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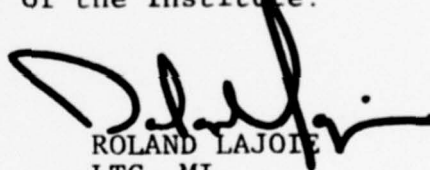
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FOREWORD

This research project represents fulfillment of a student requirement for successful completion of the overseas phase of training of the Department of the Army's Foreign Area Officer Program (Russian).

Only unclassified sources are used in producing the research paper. The opinions, value judgments and conclusions expressed are those of the author and in no way reflect official policy of the United States Government; Department of Defense; Department of the Army; Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff of Intelligence; or the United States Army Institute for Advanced Russian and East European Studies.

Interested readers are invited to send their comments to the Commander of the Institute.



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Commander

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SUMMARY

In this paper the author examines the articles published about the US Armed Forces in the Soviet military press in the past three years. He concludes that, not unexpectedly, there exists a regular, comprehensive information program about the US Armed Forces. But equally important, that the information about the US Armed Forces provides not only data about common military topics such as weapons, organizations, and tactics, but also serves as a forum to introduce information about US military experiences, innovations, techniques, and practices. The study concludes with an evaluation of how the US Armed Forces appear in the Soviet military press.

INTRODUCTION

This study analyzes the material the Soviet military press publishes about the US Armed Forces. Understanding Soviet military publications is frequently difficult for a western reader because of cultural, historical, and philosophical factors which influence one's perceptions. However, by continuous reading, and by studying the techniques of Soviet journalism, it is possible to evaluate the material the Soviet military press publishes about US Armed Forces.¹

As an individual accustomed to a free press, it was necessary to be constantly aware of the role and importance of the press in the Soviet Union. Every officially printed word serves the goals of the Communist Party and the Government of the USSR. Military publications are not exceptions. Every article has a function, and nothing occurs in the Soviet press by accident.²

MATERIAL REVIEWED

The material used for this study is from seven major Soviet military journals and the Soviet military newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR). The journals selected are widely distributed and routinely have a section devoted to articles about foreign (usually US) Armed Forces.³

The articles reviewed dealt with the US Armed Forces. The average journal article was from 500 to 2500 words, while the average newspaper article was 200 words or more. The articles were usually the feature articles in the "Foreign Armies'" section of the publication. The period studied was January 1974 to March 1977 for the journals and January 1, 1976 to February 1, 1977 for KRASNAIA ZVEZDA (RED STAR). The following types of articles were not included: (1) short information bulletins, (2) quiz-type articles, and (3) articles dealing with the armed forces of any country other than the United States, unless the US Armed Forces or US weapons were prominent.

METHODOLOGY

This study was conducted in four stages. The initial stage was to analyze each article published about US Armed Forces. The criteria for this included:

- (1) Toward whom was the article directed?
- (2) What was the subject matter and tone?
- (3) What was the source material?
- (4) What were the conclusions (drawn or implied)?
- (5) What questions or criticism were emphasized?
- (6) Did the structure of the article follow a pattern?
- (7) How were references made to US Armed Forces?
- (8) Was the military data about US Forces accurate?

Thus articles were read from several different points of view in order to extract the data necessary to evaluate them.

The second stage was to construct an analysis to isolate those aspects that established a pattern. In this respect, it was not the effect of a single article but the cumulative pattern that revealed the purposes of the material presented about US Armed Forces.⁴ It was at the conclusions of this stage that the two overall purposes of the Soviet military press program became evident. One purpose is to present factual data about the "US Armed Forces" capabilities and organization, and the second is to influence how the reader relates to US and Soviet Armed Forces.

Stage three of this study was a verification process whereby the articles were reread to determine if the results of the pattern analysis could be supported by specifics found in the articles. The results were so supported. Then, a comparison was made to similar articles published in these same periodicals from 1970 through 1973. The same patterns were again evident, and the same types of material were found. Thus, it was felt that the results of the pattern analysis were valid.

The fourth and final part of this study is a discussion and explanation of the categories of material and purposes highlighted by the pattern analysis. The conclusions

are my determination of how the US Armed Forces appear in the eyes of the Soviet military reader based on the overall impact of the material he receives through the Soviet military press.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The following categories of articles were isolated by the pattern analysis. These categories support the two purposes of the Soviet military press campaign about US Armed Forces.

Purpose I: Material to provide factual data about US Armed Forces capabilities and organization.

- (1) Know-your-enemy information including information about US Armed Forces, US weapons, and US military organizational structure.
- (2) Discussions of US military strategical concepts and tactical operations.
- (3) Technical information about research and development programs.
- (4) Lessons learned information including wide use of US Armed Force' experiences in Southeast Asia.

Purpose II: Material to provide information to influence how the reader relates to US and Soviet Armed Forces.

- (1) Information to allow the reader to compare US and Soviet Armed Forces.
- (2) Material to stimulate thinking about a particular topic.
- (3) Recommendations concerning the applicability of certain US weapons, weapons systems, and tactics to Soviet Armed Forces.

- (4) Use of some US Armed Forces' action as justification for the Soviet military to use or continue some practice.
- (5) Criticism of some aspect of US military action from a military and not political standpoint.
- (6) Material that is propaganda.

The following analysis and discussion examines these categories of information. The first part of this analysis and discussion concerns the four categories that provide factual material about US Armed Forces organization and capabilities. The second part covers the material that supports the program of using material about US Armed Forces to influence how the reader relates to US and Soviet Armed Forces.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION
(Part 1)

THE FOUR CATEGORIES
TO PROVIDE FACTUAL MATERIAL

1. KNOW-YOUR-ENEMY INFORMATION

The know-your-enemy category of information occurred more often than any other category. Within the know-your-enemy category of information there are three types of articles. These three types describe US weapons and weapons systems, present order of battle data, and review general information about US Armed Forces' approaches to current military problems. Not unexpectedly, know-your-enemy articles regularly presented information about the US Armed Forces in a press program that could be roughly compared to opposing force information programs of most armies.

Material in this category, as well as most other categories, was routinely presented in a fixed format. Two or three stock opening and closing paragraphs contained references to capitalistic countries, armed forces of aggressive powers, unjust wars, and other terminology familiar in communist publications. The body of these articles however, provided a straight forward presentation of information and data, with only rare usage of stock propaganda phrases. This is not to say that the informational material was not structured toward creating the desired effect or lacked a political goal; it was a matter of degree. Information for the writing of this and other categories of articles was frequently taken from foreign (western) sources and openly referred to as such.⁵ Infrequently, however, was even a full sentence quoted in its entirety. It was evident that the foreign material served only as a source of very raw data.

