

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

2



КРАСНАЯ ЗВЕЗДА

AD A 122 139

SOVIET NEWS AND PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS

DTIC FILE COPY

VOL. 2, NO. 9, 1982

DTIC
ELECTE
DEC 2 1982
S A D

This document has been approved
for public release and sale; its
distribution is unlimited.

82 12 02 019

DISCLAIMER

This document is a research paper prepared for the Special Operations Division, Organization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. As such, the views and conclusions contained in this document are those of the research staff and do not necessarily represent the views, policies or the official position either expressed or implied, of the Joint Chiefs of Staff or the Department of Defense.

DISTRIBUTION

This document is approved for public release; distribution is unlimited. Additional copies of this report may be obtained from:

Defense Technical Information Center
Cameron Station
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

COMMUNICATION

Comments or recommendations regarding this report should be directed to the Special Operations Division, Organization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (J-3) Washington, D.C. 20301; or by calling (202) 697-3455; (Autovon: 227-3455).

Soviet News and Propaganda Analysis for the Period 1-30 September 1982

Executive Summary

In September 1982, the editors of the leading Soviet military newspaper (Red Star) allocated over 14 percent of its space, devoted to international and foreign events, to the United States. This amount is a decrease of almost eight percent from the previous month and the lowest coverage in over three years. During the past 40 months, the average allocation of print space allocated to the United States has been 29 percent. In September, the editors of Red Star were "forced" to reduce the space allocated to events and topics dealing with the United States, due to the increased coverage given to the war in Lebanon.

For over three years Soviet propagandists have been consistent with regard to their "hard line" about the policies of the U.S. government. Consistently, Soviet rhetoric has stressed and highlighted those events and topics that reflected the United States government as being in the forefront of international imperialism, and fostering a dangerous and uncontrolled nuclear arms race. Moscow continued to headline that the "Reagan policy toward the USSR is one of direct and dangerous opposition." Soviet propaganda media also highlighted that "Reagan intends to bury detente, revive the Cold War, and achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union." The Soviet mass media repeatedly headlined that:

- o (The) Reagan strategy is aimed at world domination!
- o Pentagon strategy for nuclear war includes strikes deep into the USSR!
- o Aggressive strategy of Washington - from massive retribution to direct confrontation!
- o U.S. continues to develop new chemical and bacteriological weapons!

A series of articles in the Soviet press emphasized the role of the U.S. Navy in implementing the objectives of American imperialism and military hegemony. Particularly vicious coverage was given to the topic of modernization and expansion of the U.S. Navy - especially in the Asia-Pacific area. Several long feature articles focused on the capabilities of Marine Amphibious Forces.

As in previous months, Soviet propaganda has been consistent and very rigid in exploiting the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency, Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and other U.S. information programs. The Kremlin stressed that:

- o Radio Free Europe directly supports Solidarity.
- o Spies enter Poland as tourists and diplomats.
- o Washington is fanning the fires of cold war hysteria.

Soviet rhetoric continued to stress a hard line approach in regard to the topic that the Reagan administration is conducting a "militaristic marathon." Moscow repeatedly reported that "world public opinion is against the American arms build-up and the deployment of chemical and nuclear weapons." Soviet propagandists vigorously highlighted three topics:

- (1) the Pentagon will continue to build nuclear weapons in order to insure a first strike capability (against the USSR);
- (2) Washington is concentrating on high technology military weapon systems and
- (3) Reagan is accelerating the modernization and expansion of the Navy.

Selected headlines from the issues of Soviet military newspapers, pertaining to the arms race, underscored that:

- o U.S. continues massive development of chemical and bacteriological weapons.
- o Flying laboratory will test new laser weapons.
- o U.S. is a threat to world peace. Washington will spend over \$180 billion in the next six years on nuclear weapons.
- o Soviet Union supports nuclear disarmament and the freeze.

Soviet propagandists elected to increase their coverage and emphasis in regard to United States military assistance and mutual security subjects. In August, the Soviets gave minimum coverage to U.S. military assistance to Israel; however, in September extended and repeated coverage was given to American military assistance programs to Israel.

