 missiles. All this goes to show that NATO is more and more openly preparing for a nuclear war, the amount of nuclear arms put into action determined by a single purpose: to ensure its victory at every stage of the conflict.

This concept, known as the Air-Land Battle, has been proposed by the NATO Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, American General Bernard Rogers,* and accepted by NATO Defence Ministers, the argument in favour being that henceforth only pre-emptive use of the combined power of nuclear, chemical and conventional arms against the Warsaw Treaty troops can ensure the maximum effectiveness of the "flexible response."

This is in effect a new approach in which the "flexible response" is seen as one involving the use of all arms of the U.S. and NATO services. According to high-ranking officers in the U.S. Training and Doctrine Command, the new accents became necessary because earlier concepts allegedly laid too much stress on defence and did not provide for a sufficiently well combined use of nuclear, chemical and conventional weapons.

The offensive character of the NATO doctrine is now proclaimed

* See next chapter.

openly. It has always been such but pains were taken to conceal this character behind a "defensive" façade. "We must defend Central Europe as far to the East as possible," General Ferdinand von Senger und Etterlin, NATO Commander-in-Chief in Central Europe, has declared. Exactly how far? The question is answered by U.S. Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger in the Defence Guidance for the 1984-88 fiscal year: NATO conventional forces "should be capable of putting at risk Soviet interests, including the Soviet homeland." The leading role in Europe is assigned to the American Pershing 2 and cruise missiles and to the British and French nuclear forces.

Fictitious Independence

Although the NATO nuclear arsenal is made up chiefly of the U.S. nuclear forces, Britain and France also have a considerable amount of nuclear arms which account for one fourth of NATO's medium-range nuclear potential, and the number of warheads they possess is to increase several times over when the projected introduction of independently targetable warheads is effectuated. London and Paris make much of the "independence" of their nuclear forces. But are they really independent?

Formally, France is not associated with NATO's military organization, being a member only of its political organization. Britain has placed its nuclear forces in the NATO set-up and allows them to be used for the "defence" of the interests of the Western alliance under all circumstances, excepting those (this was the subject of Margaret Thatcher's letter to Ronald Reagan in March 1982) when the British government regards their employment as a threat to the nation's supreme interests. It is claimed that in this case London has the right to take its own decision. So much for its "independence."

Objectively, however, increased reliance on nuclear weapons is a common policy trend of the United States, Britain and France. This alone points to their interdependence and not independence. The Soviet Union cannot ignore the fact that the nuclear forces of these countries are trained against it, presenting as they do a combined nuclear threat to it. This threat is something tangible, which cannot be said of the "independence" of the British or French nuclear forces.

Britain. The use of its nuclear

forces is envisaged by NATO's integrated plans. Concretely, they are elaborated at the NATO Target Selection Centre in Omaha (Nebraska, U.S.A.). Britain's White Paper on defence for 1981 makes no bones of the fact that British nuclear forces are part of the NATO nuclear potential and "are capable of inflicting such damage on the Soviet Union that Soviet leaders must take them into account" (this is exactly what the Soviet Union does at the Geneva talks, but today British leaders feign indignation at this stand).

There is also this important thing. Britain is a major NATO nuclear base. The naval base at Holy Loch provides simultaneous services up to ten U.S. submarines carrying Poseidon missiles, that is, a third of the U.S. submarine missile carriers. One fifth of the U.S. forward-based nuclear forces in Europe—156 F-111 bombers—are stationed on British air fields. Britain consented to the deployment of 30 per cent (160 out of 464) of the American cruise missiles on its soil. "Special relationships" between the United States and Britain, specifically in the nuclear field, have now become traditional. What sort of independence can there be under the circumstances!

France. Since the Socialists came to power France has been paying more attention to the development of its nuclear forces.

It might be recalled that the Ottawa NATO Council session of June 1974 described French national nuclear forces as part of the NATO potential and in December of the same year the joint communiqué on the meeting of the U.S. and French leaders said that "the two Presidents renewed the pledges of both governments to continue close relations in the field of defence as members of the Atlantic alliance." Like the United States and Britain, France rejects the no first nuclear strike concept. In 1977 Chief-of-Staff of the French Armed Forces Guy Méry declared that France favoured "surprise use of French tactical nuclear forces on a large scale," allegedly to enhance common Atlantic "deterrence." It has been stated unequivocally at the topmost level that "France would not hesitate to add its weapons of deterrence to U.S. systems."

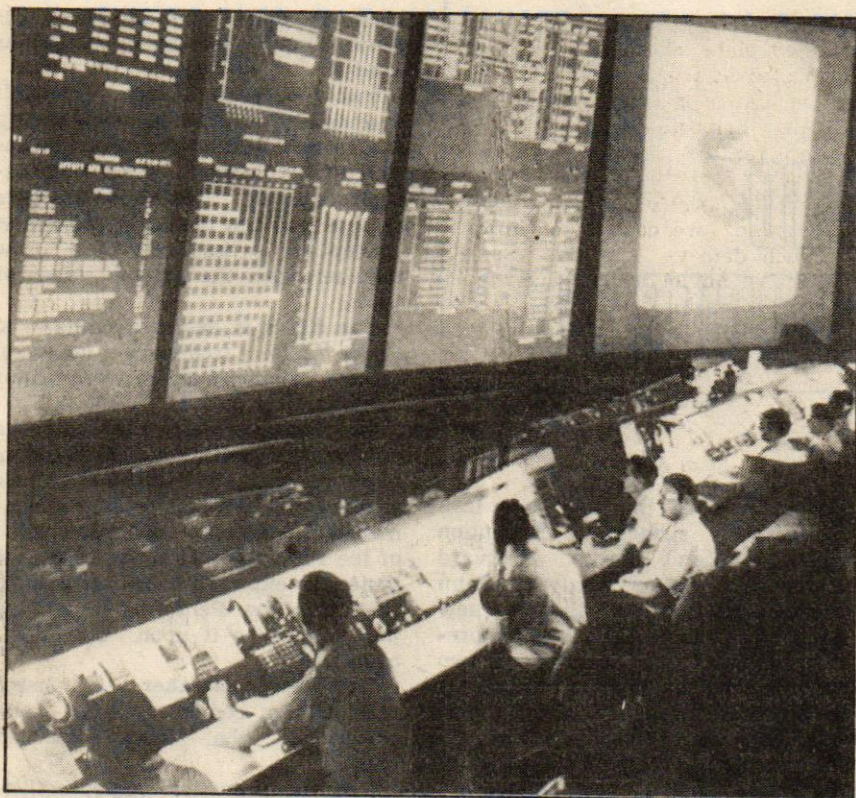
Raymond Aron, the well-known analyst, gives the following interpretation of French strategy: "When the French were arguing in favour of deterrence of the strong by the weak, they were saying that the

capacity to drop a few bombs on Moscow or Leningrad would deter the Soviet Union despite its thousands of nuclear warheads." Although there is a difference about the targets for the contemplated first nuclear strike—it is Moscow or Leningrad in the case of France, and Soviet military, administrative and key industrial centres in the case of its nuclear allies—it in no way proves French nuclear independence. That this much-vaunted "independence" is merely a figment has also been confirmed by the



The American nuclear-capability fighter-bomber F-111, operational range 2,000 kilometres.

French Premier Pierre Mauroy who has said that if war becomes a reality "one cannot remain indifferent to the fate of his closest neighbours." The fact that French nuclear strategy is linked with U.S. and British strategy along political, not military, lines (although the latter cannot be excluded either) does not alter the essence of the matter, nor diminish the threat to the Soviet Union and its allies. As things now stand, the areas to be patrolled by French nuclear-powered submarines are agreed upon with the U.S. Command, joint exercises are held, and France¹³ is still in-



U.S. Strategic Air Command Headquarters, Omaha, Nebraska.

involved in some joint military programmes and NATO military bodies.

Whose the Fateful Decision?

The core of NATO's smoothly functioning mechanism for adopting decisions on the bloc's nuclear strategy and tactics is the Nuclear Planning Group which is subordinated to the Nuclear Defence Affairs Committee. The Group, established on the United States' initiative and operating under its guidance, has four permanent members (the United States, Britain, West Germany and Italy) and three participating on a rotation principle. It is this Group that has elaborated the MC-14/3 and the follow-up guiding documents committing NATO countries to the "flexible response" doctrine.

The supreme organ of NATO strategic leadership is the Defence Planning Committee comprised of Defence Ministers of all member countries with the exception of France. As far back as the 1960s the Committee was empowered—at as early a stage as crisis situation—to discuss whether or not to bring nuclear weapons into play and what military and political consequences either decision would have. The governments of the NATO nuclear powers were to be immediately informed of the Committee's recom-



The B-52 bomber, core of America's strategic striking power. Range with maximum bomb load 13,700 kilometres.

mendations and the decision made known to the other member countries, the NATO Council, and commanders of the armed forces for whom the decision in favour would mean the right, although not a go-ahead signal, to push the button. The go-ahead command could well be forthcoming...

There was a characteristic nuance in this general pattern for an organizational and political prelude to universal destruction: the U.S. President and the British Prime Minister were to consult with their allies "if time and circumstances permit." This reservation actually gave the United States and Britain the right to be the sole decision-makers in the matter of pulling the nuclear trigger.

In 1970 changes were introduced

in this procedure. The examination of the issue no longer rests with the ministers on the Defence Planning Committee. It is considered by the United States and Britain as countries in which nuclear weapons are sited, and by the countries from whose soil the nuclear charge is to be fired. As for the other NATO members, they have no veto rights and are merely to be "consulted with at an earliest possible date." Thus the number of those on whose judgement the crucial decision depends has been reduced and it is not ruled out that a further decrease will not take place, for Washington has demonstrated on more than one occasion that when matters come to a head it easily dispenses with any consultations with its partners.

* * *

NATO's nuclear strategy is subjected to criticism within NATO itself, as evidenced by the divergent views of its members on some matters of principle. Suffice it to say that U.S. "new strategy" laid down in Directive 59 and intended for West European countries has been opposed by the latter.

Lately, however, Washington has

succeeded in making them more pliant. The recent summit in Williamsburg adopted a statement on military policy, which reaffirms the course at the build-up of nuclear armaments, primarily the deployment of the new U.S. nuclear-missile systems in Western Europe.

On the same plane is the communiqué of the NATO Council session held shortly after, stating that the deployment of new U.S. missiles will start at the end of 1983 as per the schedule envisaged by the Council's decision of 1979. As for the Soviet-American talks in Geneva, the communiqué rejects the demand to take into consideration British and French nuclear potentials when assessing the balance of forces in Europe.

It must be said in conclusion that the unification of the policy and nuclear strategy of NATO countries increases the danger of nuclear war.

Major-General

Rair SIMONYAN,

Professor of Military Science

WHAT'S BEHIND THE ROGERS DOCTRINE

The military and political leaders of the United States and NATO hold that the highly effective modern weapons systems allow the bloc to fulfil the tasks set it and achieve the aims of war not only with nuclear arms, but also solely with conventional arms. And so besides building up the nuclear potential they are increasingly concentrating on the all-round development of conventional armaments.

The theoretical basis used is the widely publicized Rogers Doctrine, so called after its author, General Bernard Rogers, Supreme Allied Commander of NATO's United Forces in Europe. It envisages the establishment within these forces of a general-purpose force capable by its composition and technical equipment to wage a protracted war with conventional arms against the U.S.S.R. and its allies.

This "doctrine," approved by the NATO Defence Planning Committee in Brussels last December, is a com-

The Nimrod plane's reconnaissance equipment can penetrate to a depth of hundreds of kilometres into the territory of the socialist community.

ponent part of the new American aggressive strategic conception called Air-Land Battle. Harvard University military analyst John Mearsheimer has said that the new doctrine is practically a call for pre-emptive attacks. It contains two basic elements: surprise launching of offensive operations with a view to seizing the initiative at the very beginning and attack throughout the entire depth of the enemy positions. The U.S. Operations FM-100-5 of August 1982 stresses: "The offense is the decisive form of war, the commander's only means of attaining a positive goal or of completely destroying an enemy force." To win, the manual further says, the troops must go into the offensive as early as possible.

According to the Air-Land Battle conception, operations must be extended to the enemy's second and even third echelon and his rear in order to smash his defences before he can react. It is also held that the attack in depth, as a major element of the new conception, underlies all the U.S. army operations everywhere in the world. But it is above all meant for Europe, where NATO, says the Paris *Le Monde* diplomatique, must "destroy" the Warsaw Treaty forces before they go into battle and at a time when they are still deep inside their territory.

It is thus a matter not only of the Pentagon and NATO casting off the "defensive" strategy camouflage, but one of radical changes in the methods of conventional warfare. They are now assigned the tasks (to hit the enemy to the entire depth of his deployment) which formerly were given only to nuclear weapons. To this end, General Rogers affirms, the army must have high-precision missiles and improved detection systems capable of "seeing" far behind the enemy lines. Fundamentally new systems of weapons have been devised to this end, and espe-

NATO: INSTRUMENT OF AGGRESSION

cially important are the reconnaissance assault systems of various kinds.

Two reconnaissance assault systems are now being developed in the United States—Precision Location Strike System (PLSS) and Assault Breaker. The Pentagon does not conceal that the Air-Land Battle conception is based on their use together with the existing types of arms.

The **PLSS** is designed chiefly to strike radio frequency radiation targets, primarily anti-aircraft radar stations.

The **PLSS** is to effect the guidance of the F-16 aircraft and MRASM, a new operational-tactical cruise missile with a range of 450 kilometres, i.e., almost the entire depth of the **PLSS** zone of action. The new system is expected to be adopted in 1986. But the Pentagon is already trying to force it upon the NATO countries.

The **Assault Breaker** is being designed for combat with tank groups in the enemy's second echelon.

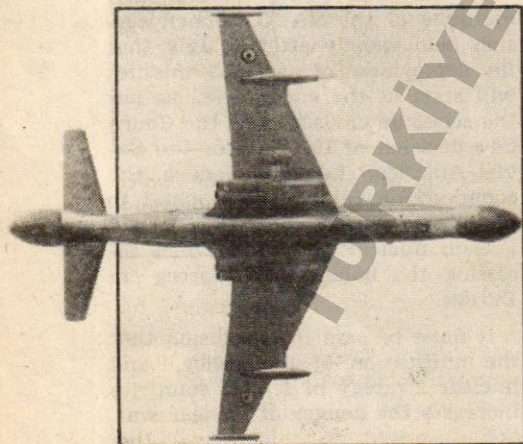
Operational-tactical guided ballistic missiles with a cluster warhead and a range of up to 150-200 kilometres are to be used against tanks. The warhead of one missile is to destroy about one tank company. As envisaged by the Assault Breaker programme, several T-22 and T-16 missiles (the first on the basis of the Lance missile and the second on the basis of the anti-aircraft Patriot missile) have been developed. In the future it is also planned to use cruise missiles against tanks.

Both the Assault Breaker and the **PLSS** are altogether new systems not only from the military point of view, but from the technical, too. With the adoption of these and other high-precision systems of weapons, the NATO Command intends to bring the combat capability of conventional arms to the level of effectiveness of battlefield nuclear ammunition and thus achieve military superiority over the Warsaw Treaty.

It is with the same aim in view that the "traditional" services are being hastily developed—ground, air and naval forces.

The NATO ground forces in Europe, which already include more than 90 divisions (counting the Spanish), are being built up, trained and technically equipped with a view to drastically enhancing their offensive potential, striking and fire power, and manoeuvrability on the battlefield.

To increase the striking power of the ground forces their armour are being constantly renewed. In the



1960s and the first half of the 1970s the U.S. ground forces received several new modifications of the M48 and M60 tanks. At the end of the 1970s their replacement with M60A3s began. The new M1 Abrams tanks went into serial production and the ground forces began to receive them in 1980. All told, the American ground forces are to get more than 7,000 tanks of this type. It is planned to increase the total number of tanks from 12,500 to 15,000.



General Rogers: In-depth attack!

Qualitatively new tanks have been designed for the armies of other NATO countries: Leopard 2 in West Germany, Challenger in Britain, and AMX-30B2 in France.

The total number of NATO tanks, including those in European depots, comes to 25,000 and is not below that of the Warsaw Treaty countries. Consequently, the build-up of NATO armour pursues just one objective—to achieve superiority over the Warsaw Treaty.

The fire power of the land forces is being built up by increasing the number and improving the quality of field artillery pieces and volley-fire systems with a considerably greater range of action and accuracy, and by developing fundamentally new, especially dangerous kinds of ammunition for them. These are, for instance, the so-called vacuum bombs. They are charged with special liquids which, when sprayed like aerosol, create explosive fuel-and-air mixtures. The energy of the explosion is already four to

six times that of a high-explosive bomb of the same weight charged with TNT, and will be 10-20 times as powerful in the future, American specialists estimate.

Among the fundamentally new types of ammunition adopted by the U.S. Army is the 155-mm Copperhead shell which, says the foreign press, is distinguished for its hitting accuracy. Also being developed and tested are other new kinds of ammunition, such as SADARM (Sense and Destroy Armour), STAFF (Smart Target Activated Fire and Forget), Bussard and others.

The SADARM guided anti-tank shell, devised for the 203.2-mm howitzer, has three anti-tank elements with target seekers in its warhead. After the explosion of the shell over the target, each one of the anti-tank elements itself seeks out and hits the objective. One SADARM cluster shell is capable of striking three armoured targets at a time.

The constant provision of the ground forces with large quantities of new, more sophisticated weapons and other military hardware is attended by changes in the organizational structure of units. An organizational-personnel structure of the "division of the 1990s" is being elaborated in the United States. According to American strategists, it must possess substantial offensive striking and fire power, heightened mobility, and ability to conduct effective operations with the employment of both mass destruction weapons and conventional arms.

In the build-up of the air force attention is concentrated mainly on the increase of its striking potential. In the past 15 years the United States has completely replaced obsolete models with new ones. In 1976 the Pentagon set about to carry out a long-term programme of further qualitative renovation of tactical aviation by arming it with F-15 all-weather fighters, A-10 assault planes for close ground support, and F-16 fighter-bombers. All in all, about 3,000 such aircraft are to be supplied to tactical aviation, primarily in Europe.

The number of U.S. Air Force planes in Europe now exceeds 600. They are practically all meant for offensive missions. A further increase in the number of tactical fighters for use in the European theatre of operations is envisaged in the present decade. It has been decided to create the possibility for moving, within 10 days, up to 80 squadrons of tactical fighters (about 1,900 aircraft) from the United States to Europe by 1986.

The air forces of the other NATO

countries are also being rearmed. West Germany and France are getting Alfa Jet aircraft, Great Britain, West Germany and Italy—Tornado aircraft, France—Mirage F1 and Jaguar aircraft. A total of 348 tactical fighters have been ordered for Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark and Norway. The Mirage-2000 is being developed in France.

The striking power of the NATO countries' air forces is being built up by arming air units with guided missiles and bombs of different types and by installing laser arms control devices on board the aircraft.

An early warning system consisting of 18 American E-3As and 11 British Nimrod aircraft, is being established within the bloc to make the use of NATO tactical aviation

Launching pad of the Milan guided anti-tank missile. There are tens of thousands of these weapons at depots in West Germany.



The new M1 Abrams tank with which the NATO forces are being equipped.

more effective. It is designed for reconnaissance operations against the Warsaw Treaty countries to a depth of up to 400 kilometres.

The NATO countries devote constant attention to enhancing the

combat power of their naval forces which are regarded as one of the basic means of realizing imperialism's global ambitions. The Reagan Administration plans to appropriate \$96 billion in the 1983/87 financial years to build 133 warships, including two nuclear-powered multipurpose aircraft carriers of the Nimitz type, 17 nuclear submarines of the Los Angeles type and six of the Ohio type, and 18 cruisers with guided missiles on board, including one nuclear-powered. Moreover, it is planned to take out of the mothballs three battleships, arm them with Tomahawk cruise missiles and turn them into a nucleus of naval striking forces alongside aircraft carriers. It is intended to increase the strength of the U.S. Navy from

the present 490 ships to 600 towards the end of the present decade. They will be armed with about 4,000 Tomahawk cruise missiles with a range of up to 2,500 kilometres.

Large-scale shipbuilding programmes are also under way in Great Britain, France and West Germany.

The U.S. Navy has qualitatively renovated the combat strength of its aviation. It has adopted new assault aircraft, fighters, and anti-submarine deck and land-based aircraft (A-6E, F-14A and others). The fighter and attack variants of the new F/A-18 plane have been developed and are undergoing trials.

The striking and fire power of the Marine Corps, one of the main instruments of Washington's armed

interference in the affairs of sovereign states, is being increased. Its combat capability has increased several times over in the past 20 years.

And so it is absolutely obvious that the United States is exerting every effort in order maximally to build up its military potential and to be ready to unleash wars, nuclear and conventional, to achieve the global and regional aims of American imperialism.

Washington is also prodding its NATO allies to do the same. If the Western alliance does not substantially reinforce its conventional forces, General Rogers has said, NATO will have to use nuclear weapons in Central Europe.

Putting it that way is blackmail,

POISONERS OF EUROPE

In U.S. and NATO strategic plans Europe is assigned the role of battlefield on which virtually all types of mass destruction weapons, chemical included, will be employed.

The U.S. stocks of chemical weapons are the biggest in the world today, sufficient to exterminate humanity many times over. The total exceeds 150,000 tons (about three million units), of which over 55,000 tons are the lethal Sarin and VX agents. About 70 per cent of this huge arsenal is stored in special reservoirs or in the open air, while the remainder constitutes the charge of missiles, bombs, shells and mines. Besides the United States, there are chemical weapons stored in Western Europe, in Japan and on Johnston Island in the Pacific. According to the West German press, about four million litres of the latest supertoxic nerve agents are located in American depots in the Fischbach, Hanau, Mannheim and Massweiler regions, F.R.G. This amount, specialists estimate, is enough to kill the entire population of Europe.

Washington, however, is not satisfied. In the beginning of this year President Ronald Reagan announced a \$10 billion programme of chemical rearmament providing for the development of new types of chemical weapons and training in their use. Its realization will bring their total to five million units.

The American military-political leadership intends to site binary weapons*, a new generation of chemical arms, in Europe. In July 1983 the U.S. Congress gave its blessing to the Administration spending over \$130 million in 1984 to produce binary charges. Some time ago the Joint Chiefs of Staff emphasized in their report to Congress that building up the potential of chemical weapons in Europe was as urgent a task as that of

* As distinct from conventional types, binary charges contain two (hence the term) non- or low-toxic elements which get mixed inside the shell during its flight (delivery), turning into highly toxic agents.

deploying new medium-range nuclear missiles there.

The siting of American chemical arms in Europe makes the security of U.S. European NATO allies dependent solely on Washington's judgement, for it alone decides whether or not to put them into action. It may be added that the European NATO countries have 155-mm and 203.2-mm field guns capable of firing chemical shells made in the United States.

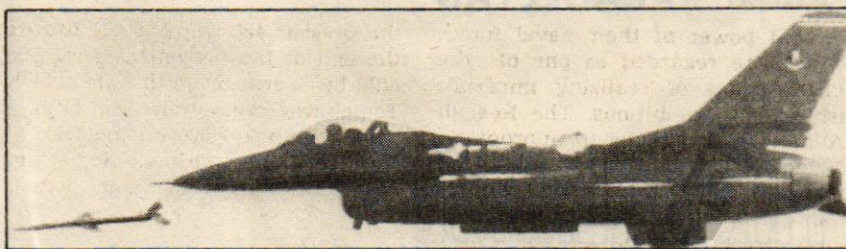
The Pentagon brass are not in the least perturbed by the fact that the depots of chemical weapons on European soil will, if they unleash war, become targets for retaliatory strikes and that non-combatants will suffer most. Civilian casualties—the population will find themselves largely unprotected—will exceed the losses suffered by troops 20-30 times over. As U.S. Deputy Assistance Secretary of the Army Amoretta Hoeber has put it, the civilian population will perish in any European war. Therefore, she contends, chemical weapons should not be shunned as something particularly dangerous.