As already noted, the know-your-enemy category has three main types of articles. The first of these are articles that discuss weapons and weapons systems of the US Armed Forces. These articles discussed weapons from flame throwers,⁶ anti-tank weapons,⁷ atomic demolition munitions,⁸ field artillery,⁹ and anti-submarine torpedoes,¹⁰ to remotely piloted vehicles.¹¹ Material was dryly presented and frequently tabular in nature. Range, caliber, capability, employment principles, and levels of deployment were common examples of data. In, for example, VOENNYI VESTNIK (MILITARY HERALD), the emphasis in weapons data articles was on arms and armaments deployed in US mechanized infantry and armored divisions, and from January, 1974 through February, 1977, practically all individual and crew-served weapons were reviewed. Similar data was found in the respective naval and air force related journals.

The second type of articles in the know-your-enemy category presented order of battle data. Order of battle articles were also tabular in nature. The best examples could regularly be found in VOENNYI VESTNIK (MILITARY HERALD), MORSKOI SBORNIK (NAVAL REVIEW), and ZNAMENOSETS (STANDARD BEARER). Such data as a complete table of organization and equipment for a US mechanized infantry battalion¹² or a complete discussion of the different aircraft common to an attack carrier¹³ are examples of order of battle information.

The greatest number of articles in the know-your-enemy category were the third type of articles that concerned data of a more general nature than weapons or order of battle information.¹⁴ Such articles were characterized by discussions and analyses of US Armed Forces' approaches to problems or situations. Not limited to publication of tabular data, these articles also included an enumeration of the opinions of what were termed "foreign military specialists or experts."¹⁵ Analysis and discussion in this context meant that the opinions of foreign military experts were used to divide a discussion into parts, present material relevant to each section, and then summarize the findings to include shortcomings, problems, and proposed solutions. This technique of using the foreign military expert was common to all categories of information.

It is in the manner described above that the majority of material was presented concerning the practices and problems of the US Armed Forces. Topics included, but were not limited to, helicopters in battle versus tanks,¹⁶ a discussion of the F-16 fighter space aircraft,¹⁷ airborne anti-tank weapons,¹⁸ anti-submarine warfare,¹⁹ airlift and sealift capabilities,²⁰ and portable anti-aircraft systems.²¹

The convenient vehicle provided by the person of the "foreign military expert" serves to inform the Soviet military reader of current and projected military questions without direct²² comment on the part of the Soviet military as to their intentions and capabilities. Frequently it is in this indirect manner that the Soviet readers are informed of

changes in attitudes toward military capabilities or practices not previously found in the Soviet military.²³

This know-your-enemy category presented specific US weapons data, order of battle information, and general information about US Armed Forces. But other uses of information published about US Armed Forces also stood out as significant. The next category to be discussed is US strategy and tactics.

2. US STRATEGY AND TACTICS

Of the four categories of material that support the overall purpose of providing factual data about US Armed Forces, presentation of material about US military strategical concepts and tactical operations frequently appeared. Ninety three of two hundred twenty two journal articles and 2 newspaper articles contained specific references to military tactics, while 37 journal and 8 newspaper articles discussed some aspect of US military strategy. Some of the more common tactical operations discussed included basic US Army infantry tactics,²⁴ tactical air support,²⁵ anti-submarine warfare,²⁶ and air-mobile tactics.²⁷ The material read as if translated from US military manuals, hand books, or other professional military publications, and contained little propaganda.²⁸ Tactics were ordinarily presented as fixed, standard, and rarely changing.

Articles that discussed strategy were less structured than those on tactics. Strategy articles often contained elements of propaganda. Because some elements of US national policy can frequently be found in discussions on strategy in US publication (the basic source material for these articles), Soviet discussions of US strategy²⁹ lends itself to broader analysis and discussion and offers more opportunities to make political comments. However, when the primary goal of Soviet articles discussing US strategy was to present the strategy and not propaganda, the usual format was followed-- opening and closing propaganda paragraphs, with the text in the center relatively free of propaganda.

The majority of the articles that discussed US strategy directed discussion towards the role of sea power and naval associated systems,³⁰ i.e., submarine warfare, both attack and ballistic missile submarines;³¹ anti-submarine warfare;³² the role and employment of aircraft carriers;³³ and the role and employment of a marine infantry force.³⁴ Also mentioned was the use of a strategic weapons system in a non-strategic role. The employment of the B-52 Bomber in Southeast Asia in a tactical support role is such an example.³⁵ A strategic subject was resupply by air and sea routes, especially as the subject applies to NATO.³⁶ References to ground

forces strategy were minimal and normally occurred in the context of the US Armed Forces as a member of NATO.³⁷

In support of the Soviet program to inform readers about the US Armed Forces, not only does the reader receive tabular data on how the forces are organized and equipped, but also how tactical doctrine and strategic concepts are employed by the US Armed Forces.

3. US MILITARY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

Articles about US military research and development programs are the third category of material providing factual information. Approximately one of every three journal articles related some aspect of US military research and development.³⁸ Such questions as the theoretical application of new technologies, the state of the art of new weapons, systems of transport, and new material developments were frequent topics. The articles implied that the United States devotes massive amounts of time and resources simultaneously to all areas of research and development.

As implied by the articles on research and development, not only are all areas receiving massive amounts of resources, but also the time frames for development and deployment are habitually omitted or implied to be shorter than they are. Once a weapons system was mentioned

as under research and development, its final deployment to the field was implied. Should a system not even reach the final stages of research and development, it was not mentioned again. Whether the subject was a new all-terrain vehicle (ATV),³⁹ surface effects vessels,⁴⁰ over-the-horizon (OTH) radar,⁴¹ or anti-submarine warfare,⁴² the reader was presented with the image of a finely tuned US military-industrial complex that has unlimited interest in any area that might have military applications.

Not limited to the hardware-type items already mentioned, research and development articles also reviewed efforts by the US Armed Forces to plan and program weapons systems over long periods of time.⁴³ Such subjects as principles of planning and production frequently were included. The role of the computer was discussed and normally assumed to be an integral part of the planning and production processes, future weapons, and future combat support systems.⁴⁴

The statements and opinions of "foreign military specialists" about US Armed Forces' research and development programs served the purpose of informing the reader about the continuing modernization of the US Armed Forces. It also provided a convenient means of introducing on a wide basis information concerning military research

and development programs, new materials, and technological achievements. Comments about a wide range of research and development topics were discussed without direct mention of the Soviet military's feelings.