In regard to military assistance, Soviet propagandists elected to headline the following topics:

- o Japanese-American conference on mutual security held in Honolulu.

- o U.S.-Japanese military training and exercises.
- o New bases being built in Germany for nuclear missiles.
- o Delivery of F-16 fighters to Pakistan.
- o U.S. and England plan to turn the Falklands into a military base.

In September Soviet military newspapers allocated more space to the war and events in Lebanon than to any other foreign country or international event. Moscow vigorously exploited all aspects of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Since early 1982, Soviet rhetoric strongly denounced Israeli military preparations for the elimination of the PLO. Consequently, the actual Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the shocking massacre of civilians in two PLO camps in Beirut, was a propaganda bonanza for the Soviet news media.

The Soviet propaganda machine gave minimum coverage to the death of the President-elect of Lebanon - B. Gemayel. The vast majority of the space about events in Lebanon reported in great detail the "reprehensible and barbaric" actions of the Israeli military forces. Soviet propagandists compared Israeli actions and objectives in Lebanon with those of the Nazis during World War II. The Soviet press consistently used inflammatory and explosive headlines to exploit events in Lebanon. Examples are:

- o Criminals must pay!
- o Terrorist and thieves!
- o Israelis are acting like Nazis!
- o Israeli troops continue piracy in Beirut!
- o Israeli barbarism and genocide will never be forgotten!

In the past, the editors of Soviet military newspapers provided its audience with minimum coverage relative to the combat performance of Soviet military equipment supplied to the Syrian military forces. In September, several feature articles reported that "Syrian weapons and aircraft are quite effective against American weapons used by the Israelis in Lebanon." The Soviets emphatically noted that "Syria denies Israeli and Western claims that Israel has superior weapons."

Moscow's coverage of events and activities in Poland decreased moderately in September. The principal focus of Soviet propaganda and rhetoric continued to stress three topics:

- o The United States continues in its attempt to undermine and overthrow the Polish government.
- o Anti-socialist groups in Poland use any opportunity to destabilize the government and economy.
- o Counterrevolutionaries fail to organize strikes - martial law is a success.

The amount of space allocated to events and topics about China continued at a very low level in September. For the past three years, the average amount of print space allocated to China has been over three percent of the total foreign coverage. Since July 1982, the average has been less than one percent. For the past three months the Soviet press has not published a single article about U.S. military assistance to Beijing (Peking) or the "evil alliance" between China and the U.S. In September 1982, for the first time in three years, the majority of the newspaper articles have been neutral and/or friendly toward the government of China.

In regard to domestic coverage, Soviet propagandists and news editors stressed the topic of Brezhnev's food production and conservation programs. All segments of the Soviet military were urged to cooperate in the production and conservation of food, fuel and other products. Daily and extensive coverage was given to Soviet military transport and other units that assisted farmers during the grain harvest. Military propagandists emphasized that:

"The most important subject these days is Brezhnev's food program. Information about the CPSU's latest conservation programs must reach all military cadres. This is an important duty of political officers and party secretaries."

"All military commanders must focus on conservation of food, fuel, supplies and energy. They must organize conservation programs and also use time wisely."

"All military units must play a part in improving their food supply and helping the entire nation in the food program. This can be done by growing vegetables and fruits in gardens on military bases and in raising livestock. Military farms must increase production and improve the quality of fruits, vegetables, grain and livestock."

Potential psychological vulnerabilities within the Soviet military are evident from the consistent coverage of topics and official comment (in the

Soviet military press) critical in tone about: (1) selected Soviet military actions and (2) performance and/or activities of individuals, units and the bureaucracy. As in previous months, articles critical in tone emphasized that:

- o Military officers must master technical skills, weapons and be able to motivate their soldiers.
- o Political officers and military commanders must do better to improve troop morale and discipline.
- o Military commanders must be demanding, strict and set the example for correct behavior and discipline.
- o Soviet officers and soldiers must be motivated to maintain the heroic standards established during World War II.

