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КРАСНАЯ ЗВЕЗДА

SOVIET NEWS AND PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS

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SOVIET NEWS AND PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS

**BASED ON
RED STAR**
(The Official Newspaper of the Soviet Defense Establishment)

FOR THE PERIOD 1-31 MARCH 1982



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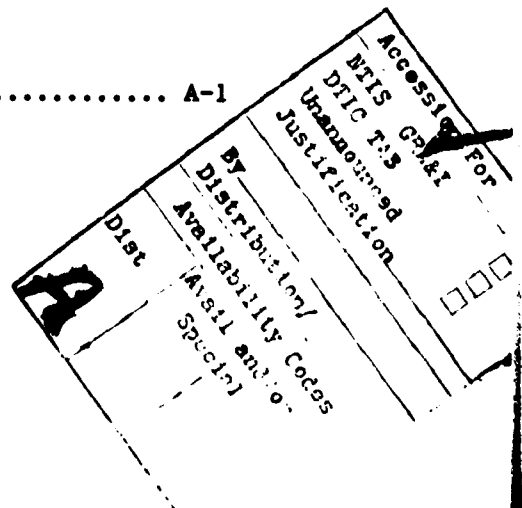
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Soviet News and Propaganda Analysis for the Period 1-31 March 1982

Executive Summary

In March of 1982, Soviet rhetoric and propaganda concerning all aspects of U.S. military and foreign policy were inflammatory, threatening and incessant. The Soviet military press highlighted topics and events to reflect the Reagan administration as the mainstay of world imperialism and fostering a dangerous and uncontrolled arms race. The major propaganda emphasis, directed to the Soviet military audience, underscored topics related to: (1) chemical and biological weapons, (2) the ever-impending danger of nuclear war in Europe and (3) American imperialism in the Middle East and Central America.

As in February, the Kremlin continued to expand and intensify the tone and scope of its rhetoric on the topic of chemical and biological warfare. A major systematic propaganda campaign was initiated by Moscow to refute American claims that the USSR supplied and used chemical weapons in Afghanistan, Laos and Kampuchea. The Soviet media headlined:

- USSR Denounces U.S. Plans to Produce New Chemical and Biological Weapons!
- Stop Criminal Plans of U.S.!
- Washington Supplies Chemical Weapons to El Salvadoran Junta and Afghan Counterrevolutionaries!
- More U.S. Lies to Cover-up Aggression!

Moscow continued to exhibit interest and concern over American military and political activities in the Middle East and the Indian Ocean. Soviet propagandists stressed the following topics: (1) U.S. is conducting economic, political and psychological warfare against India; (2) American troops deploy to the Sinai and (3) Washington plans to form a new military block in the Middle East.

The Soviet media strongly assailed U.S. imperialism in the Caribbean and Central American. Feature articles in the communist press headlined:

- U.S. Plans to Intervene in Nicaragua!
- The Danger of Intervention is Growing!
- U.S. Plans Coup in El Salvador!
- U.S.-NATO Military Forces Conduct SAFE PASS-82 - Dangerous and Provocative Maneuvers!

The principal thrust of Soviet propaganda in regard to United States military imperialism in Europe concerned Reagan's plans to deploy advanced nuclear (Pershing II and Cruise) missiles in Europe. Moscow returned to and strengthened its propaganda topic (and focus) that Reagan "wants to involve NATO in a limited nuclear war."

Soviet sensitivity, concern and despair with Washington's policy toward the government of Poland continued to be apparent; and the Russian media strongly criticized Reagan's anti-Polish and anti-Soviet campaigns. The Soviet press headlined that the:

- U.S. Has Developed Nuclear War Strategy!
- U.S. Intends to Increase its Nuclear Potential!
- U.S. Nuclear Forces Conduct IVY LEAGUE-82 Exercise!
- Polish Newspapers Denounce CIA and NATO!

During March 1982, Kremlin propagandists and media specialists strongly underscored that Washington is not serious in regard to disarmament, and they stressed that Reagan continues to use the Geneva (disarmament) talks to placate its allies. Feature stories in the Soviet press headlined the following topics:

- Growing Peace Movement in the United States!
- Reagan Opposes Nuclear Weapons Freeze!
- USSR Proposes Constructive Disarmament Policy - Favored by Western Europe!

As expected, Soviet propagandists fully exploited the visit of Secretary of Defense Weinberger to Asia. The principal scope and focus of Russian comment underscored that America wants to increase and strengthen military assistance and mutual security programs with the Philippines, Japan and South Korea. The Soviets stressed that RIMPAK-82 (military exercises) proves that the Reagan administration is succeeding in its militaristic aims at Asia.

Soviet print editors strongly underscored that "Reagan wants military exports in 1983 to exceed \$13.3 billion. He considers military exports to be a vital part of United States global strategy." According to the communists, the:

"Reagan administration's global strategy depends heavily on U.S. military exports. Washington takes first place among the world's great arms exporters....In return for military aid, Washington expects its client states, such

as Oman, to cooperate with U.S. military plans. Israel remains the largest U.S. customer."

In a series of feature articles, Kremlin propagandists continued to underscore that Washington is accelerating its psychological warfare campaign against socialist countries and national liberation movements. Moscow headlined that the United States is spreading international terrorism. The Soviets reported that, "terrorism has become an important part of Reagan's policy in increasing international tension." Soviet propagandists underscored that:

"...the United States has arranged for assassinations and the attempts on the lives of many world leaders. CIA has organized and is conducting war against Afghanistan and countries in South and Southeast Asia, all for U.S. vital interests. Actions in the name of vital interests are really terrorist activities."

Soviet news media provided minimum coverage of the third voyage of NASA's Space Shuttle Columbia. The Kremlin emphasized that the Space Shuttle will "play a central part in the Pentagon's plan for the military use of space."

It was underscored that the U.S. plans to launch a large number of military satellites, some armed with missiles.

Moscow's continuing concern in explaining, to the Soviet audience, the scope of events and activities about the political/military situation in Poland was heightened in March - over 12 percent of the total foreign news coverage concerned Poland. Soviet propaganda stressed the following topics:

- Soviet-Polish Talks in Moscow are the Center of Attention in the World Press.
- Poland and USSR Remain Socialist Allies - Moscow Talks (were) Conducted in Warm, Friendly Atmosphere.
- Polish and Soviet Military Units Demonstrate Socialist Internationalism and Solidarity.

Propaganda coverage of activities and events in Afghanistan increased modestly in March. The main thrust of Soviet rhetoric emphasized the following topics and themes:

"The Afghanistan revolution is invincible. People in Afghanistan support the April revolution."

"Afghanistan military units are courageously fighting to clear the land of counterrevolutionaries. The majority of people support the Army and want the counterrevolution to end."

"The USSR has helped Afghanistan to build 99 percent of its new factories."

"Afghan counterrevolutionaries are armed and trained in Pakistan with U.S. aid."

The amount of news space allocated to China continued to decrease in March 1982. For the past three years, the average amount of print space allocated to China has been 3.6 percent of the total foreign coverage. In February it was one percent, and in March it declined to an all time low of .72 percent. However, the scope and major thrust of Soviet propaganda themes did not change significantly from previous months. The tone remains extremely hostile.

Potential psychological vulnerabilities within the Soviet military establishment are indicated by the consistent scope of topics and comment critical in tone about selected Soviet military activities. Such articles emphasized that: (1) teamwork and unit team spirit are important for morale and need improvement; (2) military/political training must improve - political officers must influence all activities; (3) a determined effort should be made to conserve fuel and other supplies; (4) new technology should be stressed in training and (5) Soviet officers and soldiers must be taught to maintain World War II heroic conditions.

Selected abstracts that reveal the scope, focus and tone of critical newspaper articles pertaining to the Soviet military are presented below:

"...at a military base (in the North), poor management, bureaucratic delays and bad work left residents of the base in cold and incompleted quarters. The naval engineering service branch was guilty of poor management, the construction units were wasteful and the project was behind schedule. There were water and fuel shortages. Clearly even the strongest people cannot live that way."

"Honesty is an important characteristic of a good officer. First, an officer must keep his word. A man who does not keep his word is dishonest. A dishonest officer is a bad example to his men."

"Officers must be honest with each other and be able to trust one another. If a man cannot depend on his comrade in battle, he will not be successful in his mission."

"Soldiers and officers must be taught to be honest. When they make mistakes, they must admit them, not cover them up. Cheating on exams or tactical training reports, undermine the learning process. Men learn through mistakes and should not be afraid to make mistakes. Self-criticism and honest self-evaluation helps one to improve."

INTRODUCTION

The data in this report reflects Soviet print media emphasis and propaganda trends for almost three years -- June 1979 to March 1982. During this period, 32,000 feature stories and news items were analyzed. The main purpose of this paper is to provide the reader with an overview of Soviet rhetoric, propaganda themes and topics directed to Russian military forces during March 1982.

This report contains a summary of propaganda themes from the Russian language newspaper Red Star. With a circulation of several hundred thousand copies, this "daily" newspaper is the official publication of the Soviet defense establishment. In particular, it represents the views and articulates the issues important to the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy, which is responsible for the political reliability of all Soviet military forces. The Main Political Administration receives its guidance directly from the Central Committee of the CPSU.

The feature stories and news items that appear in Red Star are intended to provide daily guidance to the Soviet military political cadre concerning domestic and international issues/events. Men and women in the Soviet armed forces receive political instruction and Marxist interpretation of current events (foreign and domestic) on a daily basis. Red Star is used as the guide for political instruction; it contains the approved "picture" of issues and events, and outlines the nature of the "hostile" world to the Soviet military. Therefore, this report provides insights concerning the structured view of the events and the "world picture" as perceived by the Soviet soldier.

