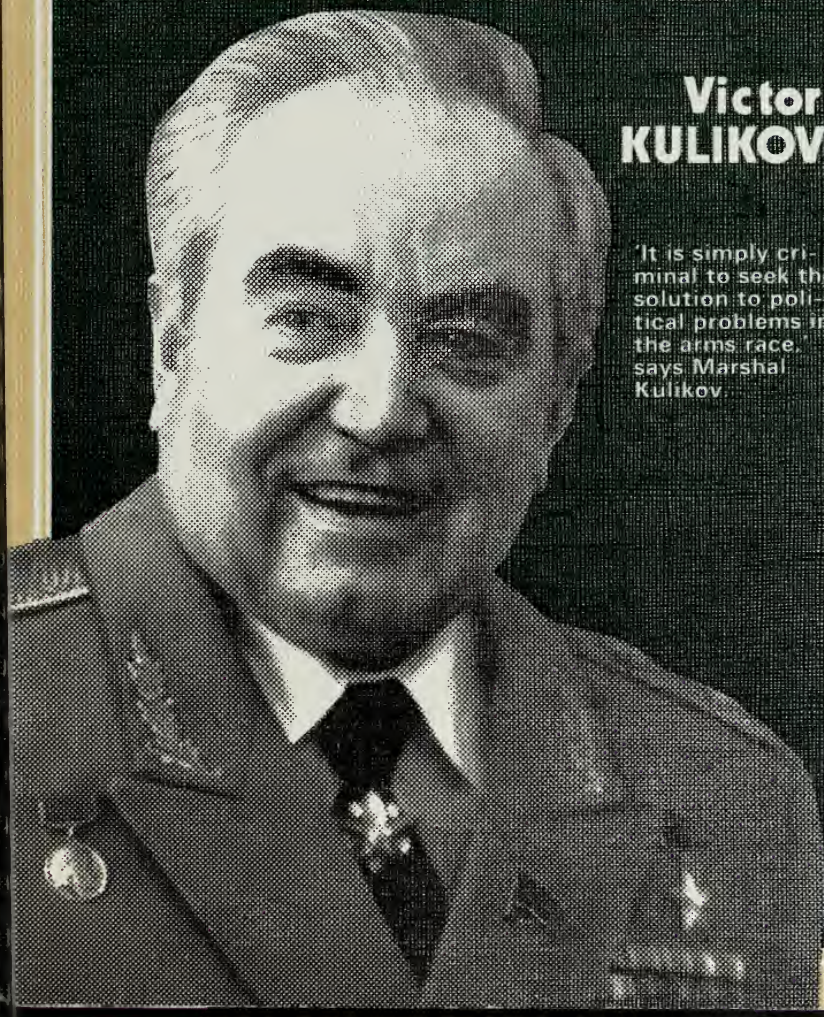


Expert Opinion

«THE MILITARY DOCTRINE OF THE WARSAW TREATY HAS A DEFENSIVE CHARACTER»

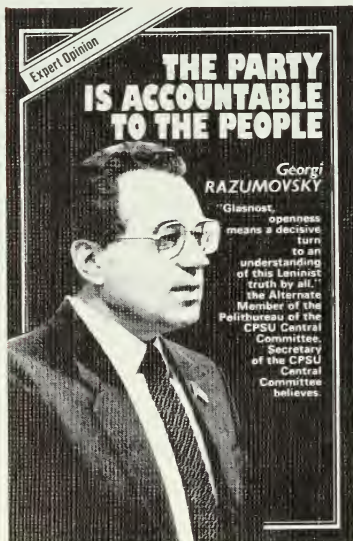
**Victor
KULIKOV**

'It is simply criminal to seek the solution to political problems in the arms race,' says Marshal Kulikov.



Expert Opinion

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Stepan SHALAYEV, Chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions: "Soviet Trade Unions—an Influential Force in Society".

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Vladimir KAMENTSEV, Vice Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and Chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers: "Economic Ties, a Prerequisite of Lasting Peace".

Georgi RAZUMOVSKY, Candidate Member of the Politburo, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: "The Party Is Accountable to the People".

CHIS

DOCTRINE OF REASON AND POLITICAL REALISM

The Berlin Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member States in May 1987 adopted a document On the Military Doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty Member States which has aroused major interest worldwide.

What was the reason for the adoption and promulgation of this document? What are the basic distinctions of the military doctrine of the WTO member states? What practical measures have already been implemented in this direction by the USSR and its allies, and what measures are they going to take to reduce the level of confrontation of the two military-political alliances, NATO and the WTO?

These and related questions are answered in an interview with a correspondent of the Novosti Press Agency by Marshal of the Soviet Union Victor KULIKOV, USSR First Deputy Minister of Defence and Commander-in-Chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the WTO Member Countries.



What was the reason for the adoption and promulgation of the military doctrine of the WTO member countries?

Above all, the realization that a system of security based on fear of retribution cannot last. Such a situation is both absurd and immoral. It only spurs on the arms race, which sooner or later may get out of control. This inevitably increases equal danger, aggravating world tension with every passing day.

In terms of destructive potential, modern weapons exceed by far levels that make their use for achieving political objectives acceptable. And a world war, especially a nuclear war, would have catastrophic consequences not only for the countries involved in it, but also for the entire world community. It is senseless, moreover criminal, to search for a solution to political problems in the arms race, in other words, in the perfection of the "shield and sword" and in a future war, which would immediately assume a world scale. Likewise, there is no attaining two securities—one (better) for oneself and the other (worse) for others. Now the security of countries can be only mutual and universal. It has to be vindicated jointly. It would be worse to do it separately, and still worse through confrontation. In short, there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence and to equal cooperation and mutual understanding between all countries.