Complaints which were registered in September emphasized:

- o Military construction units must focus on improving the overall quality of their work.
- o Unsatisfactory billets - the need for warm, winter-proof quarters.
- o Flight safety is a problem - proper training of pilots and technicians should be a high military priority.
- o Unqualified officers.
- o Less theory and more practice - the preparation of officers in military colleges for actual duty is important.
- o Obey air safety rules.
- o Pass along what you know - officers must pass along knowledge and expertise to their men.
- o Young officers need good role models.
- o Punishment must fit the crime - officers must understand Soviet law and military regulations.
- o Strengthen discipline and military readiness.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Soviet News and Propaganda Analysis for the Period	
1 - 30 September 1982	E-1
INTRODUCTION	1
PART I. SOVIET PERCEPTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS	1
General	2
United States	5
U.S. Military/Political Hegemony	7
The Arms Race and Arms Limitation	13
Foreign Military Assistance and Mutual Security	14
Other Themes	18
The War in Lebanon	18
Syria	23
Poland	23
Afghanistan	24
Japan	25
China	26
Other Highlights	27
PART II. COVERAGE OF SOVIET DOMESTIC ISSUES AND MILITARY TOPICS	29
General	29
Soviet Military Topics	30
APPENDIX A	
A Selection of Propaganda Cartoons	A-1

LIST OF TABLES

	<u>Page</u>
Table 1 - Foreign Governments that Received Significant Coverage	2
Table 2 - Critical Coverage of Foreign Governments	6
Table 3 - Major Soviet Propaganda Themes Related to the United States	7
Table 4 - Country/Area of United States Military Hegemony	8
Table 5 - Country/Area Given United States Military Assistance	15
Table 6 - Coverage of Soviet Union--Major Subjects for 14 Months	29
Table 7 - Coverage of Soviet Union--Military Subjects	30

INTRODUCTION

The data in this report reflects Soviet print media emphasis and propaganda trends for over three years -- June 1979 through September 1982. During this period, almost 43,800 feature stories and news items were analyzed. However, the main purpose of this edition is to provide the reader with an overview of Soviet rhetoric, propaganda themes and topics directed to Russian military forces during September 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 events and the "world picture" as perceived by the Soviet soldier.

PART I - SOVIET PERCEPTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

In September 1982, almost 32 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 foreign coverage was slightly lower than one previous month. During the past three years, the average amount of space allocated to foreign coverage by the editors of Red Star was 30 percent of the total space.

As a daily newspaper, Red Star is generally limited to a total of four pages per issue. In addition, the amount of space allocated to events and subjects about foreign affairs is limited to 30 percent of the total space in the newspaper. Therefore, during September 1982, the editors of Red Star were "forced" to reduce the space allocated to events and topics dealing with the United States, due to the increased coverage given to the war in Lebanon.

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

TABLE 1

Rank	Govern't/Int. Org.	Sep 1982	Aug 1982	June 79 thru Jul 82
1	Israel	16.09%	15.58%	2.99%
2	United States	14.11%	21.92%	23.81%
3	Lebanon	12.28%	12.17%	1.35%
4	India	6.22%	0.12%	1.51%
5	Bulgaria	5.13%	2.14%	1.16%
6	Warsaw Pact	4.44%	0.77%	2.35%
7	Yemen, People's Dem. Rep.	3.91%	----	0.44%
8	NATO	3.00%	1.57%	2.00%
9	East Germany	2.32%	4.16%	2.62%
10	Afghanistan	2.29%	0.60%	3.88%
11	Poland	1.83%	4.24%	4.40%
12	Japan	1.80%	2.62%	2.12%
13	Vietnam	1.73%	0.49%	2.09%
14	Syria	1.73%	----	0.32%
15	United Kingdom	1.70%	0.28%	2.19%

GENERAL

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

India

The friendship visit of Indira Gandhi to the Soviet Union was given extensive (daily) coverage by the Soviet media. The Indian prime minister was provided the highest degree of protocol and honors, and she was greeted by the CPSU elite at the Moscow airport. At a state dinner, President Brezhnev and Gandhi praised the "great success" of Soviet-Indian relations. According to the Soviet media, many items of "mutual interest and concern" were discussed, including world politics and India's role in the world. Detente and disarmament were emphasized. The Russian press repeatedly noted that all talks were conducted in a friendly and warm atmosphere, and both sides agreed on all major issues. Selected headlines that reflect the importance that the Soviet propaganda organs provided to the friendship visit of the Indian prime minister are listed below:

- o CPSU elite greet Indira Gandhi at Moscow airport with impressive arrival ceremony.
- o Soviet government honors Indira Gandhi at state dinner.