PART I - SOVIET PERCEPTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

In March 1982, 29 percent of the total space in Red Star reported events and activities that occurred in foreign countries or were international in scope. This amount of space reflected a decrease of one percent from the previous month. The average range for space allocated to foreign coverage is 30 percent of the total space.

Selected foreign governments and international organizations that received substantial media attention in March 1982 are listed in Table 1. (Percent reflects total of foreign coverage.)

Table 1

<u>Government/Int. Org.</u>	<u>Mar 1982</u>	<u>Feb 1982</u>	<u>June 1979 - Jan 1982</u>
1. United States	32.23%	47.11%	28.82%
2. Poland	12.11%	10.07%	4.32%
3. Afghanistan	4.76%	1.84%	4.05%
4. India	4.64%	0.23%	1.57%
5. West Germany	4.10%	1.43%	2.69%
6. Vietnam	3.67%	0.82%	2.23%
7. Israel	3.53%	2.39%	2.28%
8. Finland	3.01%	0.23%	0.28%
9. Japan	2.55%	2.14%	2.25%
10. Laos	1.78%	0.08%	0.33%
11. El Salvador	1.72%	6.21%	0.66%
12. NATO	1.43%	5.45%	2.15%

GENERAL

As a matter of propaganda policy, the editors of Red Star and other Soviet propaganda media underscore selected national anniversaries, significant political/military events (mostly in socialist countries), and various "friendship visits" of foreign and Soviet dignitaries and delegations.

India

In March 1982, Marshall Ustinov, the Soviet Defense Minister, visited India. He was given appropriate military honors at the New Delhi airport. The Soviet Marshall met with Indian President N. S. Reddi, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, and the Indian Defense Minister R. Venkataraman. According to the Soviet media, they discussed items of "mutual interest and concern." The editors of Red Star reported in great detail the honors provided to Marshall Ustinov during his visit to New Delhi, and his subsequent tour of various cities and military installations. Abstracts of several articles pertaining to the visit of the Soviet Defense Minister are listed below:

"Soviet Defense Minister visits India! In his tour of the country Marshall Ustinov visited naval bases in Bombay and was hosted by Vice-Admiral Avati, Chief of the West Defense Zone."

"Marshall Ustinov visits Agra and Bangalor. He was hosted by the president of the Indian Aviation (construction) Company. At a formal dinner they toasted and praised Soviet-Indian relations."

"On March 19, Marshall Ustinov visits the Indian Air Force Base at Dioojpur."

"The Indian Defense Minister hosted a dinner in honor of Marshall Ustinov. Soviet-Indian friendship was emphasized."

Vietnam

Soviet print media provided its readers with significant coverage of the activities of the 5th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam. The Soviet press highlighted that the USSR "has a significant role in providing aid and assistance to the Vietnamese government in reconstructing their economy and society." According to Soviet propagandists, "the USSR and Vietnam are firmly united behind communist principles, and the Soviet and Vietnamese people support the triumph of communism." Feature articles pertaining to the activities in the Vietnamese Communist Party Congress reported that:

"The Vietnamese party's economic and social goals for the 80s are to fulfill most of the essential needs of the people - raise standard of living, improve health and education programs. These goals will also improve the socialist economy and national defense. Vietnam will continue to expand its relations with Laos, Kampuchea and the USSR. Vietnam supports basic Soviet politics in regard to disarmament and peace. Soviet assistance and aid is very important and military cooperation with the Soviet Union will increase." (Italics added.)

"Vietnamese Communist Party continues its 5th Congress. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Pham Van Dong, reported on the new five-year plan. Vietnam supports Soviet foreign policy and disarmament. Soviet-Vietnamese relations are most important. The Party criticized United States militarism, American-Chinese relations, and U.S. expansion in Asia. Indochina is united against imperialism in Southeast Asia."

Finland

Red Star's increased coverage of Finland (see Table 1) was primarily due to the range of activities associated with the friendship visit of the President of Finland to Moscow. On March 9, Finnish President, M. Koivisto met with CPSU leaders - Brezhnev, A. Tikhonov, A. Gromyko and B. Pondmarev - in the Kremlin. They discussed Soviet-Finnish relations, international affairs, disarmament and detente. Koivisto assured the Soviet leaders, according to the Russian media, that Finland will continue its strong relationship and friendship with the Soviet Union.

Laos

The Soviet press gave respectable coverage to the visit of the Laotian Prime Minister, K. Phomvihane, to the Kremlin on March 18. In a meeting with Brezhnev, the topics of Soviet-Laotian relations, CPSU issues and building socialism in Laos were discussed.

UNITED STATES

In March 1982, the editors of Red Star allocated over 32 percent of its space, devoted to international events and foreign affairs, to the United States - this amount represented a decrease in coverage of nearly 15 percent from the previous month. It should be noted that during the past 34 months (see Table 1), the average allocation of print space devoted to America has been 28.8 percent of the total coverage in Red Star for foreign states and international events.

During March, Soviet propagandists highlighted topics and events that reflected the Reagan administration as supporting world imperialism and fostering a dangerous and uncontrolled arms race. The major propaganda emphasis stressed topics related to: (1) chemical and biological weapons; (2) the danger and likelihood of nuclear war in Europe and (3) American imperialism in the Middle East.

The Kremlin continued to expand and intensify the tone of its rhetoric on the topic of chemical and biological warfare. A major propaganda effort was initiated by Moscow to refute American claims that the USSR supplied and used chemical weapons in Afghanistan, Laos and Kampuchea. The Soviets emphasized that U.S. allies (and the world) do not believe American propaganda (lies) about Soviet employment of chemical weapons. It was also underscored that the "U.S. cannot prove that 3,042 Afghanistan people have suffered due to Soviet use of chemical warfare." One Russian feature story quoted an "Art Buchwald-style" about Alexander Haig as follows:

"Haig arrived in his office after a press conference in which he denounced the Reds for using chemical weapons in Laos and Kampuchea. Three reporters interrogated Haig about his evidence for the use of chemical weapons in Southeast Asia. Haig's evidence is based on a leaf sample containing a poisonous substance, which many scientists claim can be found all over the world in a natural form. The reporters made Haig look foolish."

The following abstracts indicate the scope and tone of Soviet propaganda related to chemical warfare weapons:

"While the U.S. is increasing its chemical warfare arsenals and facilities, Reagan continues to spread lies and propaganda about the Soviet use of such weapons."

"Soviet Union denounces U.S. plans to mass produce chemical weapons! The USSR calls for an immediate freeze on the production of such weapons. Furthermore, the USSR denies accusations of the U.S. that the Soviet Union has used such weapons in Afghanistan. The use of such weapons has been outlawed by the Geneva protocol of 1925. Soviet chemical warfare troops are only intended for defense against chemical arms. Toxins found by U.S. in Kampuchea are caused by nature and are found all over the world. U.S. criminal plans must be stopped."

"STOP CRIMINAL PLANS OF THE U.S.! In view of the tense international atmosphere, Washington's plans are very dangerous. Reagan will spend over \$10 billion over the next few years on chemical weapons. The program will focus on the mass production of lethal binary weapons. The use of agent orange by the U.S. in Vietnam caused the painful death of 1.6 million Vietnamese. The U.S. is currently supplying the El Salvadoran Junta with chemical weapons." (Italics added.)

"Newspapers worldwide criticize U.S. plans to build and increase its chemical warfare arsenals, and deploy chemical weapons to Western Europe."

"Washington claims chemical weapons are cheap, effective, economical! Chemical arms will kill people and will not destroy buildings; will kill the baby, not harm the baby carriage. U.S. claims that the USSR has more chemical weapons, but the U.S. has chemical weapons in the U.S., Europe and Japan. Washington has three million chemical munitions in arsenals all over the world, this is enough to kill every person on earth. The Soviet Union has not and will not use chemical weapons in Afghanistan or anywhere else. Reagan is simply using such lies as an excuse to build and increase its chemical arsenals and gain military supremacy over the USSR."

"U.S. and West German troops often conduct chemical warfare training (together). Unfortunately, accidents occur. A young German boy was poisoned recently after exposure to chemical weapons. The U.S. has a large amount of chemical weapons in West Germany."

"As Washington increases arms production, the more the U.S. lies to cover-up aggressive plans! U.S. latest lie is that USSR has used chemical weapons in Afghanistan and Southeast Asia. The whole world knows that this is not true; yet high-ranking U.S. leaders are spreading this

lie. The truth is that Washington used chemical weapons in Vietnam and is supplying Afghanistan counterrevolutionary groups with chemical weapons."

As mentioned before, Red Star's news items and feature stories are carefully selected and orchestrated to satisfy the propaganda goals and objectives of the Communist party and government; consequently, they reflect highly negative views of policies and activities of the United States. For almost three years, the United States has received an average of 57 percent of the total negative and/or abusive rhetoric in Red Star devoted to foreign governments - in March it was 67 percent. See Table 2 for a comparison of total space (hostile and/or negative in tone) allocated to the United States and other foreign countries. (Percent reflects total of foreign critical coverage.)

Table 2

CRITICAL COVERAGE OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS

<u>Country</u>	<u>March 1982</u>	<u>February 1982</u>	<u>June 79 - Jan 82</u>
1. United States	67.14%	73.26%	56.93%
2. Israel	7.84%	3.90%	4.88%
3. West Germany	6.10%	1.00%	3.16%
4. Italy	2.63%	0.00%	0.36%
5. El Salvador	2.48%	8.11%	0.78%
6. South Africa	2.46%	0.52%	2.38%
7. Japan	1.81%	2.21%	3.81%
8. United Kingdom	1.66%	0.89%	2.81%
9. China	1.59%	1.61%	7.40%
10. Pakistan	1.49%	0.78%	1.64%
11. Chile	1.07%	0.07%	0.21%

As in previous months, over 96 percent of the total space allocated to the United States was highly critical and/or negative in tone - none was favorable in tone.