The existing and, still more, new generations of the means of war have made the world too fragile a place for power politics and war itself incompatible with life on our planet. The adoption of an adjusted military doctrine of the WTO member countries is connected primarily with a new understanding of the realities of the era of scientific and technological revolution and worldwide interdependence.

2

Now comes the second part of the question.

Behind the decision to promulgate the military doctrine of the WTO member countries stood the assumption that the course of world events pressed for a search for ways which would promote a reduction of the armed forces and armaments, especially nuclear, of the threat of war, and of the level of military-strategic parity. Of exceptional significance is the correct understanding of the orientation and content of military doctrines, since they embody the far-reaching political aims, aspirations, and practical military actions of states and military-political alliances.

It is no coincidence that the allied socialist countries, simultaneously with the publication of their military doctrine document, proposed that WTO and NATO experts should meet for an objective, unbiased discussion and mutual explanation of the essence of their military conceptions and doctrines. Simultaneously, this would make possible a comparison of their content, a joint study of and the achievement of a consensus as to the directions of their further evolution. Publishing their military doctrine, the WTO member states proposed that the two sides should ascertain the sincerity of each other's aims and aspirations. In particular, the peace-loving public finds it fairly important to obtain from the NATO member countries confirmations of the truthfulness of their leaders' statements that they would use military force only in retaliation for aggression. Likewise, the comparison of the doctrines would undoubtedly promote the disappearance of mutual suspiciousness and distrust, which have been building up for years, the achievement of a better insight into each other's aspirations, the disclosure of the essence of the military conceptions and doctrines of the military blocs and their member countries, and the ensuring of their defensive basis.

In inviting the NATO member countries to participate in a dialogue to compare military doctrines, the WTO member states proceeded from the fact that a practical example is much more convincing than declarations. That was why they found it necessary to make an open exposition of the basic provisions of their doctrine, which show its defensive orientation.



What are the main features of this doctrine?

The most important feature is that it is **subordinated to the prevention of war**, both nuclear and conventional. To this end, concrete practical measures are proposed, which include: a ban on nuclear tests, a stage-by-stage reduction and the complete elimination of nuclear armaments and the prevention of the militarization of outer space; a ban on and the elimination of chemical and other types of weapon of mass destruction; the introduction of a system of strict control of all disarmament measures; the establishment of zones free of nuclear and chemical weapons as well as of zones of reduced armament concentration and increased trust; mutual renunciation by the WTO and NATO of the use of military force and the implementation of other measures which would form prerequisites for the future simultaneous dissolution of the NATO and WTO and, as the first step, the elimination of their military organizations; and the eventual creation of a system of international security.

Another crucial feature of the military doctrine of the allied socialist countries is its strictly defensive character. According to the doctrine the WTO member countries will under no circumstances launch military operations against any state or alliance of states if they do not become the target of an armed attack themselves; they will never make first use of nuclear weapons; and that they have no territorial claims on any European or non-European country. They do not regard any state or any people as their enemy. On the contrary, they are ready to base their relations with all countries of the world without exception on mutual consideration of the interests of security and peaceful coexistence. The WTO member countries have also declared that their international relations are firmly based on respect for the principles of independence and national sovereignty, non-use of force or a threat to use force, the inviolability of borders and territorial integrity, a peaceful solution to

Data about the quantities of strategic offensive armaments of the USSR and the USA

as on January 1, 1988



USSR USA

IBM launchers
including: launchers equipped with independently targetable multiple warheads

1,390

1,000

812

550

Submarine-based ballistic missile (SBBM) launchers
including: launchers equipped with independently targetable multiple warheads

942

672

388

640

Total of IBM and SBBM launchers
including: launchers equipped with independently targetable multiple warheads

2,332

1,672

1,200

1,190

Heavy bombers (HB)
including: bombers equipped for cruise missiles (CM)

162

588

72

161

Total of IBM, SBBM and HB launchers
Including: launchers equipped with independently targetable multiple warheads and for CMs

2,494

2,260

1,272

1,351

Total of charges on strategic carriers

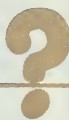
approx.
10,000

approx.
14,000-
16,000

conflicts, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and other principles and aims recorded in the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Final Act and hal- lowed by the universally recognized standards of international relations.

A distinguishing feature of our military doctrine is the inseparable connection between the peacefulness of the allied socialist states and their readiness for reliable self-protection from external aggression. For these purposes the socialist countries maintain the composition and level of their armed forces which enable them to rebuff any aggression against any WTO member country. However, the socialist com- munity countries do not strive to make their armed forces and armaments exceed their defence require- ments, keeping them within the limits sufficient to rebuff aggression.

Regrettably, a number of Western politicians, dip- lomats and military leaders hold a different view. They regard force and the threat of its use as the only basis for relations with countries of a different political system. Therefore they view the strengthening of confrontation as a perfectly normal phenomenon, as a guarantee of mutual security.



Why do the WTO member countries, while advocating and striving for disarmament, participate in the arms race?

Above all, I will observe that, speaking of the theoretical aspect of the question, the socialist coun- tries stay out of the arms race. By the arms race we imply the implementation of programmes aimed at achieving military superiority. We have no such pro- grammes. Our programme is designed to maintain a military-strategic parity—at the lowest possible level.

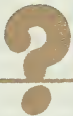
Drawn into the arms race against their will, the allied socialist countries have never been its active participants, still less so, leaders. One has only to make a mental survey of postwar history to realize that this is so. It was not these countries but the West that created the atomic bomb, intercontinental stra-

tegic bombers, atomic submarines, intercontinental ballistic missiles with multiple independently targetable warheads, and long-range cruise missiles. We still do not have—and do not strive to create—atomic and conventional aircraft-carriers, neutron ammunition, and binary chemical weapons. Still less so, we do not advocate the development of strike space weapons.