- o Presidium of the Supreme Soviet honors Indira Gandhi at official dinner.
- o Gandhi meets with Gromyko and deputies from the Supreme Soviet.
- o Gandhi meets with the Chairman of Council of Ministers of USSR.
- o Many ceremonies are held in Moscow to honor Soviet-Indian relations. Gandhi is guest of honor.
- o Soviet-Indian governments sign joint declaration in regard to continued friendship and world peace.
- o Brezhnev and Gandhi discuss international affairs and India's role for world peace.

Warsaw Pact Exercise SHIELD-82

The editors of Red Star provided its readers with extensive coverage of the Warsaw Pact military exercises that were conducted in Bulgaria and the Black Sea area (SHIELD-82). Soviet propagandists stressed that the Warsaw Pact armies are ready and willing to defend the socialist block. The following abstracts of feature stories reflect the tone and scope of Soviet propaganda coverage:

"Military fraternity! Socialist armies will fight to defend socialist block. Socialist armies are united by the same ideology, interests and loyalties. All of the Warsaw Pact maneuvers have been characterized by the spirit of cooperation, friendship and mutual respect. Socialist armies support peace, oppose imperialism."

"Unity, international solidarity characterize SHIELD-82 training. The exercise involves Soviet, Bulgarian, East German and Polish military units. Spirit of friendship prevails during and after training."

"Warsaw Pact training in Bulgaria. Warsaw Pact military officials arrive in Bulgaria to monitor, conduct, observe and evaluate SHIELD-82 military exercise."

"SHIELD-82 Warsaw Pact military exercise continues. The exercise is characterized by armor-infantry, tank and artillery units of socialist countries cooperating in an attack against an imperialist enemy."

"Socialist army units prepare for joint tactical training in exercise SHIELD-82 held in Bulgaria. All mili-

tary commanders work together to organize and prepare for training."

"Military fraternity newspaper is published in seven languages for Warsaw Pact troops who are involved in SHIELD-82 military exercises."

People's Democratic Republic of Yemen

Soviet print media provided its readers with wide coverage of the friendship visit of the prime minister of the Democratic Republic of Yemen, Ali Nasser Muhammed. The following abstracts indicate the scope and tone of Soviet propaganda pertaining to South Yemen.

"Prime Minister A. N. Muhammed presents Brezhnev with the Order of the Revolution of October 14, at impressive ceremony in the Kremlin."

"Soviet government and CPSU honor Prime Minister Muhammed at a state dinner. Brezhnev praised the good relations between the Soviet Union and South Yemen. Soviet harshly criticized Israeli aggression in Lebanon. USSR wants Israel to return all occupied territory to the arabs, withdrawal of Israel from Lebanon, an autonomous Palestinian government and United Nations control of the problem. Muhammed praised Soviet government and its relations with South Yemen, and criticized United States and Israel."

"The defense minister of South Yemen discusses military problems and other items of mutual interest with Marshall Ustinov."

Vietnam

Soviet news media continued to give increased space and coverage to Vietnam. In September 1982, Russian propaganda emphasized the following events, topics and/or issues:

- o Declaration of Independence of Vietnam - September 2, 1945.
- o Celebrations are held in Moscow to honor Vietnamese-Soviet friendship and the anniversary of the Vietnamese Communist Party founded in 1945.
- o Vietnam publishes official white paper on the use of chemical weapons by the United States during the Vietnam war. The U.S.

military destroyed the environment and over two million people were injured by chemical weapons. Over 44 percent of the forests were damaged or destroyed.