4. USE OF US "LESSONS LEARNED"

The fourth category of articles that provides factual material about US Armed Forces was discussions of experience of US Armed Forces in combat.⁴⁵ The experiences, lessons learned in western military terms, were most often selected from US Armed Forces' actions in Southeast Asia. US experiences in amphibious landings and supply operations from World War II to the present were mentioned to a lesser degree. US military equipment in the Middle East was occasionally discussed in terms of its operation in Arab-Israeli conflicts. The subject matter of these lesson learned articles related to areas in which the Soviets have little or no similar experience.

Turning first to US Armed Forces in Southeast Asia, most lessons learned pertained to the helicopters in a fire and combat support role.⁴⁶ Use of the helicopters as a means of resupply received less attention. Airmobile operations were usually referred to in terms of training experiences in the United States, with only indirect

references to US airmobile operations in Southeast Asia. Helicopters were not the only aspects of aviation mentioned; tactical air support also came under frequent review.⁴⁷

Two other topics of frequent interest were electronic warfare and aircraft carriers. Electronic warfare in Southeast Asia was often examined in connection with air support and air defense.⁴⁸ Frequent references to the role played by aircraft carriers as a means of mobile and secure support for operations in Southeast Asia were common.⁴⁹

Lessons learned from Middle East conflicts usually referred to tank and anti-tank warfare, as well as the role of anti-tank missiles. Frequently, material was added that commented on US (NATO) employment of anti-tank missiles in training exercises in Europe. Middle East tactical air support and tactical air defense lessons, common to the West, were only alluded to in the Soviet military writings and more frequently just omitted.⁵⁰

Soviet interest in further development of a Naval Infantry (Marine Corps) could be seen in the articles that discussed the US employment of amphibious forces from World War II to the present. Popular topics concerned not only the landing of the force, but also the necessary support and resupply.⁵¹

Most lessons learned articles came from US Armed Forces combat experiences. However, experiences from US Armed Forces and NATO training exercises were published. Examples include anti-submarine warfare,⁵² lessons from experimental military organizations such as TRICAP,⁵³ and lessons from the use of remotely piloted vehicles in both a combat and a reconnaissance role.⁵⁴

Rarely do the Soviets directly comment about US lessons learned. Normally the carefully edited foreign expert "expresses himself". In terms of the air defense of North Vietnam, the Soviets did offer some afterthoughts to the opinions of the foreign experts by commenting generally that the environment was not as hostile as could be expected other places in the world.

Because of the fully controlled, goal directed nature of the Soviet military press, Soviet interest and perhaps agreement with lessons learned can be assumed if a lesson appears in print. However, one cannot assume Soviet incorporation of a particular lesson solely on the basis of the fact that the lesson appeared in print.

The four categories of information, know-your-enemy, strategy and tactics, research and development, and lessons present on a regular basis factual, relatively accurate, and almost propaganda free data about US Armed Forces. A reader of the Soviet military publications has available the necessary information to allow him to visualize the organization and equipment of US Armed Forces, as well as

standard tactical practices. In addition, through articles on research and development, the reader is continually reminded of US modernization and innovation programs. When lessons learned in combat and training are overlaid on the other type factual data, the Soviet reader has a rather complete picture of US Armed Forces.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION
(Part 2)

This section of the analysis and discussion examines the material published by the Soviet military press about US Armed Forces designed to influence how the Soviet reader relates to US and Soviet Armed Forces. Continuous reading of the articles published about US Armed Forces creates the impression that there is more to the information program than the presentation of the material already discussed in Part 1 of this analysis and discussion. The four categories covered in Part 1 were characteristically easy to define; the six categories to be discussed were not. These six categories were inferred from the data emphasized by the pattern analysis and deduced from such article characteristics as structure, emphasis, phrasology, frequency of material, and estimated impact on the reader. The determination and definition of the material included in each these categories involved a certain amount of judgement on the part of the author.

Because of the fully structured, format-following, and goal directed character of the Soviet military press, it is certainly neither unfair nor inaccurate to assume secondary and tertiary purposes for many articles.⁵⁵

For example, Soviet military literature of the 1960's continually criticized the building and use of aircraft carriers by the United States. In the 1970's the tone of the aircraft carrier related articles changed to one not of praise, but of recognition of the value and uses of such a ship. Thus, at a very minimum, this change in orientation reflected a change in the espoused Soviet military position. To extrapolate to the point of saying this indicated a desire on the part of the Soviet Union to have one or more carriers might be extreme, but to say that in the structured, conditioned Soviet World, an effort was not being made to prepare the reader for some change on the part of the Soviet Naval Forces would be equally extreme.

It is valid to conclude that a controlled press read by a controlled audience can: (1) provide material for comparison of the two armed forces; (2) provide data to stimulate the thoughts of the reader; (3) make recommendations for courses of action; (4) provide justification for present or projected policies and practices by the Soviet military; (5) provide criticism of US military

action from a military (not political) viewpoint; and
(6) present propaganda material. Part 2 of this analysis
and discussion examines these six categories of material.

1. COMPARISON DATA

The first category of articles provided information for comparison of the US and Soviet Armed Forces. A good generalization can be made that any information about an opposing armed force can be used as a basis for comparison. But for this study, only when the tone of the article seemed to imply, sometimes rather directly, that besides providing basic information about US Armed Forces, the reader should also think about its implications for the Soviet Armed Forces was such data considered to have a comparison role. Comparison data was present in 61 of the 222 journal articles. It did not appear in the military newspaper.⁵⁶

Comparison data was most clearly seen in articles dealing with the LASER,⁵⁷ power plants for ships,⁵⁸ aviation service and repair,⁵⁹ and efforts to increase helicopter effectiveness.⁶⁰ The most direct comparison occurred in an article in ZNAMENOSETS (STANDARD BEARER), Number 11, 1976 when an article dealing with US portable (man-pack) anti-aircraft missiles stated at its conclusion, "Man-pack anti-aircraft missile systems are also found in our (Soviet... TCP) army. They meet the same requirements which are found in similar (foreign... TCP) systems."⁶¹

Material provided for comparison was most frequently located in MORSKOI SBORNIK (NAVAL REVIEW), and VOENNYI VESTNIK (MILITARY HERALD). Here the themes of antisubmarine warfare⁶² and the employment of the helicopter on the battlefield⁶³ were structured to evoke questions of a comparative nature in the mind of the Soviet reader.