Soviet propaganda about the United States continued to underscore three substantive themes: (1) United States military and political hegemony - as a threat to peace; (2) arms production and development of military technology - the arms race and (3) U.S. foreign military assistance and mutual security programs - as a threat to the world. The propaganda tone and amount of space allocated to these three primary Soviet propaganda themes have remained uncompromisingly high and remarkably consistent for almost three years.

A statistical view of major Soviet propaganda themes pertaining to the United States for a period of 14 months is contained in Table 3 (percent is total of United States coverage).

Table 3

SOVIET PROPAGANDA THEME	1982		1981											
	MAR	FEB	JAN	DEC	NOV	OCT	SEP	AUG	JUL	JUN	MAY	APR	MAR	FEB
US Military/ Political Hegemony	41%	41%	40%	33%	48%	53%	55%	29%	45%	30%	35%	41%	43%	48%
US Military Budget-Arms Race	38%	37%	31%	39%	36%	30%	26%	48%	32%	45%	34%	30%	26%	31%
US Foreign Military Assistance- Mutual Scty	17%	13%	23%	23%	10%	13%	14%	19%	20%	21%	25%	17%	28%	15%
All Other	<u>04%</u> <u>100%</u>	<u>09%</u> <u>100%</u>	<u>06%</u> <u>100%</u>	<u>05%</u> <u>100%</u>	<u>06%</u> <u>100%</u>	<u>04%</u> <u>100%</u>	<u>05%</u> <u>100%</u>	<u>04%</u> <u>100%</u>	<u>03%</u> <u>100%</u>	<u>04%</u> <u>100%</u>	<u>06%</u> <u>100%</u>	<u>12%</u> <u>100%</u>	<u>03%</u> <u>100%</u>	<u>06%</u> <u>100%</u>

Soviet propagandists use every advantage to exploit events and/or media issues in the international press in its effort to portray the United States as an aggressive, militaristic nation seeking world domination, and on the verge of triggering a nuclear holocaust. This is the major focus and objective of Soviet domestic and international propaganda. It is apparent from the data in Table 3 that the principal themes used to exploit and articulate this objective are U.S. military and political hegemony and the arms race.

UNITED STATES MILITARY/POLITICAL HEGEMONY

Again in March 1982, 41 percent of Soviet rhetoric about Washington exploited the subject of American military/political hegemony (Soviet code word for Yankee imperialism) - this was the same amount of space allocated for this propaganda theme in February (see Table 3).

The statistical data contained in Table 4 reflects geographical and country emphasis pertaining to the Soviet propaganda theme - U.S. Military/Political Hegemony and Provocation during a nine month period. (Percent equals total coverage of this propaganda theme.)

Table 4

<u>Country/Area of U.S. Hegemony</u>	<u>1982</u>			<u>1981</u>					
	<u>Mar</u>	<u>Feb</u>	<u>Jan</u>	<u>Dec</u>	<u>Nov</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Sep</u>	<u>Aug</u>	<u>Jul</u>
1. Indian Ocean and Middle East	34%	10%	17%	15%	19%	13%	19%	25%	31%
2. Central America/Caribbean	32%	32%	08%	14%	21%	06%	05%	29%	11%
3. Europe	20%	26%	58%	54%	25%	29%	42%	27%	19%
4. World Wide	10%	18%	10%	07%	12%	27%	10%	13%	21%
5. Asia/Pacific	04%	14%	06%	08%	09%	25%	22%	06%	18%
6. Other	00%	00%	01%	02%	14%	00%	02%	00%	00%
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

U.S. Imperialism in the Middle East and Indian Ocean

Moscow continued to exhibit its interest and concern over U.S. military and political activities in the Middle East and the Indian Ocean. Soviet propagandists stressed the following topics:

- o U.S. is Conducting Economic, Political and Psychological Warfare against India.
- o U.S. Troops Deploy to the Sinai.
- o Washington Plans to Form New Military Block in the Middle East.

Some examples of the scope and tone of articles pertaining to the Middle East and the Indian Ocean are below:

"Since India's independence, the U.S. has conducted covert operations against India, especially in the North-eastern states. CIA has supported revolutionary movements in India since the 1950s. CIA has also tried to assassinate Indira Ghandi. Washington desires to dis-unite India. U.S. has sharply increased its military aid to China and Pakistan which are both interested in obtaining Indian territory. Washington has a grudge against India for its positive relations with the USSR."

"CIA ACTIVITIES AGAINST INDIA! U.S. has given asylum to the leader of a revolutionary group which is fighting for independence of Punjab. India has protested vehemently against this action. Washington has stated that its action is humanitarian and does not indicate support for the revolutionary group. However, CIA has provided money and other support to this insurgent group. National Se-

curity Document No. C-68 indicates that the U.S. is conducting economic, political, and psychological warfare against India."

"India criticizes U.S. military expansion in the Indian Ocean. This threatens world peace. India calls for the U.S. withdrawal of its military forces from Indian Ocean bases."

"The U.S. has started construction of a military base on the island of Tiran in the Red Sea. Over 600 personnel from the 82nd Airborne Division will be deployed to this Red Sea base."

"United States troops arrive in the Sinai. Over 700 soldiers from the 82nd Airborne Division arrived in Israel."

"U.S. troops are deployed to the Sinai as part of multinational peace keeping force. Washington has wanted to occupy the Sinai for a long time and has finally succeeded. This is part of U.S. plan to build and increase military presence and control in the Middle East."

"Since May 1981, Afghanistan has attempted to establish friendly relations with its neighbors such as Pakistan and Iran. However, U.S. and Pakistan have ignored Afghanistan's constructive suggestions and have continued to interfere with its internal affairs. U.S. continues to arm and train counterrevolutionaries on Pakistan military bases. Pakistan is exploiting this situation to get more weapons from Washington. Pakistani militarism is a threat to the entire region."

"Washington plans to send more military aid to Israel. In addition, U.S. will provide military assistance to several Arab countries in exchange for military bases, etc., in those countries. These neocolonial manipulations are Washington's new policy for the Middle East. In addition, U.S. plans to increase its military presence in Pakistan, Morocco, Thailand and Australia. Reagan wants to form a new military block which will include Israel, Egypt, Sudan, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Jordan. Many Arab countries feel that the U.S. and not the Soviet Union is the real threat."

"CIA Chief, W. Casey, criticized Libya during an interview with U.S. News and World Report. According to Casey, Libyan terrorists in the U.S. are still a threat to Reagan's life. However, he does not provide any proof

for this statement. There are rumors that the U.S. is preparing for military intervention in Libya. Anti-Libyan rhetoric is just one part of a massive (U.S.) anti-Libyan campaign."

U.S. Imperialism - Caribbean and Central America

Throughout the months of February and March, a major thrust of Soviet propaganda has been to underscore American imperialism and intervention in El Salvador and various countries in the Caribbean area. Feature articles in the communist press headlined:

- o U.S. Military Exercises in the Caribbean!
- o Washington Plans to Attack Nicaragua!
- o United States has a new Caribbean Policy!

Some abstracts from the Soviet media that illustrate the scope and tone of articles pertaining to the Caribbean and Central America are presented below:

"U.S. SAFE PASS-82 military exercises are being conducted in the Caribbean; these military maneuvers are provocative against Nicaragua, Cuba and Grenada. Over 30 ships, 80 aircraft and 10,000 men participate in this exercise."

"Washington plans to conduct large-scale maneuvers in the Caribbean in order to demonstrate its military power in the region. RIDEX-82 will begin on April 6; it will include 39 ships and 100 aircraft."

"Columbia and Honduras have expressed surprise at U.S. plan to build and modernize military (Air Force) bases (in their countries). Columbian and U.S. governments have not even started to negotiate the agreements for such bases."

"U.S. is planning a coup in El Salvador. Haig has met secretly with Junta leaders."

"U.S. plans to increase military aid and intervention in El Salvador. New U.S. policy includes military action and secret operations against Cuba and Nicaragua."

"U.S. is taking steps to intervene in Nicaragua. U.S. military have begun maneuvers in Costa Rica. Special

commando units are being formed, and they will be directed to act from special command posts in Honduras near Nicaragua. U.S. wants to fund a counterrevolution in Nicaragua."

"Washington has new Caribbean policy. U.S. plans to increase economic, military and political support to dictatorships in Central America in order to prevent new Cubas. U.S. provided military and economic assistance in order to gain military bases. Washington wants to spend \$21 million to modernize and build military bases in Honduras and on San Adres. U.S. greatest focus is on El Salvador. Junta cannot win the war without massive U.S. assistance. U.S. interference in El Salvador threatens the peace in the entire region."

"The danger of intervention is growing! U.S. plans to attack Nicaragua. Washington has supplied Honduras with \$11 million to modernize and enlarge landing strips at four airports near Nicaragua. U-2 aircraft have increased flights over Nicaragua. U.S. Navy ships are cruising near the Nicaraguan coast."

"U.S. and NATO armed forces are conducting SAFE PASS-82 maneuvers in the Caribbean and Gulf of Mexico. Over 30 ships, 80 aircraft and 10,000 men are involved. Cuba and Nicaragua protest - call these maneuvers dangerous and provocative."

"The U.S. supported election in El Salvador is a farce and has cost many lives. Washington wants the bloody regime to be legal, through elections."