It is more convenient and safer for the United States to have its chemical weapons stored in the Old World, American strategists believe. This is not the only thing Wash-

pure and simple. Rogers categorically demands from the West European countries of the bloc sharply to step up the conventional arms race. Otherwise, he warns, the NATO top crust will be compelled to start a war and the whole of the Old World may perish in its flames.

Rogers also fixes the price the West European nations must pay for the arms race. The NATO countries' military expenditure, he says, must increase not by 3 per cent a year, but by 4 per cent, in real terms.

The plans of building up conventional arms do not change the content of NATO's nuclear strategy. It is still intended to use against the Warsaw Treaty countries the entire arsenal of short-range, medium-range and intercontinental nuclear



Trial launch of the AMRAAM air-to-air guided missile from an F-16 plane.

arms. General Rogers has said time and again that NATO should by no means renounce the possibility of dealing the first nuclear blow.

It is not a matter, we repeat, of

the Pentagon and NATO paying less attention to the preparation of a nuclear war—the Atlantic strategists are concentrating their main efforts on that—but of a simultaneous accelerated build-up of conventional arms to lay the necessary material and technical foundation for the Rogers Doctrine.



These 155-mm howitzers can fire chemical shells.

brought to American military bases in Britain so as to place Washington in a position to deliver chemical strikes also at Soviet rear echelons in Europe.

To believe U.S. Deputy Under-Secretary of Defence James Wade, U.S. accelerated chemical rearmament is indispensable for waging a large-scale chemical war against the Warsaw Treaty countries in Europe. Washington's actions irrefutably show that chemical war is not only part of the U.S. military doctrine, but an integral element of its overall strategy envisaging a first nuclear strike and extensive use of other types of mass destruction weapons. Chemical warfare is given constant attention in U.S. and NATO operational and combat training. It was the main item in the programme of the large-scale Reforger-13 exercise held in Europe in 1981.

The plans for the production of the chemical weapons and their siting in Europe have been drawn up with a view to involving Washington's European allies in its overall strategy, in particular "chemical strategy," and making them consent to turning the continent into a sort of buffer zone so that the United States might survive. The NATO Council decision of January 1982, adopted under Washington's

pressure, serves this purpose, providing as it does for the build-up of offensive chemical weapons not only in the NATO united forces, but in the armies of the countries associated with the bloc. It is worth mentioning in this context the British New Statesman's report to the effect that Britain has several types of toxic agents that can be used in the course of hostilities.

To present these plans as a "response action" and conceal the danger they are fraught with the Reagan Administration is whipping up the "Soviet chemical threat" myth.

Meanwhile, as U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger has admitted, the Reagan Administration is out to get international agreements and treaties banning the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons revised. The United States, he has reportedly said, has embarked on the road towards achieving a balance in this sphere.

One could not have put it more plainly. This is why Washington first dragged out Soviet-American talks on banning chemical weapons and then suspended them, and why the negotiations on the issue have been blocked in the Disarmament Committee.

Oleg MIKHAILOV

ington is using its allies for. Britain and West Germany have reportedly taken part in research in the development and methods of use of chemical weapons in the current decade. At present they are jointly developing chemical charges for the missile volley-fire system. According to the Western press, Britain, West Germany, Denmark and Canada are working on the synthesis of new toxic agents.

Washington intends to deploy chemical weapons in Britain, where their carriers, U.S. F-111 bombers, have been stationed for a long time and on American bases in Verona and Vicenza in Italy. The above-mentioned Amoretta Hoeber admitted in her interview with Reuters that the Pentagon's research division had recommended to have new chemical bombs with binary charges

Karen KARAGEZYAN

THE BALANCE MUST NOT BE UPSET

On November 22, 1982, President Ronald Reagan declared that the Soviet Union now had a clear superiority in virtually all the components of military might. That statement alone is enough to make one question the seriousness of the present American leaders' assessment of the alignment of forces between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.

For the SALT-2 Treaty testified to the existence of a balance between the two countries in the field of strategic arms. Moreover, for seven long years the alignment of forces was studied by experts of both countries and it was only after they had thoroughly weighed all the data that they arrived at the conclusion that there was an approximate equilibrium which was then officially confirmed by the heads of state when they signed SALT-2.

Could either side achieve a "clear" superiority within a matter of two or three years? Or maybe the U.S. President does not know that many years, and not months, are spent to develop and produce strategic arms? The President doubtless is sufficiently well informed. The more so since the existence of the balance was publicly admitted by competent representatives of the U.S. ruling circles.

In February 1982 the U.S. Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger said in his annual report to Congress: "We will make every effort to prevent the Soviet Union from acquiring such [nuclear—K.K.] superiority." As is known, one can acquire only what one has not. So the head of the Pentagon actually admitted that the U.S.S.R. did not have nuclear superiority. A year earlier, in February 1981, the then Secretary of State Alexander Haig confirmed in an interview to French television that strategically the Soviet

Union and the United States "are at a point of relative balance and equivalence."

Then why did the present incumbent of the White House have recourse to deceit? Evidently, equilibrium does not suit those who put him in power. Proceeding from its hegemonistic ambitions, Washington has set itself the aim of upsetting parity and achieving military superiority. An approximate deadline has even been set for the attainment of this task—1990—and tremendous sums have been allocated.

It is to justify unprecedented military programmes and aggressive doctrines that Washington is resorting to deceit by feeding public opinion with deliberately false information and trying to prove the existence of "Soviet superiority" and, consequently, the growing "Soviet threat."

The American politicians and propaganda men do their hardest in this field when Europe is involved. This is easy to explain. It is becoming ever more difficult to overcome public opposition to the intensification of the arms race even in the United States, and all the more so where the West European NATO allies are concerned. Suffice it to recall the unprecedentedly intensive anti-war movement in many countries of the Old World.

That is why the Pentagon and the NATO top crust are devoting particular attention to influencing public opinion in allied countries. A special section, as it were, was singled out in the myth about the U.S.S.R.'s "military superiority"—about its overwhelming military superiority in Europe. There are also a number of "subsections"—about nuclear superiority, superiority in conventional arms, superiority in armour, etc.

President Reagan, for instance, contended that if only the Soviet-

American nuclear balance in Europe were taken into account, the U.S.S.R. would have a 6-1 superiority over the United States in medium-range weapons. He even outdid his assistants from among the NATO experts who had earlier claimed that the Soviet Union's edge was 3-1 or even 2-1. But these experts, too, were biased and prejudiced in their reckoning. For instance, they included in their account Soviet medium-range weapons with a range of several hundred kilometres, although the term "medium-range" is defined with sufficient precision: it begins with the range of 1,000 kilometres and ends where the "intercontinental" range begins. Ignored in the account were also some types of NATO planes, while the planes on American aircraft carriers that constantly cruise close to European shores were not taken fully into account.

Besides, if we are to compare military might not merely in terms of strategic arms but also other armaments, it would be wrong to compare only the forces and weapons of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. After all the armed forces confronting each other in reality are those of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. So an objective evaluation requires a comparison of the forces of these military alliances.

In this case it transpires that the contention that Western Europe is "disarmed" in face of the "massive concentration" of Soviet medium-range missiles is totally groundless. For many years now the Soviet Union and NATO have had a roughly equal number of medium-range nuclear weapons—about 1,000 each.

What is this balance made up of?

By early 1982 the NATO countries had 986 medium-range nuclear delivery vehicles intended for use in Europe. For example, the United States had 720 F-111, FB-111A, F-4 and F-16 aircraft and also A-6 and A-7 carrier-borne aircraft. The potential of the two other NATO nuclear powers—Britain and France—should be added to this. The former has 64 ballistic missiles with multiple warheads and 55 bombers, while the latter has 98 missiles and 46 bombers. Specifically, these are S-2 and S-3 ground-launched missiles, submarine-launched Polaris and M-20 ballistic missiles, Vulcan and Mirage aircraft. To have a complete picture, it is also necessary to note that by a very important indicator—the number of nuclear warheads sent to target in a single launch—NATO already has a 1.5-1 superiority.

The Soviet Union had 975 units of analogous weapon systems, known in the West as the SS-20, SS-4 and SS-5 ground-launched missiles and medium-range bombers.

As we see, approximate parity is obvious. Despite this the West has been claiming for several years that NATO is lagging in medium-range weapons. What is the explanation for the false modesty of NATO propaganda? To find an answer to this question, one should study in greater detail the circumstances of the emergence of NATO's so-called "double decision."

This decision was adopted at a session of the bloc's Council in Brussels on December 12, 1979. Its sponsors had to overcome the scepticism of a number of allies. The Dutch delegation, for instance, has reserved the right finally to determine its attitude to the decision at a later date.

This scepticism is understandable. For the matter at issue was Washington's plan of deploying new medium-range nuclear weapons—the cruise and Pershing 2 missiles—in a number of West European countries. Already then few people believed that they were intended for the defence of Western Europe. In

reality, the Pentagon was pursuing totally different aims. Its purpose was to upset the balance of forces.

Indeed, if the additional 572 new nuclear missiles are deployed in Europe, the West will get a more than 1.5-1 edge over the Warsaw Treaty countries in the number of medium-range delivery vehicles. Such a superiority in nuclear warheads already exists, and in the event of further deployment of missiles it will increase still more. This would mean the balance in nuclear arms in Europe would tip drastically in NATO's favour.

But that is not all. At the very same time—and here we approach the secret essence of Washington's plans—the balance of the strategic forces of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. would be upset as well: for the new American missiles are strategic weapons in the full meaning of the word where the Soviet Union is concerned. These weapons are capable (and are intended for that) of delivering "pre-emptive" strikes both at the silos of Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles and at other vitally important centres in the Western regions of the U.S.S.R. All these are targets of strategic importance. Soviet medium-range



The military parity of East and West sticks in Caspar Weinberger's throat.

weapons are incapable of fulfilling such tasks.

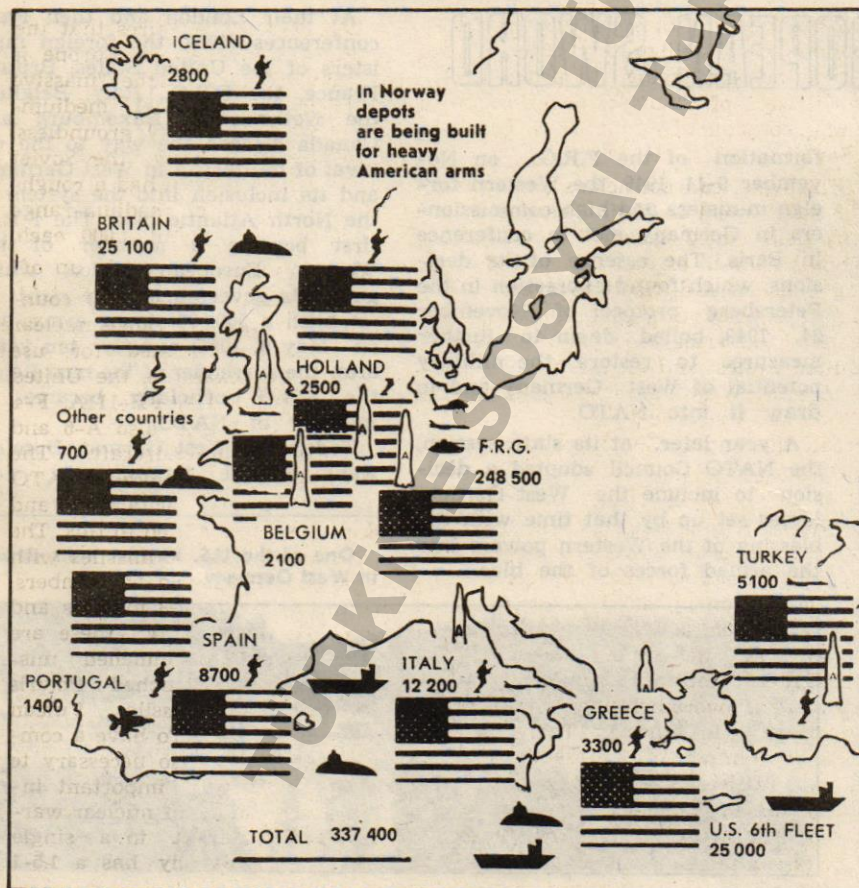
In addition to this, Pershing 2s, the most dangerous missiles which will be deployed in the F.R.G., need only five or six minutes to reach targets in the Soviet Union. The Pentagon hopes that their long range (2,500 kilometres) and high accuracy (deviation of 30-40 metres) will weaken the retaliatory blow against the United States in the event of an attack on the Soviet Union.

So, besides a substantial imbalance in Europe, the deployment of new missiles would mean also a drastic growth of the strategic potential of the United States. It is exactly for this reason that the Pentagon is interested in deploying new missiles in Western Europe under any circumstances.

Such is the crux of the matter. And to conceal it as much as possible not only from the "potential adversary," but also from some allies, and especially from the public, a propaganda campaign of gigantic scale has been conducted all these four years alongside the preparations for the deployment of the missiles.

First, there appeared the legend about the "rearmament" of NATO, about the need to "catch up" with the Soviet Union in armaments. The purpose was to create the impression that the U.S.S.R. had supposedly "set the tone" in the development of "Euromissiles" and that NATO was simply bound to deploy its cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in order to neutralize the "new Soviet nuclear threat." But in reality, here

U.S. TROOPS IN EUROPE



too (just as in the case of all other most important types of arms starting with the 1950s) the arms race was imposed on us by the United States and NATO. The U.S.S.R. began to install medium-range missiles in response to the nuclear forward-based weapons that the Americans deployed in the 1950s. The reference is to the nuclear arms in Europe aimed at the U.S.S.R. and its allies.

The Soviet SS-20 missiles, whose appearance is often used as a pretext for the adoption of the NATO decision on "rearmament," wrought no change in the balance of medium-range weapons in Europe. They only replaced part of the obsolete missiles without upsetting the balance: every new SS-20 missile was not added to the existing potential but merely replaced one or two old missiles which were then dismantled. The improvement of the qualitative indicators of new weapons, in this case the SS-20 missiles, a natural thing in any modernization both in the East and in the West, did not bring about any substantial change in their combat performance. The range remained the same, while the total yield even decreased. Neither was there any change in such an important aspect

as the combat designation of the missiles. As before, their task is to counter NATO's existing medium-range weapons in Europe. They are not intended for strikes at the United States (a very substantial difference from the Pershing 2 and cruise missiles which will be used against targets in the U.S.S.R.) and simply cannot deliver such strikes because of their design. So what has really happened is modernization of Soviet medium-range weapons and this has not in any way warranted the so-called "reply" measures by NATO.

Yet another propaganda myth is incorporated in the wording of NATO's "double decision." This term, just as the decision as a whole, is interpreted differently, depending on requirements. But when it is necessary to convince somebody that NATO's approach is "thorough" and "well-considered," the following interpretation is usually put forth: in adopting the decision on the deployment of the missiles, NATO had in mind the possibility of talks being held before its implementation and their ability to bring about a situation when NATO's "rearmament" would no longer be necessary.

Maybe there were people who did

believe in the "duality" of NATO's decision, but for its initiators the version was intended from the very outset to serve as eyewash. In any case, the Americans intended to adopt a decision on deployment and not on talks. Already four years ago, in the lobbies of NATO headquarters, some allies had to spend a long time "persuading" the Americans to include a paragraph on the talks in the text of the communiqué.

Now it can definitely be said why Washington finally consented to it. Section B of Paragraph 9 in the December 1979 NATO communiqué says that the "immediate objective of these negotiations should be the establishment of agreed limitations on U.S. and Soviet land-based long-range theatre nuclear missile systems." This means outright refusal to discuss any American forward-based medium-range weapons, i.e., those very weapons for which Soviet medium-range weapons are to serve as a counterweight.

In other words, the condition laid down is clearly unacceptable to the other party to the talks, and it is then stated that "in the event of a breakdown of the talks" Pershing 2 and cruise missiles will be deployed.

The "zero option" and the "interim variant," proposed later by

AMERICA'S EUROPEAN SWORD

The West German Bundeswehr accounts for 50 per cent of NATO's ground forces, 30 per cent of the air force, 50 per cent of the ground air-defence means and 70 per cent of the naval forces in Central Europe. Such are the results of the participation of the Federal Republic of Germany in the North Atlantic bloc.

The "founders" of NATO pinned definite hopes on the F.R.G. It was to become the main purveyor of soldiers, the main springboard and the bloc's main military-industrial base in Europe.

On April 8, 1949, only four days after the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty, the foreign ministers of the United States, Britain and France agreed on the establishment of a separate West German state and subsequently a decision was adopted officially cutting the programme of reparations and of the dismantling of arms-manufacturing enterprises. The way to remilitarization was opened.

Less than two months after the

formation of the F.R.G., on November 9-11, 1949, the Western foreign ministers and high commissioners in Germany met in conference in Paris. The essence of its decisions, which found expression in the Petersberg protocol of November 24, 1949, boiled down to further measures to restore the military potential of West Germany and to draw it into NATO.

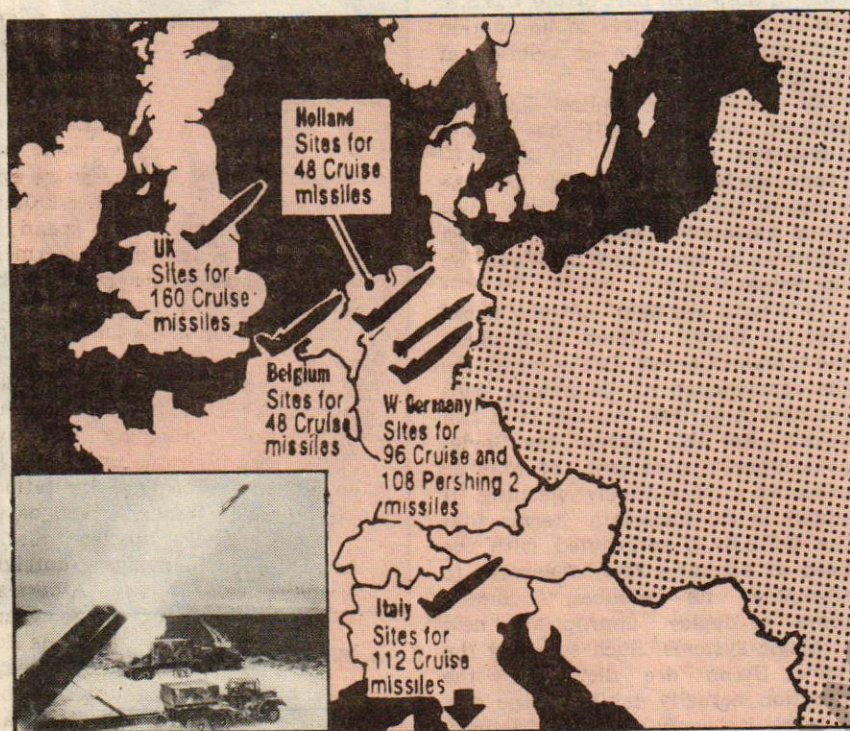
A year later, at its sixth session, the NATO Council adopted a decision to include the West German forces set up by that time with the blessing of the Western powers into the armed forces of the bloc.

At their London and then Paris conferences (1954) the foreign ministers of the United States, Britain, France, the F.R.G., Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Canada cleared the way to the revival of militarism in West Germany and its inclusion into the system of the North Atlantic bloc. The F.R.G. first became a member of the Western European Union which gave its government the right to establish a 500,000-strong army, and on May 8, 1955, exactly ten years after the surrender of the Nazi Reich, the F.R.G. officially became a member of NATO.

Today the West German Bundeswehr is the largest and most

One of the U.S. nuclear arms depots in West Germany.





Britain, Holland, Belgium, West Germany and Italy are the countries where Washington means to deploy cruise and Pershing 2 missiles.

American medium-range forward-based weapons are not taken into account, as though they do not exist. Neither is account taken of the NATO nuclear arms in Europe in the possession of Britain and France, although they comprise a quarter of the bloc's nuclear potential.

"We are offered to search for an agreement while leaving aside these nuclear forces," Andrei Gromyko stressed at a press conference on April 2, 1983. "This is not a serious proposal. Imagine that a terrible tragedy has happened: a missile with nuclear warheads, say, a British one, is in flight. Is it suggested that a label with the words 'I am British' be attached to it? If it drops its charge people will die from it as from any other." Quite a figurative characteristic of the cynicism of the American position.

In effect, the "zero option" boils down to the demand that the U.S.S.R. should liquidate all its ground-launched medium-range missiles, while the United States would in return give up the plans of deploying its Pershing 2 and cruise mis-

Reagan and presented by American propaganda as a "new word" at the talks, are based on the same principle.

Washington proceeds from a

totally groundless and biased assessment of the alignment of medium-range nuclear forces in Europe and deliberately singles out only ground-launched missiles. The



The West German air force is being equipped with Tornado multipurpose planes.

modernly equipped army among the armies of the European NATO countries. It has 495,000 officers and men—roughly as many as have been incorporated in the NATO European armed forces by all the other members of the alliance, including the more than 300,000-strong U.S. army in Europe and the Canadian units stationed in the F.R.G. In other words, every other NATO soldier in Europe is a soldier of the Bundeswehr.

To the half-million ceiling established by the Paris Accords for the Bundeswehr should be added 200,000 Bundeswehr civilian employees who,

though they do not wear uniform, are part and parcel of the personnel of the West German army. Account should also be taken of the West German territorials (63,000, and 504,000 in the event of mobilization) and the frontier guards who formally do not belong to the Bundeswehr and are not incorporated in NATO.

In addition, the Bundeswehr has from 600,000 to 900,000 trained reservists.

The West German army has the most up-to-date weapons. One generation of hardware replaces another. Air Force pilots have started mastering the multipurpose Anglo-Italian-West German Tornado plane capable of carrying nuclear weapons. The ground forces are being equipped with the supermodern Leopard 2 tank. The Bundeswehr will receive 1,800 such tanks. Roland missile complexes, Fuchs armoured carriers and anti-tank helicopters are also being adopted for service.

The organizational structure of the West German armed forces is also being improved. All the divisions of the Bundeswehr are being reorganized. The number of armoured divisions has grown from four to six and that of armoured brigades from 12 to

17. In 1986 the Bundeswehr is to have about 5,000 tanks.

The Bundeswehr is built up and trained in such a way that in the event of hostilities the peacetime formations can be immediately put into action. As envisaged by the strategic concept of "forward defence," the main ground units are stationed 50 to 100 kilometres from the borders of the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia.

The Bundeswehr stands out among the West European armies by its organization, discipline and high level of combat preparedness. Springer's Die Welt boasts that the Americans regard it as the only really efficient West European military force, one that can be fully relied upon. Not without reason is the Bundeswehr called "America's continental sword."

Many Bundeswehr officers hold influential posts on the staffs of the North Atlantic bloc. The post of commander-in-chief in the Central European theatre, where the most powerful NATO grouping is concentrated, has been reserved for West German generals.

This theatre encompasses the territories and coastal waters of the F.R.G. (with the exception of

siles, plans that exist so far only on paper. By way of comparison, let us imagine a diametrically opposite situation. Supposing the U.S.S.R. were to announce its intention to deploy some very modern type of nuclear weapons several years from now, but would be prepared to scrap these plans in exchange for the liquidation by the United States of a considerable part of its already existing nuclear potential. It is interesting how Washington would react to this.

Neither is President Reagan's so-called "interim variant" acceptable to the Soviet Union. It provides for the very same deployment of new missiles by the West, though in smaller numbers, while the U.S.S.R. must make big cuts in its missile potential.