Thus, as regards the creation of new types of weapon and military equipment, the allied socialist states have never aspired to leadership, but have always been runners-up. Incidentally, the position of a runner-up enables us to maintain parity at the cost of lower military expenditures. We, as it were, proceed along a ski track laid by others, which requires much smaller efforts. He who leads the way moving over loose snow stands a greater chance of losing his strength. And the socialist countries' safety margin in the form of their scientific and industrial potential is enough to preserve the parity. The level of technical equipment and the preparedness and fighting efficiency of the WTO armed forces' personnel are maintained at a level commensurable with the threat of aggression, with the observation of the principle of defence sufficiency. Its limit always depends on the attained quantitative and qualitative level of technical equipment of the armed forces of the USA and NATO as well as on military-technical achievements.

In formulating their military doctrine, the WTO member countries were guided by the real state of affairs in the sphere of ensuring security. This is understandable: before the political mechanism of blocking the sources of war is created, they are forced to rely on the military mechanism. Nevertheless, the historical chance of modern civilization—its future—lies in peaceful cooperation between all countries.

The senselessness of the arms race as a means of ensuring the survival of mankind is becoming increasingly clear. Preparations for war of any type and variety involve the colossal expenditures of material resources

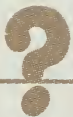


and scientific potential, eventually placing any country's economy in a difficult position and exercising an exceedingly adverse effect on living standards. At the same time, the experience of the world community's postwar development has shown that the desire for military superiority cannot bring political advantage to any country. But, it may be asked, is there an alternative to this experience? After all, mankind has no other appropriate experience, has it?

In our opinion, military and political confrontation, accompanied by a runaway arms race, should be countered by peace alternatives—a specific alloy of trust, cooperation and disarmament. The Earth being our common home, it is unnatural to fill it with explosive inflammable material, thus preparing its ruin in defiance of common sense. A rational and realistic approach would be not calculating how many times the vital targets and population of a concrete alliance of countries can be destroyed, but strengthening the foundations of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. Without this civilization will not be able to continue.

While recognizing that the present military-strategic parity is the crucial factor behind the prevention of war, the socialist community countries believe that the further rise in the level of this parity will not bring greater security. Therefore they advocate the preservation of the balance of military strength at an increasingly low level. This lends historic significance to the cessation of the arms race and to the adoption of real disarmament measures.

Such is the standpoint of the allied socialist countries set forth in their military doctrine. It objectively reflects their realities. Their peoples are vitally interested in peace. They have no classes or social or vocational population groups interested in war or war preparations, in other words, in the arms race.



A Treaty between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles has been signed. How will it influence the security of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO? Won't its implementation, as believed in a number of Western countries, lead to a rise in the military might of the USSR and the Warsaw Treaty? They say the elimination of the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles weakens NATO in the face of the Warsaw Treaty superiority in conventional armaments. What is your view of this question?

I will first emphasize that the Soviet-US treaty on the elimination of the missiles of these two types is the first major agreement in the field of real nuclear disarmament concluded by our two countries. The very fact of its signing shows that the possibility of and prospects for the creation of a non-nuclear and

INITIATIVE IN THE CREATION OF NEW WEAPON SYSTEMS

Nuclear weapons

USA

the mid-1940s
(dropped on
the Japanese
cities of
Hiroshima and
Nagasaki in
August 1945)



USSR

the late 1940s
(have not been
used)



non-violent world, outlined in the well-known statement of Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee made on January 15, 1986 and in the Delhi Declaration on Principles for a Nuclear-Weapon Free and Non-Violent World* are beginning to receive a material embodiment. What only two years ago was regarded as a Utopia has become a concrete practical matter.

Naturally, the treaty would not have been concluded but for the support movement on the part of the United States and its NATO allies. It is a good omen, which shows that the leaders of the United States and other Western countries realize that super-armament is not adequate to security. And although only four per cent of the Soviet and US nuclear armaments are subject to scrapping, a breakthrough in the disarmament field has been achieved. If it is extended by an agreement on a fifty per cent reduction of the Soviet and US strategic armaments and upheld by additional actions and efforts of other nuclear powers, there is every reason to believe that the 21st century, which mankind will enter in eleven and a half years, will be a non-nuclear century.

The development of world relations shows that it is all an exceedingly complex, but quite attainable task. This is testified by the history of the inter-

* Signed in the course of a visit by Mikhail Gorbachev to India in October 1986. Proclaims principles of a non-violent world free of nuclear weapons.

NATO has almost 50 per cent more combat-ready units (divisions and brigades) than the Warsaw Treaty Organization. And the strength of a US division is 16 to 19 thousand and of an FRG division up to 24 thousand, while that of a division of the Warsaw Treaty armies has a maximum strength of 11 or 12 thousand.

mediate- and shorter-range missile treaty. In the early 1980s representatives of the US Administration declared that they would not sit down at the negotiating table at all and would not discuss problems of arms limitations with us. But, as we can see, the psychological barrier has been overcome, the sides have started appropriate negotiations and, in spite of major difficulties, have signed the treaty.

In our opinion, the agreement has been reached because the two sides have exhibited a readiness to consider each other's interests and find compromises in their efforts to balance these interests. This, in particular, gives reasons to believe that the elimination of the Soviet and US intermediate- and shorter-range missiles has not prejudiced the defence capability of either side—the Soviet Union or the United States, the Warsaw Treaty or NATO. To our way of thinking, their security has grown still stronger. After all, intermediate- and shorter-range missiles are being dismantled in nine countries.