United States Imperialism in Europe

The Principal thrust of Soviet propaganda in regard to United States military imperialism in Europe concerned Reagan's plans to deploy advanced nuclear missiles and chemical/biological weapons in Europe. Moscow returned to its propaganda topic (and focus) that Reagan "wants to involve NATO in a limited nuclear war." Soviet media headlined that:

U.S. PLANS TO INCREASE NUCLEAR POTENTIAL!

GREAT BRITAIN BECOMES GIANT BASE FOR U.S. NUCLEAR WEAPONS!

Soviet concern and despair in regard to Washington's policy toward Poland continued to be apparent; and the Russian media strongly criticized Reagan's

anti-Polish and anti-Soviet campaigns. It was emphasized that the United States should stay out of Poland's internal affairs, and that "the socialist forces are invincible!"

Selected abstracts of Soviet propaganda and rhetoric concerning U.S. hegemony in Europe and the danger of nuclear war are listed below:

"THE USSR IS THE ENEMY! The U.S. military IVY LEAGUE EXERCISE was the largest exercise of this kind since 1956. Its purpose was to test the military command structure and civilian resources to be used in a nuclear war. The Soviet Union is always the enemy in these exercises. Over 1,000 military and civilian personnel were involved in this dangerous war game."

"U.S. HAS DEVELOPED NUCLEAR WAR STRATEGY! According to the Department of Defense nuclear war will take place in Europe. It could be triggered by events in the Middle East or Korea. Nuclear weapons may be used early in such conflicts. There is no guarantee that such a war would be limited."

"U.S. PLANS TO INCREASE NUCLEAR POTENTIAL! Washington will sell Trident-II missiles to Great Britain. U.S. is supplying many new strategic weapons to Europe. Reagan claims that he wants to increase NATO security, but he really wants Europe's support in his limited (nuclear) war plans."

"U.S. is turning the British Isles into a giant military base for the U.S. Air Force and nuclear weapons. The U.S. has over 100 military bases and facilities in Great Britain. Many American bombers in England can carry nuclear weapons. The people of England protest U.S. military presence."

"Polish newspaper denounces CIA and NATO for continuing efforts to interfere in Polish affairs. CIA and NATO want to use Poland to undermine the Socialist Block. NATO has created a special center for the control of events in Poland. CIA and NATO continue to fund and influence anti-socialist leaders and groups in Poland."

"U.S. has secret plans to use Austria in the event of war in Europe! The newspaper Volkstimme published copies of the Pentagon's secret plans for Austria. U.S. is already making plans for war in Europe. Documents show where U.S. forces would commit acts of sabotage, diversion, etc. America is violating Austrian sovereignty and neutrality."

"U.S. NUCLEAR FORCES CONDUCT IVY LEAGUE-82 EXERCISE. The purpose of the exercise is to test U.S. strategy in case of a Soviet nuclear attack on the U.S. Over twenty large U.S. military commands were brought into a high state of military readiness. All nuclear weapons and strategic systems and communications were tested. These exercises prove that Washington is determined to show the USSR that it means business. The United States would not hesitate to use nuclear weapons. This is just another rude provocation by the United States."

"TASS criticizes U.S. and NATO attempts to disturb the Madrid meeting by bringing up the Polish situation. U.S. is trying to stop detente and the improvement of the international atmosphere with anti-Soviet and anti-Polish campaign. The Soviet delegation wants to prevent nuclear war and support disarmament and detente in Europe."

"NATO nuclear planning group completes two-day session in Colorado Springs. The U.S. demands that its allies accept its decision regarding deployment of new medium range nuclear missiles in Europe. Washington has reacted negatively to the Soviet suggestion on a moratorium on nuclear weapons in the European part of the USSR. U.S. claims that the USSR would strengthen its monopoly in missiles. Washington continues with its ridiculous plan about zero decision which would give the U.S. military supremacy."

"Iceland is becoming more active in NATO! Iceland's conservative and military leaders are using the myth about the Soviet military threat to justify and increase its military forces and cooperation with the U.S. and NATO. Iceland may permit NATO Air Forces and Navies to train in Iceland waters, and may also permit U.S. to enlarge its military base in Keflavik."

"Washington is using anti-Soviet and anti-Polish rhetoric to convince West Germany to cooperate with U.S. new nuclear strategy -- to be able to conduct first (nuclear) strike, is not exactly the same as security of West Germany. Germany would be the arena of an atomic war. If security is the major concern of the West Germans, why allow more nuclear missiles in the country? Facts indicate that West Germany is playing a major role in strengthening NATO forces."

U.S. Imperialism - Asia and the Pacific Ocean

Only four percent of Moscow's rhetoric and propaganda (in March 1982) about American political/military hegemony pertained to Asia and the Pacific Ocean area. This represents a significant decrease in coverage from previous months (see Table 4). The primary thrust of Soviet propaganda concerned U.S. military exercises and deployments in the Pacific; special attention was given to RIMPAK-82. Soviet propagandists emphasized that the RIMPAK maneuvers, have become more offensive oriented each year. In regard to RIMPAK-82, the editors of Red Star reported that:

"...Over sixty ships, 120 aircraft and over 30,000 military personnel from the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Japan participated in the exercise. These annual maneuvers are getting larger every year. This year U.S. Marine infantry, backbone of the rapid deployment forces, was involved. Japan has participated in these exercises since 1980."

In other articles and news items, the Soviets highlighted U.S.-Japanese joint military training, especially on Okinawa. It was also reported that the U.S. Air Force is increasing its forces in South Korea with A-10 and other combat aircraft.

In a series of feature articles, Kremlin propagandists continued to underscore that Washington is accelerating its psychological warfare campaign against socialist countries and national liberation movements. Moscow also headlined that the United States is breeding international terrorism. According to Red Star, Washington is increasing military activities against national liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The Soviets claim that "terrorism has become an important part of Reagan's policy in increasing international tension." Soviet propagandists underscored that:

"...the United States has arranged for assassinations and attempts on the lives of world leaders. CIA has organized and is conducting war against Afghanistan and countries in South and Southeast Asia, all for U.S. vital interests. Actions in the name of vital interests are really terrorist activities."

U.S. MILITARY BUDGET, WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT AND THE ARMS RACE

During March 1982, the amount of space and Soviet rhetoric and propaganda (in Red Star) pertaining to the American military budget, weapons development and military technology increased slightly from the previous month (see Table 3). Soviet propagandists elected to highlight the following topics about the arms race and disarmament: (1) U.S. development, deployment and use of

chemical and biological weapons; (2) American production and deployment of advanced nuclear delivery systems, such as Tomahawk cruise missiles, Trident missiles and Pershing II missiles and (3) the USSR has offered a constructive disarmament policy which is favored by Western Europe.

As explained above, during March Soviet propagandists continued their coverage of American development, deployment and use of chemical and biological weapons. During the month, 26 percent of the space and 28 percent of the number of articles pertaining to the arms race, referred to chemical and biological weapon systems. The overall thrust of Soviet propaganda articulated three topics:

- (1) The U.S. government appropriates huge sums of money to build and deploy new and dangerous chemical weapons.
- (2) West German and world peace groups protest U.S. plans to increase chemical warfare arsenals in Western Europe.
- (3) American propaganda and lies about the Soviet use of chemical weapons in Afghanistan and Southeast Asia are a cover-up for American use of chemicals in Vietnam, Afghanistan (supplied to counterrevolutionaries), and El Salvador.

In a series of long feature articles, Soviet propagandists continued to stress that "Reagan spurs on the nuclear arms race." It was repeatedly headlined that Washington's FY 1983 military budget is unprecedented. Moscow consistently repeated that Reagan's justification for this super military program is the so-called Soviet threat. The following example from Red Star contains the major Soviet propaganda arguments pertaining to the arms race:

"The United States depends on military power to dictate world policies! In the race for military supremacy, Washington has forced NATO to increase its spending for military weapons. Every day the United States has more anti-Soviet rhetoric. In addition the U.S. is increasing the military arsenal in China, Japan, Israel, South Africa and Pakistan. Washington is building a network of bases world wide, especially in the Middle East and Indian Ocean. Reagan is trying to create new military alliances in the Middle East that would include Turkey, Pakistan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Oman and Somalia."

Other articles emphasized:

"The Pentagon announced that 44 important military programs will cost over \$455 billion. Military expenditures over the next five years will be \$1.6 trillion. This

huge amount for military weapons is being spent at a time when the U.S. economy is going through a deep crisis."

"Reagan approves plan to increase nuclear warhead production! In the next 5 to 7 years the U.S. will produce over 17,000 nuclear warheads to arm MX, Trident and other systems. This new strategy favored by Secretary of Defense Weinberger and Navy Secretary Leman means that the U.S. will be prepared to fight a giant war in Europe, Persian Gulf, Southeast Asia and on the oceans."

"U.S. plans to deploy nuclear missile forces in the Pacific Ocean in the mid-1980s. Submarines in the Pacific Ocean will be armed with Tomahawk missiles beginning in 1984. Many of the U.S. Navy ships that will be armed with nuclear missiles will use Japanese ports. The Japanese people have protested this decision."

"Washington wants military supremacy over the USSR! The U.S. Navy is planning to increase the number of ships to 610 by 1990. The submarine fleet will be increased by six new Ohio class submarines and seventeen attack submarines."

Soviet news media provided minimum coverage of the third voyage of NASA's Space Shuttle Columbia. In its place the Kremlin emphasized that the Space Shuttle will "play a central part in the Pentagon's plan for the military use of space." According to the editors of Red Star, the U.S. will soon have military space stations and vehicles. It was underscored that the U.S. plans to launch a large number of military satellites, some will be armed with missiles. Another feature article headlined "Pentagon's Ambitions in Space" stated that "U.S. specialists are seriously considering building a military base on the moon."