- o U.S. chemical weapons, used in Vietnam, continues to have an adverse effect on the Vietnamese environment and population. New-born babies have a high percentage of deformities.
- o A large delegation of Vietnamese military political workers visit the USSR in order to become acquainted with: Soviet political departments in the military regions, political training methods and to exchange ideas in regard to political indoctrination.

UNITED STATES

In September 1982, the editors of Red Star allocated slightly over 14 percent of its space devoted to international events and foreign affairs to the United States - this amount is a decrease of almost eight percent from the previous month and the lowest coverage in over three years. During the past 40 months, the average allocation of print space allocated to the United States has been approximately 29 percent of the total coverage in Red Star for foreign news and international events (see Table 1).

For over three years Soviet propagandists have been consistent with regard to their tough rhetoric about the policies of the U.S. government. Consistently, the Soviet media have stressed and highlighted those events and topics that reflected the United States government as being in the forefront of international imperialism, and fostering a dangerous and uncontrolled nuclear arms race. In September 1982, these same propaganda themes were ardently pursued. For example, Moscow accused Washington of gross interference in the internal affairs of Poland. The Soviets continued to highlight that the "Reagan policy towards the USSR is one of direct and dangerous opposition." The Russian propaganda media also highlighted that "Reagan intends to bury detente, revive the Cold War and achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union."

Soviet propagandists headlined that Reagan's nuclear strategy is terrifying Western Europe. The Russian media emphasized that:

"The current U.S. policy does not support nuclear disarmament. Reagan agreed to the current Geneva talks only to placate the European allies. The Pentagon has developed plans to wage all kinds of wars from limited to nuclear wars - in Europe and elsewhere. The U.S. military is prepared to fight anywhere in the world, except in the United States. The United States is willing to sacrifice friendship and peace for military supremacy."

The Soviet mass media continued to headline that the:

- o Reagan strategy is aimed at world domination!
- o U.S. strategy for nuclear war includes strikes deep into USSR!
- o Aggressive strategy of Washington - from massive retribution to direct confrontation!
- o U.S. continues to develop new chemical and bacteriological 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 over 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 September it was 35 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>September 1982</u>	<u>August 1982</u>	<u>June 79 - July 82</u>
1. Israel	44.60%	30.14%	6.37%
2. United States	34.97%	40.88%	56.75%
3. United Kingdom	3.90%	0.00%	3.97%
4. Japan	3.84%	4.78%	3.45%
5. Europe, Non-Communist	3.53%	1.50%	2.22%
6. NATO	1.39%	0.55%	2.09%
7. South Africa	1.31%	8.15%	2.25%
8. Honduras	1.31%	1.30%	0.06%
9. Italy	1.04%	0.00%	0.38%
10. Thailand	0.57%	0.17%	0.38%

As in previous months, over 95 percent of the total space allocated to the United States was highly critical and/or negative in tone - no article 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 over 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	
	SEP	AUG	JUL	JUN	MAY	APR	MAR	FEB	JAN	DEC	NOV	OCT	SEP	AUG
US Military/ Political Hegemony	50%	43%	42%	39%	20%	37%	41%	41%	40%	33%	48%	53%	55%	29%
US Military Budget-Arms Race	24%	37%	29%	30%	47%	40%	38%	37%	31%	39%	36%	30%	26%	48%
US Foreign Military Assistance- Mutual Scty	22%	15%	24%	23%	31%	18%	17%	13%	23%	23%	10%	13%	14%	19%
All Other	<u>04%</u> 100%	<u>05%</u> 100%	<u>05%</u> 100%	<u>08%</u> 100%	<u>02%</u> 100%	<u>05%</u> 100%	<u>04%</u> 100%	<u>09%</u> 100%	<u>06%</u> 100%	<u>05%</u> 100%	<u>06%</u> 100%	<u>04%</u> 100%	<u>05%</u> 100%	<u>04%</u> 100%

The managing editor of Red Star uses every opportunity 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 propaganda objective are U.S. military and political hegemony and the arms race.