It is worth recalling that within the framework of this treaty the Soviet Union is dismantling many more missiles and warheads than the United States. Our country has made this concession because the balance of interests is above the formal balance of force for us. The interests of the sides are fully observed. And, most importantly, the highest aspirations of all the peoples of Europe and of the entire globe—the

INITIATIVE IN THE CREATION OF NEW WEAPON SYSTEMS

Intercontinental strategic bombers

USSR
the late 1950s

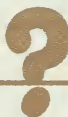


USA
the mid-1950s



desire to preserve and consolidate world peace—have been considered.

This shows that the allegation that the Soviet-American Treaty on the Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is advantageous exclusively to the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty countries conflicts with reality. Indeed, it is advantageous to our country, but it is equally advantageous to the West, consolidating the guarantees of peace, vital to all countries. This treaty does not offer our country military advantages either. In other words, the allegations of certain Western leaders that the US and NATO troops have worse weapons than the armed forces of the USSR and the Warsaw Treaty and that NATO should therefore immediately “compensate” for the dismantling of the American missiles, which nullified this “superiority”, by the development and buildup of other means, are groundless.



The press says that certain NATO circles make a stake on NATO accumulating a sufficiency of what is known as classical weapons, which make it possible to deal as powerful a strike at the Soviet Union from Western Europe as could be dealt by Pershing and cruise missiles. Would you comment on this allegation?

The NATO member countries have a quantitative and qualitative superiority over the Warsaw Treaty in combat aviation. According to the data cited in the Pentagon pamphlet "Soviet Military Might", published in 1986, this superiority comprises 1,150 planes, not counting the combined airforces of France and Spain. According to a Soviet expert evaluation, in Europe the NATO strike aviation has a lead of 1,400 planes.

It appears that such a calculation overtly exposes the real orientation of the statements about the notorious Warsaw Treaty superiority in conventional forces and weapons. They are needed to upset the real balance of forces in NATO's favour. It will be recalled that the presence of an approximate parity is recognized both by independent researchers and by research centres for the study of problems of war, peace and disarmament in the USA. For instance, one of the materials of the Brookings Institution, published in 1988, says point-blank that the ratio of conventional forces is not only close to parity, but is even in favour of the West.

I will re-emphasize that the allied socialist states have never had—and do not have now—any superiority over the NATO countries in conventional weapons as a whole. And they do not strive to achieve such superiority, which is clearly stated in the military doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty member states. They are prepared to discuss problems of conventional armaments, which leads them to attach major importance to the 1986 Budapest proposal for reducing the armed forces and armaments in Europe, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Urals, to the level of reasonable sufficiency. Some appropriate figures have already been named: for instance, we could reach agreement on an approximately one-quarter reduc-

INITIATIVE IN THE CREATION OF NEW WEAPON SYSTEMS

Atomic Submarines



tion of the armed forces of the two sides. However, representatives of the NATO countries still hesitate to sit down at the negotiating table.

Furthermore, the Western news media are circulating statements about imbalances and asymmetries as regards individual types of armaments and armed forces. And they are consciously silencing the fact that the present quantitative disparity is due to many historical, geographic, military proper and other factors and that it is being mutually compensated for. For instance, the Warsaw Treaty has more tanks, but NATO has considerable superiority in anti-tank weapons.

Nevertheless, the Warsaw Treaty member countries are prepared for consultations with the NATO countries about the present imbalances and asymmetries and for a search for ways to remove them. And it is recognized that it is expedient not to increase some concrete types of armament and armed forces to a certain level, but to reduce them on the side which has developed a lead with a view to achieving lower levels.

Thus, getting back to the previous question, we do not link hopes for achieving military superiority over NATO with the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. We think of it as the boundary from which we should move further towards reducing both the nuclear and the conventional weapons and armed forces.

NATO has considerable superiority over the Warsaw Treaty in naval forces: it is almost three-fold in big surface ships (battleships, cruisers, destroyers, and guided-missile frigates), 2.5-fold in naval aeroplanes, and twofold in the aggregate tonnage of war fleet ships.

What if the United States, developing a lead in the creation of new models of armaments capable of replacing weapons of mass destruction and obsolete means of war, agrees to renounce them and the Soviet Union does not? Then it can be assumed that the United States will immediately try to make major political capital by declaring, for instance, that everything from the Decree on Peace proposed by the Land of Soviets directly after the socialist revolution to the latest Soviet peace initiatives is communist propaganda bluff. A really paradoxical phenomenon would result: its arms race would give the USA convincing arguments in favour of its "peacefulness" and commitment to disarmament, while the many decades of the USSR's efforts for this disarmament would receive many "black balls". Doesn't the United States have in mind exactly such a scenario when it displays intract-

INITIATIVE IN THE CREATION OF NEW WEAPON SYSTEMS

Atomic aircraft-carriers

USA

the early 1960s



USSR

none



THE AIM OF THE REDUCTIONS is to obtain a substantial drop in the level of war threat in Europe.

THE OBJECT OF THE REDUCTIONS is all components of the ground forces and tactical strike aviation of the European countries and the corresponding forces and means of the USA and Canada deployed in Europe.

THE ZONE OF THE REDUCTIONS is all Europe stretching from the Atlantic coast to the Urals.

Levels of the reductions

One-time mutual numerical reduction of the troops of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty member states by 100 to 150 thousand men on each side.

Directly afterwards a reduction of the land troops and tactical strike aviation of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty by approximately 25 per cent of the present level, i.e., over 500 thousand men on each side.

Simultaneously with conventional armaments, the nuclear armaments of operational-tactical designation with a range of up to 1,000 kilometres would be reduced.

The further reduction of the armed forces and armaments of the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty member countries. The joining of other European countries in the reduction.

