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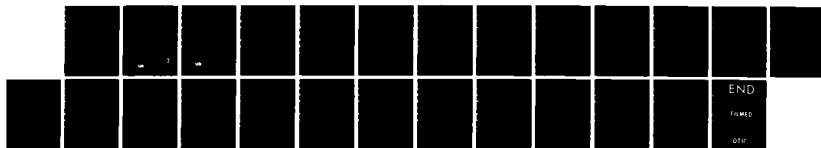
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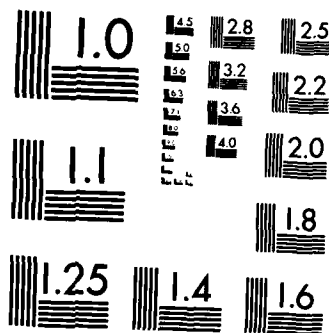
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Charles C. Petersen

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THE "STALBO DEBATES": THEIR POINT OF DEPARTURE

In "The Soviet Navy: Changing of the Guard?"¹ Robert C. Suggs assesses the implications for the Soviet Navy's future of a series of articles published over the last two years in its principal theoretical journal, *Morskoy sbornik*. Even a casual examination of the nine articles so far published shows that the Soviet Navy is presently grappling with a number of contentious issues whose final resolution cannot be foreseen. Dr. Suggs' article is a commendable effort to bring these issues to the attention of a U.S. Navy readership.

The "Stalbo debates", however, reflect much more than an argument over the Soviet Navy's future. Despite the lack of a "unity of views" they expose, they also demonstrate unanimous agreement on a number of key points--a consensus that differs significantly from one that existed just a few years ago. What, we might ask, is the nature of this difference, and what does it mean?

In the opening paragraphs of the first article in the series, Vice Admiral Stalbo remarks that the "theory" he is about to set forth "has gone through a long path of development;"² and a look at the historical record shows that Soviet naval writers--including Stalbo himself--have indeed addressed the subject before. In December 1969 and again in July 1973, for example, Stalbo published articles on the history and

structure of "naval science" (*voenno-morskaya nauka*).³ Naval science, he wrote in the 1973 article, is "a system of scientifically developing knowledge on the laws, regularities and principles of building the Navy, preparing it in peacetime and employing it in modern war." Stalbo's definition of the "theory of the development and employment of the Navy",⁴ though far from identical, is similar enough to suggest that this theory is a direct descendant of naval science. A comparison of their respective structures as outlined by Stalbo in 1973 and in 1981 confirms that this is indeed the case (figure 1).

FIGURE 1: STRUCTURE OF THE THEORY (NAVAL SCIENCE) ACCORDING TO STALBO

"Naval Science"
(*Voennaya mysl'*, July 1973)

1. General Theory of Naval Science
2. Theory of the Naval Art
3. Theory of Building the Navy
4. Theory of the Navy's Rear Support
5. Theory of the Navy's Command and Control
6. Theory of Training and Indoctrination of Navy Personnel

"Theory of the Development and Employment of the Navy"
(*Morskoy sbornik*, April 1981)

1. General Part of the Theory
2. Theory of the Naval Art
3. Theory of Building the Navy
4. Theory of the Navy's Rear Support
5. Theory of the Navy's Command and Control
6. Theory of Operational, Tactical and Other Types of Training

In his critique of Stalbo's article, Admiral Chernavin calls for an effort to "refine [the theory's] terminology", bemoaning the lack of a "common opinion" even on how it ought to be named.⁵ Chernavin's lament, however, is somewhat misleading: while it is true that Stalbo's critics have proposed a variety of names, all of them (without exception) call it a *theory*, and not *naval science*. A textual comparison of both editions of Admiral Gorshkov's *Sea Power of the State* indicates that this is deliberate. As figure 2 shows, the first edition of this book (signed to press in November 1975) refers to "naval science" (bordered in black in the figure) in six separate passages. The corresponding passages in the second edition (signed to press in August 1979) are almost identical, except for the references to "naval science", all of which have been either replaced by different terms (underlined in the figure) or removed altogether (where shown by the carets). Plainly, therefore, the Soviets have stricken "naval science" from their military lexicon, and did so at some point between November 1975 and August 1979.