UNITED STATES MILITARY/POLITICAL HEGEMONY

In September 1982, 50 percent of Soviet propaganda and rhetoric about Washington exploited the subject of American military/political hegemony (the Soviet code word for Yankee imperialism) - this was seven percent more space than was allocated for this propaganda theme in August (see Table 3).

The statistical data contained in Table 4 reflect 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 for this propaganda theme.)

TABLE 4

Country/Area of U.S. Hegemony	1982									
	Sep	Aug	Jul	Jun	May	Apr	Mar	Feb	Jan	
1. World Wide	38%	26%	39%	36%	14%	02%	10%	18%	10%	
2. Asia/Pacific	31%	03%	06%	04%	24%	28%	04%	14%	06%	
3. Europe	18%	34%	10%	30%	32%	11%	20%	26%	58%	
4. Indian Ocean and Middle East	11%	09%	27%	24%	03%	31%	34%	10%	17%	
5. Central America/Caribbean ..	02%	18%	18%	06%	16%	28%	32%	32%	08%	
6. Other	00%	00%	00%	00%	11%	00%	00%	00%	01%	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	

"From Massive Retribution to Direct Confrontation"

As in previous months, the editors of Red Star continued to highlight and stress that the Pentagon is feverishly preparing for nuclear war with pre-determined (planned) strikes in the Soviet Union. This, according to Moscow, is "dangerous and suicidal." Soviet propaganda continued to emphasize that the Reagan administration is determined to confront the USSR with tactical and strategic nuclear weapons, in order to obtain world hegemony. In September, the Kremlin headlined the following topics:

- o U.S. policy is one of direct confrontation with the Soviet Union.
- o Reagan wants ability to make successful first strike.
- o Pentagon strategy includes plans to wage a prolonged nuclear war.
- o U.S. political/military strategy is aimed at world domination.

A sample of Red Star articles that reflect the inflammatory rhetoric and scope of Soviet propaganda about "massive retribution and direct confrontation" are presented below:

"Pentagon's varieties of wars - nuclear and conventional. The U.S. strategy for a massive nuclear war includes strikes deep into enemy territory. The targets

for such strikes include: military bases, key government centers, industrial sites, communication centers, key road and railroad centers in the USSR. In a limited nuclear war, the Pentagon would use a limited amount of nuclear missiles that would be directed to military targets in the socialist countries and/or regions of vital interest to the U.S. The major strategy would be to destroy the enemy's military and nuclear capabilities. For a prolonged nuclear war, the U.S. must have a clear nuclear superiority."

"Pentagon strategy for conventional wars - is based on concepts of horizontal (geographical) and vertical escalation. Horizontal escalation means that Washington and its allies must be prepared and able to conduct military operation in more than one place (geographical) at the same time. Vertical escalation means that the Pentagon must be prepared to employ all weapon systems including nuclear, if necessary. All U.S. strategy is aimed at the domination of the world by U.S. imperialism."

"Reagan's aggressive military strategy. United States military doctrine has two sides - political and technological. Many changes are occurring in current U.S. military doctrine. These changes indicate a trend toward the dictation of national (U.S.) policy based on military force - that is, direct confrontation with nations that stand in the way of U.S. imperialism, such as the USSR. The huge military budget of the Reagan administration is part of this change. The Pentagon wants the ability to conduct a successful first strike. U.S. strategy and plans include the ability to wage a prolonged nuclear war, if necessary."

"Current U.S. policy does not support nuclear disarmament. The Pentagon has plans to conduct a variety of wars from limited nuclear war to conventional war. The U.S. military plans to conduct many operations at one time all over the globe. U.S. plans to wage war in Europe or elsewhere, but not in the U.S. America is willing to sacrifice friendship and peace for military hegemony."

"Intervention Forces"

A series of articles in the Soviet press emphasized the role of the U.S. Navy in implementing the objectives of American imperialism and military hegemony. Particular attention was given to the modernization and expansion

of the U.S. Navy. A long feature article in Red Star, focused on the capabilities of Marine Amphibious Forces.