All signatory countries of the agreement:

- agree at the very beginning for a considerable reduction of the tactical strike aviation of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty and on a reduction of the troop concentration along the line of contact between these alliances;
- commit themselves to refrain from increasing their land troops and tactical strike aviation across the reduction zone.

Proposals of the Warsaw Treaty member countries for the reduction of the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe (Budapest-86)

Reduction deadlines

Within a year or two
In the early 1990s

Reduction methods

The components of the armed forces subject to reduction are phased out by appropriate integral military units together with their standard armament and military equipment. Their personnel are subject to demobilization following the procedure established in each individual country.

The armaments and equipment subject to reduction should be destroyed or stock-

piled on their national territory in keeping with agreed procedures.

The nuclear charges would be subject to destruction. Certain types of military equipment, by agreement, could be turned over for peaceful uses.

MEANS AND MEASURES OF CONTROL

over reductions:—national technical means;

- international procedures up to on-site inspection;
- exchange of numerical data about the general strength of the ground troops and tactical strike aviation in the reduction zone and from the part subject to reduction and remaining after the reduction;
- exchange of lists of the military units subject to disbandment with the indication of their names, strength, deployment, and number of the basic agreed types of armament subject to reduction;
- notification about the beginning and end of the reductions;
- the setting up of an international consultative commission with the participation of representatives of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty member countries and interested neutral, non-aligned and other European countries (the setting up of control posts in big railway junctions, airports, and seaports);

after the reduction the establishment of observation over the military activity of the troops remaining after the cutbacks



ability on questions of the deployment of SDI and other new means of war based on the achievements of scientific and technological progress?

The Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty member countries have on many occasions announced that there is no weapon which they would not be prepared to destroy and withdraw from the arsenals of their armed forces. The only necessary condition for this is to ensure the equality and equal security of states. No country's interests should be infringed and strategic stability should be guaranteed. National security is fiction if it does not fit into the framework of general security.

This makes it quite logical to assume that the Soviet Union and its allies, in undertaking certain actions geared to achieve disarmament and strengthen the basis of universal peace, will never allow these actions to prejudice its own security and the security of other countries, not excluding the United States. They are prepared for a full ban on and the elimination of all types of weapon of mass destruction—but only on a mutual basis. Otherwise all-out steps would in fact become acts of unilateral disarmament, which the socialist countries cannot afford.

In Europe the Warsaw Treaty Organization keeps approximately 20 thousand more tanks than NATO. But NATO has 50 per cent more gunship helicopters, including those equipped with anti-tank means, and almost twice as many anti-tank missile complexes.

"We have reiterated and reiterated our desire for peace, our need for peace ... But we do not propose to be strangled to death for the sake of peace." These words were said by V. I. Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, in an interview with Lincoln Eyre, correspondent of the American newspaper *The World*, about seventy years ago. Consequently, almost seventy years ago the public of the United States and other countries had a chance to acquaint themselves with the Soviet point of view on one of the key aspects of security—the necessity, possibilities and conditions for the reduction of our defence capability.

It must be specially emphasized that the USSR and the USA have come right up to translating into life the possibility of a fifty per cent reduction of the strategic offensive armaments (SOA). The Soviet Union advocates strengthening strategic stability as a result of such a reduction. This is why it vindicates the necessity of preserving the Soviet-American ABM Treaty in the form in which it has been signed and ratified. Only then will it remain a reliable foundation of strategic stability, basing themselves on which the sides could effect the fifty per cent SOA reduction. There can be no permitting the erosion of the ABM Treaty—exactly the threat posed by the actions of the US Administration, which strives to force the "strategic defence initiative" (SDI) programme.

Why do we hold this view? Because the SDI, if the

INITIATIVE IN THE CREATION OF NEW WEAPON SYSTEMS

Independently targetable multiple warheads

USA
the late 1960s



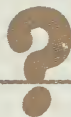
USSR
the mid-1970s



United States began to deploy it, would conflict with the ABM Treaty. It bans certain actions, in particular, the deployment of the ABM system in one's own country and the laying of the foundation of such defence as well as the creation of systems or components of space-based ABM. Furthermore, there are no guarantees that these weapon systems, especially cosmic, will not be used offensively for aggressive purposes. We want to be safeguarded against a strike from outer space, just as from the further spiralling of the arms race. This is why we are against the implementation of SDI.

At the same time, it should be noted that the Soviet Union, considering the adherence of the US Administration to the SDI programme and striving to find ways to reduce strategic offensive armaments, is not against research in this sphere. It only advocates the preservation of the ABM Treaty as it is. It is of exceptional importance for the implementation of agreements on fifty per cent cuts in the strategic offensive armaments achieved in the course of the Washington meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Ronald Reagan, President of the United States. In short, striving for military superiority in any field cannot form a reasonable basis for shaping good-neighbourly relations and for strengthening universal security.

The Warsaw Treaty Organization's lead in Central Europe can be admitted if the French troops are not taken into account. But NATO has a lead on Europe's southern flank: the ratio is 2.6:1 in the number of the personnel and strike aviation; 5.8:1 gunship helicopters; and 1.9:1 in artillery.



The Soviet leaders have on many occasions declared that they will not follow the US example, setting up our own SDI system. The American Star Wars plans, if necessary, will elicit an asymmetrical response. Does such a reply harmonize with the logic of new thinking and where do you see the logic here?

I will begin by emphasizing that I doubt the possibility of implementing the SDI programme in general, especially in the form in which it was outlined by the US President in 1983. The creation of an absolutely impenetrable anti-missile shield is impossible. This conclusion has been proved by the scientific communities of many countries. In my opinion, the American leaders also agree with it. After all, it is no coincidence that they have decided to set up a new, simplified ABM variant called SDI-2.