2. THOUGHT STIMULATION

Very closely associated, and frequently inseparable from the theme of comparison, was the category of articles provided to stimulate thought. These were articles that by their nature would cause a concerned reader to think about the material presented. Somewhat less than one third of the journal articles seemed to express this tone.⁶⁴ A technique for providing stimulation was to raise questions that were neither answered in the article, nor in other Soviet military literature. Such examples occurred in discussions of the employment of electronic sensors⁶⁵ and satellite communications.⁶⁶

Frequently, subject matter related to advances in technical fields or new weapons systems. A second more general area concerned the implications of improvements in USN anti-submarine warfare equipment and practices,⁶⁷ as well as the future role and use of certain naval surface vessels such as destroyers and carriers.⁶⁸ Articles of a stimulative nature also appeared on very specific topics

such as night observation devices,⁶⁹ emplacement of mines by artillery, rocket launcher, or aircraft,⁷⁰ armored recovery vehicles,⁷¹ and naval artillery.⁷²

While such articles do not by themselves indicate a concrete change in some aspect of the Soviet Armed Forces, use of the press to set the mood for support of some new practices is common. The Soviets do not provide comparison or stimulation material in their controlled press on any subject unless it is thoroughly planned.

3. MATERIAL THAT MAKES RECOMMENDATIONS

Unlike articles that provide either thought stimulation material or material for comparison, some articles about the US Armed Forces by their tone, structure, and lack of propaganda had the nature of being a recommendation for incorporation of a US technique or item of equipment. The Soviet military press, which does not routinely depict US Forces in a complimentary light, can only use the most indirect methods when it is its purpose to demonstrate that some aspect of US military activity may have application to Soviet Armed Forces. An example such as occurred when US Forces copied Soviet engineer equipment, and acknowledged doing so, does not occur when the Soviets adopt some US principle.⁷³ Incorporation of a new idea from the US Armed Forces or other foreign source is accomplished

by indirectly preparing the proper mental framework and then "reinventing" or improving some older, usually Soviet, innovation.

Thus, when some aspect of the US Armed Forces is the desired model, the Soviet military press has the difficult position of drawing attention to the desired goal without portraying the US Forces in a positive light. However, since innovations in one armed force frequently have a wide application, it is not difficult to include in the role of the Soviet military press, the use of material about US Armed Forces to make recommendations.

Articles that carried a tone strong enough to be called recommendations appeared 31 times in 222 journal articles and 3 times in 99 newspaper articles. Most frequently, these almost positive statements about US Armed Forces concerned anti-submarine warfare,⁷⁴ use of the helicopter,⁷⁵ employment of aircraft carrier,⁷⁶ automation on the battlefield and in the classroom,⁷⁷ and electronic warfare equipment.⁷⁸ Not limited to entirely contemporary aspects of warfare, the Soviet military press wrote on the positive aspects of an older weapon, the flame thrower,⁷⁹ as well as certain US Forces' training procedures.⁸⁰ When making a recommendation, articles normally had little or no propaganda in the text, had discussions of the positive and negative aspects of the subject under discussion, and presented material in a forum-type manner.

4. JUSTIFICATIONS

Not only did the Soviet military press use articles about US Armed Forces to recommend courses of action, but they also used articles about US Armed Forces' actions to justify certain Soviet practices or proposed practices. The tone of the material presented was such that the reader was left with the impression that what the US military did was greater proof of future practice than what the US Government said future policy would be. Justification articles represented the most overt attempt by the Soviet military press to use US Armed Forces' actions in a distorted manner. The actions under scrutiny would be used out of context. Such articles occurred in 30 of 222 journal articles.

Justification articles referred to weapons such as nuclear weapons or discussed the employment of special indoctrination and training practices of US Armed Forces.⁸¹ Other examples included military use of civilian passenger aircraft to increase airlift capability during times of conflict⁸² and references to the use of pesticides and other chemical weapons by US Armed Forces to demonstrate that such weapons could be used in time of conflict.⁸³

5. CRITIQUES OF MILITARY ACTION

Critiques of US military actions, referred to in the West as constructive criticism, was the category of material that appeared least often. Soviets, as a general rule, did not publish constructive criticism about US Armed Forces.

Only eleven occurrences of such critiques were present in all of the journal articles reviewed. However, some topics arose in such a manner that it was impossible not to print a limited discussion.

The best examples of constructive criticism involved four articles in AVIATSIIA I KOSMONAVTIKA (AVIATION AND ASTRONAUTICS) that dealt with tactical fighter aircraft and emphasized offensive and defensive encounters over North Vietnam. The facts of all four articles could have come from any western military source. In addition to conveying basic information about US tactical aviation practices, the Soviet military press emphasized that the USAF and USN aircraft failed to fully appreciate their own overwhelming air superiority, and that such conditions of air superiority and lack of air defense could not always be found under other circumstances.⁸⁴ The use of material about US Armed Forces combat experiences and comments about such experiences demonstrates the Soviets desire to provide the Soviet military with as much military knowledge as possible.

6. PROPAGANDA

The sixth category of articles about US Armed Forces that served to influence how the reader relates to US and Soviet Armed Forces was propaganda. The previous five categories relied on rather accurate data and a structured

format to achieve their goals. Propaganda articles on the other hand had few facts about US Forces and used familiar communist slogans and terms to broadly attack US Armed Forces on a political, social, and pseudo-scientific basis. Because of such techniques, propaganda articles were the easiest to isolate.

Propaganda articles, those articles that had as a primary goal the conveying of propaganda and agitation information,⁸⁵ political rather than military in nature, appeared infrequently in the journals. Propaganda was emphasized in KRASNAIA ZVEZDA (RED STAR).⁸⁶ Propaganda articles were less important in the journals than in the newspaper. The emphasis was professional military articles in the journals, while the role in the daily military newspaper of most articles was propaganda.⁸⁷

Propaganda articles routinely contained generalizations about questions on a national or international scale, were politically and socially oriented, and frequently referred to Marxist-Leninist interpretations as the basis for attacks on the United States Armed Forces. In this respect, the propaganda articles in the military press were part of the broad, general propaganda campaign conducted by the Soviet media. Such articles served political and indoctrinational goals.

Part 2 of this analysis and discussion has reviewed the six categories of material that the Soviet military presses uses to influence how the reader relates to US and Soviet Armed Forces. The analysis and discussion (Parts 1 and 2) have reviewed the Soviet military press program conducted about US Armed Forces and the categories of articles that support the two overall purposes of providing data about US Armed Forces and influencing how the reader relates to US and Soviet Armed Forces.

CONCLUSIONS

After discussing the material that supports the Soviet military press campaign about US Armed Forces what was the effect of these articles on the Soviet reader? In other words, when the program is taken in its entirety, "How are US Armed Forces depicted?"

The US Armed Forces appeared as a highly competent but not infallible military establishment. Whether the United States Forces were acting alone or as part of an alliance such as NATO, they were either prepared for or preparing for offensive action against the "socialist world".