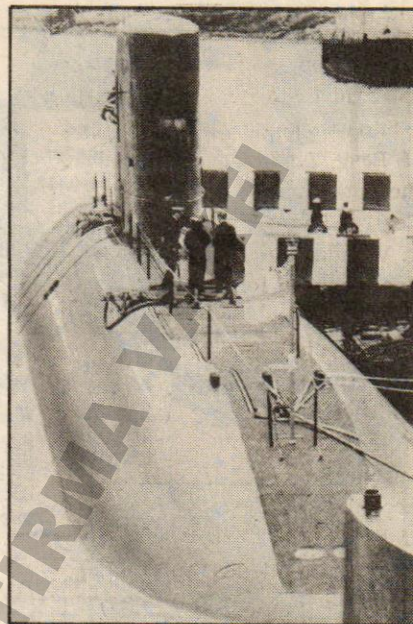
At the above-mentioned press conference Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko tersely explained the reasons why the "interim variant" was unacceptable. "Firstly, it does not take into account the British and French medium-range nuclear weapons, including 162 missiles. Secondly, it does not take account of hundreds of American nuclear-capable planes based in Western Europe and on aircraft carriers. Thirdly, Soviet medium-range mis-

siles in the Asian part of the U.S.S.R. would also be subject to liquidation although they have no relation at all to Europe."

On the whole, Andrei Gromyko stressed, whereas NATO has a 1.5-1 advantage in Europe in medium-range nuclear warheads, in the event of the realization of the "interim variant" it would have almost 2.5 times as many such warheads as the Soviet Union.

It is with the help of such tricks that the United States is blocking the talks in Geneva. In the meantime the construction of launching pads for new American missiles is in full swing. For this reason the Soviet government's statement of May 28 came as a very timely warning. It stated in no uncertain terms that the U.S.S.R. is confronted with the need of adopting reply measures to strengthen its defences, including those to deploy appropriate new strategic systems. Such steps by the Soviet Union are dictated by the situation actually taking shape and will be its reply to U.S. actions. Their sole aim is to prevent the disruption of the existing balance of forces.

The Soviet Union and its allies now act as defenders of the balance of forces in the world and constantly



A British nuclear-armed submarine.

strive to lower its level, up to and including general and complete disarmament. But the United States and the NATO top crust are doing everything to upset this balance, to tilt the scales in their favour. In striving for this they are not

Schleswig-Holstein), Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg. The NATO Command attaches special importance to it. In the opinion of NATO strategists, it is precisely there that the main front against the European socialist countries will pass.

In the Central European zone the NATO Command keeps about 750,000 men under arms. Almost half of them—approximately 300,000—are West Germans, 250,000 are Americans, 80,000 are Britons, and the rest are Belgians, Dutchmen and Canadians. The NATO forces, divided into the northern and central groups, comprise 23 divisions and one infantry group. They have more than 6,000 tanks, over 1,700 combat aircraft, about half of which are nuclear-capable, and up to 2,000 pieces of field artillery. Almost 80 per cent of American tactical nuclear ammunition and as many means of its delivery are deployed there.

The northern group of armies is located to the north of the Göttingen-Liège line and includes twelve divisions—four West German, four British, two Belgian and two Dutch. Besides, there is a brigade of the U.S. Army stationed there.

The central group of armies is re-

sponsible for the zone to the south of this line. It consists of eleven divisions, seven of which are West German, and also includes an army group from Canada and two armoured cavalry regiments from the United States. In the NATO land forces in the given theatre the main role is assigned to the central group.

The united air force of the Central European theatre set up in June 1974 consists of the 2nd and 4th Allied Tactical Air forces (ATAF). The 2nd ATAF is to support the northern group of armies and the 4th, the central one.

The 4th ATAF is the most powerful of the air groups. It includes the 3rd and 17th air armies of the United States and units of the West German and Canadian air forces. The 2nd ATAF consists of the British air force command located in West Germany, Belgian and Dutch tactical air commands and units of the tactical air command of the West German Luftwaffe.

The main forces of the Central European theatre are stationed a few kilometres from the borders of Czechoslovakia and the G.D.R. They are kept in a high degree of combat preparedness and are ready to go into action at any moment.

The united armed forces in Central Europe have their headquarters in the Dutch city of Brunsum.

The F.R.G. is one of the main allies of the United States in matters relating to the build-up of armaments. It takes part in 130 of NATO's 180 military programmes. It was with the active support of the F.R.G. military-political leadership that the NATO decision on the stationing of new American medium-range missiles in Western Europe was adopted. More than one third of them (204 out of 572), including all the 108 Pershing 2s, are to be sited in West Germany.

The F.R.G. and the United States have concluded a military co-operation agreement which entitles Washington, in the event of "aggravation of tension," to increase its troop contingent in the F.R.G. from four to ten divisions and to bring an additional 1,000 warplanes from the United States.

West Germany plays an ever more important part in the United States' strategic plans relating not only to Europe, but also to other parts of the world. According to the West German press, the F.R.G. is to become the base for the possible operations of the American Rapid De-

deterred even by the risk of starting a new and even more dangerous spiral of the arms race.

Such is the situation in all spheres of East-West alignment of forces, the armed forces and armaments in Central Europe included. The talks in Vienna are on the mutual reduction of these forces. But they have been going on for almost ten years and no end is yet in sight.

Nevertheless, there exist possibilities for the speedy completion of the Vienna talks. For in Central Europe there is a clear rough parity. According to the official exchange of data, the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries had 979,000 and 991,000 effectives in that zone, including 796,700 and 792,500 in the ground forces. In the course of the exchange of views, the sides reached an understanding that in the end, after the reduction, they will have an equal number of troops—900,000 men each—in the centre of Europe.

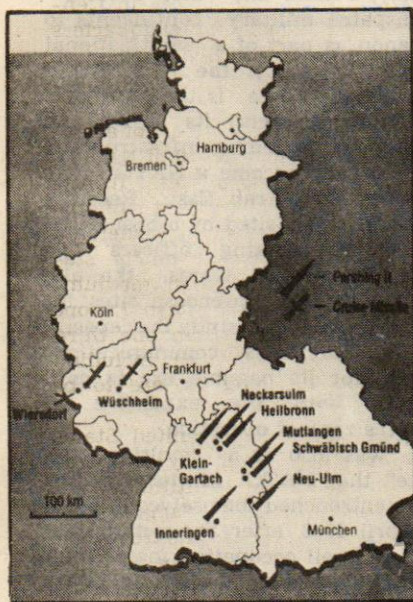
The solution of the problem, however, is still in an impasse. This is due to the fact that the United

States and its NATO allies have deliberately introduced the so-called statistical discussion into the talks. They allege that the Warsaw Treaty's ground forces are considerably superior in number. The data on the strength of the troops of the Warsaw Treaty, published in the West, are usually inflated by about 150,000 effectives. This is done by using prejudicial methods of assessment. For instance, they include in the ground forces of the socialist countries the air element of the anti-aircraft defences, though it has nothing to do with the ground forces. On the other hand, when establishing the strength of the West German ground forces, they "omit" the units armed with Pershing 1 missiles. It is thus that the West tries to use the difference in the structure of troops in its interests.

Why is this being done? The sole aim is to make the Warsaw Treaty countries reduce their forces three times as much as the NATO countries. In other words, it is another

attempt to upset the balance. And since the U.S.S.R. has no intention of disarming itself unilaterally, Washington is blocking the talks while simultaneously planning substantially to increase conventional arms too.

So a balance of forces continues to exist in Europe and it is important to prevent it from being upset. At the same time the balance is not an end in itself but a starting point for lowering the level of military confrontation. "It is the duty of all states to find a solution to the urgent problem of limiting and reducing armaments, particularly nuclear armaments, and to return to the road of détente, both political and military," it was stressed in the May 28 Soviet government statement. "This is demanded by the interests of all peoples and states, regardless of what part of the world and under what socio-economic system they might be living or what political grouping or trend they happen to belong to."



A substantial proportion of the new American cruise missiles and all 108 of the Pershing 2s are to be stationed in West Germany. The map shows the locations. Preparatory work is already under way there.

armed forces in Europe about 80,000 reservists if U.S. troops find themselves involved in a conflict outside the NATO zone of operation."

The F.R.G. is making undoubtedly the biggest military contribution to the strengthening of NATO among the West European member countries. It is the only European country which supported Washington's demand for a 3 per cent annual increase in military spending. Its military budget, which was 5.2 billion marks in 1956, when the Bundeswehr was being formed, has grown by more than 12-fold and is one of the biggest among those of the NATO members for both the absolute and relative (in per cent of the state budget) volume.

The powerful West German military-industrial complex supplies the Bundeswehr with more than 80 per cent of all its armaments. The F.R.G. occupies a leading place in NATO in the manufacture of armoured vehicles.

In West European capitals and Washington it is preferred not to recall the restrictions which were imposed upon West German arms production under the 1954 Paris Accords, in particular the ban on the production in the F.R.G. of strategic bombers, missiles, and warships, including submarines, in excess of a definite tonnage. The ban has not been formally lifted to this day. However, West Germany's membership of NATO and its active participation in the bloc's military preparations cause the other allies not only to shut their eyes to Bonn's militarist ambitions, but even often to encourage them. For instance, in early June Paris was the venue of a parliamentary assembly of the Western European Union, which is called the European appendage to NATO and which comprises the F.R.G., Britain, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg and France. One of the points on the agenda was promotion of West Germany's participation in the development of strategic bombers and ground-to-ground missiles.

The West German "continental sword" is becoming one of the most dangerous weapons of the alliance.

Nikita ZHOLKVER

ployment Force in the event of "crisis situations" in regions declared by Washington to be "zones of special interest" for the United States—the Middle East, the Persian Gulf, and North Africa. "The West German government," Frankfurter Rundschau wrote recently, "is to place at the disposal of the U.S.

Dmitry VOLSKY

GLOBAL TENTACLES

Has the sphere of operation of the North Atlantic bloc any boundaries? The question, it would seem, is as senseless as the question of whether the Atlantic Ocean has any shores. According to the treaty, the organization can be joined only by Atlantic Ocean and Mediterranean Sea littoral countries. The united armed forces of the bloc are stationed only in Western Europe. Formally, NATO has no military bases outside this region. Isn't it strange, then, that it stubbornly refuses to respond to the initiative of the Warsaw Treaty countries which proposed in their Prague Declaration that both organizations should undertake not to extend their sphere of operation to Asia, Africa and Latin America? Such self-limitation obviously does not suit the Atlantic politicians and generals. It is not fortuitous that it is stressed in the communiqué of the session of the bloc's Council in Paris in June this year that the alliance intends to extend its zone of operation on the spurious pretext of defending "common interests." At the end of July the North Atlantic Assembly's recently established ad hoc subcommittee discussed NATO's approach to "security problems" in regions outside its zone of responsibility.

When NATO was being established the imperialist circles of the United States and their partners visioned it not as an isolated group of North American and West European states but as the central link in the chain of their anti-Soviet geopolitical structures, the mainstay of the entire imperialist policy. There came into being NATO "subsidiaries"—CENTO in the Middle East and SEATO in Southeast Asia, both set up in the mid-1950s. They were made up of Western powers and local reactionary regimes.

SEATO and CENTO disintegrated under the impact of détente, but by an irony of history it happened just when the ruling circles of the United States and some other

NATO countries were increasingly tending to turn from détente to confrontation with the forces of socialism and national liberation. At the end of its tenure, the Carter Administration began to effect this turn practically the world over—first in Europe, almost simultaneously in the Middle East, the Persian Gulf zone, Africa and Latin America, and finally in the Far Eastern region. This imperial globalism became the basic foreign policy doctrine of Washington following the inauguration of Ronald Reagan.

Washington could not embark upon the realization of this doctrine by itself. It needed satellites and accomplices to "encircle" the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries, control the sea lanes, and establish dominance over the sources of raw materials, oil in the first place. Prime emphasis was placed on NATO, on extending its sphere of operation beyond the European theatre and stretching tentacles to Middle East staging areas, to the oil-rich regions of the Persian Gulf and farther to the Indian Ocean. This

Under the flag of the "multinational force," troops of several NATO powers are stationed in Lebanon. This soldier is from Italy.



NATO: INSTRUMENT OF AGGRESSION

design was given away by General Bernard Rogers, Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, when he said that if a new world war was destined to break out, the likeliest place was the Middle East-Persian Gulf-Indian Ocean line.

On the General's Line

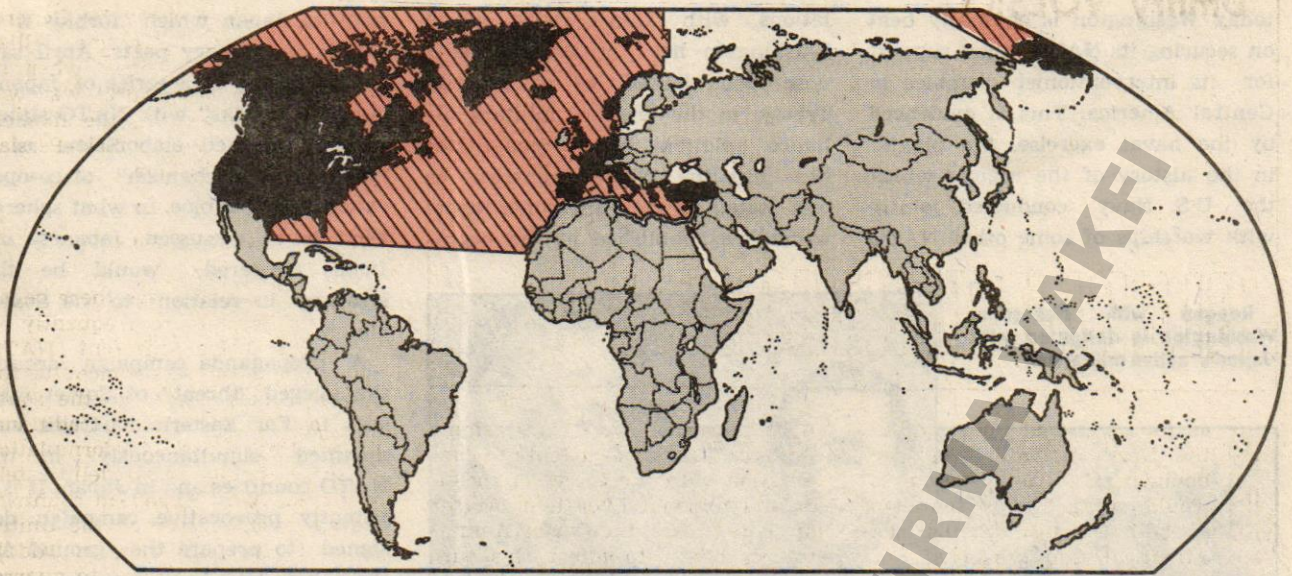
Indeed, some time ago there began to appear ever more frequently in the documents of different NATO bodies points on "assistance" to the United States' plans to the south and east of the bloc's traditional sphere of operation. The formulation of these points was deliberately vague: the West European countries depend much more than the United States on the deliveries of Middle East oil and do not want to quarrel with Arab countries. Even such a pro-American figure as NATO's Secretary-General Joseph Luns declared during the Israeli aggression of 1982 that, as a community, NATO could not undertake anything in the Middle East and that this could be done by individual governments which could come forward with some initiative.

The "initiative" was not long in coming. It was displayed by Washington itself, which induced three West European members of NATO—Italy, France and then Britain—to dispatch military contingents to Lebanon as part of a "multinational force," of which the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force is the backbone.

This force, with its bases and constantly expanding infrastructure, has virtually become a NATO's outpost in the Arab East. Recently Lebanon was visited by a host of the bloc's high-ranking officers and secret inspection teams, the aim reportedly being to choose sites for military bases and study the capacity of the country's communications system for its possible use in connection with the expansion of NATO's zone of operation.

It was also as a "multinational force" that NATO military contingents entrenched themselves in Sinai in April 1982, after the withdrawal of the Israeli occupation forces from there. The idea was to facilitate NATO's interaction with Israel on the one hand, and, on the other, with the conservative circles in Arab and other Moslem countries that took care not to co-operate openly with an obviously neo-colonialist organization so odious in the eyes of their peoples.

NATO again offered moderate support to possible American military operations in such regions outside the geographical zone of the al-



The "area of NATO responsibility."

liance as the Middle East and the Persian Gulf, a New York Times correspondent reported from Brussels, NATO's "capital," last December. It is indicative that this support was promised at a meeting of the bloc's Nuclear Planning Group. This NATO organization has paid heightened attention to the Middle East and other "peripheral zones" for several years now. In point of fact, the "nuclear planning" of the Atlanticists covers the entire basin of the Indian Ocean. A big American military base has been set up on the island of Diego Garcia. It has a depot for nuclear weapons which can be carried by half the 180 planes based on U.S. aircraft carriers cruising in this basin. The Pentagon has, moreover, almost thirty bases and military installations with 140,000 American troops in the Indian Ocean. It is precisely on this vast region, on the 19 independent non-aligned states situated there, that the U.S. Central Command, in fact an affiliate of NATO, is officially targeted. To this should be added the old colonial traditions of the "East of Suez" military policy of such NATO members as Britain and France.

As we may see, the line of war preparations stretches to the Middle East and the Indian Ocean fully in keeping with the staff maps of NATO. And yet some NATO maps remain in the drawer.

From Luanda to Managua

There is information to the effect that NATO intends to supply South Africa with a first-strike weapons—cruise missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads. From the territory of South Africa these missiles can hit Central Africa. There are

plans for their deployment also in Israel, from where nuclear warheads can be delivered all the way to Tanzania. Finally, any target in West Africa can be hit by cruise missiles that are being stationed in Sicily. Thus, the whole of the continent is to be taken in the bloc's pincers.

As a matter of fact, attempts to close these pincers (speaking of non-nuclear operations) were first made long ago. Their grip was felt, for instance, by Zaire, the former Belgian Congo, back in the early 1960s and then in the late 1970s, when the United States, France and Belgium mounted a military expedition to suppress a popular uprising in Shaba Province. NATO renders military support to South Africa, helping the racists to retain control over Namibia.

The policy of interference in the affairs of African countries has been vividly manifested in the conflict around the situation in Chad this summer. Outwardly, the United States and France would make it appear that they acted separately, but co-ordination of their actions is obvious. Just as their striving to secure some African countries' de facto association with NATO, such as Zaire, which sent troops to Chad at the first instance of the Atlanticists.

Like South Africa, but by less crude methods, NATO is out to undermine the independence of the progressive African countries. It is planned to use in southern Africa methods tested with the help of the Israeli militarists in the Middle East. Less than two months had elapsed since the landing of the "multinational force" in Lebanon when the question was raised of forming a similar force for Angola which, understandably, has not asked for it, but which has long been threat-

ened with a massive invasion by the South African racists who have been occupying the country's southern regions since 1981. It is not accidental that the question of a "multinational force" for Angola was discussed in November 1982 by U.S. State Secretary George Shultz with South Africa's Foreign Minister Roelof Botha.

The bloc co-operates with the racist regime also for purposes beyond the bounds of the African continent. In the first place to control the important sea lanes running from the Indian Ocean past the Cape of Good Hope and across the South Atlantic to the United States and Western Europe. Many years ago, to establish NATO's control over them, a project was advanced to set up an affiliate of NATO under the name of SATO (South Atlantic Treaty Organization), which was to unite South Africa, some pro-Western African countries and reactionary Latin American regimes. But it has proved much more difficult to realize such projects than to draw them up. And the plans of the Atlantic strategists brook no delay, in their opinion. This was one of the reasons for the large-scale British colonial expedition to the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) in the spring of 1982, an expedition which was essentially a NATO operation. It was not accidental that the British forces were under the command of Admiral John Fieldhouse, commander-in-chief of the NATO united forces in the Channel.

At that time the leading NATO countries supported Britain. And

today Washington is obviously bent on securing its NATO allies' support for its interventionist gambles in Central America. This is evidenced by the naval exercise, the biggest in the history of the region, which the U.S. Navy conducted jointly with warships of some other NATO

lations with Tokyo, with which Washington has for three decades now been linked by a Security Treaty, to the level of military alliance relations the United States has with the NATO countries, as was stated in the Pentagon's report which was published at the begin-

tion of Japan which forbids it to accede to military pacts. April saw the beginning of a series of Japan's "unofficial talks" with NATO states, which included elaboration of a "permanent mechanism" of co-operation with the bloc. In what sphere? First to be discussed, Japanese officials declared, would be the strategy in relation to the Soviet Union.

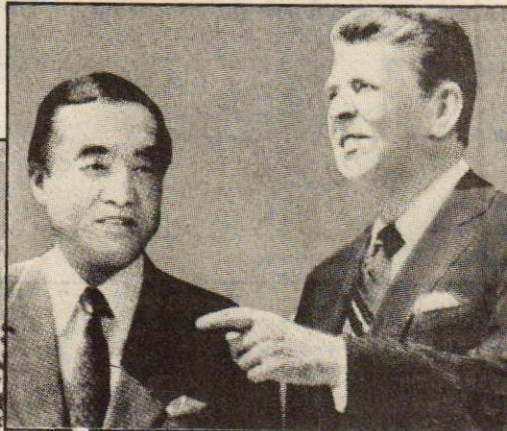
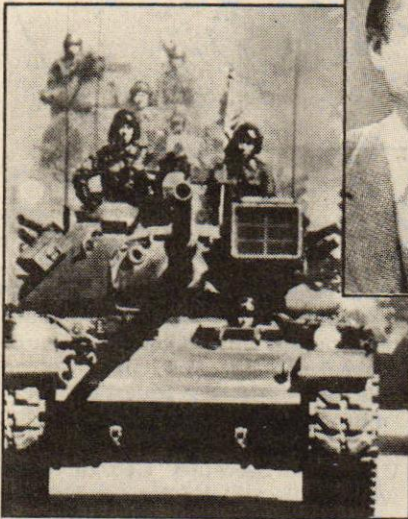
A propaganda campaign around the alleged "threat" of Soviet missiles to Far Eastern countries was mounted simultaneously in the NATO countries and in Japan. It is a patently provocative campaign designed to prepare the ground for the deployment in that region of the same Pershing 2 and cruise missiles which the Pentagon is preparing to site in NATO countries. Tokyo, which has already agreed to receive American ships with nuclear weapons aboard and nuclear-capable aircraft, is ready to help with this design.

In Williamsburg, Premier Nakasone not only acceded to the bellicose statement adopted there, but took an active part in drafting this document, which paves the way to an actually unlimited extension of the bloc's "zone of responsibility."

But even this does not exhaust the question of Japan's participation in NATO plans. The above-mentioned Pentagon plan directly set the aim of establishing a "collective security system" in the West Pacific as one of the main links of "joint defence" of the countries of the Western alliance. What is under way, in other words, is the knocking together of a Pacific affiliate of the Atlantic bloc, with Japan performing the function, if not of the architect, then that of building contractor. The Japanese are particularly active in helping the United States to draw the Seoul regime into its aggressive military preparations on an increasing scale. It is the triple Washington-Tokyo-Seoul alliance that is conceived as the nucleus of "Far Eastern NATO," into which it is hoped subsequently to drag some other countries, now regarded as potential partners of the bloc.

Even today, without waiting for

Reagan with Nakasone. Washington is delighted with Japan's active militarism.



countries off the shores of Central America. The exercise took place this spring, when Washington was actively preparing to extend its undeclared war against Nicaragua. But the whole thing did not boil down to hopeless attempts to browbeat the Sandinists with NATO's help. The design was much more wide-flung.

The Nakasone Doctrine

By their very presence American warships are "to reassure allies as diverse as Japan, Norway and Oman." This report was transmitted in the course of that provocative exercise from aboard the aircraft carrier John F. Kennedy by an American correspondent quoting the views of U.S. Secretary of the Navy John Lehman. There was a reason for mentioning Japan first. That country is becoming a U.S. "unsinkable aircraft carrier" in the Far East, where the Pentagon wants to create a potential theatre of operations against the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries, second in importance only to the European theatre.