What is more, the relationship of this discipline to its parent discipline, military science (*voennaya nauka*), has also changed. In both his 1969 and 1973 essays, Stalbo went to some lengths to highlight the independent status of naval science. Just as the natural sciences over the years had given birth to a number of self-contained disciplines, each of them a legitimate "science" in its own right, so had military science spawned an "independent system...of knowledge," naval science. Moreover, claimed Stalbo, the "detachment" of naval science from military science was growing.⁶

Fig. 2: COMPARISON OF FIRST AND SECOND EDITIONS OF SEA POWER OF THE STATE

1st ed. (27 Nov 75)

p. 214 Ленинские положения сыграли огромную роль в разработке основ советской военной науки. Их значение еще более возросло в век технического прогресса, создания принципиально новых вооруженных сил, строительства советского океанского флота. Они являются методологической базой советской военной доктрины, фундаментом военной и военно-морской науки и составляют основу военной политики партии, ориентированной на необходимость поддержания обороноспособности нашего государства на самом высоком уровне.

p. 362 Не рассматривая всего многообразия категорий, относящихся к области военно-морского искусства, останавливаясь лишь на таковых, на примере которых, как нам представляется, можно проследить общие тенденции развития этой отрасли Военно-морской науки.

pp. 375-376 Следует заметить, что с самого начала существования советской военно-морской науки полностью отвергала попытки отождествлять понятие «господство на море» с понятием «господство над миром».

p. 380 Из вышесказанного вытекает, что такая категория военно-морского искусства, как завоевание господства на море, продолжает сохранять актуальность, поэтому разработка ее во всех аспектах применительно к настоящему времени составляет одну из важных задач Военно-морской науки.

pp. 411-412 Правильное определение характера сбалансирования сил флота возможно только на основе глубокого научного анализа всех рассмотренных ранее предпосылок, объективно влияющих на направленность его строительства. Проблема сбалансирования флота является предметом современной военно-морской науки, охватывающей также важнейшие ее области, как военно-морское искусство, история и военно-морская техника.

p. 448 На базе глубоких научных исследований боевых возможностей новых сил и средств флота, анализа последовательного развития военно-морских сил ведущих империалистических государств, опыта оперативной подготовки нашего и иностранных флотов были определены все направления военно-морской науки, разработаны оперативно-тактические требования к новым силам флота и создана стройная теория военно-морского искусства, раскрывающая пути планирования развития этих сил и применения их в войне.

2nd ed. (6 Aug 79)

p. 190 Ленинские положения сыграли огромную роль в разработке основ советской военной науки. Их значение еще более возросло в век технического прогресса, создания принципиально новых вооруженных сил, строительства советского океанского флота. Они являются методологической базой советской военной доктрины, фундаментом военной науки и составляют основу военной политики партии, ориентированной на необходимость поддержания обороноспособности нашего государства на самом высоком уровне.

p. 331 Не рассматривая всего многообразия категорий, относящихся к области военно-морского искусства, останавливаясь лишь на таковых, на примере которых, как нам представляется, можно проследить общие тенденции его развития.▲

p. 342 Следует заметить, что с самого начала существования советского военно-морского искусства полностью отвергала попытки отождествлять понятие «господство на море» с понятием «господство над миром».

p. 346 Из вышесказанного вытекает, что такая категория военно-морского искусства, как завоевание господства на море, продолжает сохранять актуальность, поэтому разработка ее во всех аспектах применительно к настоящему времени составляет одну из важных задач.▲

p. 373 Правильное определение характера сбалансирования сил флота возможно только на основе глубокого научного анализа всех рассмотренных ранее предпосылок, объективно влияющих на направленность его строительства. Проблема сбалансирования флота тесно связана с военно-морским искусством, техникой и историей.