During March 1982, Kremlin propagandists and media specialists strongly underscored that Washington is not serious in regard to disarmament, and Reagan continues to use the Geneva (disarmament) talks to placate its allies. Feature stories in the Soviet press headlined the following topics:

- o Growing Peace Movement in the United States!
- o Reagan Opposes Nuclear Weapons Freeze!
- o USSR proposes Constructive Disarmament Policy-favored by Western Europe!

Selected abstracts from Red Star of Soviet propaganda topics and strategy pertaining to arms limitation are listed below:

"Reagan opposes resolution by Senators Hatfield and Kennedy to freeze production, testing and deployment of nuclear weapons. Reagan supports the continued U.S. military build-up - anything less would endanger national security."

"In a speech to the 17th Congress of professional unions of the USSR, Brezhnev stressed that the USSR favors detente and disarmament, but the U.S. favors international tension and stress. He criticized Washington's attempt to undermine socialism in Poland through Solidarity, and U.S. plans to turn Western Europe into a giant nuclear base by deploying mid-range nuclear missiles. Reagan is determined to destroy detente between Western Europe and the USSR."

"USSR has offered a constructive disarmament policy which is favored by Western Europe. The result of this program would be an improvement of international situation, peace and stability. Reagan has responded negatively. He wants the U.S. to have military supremacy at any cost. Washington claims that the USSR is increasing its missile bases in European USSR. U.S. still plans to deploy nuclear missiles in Europe."

"The growing peace movement in the U.S. demands that the government think seriously about disarmament. The Reagan administration plans to strengthen its strategic position before disarmament can be considered. Many people feel that Reagan is insensitive to the nuclear threat."

"Washington has always been the head of NATO. Now, however, West European allies are reluctant to take the catastrophic cold war course which Reagan has chosen. U.S. wants reforms in NATO and France to return to NATO. Also wants to combine French, English and United States nuclear forces. Reagan wants to end detente. USSR is willing to have a moratorium on medium range nuclear weapons, stop the replacement of old missiles with new missiles and support peace."

"Brezhnev says that USSR wants detente and disarmament, but U.S. is trying to destroy detente with anti-Soviet economic sanctions and sharp increase in military forces. USSR wants to conduct disarmament talks with the U.S. and West European countries, but the increased U.S. military

build-up will force USSR to take responsive measures. USSR calls for a freeze on the production of nuclear missiles and other weapons which cause mass destruction, curtailment of naval activities, and limited patrols by submarines."

FOREIGN MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND MUTUAL SECURITY

In March 1982, Soviet propagandists placed somewhat more emphasis on exploiting United States foreign military assistance and mutual security subjects, than in February. The amount of space allocated to the various topics in this theme was 17 percent (an increase of 4 percent) of the total coverage of the United States (see Table 3).

The geographical/country emphasis given to this theme by Moscow for the period of August 1981 through March 1982 is reflected in the data contained in Table 5.

Table 5

<u>Country or Area Given Military Assistance or Mutual Security</u>	<u>Mar 1982*</u>	<u>Feb 1982*</u>	<u>Jan 1982*</u>	<u>Dec 1981*</u>	<u>Nov 1981*</u>	<u>Oct 1981*</u>	<u>Sep 1981*</u>	<u>Aug 1981*</u>
1. Europe/NATO	32%	12%	07%	00%	08%	34%	21%	11%
2. Middle East	25%	29%	49%	72%	24%	10%	42%	28%
3. Africa	20%	10%	13%	06%	04%	06%	08%	19%
4. Asia/Pacific	11%	08%	09%	15%	34%	33%	11%	31%
5. China	07%	12%	17%	05%	30%	14%	18%	04%
6. Latin America	05%	29%	05%	02%	00%	03%	00%	07%
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

(*Percent is total coverage of space for theme.)

The emphasis and focus given by the Kremlin to American mutual security and foreign military assistance programs is generally based on current events and selected (U.S.) foreign policy issues. Soviet propagandists exploited with unbounded enthusiasm United States military and other assistance given to El Salvador. Russian propaganda highlighted:

- o America is the Largest Arms Exporter in the World!
- o U.S. Sells Advanced Nuclear Weapons to Great Britain!
- o Washington is Arming Israel and Racist South Africa!

As expected, Soviet propagandists exploited the visit of Secretary of Defense Weinberger to Asia. The principal scope and focus of Russian comments emphasized that America wants to increase and strengthen military assistance and mutual security programs with the Phillipines, Japan and South Korea. The Soviets stressed that RIMPAK-82 (exercise) proves that the Reagan administration is succeeding in its militaristic aims in Asia. According to the Russians, "the U.S. has succeeded in getting Japan to increase its military budget, and Reagan is sending more troops to South Korea."

The editors of Red Star strongly underscored that "Reagan wants military exports in 1983 to exceed \$13.3 billion. He considers military exports to be a vital part of United States global strategy." According to the Soviets:

"Reagan administration's global strategy depends heavily on U.S. military exports. Washington takes first place among world's great arms exporters. This year (1982) U.S. military exports will reach a record total of \$25 billion. In return for military aid, Washington expects its client states, such as Oman, to cooperate with U.S. military plans. Israel remains largest customer of U.S."

The Soviets continued to emphasize U.S. military assistance and mutual security relations with Japan. As in previous months, the Kremlin highlighted all aspects of U.S. assistance to Israel and South Africa. In March 1982, there was a noticeable decrease in coverage of American aid to Egypt and China. Abstracts of selected Red Star feature stories and news topics that reflect the overall tone and scope of Soviet propaganda strategy on the subject of military assistance and mutual security are presented below:

"Senator Tower requests that Rapid Deployment Forces be brought into active duty soon. U.S. is pressuring Japan to increase its armed forces quickly. The Reagan administration will sell 90 F-15s, 60 P-3Cs, E-2Cs, 40 heavy helicopters and 15 ships to Japan in 1983-87. U.S. and allies are a threat to the world."

"U.S. PLANS TO INCREASE NUCLEAR POTENTIAL! Washington plans to sell Trident-2 missiles to Great Britain. U.S. is supplying many new strategic weapons to Europe. Reagan says that U.S. wants to increase NATO security, but in reality Washington wants Europe as part of its limited nuclear war strategy."

"United States sends an additional 90 military advisors to Honduras."

"Weinberger stops in Tokyo to discuss military issues with Japanese defense leaders. He stated that Japan must increase its military forces and cooperate with Washington and NATO to defeat the Soviet threat."

"U.S. IS ARMING RACISTS AND IGNORING UN DECISIONS! Washington is sending military aid to South Africa. A report prepared for the U.S. Congress (House of Representatives) indicates that the U.S. has been supplying South Africa with military weapons since 1976 through the Space Research Corporation."

"Washington and NATO allies are increasing military aid to South Africa. NATO plans to build a naval base on Robben Island near Capetown, in order to strengthen its South Atlantic forces. U.S. defense firms are making huge profits from its trade relations with South Africa. South Africa has become vital to the West in its global strategy against socialism and liberation movements in Africa."

"U.S. is selling twelve batteries of Hawk missiles and F-16s to Egypt."

"U.S. IS INCREASING MILITARY AID TO ALLIES! Over \$2.5 billion in military and economic aid will go to Israel, \$450.8 million to Pakistan, \$166 million to El Salvador and \$250,000 to Guatemala in 1983."

"U.S. Department of Defense plans to sell six F-5F aircraft to Turkey."

"U.S. plans to increase military aid to Chile. The Reagan administration wants to deliver military equipment and weapons as soon as possible, and at a later time inform the Congress with regard to human rights in Chile."

"Washington's Middle East Adventure! U.S. policy in the Middle East remains anti-Arab and favors Israeli aggression. Israel is not happy that U.S. has supplied arms to Arab countries. The Pentagon plans to sell Jordan F-16s and Hawk missiles - this has been criticized by Israel. Although Washington may sell arms to Arab countries it remains firmly pro-Israel. Reagan simply wishes to expand U.S. military presence in the Middle East in order to meet the Soviet threat. U.S. still plans to keep Israel supplied with the most modern military technology."

OTHER THEMES

Generally the Soviet press tends to report only those non-military events and activities about the United States that reflect tragic or bad news, or are

inflammatory in tone toward the government and its institutions. During the past two years an average of eight percent of the space in Red Star about the U.S. was allocated to "other themes"; in March 1982 it was only four percent.

Moscow consistently publicizes tragic events and bad news pertaining to the social, economic and military/political subjects. Abstracts of selected Red Star feature stories and news items that reflect the overall tone and scope of "other themes" articles pertaining to the U.S. are presented below:

"An article in the (German) magazine Stern discusses the possibility that marijuana and other drug users in the U.S. armed forces could start a nuclear catastrophe by pushing the wrong button. Such maniacs exist. U.S. military has discharged 2,300 nuclear related personnel in 1981, because they abused drugs and alcohol."

"Columbia shuttle craft lands at White Sands, New Mexico after an eight day flight. Fourteen experiments were performed during the flight. The shuttle program is an important part of the Pentagon's space program."

"The U.S. Navy submarine Jacksonville collides with a Turkish cargo ship near the Virginia coast. This is only one of many such incidents. U.S. Navy subs are a threat to ships all over the world, especially since America is increasing submarine patrols."

"Over thirty million Americans live in poverty; over 9.5 million people are unemployed in the U.S."

"Special magnetized labels help catch shoplifters in the U.S. department stores."

POLAND

Red Star's coverage and Moscow's concern about events in Poland remained dramatically high in March 1982 - it was over 12 percent of the total foreign news coverage. The intensity, tone and focus of Soviet propaganda stressed the following topics:

- o Soviet-Polish Talks in the Kremlin are the Center of Attention in the World Press.
- o Soviet Government Honors the Visit of Polish Government Officials.
- o Poland and USSR Remain Socialist Allies - Moscow Talks Conducted in Warm, Friendly Atmosphere.