Because of the role played by the US Armed Forces in US Foreign policy since World War II, and because of the active and openly displayed defense-industrial

relationship in the USA, every effort was made by the Soviet military press to use such information to explain any action by the US Armed Forces as substantiation of an "American military threat". In this respect the Soviet military press is a part of the ongoing ideological campaign conducted by the Soviet Union.

Information was printed to teach and inform all members of the Soviet military establishment about US Armed Forces. Practically every facet of US military activity received some attention -- from rear support to infantry squad tactics, from field expedient napalm to employment of remotely piloted vehicles. Military activities were portrayed in such a manner as to imply that there was not an area of military activity less important than any other. Whether an article was about research and development of equipment, years away from employment, or about a US Army rocket launcher so long in the US Army inventory it has been forgotten, when it became the subject of an article, its importance and emphasis were exaggerated.

The articles taken together depict US Armed Forces as a military threat that is highly mobile and trained to fight in all climates -- day or night. The US Forces have available a wide variety of conventional and non-conventional weapons, as well as a demonstrated or stated

policy to use all such weapons. All US Armed Forces are pictured as continually modernizing or searching for new and different ways to improve their capabilities.

Weaknesses of the US Armed Forces were not normally found in the Soviet military press, even though such material is readily available in the western press. Some routine areas did not appear in articles about US Armed Forces. Pay, allowances, benefits, leave, workday, data about living conditions, retirement programs did not appear. Military capabilities were emphasized.

It is extremely important to note that the Soviets articles about the US military stressed capabilities, and when US strategy and tactics were discussed the question was not "if" but "when" US Forces would take such actions. The hostile intentions of the US Armed Forces are a "known" in the Soviet way of thinking. It remains only to know as much as possible about the US Armed Forces. The articles discussed and reviewed in this paper are the core of such program.

APPENDIX A

The following is a listing of the Soviet unclassified Russian language, military periodicals reviewed for this study. All periodicals are monthly except where noted.

VOENNYI VESTNIK (MILITARY HERALD)
MORSKOI SBORNIK (NAVAL REVIEW)
VESTNIK PVO (AIR DEFENSE HERALD)
AVIATSIIA I KOSMONAVTIKA (AVIATION AND ASTRONAUTICS)
TEKHNIKA I VOORUZHENIE (TECHNOLOGY AND ARMAMENTS)
TYL I SNABZHENIE SOVETSKIKH VOORUZHENNYKH SIL (REAR SERVICES AND SUPPLY OF THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES)
ZNAMENOSETS (STANDARD BEARER)

KRASNAIA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) - Daily Military Newspaper.

All of the above periodicals are published by the Soviet Union's Ministry of Defense.

The following military periodicals were not reviewed because they did not regularly contain sections devoted to publishing information about foreign, specifically the United States', armed forces.

Monthly:

VOENNO-ISTORICHESKII ZHURNAL (MILITARY HISTORICAL JOURNAL)
VOENNYE ZNANIYA (MILITARY KNOWLEDGE)

Bi-Monthly:

SOVETSKII VOIN (THE SOVIET SOLDIER)
KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL (COMMUNIST OF THE ARMED FORCES)

APPENDIX B

This appendix gives a summary of the pattern analysis. As such, it reflects the information contained in the articles selected for review. Each vertical column gives the number of reviewed articles appearing in a particular periodical as well as a classification of the information found in those articles.

For someone studying the data in this appendix in more detail, the following suggestions may be beneficial:

1. Consider the journals and the daily military newspaper separately. This will not only allow you to see the difference in orientation of each type periodical but also help keep the data in perspective.

2. Remember that categories "Know-Your-Enemy" thru "Use of Lessons Learned" represent more concrete data easily found in articles while "Material for Comparison" thru "Military Critique" represent more subjective evaluations of the material.

3. The totals of "Purposes of Articles" exceed the number of articles because articles frequently had more than one purpose.

4. As noted in this study, articles of a purely propaganda nature are considered in a separate category.

5. The time frame of this study is shown in the bibliography.

APPENDIX B
(Con't)

<u>PURPOSES OF ARTICLES</u>	<u>VOENNYI VESTNIK (MILITARY HEARLD)</u>	<u>MORSKOI SBORNIK (NAVAL REVIEW)</u>	<u>VESTNIK PVO (AIR DEFENSE HEARLD)</u>	<u>ZNAMENOSETS (STANDARD BEARER)</u>	<u>AVIATSIIA I KOSMONAVTIKA (AVIATION AND ASTRONAUTICS)</u>	<u>TEKHNIKA I VOORUZHENIE (TECHNOLOGY AND ARMAMENTS)</u>	<u>TYL I SNABZHENIE SOVETSKIKH VOORU- ZHENYKH SIL (REAR SERVICES AND SUPPLY OF THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES)</u>	<u>KRASNAIA ZVEZDA (RED STAR)</u>	TOTALS
Number of ar- ticles reviewed	40	65	25	24	28	37	3	99	321
Know-Your Enemy									
Discussion	33	40	13	18	14	16	2	27	163
General Data	5	2	5	0	7	13	0	0	32
Specific OB *	14	22	3	10	4	12	0	0	65
Tactics	19	22	8	14	16	14	0	2	95
Strategy	3	20	8	2	4	6	0	8	45
Research and Development	20	16	11	12	14	19	0	14	106
Use of Lessons Learned	13	16	13	10	15	6	3	3	79
Material for Comparison	16	14	4	8	9	9	1	0	61
For Thought Stimulation	10	18	10	11	9	14	2	2	76
To Make Recommendations	7	13	5	0	3	3	0	3	34
To Provide Justifications	7	12	2	1	4	4	0	12	42
Military Critique	4	3	1	1	2	0	0	0	11
Mainly for Propaganda	5	10	4	3	0	0	0	76	98

* Order of Battle

APPENDIX C

This is an alphabetical listing of the more common non-communist, English language, press sources referred to by name in articles about the US Armed Forces in the Soviet military press. Because of the frequent Soviet practice of referring only to "foreign specialists" or the "foreign press" and not listing by name all source material, this can only be a partial listing. No attempt was made to determine the frequency of use of a particular source. This list is included only to show the wide range of materials used by the Soviet military press.