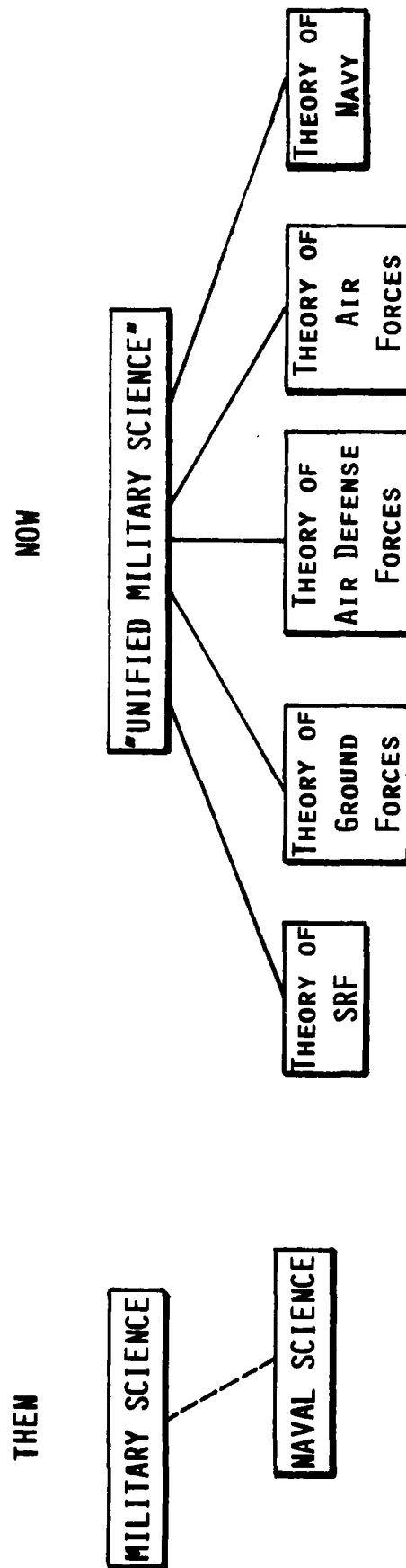
p. 405 На базе глубоких научных исследований боевых возможностей новых сил и средств флота, анализа последовательного развития военно-морских сил ведущих империалистических государств, опыта оперативной подготовки нашего и иностранных флотов были разработаны оперативно-тактические требования к новым силам флота и создана стройная теория военно-морского искусства, раскрывающая пути планирования развития этих сил и применения их в войне.

In dramatic contrast, all of those involved in the recent debate, Stalbo included, underscore the subordinate status of the new "theory." "The dependence of the theory [of development and employment of the Navy] on military science as a whole has grown. Its ties of subordination...with military science have expanded," wrote Stalbo in *Morskoy sbornik* in April 1981. "Today...there is no purely specific realm of warfare," observes Admiral Chernavin, Chief of the Soviet Navy's Main Staff, in the January 1982 *Morskoy sbornik*. "Victory is achieved by the combined efforts of [all branches of the armed forces], which brings about the need to integrate all knowledge of warfare within the framework of a unified military science." Five of the remaining seven participants in the debate echo this point, thereby reminding the journal's readership that it, at least, is beyond the pale of argument.⁷

But these are not the only signs of change. Of the five Soviet services, only the Navy at one time possessed its own "science": there was no "Ground Forces science", or "Air Forces science", or "Strategic Rocket Forces science", or "Air Defense Forces science". Today, in contrast, all the services have their "theories", and the Navy's theory enjoys no special status among them (figure 3). Neither Stalbo nor any of his critics sees fit to contest this new state of affairs. As Admiral Sysoev points out in the March 1982 *Morskoy sbornik*, "to regard the theories of the [five] branches of the [Soviet] Armed Forces as integral parts of military science has been recognized as fully rightful."

* * *

FIG. 3: NOW MILITARY SCIENCE HAS CHANGED



What, then, is the significance of this obvious "unity of views?" What prior decisions affecting the Soviet Navy--or perhaps the Soviet Armed Forces overall--might it reflect? For surely the demise of an independent naval science points to more than just the whim of Marxist-Leninist scholastics concerned only with eliminating the taxonomic irregularities of Soviet military science. The most recent article in the debate, written by Captain First Rank V. Shlomin,⁸ suggests an answer.