The Reagan Administration has proclaimed its intention to raise re-

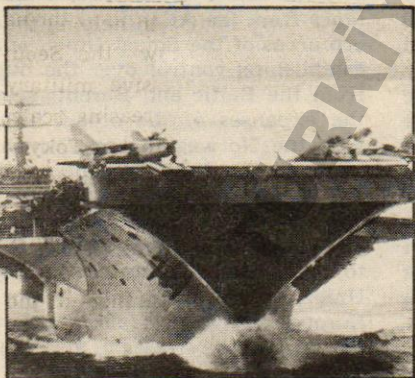
ning of this year and to which the Japanese government readily responded. Premier Yasuhiro Nakasone hastened to declare that it was in Tokyo's interests to contribute in every way to the United States' offensive capabilities. More, he decided to disclose Japan's own "offensive capabilities," stating that its desire was "to defend the sea lanes between Guam and Tokyo and between the Strait of Taiwan and Osaka." It is obviously not a question of defending sea lanes, which are not threatened by anyone, but of controlling them in the interests of the United States, Japan and NATO.

As their role in the global strategy of imperialism calls for, the Japanese ruling circles are establishing ever closer relations directly with the North Atlantic bloc. During his tour of West European countries in January this year Japanese Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe proposed "Japanese-American-West European consultations on security problems." This proposal was coolly received in some West European countries, for instance in France. But by spring Paris itself suggested holding such consultations. This removed the last obstacle to Japan becoming an actual participant in NATO, if one leaves out of account such an insignificant, from the militarists' point of view, circumstance as the Constitu-

the establishment of the new affiliate of NATO being finalized, U.S. strategists are in a hurry to use it. The Washington Post reported at the beginning of May that South Korea was most likely to agree to the deployment of neutron bombs.

Thus, the carpentering of a "Far Eastern NATO" is fraught with both nuclear and neutron danger. And no one can safely predict that this will not serve as a precedent for stationing the new barbarous weapon also in the European theatre. So far the Far Eastern partners of the North Atlantic bloc have been demonstrating a zeal Washington cannot always expect even from its full-fledged members. Why? The Japanese Premier has advanced a concept which the Western press has dubbed the Nakasone Doctrine. This is how it is characterized by the Paris Libération: "To enhance Japan's role in the global strategy of military confrontation with the Soviet Union in order to prevent the Western countries from unleashing a 'trade war' against Japan."

Top: Sea Harrier fighters taking off from a British aircraft carrier during the Falkland adventure. Bottom: The U.S. aircraft carrier Eisenhower off the Middle East coast.



Well, economic contradictions have more than once pushed bourgeois politicians onto a perilous path.

Deliberately and Simultaneously

NATO's globalist ambitions and the intensification of military preparations outside its sphere of operation are inseparable from the growth of the war danger.

Firstly, the function of "collective colonialist" which NATO performs ever more openly is fraught with the danger of military flare-ups at the old seats of tension, of the emergence of new such seats and of their development into large-scale and not local conflicts.

Secondly, the Reagan Administration is urging NATO to step up its activities in regions remote from Europe, one of the main objectives being to create additional theatres of operations against the socialist community there. The United States' long-term goal, says U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger, is to be able to do what is required by a global war, for instance, simultaneously to lift reinforcements to Europe, deploy forces in Southwest Asia (in the Persian Gulf), and render support in other potential conflict regions. The Washington Post deciphers this as follows: Weinberger and Lehman reject the "one and a half wars" strategy advanced by the Nixon Administration. They want to replace it with the strategy of one tremendous war waged against the Soviet Union on several fronts situated at great distances from one another and over the vast expanses of Eurasian territory. According to this strategy, the Soviet Union should be deliberately and simultaneously drawn into hostilities not only in Europe, but also in the Persian Gulf, in Northwest Asia and on the high seas.

"Deliberately and simultaneously." That leaves no doubt as to the scope of the danger NATO presents as an instrument of an American openly offensive aggressive policy not only in Eurasia, but also in Africa and Latin America. It will be noted that in all the conflict situations in which the North Atlantic bloc is involved there looms the shadow of the nuclear mushroom. ■

"CRISIS ARC" ON THE SOUTHERN FLANK

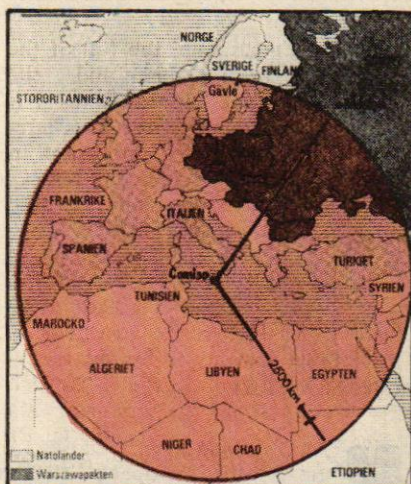
NATO's southern flank, or the South European theatre of operations, encompasses Italy, Greece, Turkey, and the Mediterranean Sea, the Sea of Marmara, and the southern part of the Black Sea. Strategic account is also taken of Cyprus, Israel and a number of Arab states which, though they are not members of the North Atlantic bloc, exert a great influence on the South European theatre, as is pointed out in the NATO document MC/SF/75/3.

This flank is of special importance for NATO. In the first place because of the Mediterranean. Situated exceptionally advantageously at the junction of three continents (Europe, Africa and Asia), it is regarded as a major strategic and operational jumping-off ground ensuring access to the natural resources of the region (above all oil), conduct of large-scale operations against national liberation movements, support of the reactionary regimes in the region, preservation of the social and political status quo in the NATO countries, and the possibility of waging war against the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries.

From the point of view of some NATO strategists, a frontal clash between the NATO and Warsaw Treaty forces in Central Europe would be much more risky and dangerous than a clash on the flanks. It is from the Mediterranean that it is planned to strike nuclear blows from the southwestern direction at administrative and industrial centres in the Soviet Union, such as Transcaucasia, cities on the banks of the Don, in Southern Siberia and the Urals.

Much to the regret of the bloc's leaders, the southern zone is separated from the central by a neutral countries, as well as by France. The southern flank, they maintain, must possess the kind of armed forces that could act independently throughout the entire region with its 18 sovereign countries.

Concentrated there is a powerful



force comprising up to 30 divisions, about 6,700 tanks, 1,049 aircraft, and 540 warships and auxiliary vessels. The headquarters of the Supreme Allied Commander of NATO's United Forces is in Naples, Italy.

The land forces, numerically the largest (more than 900,000 effectives), are subordinated to the command in the southern part of the theatre, with headquarters in Verona, Italy, and the command in the southeastern part, with headquarters in Izmir, Turkey.

They are made up of three Italian army corps and the South European group of the United States (four divisions, eight separate brigades, and five divisions of tactical and operational-tactical missiles). The Italian forces are operationally subordinated to the command of NATO's united land forces in the southern part of the theatre and administratively to the general headquarters of the land forces of Italy.

In the southeastern part of the theatre the land forces are made up of Turkish and Greek troops. Turkey has 16 divisions and 16 separate brigades plus four training divisions. Greece has nine infantry divisions (including three reserve ones) and one armoured brigade.

The air force on NATO's southern flank consists of two united tactical air commands: the 5th consisting of the Italian Air Force and one U.S. squadron, and the 6th comprising the Turkish Air Force and U.S. units.

The naval forces on the southern theatre unite those of Italy, Turkey, Greece, and Great Britain, land-based aviation and U.S. nuclear-powered submarines in the Mediterranean. On the eve or at the beginning of the war they are to be placed under NATO command, while in peacetime they remain under national command.

The nucleus of the naval forces on NATO's southern flank is the U.S. Sixth Fleet. In peacetime it is nationally subordinated and in war-

time it is to be operationally subordinated to the Supreme Allied Commander of the United Forces, Southern Europe. The Sixth Fleet consists of 50 to 60 ships, including two aircraft carriers (150 to 200 combat aircraft, half of them nuclear-capable), one or two cruisers, up to 20 destroyers, submarines, amphibious ships with Marine units, and auxiliary vessels.

Italy is NATO's most important operational-strategic bulwark on the southern flank. The United States and the North Atlantic bloc attach prime importance to strengthening its armed forces.

At present Italy comes immediately after the Federal Republic of Germany in the number of nuclear bases. From 1,000 to 1,500 units of nuclear weapons are stationed on its territory. Each one of them is 100 times as powerful as the Hiroshima bomb. The atomic weapons are controlled by special American units. The nuclear arsenal includes Lance missiles and howitzers which can fire nuclear and neutron projectiles.

Washington would like Rome to play a more active part in NATO's geopolitics, in particular in the Mediterranean. Such "wishes" find response among the Italian Atlanticists. Italy was among the first in

Europe to agree to the installation on its territory of new American medium-range missiles capable of hitting targets not only in the Soviet Union, but also in African and Middle East countries (see the map).

The militarization of Southern Italy and Sicily is proceeding apace. The latter is to be turned into an "unsinkable aircraft carrier." Large-scale military construction is under way in Trapani, Nebrodi, Lampedusa and Pantelleria. The installations erected there are to help increase control over the Gulf of Tunis which divides Africa from Sicily and is a vital part of the oil route.

Rome is reported to have undertaken to render military, material and technical support to the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force. This includes provision of bases for the movement of Marines within 24 hours to the region of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, and dispatch, when necessary, of its naval forces there.

Italy agreed to take part in the "multinational forces" in Sinai to back up the separate Camp David agreements serving the United States' geopolitical aims. It was from Italian ports that ships of the U.S. Sixth Fleet sailed to support Tel Aviv and stage provocations against Arab countries.

SPRINGBOARD IN THE NORTH

NATO and the Pentagon have latterly been paying particular attention to the North European theatre of operations. In an interview granted in the spring of this year British General Richard George Lawson, who commands the NATO forces in that theatre stressed the importance of the bloc's efforts to enhance combat readiness in the northern part of the Old World.

The bloc's interest in the north of the continent, where three NATO countries—Norway, Denmark and Iceland—are located, is explained by its exceptionally important strategic position. It is from there that the Atlantic strategists plan to strike at vitally important centres of the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries. They also take into account that Norway borders on the Soviet Union for almost 200 kilometres. Viewing the North European theatre as a springboard for aggression, the military leaders of the bloc, particularly

the Americans, want to ward retribution away from U.S. territory. Besides, the NATO Command thinks that without the North European theatre it would be difficult to conduct military operations in the Central European theatre. Its northern flank and the communication lanes between America and Europe, along which reserves would be brought from across the ocean, would be vulnerable. NATO also attaches much importance to the sea lanes from the Atlantic to the northern areas of the Soviet Union and to establishing control over the outlets from the Baltic and Barents seas to the expanses of the ocean. That is why the Norwegian and Danish islands in the North Atlantic and in the Baltic have been turned into anti-submarine bases. The shortest air routes from the United States to the western areas of the Soviet Union pass over this region of Europe, and that is very important for American strategic aviation.

A more complex situation for the NATO leaders obtains in the south-eastern part of the flank. Since the autumn of 1981, when the Socialist government headed by Andreas Papandreu came to power in Greece, Athens has evinced determination to pursue a more independent political course. There has been an announcement of the intention to revise the Rogers Plan on the basis of which Greece returned in October 1980 to the NATO military organization from which it withdrew in 1974 in protest against the bloc's stand on the Greco-Turkish conflict

NATO military exercises in Western Europe are held several times a year. Top picture shows manoeuvres off Italy, bottom—off Northern Norway.



The North European theatre encompasses Norway and Denmark (with their coastal waters), Schleswig-Holstein (West Germany) and the zone of the Baltic straits. The headquarters is located in Kolsås, near Oslo, the Norwegian capital. Structurally, the bloc's allied forces here take into account the geographical specifics of the region. They include the united armed forces in Northern and Southern Norway and in the zone of the Baltic straits. The theatre of operations stretches for 2,200 kilometres from North Cape to the West German city of Hamburg.

over Cyprus, to remove all types of nuclear weapons from Greek territory and to support the proposal for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans.

As a result of negotiations that lasted almost a year Athens and Washington concluded a new agreement for a term of five years on the use by the U.S. of military bases on the territory of Greece. Under the terms of this agreement, within 17 months after the expiration of its term, the U.S. should dismantle its bases and pull out their personnel.

This suits Washington, which is retaining these bases vitally needed to control the entire Eastern Mediterranean for five more years. Capitalizing on the Greco-Turkish contradictions, that is, the disputes over islands in the Aegean Sea, territorial waters and air space, as well as the problems of Cyprus and the national minorities living in Greece and Turkey, the United States does not lose hope of calling the refractory ally to order.

The same aim is pursued by Washington's demonstrative rapprochement with Ankara, which the Greek press has characterized as a new form of pressure on Athens. But there are other reasons for the rapprochement too. After the revo-

lution in Afghanistan, the fall of the pro-U.S. regime in Iran and the weakening of the United States' positions in the Persian Gulf area, Turkey has become more important in the eyes of the Pentagon and NATO.

The NATO geopoliticians would like Ankara to take part in safeguarding "security and stability" in the Asian part of the Arab world, especially in the Persian Gulf area, and if necessary, in the hostilities in the Middle East. It is hinted transparently enough to the Turkish government that the financial aid it so badly needs will depend on its readiness to co-operate with NATO.

NATO strategists consider that of special importance for the bloc is the line passing along North Africa, through the East Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf and thence to the Indian Ocean. That is why the NATO circles are so interested in keeping going all conflicts smouldering in the Mediterranean—the Middle East, Aegean, Cyprus and others. Preservation of the "crisis arc" is regarded as a pretext for accusing the U.S.S.R. of "expansionism," destabilizing the situation in the region, and continuing with the aggressive preparations on NATO's southern flank.

Lev MAKAREVICH

The total area comes to almost 383,000 square kilometres. Prime attention is being given to the creation of naval and air bases in the North European theatre. The biggest air bases and airfields have been built in Bardufoss, Andenes, Bodö, and Banak (Norway), Karup, Aalborg, Tistrup, Skrydstrup, Valdel and Vaerlose (Denmark), Leck, Jagel, Husum, Kiel-Holtenau, Itzehoe, Nordholz, and Rendsburg (the F.R.G.). Work is in progress on the expansion of these bases and airfields.

The biggest naval bases are in Norway—Ramsund, Harstad, Tromsø, Horten, Bergen and Kristiansund, in Denmark—Copenhagen, Frederikshavn and Korsør, and in the F.R.G.—Kiel, Flensburg, Olpenitz and Neustadt.

Extensive militaristic preparations are under way also in Iceland: big NATO air and naval bases have been set up in Keflavik, where about 3,000 American soldiers are stationed.

There are three military installations in Thule, Greenland, which serve as an American outpost in the event of a nuclear conflict with the U.S.S.R. A large American air base is located there.

The bloc's united armed forces in the North European theatre consist of the armed forces of the countries located within the theatre. In peace time NATO has at its disposal only a part of the armed forces of the allied states. It is only during exercises or in "crisis situations" that most of the national units of the ground forces, navy and aviation are directly subordinated to the bloc's command.

According to the foreign press, the bloc's armed forces in the North European theatre are as follows:

Norway: 37,000 men. A motorized infantry brigade and a battalion group, eight air squadrons and a squadron of Nike-Hercules anti-aircraft guided missiles. Armaments: 185 Leopard, M48 and M24 tanks, 130 155-mm self-propelled howitzers, 115 combat aircraft, 15 submarines, five frigates with guided missiles on board, 40 missile and eight torpedo boats.

Denmark: 32,600 men. Five motorized infantry brigades, a separate battalion, six combat air squadrons, two squadrons of anti-aircraft guided missiles. Armaments: 200 Leopard-1, Centurion and M41 tanks, 72 155-mm self-propelled howitzers,

Vitaly CHERNYAVSKY

SPY CONSORTIUM

The NATO countries arranged to co-ordinate their subversive activities immediately after the establishment of the bloc in 1949. Their talks, moreover, ended in the signing of agreements entitling American intelligence to have representatives in the secret services of the United States' junior NATO partners. This was secured, for instance, in the secret appendix No. 0021 to the North Atlantic Treaty. Somewhat later they set up the European co-ordinating committee to exchange intelligence. It was subordinated to the Standing Group of the NATO Military Committee.

In the next five years the volume

of joint intelligence operations against the U.S.S.R. and other countries of the socialist community increased so much that it became necessary to improve organizational forms: at its December 1956 session the NATO Council decided to set up committees for planning and for organizing subversive activities.

The Intelligence Machinery

How does the NATO intelligence machinery look now? Its complexity is simply staggering. Lyman Kirkpatrick, a former executive director in the Central Intelligence Agency, said in his memoirs. The NATO

leaders did their best to keep all information about the bloc's intelligence services—their structure, methods of operation, budget, strength—in strict secrecy. Nevertheless, some data leaked into the world press. Their analysis makes it possible to obtain a schematic, but sufficiently comprehensible, idea about them.

All the espionage activities since 1967 have been directed by the intelligence operation centre at NATO headquarters in Evre. This body, the London Sunday Times wrote after its establishment, was to inform the permanent representatives of the NATO countries and the main military command bodies about Russia's political and military potential on a scale wider than ever before. The information, which would be accumulated and assessed with the help of computers, would include constant observation of Soviet territory and troop movements with the help of American spy satellites, and reports from secret agents and assessments of the political situation in Eastern Europe. If a real crisis broke out there would be a still faster exchange of secret information among Washington, Evre and the capitals of the NATO countries.

The secret information obtained by the NATO countries' spy services

650 M113 armoured carriers, 116 combat planes, 60 launchers of anti-aircraft guided missiles, six submarines, ten frigates, ten missile and six torpedo boats.

The F.R.G.: the 6th Motorized Infantry Division, two air squadrons, two squadrons of anti-aircraft guided missiles (the armaments of these troops include nuclear weapon delivery vehicles). Besides, the Bundesmarine has 24 submarines, nine destroyers, six frigates, 30 missile and ten torpedo boats.

The NATO Command plans to build up its striking power in this region by bringing in troops from other theatres and other allied countries. The Pentagon, for instance, intends to send a reinforced Marine brigade numbering 10,000 men to Norway. All in all, if "necessary," it is intended to land there about 45,000 Marines, while four American air squadrons will be sent to Denmark. In its turn, Britain is preparing a brigade of Marines, an infantry brigade and a special Air Force paratroop regiment. Canada will provide a brigade group.

The participation of the NATO forces from the Central European theatre is also envisaged in combat

operations in the zone of the Baltic straits.

For a time the NATO leadership put up with the reservations voiced by Norway and Denmark when they joined the bloc. Oslo and Copenhagen made their membership in NATO dependent on their "bases policy." The essence of this policy is as follows: in peacetime these countries refuse to have foreign troops and foreign military bases on their territory. Besides, they will grant permission to site nuclear weapons on their territory only in a "crisis situation." But lately the Pentagon has been increasingly ignoring these reservations. In 1981 Oslo and Washington signed an agreement on the storing of heavy American arms on Norwegian territory. A similar agreement between the United States and Denmark was signed the same year. It may be recalled that the American units for which these stores are being built are armed with tactical nuclear weapons. The airfields and communications centres in Norway, Denmark and Iceland will be used by U.S. strategic bombers with nuclear weapons on board. A network of Loran C and Omega radio navigation stations has been

built on the Norwegian coast to service U.S. nuclear submarines.

The country, progressive circles in Norway note, has already been turned into a giant aircraft carrier with military depots, ports for foreign submarines, including those with missiles on board, communications and warning systems for espionage against the U.S.S.R. and other Warsaw Treaty countries. An Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) is being deployed in the country and its planes will be able to use Norwegian airfields 200 days a year. According to some reports, spy planes have already made "training" flights over Norway.

The NATO militarists are acting in the same manner towards Denmark as well, hoping to tie it more firmly to their strategy, including the nuclear one.

The more frequent attempts by NATO and the Pentagon to draw neutral Sweden and Finland closer to its orbit are cause of special concern.

The expansion of the aggressive bloc's military preparations merely complicates the situation in Northern Europe.

Dmitry MAXIMOV

in the socialist countries is exchanged within the framework of the Committee for the Communications Agencies in Europe. Its chairman, appointed for two years, is usually a high-ranking intelligence officer of one of the NATO countries, each taking its turn. Actually, however, the whole of the NATO spy machine is controlled by American cloak and dagger specialists, and only by them.

There are intelligence bodies at the headquarters of the supreme commands in Europe and the Atlantic, the Allied Command in the Channel, and the Canada-U.S. Regional Planning Group. The headquarters of the commands in the theatres of operations in Europe also have such bodies.

Radio monitoring, telephone bugging and electronic spying are the jobs of the Security Agency in Europe and the Agency for the Circulation and Study of Signals in Europe. They are both located in London and maintain close contact with the U.S. National Security Agency.

No data about the strength of the personnel of the NATO intelligence services and financial outlays are to be found in the press. Nevertheless, information leaking into the newspapers now and then gives a pretty good idea: there are tens of thousands of people employed and the outlays run into the billions. Here is just one example. British journalists have written of an electronic spy centre at Cheltenham, England, which has a staff of 4,000 and a budget of £100 million a year.

Purposes and Means

NATO officials are prone to claim that the purpose of the bloc's intelligence agencies is solely to co-ordinate the activities of the secret services of the member countries and analyze the information they obtain. But that is only one side of it. The NATO intelligence bodies themselves smuggle spies into socialist countries and spy on them with the aid of electronic devices and from the air. Sven Blindheim, a former major in the Norwegian army, exposed this in Norway in August 1978. He said he himself had taken part in the secret services' subversive activities against the Soviet Union. These NATO services tried to smuggle spies into the Soviet Union to collect information about military installations.

A network of NATO monitoring and electronic reconnaissance stations began to function in Norway,

near the Soviet border, a while ago. A large electronic espionage centre has been set up on Mount Arber in the Bavarian Forest (West Germany).

The NATO intelligence department is operating on a still wider scale in our day. It co-ordinates the efforts of the secret services of the United States, West Germany, Britain and other NATO countries, organizing a system of widespread espionage against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. How this really looks has been described convincingly enough by the West German newspaper *General Anzeiger*: the West German intelligence service specializes in keeping railway and highway movements in the German Democratic Republic under observation. The West German, American and British secret services have organized along the border with the G.D.R. and in West Berlin a whole system of technical facilities

countries. They are based at Geilenkirchen (West Germany) and already provide NATO with intelligence. By 1985 they will also be stationed on forward bases in Turkey, Italy and Norway. It is also planned to use AWACS planes to guide the new American medium-range missiles which NATO is bent on deploying in West Germany and other West European countries. All these are links of the giant NATO Air Defence Ground Environment System (NADGE) which stretches over vast distances, from Turkey to the north of Norway and from Alaska to Greenland. Its task is to keep air and outer space under round-the-clock control.

One of the most important tasks before NATO intelligence is to collect secret data to determine the location in the socialist countries of the installations which are to be the first targets of nuclear missiles. Imelda Verrept, formerly with the



NATO headquarters in Evre outside Brussels, in one of whose bunkers the bloc's spy centre is housed.

to monitor radio conversations in socialist countries. Also employed in the spy system are special units of the Bundeswehr, while West German naval craft constantly sail in the Baltic Sea for the same purpose.

NATO strategists pin particular hopes on the Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS). Five air spies of this system (there will be 18 of them all told) have begun to cruise along the borders of the Soviet Union and other socialist

NATO headquarters secretariat, who came over to the G.D.R. in 1980, confirmed in an interview with ADN that this was the subject of a NATO document code-named PO/78/99 and stamped "Cosmic" (top-secret in NATO-V.C.). It lists 2,500 targets, a third of them in the Soviet Union and the rest in other Warsaw Treaty countries.

There is another aspect of NATO's secret activity that should be mentioned. The reference is to the Action Committee 46 (AC46). This is the name of a subcommittee of the NATO Security Committee. The subcommittee's executive body is the Security Directorate which is subordinated to the NATO Secretary-General. The AC46 consists of representatives of all countries of the bloc. The members of the Committee discuss questions relating to counter-intelligence activities against the socialist countries and police measures against Communist and Workers' parties, against all the champions of peace and progress in their own countries. They are assist-



Spy planes of the AWACS system.

ed by people holding responsible jobs in the political counter-intelligence services—the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the United States, the Department for Safeguarding the Constitution in West Germany, the special branch of Scotland Yard in Great Britain, etc.