The foreign press often carries allegations that the Soviet Union is developing its own "strategic defence initiative". I will say straightaway that this is simply not true. Our country strictly observes the ABM Treaty. And there is no deviation from the principles and logic of new political thinking here. After all, new

INITIATIVE IN THE CREATION OF NEW WEAPON SYSTEMS

Long-range cruise missiles

USA
the mid-1970s



USSR
the mid-1980s

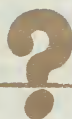


thinking presupposes a striving for a world situation which would ensure the equal security of all countries and peoples. And the SDI is directed at ensuring unilateral security. Therefore with its creation the relations between countries, to our way of thinking, will inevitably exacerbate. Whatever the variants of the deployment of weapons in space, the inescapable consequences will be a complication of the situation, the intensification of the arms race, the deepening of the confrontation, and a violation of strategic stability. And this would in no way fit into the logic of new thinking.

The retaliatory measures which our country would find it necessary to take in the case of the deployment of the SDI by the Americans would make it possible to ensure the necessary level of security to our country and its allies.

At the same time I will emphasize that the allied socialist countries also vigorously strive to achieve agreements geared to prevent the militarization of outer space. For instance, back in 1981 the Soviet Union advanced a draft Treaty on the Prohibition of the Stationing of Weapons of Any Kind in Outer Space. In 1983 our country came up with a draft Treaty on the Prohibition of the Use of Force in Outer Space and from Space Against the Earth. In 1987 it proposed measures to ban systems of weapons of the "space-space", "space-Earth" and "Earth-space" classes.

We are firmly convinced that outer space should not be allowed to degrade into an arsenal of the latest armaments, which aggravate the threat to the peaceful existence of the entire world population. In keeping with their military doctrine, the Warsaw Treaty member states have taken and will continue to take all necessary steps to avert the militarization of outer space. But, as said earlier, if the Soviet Union is forced to do so, it will do all it can to prevent any country from gaining military superiority over it.



they going to undertake for reducing the level of military confrontation and for improving the safeguards of the survival of mankind?

A concentrated outline of such measures was contained in a statement made by Mikhail Gorbachev on January 15, 1986. It was supported and approved by many countries. As a result of the common efforts the cause of disarmament has been transferred on a practical plane. The workability of the Soviet programme of building a non-nuclear world set forth in this statement was confirmed by the Reykjavik meeting, which registered a conceptual breakthrough and proved the basic possibility of large-scale agreements in the field of nuclear disarmament.

The treaty on the elimination of the Soviet and American intermediate- and shorter-range missiles can be regarded as the first practical step in this direction. Its signing offers a good chance to move ahead, including in the implementation of the programme of fifty per cent reduction of strategic offensive armaments with a strict observation of the ABM Treaty, in the elimination of chemical weapons and in the reduction of armed forces and armaments all over Europe from the Atlantic coast to the Urals.

A wide range of proposals and initiatives is also

INITIATIVE IN THE CREATION OF NEW WEAPON SYSTEMS

Neutron ammunition

USA

The late
1970s—early
1980s



USSR

none

contained in the document On the Military Doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty Member States. In fact, it opens the door into a non-nuclear and non-violent world. Of major importance are also the Soviet-American negotiations on the limitation and ending of nuclear tests which began on November 9, 1987. Although it should be observed that the socialist countries prefer another solution to this problem—an immediate ban on all nuclear explosions.

At the 42nd session of the UN General Assembly the socialist countries proposed setting up a comprehensive system of international peace and security. The implementation of this conception, directed at the survival of mankind and making it possible to build a world free of nuclear weapons, violence and hatred, fear and suspicion, is likely to take a long time and multiform common efforts of the entire world. A particularly great role is assigned here to the United Nations and its Security Council. All countries should strictly observe the principles and provisions of the UN Charter and make every effort to develop a dialogue in all fields—political, economic, humanitarian, and ecological.

I will note the efforts of the socialist states designed to implement the principles of development through disarmament. This makes it vital for every country to develop concrete measures that would show its determination to cut back war production and improve the conditions of human life.

The Warsaw Treaty member countries take intensive action in other areas of the struggle for world peace. For instance, in the autumn of 1986 the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany together with the Social-Democratic Party of Germany proposed setting up a nuclear-free corridor in Central Europe along the line of the Warsaw Treaty—NATO contact crossing the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia. Provisions are being made for the withdrawal on a mutual basis of all nuclear weapons in a strip 300 kilometres (150 kilometres on each side) wide.

In January 1988 the GDR made a new major move, proposing that the two German states should

be relieved of nuclear systems of up to 500 kilometres' range. In other words, no nuclear weapons should remain on their territories, including battlefield nuclear weapons. Simultaneously, the conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe should be reduced. Another proposal is to renounce on a mutual basis the modernization of the long-range weapon systems. Naturally, the GDR proposals include such a pressing problem as the elimination of chemical weapons and efforts to scrap and impose a complete ban on them in this area of Europe.

An important foreign policy initiative has been advanced by Poland. It has put forward a concrete plan to reduce armaments and to increase trust in Central Europe. It provides for the gradual withdrawal from and reduction in this part of Europe of agreed types of armaments, including nuclear ones, the broadening of security measures, and the deepening of trust as well as of effective control. It should be noted that in perspective this plan covers the whole of Europe, stretching from the Atlantic coast to the Urals.

A wide response has been gained by the initiative of Bulgaria and Romania. They propose establishing a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons in the Balkans. This move is an organic element of the coordinated actions of the Warsaw Treaty countries designed to make Europe into a continent of peace

INITIATIVE IN THE CREATION OF NEW WEAPON SYSTEMS

Binary chemical weapons



and security. Stubborn consistent efforts for peace and détente are being made by Hungary. Its endeavour finds support in the United Nations and at representative international forums.