A unified military science, Shlomin writes, stems directly from the need for "close coordination and unification according to a single plan of action of the efforts of all branches of the Armed Forces" in wartime. Combined action, of course, has always been a major tenet of Soviet military doctrine.⁹ Over the past decade, however, it has risen to become "one of the fundamental principles...of warfare..., without [which] not one of the tasks of the armed struggle can be performed."¹⁰

Since the early 1950s and until recently, command-and-control responsibility for combined action at the strategic level was vested solely in the General Staff or, in wartime, a Supreme High Command. But in the middle 1970s evidence began to appear that the Soviets had revived their World War II concept of "intermediate strategic leadership

echelons" embodied in theater-level High Commands (*glavnokomandovaniya*) with full authority over all forces operating in certain theaters of military action (TVDs).¹¹

According to Shlomin, the purpose of such High Commands in World War II was to improve the coordination of combined operations in the TVDs where they were established. The practice "became widespread", he notes, "owing to the need to coordinate the [military] actions of...formations from the various branches of the armed forces in the interests of the common tasks of the armed struggle....Thus, a nation's armed forces are objectively a unified [and] integrated organizational system....In the USSR Armed Forces the Navy functions not separately, not on its own, for without the other services it cannot effectively perform its tasks...."¹² Clearly, therefore, the abolition of naval science, the creation of "theories" for each of the five services under a "unified" military science, and the establishment of TVD High Commands such as the one reported in the Soviet Far East in 1979¹³ have all issued from decisions to reorganize the Soviet Armed Forces with a view to the better integration of their efforts in wartime.

But there may well be more in what Shlomin writes than that. For one thing, he is the first naval officer to discuss TVD High Commands: until now, only Army officers have broached the subject.¹⁴ For another, his reference to the Navy's tasks points to *maritime* missions where the Navy will require help from the other services—not continental missions

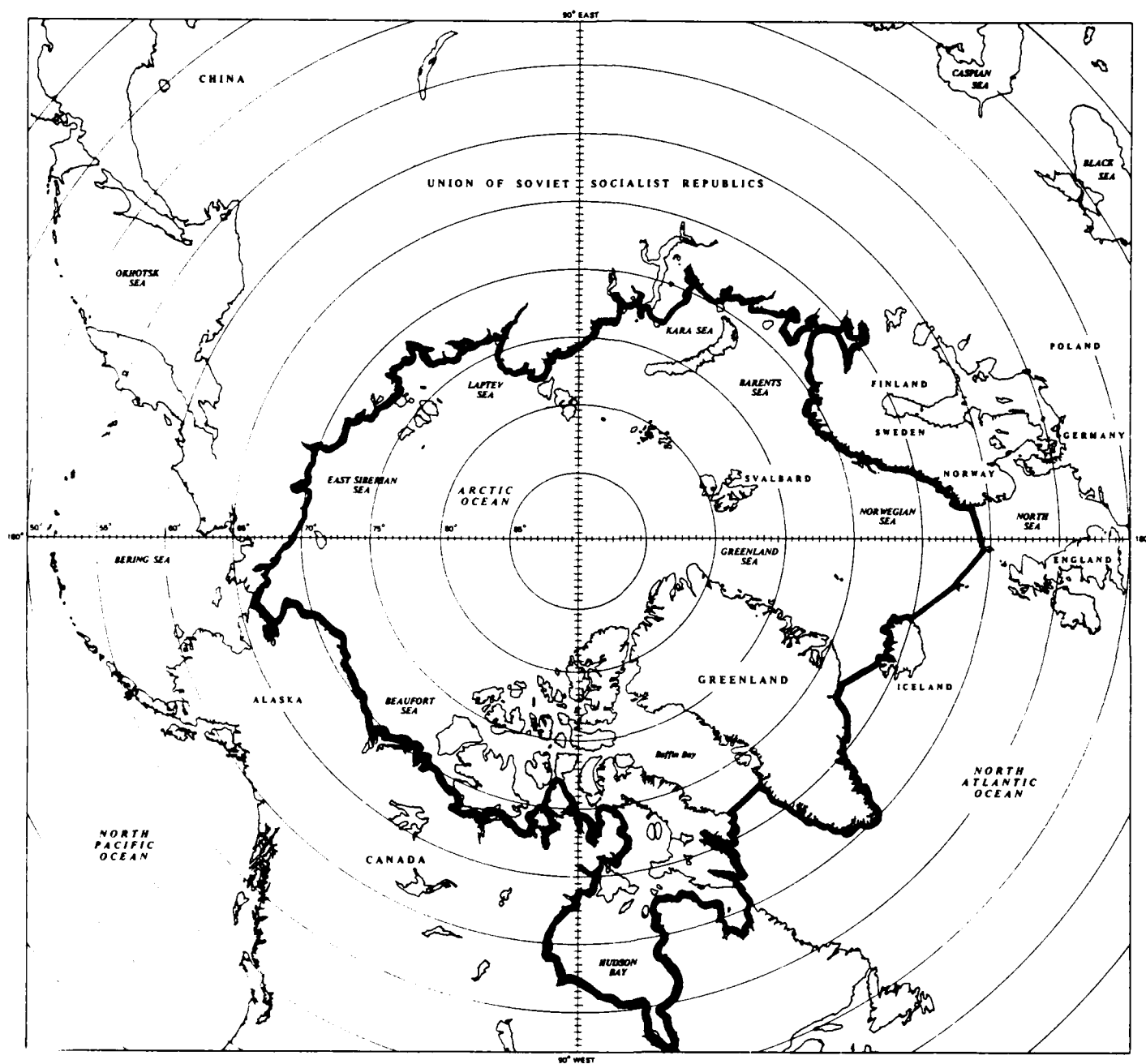
where the latter may need help from the Navy (in which case a formulation such as "without the Navy, the other services cannot effectively perform their tasks" would have served better). Putting the two together, then, we might reasonably wonder whether Shlomin's discussion bespeaks a Soviet decision to set up a new TVD High Command, one whose dominant concern will be the execution of maritime missions in an ocean theater.