AEROSPACE DAILY	NATO'S FIFTEEN NATIONS
AEROSPACE INTERNATIONAL	NATIONAL DEFENSE
AIR AND SPACE	NAVAL AVIATION NEWS
AIR UNIVERSITY REVIEW	NAVAL REGULATIONS-BuPERS
AIRCRAFT	10.120-F, 1971
ARMED FORCES JOURNAL	NAVY INTERNATIONAL
ARMOR	NAVY NEWS
ARMY MAGAZINE	NAVY TIMES
ARMY TIMES	NEW YORK POST
AVIATION DIGEST	
AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY	
BULLETIN OF THE ATOMIC SCIENTISTS	
DEFENSE MONITOR, THE	
ELECTRONIC DESIGN	NEW YORK TIMES
ELECTRONIC NEWS	NEWSWEEK
ELECTRONICS	ORDNANCE
FLIGHT	SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN
FLIGHT INTERNATIONAL	SEAMAN
FLYING REVIEW	SECRETARY OF DEFENSE ANNUAL
INFANTRY MAGAZINE	DEFENSE REPROT-FY 1975-76
INTERAVIA	SIGNAL
INTERNATIONAL DEFENSE REVIEW	SPACE AERONAUTICS
JANE'S ALL THE WORLD'S AIRCRAFT	SPACE BUSINESS DAILY
JANE'S FIGHTING SHIPS	TELECOMMUNICATIONS JOURNAL
JANE'S WEAPONS SYSTEM, 1974-1975	
JOURNAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN MINING AND METALLURGY	
MANAGEMENT SCIENCE	
MILITARY BALANCE	TESTIMONY (PUBLIC) OF DOD
MILITARY REVIEW	OFFICIALS BEFORE CONGRESS
	US NEWS AND WORLD REPORTS

FOOTNOTES

In order to conserve space and present more information to the reader, the following abbreviations are used in the footnotes.

<u>VOENNYI VESTNIK (MILITARY HERALD)</u>	. . . . .	.VV
<u>MORSKOI SBORNIK (NAVAL REVIEW)</u>	. . . . .	.MS
<u>VESTNIK PVO (AIR DEFENSE HERALD)</u>	. . . . .	.VPO
<u>AVIATSIIA I KOSMONAVTIKA</u> (AVIATION AND ASTRONAUTICS)	. . . . .	.AK
<u>TEKHNIKA I VOORUZHENIE</u> (TECHNOLOGY AND ARMAMENTS)	. . . . .	.TV
<u>TYL I SNABZHENIE SOVETSKIKH VOORUZHENNIKH SIL</u> (REAR SERVICES AND SUPPLY OF THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES)	. . . . .	.TS
<u>ZNAMENOSETS (STANDARD BEARER)</u>	. . . . .	.Z
<u>KRASNAIA ZVEZDA (RED STAR)</u>		KZ

Thus MS 6/75 refers to MORSKOI SBORNIK (NAVAL REVIEW), Number 6, 1975.

¹See Appendix C for a listing of the more common Western source documents referred to by name in the Soviet military periodicals.

²Two excellent books on Soviet journalism are Mass Media in the Soviet Union, Mark W.Hopkins, Pegasus, New York, 1970, and How the Communist Press Works, Anthony Buzek, Praeger, New York, 1974. Chapter 3 of Antony Buzek's book is an excellent summary of the structure and goal directed nature of the Soviet press.

³See Appendix A for a listing of the Soviet military periodicals selected for inclusion in this paper.

⁴See Appendix B For a summary of the data in the pattern analysis.

⁵See Appendix C.

⁶G.Kostenko, "Employment of Flamethrowers," VV/10/74, 118-119.

⁷"Modernization of Anti-Tank Weapons," VV/4/75, 119-121.

⁸"Atomic Demolition Munitions" VV/6/75, 122.

⁹B.Zhrov, "Artillery of Foreign Armies," VV/10/76, 117-122.

¹⁰Iu. Nevskii, "Development of ASW Torpedoes in NATO," MS/9/75, 101-103.

¹¹A.Kulagin, "Remotely Piloted Vehicles: Their Future," AK/8/74, 46-47.

¹²N.Semenov, "Mechanized Infantry in the US Army," Z/8/76, 38-39.

¹³A.Krasov and V.Koroteev, "USN Carrier Aviation Tactics," PVO/8/75, 80-84.

¹⁴In the know-your enemy grouping of information numbers add to more than the total of the number of articles because articles usually contained more than one type of information.

¹⁵Soviet use of this term is very broad. It is normally applied to the author of any defense or militarily related article. It was never used in conjunction with the name of the expert, and it was never used except as a reference to a western military writer or recognized expert.

¹⁶M.Belov, "Helicopters in Battle with Tanks," VV/2/74, 124-125.

¹⁷A.Konstantinov, "New Aircraft, but old Armaments?" AK/7/76, 46-47.

¹⁸A.Bulatov, "Airborne Anti-Tank Weapons," VV/9/75, 116-118.

¹⁹B.Chizhov and A.Zhludev, "Tactics and Conduct of Anti-Submarine Submarines," MS/3/76, 94-98.

²⁰V.Nikolaev, "Organic Helicopters on Containerized Shipping Vessels," MS/6/76, 105-108.

V.Andreev, "Vessels Under Conventient Flags," MS/2/75, 95-97.

V.Semenov, "Foreign Sea-Going Containerized Shipping," MS/3/75, 97-102.

A. Tarnovskii, "USAF Military Transport Aircraft," PVO/7/75, 77-81.

²¹V.Kozhevnikov, "Man-Pack Anti-Aircraft Weaponry," Z/11/76, 38.

²²The structure and use of foreign military material in articles is such that direct comments by the Soviets is rare and must usually be inferred. Only when political aspects arise can one expect to find direct Soviet comment with any predictability.

²³The press campaign related to the presentation of the positive aspects of aircraft carriers that was begun in the early 1970's is an excellent example.

²⁴N.Nikitin, "River -line Defense," VV/5/74, 119-122.
"US Army Mechanized Infantry Organization," VV/5/75, 122-124.

I.Golokolenko, "Tactics of American Mechanized Infantry," VV/6/74, 115-119.

A.Bulatov, "Airmobile Anti-Tank Weapons," VV/9/75, 116-118.

B.Zhapov, "Artillery of Foreign Armies," VV/10/76, 117-122.

N.Sevenov, "Mechanized Infantry of the US Army," Z/8/76, 38-39.

²⁵A.Drozhzhin, "Utilization of Tactical Aviation," VV/9/76, 118-121.

M.Belov, "The Road to Increased Military Effectiveness of Helicopters," VV/4/75, 117-119.

V.Katin, "Carrier Aviation in a Local War," MS/6/74, 87-95.

R.Tumkovskii, "Current and Future Attack Aircraft Carriers," MS/7/74, 95-97.

"USMC Air Support," MS/8/76, 99-100.

V.Babich, "Evasion Tactics," AK/9/74, 46-47 and AK/10/74, 46-47.

V.Babich, "Efforts to Achieve Air Superiority," AK/5/76, 46-47 and AK/6/76, 46-47.

²⁶I.Kutsaev, "Anti-submarine Warfare Aircraft," MS/12/74, 86-90.