Psychological Warfare

There is every grounds to identify with the NATO spy machine the North Atlantic agencies occupying themselves with carrying on subversive ideological actions against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This "psychological warfare" is directed by the Committee of Political Advisers. A big role in anti-communist propaganda is also played by the NATO Political Affairs Division. Subordinated to it are the information and press services, the political affairs administration of the general secretariat and the department of anti-communist propaganda in Western Europe.

The person in charge of the information service is the deputy secretary-general for political affairs. This service is the main centre co-ordinating the methods of NATO psychological warfare. It is there that fables about the "Soviet threat," distorting the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R., and slander about Soviet life are concocted. It is there too that "psychological actions" against the Communists and other progressives in the capitalist countries are prepared.

Proofs? There are quite a few of them. Here is one. The press conference held by Ursel Lorenzen, a former NATO headquarters employee who came to the German Democratic Republic at the beginning of 1979. She said that at its May and December 1975 sessions the NATO Military Planning Committee discussed the question of elaborating compulsory instructions for the mass media on how to influence public opinion. NATO Secretary-General Joseph Luns strongly backed the idea and insisted on giving

the press guidelines that would determine the subject and terminology of the reports about the "Soviet threat." When Ursel Lorenzen asked her colleagues in Brussels about it, she was told that the "facts" cited to make the lies about the "threat" look true were cooked up by the intelligence agencies.

The information service is the biggest and the best financed body among those subordinated to the Political Affairs Division. It regularly publishes NATO Review, the main 11-language North Atlantic mouthpiece whose task is to set the tone to be followed by the Western capitalist press in support of the bloc's ideas and practical activity. Another "reputable" publication is the yearly NATO Facts and Figures, which prides itself on its documentality. Actually, it shamelessly manipulates with facts and figures to prove the "growing aggressiveness" of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and thus justify NATO's arms build-up.

Systematically published at the request of the information service are free brochures and booklets like

is heard about integration in the sphere of intelligence. And not because it does not exist. On the contrary. Judging by everything, integration in the spheres of espionage and other subversive affairs has reached its highest level.

NATO intelligence owed its relatively rapid build-up to the desire of the leading imperialist countries of the bloc to create as quickly as possible a front of secret war against the socialist countries.

Besides this so-called strategic aim, however, the participants in the spy consortium also pursued tactical objectives. The intelligence services of small NATO countries hoped to get more information than their modest manpower and financial resources could provide them with, compared with, say, the United States, Federal Republic of Germany or Britain. The secret services of these powers, in their turn, intended to lay hands on new channels for their agents' penetration into the East which were not efficiently enough used by the intelligence agencies of their junior partners. And all the members of

NATO SECRET

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9. Effets divers

Cette mesure pourrait avoir d'importants prolongements sur le plan politique. Pour avoir un réel intérêt pour les services du renseignement, il faudrait que l'échange d'informations soit plus satisfaisant que ce que l'on a enregistré jusqu'ici à Vienne à propos des données. La mesure aurait également pour effet de compliquer la tâche de l'Est, au cas où il envisagerait de la violer.

Aspects of NATO, The Atlantic Alliance and Warsaw Pact, and other propaganda matter. Though they are put out in different covers and size, they are all imbued with anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. Also produced are short films full of subversive propaganda. The service organizes and directs the work of mobile information centres, libraries and exhibitions, and subsidizes several dozen newspapers and magazines in the NATO countries. Moreover, it finances journalists' trips to different countries to propagandize the bloc's ideas.

Who Has Profited by Integration

NATO bigwigs like to expatiate upon integration—military, political and economic. But almost nothing

NATO secret directive calling for closer pooling of intelligence.

the consortium hoped to use NATO intelligence as a convenient cover-up for the operation of their secret services.

Washington directed NATO intelligence from the very beginning not only in order to get all the results of its activity. The CIA tried to make the maximum use of the potentialities of the intelligence agencies of the bloc and its allies to establish a wide spy network in the NATO countries with a view to obtaining precise and detailed secret information about their most cherished plans.

What is the explanation for that? Since the 1960s the United States' relations with its junior NATO part-

ners have been so shaping out that Washington cannot always dictate to them. That is why the U.S. Administration is trying to put invisible levers—American secret services—into action to influence the NATO countries. Here are a few facts.

The British magazine *Leveller* has affirmed that the CIA controls the actions of the West European governments. This conclusion has been corroborated by excerpts from secret documents which reveal, among other things, that CIA agents have been instructed to infiltrate into the military and intelligence services of the West European countries and to collect information about political events and the economic and financial policies of their governments. The CIA document on the perspectives of intelligence activity in 1976-81, for instance, contained such an assignment.

Earlier still, the Italian weekly *Europeo* published "FM 30-31," a Pentagon secret instruction on the Operation Stabilization and Intelligence. The U.S. army intelligence service was set the task of conducting secret operations on the territory of the United States' NATO allies. The following measures were envisaged: appointment of American advisers to the government and the armed forces of the host country (i.e., where the United States has troops and bases—V.C.); arrangement of psychological "stabilization" operations; dispatch of agents to ascertain what the population think about the adversary and his military hardware and potential; action with the view to giving support to the governments, civilian organizations and politicians waging a resolute struggle against "rebels," as the Communists and members of other progressive parties and organizations are called, and tactical operations with the direct intervention by U.S. troops.

The U.S. ruling circles have repeatedly had recourse through intelligence services to open plots against the governments not to their liking—for instance, in Greece in 1967, Italy in 1970 and Portugal in 1974.

Subversion and Terrorism Worldwide

The NATO secret services have long penetrated into the Middle East, Southeast Asia, Africa, the South Atlantic, and the Far East.

Let us cite a few facts.

The South African intelligence service maintains close ties with the NATO military intelligence committee in Brussels. They have an agreement on the exchange of information with the view to combating com-

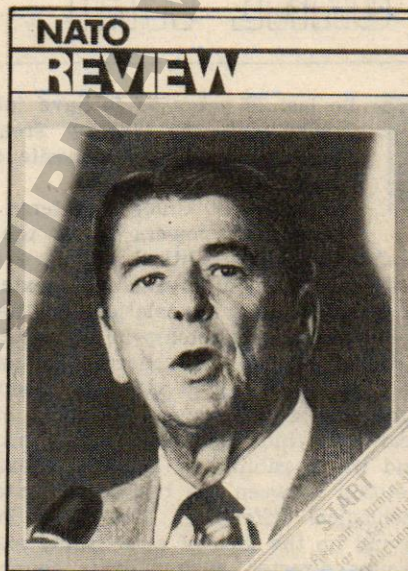
munist. The racist secret services are helped to spy on, engage in sabotage and carry out other subversive actions against the progressive African states bordering on South Africa—Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Special camps have been set up in the South African border areas, where the bandits from UNITA, the so-called National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, are trained by South African and NATO instructors. All this counterrevolutionary scum is employed to carry out subversive actions in the above-mentioned countries with the view to destabilizing them politically and economically.

In the Middle East, NATO intelligence relies on the assistance of the Israeli secret services. Mossad, the central intelligence and security bureau, and Agaf Modin, the intelligence service of the armed forces, have been working for the CIA since their inception, providing it with secret information about the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, as well as Arab and African states. The Israeli secret services have long been in close contact with its West German and British counterparts. Besides providing NATO with information, they take an active part in the Atlanticists' subversive operations. The latest instance is the attempt made in June of this year to topple Jerry Rawlings' democratic government in Ghana. It was inspired by the CIA and other NATO secret services which were assisted by Mossad.

In Southwest Asia the NATO intelligence base is in Pakistan. It is from there that the Atlantic cloak and dagger agencies have, together with the CIA and the Islamabad intelligence service, unleashed a large-scale undeclared war against Afghanistan. In the five years since the April Revolution in that country the United States has spent \$218 million on it and West Germany and Britain \$24 million and \$28 million, respectively. Over 100,000 bandits have been trained and large depots of American weapons, chemical included, have been built at the training centres in Pakistan (there are more than 100 of them, even according to the American press). It is also from Pakistani territory that NATO secret services carry on subversive operations against India, together with the secret services of Pakistan, Japan, South Africa and Israel taking part.

Co-operating very closely with the CIA are the Japanese intelligence and counter-intelligence agencies which were restored after the war with the direct participation of

the U.S. secret services. Back in April 1957 the American and Japanese governments agreed to set up an "intergovernmental committee to study problems arising in relation to the Security Treaty." Its functions include co-ordination of the activities of the secret services of the two countries against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Working contacts have been established between the intelligence services of



The bloc's twice-monthly organ.

Britain and West Germany, on the one hand, and the Japanese secret services, on the other. All this facilitated considerably the activities of the NATO spy agencies in the Far East and Southeast Asia already back in the 1960s.

In its operations in these regions, NATO intelligence makes wide use of the possibilities of the South Korean and Thai secret services, as well as of the Kuomintang spy agencies in Taiwan, where a so-called headquarters for the co-ordination of the American and Kuomintang intelligence services has been functioning since 1950.

The Australian Secret Intelligence Service and the Australian Security Police have long been obedient assistants of the NATO secret services. These two spy organizations not only collect intelligence about the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for NATO, but also take part in the Atlanticists' secret operations in the Far Eastern and Southeast Asian countries.

Summing up, one may say that in the realization of their plans the Atlanticists pin much hope on the NATO spy consortium which is directed by the U.S. secret services.

Vladlen KUZNETSOV

THE ONLY SANE WAY

The last 30 years or so have fully disclosed that NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization pursue diametrically opposite courses in world affairs.

The Soviet Union countered the attempts of the Western powers to split the world into antagonistic military political groups even before NATO had been founded, advancing an extensive programme of peaceful interstate relations, mutually advantageous co-operation, partnership in the solution of key international issues, and concerted action in the United Nations. The U.S.S.R. called for keeping up in peacetime the experience and practices of the anti-fascist coalition which had conclusively proved their worth and the possibility of peaceful coexistence and competition between the two social systems despite their ideological differences. The Soviet government urged giving up the idea of establishing exclusive blocs and groups directed against other countries and pointed out that this dangerous way, far from checking aggression, would merely inspire it.

The Soviet Union demonstrated its good will for co-operation by practical deeds. As a result of large-scale demobilization the strength of the Soviet Armed Forces was reduced from 11,365,000 effectives in 1945 to 2,874,000 in 1948.

But the Western leaders did not appreciate the Soviet Union's good will and practical steps and did not heed its warnings against the creation of a militarist bloc directed against their erstwhile ally in the anti-fascist coalition.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry pointed out in its statement on January 29, 1949, that the aims of this bloc were closely linked with plans of forcibly establishing Anglo-American supremacy under U.S. aegis in Western Europe, the North Atlantic, South America, the Mediterranean, Asia, Africa and "wherever their hands can reach." The years since then have fully confirmed this prophecy.

All these years the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty countries have advocated the dissolution of the two alliances and, first of all, of their military organizations. But their repeated calls have either been flatly rejected or disregarded. In these circumstances the Warsaw Treaty states have had no choice other than to check and neutralize the aggressive designs of the NATO leaders and the bloc's attempts to gain military superiority and tip the strategic balance in Europe and the world in its favour. To the NATO policy of escalating the arms race and nuclear rivalry the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty states contrapose the policy of limiting and cutting armaments, the weapons of mass destruction in the first place, and of reducing the level of confrontation between the two largest and most powerful military and

political alliances. Were it not for this deterrent effect of the mighty defensive alliance of socialist countries, the activity of the North Atlantic bloc would grow more dangerous in scale and character. Mankind has lived in peace for nearly 40 years now thanks largely to the vigorous and constructive peace-making activity of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

The analysis of the present international situation shows that mankind has reached a turning point, that it is at the crossroads. One road leads to the elimination of tensions, the curbing of massive arms build-up, the reduction of the nuclear war threat, and a turn to more secure peace. The other road leads to the aggravation of confrontation, to the runaway arms race and to the abyss of nuclear war. The year 1983 is becoming a sort of signpost at this crossroads. In the opinion of many politicians and news analysts, this year may prove crucial. Very much will depend on whether the Soviet-American talks in Geneva on the cardinal issues of curtailing the nuclear arms race will bring results, whether positive changes will take place in the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, and whether the danger of serious aggravation of nuclear confrontation in Europe can be warded off.

In view of the gravity of the international situation, the growth of the danger of war, and the significance of the present moment for the future of world peace and security, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have advanced important and large-scale initiatives aimed at curbing the arms race and averting a conflict that would spell disaster for human civilization. The efforts of collective socialist foreign policy are today concentrated on the prevention of a nuclear war, small- or large-scale, limited or total, and of a war with the use of conventional arms which are becoming increasingly terrible and drawing closer by their striking power to the weapons of mass annihilation.

At their joint session on December 22, 1982, held to mark the 60th anniversary of the U.S.S.R., the Supreme Soviet (Parliament) and the Central Committee of the Communist Party adopted the Appeal to the Parliaments, Governments, Political Parties and Peoples of the World. The document expressed confidence that, if they joined efforts, the countries and peoples would be able to eliminate the threat of war, preserve and strengthen peace on earth, and secure man's right to life. In furtherance of these aims, the appeal said, the Soviet Union was prepared to co-operate with all countries, irrespective of their political and social systems.

Yuri Andropov's speeches at the November 1982 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and at the meeting dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the U.S.S.R. contain highly important proposals aimed at ensuring progress in the key areas of the struggle against the arms race.

In what concerns **strategic armaments**, the Soviet Union has proposed that both sides stop building them up right now, i.e., freeze them at the present level, and then reduce the existing arsenals by roughly 25 per cent on each side, bringing them down to the same levels. And then proceed to new reductions.

In what concerns **medium-range nuclear weapons**, different variants for the solution of this sharp issue have been offered. Either to have no nuclear weapons at all in the European zone—neither medium-range nor tactical ones on the Soviet side and on the side of

the NATO countries. This would mean "absolute zero," so to speak, for both sides. Or reduction of medium-range weapons (missiles and nuclear-capability planes) by both sides by more than two thirds. The Soviet Union is prepared to retain only as many such missiles as are in the possession of Britain and France which now account for over a quarter of all NATO aircraft and medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. In this case there would be no Soviet and American medium-range missiles confronting each other in Europe. As for planes, the U.S.S.R. also stands for complete equality at a far lower level than the present.

Complete equality in missiles and planes at a considerably lower level than today, and complete equality in warheads—such is the Soviet stand. It is an honest and fair stand based on the principle of equality and equal security and therefore irresistible by its logic and attraction.

The year 1983, said to be a decisive year, began with the socialist community's major joint initiative aimed at improving the world political climate. The Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee which plays an especially important role in framing the joint policy of the socialist countries, met in Prague on January 4 and 5. The leaders of seven countries—Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union—discussed in the light of the complex international situation the main directions, ways and means in the struggle to eliminate the danger of nuclear war, preserve and strengthen détente, and improve security and develop co-operation in Europe.

Guided by the analysis of the poles of confrontation on the fundamental questions of war and peace, the Warsaw Treaty countries arrived at conclusions which reflect the objective realities and laws of our day and its main tendencies. The forces of peace are stronger than the forces of war. Everything depends on their cohesion and the purposefulness of their actions.

The task of curbing the arms race and going over to disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, is central in the struggle for averting war, says the Political Declaration of the Prague meeting. This task has become imperative because of Washington's policy of preparing a nuclear war and working out aggressive doctrines. The Political Declaration reveals the danger and futility of such a policy and its adventurism.

Lenin proclaimed disarmament an ideal of socialism. The world is still very far from this ideal. It may generally be asked: Will not disarmament remain an ideal divorced from present-day international life and politics? For the realization of this ideal depends not only on us.

Imperialism cannot be altered. But it is not a question of changing the nature of imperialism, for it is immutable. However, the imperialist states, which are not always and necessarily ruled by aggressive circles, can be induced to pursue a more moderate course in world affairs and in their relations with the socialist countries. They can also be induced to moderate their militarist appetites and ambitions and to slow down war preparations. This is evidenced by about two dozen international agreements which were concluded in the 1960s and 1970s and which to a certain degree restrain the arms race in a number of fields. This is also proved by the strong pressure exerted on the ruling circles by the people who increasingly oppose the burden of arms build-up. In the United States and other NATO countries there are influential circles,

even in the ruling class, that do not believe in the possibility of gaining military superiority over the Soviet Union and therefore think it best to reach agreement with the U.S.S.R. on mutual reduction of their military potentials. The economic resources of imperialism are by far not unlimited. As a result of astronomical military expenditure and the swelling of arms production, imperialism finds it more and more difficult to make both ends meet.

All this shows that conditions do exist to compel the imperialist states to conduct the disarmament talks more productively or to resume the suspended talks on the subject of curbing the arms race. The Soviet Union wants to see the deceleration of the arms race in evidence in the 1980s and 1970s continued in order to impel the United States and other NATO countries to agree at least to partial measures. The main objective is the following: using all the levers of influence—the strengthening of the defence potential of the Soviet Union and its allies that will leave the aggressor no chance or hope, systematically exposing the military adventurism of the United States and NATO in the eyes of the world, and constantly advanced peace initiatives that attract by the possibility they offer to reach mutually acceptable agreements—to put the imperialist circles in a position forcing them to give up their attempts to unleash a nuclear war.

The Soviet Union is prepared to go far on the question of disarmament, all the way to the scrapping of all weapons, to complete and general disarmament. But not so far as to disarm unilaterally, as its foes would like.

What is to be done first in the present situation? The socialist countries give a clear answer to this question. It is necessary to act without delay, while it is still possible to curb the arms race and go over to disarmament. In their military policies the countries should proceed from the principle of equality and equal security and take account of the legitimate security interests of one another. It is essential for the countries, particularly the nuclear powers, to display will and readiness for co-operation. In this connection the participants in the Prague meeting expressed the hope that, following the Soviet Union's unilateral commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, all the nuclear powers that had not yet assumed such a commitment would do it. The socialist countries called for the activation of the talks in progress and for the resumption of the interrupted talks on the entire range of questions relating to the discontinuation of the arms race.

The political declaration of the Prague meeting of the Warsaw Treaty states made a new important proposal to the NATO countries: to conclude a treaty on the mutual renunciation of the use of armed force and on the maintenance of relations of peace. The core of the treaty could be the mutual commitment by the countries of the two alliances not to be the first to use either nuclear or conventional weapons against each other and, therefore, not to use any military force against each other.

All other interested European countries could take part in the drafting and signing of the treaty which would be open to any states wishing to join it. The treaty could thus become the starting point on the road to excluding the use of force from international relations and removing war from the life of mankind. In any case, the importance of the treaty lies in the fact that prevention of a conflict between the most powerful military and political groups is actually tantamount to prevention of a new world war.

Earlier, at the end of 1982, the Soviet Union proposed that the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries commit themselves not to extend the sphere of activity of their alliances to Asia, Africa and Latin America. As it had happened on more than one occasion before, NATO ignored this proposal. At the January meeting in Prague the Soviet proposal was advanced by all the Warsaw Treaty countries, and the "forgetful" were thus reminded that their reply was being awaited.

In their Prague declaration the Warsaw Treaty States again approved the idea of establishing nuclear-free zones in the north of Europe, in the Balkans and in other parts of the continent. Proceeding from this principled stand, the Soviet Union, in a statement published in the Soviet press on January 28, 1983, backed Sweden's proposal to create in Europe a zone free of battlefield nuclear weapons, roughly 300 kilometres wide, i.e., 150 kilometres on each side of the line of contact between the two blocs. Simultaneously, Moscow proposed extending the zone to 500-600 kilometres in order to ensure the most effective solution of the problem of reducing the nuclear danger.

Speaking at a dinner for Finnish President Mauno Koivisto on June 6, Yuri Andropov again supported Helsinki's proposal to declare Northern Europe a nuclear-free zone and expressed readiness to discuss the question of giving the Baltic Sea a non-nuclear status with the interested parties.

Judging by widespread comment abroad, world public opinion fully recognizes the vast significance of the constructive peace projects advanced by the socialist community and demands that the West seize upon this opportunity and favourably reply to the complex of initiatives of the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty countries, initiatives bespeaking the will for peace not only of their peoples, but of the whole of mankind.

Compelled to reckon with the public urge for peace, the Western governments dared not this time immediately turn down the proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist states. Most of the leaders of the NATO countries declared their intention to study these proposals, primarily the proposal to conclude a treaty on the mutual renunciation of the use of armed force and on the maintenance of relations of peace between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries. Time will show how sincere and serious the Western governments were in declaring their intention to give a businesslike reply to the projects addressed to them.

On February 17, 1983, the Soviet delegation to the Vienna talks on mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe submitted, on behalf of the socialist countries directly participating in the talks, new important proposals which envisage:

- reduction of the NATO and Warsaw Treaty armed forces to the equal collective levels of 900,000 effectives, irrespective of the present strength of their armed forces;

- withdrawal of 20,000 Soviet troops together with their armaments within a year (in addition to the similar contingent and 1,000 tanks pulled out of the German Democratic Republic in 1979 and 1980), provided the United States withdraws 13,000 troops;

- freeze, following this cut serving as a mutual example, of the levels of the armed forces and armaments of all direct participants in the talks.

On June 23 the Czechoslovak delegation to the Vienna talks, acting on behalf of the socialist countries as

direct participants in the negotiations, submitted the draft of an agreement on mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments and pertinent measures in Central Europe, based wholly on the above-mentioned proposals.

On June 21 the Soviet government, on the instructions of the Supreme Soviet, proposed to the governments of the United States, Britain, France and the People's Republic of China that the nuclear powers simultaneously freeze all the nuclear armaments in their possession, both quantitatively and qualitatively. This could initially be done by the Soviet Union and the United States at an agreed date, with the other nuclear powers following suit.

Thus, the idea born in the mass movement for peace and against war has been supported by the Soviet Union and addressed in the form of a proposal to the other nuclear powers. Realization of the peoples' hope that a reliable obstacle be erected to the nuclear arms build-up now depends on the political will of these countries.

The peace-loving stand of the Soviet Union and its broad programme of constructive actions for removing the threat of war and improving the international situation have been backed by the might and prestige of the socialist community as a whole. This general platform of the Soviet Union was reaffirmed at the meeting of the Party and government leaders of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the Soviet Union in Moscow on June 28.

In their joint statement the participants in this meeting drew the attention of all countries and peoples to the question of how to prevent the further dangerous aggravation of the present situation, the drift of the world to a catastrophe. They think it is necessary in the first place:

- promptly to effect the freezing of the nuclear arms of all the nuclear powers, first of all of the Soviet Union and the United States;

- for the nuclear powers which have not yet done this, to assume the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The participants in the Moscow meeting called on the NATO countries to open direct talks without delay in order to reach agreement on not increasing military expenditure starting with January 1, 1984, and on concrete measures for the practical mutual reduction of this expenditure in the subsequent period.

The leaders of the socialist states considered it necessary urgently to start talks on prohibiting the placement of weapons of all types in outer space and to rule out the possibility of the arms race spreading to outer space.

It was noted in the joint statement that the participants in the Moscow meeting expected consent from the NATO states to begin a practical study of the proposal to conclude a treaty, open to all countries of the world, on the mutual renunciation of the use of armed force and on the maintenance of relations of peace between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries. The leaders of the socialist states called for everything to be done so that agreement would be reached this year at the Soviet-American talks in Geneva on the non-deployment of new medium-range missiles in Europe and on the reduction of the existing medium-range weapons on a mutually acceptable basis.

Guided by the universal ideals of peace and security,

humanism and social progress, the socialist countries expressed readiness to pool their efforts with the efforts of all countries irrespective of their social and political systems, with all who are working to strengthen peace and international security, with the aim of taking practical steps capable of averting the worst. Moscow has urged the NATO and all other countries soberly and objectively to assess the dangerous tendencies in the present-day international relations and to draw rational conclusions that would accord with the cardinal interests of mankind.

To sum up.