"U.S. and England's favorite intervention operations are amphibious operations which are carried out by Marines and ships. U.S. used these operations in World War II and Vietnam. Britain recently employed marines in the Falklands. Amphibious operations rely on speed and surprise (secrecy). Ships can act as independent, self-reliant military units in unstable regions all over the world. The amphibious task force can carry all necessary arms, tanks and aircraft for quick military operations. Consequently, the U.S. is focusing on increasing its marine amphibious forces. U.S. amphibious forces consist of 60 assault ships capable of carrying 50,000 men, 455 units of heavy arms and 420 helicopters, and marines. They can attack by sea and air. U.S. military doctrine for amphibious forces include raids as well as sustained land operations. The Pentagon is improving its rapid reaction capabilities and the dynamics of amphibious forces. NATO countries also have marines. Britain's success in the Falklands has encouraged other NATO allies to strengthen their own marine forces."

Increased Tension and Psychological Warfare

As in previous months, the Soviet propaganda organization has been consistent and very rigid in exploiting the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency, Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and other U.S. information programs. The Kremlin stressed that:

- o Radio Free Europe directly supports Solidarity.
- o Spies enter Poland as tourists and diplomats.
- o Washington is fanning the fires of cold war hysteria.

Several abstracts from Red Star that reveal the tone and substance of Soviet propaganda about U.S. sponsored covert activities and psychological warfare are presented below:

"Poland is not to be defeated by outsiders. Radio Free Europe regularly announces strikes and other information for Solidarity. It makes announcements for and about Solidarity. Poland has the full support of the USSR and Warsaw Pact countries."

"Diversion is continuing. U.S. and NATO intelligence agencies are continuing to support anti-socialist groups in Poland, in spite of the improvement of conditions in Poland. The U.S. economic sanctions are intended to punish Poland. Economic and other overseas aid (to Poland) is directed to Solidarity and its supporters. This aid includes printing presses and radios and other propaganda media. The U.S. is also continuing its psychological warfare programs against Poland through the CIA, and radio stations such as the Voice of America. Many spies enter Poland as tourists and diplomats."

"Tribuna Lyudu is very critical of Reagan's psychological warfare and propaganda campaign directed at the people of Poland and also blames Reagan for economic sanctions."

U.S. Military Hegemony in the Asia-Pacific Area

In September, the Soviet military press continued to stress that "U.S. imperialism and military power in the Asia-Pacific area is increasing at an alarming rate." The amount of propaganda coverage about American hegemony in the Asia-Pacific area increased significantly in September (see Table 4).

Examples of such articles are contained below:

"Pacific Ocean is in Pentagon's Plans! The U.S. is increasing its military presence in the Pacific Ocean at an alarming rate. Although the U.S. claims that it has lessened its military presence in the area, the opposite is true. Ships of the U.S. Navy's Seventh Fleet will be armed with new strategic missiles. The Pentagon plans to deploy nuclear weapons to bases in the Philippines. Washington plans to build many more bases in the Pacific region for use by its Rapid Deployment Forces destined for the Middle East. In addition, the U.S. is trying to get its allies in the area - ASEAN countries - to form a military block to defend U.S. interests in the Pacific."

"U.S. and Japan are cooperating in order to police the Pacific better. South Korea and the Philippines are also very greatly involved in the U.S. military build-up in the Pacific. The USSR supports peace and wants the Pacific to be a Zone of Peace."

"U.S. and Thailand's military forces conduct extensive naval exercises in Thai waters."

"Japan and U.S. are strengthening their military alliance. In September over 80 Japanese ships will conduct naval maneuvers in the Pacific. Some U.S. ships and aircraft will also participate in these large exercises."

"Reagan is trying to turn ASEAN into a military block like NATO. This is a serious threat to the countries of Southeast Asia."

Some additional abstracts from Red Star that reveal the focus, tone and substance of Soviet propaganda related to the theme of U.S. Military/Political Hegemony are presented below:

"The Pentagon plans to conduct military exercises and deploy rapid deployment forces in the Arabian Sea region. Saudi Arabia and Oman will participate in these dangerous exercises."

"Norwegian press reports that U.S. Air Force F-4s have arrived to participate in exercise Northern Wedding."