U.Beliakov, "Mini-sub Return to the Fleet," MS/6/75, 92-97.

"Depthcharges in the Navies of Capitalistic States," MS/6/75, 97-98.

"Mine Warfare Against Submarines," MS/7/75, 101-102.

A.Kondratovich and U.Skorokhod, "Mines--The Universal Weapon," MS/11/75, 110-114.

B.Chizhov and A.Zhludev, "Tactics and Conduct of Anti-submarine Submarines," MS/3/76, 94-98.

U.Bolshakov and B.Komkov, "Search Tactics of ASW Aircraft," MS/5/76, 88-93.

B.Komkov and U.Bolshakov, "Surface Vessels versus Submarines," MS/7/76, 87-92.

S.Shapovlov, "US and NATO Views on Anti-submarine Warfare," MS/11/76, 85-91.

- ²⁷ M. Belov, "Helicopters in Battle with Tanks," VV/2/74, 124-125.
M. Belov, "The Road to Increased Military Effectiveness of Helicopters," VV/4/75, 117-119.
A. Bulatov, "Airborne Anti-Tank Weapons," VV/9/75, 116-118.
A. Bulatov, "Armed Helicopters above the Battle Field," AK/4/74, 46-47.
V. Zhukov, "Airmobile Infantry," Z/9/75, 38-39.

²⁸ Slightly more than half of the articles reviewed gave the name of the western publication used as reference material. See Appendix C for the named western publications. "Material from the Foreign Press" or simply "Foreign Press" was the usual reference, and if additional reference was present, it was in footnotes in the articles. Sometimes the titles were in English, sometimes in transliterated Russian.

²⁹ One of the very best examples of such an article: G. Sviatov, "The Military-Technical Policies of the USA: Several Tendencies in its Development," MS/3/74, 97-105.

³⁰ Several reasons may be found for this preponderance of strategy oriented articles in the naval journal and the naval oriented articles in the daily military newspaper. My feeling is that the overriding explanation is that it reflects the efforts of the Naval Forces of the Soviet Union to justify their expenditures and desires in light of their historical second-place to ground forces.

³¹ M. Mikhed'ko, "Electronic Warfare and Submarines," MS/1/76, 90-94.

Organization of ASW Forces of the USN's Pacific Fleet," MS/1/76, 94-95.

"Atomic (powered) Attack Submarines of the USN," MS/1/76, 96-97.

E. Rakitin, "The New Trident System," MS/2/76, 90-96.

V. Gerasimov, "Tactics of Atomic Submarines," Z/3/74, 38-39.

A. Corokin and E. Makashev, "Nuclear Ballistic Missile Submarines," TV/7/75, 46-47.

A. Corokin and E. Makashev, "SLBM's" TV/9/76, 46-47.

³² See Footnote Number 26.

³³ V. Katin, "Carrier Aviation in Local Wars," MS/6/74, 87-95.

R.Tumkovskii, "Present and Future Attack Carriers," MS/7/75, 95-99.

Iu. Nefed'ev, "Multipurpose Aircraft Carriers," MS/8/75, 96-100.

O.Kozlov and E.Sokolovskii, "USN Carrier Aviation," AK/1/76, 46-47.

A.Krasov and V.Koroteev, "Tactics of USN Carrier Aviation," PVO/8/75, 80-84.

³⁴V.Evseev, "Landing Forces of the USN," MS/9/74, 95-100.

"The United States Marine Corps," MS/7/76, 95-96.

"USMC Aviation," MS/8/76, 99-100.

³⁵V.Babich, "Strategic Aviation and Tactical Missions," AK/2/74, 46-47.

³⁶A.Tarnovskii, "USAF Military Transport Aircraft," PVO/7/75, 77-81.

V.Semenov, "Foreign Sea-going Containerized Shipping," MS/3/75, 97-102.

A.Smukul, "Development Trends in USN Support Ships," MS/4/75, 94-101.

S. Karpov, "Worldwide Sea Trade," MS/10/76, 89-98.

³⁷Iu.Onusaitis, "NATO Forces in the Central European Theater of Military Action." VV/6/75, 116-120.

³⁸See Appendix B.

³⁹"Small-cargo Vehicles," VV/2/76, 22.

⁴⁰S.Smirnov, "Air Cushion Vessels," TV/4/75, 46-47.

⁴¹N.Sorokin and A. Kuz'min, "Over-the-Horizon (OTH) Radars," PVO/1/75, 87-90.

⁴²See Footnote Number 26.

⁴³A.Vetokhov, "Military-Engineering Psychology," TV/10/74, 46-47.

K.Morozov, "Analysis of Systems of Weapons," TV/11/74, 46-47.

I.Gushshin, et.al., "Programmed Planning of Weapons," TV/8/75, 46-47.

⁴⁴V.Grankin, "Evaluation of the Electronic Warfare Environment," VV/4/76, 113-118.

V.Karpenko, "NATO's Military Computers," VV/4/76, 118-120.

B. Lebedev and Iu. Nikolaev, "Automated Direction of Forces: Situation and Prosepects," VV/8/75, 118-119.
F. Gerchikov, "Trajectory Determination of Rockets in Flight," PVO/4/75, 90-91.

⁴⁵ See Appendix B.

⁴⁶ A. Bulatov, "Armed Helicopters above the Battle Field," AK/4/74, 46-47.

E. Simakov, "Military Helicopters," TV/8/76, 46-47.

G. Kriukov and I. Kunaev, "Minesweeping with Helicopters," MS/11/74, 107-111.

M. Belov, "The Road to Increased Military Effectiveness of Helicopters," VV/4/75, 117-119.

"Anti-Tank Helicopters Battalion," VV/11/75, 120.

"In Search of New Organizations" VV/6/75, 121.

⁴⁷ V. Babich, "Strategic Aviation and Tactical Missions," AK/2/74, 46-47.

D. Romanov, "Aviation Machineguns," AK/6/74, 47.

G. Bardin, "A Return to Gun Armaments," AK/8/75, 46-47.

V. Babich, "Tactics of Fire Support," AK/9/75, 46-47 and AK/10/75, 46-47.

O. Kozlov and E. Sokolovskii, "USN Carrier Aircraft," AK/1/76, 46-47.

V. Babich, "Evasion Tactics," AK/9/74, 46-47 and AK/10/74, 46-47.

⁴⁸ V. Babich, "Tactics of Electronic Warfare," AK/3/75, 46-47 and AK/4/75, 46-47.

V. Grisenko, "Naval Aviation and Electronic Warfare," MS/6/75, 99-105.

M. Panshin, "Means of Jamming," TV/7/76, 46-47.

⁴⁹ V. Katin, "Carrier Aviation in a Local War," MS/6/75, 87-95.