The threat of a new war created by imperialism and its aggressive North Atlantic bloc is serious, and it would be an unforgivable delusion to underestimate it. However, one must not allow oneself to be mesmerized by this threat, for the war planners count precisely on such an effect: to intimidate the peoples, accustom them (as they are doing in their own countries) to the thought that war is inevitable, and paralyze the will and energy of the peace champions.

On the one hand, the danger of war, if one is to look the truth in the face, is real today too, and it is likely to increase still more if imperialism succeeds in escalating the arms race. It should be borne in mind that the United States and NATO lay special emphasis on building up the first-strike potential. It should also be borne in mind that in the present conditions war may break out not only through malicious design, not only because the fanatical class hatred of socialism and the maniacal desire to throw it on the scrap-heap of history, as President Reagan once said, may prevail over common sense and the instinct of self-preservation. War may also break out by mistake, as a result of a technical fault or an absurd accident.

On the other hand, the way to war is today barred by powerful forces with which the aggressor, even one inclined to overestimate his possibilities, cannot but reckon. It is first of all the Soviet Union's nuclear missile potential capable of sobering up the hotheads. It is the mass anti-war movement, now regarded by the Pentagon and NATO as a serious obstacle to their adventurist designs. It is the condemnation and disgust which the U.S. plans of nuclear war, from limited to protracted, have aroused in the world. Even the Americans, who seem to have been intimidated by the "Soviet military threat" and poisoned by chauvinism and anti-communism, have come out for a nuclear arms freeze, compelling Washington to change its bellicose tone, manoeuvre and make peace statements. Far from all the NATO allies of the United States are prepared to follow it on the road of nuclear gambles. This, too, is no small obstacle on the way to the war.

The present balance of military forces in the world deters the aggressors from taking a risk. There is a military and strategic parity between the Soviet Union and the United States, between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. But if we take the world alignment of political, economic, moral and other forces, if we bear in mind all the factors determining the state and potential of the two opposing worlds with their allies and sympathizers, the scales will definitely tip in favour of

the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, all democratic and progressive circles.

The planners of a new war are also kept from risking it because in the nuclear-missile age one can hardly count on victory. Even the surprise factor and the first strike are by no means a guarantee against a retaliatory blow. But if the aggressor cannot be sure of success, if this success, if one may call it so, is achieved at the price of life, is it worth risking a war? The development and modernization of weapons of mass destruction, especially of doomsday nuclear weapons, make war absurd. War becomes senseless and pointless, because the risk of unleashing it borders on suicide.

Despite all the vicissitudes of the international situation, the Soviet position in the world remains firm and stable. The Soviet Union has everything necessary to maintain its position in the future: impressive defence and economic potential, cautious and farsighted foreign policy, strong nerves, courageous restraint and staunch patriotic spirit of the people, reliable socialist allies united in the Warsaw Treaty Organization, support of the world working-class, communist and national liberation movements, and approval of all progressive forces, all who cherish peace.

The Soviet Union and its allies have everything necessary to protect their vital interests, to keep anyone from daring encroach on them. The military strategic potential of the Soviet Union and the socialist community in general is enough to strike a devastating retaliatory blow at the aggressor in any kind of war with the use of weapons of various types. Neither economic pressure nor diplomatic or political blackmail, neither direct aggression nor different NATO's doctrines of "containing" or "rolling back" socialism have been able to stop it. There has not been a single moment in the history of the Soviet state when its diplomacy retreated or wavered under the pressure and threats of imperialism. It has not retreated and will not retreat under the pressure of those who are now trying to mount a frontal attack against the Soviet Union and its allies. Socialism is able to stand any test and defend itself.

Combining high defence preparedness and administration of a vigorous rebuff to the aggressive policy of imperialism with a flexible approach to the maintenance of a constructive political dialogue with the West and constant readiness to reach mutually acceptable agreements on the curtailment of the arms race, the Soviet Union successfully tackles a twofold task: it creates and ensures the necessary external conditions for peaceful, constructive labour, for building communist society, and simultaneously helps to strengthen international security, for we are living in the nuclear-missile age, when the security of one is the security of all.

The Soviet Union is building its relations with the other countries on the basis of equality and equal security. Consolidating its international position, it also works to strengthen world order, thereby making a big contribution to the maintenance of universal peace.

FOR THE SOVIET
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SUPPLEMENT TO NEW TIMES

Moscow, 1983

THE ROGERS PLAN— BLUEPRINT FOR AGGRESSION

NATO Openly Sets Its Sights on Offensive Action and the Nuclear First Strike

Recently NATO set its official seal of approval to the Rogers Doctrine (also known as the Rogers plan). It boils down to placing the emphasis on the development of conventional weapons for strikes in depth at the territory of the supposed adversary. As NATO Secretary-General Lord Carrington said recently in an interview to the West German *Die Welt*, what is in question is the emergence of new means of warfare capable of strikes beyond the enemy's lines.

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz said last spring that the need for steps to strengthen the conventional defences of NATO was widely recognized. Thus, having begun the deployment of the new first-strike nuclear missile systems,

bloc on their part persistently expatiate on its adherence to the "flexible response" strategy. Is this really the case?

In December 1979, simultaneously with the adoption of the "double-track" decision on Euromissiles, NATO headquarters began working on a new concept of warfare with the use of conventional armaments.

In the summer of 1982 the U.S. Army journal *Military Review* published the contents of a new field manual, the FM 100-5, which put forward the Air-Land Battle strategic concept. In it the emphasis is placed on preventive strikes at the adversary's rear areas and the development for this purpose of new types of conventional weapons: self-homing cluster missiles, new-gene-

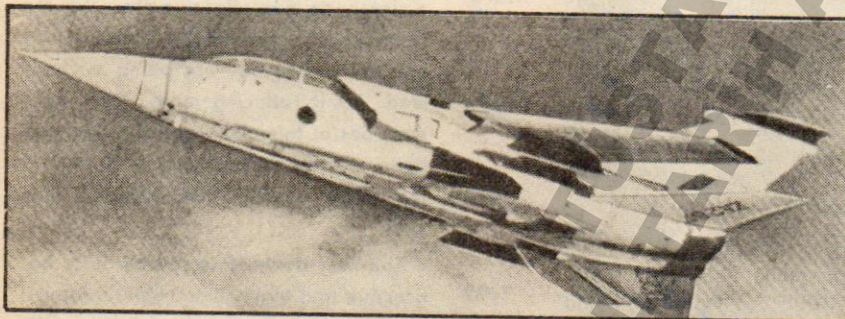
ning of the conflict not only of new-generation conventional armaments, but also of chemical and nuclear weapons. The French *Monde Diplomatique* has observed that the U.S. is now prepared to "start a war with first use of nuclear weapons."

NATO Supreme Commander in Europe General Rogers denies there is any connection between the NATO doctrine named after him and the Air-Land Battle concept. However, Senator Sam Nunn, a co-author and a zealous advocate of the new doctrine, frankly says that it is intended for the Old World. Besides, military theoreticians who had a hand in working out the Air-Land Battle concept maintain that it can be applied not only to Europe but also to the Persian Gulf zone and other areas in the Middle East.

The Rogers Doctrine is essentially a modification of the United States' new concept for NATO in Europe. It places the stress on offensive, aggressive action, moreover, in direct connection with first use of nuclear weapons. "It is essential to use these weapons early enough so as to be able to hit targets outside our own territory," the general said in an interview to the French newspaper *Libération*.

The foundations of the Air-Land Battle concept and the Rogers Doctrine were laid in the late seventies in studies compiled in the United States. In 1977 Senators Dewey Bartlett and Sam Nunn submitted a report advocating increase of the West's conventional warfare potential primarily by a buildup of the most destructive types of armaments. Another "godfather" of the stratagem was the European-American Workshop, a research organization that functioned in 1975-77 at the London International Institute for Strategic Studies. According to a number of sources, it elaborated the theoretical foundations of the "double-track" decision. The idea of interception in depth appeared in a book published by the Workshop in 1977. Clearly on the prompting of the U.S. military, the authors of the book maintained that precision weapons would make it possible for Europeans to deliver strategic strikes at Soviet territory with conventional projectiles.

Addressing the U.S. House of Representatives Budget Committee on September 23, 1981, Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger urged the U.S. and its NATO allies to build up a capability for offensive operations against the armed forces and territory of the U.S.S.R. The official Pentagon document "Defence Guidance for 1984-1988" sets the general-purpose armed forces of the United States the task of being in a position to threaten Soviet interests, including the territory of the U.S.S.R., and to engage in offensive operations against the Warsaw Treaty flanks. It could hardly be put more clearly.



The Tornado multipurpose fighter-bomber, currently being introduced into NATO, is in line with the Rogers plan.

NATO and Washington are now out to build up also their conventional potential, which can only heighten tension in Europe.

Meanwhile, the implementation of the conventional arms buildup and modernization programme adopted by the NATO Washington session in May 1978 is going on full blast. The NATO forces are being equipped with a new generation of infantry combat vehicles, tanks, including the M 1 Abrams, Leopard 2 and Challenger, F-16 fighter-bombers, A-10 assault planes, Tornado multipurpose fighters, F-15 interceptors and other types of combat aircraft, as well as rocket launchers and the latest in anti-tank weapons. Special reconnaissance and strike systems and other ultramodern means of warfare are being developed.

Latterly many Western military commentators have been writhing in the press about a serious "modernization" and even changes in NATO strategy being under way. The leaders of the

ration ballistic and cruise missiles of varying range, air-to-surface missiles, new means of "electronic warfare," and more efficient early warning, reconnaissance and guidance systems. In December of the same year the NATO Defence Planning Committee endorsed in principle the Rogers plan, thus called after its author and most zealous proponent.*

The new NATO doctrine, as well as the Air-Land Battle concept, envisages strikes at the adversary's positions to a depth of 400 kilometres. Moreover, the accent is placed on preventive strikes involving the use from the very begin-

* For more about the Rogers Doctrine see *New Times* No. 9, 1983, and our 1983 supplement "NATO: Instrument of Aggression."

The Washington armchair strategists go even farther. Samuel Huntington, former White House official and now director of the Centre for International Affairs of Harvard University, wants NATO openly to adopt the doctrine of "conventional offensive" against East European countries.

This of course does not mean that Washington proposes to renounce its plans for "limited" nuclear war. The Pentagon strategists surely realize that the use of nuclear weapons would practically automatically lead to general nuclear war in which the United States itself would not be spared. Hence in evolving diverse scenarios for such a war, Washington at the same time seeks to impose on Europe the use of conventional weapons as seemingly more acceptable.

Insisting on accelerated modernization by the NATO bloc of conventional armaments on the old pretext that it is "lagging" behind the U.S.S.R. in this respect, Washington is out to heighten the military confrontation in Europe. At the same time it counts on subordinating its allies to its will, making them militarily and politically more dependent, and not allowing the creation of a durable system of European security.

The working out and adoption of the Rogers Doctrine is a component of U.S. efforts to upset the military balance both in Europe and on a global scale. The new systems of conventional weapons

ployment of the first-strike nuclear missiles in Europe. All of which is part of the laying of the material basis for the "crusade" against socialism.

The advocates of the new doctrine also have in mind the growing anti-nuclear sentiment in Western Europe, the striving of wide sections of the public to reduce the danger of nuclear war.

Pentagon plans for the 1985 fiscal year include the purchase of the following:

	Quantity	Appropriations (millions of dollars)
Rocket launcher systems	44/50,472*	541.4
AH-64A Apache fire-support helicopters	144	1,290.2
M 1 Abrams basic combat tanks	720	1,758.8
M2 Bradley and BRM M3 infantry combat vehicles	710	1,056.4
Hellfire anti-tank guided missiles	6,026	237.5
Tow 2 anti-tank guided missiles	18,000	240.3
Copperhead 155-mm guided shells	2,253	102.8

* The first figure is the number of launchers, the second, the number of rockets.

Hence the frequent contention that the doctrine supposedly raises the "nuclear threshold."

At the end of last year NATO announced that it was withdrawing from Western Europe some 2,000 nuclear warheads. The move was served up as evidence of a striving to "reduce dependence on nuclear weapons." Actually it is a matter of removing obsolete tactical warheads. With the introduction of the Pershing 2 and cruise missiles NATO is merely shifting the emphasis from tactical to "Eurostrategic" nuclear systems.

The NATO propagandists' efforts to justify their plans and actions by a desire to raise the "nuclear threshold" is sheer deception of the public. The loss of life and destruction the latest conventional weapons systems could cause would be quite comparable to the damage caused by the use of tactical nuclear weapons. Equally unquestionable is it that the conventional strikes would be delivered also at nuclear weapon carriers and storage facilities for nuclear warheads. This is conceded also by realistic-minded Western experts. The new conventional systems would, on the contrary, lead to the elimination of the "nuclear threshold" altogether. For instance, if cruise missiles were launched armed with non-nuclear warheads they could be mistaken for a nuclear strike.

The adoption of the Rogers Doctrine signifies in practical terms far-reaching changes in all the components of the NATO "triad"—conventional arms, theatre nuclear weapons, and the U.S. strategic nuclear force. The first acquire a clearly defined offensive character, the second—although NATO declares they are being reduced—are being modernized by introducing more up-to-date weapons of this class. And the third has been introduced in Western Europe in the shape of the "Eurostrategic" missiles.

The new doctrine is so obviously aggressive that even some NATO supporters have sharply criticized it as a turn towards an offensive strategy. No amount of talk about "strengthening defence" can conceal this fact. The doctrine and the types of weapons being developed are designed not for defence but for breaking through the full depth of the adversary's defences. The adoption of the Rogers Doctrine makes it clear why the NATO countries are insisting at the Stockholm conference on the "transparency" of the Warsaw Treaty countries' defences.

The new NATO doctrines and concepts appear particularly dangerous against the background of Washington's buildup of strategic and "Eurostrategic" arms, production of neutron weapons, and chemical rearmament policy. All this heightens the danger of war and undermines European and world security.

S. KARAGANOV

NEW TIMES 51-84



Chemical warfare is an integral part of the new NATO doctrines. For the time being, the bloc just prepares its forces on manoeuvres.

Photos from Newsweek (U.S.) and Der Spiegel (West Germany)

"will transform the military equation in Europe," the U.S. National Journal, a publication close to official quarters, has observed. The new doctrine is a link in the overall chain of the active militarist preparations of Washington and NATO—the buildup of chemical warfare potential, production of neutron warheads, and, lastly, the continuing de-

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NATO ADOPTS A DANGEROUS CONCEPT

Europe May Pay Dearly for Mr. Rogers's "Cheap Dinners"

G. Viktorov

NATO's military planning committee, which met in Brussels last month, adopted the "Rogers plan" envisaging the use of new conventional weapons to strike deep into the territory of the Warsaw Pact countries. Washington insists that the adoption of this concept should be endorsed by the NATO Council at its forthcoming session due to be held later this month.

Once again the North Atlantic Alliance is pinning its hopes on confrontation. Building up armaments and escalating war preparations, the United States and NATO seek to achieve unilateral advantage by harming the security interests of the USSR and other socialist countries. The "Rogers plan" serves the same purpose.

Hypocritically speculating about allegedly defensive purposes of NATO's new concept, Western propaganda presents it to the public in the brightly-coloured wrapping of "conventional deterrence", a buildup of conventional defences and the "raising of the nuclear threshold". US references to defence have long become a deceptive cover for preparation and implementation of aggression. Under the pretext of "defence" the United States conducts military intervention in many regions of the world (Grenada, Nicaragua, Lebanon, etc.). Now the United States is trying to present as "defensive" NATO's new concept, calling it, as if in mockery of commonsense, "conventional defence in the enemy rear".

What is the essence of NATO's "Deep Strike" concept?

Firstly, the new concept envisages the development in NATO countries of weapons based on the use of new technology, which are described as "futuristic" and "smart" weapons.

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These are self-guided missiles and highly accurate big-yield seek-and-destroy weapons designed to strike major targets, such as command centres, airfields and communications, deep in the territory of the Warsaw Pact countries. The list of targets also includes Soviet nuclear forces which NATO strategists consider capable of countering NATO's first-strike potential.

Secondly, the new concept envisages a "pre-emptive", that is first, strike. This signifies a further shift in NATO's strategy towards greater aggressiveness, because the existing concept of first use of nuclear weapons has now been complemented by a concept envisaging the use of conventional weapons to deliver pre-emptive strikes at strategically important targets deep inside the Warsaw Pact countries, including Soviet nuclear targets. This is, in fact, a concept envisaging the conduct of military operations deep inside the territory of the Warsaw Pact countries and based on a surprise attack, the delivery of deep disabling strikes and the seizure of enemy territory.

From the military standpoint, the new concept can only be characterised as aggressive.

What are the most probable consequences of this NATO concept if it comes to materialize? First of all, it will further raise the level of military confrontation between the two sides. The US is involving its allies in yet another round of the arms race. This does nothing to strengthen mutual trust in interstate relations or to enhance European security. On the contrary, the situation in Europe is growing increasingly tense. Today one can no longer evaluate "conventional weapons" with the old yardstick. The destructive effects of these weapons have grown so sharply that their employment will make any such hostilities highly devastating, while in the densely-populated Europe it can lead to irreversible consequences even without the use of nuclear weapons.

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A special stake is placed on the use of such latest modifications of conventional weapons which incorporate target reconnaissance, automatic control and high-capacity detonation facilities. These search-and-destroy systems which can dispose of their targets in a single shot as well as the weapons systems based on new principles (such as air-fuel or vacuum explosives) are close to nuclear weapons in terms of their destructive potential. Escalation of the development of such systems is quite dangerous. There are voices of apprehension in the West that their existence might tempt the NATO war adventurers into delivering preventive strikes, which would lead to an all-out devastating war.

To develop these new expensive weapons, the US NATO allies will have to pay through the nose. Washington will demand an annual increase in military spending from the West Europeans not by 3 but by at least 4.5 per cent this time. The plan will require a further increase in the number of combat troops and a formidable amount of work to build an infrastructure. Two years ago Rogers claimed that the materialization of the concept would demand no more than the cost of two cheap dinners a year per each NATO citizen. Now he is saying that that will not be enough. There are far-reaching military plans behind these "cheap dinners" of General Rogers.

So the danger of this concept from the military point of view lies in the fact that it incorporates the strategies of the first nuclear strike and of preventive deep strikes with conventional weapons at vital targets deep inside the territory of Warsaw Pact countries and, notably, at Soviet nuclear installations. This concept conceals the impractical hopes of the aggressors that they could escape retaliation by depriving the other side of the ability to strike back.

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The Atlantic strategists are clearly overestimating their own potential and underestimating the ability of the Soviet Union and of its allies to prevent military superiority over themselves. The attempts to upset the existing balance of forces in Europe and in the whole world will never succeed.

(Pravda, December 4. Abridged.)

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMALARI
TÜSTAV

Thursday, August 16, 1984

ORIOVO-2352

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GENERAL'S FRANKNESS

V.Mikhailov

Witness a sensation: the supreme commander of NATO's joint forces in Europe has revealed a secret that has been kept since 1977! This exclamation mark is no exaggeration. Judge for yourself.

Yes, it is since 1977 that military strategists and statesmen of the West, and primarily of the USA, have been claiming that Soviet SS-20 missiles "have disrupted the balance" in Europe and there is no avoiding for NATO to take counter-measures. Two years later came the decision on "arms modernisation" of the North Atlantic bloc: hundreds of American Pershing-2 and cruise missiles were to be installed in Britain, the FRG, Italy, the Netherlands and Belgium as a "counter-weight" to the Soviet SS-20s.

For the past four years every session of NATO, whether in spring or autumn, emergency or extraordinary one, reaffirmed this decision as the "only possible answer to the Russians". They brushed aside Soviet statements that SS-20s were only replacing obsolete missiles and their installation did not change the strategic situation in Europe or affect the rough balance of forces in the area. Nor did the Americans make any move to meet half-way the Soviet delegation at Geneva negotiations when the USSR went its half of the way to a compromise and offered, provided "arms modernisation" were abandoned and other medium-range nuclear weapons reduced on a parity basis, to reduce the number of Soviet missiles to a level even lower than the number of missiles possessed by France and Britain together and to

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scrap its missiles so withdrawn.

The NATO capitals were sticking to their story: they must provide the "answer" to SS-20s. At the end of last year Pershing-2 and cruise missiles began to be deployed and targeted. The talks in Geneva were thus wrecked. Tensions in Europe and the world increased.

It has now become known from an authoritative NATO source that all this most dangerous course of developments on the European continent is based on a false premise. The appearance of the SS-20 missiles could not be and was not the cause of NATO's nuclear-missile decision in 1979. "Rearmament" is a far cry from being a reply to a "Soviet challenge". Both the installation of the Pershing-2 and cruise missiles, which is under way, and the torpedoing of the Geneva talks took place not because the Soviet Union rejected Reagan's "zero" or "interim" variants. The gist of the matter does not lie in the SS-20s.

This has been confirmed by General Rogers who heads the NATO forces in Europe. He said in no uncertain terms in an interview to the magazine Stern:

"We always could reach their territory (the territory of the Soviet Union - V.M.) with the use of aircraft but when the British bomber Vulcan was phased out and the USSR's territory could be reached only by the American F-111 plane we decided that we needed modernisation, not at all because the SS-20 missiles appeared".

Bravo, General! Thank you for your frankness. You have confirmed what the socialist countries have long been saying and what millions of Europeans guessed.

The governments of Britain, the FRG and Italy can now overcome the discord with the sweeping majority of the population of their countries, in which they have found themself-

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es by agreeing to the Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in the context of Atlantic solidarity. Now, when it is abundantly clear that no reply to the SS-20 was or is needed, M.Thatcher, H.Kohl and B.Craxi can at long last display solidarity with their peoples. And Washington, too, has now a chance to shelve its "zero" and "interim" variants. In sum, time is ripe for convening a NATO Council session as soon as possible, annulling the 1979 decision as based on a false premise, and sending the American missiles which have already been stationed in Europe back to the other side of the Atlantic.

Well, gentlemen, has not General Rogers opened up such an opportunity for you?

(Pravda. August 16. In full.)

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARŞİVİ
TÜSTAV

Monday, August 13, 1984

ORI4VO-2313

THE GENERAL FEELS DIZZY

Pravda Commentary

"Once upon a time there was this gawky general, who was not good at punctuation marks. Therefore he wrote all his commas on the bottom of the sheet of paper, after which he ordered in a stentorian, peremptory tone: 'Fall in! Something of the kind is happening to American General Bernard Rogers, NATO Supreme Allied Commander, Europe. But General Rogers is weak at his arithmetics. In his interview with the West German Stern magazine, Rogers clearly intended to follow the same procedure, but with figures. At the present time, he declared most seriously, the Warsaw Pact countries have nine times, no less, as many nuclear warheads as the NATO bloc states. The general spinned this figure, as they say, out of thin air in a hope that after he orders it will take its right place.

The hocus-pocus flopped, and according to the press, invited only sarcastic chucks from experts even among the West European circles. It really seemed funny to well-informed people to see Rogers so clumsy in his overzealousness aimed at justifying Washington's decision to stuff Western Europe with new American first-strike nuclear missiles. They surely know that there is a rough parity between the two groupings as regards the nuclear warheads. They also realize that General Rogers counted only land-based warheads, while modestly hushing up the nuclear weapons deployed in the surface ships, submarines and strategic bombers of the North Atlantic bloc.

It seems the hapless general feels dizzy, for the invented figures have apparently gone to his head.

(Pravda, August 12. In full.)