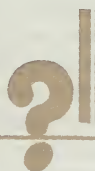
A positive world public response has been aroused by a Soviet proposal for a radical reduction of the level of military confrontation in northern Europe and in the whole of the Arctic, for making this area into a zone of peace and cooperation, and for conducting with this in view negotiations with the interested countries. In spite of the complexities of the international situation, increasing proliferation is being gained by the ideas of peace programme for Asian Pacific coast region proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev and developed in the Delhi Declaration on Principles for a Nuclear-Weapon Free and Non-Violent World.

Of colossal relevance to the stepping up of the actions of the peace forces are decisions adopted at the Berlin conference of the Political Consultative Committee held in 1987. This conference emphasized that the course of world events, the changes in international relations, the growing interdependence of states, scientific and technological progress, and the creation of weapons of an unprecedented destructive force required a new thinking and a new approach to questions of war, peace and disarmament and to other complex global and regional problems. The Warsaw Treaty member states have openly declared that the cardinal task is to prevent war, to rule it out forever from the life of mankind, to preserve world peace, to end the arms race, and to effect a transition to concrete measures directed at complete and general disarmament. This necessitates the mounting of efforts in the battle for peace and security, the strengthening of trust in relations between the countries, especially those of different social systems, and their military-political alliances, and the understanding and consideration of each other's concern in the military field.

The socialist community countries also advocate the development of a strict and effective system of control—both national and international, including

local inspection. Such a system should guarantee the exact observation of all disarmament agreements and create the confidence that the assumed commitments will not be violated under any circumstances.

In short, there is no sphere of international relations in which the socialist states would not have advanced new approaches to solving pressing problems. But their initiatives presuppose similar moves from their partners. This is why the Warsaw Treaty member states expect similar steps from the Western powers directed at bringing the positions of the two sides closer.



What can you say about the development of measures to promote trust and prospects for Stockholm-2?

The Stockholm agreements have been in effect for over a year. Time has shown how reasonable they have been. Their implementation limits the level of military activity in Europe and furthers the improvement of the atmosphere both in this part of the world and outside it, and the strengthening of trust and security.

This, in particular, has been shown by new and appropriate practices—preliminary notification about

INITIATIVE IN THE CREATION OF NEW WEAPON SYSTEMS

Strike space weapons

USA

the early 1980s
(development
and testing of
individual
components)



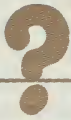
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none

certain types of military activity, the invitation of observers to attend relevant events, and on-site inspection. As a result, any member country of the Conference can see that military activity in another country which has signed the Stockholm document poses no threat to it, being in line with the agreement.

Incidentally, the allied socialist countries firmly abide by the Stockholm Conference decisions, exhibiting understanding for the requests of the Western countries, including those on the holding of inspections. For instance, on August 28-30, 1987, American experts observed exercises held by Soviet troops in Byelorussia. On September 8, 1987, the British government requested an inspection in the GDR, and the GDR leaders granted this request. Soviet representatives in their turn attended several exercises held by NATO member states in 1987. Soviet military specialists carried out inspections in Turkey and the FRG, and GDR inspectors observed troop exercises in the FRG.

As a whole, the first stage of the Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe has brought about agreements which lead to greater openness and predictability of military activity and greater trust and security. If this process is to gain in efficiency, it should be constantly perfected. This is why the Warsaw Treaty member countries have proposed considering a new set of measures at Stockholm-2. This applies above all to questions of a gradual reduction of military activity, especially of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, to notification about independent airforce and naval exercises, and to the extension of measures to increase trust to all member countries. In our opinion, these questions should be solved at the Stockholm-2 conference. I will therefore emphasize that the results of Stockholm-1 were due to common sense, political realism, the manifestation of the sense of responsibility, and the consideration of the security interests of all the Conference member countries. It is highly desirable that all this should win the day at its second stage as well. The foundation of European security must by all means be strengthened and expanded, and restructuring in international affairs should be made irreversible.



What is your assessment of the consultations and possibilities of the Warsaw Treaty—NATO negotiations in terms of procedure, composition of participants and the sphere of problems subject to discussion?

Consultations between representatives of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty are a new phenomenon in the relations between these two military-political alliances. These consultations prepare the ground for future negotiations for a reduction of the armed forces and armaments in Europe.

The Warsaw Treaty member countries advocate the speeding up of the development at the Vienna consultations of a mandate of negotiations for the reduction of the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

The consultations have brought about progress towards the mutual understanding of the fact that the general political aim of the negotiations should be to strengthen stability and security in Europe, to establish and maintain the balance of the armed forces and armaments at reduced levels and towards choosing certain ways of achieving the aims of reduction—the removal of inequalities on individual elements of the armaments and the elimination of the potential for a surprise attack and for launching large-scale offensive operations.

It has to be noted that representatives of the NATO member countries are trying to reduce the entire question to the elimination of the imbalances which they say are on the side of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. But in the course of the negotiations not only will the mutual elimination of the inequalities be discussed, but also, and above all, the mutual reduction of the armed forces and armaments. Reciprocal cutbacks form the basis of our conception of disarmament, and we shall not go back on it.

Serious differences between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO have also made themselves felt in the determination of the object of negotiations. In par-

ticular, the NATO member countries are opposed to the discussion in the course of the negotiations of the question of tactical nuclear weapons and to a reduction of tactical strike aviation.

