CHAPTER 6

WARS OF THE FUTURE

One of the favorite jibes of the professional civilian against the military used to be, "The generals always prepare for the last war." The charge, if true, means that the generals are failures. Their chief excuse for existence is to prepare for the next war and, having prepared for it, successfully to wage it (if need be).

It is not accidental that this charge is not often heard from Marxist critics of their own generals. Marxists, including Marxist generals, profess to be equipped with a light which is called the Marxist method and which enables them to look into the future - a future which is closed or at least penumbral to lesser men. This light has shown them (until the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956, at any rate) that wars are "inevitable."

Lenin gave the classic formulation to this doctrine on the inevitability of wars when he told the Eighth Party Congress in March, 1919.

We live not only in a state but also in a system of states and the existence of the Soviet Republic alongside the imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. In the end, one or the other will triumph. And until that end comes, a series of the most terrible clashes between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states is inevitable.¹

Frunze, too, was a Marxist and not one given to contradicting Lenin. He was rather more inclined to agree quite enthusiastically with Lenin and to repeat the master's arguments. At times, Frunze even took Lenin's words for his own.

One of the elements in Frunze's definition of a unified military doctrine was "the views of those ruling in a state concerning the character of the problems lying before them."² Frunze was convinced that one of those

¹ Vos'moi s'ezd RKP (b), Mart 1919 goda: Protokoly (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1959), p. 17.
problems was the coming war with world capitalism and the nature of that war.

He explained the inevitability of such a clash in terms of contradictory state systems.

In 1917, the communists accomplished a revolutionary overturn and established, in Frunze's words, the first state in the world "where the power belongs to the toilers." The dictatorship of the proletariat was established. That dictatorship meant, Frunze explained in Lenin's words, "the most whole-hearted, the most merciless war of the class of toilers against the class of the masters of the old world - the bourgeoisie." This fact, coupled with the fact that the "fundamental idea and meaning of the dictatorship of the proletariat" was the destruction of capitalistic productive relations, led Frunze to conclude that the capitalistic world and the Soviet Republic existed in a state of fundamental contradiction. He put his thoughts into the following words:

Between our proletarian state and all the rest of the bourgeois world there can only be the one condition - that of a long, stubborn, desperate war to the death... That state of long, desperate war between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois world was inevitable because the capitalists "can not rest easy until the nidus which is the hot bed and source of danger" to their form of social and economic organization is destroyed. On one side is "the menacing cadence of proletarian columns in preparation for the assault," and on the other is a bourgeois, capitalist sea waiting for the first opportunity to rush at the proletarian state and "wash away all the achievements of the proletarian revolution." The contradiction could not be overcome, Frunze was certain, except "in a bloody battle of class enemies - there is no other answer and there can be none."

This statement is no less plain than the numerous statements by Lenin on the inevitability of war between the Soviet Republic and the "bourgeois" world. Since the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956, some doubt has arisen that the communists are wholly dedicated to the idea of the inevitability of