R. Tumkovskii, "Present and Future Attack Carriers," MS/7/74, 95-99.

⁵⁰ N. Nikitin, "Considering the Experience of War," Z/4/76, 38-39.

N. Nikitin, "New (Weapons) in the Battle with Tanks," Z/5/74, 38-39.

⁵¹ V. Evseev, "Landing Forces of the USN," MS/9/74, 95-100.

USMC, "MS/7/76, 95-96.

USMC Aviation, "MS/8/76, 99-100.

K. Morozov, "Naval Artillery," TV/11/76, 46-47.

⁵²S. Shapovlov, "US and NATO Views on Anti-Submarine Warfare," MS/11/76, 85-91. Also see Footnote Number 26.

⁵³I. Iazykov, "TRICAP Rear Service Support," TS/11/73, 91-93.

⁵⁴A. Kulagin, "RPV's: Their Future," AK/8/74, 46-47.

⁵⁵See Footnote Number 2.

⁵⁶See Appendix B.

⁵⁷L. Seliverstov, "On the Road to LASER Weaponry," AK/7/74, 46-47.

⁵⁸G. Podosinovik and K. Rzhnetskii, "Power Plants for Ships," TV/6/75, 46-47.

⁵⁹A. Shapiro and V. Prokopov, "Aviation Service and Repair," TV/3/75, 45-46.

⁶⁰M. Belov, "The Road to Increased Military Effectiveness of Helicopters," VV/4/75, 117-119.

⁶¹V. Kozhevnikov, "Man-Pack Anti-Aircraft Weapons," Z/11/76, 38.

⁶²See Footnote Number 26.

⁶³See Footnote Number 27.

⁶⁴See Appendix B.

⁶⁵V. Grnakin, "An Evaluation of the Electronic Warfare Environment," VV/4/76, 113-118.

⁶⁶I. Isatsenko, "FLLETSATCOM and NARSAT in the USN Communications Systems," MS/12/76, 86-88.

C. Kirilin and R. Novikov, "Tactical Satellite Communications Systems," VV/7/76, 117-121.

⁶⁷See Footnote Number 26.

⁶⁸B. Iashin, "The Essence of the Basic Strategical Missions of the USN," MS/9/76, 91-97.; Also see the references in Footnote Number 26.

⁶⁹V. Nazarenko, "Electro-optical Night Observation Devices," Z/3/76, 38-39.

⁷⁰V.Bystrov, "Remote Mining," TV/10/75, 47.

⁷¹N.Fomin, "Armored Recovery Vehicles," TV/5/76, 46-47.

⁷²K.Morozov, "Naval Artillery," TV/11/76, 46-47.

⁷³Information is readily available in the West about the US Army's latest river crossing capability that is a copy of the Soviet PMP bridge.

⁷⁴Anti-Submarine Warfare Training for US Naval Officers," MS/1/75, 93-94.

B.Komkov, "Ships Carrying ASW Aircraft," MS/8/75, 89-95.

Also See Footnote Number 26.

⁷⁵See Footnote Number 27.

⁷⁶See Footnote Number 33.

⁷⁷V.Kochkov, "Modern Automated Systems of Control of Air Defense," PVO/1/75, 79-84.

⁷⁸N.Seleznev, "Communications Security," PVO/11/74, 72-74. A.Palii, "The Road to Modernization of the Means of Electronic Warfare," PVO/9/75, 71-75.

⁷⁹G.Kostenko, "Employment of Flamethrowers," VV/10/74, 118-119.

⁸⁰V.Milovanov, "In an Atmosphere of Fire and Death," VV/3/75, 123-126.

S.Veshshunov, "Training Means of the Armies of the USA and FRG," VV/7/76, 114-117.

A.Cytnov and A.Shuiskii, "Training Simulator for Ground Forces," TV/12/75, 44-45.

A.Abramenko, "For the Increased Tactical Preparation of Commanders," PVO/3/74, 81-84.

"Anti-Submarine Warfare Training for US Naval officers," MS/1/75, 93-94.

⁸¹R.Tumkovskii, "Present and Future Attack Aircraft Carriers," MS/7/74, 95-99.

A.Smukul, "Developmental Trends in USN Support Ships," MS/4/75, 94-101.

E.Zhuravkii, et. al., "American Use of Pesticides in Vietnam," VV/9/74, 120-123.

B.Fedorov, "Remotely Piloted Vehicles," TV/1/75, 47

I.Pasin, "Seagoing Support for Ballistic Missile Submarines," TV/9/75, 46-47.

V.Sakharov and Iu.Savchenko, "Toxic Chemicals in the US Army," TV/9/75, 47.

⁸²A.Tarnowskii, "USAF Military Transport Aircraft," PVO/7/75, 77-81.

⁸³V.Sakharov and Iu.Sachenko, "Toxic Chemicals in the US Army," TV/9/75, 47.

E.Zhuravskii, et. al., "American Use of Pesticides in Vietnam," VV/9/74, 120-123.

⁸⁴V.Babich, "Evasion Tactics," AK/9/74, 46-47 and AK/10/74, 46-47.

V.Babich, "Tactics of Fire Support," AK/5/76, 46-47 and AK/6/76, 46-47.

⁸⁵Antony Buzek, How the Communist Press Works (New York: Praeger, 1974), pp. 39-54.

⁸⁶From the data in Appendix B it is clear that the daily military newspaper KRASNAIA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) is more oriented toward propaganda while the journals less so.

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Hopkins, Mark W. Mass Media in the Soviet Union, New York: Pegasus, 1970.

The following are the periodicals used in this study. All were published by the Military Publishing House, Moscow. This reference pertains to Numbers 1-12, 1974-1976 and Numbers 1 and 2, 1977 for the seven following periodicals:

AVIATSIIA I KOSMONAVTIKA (AVIATION AND ASTRONAUTICS)
MORSKOI SBORNIK (NAVAL REVIEW)
TEKHNIKA I VOORUZHENIE (TECHNOLOGY AND ARMAMENTS)
TYL I SNABZHENIE SOVETSKIKH VOORUZHENNYKH SIL (REAR SERVICES AND SUPPLY OF THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES)
VESTNIK PVO (AIR DEFENSE HERALD)
VOENNYI VESTNIK (MILITARY HERALD)
ZNAMENOSETS (STANDARD BEARER)

In addition to the references listed above, the Soviet Armed Forces' daily newspaper was used. It is published by the Military Publishing House, Moscow. Issues from January 1, 1976 through January 31, 1977 were reviewed.

KRASNAIA ZVEZDA (RED STAR)