- o Polish Politburo Discussed and Approved Results of Polish-Soviet Talks.
- o Polish and Soviet Military Units Demonstrate Socialist Internationalism and Solidarity.

The following abstracts of feature news articles reflect Moscow's continuing concern in explaining to the Soviet audience the scope of events and activities about the political/military situation in Poland.

"German intelligence agencies also conduct operations against socialist countries. Agent 62187, a Polish emigre, gathered intelligence, and recruited agents. The West Germans began covert operations against Poland in the 1970s."

"Soviet, Polish and East German military units participated in joint tactical exercise - DRUZHBA-82."

"Polish and Soviet units excel in joint tactical training during exercise DRUZHBA-82, conducted in Poland. Tank, reconnaissance and armored infantry units worked closely together against enemy. Assault landings were carried out by helicopter units."

"Polish Military Councils meet in Warsaw. Jaruzelsky speaks for unity and recovery. Government and people have the same interests. Bureaucracy, indifference, poor organization, mistakes, egoism are problems that still exist in Poland. National rebirth depends on cooperation of all people."

"President Jaruzelsky visits Moscow with Polish delegation. They meet with CPSU leaders in the Kremlin. Brezhnev discusses CPSU work, realizing tasks and goals set by the 26th CPSU Congress. Jaruzelsky presented a full report on events in Poland and Party work. Both sides reaffirm Soviet-Polish friendship."

"Soviet-Polish talks are the center of attention in the world press. USSR and Poland remain inseparable socialist allies."

"On March 2, Brezhnev and General Jaruzelsky meet to discuss Polish problems, and future Soviet-Polish relations. Both agree on all major issues. Poland and USSR remain socialist allies. Meeting is conducted in warm and friendly atmosphere."

"Polish politburo discusses and approves the results of Polish-Soviet talks. Poland and USSR remain close socialist allies. Good relations with USSR remain the cornerstone of Polish foreign policy. USSR is giving Poland valuable aid in this time of crisis. Poland supports Soviet policies."

AFGHANISTAN

Propaganda coverage of activities and events in Afghanistan increased modestly in March 1982. During the past 34 months Afghanistan has been allocated over four percent (on average) of the propaganda space in Red Star -- in March, it was 4.76 percent. (See Table 1.) The main thrust of Soviet rhetoric underscored the following topics and themes:

"Soviet units rebuild a bridge that was destroyed by Afghanistan bandits. The bridge was the only supply route to a certain village. The Afghanistan people are grateful for Soviet help."

"The Afghanistan Army is building socialism and defending the April revolution. Soldiers help build farms, dams, factories and schools. The structure of the Afghanistan army is similiar to the Soviet armed forces. Political officers work closely with officers and soldiers."

"Pakistan arms and trains Afghanistan counterrevolutionaries with U.S. aid. Pakistan refuses to normalize relations with Afghanistan. Pakistani militarism threatens the region."

"Since May 1981, Afghanistan has attempted to establish friendly relations with its neighbors - Pakistan and Iran. However, U.S. and Pakistan have ignored Afghanistan's constructive suggestions and have continued to interfere in its internal affairs. Washington continues to supply weapons and train counterrevolutionaries at Pakistan bases. Pakistani militarism is a threat to the entire region."

"Counterrevolutionary bandits place a mine near one of the ministry buildings in Kabul. The explosion damaged the building but did not kill any people. In the past two years 600 schools have been burned by the bandits."

"The Afghanistan revolution is invincible. People of Afghanistan support the April revolution. In the last few years improvements have been made in the economy and

society of the country. The Soviet Union has greatly aided Afghanistan. Meanwhile, Afghanistan wants peace for the region."

"Spring of Battle and Hopes! New Year has arrived in Afghanistan according to the old calendar. The people and the Party are united. In spite of enemies, Afghanistan has had many successes since April, 1978. Some 249 factories have been built, 297,000 peasants have received free land. Wages have increased and schools have been built. USSR has helped in these projects."

"Afghanistan military units are courageously fighting to clear the land of counterrevolutionaries. The majority of the people support the Army and want the counterrevolution to end. They want to build socialism. Even counterrevolutionaries often reform and join the April revolution. Thanks to the gifts from the Soviet block countries and Soviet economic aid, the people are becoming politically educated and rebuilding the economy."

"The USSR has helped Afghanistan to build 99 percent of its new factories. Afghanistan would be in good shape if the U.S. and its allies would stop anti-Afghanistan propaganda campaign and quit providing aid to the counterrevolutionaries."

"Afghanistan Press Agency criticizes anti-Afghan propaganda campaign conducted by Washington."

WEST GERMANY

The Soviets have consistently allocated between two and three percent of their coverage of foreign affairs to topics about activities and events in West Germany - in March it was four percent (see Table 1).

Abstracts of selected Soviet propaganda articles that reveal the overall tone and focus of Russian propaganda topics pertaining to West Germany are presented below:

"OPERATION EVA! The West German intelligence service, BND, is located in Pullach. Operation Eva began in 1968, headed by General Langhau. The purpose of the operation was to erase the past history and activities of former Nazis who were in (current) government positions, such as K. Kitzing, West German Chancellor from 1966-1969. CIA cooperated. In addition, BND recruited agents from groups of former Nazis, and World War II agents. Opera-

tion Eva, even included gathering data about the Pope and former U.S. President Nixon."

"West German peace organizations meet in Tuzing, Bavaria to demonstrate support for disarmament and peace. Soviet peace suggestions are discussed."

"There is no other country in Western Europe with more military bases, troops, military air fields and arsenals than West Germany. Yet, the United States is building more bases in Germany. These military facilities will be very close to socialist countries. Strategically, the entire country is very important to the U.S. and NATO. Washington plans to deploy more nuclear missiles to Germany. West German citizens are very upset about the possibility of nuclear war of Europe. Washington and Bonn have agreed that the U.S. can increase its troop strength (in Germany) in the event of an emergency."

"The West German Navy conducts maneuvers in the Baltic and North Seas - over 65 ships and 5,000 sailors are involved. West Germany has become a giant base for NATO - over 30 exercises of NATO military forces will be conducted in 1982."

"The West German foreign minister is in Washington to talk to Haig. Lately U.S. and West Germany have disagreed on a number of issues. U.S. wants to deploy medium range nuclear missiles in Europe, but the European allies are hesitant due to the large disarmament movement. Washington is trying to pressure West Germany into allowing missiles to be deployed as quickly as possible."

"Revanchist Groups are Growing in West Germany! These groups are conducting huge anti-Soviet and anti-socialist campaigns. They are subsidized by the government. Some of these groups claim that parts of Poland belong to Germany. Democratic groups in West Germany demand that the Revanchist groups stop their activities."

JAPAN

For almost three years the editors of Red Star have allocated over two percent of their foreign coverage to Japan - in March 1982, it was 2.55 percent (see Table 1). The main thrust of Russian propaganda continued to underscore: (1) the evils of Japanese militarism and imperialism and (2) U.S.-Japanese military assistance and cooperation.

Abstracts of five Soviet propaganda articles reveal the overall tone and focus of Russian propaganda pertaining to Japan:

"JAPAN'S MILITARISTIC COURSE! The Japanese government has a five year plan for the modernization and improvement of Japanese forces. Japan plans to increase its air force and navy so it can control the sea and land 1,000 miles from Japan. Over 24 trillion Yen will go into arms and weapons. This Japanese military increase is due to pressure from the U.S. The Japanese 1982 military budget is almost seven percent more than the 1981 budget."

"Japan decides to manufacture anti-ship missiles and modernize its F-4 aircraft with modern radar and electronic systems."

"The Japanese Defense Minister announced that it will add anti-tank helicopters to its land forces."

"U.S. Lt. General Donnelly stated that Japan must further increase its military budget. The Japanese communist party protests increased militarism."

"The U.S. Air Force sends a squadron of A-10s to Kadena Air Base, Okinawa."

ISRAEL/LEBANON

Soviet propagandists continued to exploit all aspects of United States assistance and military aid to Israel. However, during February and March, the major thrust of Soviet rhetoric concerned the likelihood of armed conflict between Israel and Lebanon. The editors of Red Star headlined all aspects of "Israeli military preparations to attack Lebanon"; the following extracts summarize the editorial comments:

"Reagan administration officials say that Israel may soon attack Lebanon. Israel is increasing its military forces near the border."

"Israel is planning to renew aggression against Lebanon. Israeli troops are in a high state of readiness near Lebanese boarder."

"Israel is preparing to attack Lebanon. ABC-TV commented that only targets and degree of attack are in question."

"Israel is preparing to attack Lebanon. Israel has almost completed deploying units and Begin has conferred with military chiefs."

"Israel is planning large scale aggression against Lebanon. It plans to seize Lebanese territory."

"United Nations Security Council continues discussions about the situation on the West Bank. U.S.-supported Israel is conducting terrorist campaign against Palestinians. The arrests and beatings of Palestinians have increased."

"Massive anti-Israeli demonstrations continue on the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Israeli soldiers and Arabs continue to clash. Israeli soldiers are violently repressing all demonstrations."

CHINA

The amount of news space allocated to China continued to decrease in March 1982. For the past three years, the average amount (square centimeters) of print space allocated to China by the editors of Red Star has been 3.6 percent of the total foreign coverage. In February it was one percent, and in March it declined to a low of .72 percent. However, the scope and major thrust of Soviet propaganda themes did not change significantly from previous months. Soviet propaganda continued to be blatant, and stressed the following themes and topics:

"China plans to sell nuclear fuel to countries developing nuclear weapons. China expects to receive modern technology and foreign currency. Pakistan and South Africa will receive nuclear fuel from China." (Italics added.)