NATO-SİLAHLANMA-PENTAGON PLANLARI ÜZERİNE GELİŞMELER

Wintex manev-
raları, sivil savun-
ma:

-18.3.1985, FR

CDU Savunma uzmanı Willy Wimmer'in belirttiğine göre, geçen hafta sona eren NATO Wintex manevralarında Batının konvansiyonel savaş gücünün arttığı, bununla birlikte, kimi alanlarda zayıflıklar görüldüğü saptandı. Yunanistan, Fransa ve İzlanda dışındaki NATO ülkeleri, bunalım, gerilim ve savunma durumlarıyla ilgili çeşitli anların provasını yaptılar. Bu manevralara birlikler katılmadı, fakat masa başı manevralarına kasaba düzeyine dek sivil yönetimler katıldı. Manevralar sırasında, kimi zayıf noktalar ortaya çıktı. Bunlar, aydınlatma çalışmalarında, elektronik savaşım yürütmede, sağlık bakımı hizmetlerinde (cephe gerisinde), geri plandaki güvenlik birliklerinde ve hava savunma-sındaki koordinasyonda görüldü. Bu arada ilerleyen düşman birliklerini durdurabilmek için askeri birliklerin "ileri savunma"da bulunabilme-lerini sağlamak için, son derece iyi işleyen bir aydınlatma aygıtının oluşturulmasının da zorunluluk olarak ortaya çıktığını vurguladı.

FAC'de NIS
tartışması:

16.4.1985, Die Welt, ve 18.4.1985

NATO, 1970'lerin ortalarında ortak bir hava savunması için 'NATO Enformasyon Sistemi (NIS) kurulmasını kararlaştırmıştı. FAC savunma bakanı Wörner, ABD gezisi sırasında, bu iş için Amerikan D-Bandının kullanılmasına kabul etti. Oysa Alman Siemens firmasının 'Capris' sistemi daha yetkin olduğu kaydediliyor. Düşman ve dostu tanıma (Identification Friend or Foe-IFF) sistemi için bunu kabul etmesi, FAC'de tartışmalara yol açtı. CDU ve FDP milletvekilleri Wörner'in son ana kadar pazarlık ettiğini belirtirlerken, SPD'li Horn, FAC'nin çıkarlarını korumakla suçladı.

Rogers-Nükleer
Planlama :

15.3.1985, Die Welt

Mart ayı sonuna kadar NATO başkomutanı Rogers, savunma bakanlarına bağlılığının yeni nükleer planlamasını sunacak. Son derece gizli tutulan çalışmalar sonucunda oluşturulan raporda, 1983 sonbaharında savunma bakan-larının kararlaştırdıkları, Avrupa'dan çekilecek 1400 nükleer başlığın yerine ne konulacağı üzerinde öneriler yer alıyor. 1988 yılına dek bir süresi kapsa-yan raporda, Rogers kısa menzilli silahların yerine uzun menzilli ve etkin nükleer ve konvansiyonel silahların konumlandırılmasını öngörüyor. 1995'e dek uygulanabileceğini de belirten Rogers, atom mayınlarının, kaldırılmasını da istiyor. Cruise ve Pershing-2'lerin en etkin silahlar oldukları kaydediliyor. Ayrıca uçaklar dan atılabilen bombalara ve nükleer silah depolarına da öncelik tanınıyor.

Rogers planına
teşki:

20.3.1985, FR

Hamburg Üniversitesi Barış Araştırmaları Güvenlik Politika Enstitüsü, enstitü müdürü SPD'li politikacı Eger Bahr yönetiminde yayınladığı bir raporda, Rogers'in FOFA planının bir atom savaşının eşgisi yükseltmediğini tersine, atom savaşı olasılığını artırdığını belirtti. Raporda, karşı tarafın üzerine gelen silahın nükleer mi konvansiyonel mi hesabını yapmasının mümkün olmayacağını, bu nedenle de karşı darbeye başvurabileceğini vurgulayan Bahr ve ekibi, ayrıca, FOFA planının politik görüşmeler yürütülmesi için zamanı da azalttığını, bunun da nükleer çatışmanın derhal gündeme gelmesi tehlikesini getirdiğini kaydediyor.

NATO-Başlık:

-26.3.1985, Die Welt

Lüksemburg'daki Nükleer Planlama Grubu toplantısında bugün biraraya gelecek olan savunma bakanları, Rogers'e 1983 yılında Montebello toplantısında verilen görevin sonuçlarını ele alacaklar. Yani, 1400 nükleer başlığın çekilmesi sorunu.

Rogers tarafından hazırlatılan araştırmanın sonucu, son derece gizli tutuluyor. FAC'nin en üst düzeydeki savunma yetkilileri bile, Rogers'in Lüksemburg'da sunacağı raporda ne gibi önerilerin yer aldığını bilmiyorlar. Wörner, FAC'nin tutumunu sıraladı: Kısa menzilli nükleer silahlarda, toplarda ve roket atarlarda indirim yapılması. Aynı şekilde hava savunması sisteminde de Nike'lerin geri çekilmesi, atom mayınlarının kaldırılması gibi önlemler öneriliyor.

ABD Savunma bakanı Weinberger'in NPG toplantısında son askersel Stratejik durum hakkında bilgi vermesi bekleniyor.

NATO-Başlık:

-26.3.1985, FAZ

NATO'nun 37. NPG toplantısı başlıyor. Rogers, önceki uygulamalarının tersine, bu kez raporunu önceden savunma bakanlarına ve genel kurmaylara iletmedi. 1983'de Montebello'da, Rogers, hangi başlıkların çekilmesi üzerine rüpdar hazırlamakla görevlendirilmişti. Karar, NATO askeri komitesinin uzun araştırmalarından sonra alınmıştı. Askeri Komite, o dönemde, Avrupa'dan hangi silahların çekilmesi gerektiğine ilişkin somut öneriler de hazırlamıştı, ancak bu, o zaman Rogers tarafından reddedildi. Bildirildiğine göre, o zamanlar, savunma bakanları ile Rogers arasında gerginlikler ve tartışmalar olmuştu. Ve Rogers, Montebello'da, bakanlara, genel kurmayının bir raporla hangi nükleer silahların çekilmesi gerektiğini ileride bildireceğini belirtmişti. Şimdi bu olacak. Çekilmesi önerilen silahlar içinde Nike/Herkules füzeleri de bulunuyor.

NATO-Başlık-
Türkiye:

- 28.3.1985, Die Welt

NATO NPG toplantısında bakanlar, Rogers'in raporunu kabul etti. 200 sayfalık Rogers raporu, son derece gizli tutuluyor. NATO'nun büyük sırrı olarak lanse ediliyor. Gerekçe olarak da, VAO'nun NATO'nun ne gibi önlemler aldığını bilmesi durumunda, karşı önlemler alabileceği gösteriliyor.

Yine de sızan eğilimler şu şekilde özetlenebilir:

1-İkili karar doğrultusunda yürünecektir. Nükleer menziller daha uzun tutulmaktadır. Yalnızca DDR, Çekoslovakya, Polonya toprakları değil, Sovyetler Birliği toprakları da menzile alınacaktır.

2-Öte yandan NATO, kısa menzilli nükleer başlıklarını bütünüyle olmasa bile, nükleer önceliklerinden çıkartacaktır.

3-Nükleer patlayıcılarla hava savunmasını, nükleer patlayıcılarla yer savunmasını bırakacaktır. Nike/ Hercules tipi karadan havaya roketler eskimiştir. Yerlerine yerleştirilecek konvansiyonel "Patritot" füzeleri ile artık atom patlayıcılarının şu andaki savaş yürütme açısından geçerliliği kalmamıştır.

Rogers, atom mayınları konusunda ise başka bir tutum alıyor. Bunların Batı Avrupa'da kullanılması elverişli değildir.

Ancak Trakya'daki gibi ya da Doğu Türkiye'deki gibi dağlık bölgelerde bu geçerli değildir. Özellikle Anadolu'nun

Sovyetler Birliği ile sınırlarında öylesine yerler vardır ki, atom mayınları, ki son zamanlarda bunlara yanlış olarak atom sırt çantası denilmiştir, son derece uygundur.

Ancak Rogers, bu olasılığı da çizebilir. Rogers, bu olasılıktan da NATO'nun vazgeçerek hareket edebileceğini söyledi.

Bunu belirterek Rogers, bütün savunma bakanlarının desteğini aldı. Atom mayınlarından vazgeçilmesi, tümüne uygun geldi.

İndirim politikası, Rogers ile her bir ülke arasında önümüzdeki aylarda görüşmeler yoluyla kararlaştırılacak.

Rogers, bu indirim önlemleriyle, gelecekte, nükleer taşıyıcıların oranını çeşitli bölgelerde daha iyi dağıtmayı da planlıyor.

"RODGERS PLANI" NEDİR?

- Askersel açıdan bu plan yeni değil. Bu plan, ABD ordusunun tüzüğünde (polevoy ustav) "FM 100-5"e yazılı olanları tekrarlıyor ve Amerikanın 1982'deki "Eyrlend Betl-2000" ("Hava-kara operasyonu-2000") konseptinde formüle edilmiş bulunuyor.
- Pentagon, Kasım ayında Brükselde yapılan NATO Askeri Planlama Grubu toplantısında bu planı kabul ettirdi ve Aralık ayındaki NATO Konseyi toplantılarında onaylattı. İşte yeni olan ABD'nin bu planı NATO'lu müttefiklerine dayatmış olmasıdır.
- Batı propagandası bu planı "nükleer olmayan caydırma", geleneksel savunmayı güçlendirme, "nükleer silaha bağıllığı kaldırma", "düşmanın cephe gerisinde savunma" imiş gibi göstermeye çalışıyor.
- NATO'nun onayladığı bu konseptin gerçek özü nedir?

- 1) Söz konusu olan, NATO ülkelerinde en modern, en gelişmiş teknoloji temelinde yeni silahlar ("geleceğin silahı", "düşünen silah") yaratmaktır. Bunlar, VAÖ ülkelerinin ta içlerinde önemli merkezleri (yönetim odakları, hava alanları, ulaşım kavşakları, vb.) imha etmek için öngörülen, programlı, hedefini kendi bulan, son derece isabetli roketler, yıkım gücü çok büyük olan keşif-vuruş birimleridir.
 - 2) Bu silahlar için öngörülen hedefler arasında, NATO stratejilerine göre, Paktın ilk vuruşuna yanıt verebilecek olan Sovyet nükleer araçları, nükleer merkez ve silahları da vardır.
 - 3) "Operasyonların önleyici nitelikte" olması öngörülmüyor, yani vuruşu ilk yapmak söz konusu. Bu, NATO stratejisinin saldırganlık yönünde geliştirilmesidir. Çünkü nükleer silahı ilk kullanma konsepti korunmakta ve VAÖ ülkelerinde stratejik, önemli merkezlere, bu arada Sovyetlerin nükleer araçlarına "cephe gerisinin çok içlerine nükleer olmayan önleyici vuruşlara" yönelik yeni bir konseptle geliştirilmekte ve güçlendirilmektedir. Bunun anlamı, Varşova Antlaşması ülkelerinin tüm topraklarını kapsayan, ani saldırıya ve karşı tarafı silahsız bırakmaya, yabancı toprakları ele geçirmeye yönelik savaş doktrini di.
- NATO'nun bu konseptinin yaşama geçirilmesi neyi getirecektir?
- 1) Taraflar arasında askersel cepheleşme artmış olacak.
 - 2) ABD müttefiklerini silahlanma yarışının yeni bir turuna daha çekmiş olacak.
 - 3) Devletlerarası karşılıklı güven daha da zayıflamış, Avrupada güvenlik daha da azalmış olacak.
 - 4) "Geleneksel" silahlar artık eski ölçütlerle ele alınamaz. Bunların yıkım göstergeleri artık öylesine artmaktadır ki, bunların kullanımı, özellikle Avrupa gibi sık nüfuslu alanlarda, nükleer silah kullanılma

dan da, onarılmaz sonuçlar verecektir.

- 5) Daha ilk atışta hedefi vuran keşif-vuruş araçları ve yeni tipten, yeni sistemlere dayalı silahlar (örneğin "Vakum silahı") nükleer silahın yıkım gücüne yaklaştığı için, NATO'daki savaş çılgınları "önleyici vuruşlar"la topyekün yıkıma yolaçabilir.
- 6) Bu yeni, "geleneksel silah için" son derece pahalı silahlar, silahlanma harcamalarının arttırılmasını gerektirecek. Şimdilik Brüksel'deki toplantılarda 8 milyar Dolar ayrılması kararlaştırıldı. Bunların 1,5 milyarıyla Türkiye'de "Rogers Planı" uyarınca tesisler yapılacak ya da modernleştirilecek. Washington Avrupalı müttefiklerinden artı her yıl % 3 değil, % 4,5 askersel harcama artışı istiyor.
- 7) Bu plan, Avrupalı müttefiklerin silahlı kuvvetlerinde asker, subay sayısının önemli ölçüde arttırılmasını dayatacak.
- 8) Planın gerektirdiği altyapı hazırlıkları her üye ülkenin bütçesine ek yükler getirecek.

Bu konseptin askersel açıdan tehlikeli niteliği şudur:

Bu konsept, Varşova Antlaşması ülkelerinin derinliklerinde önemli merkezlere, bu arada Sovyetler Birliğinin nükleer silah ve merkezlerine nükleer olmayan silahlarla ilk vuruş tezi ile zaten varolan nükleer ilk vuruş tezini kaynaştırmaktadır. Tehlikenin öte yanı da, saldırganın, karşı tarafı yanıt vuruş olanağından yoksun bırakarak cezadan kurtulabileceğine ilişkin boş hayalini, yalnız hesabını bu konsepte "temel" yapmasıdır. Bu da onların sarüvene atılma çılgınlığını kamçılatabilir.

Kuzey Atlantik Paktının stratejileri askersel-stratejik dengeyi kendi yararına bozmak, üstünlük sağlamak peşinde koşarken, açıktır ki, kendi ~~güçlerini~~ ~~rikk~~, olanaklarını kendi gözünde abartıyor, Sovyetler Birliği ve bağlaşıklarının olanaklarını küçümsüyor. NATO kurulalı geçen 35 yılın tarihini gösteriyor ki Avrupada ve dünyada oluşan güçler dengesine sosyalizm izin vermeyecektir. Bu dengenin korunması dünya barışını korumanın temel taşıdır. Çernenko yoldaş şöyle diyor: "Ülkemiz kimseye saldırmak niyetinde değil. Bunu her sağduyulu insan anlıyor. Ama biz savunma gücümüzü arttıracız, Sovyet insanların barışçı emeğini koruyacağız, dünyada barış davasını savunacağız."

VORIO-851008-514

THE "PERFECT WAR" OF GENERAL ROGERS

Commenting on a statement in an interview made by Supreme Allied Commander in Europe Bernard Rogers, which was published in the October issue of the French Science et Vie journal under the headline "A New Strategy for Europe", Valentin Falin, political news analyst of the newspaper Izvestia, points out:

"What is new and unusual about it?

First, the discovery that the "strategic defence initiative" (SDI), to be more precise the "star wars" programme, is a real boon to Western Europe. Western Europe is even more suitable for outer space experiments than the USA, if one is to believe General Rogers. It is a better place for its use, consequently, the Europeans should not protest, but welcome this "concern" of the USA for them.

Second, contrary to the statements by the US President, Vice-President, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defence and others, Rogers bluntly declares that the USA has never ceased its research in the ABM field and never curtailed it, that work in that area has been proceeding full speed ahead after the signing in 1972 of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Limitation of anti-ballistic missile defence systems.

As if fearing that somebody might belittle his services, the General emphasized: SDI is nothing new, is no new invention, it is rather an old idea, whose significance was simply underscored and a coordinator was appointed for it.

Third, explaining his own concepts, the General observed: we wish to make the war more perfect and that is all. One will not understand at once what he is hinting at. And then the following turns out to be what he means, Valentin Falin

continues.

War, according to the General, does not reduce to aggression, invasion and annexation. This, as he puts it, is also intimidation, coercion and blackmail. NATO should be ready for all of that. Permanent condition No.1 of the troops and the population for present-day war in all of its kinds and manifestations. The West European countries should, according to the General, drive out of their homes all manifestations of "pacifism", doubt about the rightness or advisability of the deployment of the latest types of weapons on their territory. A deployment of weapons is not just for feasting their eyes.

There should be no nuclear-free zones. There should be no renunciation of first use of nuclear weapons ever, as first use is, as he said, the very essence of our (American) deterrence. The doctrine of forward line defences should be vigorously implemented, i.e. the USA should be ready to carry out operations as far ahead as the territory permits it. "Whose territory? this remains not clear, but rings quite intriguing.

If one is to perfect something he is to do that to perfection. In the mid-seventies I advocated the binary chemical weapons, General Rogers said. I even encouraged its production. Let us stop at this point for a while as it seems extremely interesting. The "yellow rain", to whose spitting the campaign for a chemical rearmament of the USA began to develop, started five years later. Rogers began to feel drawn to binary chemical agents long before it occurred to some imaginative official of the Pentagon or the National Security Council to accuse the USSR of using or assisting in the use of chemical weapons in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan. He (Rogers) "encouraged the production" of binary weapons long before the Congress decided upon its attitude to them.

Old flame is inextinguishable. General Rogers has carried that chemical passion of his over to NATO and is now trying to convince the West Europeans that the binary weapons will not poison their life. He even alluded, possibly to reassure the readers of the Science et Vie journal, that things would hardly reach the stage of real battles. The "perfect war", about which the General dreams, is to resolve all the main tasks through an air strike by means of our (American) aircraft and our (American) missiles and not on land by means of ground troops. In other words, the enemy should be destroyed before he realizes that the end of the world has come and will try to resist force. I do not believe that the dreams of the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe could console anybody. The Europeans remember too well the lessons of the recent "perfect war".

General B. Rogers has again forcefully shown to what Washington reduces its "new strategy for Europe". Perhaps he was too frank to the President's taste. Something could be left between the lines. One shall not think only of his ownself and present other people, to put it mildly, in a dubious light. This is unpatriotic. The General would be well advised to remain silent, while the administration is too busy thinking how to sidestep more smoothly the fresh Soviet initiatives proposing to Europe, the peoples of all continents not some "perfect war" but real peace, the political news analyst of Izvestia points out in conclusion.

(Izvestia, October 7. Summary.)

"Tyske" ejendomme

NATO Başkomutanı Rogers, Türkiye'ye ait bir gücü
yafta. İzmen güçler, NATO generalinin görüşle ilgili olarak
başına yaftıkları ^(kisa) videolarında, bunun 19 serisi
olduğunu belirtmekte yettinizler.

Ancak, Truva'deki gizli iletişim araçları, genellikle nasıl bir amaçla Tiraneye geldiği yolunda ifşaları veriyor. Belirtildiğine göre, Rogers, aynı zamanda, Kuzey Atlantik bloku rejiminin "savunma çabalarını" zayıflatmak için çok sergisi olarak nitelenen Türk-Yunan ilişkilerinin bugünkü durumunu gözlemliyor. Örneğin belirtildiğine göre, Amerikan generali ^{dört ell} kendisinin çok ^{savunma} başarılı eutroka faaliyetini telerle, Türkiye'ye yeniden "soyut tehlikesi" yoluyla koruma fırsatını kazanmış ve kimi "iş" öjütlerinde bulunmuştur. Ancak da ^{büyük} diplomatik ^{bulunmuş} ~~teknik~~ ^{görüşme} göre, Rogers, hem Türkiye'ye, hem de Yunanistan'a pazarlarla ilgili uluslararası ^{deniz ulaşım} ~~uluslararası~~ gemi taşımacılığı anlaşmalarını korumaya yolda ~~çok~~ ^{ve} kızırtılarda bulunmuş, bölgede durumun gerginleştiği dönemlerde Başbakanın soyut semilerine "kapatılması" öjütlerinde bulunmuştur.

~~Yordijk söbi~~

"Tercüman" gazetesi, son zamanlarda ABD'li, her gün
ekonomik baskı, her hafta gün "İst" ajansları
bulunma faaliyetlerine başlatarak Türkiye
komşularıyla etkileşim, ^{evren} Sovyetler Birliği ile
İslamı geliştirmeye çalışıyor. Ama bu,
Türkeğin ulusal çıkarlarıyla bağdaşmıyor.

Monday, December 10, 1984

ORIOVO-3473

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AGGRESSIVE "DEFENCE"

Rogers' Plan and NATO Strategy

G. Vorontsov

The first week of December saw NATO's renewed efforts to intensify the build-up of conventional weapons. An agreement on this score was reached by President Reagan and Federal Chancellor Kohl who conferred recently in Washington. Their accord predetermined the adoption of corresponding decisions by the winter sessions of the NATO leading bodies. A new round of the non-nuclear arms race is geared to implementing Rogers' plan.

These actions by the West increase a military threat. The communique issued by the Warsaw Treaty countries' Committee of Foreign Ministers, who met in Berlin a few days ago, says that along with the growing threat of nuclear war, another matter of concern is NATO's efforts aimed to receive military superiority with the help of new conventional weapons almost as destructive as those of mass annihilation weaponry.

In one of his interviews President Reagan highlighted the great importance of an extensive modernisation of NATO's conventional forces.

In August 1982, the Pentagon adopted a concept of airland battle tailored for combat operations involving conventional weapons. Intended primarily for use in Europe, this concept proceeds from a sudden beginning of fighting by ground, naval and air forces with the use of the latest weaponry of all types. The concept provides for indepth blows to cause the greatest possible damage to enemy troops. The resulting superiority over the enemy is thus the condition for a decisive offensive and capture of the enemy's terri-

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tory. Preparations for such operations are worked out in the course of military exercises. Growing in number and scale, these exercises are held ever more closer to the frontiers of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

In the late 1970s NATO began shaping a concept of striking deep into the Warsaw Treaty countries. In the autumn of 1982 General Rogers, the then NATO supreme allied commander in Europe, urged a general modernisation of the bloc's conventional forces to raise their combat readiness and introduce the latest hardware. Rogers' plan, which has been much discussed in the West of late, has been repeatedly dealt with by its author in his official statements, interviews and newspaper articles.

Increased military expenditures are necessary to step up the growth of NATO's conventional forces. That is why General Rogers wants NATO's military spending to grow by four per cent a year, not by three per cent as was decided in 1978.

Propaganda cover for Rogers' plan is provided by the allegation that the plan would raise the nuclear threshold. However, the plan does not cancel NATO's official concept of the first use of nuclear weapons. As a matter of fact, the plan complements NATO's nuclear strategy by making it even more militaristic and aggressive since the emphasis Rogers' plan lays on conventional weapons is an addition, important as it is, to the thermonuclear components of Western strategy.

Rogers' plan is just another variant of Hitler's blitzkrieg, under which NATO intends to deal lightning-speed blows deep into the Warsaw Treaty countries to disorganise their rear and prevent arrival and deployment of reinforcements in the zone of a conflict. In this way, the new "defensive" directive provides for "defending" from an enemy's attack in its rear.

Rogers' plan lays bare the aggressive and militaristic character of NATO. The decision to shift accent to "defence" from an enemy deep into its territory illustrates the real designs

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of the NATO bosses, aimed at preparing for war, altering the correlation of forces in Europe and achieving unilateral advantages for the bloc.

This increases the importance of ending the arms race, primarily checking growth of nuclear arsenals and limiting them. The USSR wants to see the issue settled through talks with the strict observance of the principle of equality and equal security of the sides.

In this field, the agenda covers a number of specific targets, especially an accord not to increase conventional armed forces and armaments, an agreement on curbing arms sales, and reduction of military budgets. The USSR attaches great importance to the talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe and the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. The corresponding Soviet proposals stem from a policy of peace of the USSR which concentrates on combating a nuclear threat.

The USSR and its allies are against a higher level of confrontation and the arms race. They do not want to enhance their security at the expense of other nations and their goal is equal security for all countries. Talks and peaceful coexistence are the only acceptable way to achieve this in the world of today, particularly to settle issues relating to conventional weapons.

(Izvestia, December 9. Abridged.)