An Arctic TVD High Command?

"Some circumstantial evidence is very strong," wrote Thoreau, "as when you find a trout in the milk." Plainly, Shlomin's words can scarcely be likened to Thoreau's trout; but if we ask ourselves *where* and for *what mission* would a High Command such as the one posited make sense, our case gathers strength.

Of the four regions--Atlantic, Pacific, Indian and Arctic--defined as "ocean TVDs" by the *Soviet Military Encyclopedia*,¹⁵ the Arctic Ocean TVD (figure 4) is probably foremost in importance, for it is here that more than three-fifths of the Soviet Navy's SSBNs are based, and it is here that most of them are likely to operate in wartime.¹⁶

FIG. 4: BOUNDARIES OF THE ARCTIC OCEAN TVD AS
DEFINED BY THE *SOVIET MILITARY ENCYCLOPEDIA*



The finger on the Navy's intercontinental nuclear trigger in this theater, of course, will almost certainly be Moscow's. But there is another mission whose cardinal importance might well require a High Command in the TVD: gaining and maintaining command of the sea (*gospodstvo na more*), which the Soviets define as "superiority over the enemy in a sea or ocean TVD (or part thereof) that provides a navy...with favorable conditions for carrying out its main missions."¹⁷ Without command of the sea in the Arctic TVD, the Soviets believe, the Navy's Northern Fleet SSBNs would be vulnerable to enemy efforts to locate and destroy them. Small wonder, therefore, that Admiral Gorshkov devotes 4,000 words to the subject in his book *Sea Power of the State*, even though strictly speaking command of the sea from the Soviet point of view is only an instrumental goal of naval warfare, "not an end in itself."

To be sure, it could be argued that gaining command of the sea is above all a naval problem, and hence beyond the compass of a TVD High Command, whose purpose is, after all, to direct the combined endeavors of several services, not just the Navy alone. But even though it is true that command of the sea is primarily a maritime concern, it does not follow that gaining it will be exclusively a naval mission.

When we in the West think of command of the sea, we tend to conceive of it almost entirely in terms of what naval forces do on the water. To the Soviets, however, the outcome of events ashore is of critical moment, and dictates the coordinated involvement of other branches of the Armed Forces in the overall effort. In both editions of *Sea Power of the State*, for example, Gorshkov observes that "the experience of the Great Patriotic War has shown that successful operations by ground-force fronts and their seizure of new littoral area: also favor winning command of the sea. An example of this is the attainment of command [of the sea] by our fleets in the Black, Baltic and Barents Seas as the result of operations conducted jointly by ground forces and the fleets."¹⁸ What is more, Gorshkov's mention of ground-force fronts--the Soviet equivalent of army groups--suggests that the scale of involvement by the Navy's sister services will be far from incidental.