"Washington's Chinese Card! The United States is using its Chinese card in its anti-Soviet strategy. The U.S. State Department has published a paper dedicated to the tenth anniversary of the opening of U.S.-Chinese relations. U.S. and China have mutual interests and will continue to strengthen military relations."

"Great Britain Plans to Increase Military Sales to China! Marconi Avionics plans to sell 14 million pounds of radar and electronic equipment to China."

"On March 3, about forty Chinese boats entered Vietnamese waters and attacked a Vietnamese fishing fleet. Three Chinese ships were destroyed and one captured during the ensuing skirmish."

PART II - COVERAGE OF SOVIET DOMESTIC AND MILITARY SUBJECTS

GENERAL

Of the total space in Red Star for March 1982, 71 percent was allocated to domestic news and comment about military, political, economic and social issues in the USSR. News and feature stories about the Soviet military represented 65 percent of the total domestic coverage. The space allocated to domestic politics and related subjects represented the average distribution pattern for such Red Star coverage during the early spring season. A statistical view of major subjects about the Soviet Union for 14 months is shown in Table 6, below. (Percent is total of Soviet domestic and military subjects.)

Table 6

<u>SUBJECT/THEME</u>	1982						1981							
	<u>MAR</u>	<u>FEB</u>	<u>JAN</u>	<u>DEC</u>	<u>NOV</u>	<u>OCT</u>	<u>SEP</u>	<u>AUG</u>	<u>JUL</u>	<u>JUN</u>	<u>MAY</u>	<u>APR</u>	<u>MAR</u>	<u>FEB</u>
Soviet Military	54%	65%	64%	60%	51%	66%	69%	69%	67%	67%	58%	59%	51%	43%
Domestic Politics ...	04%	06%	04%	11%	10%	07%	03%	04%	02%	06%	10%	09%	13%	29%
Economy/Technology ..	15%	06%	07%	04%	09%	06%	06%	05%	08%	05%	07%	10%	14%	12%
Society/Culture	14%	11%	14%	09%	09%	10%	09%	08%	10%	09%	09%	10%	09%	07%
Foreign Affairs	07%	03%	02%	09%	15%	06%	07%	05%	07%	08%	10%	08%	07%	04%
Other	06%	09%	09%	07%	06%	05%	06%	10%	06%	05%	06%	04%	06%	05%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The nine percent increase in the coverage of the Soviet economy, during March 1982, (see Table 6) can be attributed to the following two events/topics: (1) the 17th Congress of Professional Unions of the USSR and (2) Brezhnev's visit to Tashkent (Uzbek), to honor the contributions of the cotton industry and agriculture. The following abstracts indicate the tone and scope of the coverage:

"The 17th Congress of Professional Unions of the USSR convened in the Kremlin on March 16. More than 5,000 delegates attended from all over the Soviet Union. CPSU officials also attended."

"Unions must play an important role in the conservation of fuel and supplies, rapid assimilation and application of new technology, increasing production and organization of work schedule. Focus must also be on improving structure of organization of teams."

"The 17th Congress of Professional Unions continue their work in the Kremlin. Professional unions can play an im-

portant role in political education of the masses, in influencing the social processes, working conditions, productivity of workers, etc. CPSU encourages professional unions to play a part in building communism."

"On March 22, L. I. Brezhnev arrived in Tashkent to participate in the festivities of awarding the Order of Lenin to the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic for its excellent contributions to the cotton industry and agriculture."

"On March 25 Brezhnev meets with Uzbekistan communist party leaders. He discussed major economic and political issues related to Uzbekistan. He congratulated the party leaders in regard to economic achievements. However, last year one out of every four factories did not meet their planned quota. Work production must increase in 1982. New technology must be assimilated rapidly. Cotton, grain and meat production must be increased. The construction industry must do better to meet requirements for new housing."

"Text of Brezhnev's speech at awards ceremony. He praised the economic achievements of the Uzbek SSR and urged the people to continue their good work. CPSU is dedicated to improving the life of the ordinary people. The people must work hard in order to help CPSU to realize its goals. Uzbek farmers must continue to increase production. USSR need more workers in Western Siberia and Far East. There is a surplus of workers in Uzbekistan."

THE SOVIET MILITARY

As in previous months, news articles and feature stories about soviet military discipline, morale, military training and field exercises received the majority of space pertaining to military subjects (see Table 7). (Percent is total Soviet military coverage.)

Table 7

<u>MILITARY/SUBJECT</u>	1982					1981							
	<u>MAR</u>	<u>FEB</u>	<u>JAN</u>	<u>DEC</u>	<u>NOV</u>	<u>OCT</u>	<u>SEP</u>	<u>AUG</u>	<u>JUL</u>	<u>JUN</u>	<u>MAY</u>	<u>APR</u>	<u>MAR</u>
Military													
Discipline/Morale	55%	45%	47%	43%	39%	39%	36%	38%	41%	35%	44%	43%	46%
Soviet Military													
Training/Exercises	21%	24%	24%	23%	29%	31%	36%	35%	34%	31%	25%	35%	32%
Soviet History/WW II ..	09%	18%	20%	22%	18%	20%	17%	17%	14%	24%	19%	11%	10%
Military Logistics	07%	06%	08%	06%	05%	07%	04%	07%	07%	05%	06%	06%	04%
Arms Control	06%	05%	01%	05%	08%	02%	04%	02%	02%	04%	04%	03%	06%
Other Military	<u>02%</u>	<u>02%</u>	<u>00%</u>	<u>01%</u>	<u>01%</u>	<u>01%</u>	<u>03%</u>	<u>01%</u>	<u>02%</u>	<u>01%</u>	<u>02%</u>	<u>02%</u>	<u>02%</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

There was a one percent increase in the coverage of topics about arms control. The editors of Red Star highlighted Brezhnev's reply to the group of Japanese scientists who appealed to the Soviet leader to prevent nuclear war. The following abstracts reflect the scope and tone of articles about disarmament and arms control:

"Brezhnev's reply to the Japanese scientists who authored appeal against nuclear war. Brezhnev stated that the USSR supports disarmament and desires to avoid nuclear war. No one can win in a nuclear war. USSR has initiated Salt Talks, has initiated many disarmament suggestions at the United Nations. However, U.S. and certain allies have opposed Soviet suggestions and are building and increasing nuclear arsenals. USSR still supports disarmament and will continue to support it."

"Newspapers and media worldwide praise latest Soviet suggestions regarding peace and disarmament."

"Brezhnev's reply to Japanese letter calling for disarmament shows that the USSR supports peace, disarmament and end to nuclear threat. Brezhnev receives praise and support from all over the world."

"USSR continues to support disarmament and proposes new methods for disarmament. Warsaw Pact is dedicated to defense of socialist countries, not aggression. USSR is working for disarmament of nuclear weapons in Europe."

USSR supports a balance of military forces and arms in Europe at the Geneva talks, also supports disarmament of nuclear weapons in Europe, gradually if Washington prefers. USSR recently decided on a moratorium on deploying all medium range nuclear weapons in European USSR. This will go into effect this year if the international situation does not get worse."

"The world press praises Brezhnev's speeches in Tashkent and at the 27th Congress of Professional Unions. The Soviet Union supports peace and disarmament in the interests of all peoples."

"Governments all over the world support Soviet peace initiatives and new suggestions regarding disarmament."

"Australian Labor Party praises Brezhnev's response to Australian peace organization. USSR supports disarmament."

"Journalists, scholars, politicians worldwide praise Brezhnev's suggestions regarding peace and nuclear disarmament."

Five percent of Red Star's space about Soviet military subjects was critical in tone. The majority of negative and/or derogatory articles concerned military discipline and morale of the Soviet military - in fact, over seven percent of the space (same amount as in February) which was devoted to military discipline and morale was critical in tone.

It should be noted that the Soviet military political/indoctrination system (the political cadre) uses Red Star as the basis for daily lectures and indoctrination. The negative articles are frequently employed as examples for improvement, and generally contain an "educational" message for the audience (and all readers).

Generally, Soviet propaganda is consistent. Consequently, the major focus of issues and subjects in Red Star about the Soviet military did not change significantly from previous months. It was emphasized that: (1) teamwork and unit team spirit are important for morale and need improvement; (2) military/political training must improve - political officers must influence all activities; (3) a determined effort should be made to conserve fuel and supplies (in the Soviet military); (4) new technology should be stressed in realistic training and (5) Soviet officers and soldiers must be taught to maintain World War II heroic conditions.

Articles critical in tone of the Soviet military during March 1982 are listed below:

Discipline and Morale

"Winters in the North are very harsh and those who live on bases and in the towns should have well-heated homes. At one base, poor management, bureaucratic delays and bad work left the residents of the military base in cold and incompletd quarters. The naval engineering service branch was guilty of poor management, the construction units were wasteful and the project was behind schedule. There were water and fuel shortages. Clearly, even the strongest people cannot live that way!"

"Red Star investigates complaint about military families not being able to obtain quarters at a new military base. Certain officials at the billeting directorate have been irresponsible and negligent and are urged to solve the problem quickly."

"All officers have the right to publicize their problems in their units in military newspapers. Exposing one's dirty linen in public is a positive step. Those involved in the problem need objective (outside) opinions and guidance. The armed forces is one big family. Communist principles include the ability to give or to accept constructive criticism. Publicizing problems helps."

"The commanding officers of a regiment must be a leader, a motivator and a principled communist. He must be able to organize tactical training, political training and socialist competitions. He must be demanding of his men and himself. He must stay close to his men, understand their needs and weaknesses. He must inspire teamwork and spirit."