Temmy 83

THE BOOK SCENE

AIRLAND BATTLE: THE ROAD TO NUCLEAR OMNICIDE

A Survey of US, French and British Press Comments
and Literature on the Pentagon's New Doctrine

Astronauts often tell about the beauty of the earth as seen from outer space. But the earth is now threatened with a nuclear war spelling omnicide. More and more people stop to think what will become of our planet--possibly the only heavenly body inhabited by rational beings--whether it will still be that beautiful, vibrant gem, that blue oasis in the black desert of the universe, or whether it will become a floating graveyard. After all, there are members of the species homo sapiens who are willing to reduce the earth to a gigantic graveyard as a means of furthering their selfish interests and ambitions. It is they who conceive increasingly sinister war plans.

Late in the summer of 1982 the US Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC) at Fort Monroe, Virginia, put the finishing touches to a new strategy. It was named Airland Battle and made the military doctrine of the United States without any consultation with Congress. Last December the new doctrine was approved by the defence ministers of NATO and adopted by that bloc as a guideline.

Airland Battle has aggravated an already tense international situation. Its purpose is spelled out in US Army Field Manual 100-5, issued in August 1982. The attacker, the manual says, must seek ^{to} / extend the battle in depth (our emphasis.--A.P.) and break down the enemy's defences to make it impossible for him to recover from the initial shock and retaliate. "This notion of 'strike-in-depth'," Le Monde diplomatique wrote, "applies from now on to all the operations of the US Army throughout the world but had been conceived precisely for Europe, where NATO is to 'destroy' the Warsaw Pact troops even before they engage in hostilities and while they are still deep inside their territory (our emphasis.--A.P.)."¹

Yes, Airland Battle provides undisguisedly for a first strike. This is one of the novelties offered by it. Another novelty is that this strategy must, from what Gen. Bernard Rogers, the US commander of NATO, says, help Europe defend itself without recourse to nuclear arms, by using more sophisticated conventional arms. The general went as far as to claim that "the anti-nuclear groups want the same things I do".² Does this imply that henceforward conventional arms are to be preferred to nuclear ones? Says Le Monde diplomatique: "... Some observers believe, on the contrary, that it (this doctrine.--A.P.) increases the danger of war--even that of nuclear war--because it puts the emphasis on offensive operations."³

¹ Le Monde diplomatique, February 1983.

² Newsweek, November 1, 1982, p. 35.

³ Le Monde diplomatique, February 1983.

According to FM 100-5, nuclear and chemical weapons are "perfectly suited" for in-depth strikes. It stresses the pre-emptive use of weapons of mass destruction, and this is the essential distinction between Airland Battle and the earlier strategy. The US Military Review pointed out that the new doctrine envisages not only the possibility of a US initiative in the use (first use) of nuclear weapons but the possibility of a first strike by the Americans. The difference lies in the fact that whereas "first use" implies that the United States could be the first to decide on switching from conventional to nuclear war, "first strike" indicates that the USA could start a war with the use of nuclear arms.

What about "peacemaker" Rogers' statement? It is a deliberate deception aimed at allaying the fears of the people of Europe and the USA, lulling their vigilance and misleading the world's greatest-ever peace movement, which has become a force that is harder and harder to ignore. Pierre Lellouche, director of studies of the Institut Francais de Relations Internationales, writes: "Less reliance on nuclear weapons sounds like a perfect antidote to the European peace movement... Airland Battle sounds like a miracle solution that should get support from generals, politicians, the arms industry and even pacifists."⁴

⁴ Newsweek, November 1, 1982, p. 35.

What makes the new doctrine dangerous is that from now on any routine military training exercise in a Warsaw Treaty country could be seized on by the NATO command as a pretext for war just because its generals mistook the exercise for an indication that troops were being massed for an attack on Western Europe.

Recall the fact that in 1979 alone US Army units were placed on a nuclear alert nearly 50 times--an alert that turned out to be false, of course--that there are Americans in positions of command who are obsessed by anti-Sovietism, and it becomes clear that the implementation of FM 100-5 could begin by accident or a misreading of what happened on the territory of Eastern European countries.

The appalling cynicism of the originators and proponents of the new doctrine lies in their calling conventional war the "lesser evil", a more "humane" war than its nuclear variety. But this so-called "lesser evil" is a fraud. There is no identifying today's conventional arms with those used in World War II, which took a toll of over 50 million lives. The strike capability of modern arms has increased immensely, which means that far more lives would inevitably be lost in a future war. Secondly, we must not forget that Airland Battle's emphasis on the advantage of using nuclear and chemical arms at the outset of the conflict makes nuclear war still likelier.

The new doctrine confirms the US Administration's intention to deploy Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe at all costs. Experts describe these missiles as first-strike weapons. Le Monde diplomatique was puzzled by the fact that

"European defence ministers of NATO backed" this strategy.⁵

Airland Battle is no spur-of-the-moment concoction. It is a logical result of the Reagan Administration's maniacal bid for world domination, to achieve which the main bulwark of peace, the Soviet Union and the socialist community of nations, would first have to be destroyed.

As far back as 1980, or before Reagan became President, Colin Gray and Keith Payne, political analysts called neo-conservatives, co-authored an article for Foreign Affairs in which they wrote: "Washington should identify war aims that in the last resort would contemplate the destruction of Soviet political authority and the emergence of a post-war world compatible with Western values."⁶

Reagan was pleased with the idea. In 1982 he appointed Colin Gray to the Advisory Board for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA). It was Gray and his co-author who specified that "20 million US fatalities would represent a compatible level".⁷

The general direction and guidelines for FM 100-5 were laid down earlier in a document formulating US military policy for the next five years. Representing the views of Caspar Weinberger and his advisers, this document, according to New York Times commentator Tom Wicker, "accepts nuclear war fighting as a necessity in which the United States must be able to

⁵ Le Monde diplomatique, February 1983.

⁶ Quoted from International Herald Tribune, August 16, 1982.

⁷ Ibid., June 1, 1982.

'prevail' over the Soviet Union even in a 'protracted conflict period'; would have the effect of moving the United States toward a perpetual wartime state; presents to the world a picture of a United States committed to nothing save power, willing even to exploit outer space for US military purposes".⁸

Wicker concludes: "... What kind of country would this be if all these militaristic plans became reality? Reagan may mourn the nation's war dead on Memorial Day and proclaim that 'the freedom for which they died must endure and prosper'; but nothing is less likely than freedom to endure and prosper in a garrison state that is dedicated to eternal war, and willing to destroy itself in order to prevail over the rubble."⁹

The journalist was referring to Reagan's speech in which he said: "With good will and dedication on both sides I pray that we will achieve a safer world." Yet even as the US President announced that talks on reducing nuclear arms would begin on June 29 (1982), his military planners were well along in preparing the blueprint for a war to the death, the blueprint that spawned Airland Battle. This is good will?

The decision to deploy Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe is not a matter of the USA "putting more bargaining chips on the table" in order to get "a better deal" in arms reduction talks, as Weinberger lamely claims. Nor is the Airland Battle doctrine simply a matter of playing war games. They

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

both represent components of a definite plan to start a nuclear war.

This insane policy of the current US Administration has its genesis in the Committee on the Present Danger (CPD), organised in 1976 by Paul Nitze and Eugene Rostow. The Committee was the main driving force in the failure of the US Senate to ratify SALT-2 and played the spearhead role in the election of Ronald Reagan to the Presidency. The alarmists did not try in vain.

In his book, With Enough Shovels: Reagan, Bush and Nuclear War, Robert Scheer writes: "It was the fall of Reagan's first year in office, and Charles Tyroler II, the director of the Committee on the Present Danger, was boasting a little. Five years ago he and a small band of cold warriors had set out to reshape American foreign policy, which they felt was too soft on the Russians, and suddenly they had succeeded beyond their wildest dreams. One member of their group was now the President of the United States, and he had recruited heavily from the Committee's ranks for his top foreign policy officials."¹⁰

According to the author, CPD members include, in addition to the President, the Vice-President, the Secretary of State, the Chiefs of the CIA and the ACDA, the Representative to the United Nations, and most others in key foreign policy positions. He lists 51 members of the CPD in the Reagan Administration.

¹⁰ Robert Scheer, With Enough Shovels: Reagan, Bush and Nuclear War, New York, 1982, p. 35.

Scheer records his interview with Dr. Herbert York, former director of the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, the California atom-bomb development centre. York pointed out to Scheer that the so-called experts who advise Reagan on foreign and military policy are people who, in the main, have depended on the Pentagon for a living. He emphatically states that the Pentagon is planning to destroy the Soviet Union.

"York: 'What's going on right now is that the crazier analysts have risen to higher positions than is normally the case ... when the ideologues come in with their fancy stories and their selected ... data, the President and the Secretary of Defense believe the last glib person who talked to them.'

"Scheer: 'From the right.'

"York: 'That's the only people they talk to ...'"¹¹

The 1983 Federal budget asks for substantial appropriations for "civil defence"; a large part of this money is to be used for the purchase of millions of shovels to dig holes. The author of With Enough Shovels quotes T.K. Jones, deputy Under-Secretary of Defence, who explains how this will save the population: "Dig a hole, cover it with a couple of doors and then throw three feet of dirt on top ... It's the dirt that does it ... if there are enough shovels to go around, everybody's going to make it."¹² You cannot help thinking that this is probably the best way to dig your own grave.

¹¹ Quoted from Political Affairs, January 1983, p. 13.

¹² Ibid.

The stone-hearted cynicism of the nuclear war planners was expressed by Eugene Rostow, a founder of CPD and former director of ACDA. Asked by Senator Pell whether "either country could survive" in a nuclear war, Rostow replied: "... Some estimates predict there would be 10 million casualties on one side and 100 million on the other. But this is not the whole population."¹³

The preparations for nuclear aggression are accompanied by a steep increase in the psychological warfare offensive of the US Administration in an effort to prevail on the masses to accept an eventual world cataclysm. This is the essential meaning of Reagan's "crusade against communism" speech before the British Parliament, of the State Department's numerous conferences and propaganda campaigns on "democratising the socialist countries", of its "programme for democracy and public diplomacy", and of Reagan's inflammatory speech to the National Association of Evangelicals in Orlando, Florida, in which he invoked the name of God for a "holy war" against the "Soviet threat".

Reagan was furious when he learned that the US Catholic bishops had declared nuclear weapons and their use to be immoral. His reaction throws light on what he really meant when he told the Evangelicals that the world was divided between good and evil: good meant preparing for nuclear war, evil meant defending peace and life. Hence all who, like the Catholic bishops, want

¹³ Ronald Brownstein and Inia Easton, Reagan's Ruling Class, Washington, 1982, p. 506.

nuclear arsenals to be frozen until nuclear weapons are totally banished, or who do not accept the myth of a "Soviet threat", are on the side of evil as Reagan sees it.

Thirty-seven years have passed since Churchill at Fulton, Missouri, and then Truman opened the cold war against the Soviet Union on the plea that the Soviets were a "threat" to Western civilisation. Thirty-seven years---and never has the assault from the East against the West predicted by the two political actors taken place. Yet, for nearly all of these thirty-seven years, Western Europe and the world have been assaulted with endless lies about a "Soviet threat".

Some Western diplomats suggest with a condescending little smile that the rhetoric of the former Hollywood actor and his team should not be taken too seriously, adding that they have heard worse things. Nevertheless, there is growing concern among influential circles in the United States and Western Europe that the Reagan Administration will not stop at hysterical rhetoric but will actually take a fatal step toward omnicide. This is perfectly possible, for they have power. For this reason, prominent Americans increasingly realise the need to strike out against the lie about a "Soviet threat" even though some of them are anti-Soviet.

Gerard Smith, a former director of ACDA and chief US delegate to SALT-1, said: "Since the war (World War II.--A.P.), I have not seen any evidence of a serious Soviet intention to mount a massive attack on Western Europe."¹⁴

¹⁴ Dialogue (The Trilateral Commission's Quarterly), Summer/Fall 1982, p. 5.

Seweryn Bialer, Director of the Research Institute on International Exchange of Columbia University, and Joan Afferica, professor of history at Smith College, state categorically: "Soviet leaders do not want war with the West."¹⁵

Michael Howard, professor of modern history at Oxford University, writes: "In spite of the repeated warnings of its (the West's.--A.P.) military specialists, no threat has materialised."¹⁶ Addressing the annual conference of the International Institute of Strategic Studies, of which he is co-founder and Vice-President, Howard, a well-known defence specialist, said that the chance of a conventional Soviet attack against Western Europe is "absolutely minimal" and that a nuclear attack is even less likely.¹⁷

There are enough statements of this nature, made by spokesmen of the US Establishment, to fill a book. Incidentally, World Marxist Review has published a survey of the opinions of prominent Americans on the myth of a "Soviet threat".¹⁸ Why is it, then, that this myth persists? We wonder whether anybody has calculated how many items on the "Soviet threat" the world bourgeois press carries every day. It would be useful to have such statistics. However, even those who do not know the figure

¹⁵ Foreign Affairs, Winter 1982/1983, p. 262.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 314.

¹⁷ International Herald Tribune, September 15, 1982.

¹⁸ Marilyn Bechtel, "Myth Is Myth Indeed", in WMR, No. 2, 1981.

must know that it is large, provided they read, say, the non-communist press of NATO countries. Well-paid masters of manipulating mass consciousness create radio and TV programmes and films for the express purpose of scaring the man in the street with the spectre of "Soviets armed to the teeth" and making him believe that the "peace-loving West" is lagging behind them all the time. James Avery Joyce, international lawyer and Consultant to the UN on Disarmament and Human Rights, asks in his impassioned book for peace, The War Machine: "How much cold war brain-washing does it need to take the 'Russian threat' seriously?"¹⁹

Even the somewhat less feverish among the warmongers occasionally admit that they do not really expect a Soviet first strike. In With Enough Shovels, Scheer quotes Richard Perle, who played a key role in blocking ratification of SALT-2, as saying: "I've always worried less about what would happen in an actual nuclear exchange than the effect that the nuclear balance has on our willingness to take risks in local situations. It is not that I am worried about the Soviets attacking the United States with nuclear weapons... It is that I worry about an American president feeling that he cannot afford to take action in a crisis because Soviet nuclear forces are ... better posed than we are to move up the escalation ladder."²⁰

¹⁹ James Avery Joyce, The War Machine. The Case Against the Arms Race, Hamlyn Paperbacks, Feltham, 1981, p. 106.

²⁰ Robert Scheer, op.cit., p. 13.

A most revealing statement, indeed. It acknowledges that were it not for the existence of strategic parity between the USSR and the USA, US militarists would have no fear of being involved in local conflicts anywhere. In other words, Soviet arms are a deterrent to US imperialism's aims, to its attempts at militarily reversing the liberation processes at work in the Caribbean, Latin America, Africa and Asia. It is confirmation from the war-minded circles that US imperialism aims to dominate the ^{world} by military means. And that is why it seeks military superiority, why it is building up vast nuclear, chemical and conventional arsenals for use against both the socialist countries and the developing world.

All this is done in the name of destroying a "Soviet threat" which they know not to exist. The reader will recall that those whom we have quoted and who refuse to believe in Soviet "aggressiveness", are by no means partisans of socialism; in fact, some of them are anti-Soviet and anti-Communist. Even so, they do not want the historically objective competition between the two social systems to take the form of a war to the death. This is the attitude of many in the capitalist world --clergymen, retired generals and admirals, politicians of top rank, reformist and even reactionary trade union leaders, and others. And it is a measure of how vast is the potential of the growing movement for peace, for ending the arms race, for saving mankind from omnicide.

Nuclear war must be condemned as a crime against humanity.
John Sommerwille, Professor Emeritus of Philosophy at the City

University of New York, author of numerous books, including books on problems of war and peace, said it well: "... The most urgent objective must be not the prevention of nuclear omnicide in particular. We might survive war, but we cannot survive omnicide. Someone could win a war, but no one could win omnicide. There is such a thing as a just war, but there is no such thing as a just omnicide. There can be a war of liberation, but there cannot be an omnicide of liberation. A human being could argue that there is, on occasion, a right or even a duty to wage war, and still be considered a sane human being, but if a human being argues that there is a right or duty to wage omnicide, he will ^{have} / to be considered insane by definition. We human beings have created the practical possibility of omnicide, and now we must make ourselves face the reality of that possibility in order to prevent ourselves from implementing it in practice. The extreme urgency of this problem can be felt in the single fact that at the 1982 United Nations Special Session on Disarmament it was impossible to obtain agreement to a resolution condemning nuclear war as a crime against humanity...

"Has any positive step been proposed at any authoritative, decision-making level that would ameliorate this enormously frightening situation and lay a basis on which we could build further? Such a step has indeed been proposed, and has been partly implemented. I wish I could say it was proposed by my own government, but the fact is that it was opposed by my government, entirely in the spirit of the cold war. At the UN

1982 Special Session on Disarmament, although no progress was made on actual disarmament, the Soviet government pledged itself never to be the first to use nuclear weapons, and proposed that other governments follow its example, pointing out, with incontestable logic, that if there is no first use of the omnicidal weapons, there will be no use of them at all."²¹

So it must be. We humans have only one home, our beautiful blue planet!

Arthur Paull

American journalist

²¹ New World Review, January-February 1983, p. 21.

countries on matters of peace and disarmament and distributed them among its partners in the peace movement. In 1984 the first Week of Existing Socialism was held, the participants exchanging their views and information on various spheres of life in the socialist countries, on their achievements, problems and prospects.

We are firmly convinced that anti-communism in the FRG can be pushed back and eventually overcome. This will by no means be a smooth process without any difficulties or obstacles. However, the logic of the struggle of the popular masses gradually destroys prejudice and false concepts and reveals the true social causes and inter-relationships. To succeed, we must work consistently to promote this struggle.

THE CONCEPT OF A NEW "BLITZKRIEG"

NATO leaders claim that the recently adopted Rogers Plan is strictly defensive. The communist press, including your journal, says it is essentially aggressive. Please explain why you think so.

Peter Edwards, Great Britain

Let us begin by posing a different question: how can one envisage "defence behind enemy lines" (and this formula is an element of the Rogers Plan¹)) and at the same time talk about a defensive thrust of the new plan? You will agree that "formulas" of this sort are an insult to human intelligence. After all, the word "defence" in this case stands for attack. Even

¹ See article "Is That How They Seek Peace?" in this issue.

more openly than many other pseudo-defensive concepts of NATO strategists, the Rogers Plan postulates aggression against the Warsaw Treaty Organisation (WTO) countries. Judge for yourself: at the initial stage, the plan provides for a surprise "preventive" (that is, first) conventional strike to a depth of up to 500 kilometers against command and control centres, major communications and other vital targets in these countries, including Soviet nuclear weapons. The aim is to immediately paralyse and decapitate the main WTO forces and to seize the initiative. It is argued that for all the importance attached to the first echelon of enemy troops, the destruction of the second enemy echelon will be decisive for the final victory.

The plan is based on three principles that are far from defensive: the "extended battlefield" (stretching far behind enemy lines), the "integrated battlefield" (this refers to combined strikes delivered by all available weapons, including nuclear and chemical ones) and "military offensive" (as the principal form of operations).

The strategy in question implies knowledge of the exact location of key defence installations in the Warsaw Treaty countries. This explains why member-countries of the North Atlantic alliance are working so hard at the Stockholm Conference to ensure "transparency" of the activities undertaken by the WTO armed forces.

Viewed from the military standpoint, the "defence" formula proposed by NATO is not new. It is largely a replica of the US concept referred to as Airland Battle or Airland Battle 2000 in reference to the future, formulated in the August 1982 edition

of the US Army Field Manual 100-5.² Now the Pentagon has foisted its European version on its allies too, this time as the Rogers Plan.

Like Airland Battle, the plan not only offers a new strategy of aggression but also proposes a radical modernisation and substantial strengthening of conventional armaments. The plan maintains that modern warfare ^{should} make much wider use of "new generation" conventional armaments with their incomparably greater range, power and accuracy.³ NATO experts emphasise that such armaments can attain virtually all objectives previously assigned to tactical nuclear weapons, but without the risk of nuclear escalation.⁴ One can easily imagine the consequences of the use of such weapons in densely populated Europe.

It did not prove easy for Washington to persuade its allies to accept the Rogers Plan fully and without reservation. Among the NATO countries' ruling quarters, some people question the usefulness of diverting huge resources into the mass production of weapons systems "untested in action" when the WTO countries, in their opinion, are sure to respond in kind. The

² For more details, see A. Paull, "Airland Battle: the Road to Nuclear Omnicide", WMR, No. 7, 1983.

³ This refers to weapons systems involving electronic surveillance, tracking, communication and data processing (the so-called smart munitions), hugely destructive (e.g. vacuum) weapons, etc.

⁴ See Frankfurter Allgemeine, June 10, 1983.

skeptics were assured that the plan put off or even completely ruled out the use of nuclear weapons, that is, that it raised the nuclear threshold. Pentagon and NATO propaganda experts expected such claims to act as an "excellent antidote" to the West European peace movement. On the other hand, the US Administration has promised to hand some of the orders for the exorbitantly expensive programme of "weapons of the future" over to West European military-industrial monopolies whose abilities and appetite are growing rapidly. According to the Daily Telegraph, West German and British corporations have already begun the development and manufacture of certain long-range ^{weapons} systems (for example, West Germany is developing the new MWI missile for the Tornado combat aircraft).

The US President himself took part in pressuring America's NATO partners: in his message to Congress dated September 12, 1984 he called on them to agree to greater sacrifices for the sake of strengthening the "deterrent capability" of the NATO triad. A directly opposite approach was also used--assurances that implementation of the Rogers Plan would not require the NATO countries to incur additional expenses or divert financial resources from other spheres of the military effort. "These countries were being asked simply (emphasis added--J.D.) to include the doctrine in their long-term military planning."⁵

As a result of this massive pressure from Washington, the plan was at long last officially approved at a North Atlantic Council session held in December 1984. The NATO version of Air-land Battle was eventually named Follow-On Force Attack (FOFA).

⁵ The International Herald Tribune, November 10-11, 1984.

Many West European observers regard this concept as a new edition of "Blitzkrieg", referred to in the current NATO lingo as "deep forward defence" or "forward defence in depth". Dan Smith, Vice-President of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, has offered a succinct description of the new aggressive concept: it "is not a shift from nuclear deterrents to conventional but a more closely integrated nuclear and conventional strategy".⁶ There are indications that certain elements of this concept have already been drilled in the course of the NATO military exercises codenamed Autumn Forge-84.

The deployment of "swift" first-strike nuclear weapons in Western Europe begun by the Pentagon and the North Atlantic alliance means that they continue to rely on these armaments and, moreover, intend to complement them by the deployment of the latest conventional weapons too. This is what General Bernard Rogers himself said about it in one of his interviews: "Some people claim that I would be prepared to cancel the option of a first (atomic) strike. But that is not so... Some people think I would want to give up nuclear weapons... But this was not what I said. If, by the end of the decade we acquire all the necessary conventional armaments ... we will need even more the entire spectrum of nuclear deterrents--from short-range to strategic weapons."⁷ The United States is also pursuing a far-reaching goal of its own--the ability to wage a "Eurowar" which, while dif-

⁶ The Morning Star, November 26, 1984.

⁷ Die Welt, November 29, 1982.

fering little from an all-out nuclear war in its results, would not affect US territory. The National Journal, an American periodical with close official connections, confirms that the "new generation" weapons are to upset the military equilibrium in Europe.

This means that the West European allies of the United States are being drawn into yet another dangerous and costly round of the arms race. Washington is now expected to demand that they annually increase their military spending not by three per cent, the way it was a few years ago, but by at least 4.5 per cent. Implementation of FOFA implies not only a buildup of the latest weapons but also an increase in the numerical strength of the armed forces and extensive preparations in the infrastructure. The latest session of the North Atlantic Council has already decreed that allocations to develop the infrastructure are to be upgraded from four billion to almost eight billion dollars over the coming six years. Washington hailed this decision as a "vital contribution" to the integrated programme for improving conventional forces.

And so, dear reader, you see that the Rogers Plan, now christened FOFA, enhances the aggressive thrust of NATO's overall strategy. Its chief catchphrase--"offense is the best defence"--speaks for itself, belying American and NATO propaganda claims about the "defensive" nature of both the plan and the militarist bloc as a whole.

J. Daniel