Combined action with the sister services to occupy littoral areas is vital to the Soviet Navy for three reasons. First, it will free Soviet Naval Infantry units for small-scale missions that it must perform alone, without help from the Ground Forces--such as the seizure of strategic islands in the theater. Second, it will free the Navy from having to engage enemy naval forces that have been captured or destroyed in port during offensives ashore.¹⁹ Finally, it will eliminate opposition from enemy shore-based air power; and what is equally important as long as the Soviets lack carrier-based air-superiority

fighters, it will give the Soviet Navy a means of securing "command of the air"--without which, to the Soviets, command of the sea is "unthinkable"²⁰--in vital areas of the theater such as the Norwegian Sea.

* * *

For all the contention reflected in the "Stalbo debates," then, the participants all agree on a number of key points. This consensus is very likely a product of decisions made in the last half of the 1970s to reshape the Soviet Armed Forces organizationally and theoretically for the sake of better integrating their combined efforts in wartime. One result of this reorganization has been the establishment of a High Command in the Far Eastern TVD. A High Command in charge of operations to gain command of the sea in the Arctic TVD may yet be another. No such authority has so far been reported in the press; but the decision to create one may already have been made.

FOOTNOTES

¹Proceedings, April 1983, pp. 36-42.

²*Morskoy sbornik*, April 1981, p., 20.

³*Morskoy sbornik*, December 1969, pp. 32-37; *Voennaya mysl'*, July 1973, pp. 56-67.

⁴"A system of scientifically valid...knowledge which has been corroborated by practice and which reveals, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the fundamental regularities of building and developing the Navy, as well as of employing it in warfare and in peacetime" (*Morskoy sbornik*, April 1981, p. 20).

⁵*Morskoy sbornik*, January 1982, p. 20.

⁶*Morskoy sbornik*, December 1969, pp. 34-35; *Voennaya mysl'*, July 1973, p. 56.

⁷G. Kostev, *Morskoy sbornik*, November 1981, p. 24; V.S. Sysoev, *Morskoy sbornik*, March 1982, p. 21; V. Gulin and Yu. Borisov, *Morskoy sbornik*, November 1982, p. 26; V. Shlomin, *Morskoy sbornik*, April 1983, pp. 20-23 *passim*.

⁸*Morskoy sbornik*, April 1983, pp. 20-27.

⁹V.D. Sokolovskiy (ed.), *Voennaya strategiya* (3rd ed, 1968), p. 240.

¹⁰G. Kostev, *Morskoy sbornik*, February 1974, p. 33.

¹¹For discussions of these developments, see Gregory C. Baird, "Glavnoe Komandovanie: The Soviet Theater Command," *Naval War College Review*, May-June 1980, pp. 40-48; Gregory C. Baird, "The Soviet Theater Command: An Update", *Naval War College Review*, November-December 1981, pp. 90-93; Phillip A. Petersen, "The Soviet Conceptual Framework for the Application of Military Power," *Naval War College Review*, May-June 1981, pp. 15-25.

¹²Shlomin, *Morskoy sbornik*, April 1983, p. 23.

¹³See Petersen, *Naval War College Review*, May-June 1981, p. 20.

¹⁴See, for example, General of the Army V. Kulikov, *Voенно-istoricheskiy zhurnal*, June 1975, pp. 12-24; Colonel I. Vyrodov, *Voенно-istoricheskiy zhurnal*, April 1979, pp. 18-23; Colonel-General V. Karpov, *Voенно-istoricheskiy zhurnal*, August 1981, pp. 24-25.

FOOTNOTES (Continued)

¹⁵ *Sovetskaya Voennaya Entsiklopediya*, vol. 8 (Moscow, 1980) pp. 8-9.

¹⁶ Department of Defense, *Soviet Military Power* (2nd ed., 1983), pp. 22-23.

¹⁷ *Sovetskaya Voennaya Entsiklopediya*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1976), pp. 620-621.

¹⁸ *Morskaya moshch' gosudarstva* 1st ed. (Moscow, 1976) p. 379; 2nd ed. (Moscow, 1979), p. 345.

¹⁹ See S. Filonov, *Morskoy sbornik*, April 1973, pp. 22-26 on the role of destroying enemy naval forces in port in the attainment of command of the sea.

²⁰ Yu. Bystrov, *Morskoy sbornik*, March 1977, p. 17; G. Kostev, *Morskoy sbornik*, November 1981, p. 25.

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