Considering the NATO position and the fact that the greater part of these means are in the "dual-capable delivery systems" category (both nuclear and conventional ammunition can be used), the Warsaw Treaty member countries have made a compromise proposal, according to which the object of negotiations should be the armed forces and conventional armaments of the member states, including the "dual-capable delivery systems" on land. In the course of the negotiations themselves the interested states should consider questions pertaining to all the problems connected with the limitation and reduction of the tactical nuclear weapons. Such a formula makes it possible to raise in the course of the negotiations the question of the reduction of the tactical nuclear weapons.

However, the NATO member countries oppose a direct reference in the text of the mandate to the term "dual-capable delivery systems". At the same time, they declare their alleged readiness to consider these means in the course of the negotiations themselves without touching their nuclear aspect. It should also be observed that the NATO desire to discuss only the "conventional forces" will virtually mean only the land forces. But there is no discounting tactical strike aviation.

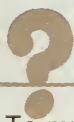
"A meeting between the USSR Minister of Defence and the US Secretary of Defence in March 1988 was made possible as a result of the Soviet-American dialogue being conducted by the leaders of our two countries. We saw the main aim of the meeting as contributing to a better mutual understanding of the military aspects of US-Soviet relations and a solution of the most crucial problem of our day—preventing a nuclear war and stopping the arms race."

*Army General Dmitri YAZOV,
the USSR Minister of Defence*

As regards the geographic zone, it has been proposed that it should embrace the whole of Europe stretching from the Atlantic coast to the Urals with the insular territories and archipelagoes. Naturally, the zone should include Turkey, where the United States has war bases and strike aviation.

The Warsaw Treaty member states are confident that the mandate of negotiations will be evolved since there is a sufficiently broad basis for this. It has also been agreed that the negotiations should begin in 1988.

The allied socialist countries vigorously support the creation of the best conditions for future negotiations. To bring this about and to confirm their good will, they are prepared to manifest the greatest possible restraint in the development of their military potentials and to declare a one- or two-year-long moratorium on the increase of military expenditures, and appeal to all NATO member countries to adopt the same approach.



Will you comment on the proposals of other states, various non-governmental organizations, and opposition parties in the field of strengthening peace and security (of the Palme Commission, about "non-offensive defence", various "corridors" and partly demilitarized zones, and others)? What is there in common between these proposals and the Soviet approach, and what is the difference between them?

To my mind, they form a major contribution to the efforts to normalize the international situation and to prevent the threat of a new war. There is no creating a non-nuclear and non-violent world by the exclusive efforts of the socialist countries, however spectacular they are. In the present conditions, when the threat of a nuclear war affects the destinies of all peoples, it

has become clear that the vital national interest of every people—to preserve civilization, in other words, to survive—has in fact become the interest of all mankind.

This is the key element which unites the views and positions of the socialist countries and of wide sections of the world public on problems of war and peace. At the same time, there are serious divergences, in particular, in the assessment of the source of the threat of nuclear war. We cannot agree with the thesis of "equal responsibility" of the USSR and the USA for the increase of the war danger, because the Soviet actions bear a forced, retaliatory character. There is no recognizing that demands for the renunciation of some of our views and values and for the unilateral disarmament of the USSR are justified.

In our opinion, the necessity to preserve peace should not be made conditional on the countries' renunciation of their socio-moral achievements. No country has a right to impose its way of life on any other country. The socialist countries will never go back on their ideals. Furthermore, their class approach to the problems of war and peace does not in the least contradict the all-human approach.

Thus, there are no objective barriers to the cohesion of all who treasure the destinies of peace. To prevent war—to keep mankind from a catastrophe—is the historical calling of socialism and of all progressive and peace-loving forces in the world.

Куликов Виктор Георгиевич

**«ВОЕННАЯ ДОКТРИНА ВАРШАВСКОГО ДОГОВОРА НОСИТ
ОБОРОНИТЕЛЬНЫЙ ХАРАКТЕР»**

Серия «Авторитетное мнение»

на английском языке

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Expert Opinion

In terms of strength, the armed forces of NATO and of the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO) are approximately equal. At present, two armies, each with three million soldiers, confront each other in Europe.

As recorded in the Budapest Appeal of the Leaders of the WTO Member Countries of 1986, these countries propose:

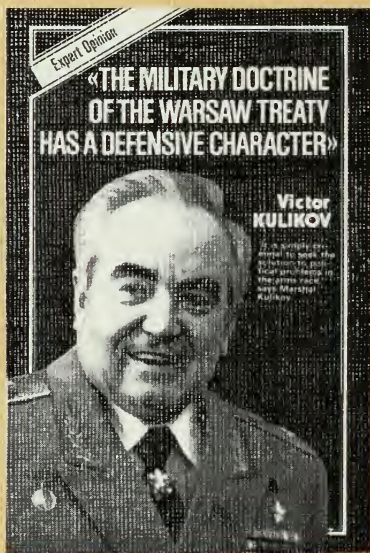
as the first step, a one-time numerical reduction of NATO and WTO troops by 100 to 150 thousand on each side within two years;

a reduction of the ground troops and tactical strike aviation of the two military alliances in Europe by one-quarter (a total of over a million men on both sides) in the early 1990s;

subsequently a further reduction of the armed forces and conventional armaments of all European countries, the United States and Canada.

Victor KULIKOV

Marshal of the Soviet Union



Born 1921. Joined the Soviet Army in 1939. Graduate of the Frunze Military Academy and of the Military Academy of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces. During the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945 commanded a motor-cycle company, was then appointed chief of staff of a tank battalion. From 1943 was chief of staff of a separate tank brigade.

After the war held a number of important command posts in the army. In the years 1971-1977 was chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and USSR First Deputy Minister of Defence. Since 1977 USSR First Deputy Minister of Defence and Commander-in-Chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Organization Member Countries.



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