"Honesty is an important characteristic of a good officer. First, an officer must keep his word. A man who does not keep his word is dishonest. A dishonest officer is a bad example to his men."

"Officers must be hard working and strict. They must demand excellence from themselves and meet all challenges. Success begins with oneself."

"A young officer had a domestic problem, he violated military regulations and neglected his duties. He received a number of reprimands. A number of other officers seemed to have had the same problem. They had poor morale because their punishment was too severe. In addition, their political education was badly organized. These officers needed more guidance and less punishment."

"Officers must be honest with each other and be able to trust one another. If a man cannot depend on his comrade in battle, he will not be successful in his mission."

"Soldiers and officers must be taught to be honest. When they make mistakes, they must admit them, not cover them up. Cheating on exams or tactical training reports, undermines the learning process. Men learn through mistakes and should not be afraid to make mistakes. Self-criticism and honest self-evaluation helps one to improve."

"Sharp criticism of a major who is rude. His rudeness and crude attitude toward men caused poor morale. In addition it took two letters to Red Star before anything was done to solve the problem."

Improvement of Military Training and Operations

"Soviet military airport technicians, specialists and engineers must strive to improve quality of work during socialist competition to honor 60th anniversary of USSR. Officers must improve training techniques and results, improve discipline, team work at the airports."

"Military training must be well organized and simulate actual battle conditions as closely as possible. In recent years two-sided tactical training has increased in order to simulate battle conditions. This has encouraged competition and resulted in better training. Young officers have been given the opportunity to be more creative, daring and initiate new strategies."

"A Soviet military unit in East Germany needs to improve its military training by using more training films."

"Political and ideological training in the armed forces can be aided greatly by the use of technical training aids such as films, slides, tables, graphs, etc. Technical aids assist the instructor and reduce the monotony of lectures."

"Commanders must closely supervise subordinates in training and socialist competitions. Their knowledge must be passed to the younger and less experienced officers."

"Those officers that excel in tactical training must help those who do not do as well. Military experts must share their experience and knowledge."

"Officer is punished for poor organization of training."

"Officers must meet assigned quotas during every stage of military and political training. Men must fulfill certain tasks in a specified time period and with a certain amount of skill before they can progress to another stage of training. There are both individual and unit quotas that must be attained. Quotas encourage activity, competition, and excellence."

"Legal training of officers is as important as their military and ideological training. Legal training instills a deep respect for and faith in social justice, Soviet law and military regulations. Party organizations, and commanders must improve legal training in the Soviet armed forces."

"Army General Zattsev, Chief of Soviet Forces in East Germany, comments on the need for creativity in tactics. Officers must use unexpected (for enemy) tactics in battle. This means that commanders must be able to organize, mobilize and execute military actions in the shortest period of time. He must know his men, and be an expert in military technology. He must be quick, decisive and clear-headed."

"The experience of expert officers and excellent units should be shared with those who need assistance to improve. Those who excel must be examples for others to emulate. Team work and sharing improve the results of training."

"Experts and ace officers should encourage more training-practice to improve performance and makes experts out of amateurs. All champions work for excellence. Discussions of mistakes and weaknesses also improves performance."

"Soviet naval offices must learn how to properly organize training and military activities. They must cooperate with each other - team work among officers and subordinates is an important part of discipline and military readiness. Daily schedules must be organized and strictly observed. Rules and regulations must be obeyed. Separate units must work together as a team."

Conservation

"Officers should conserve fuel and supplies during tactical training. They must keep records and carefully ration ammunition, fuel and other supplies. CPSU has asked that military units fully participate in the conservation program. Waste is expensive to the people and the party."

"Navy (ship) commanders must focus more attention to conservation of fuel and supplies - especially during cruises. Certain ships have excelled in conservation and should be used as examples. Planning is an important part of conservation."

Political and Ideological Training

"The political directorate is staffed by highly qualified and well educated officers. Their goals are to improve political education, military training, readiness of men and units. Political directorate must be aware of and be able to solve problems in morale, discipline, violation of regulations, bureaucracy and inefficiency."

"Political officers must take advantage of the upcoming 60th Anniversary of the USSR by propagandizing history and socialist achievements of USSR. Soldiers must be made aware of their forefathers' heroism in World War II and the Russian Revolution. They must be taught to be proud of their country and CPSU. They must demonstrate that they are willing and ready to protect the country. Lectures, seminars and discussions must focus on the significance of the 60th Anniversary of the USSR."

"Military propagandists and political officers must be encouraged to use problematic method in teaching communist ideology. This method consists of posing difficult questions during a lecture and answering it through discussion of both text material and other information relating to the problem or question. Traditional questions can be answered from memory, problematic method encourages thinking."

"Political officers must influence organization, progress of tactical and political training and socialist competitions. They point out and eliminate weaknesses."

APPENDIX A

A Selection of Propaganda Cartoons

Propaganda cartoons are used from time to time to underscore selected propaganda themes. The following sample of cartoons is from the March issues of Red Star, and reflect the scope and tone of Soviet propaganda with respect to the following themes:

<u>Cartoon Number</u>	<u>Primary Propaganda Theme/Topics</u>
1 & 2	U.S. Imperialism and Hegemony
3 & 4	Foreign Military Assistance and Arms Sales
5 & 6	U.S. Weapons Production - The Arms Race



Middle Eastern Boxer and His Overseas Manager.

В Израэле подготовлен план широкомасштабной агрессии против Ливана, который предусматривает захват южных районов этой страны.

(Из газеты).



Copy available to DTIC does not permit fully legible reproduction.

Israel is preparing plan for large-scale aggression against Lebanon, which includes seizure of southern regions of that country.

Getting ready.

Сальвадорская военщина, интуитивно налаженная американскими советниками, продолжает при поддержке США творить кровавые преступления в стране.



РОСКО УСТРОИЛСЯ.

Рис. Н. КУЗНЕЦОВА.

Salvadoran military machine, drilled by U.S. advisors, continues bloody crimes in the country with U.S. support.

Easily arranged.

Сальвадорская кунта, опираясь на поддержку США,
проводит геноцид против собственного народа.
(Из газет).



Из разговора офицеров сальвадорской армии:
— На какие средства будем существовать, если уничтожим соб-
ственный народ?
— А на то, что Вашингтон «пускает на борьбу с терроризмом
и защиту прав человека».
Рис. читателя «Красной звезды» майора Ю. ШВАРОВА.

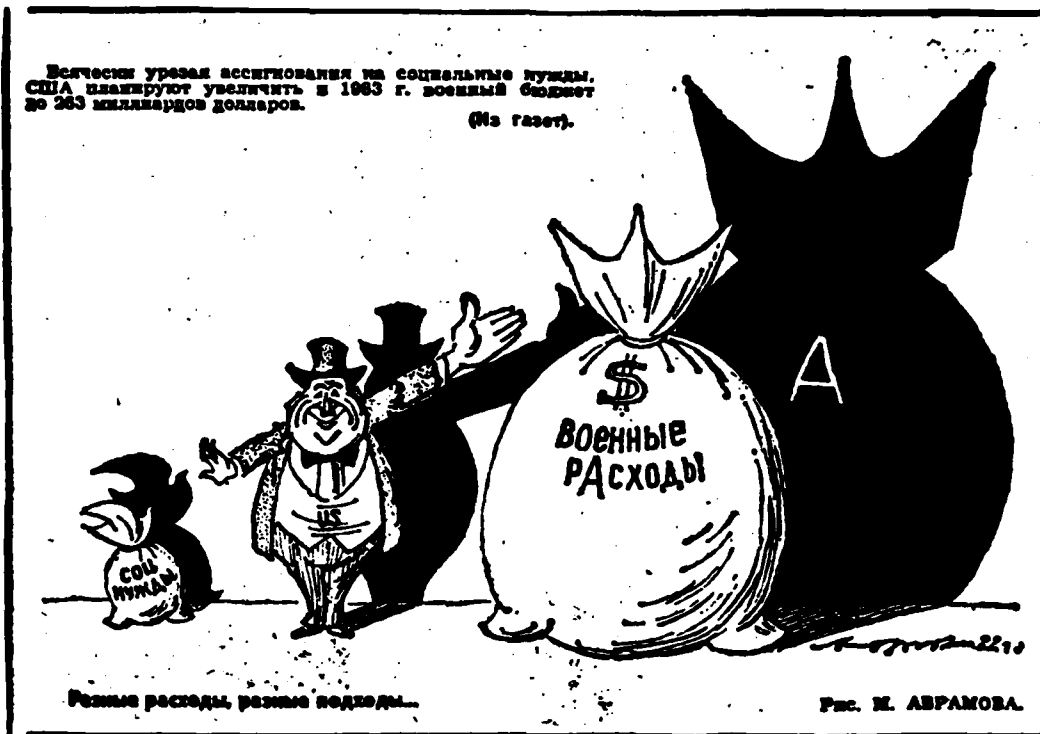
Salvadoran junta, relying on U.S. support, is conducting a policy of genocide against its own people.

From conversation between Salvadoran army officers -

1. How can we live if we kill our own people?
2. We'll live on resources that Washington sends us to battle terrorism and protect rights of people.

Безжалостно урезая ассигнования на социальные нужды, США планируют увеличить в 1983 г. военный бюджет до 263 миллиардов долларов.

(Из газет).



Decreasing spending on social needs in every way possible, U.S. is planning to increase 1983 military budget to 263 billion dollars.

Various expenses, various approaches.

Американская администрация приступила к реализации беспрецедентных планов наращивания химических вооружений.

(Из газет).



Заокеанский инкубатор...

Рис. М. АБРАМОВА.

U.S. administration has begun unprecedented plans to build up chemical arms.

Overseas incubator.