"American military aggression in El Salvador continues. U.S. military advisors are in charge of retaliatory operations."

"American build-up in Indian Ocean is condemned by the International conference for Peace in the Indian Ocean."

"America wants Cuban troops out of Angola. Cuban troops are there to protect Angola from South African aggression. Angola refuses to normalize relations with Washington on U.S. terms."

"Reagan opposes the creation of an independent Palestine. U.S. militarism supports Israel. Reagan does not criticize Israeli barbarism, he claims peace is possible in the Middle East."

"Brezhnev appeals to Reagan to end American support to Israel. He urges Reagan to support the United Nations decisions in regard to Israeli aggression."

"Peace movements in Europe are becoming more active against U.S. plans to deploy chemical weapons in Europe. The Pentagon already has large stocks of a great variety of chemical weapons and munitions stored in Europe - enough to kill the entire population in Europe; more is not necessary!"

THE ARMS RACE AND ARMS LIMITATION

In September, Soviet rhetoric continued to stress a hard line approach to the topic that the Reagan administration is conducting a "militaristic marathon." Moscow repeatedly reported that "world public opinion is against the American arms build-up" and the deployment of chemical and nuclear weapons. Soviet propagandists vigorously highlighted three topics that: (1) the Pentagon will continue to build nuclear weapons in order to insure a first strike capability (against the USSR); (2) Washington is concentrating on high technology military weapon systems; and (3) Reagan is accelerating the modernization and expansion of the U.S. Navy.

Selected headlines and abstracts from the September issues of Red Star pertaining to the Pentagon's budget, weapons development and the expansion of military forces are presented below:

"The U.S. continues development of chemical and bacteriological weapons. A major laboratory for such dangerous work is Fort Dietrich, Maryland."

"Flying laboratory will test new laser weapons. The Pentagon turns a USAF plane into a laboratory to test the power of various laser systems."

"The Pentagon conducted radiation effect experiments on innocent civilians during the period 1945 through 1963. These criminal experiments resulted in a great number of cancer victims. These people suffer greatly and have many problems."

"Washington conducted three underground nuclear tests in the Nevada desert."

"Reagan wants over \$178 billion for the 1983 military budget."

"The nuclear submarine Michigan is added to the Navy's fleet of submarines. The Michigan is armed with the new Trident missiles."

"U.S. Navy will receive 54 new ships by October 1983."

"U.S. government deficit is at at all time high. In August it was \$109 billion. This large deficit is due to the large Reagan military budget."

"U.S. is a threat to world peace. The total Pentagon military budget for 1983 will reach \$258 billion, and by 1987 it will be \$356 billion. The Pentagon is building

its navy to over 600 ships. The U.S. will spend over \$180 billion in the next six years on nuclear weapons."

"Cuban newspaper Granma condemns U.S. imperialism for world tension and the arms race and world problems. Vast sums of money should be spent on solving problems of hunger and unemployment - not on weapons of war."

"U.S. defense firms are trying to develop new electronic components for major weapons systems - next generation of military weapons will be controlled by new radar systems."

"President Reagan signs bill for vast amount of money for CIA and other intelligence agencies. The exact amount is a secret."

"Washington plans to deploy TR-1 aircraft in Great Britain to spy on the USSR."

"Soviet Union supports nuclear disarmament. Soviet delegation arrives in Geneva to participate in disarmament talks with the United States."

FOREIGN MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND MUTUAL SECURITY

In September 1982, Soviet propagandists elected to increase their coverage and emphasis in regard to United States military assistance and mutual security subjects and programs (see Table 3). The amount of space allocated to this theme increased by seven percent from the previous month. It is interesting to note that during August and September the editors of Red Star did not mention or discuss any aspect of American military assistance or mutual security relations with China.

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

Table 5

<u>Country or Area Given Military Assistance or Mutual Security</u>	<u>Sep 1982*</u>	<u>Aug 1982*</u>	<u>Jul 1982*</u>	<u>Jun 1982*</u>	<u>May 1982*</u>	<u>Apr 1982*</u>	<u>Mar 1982*</u>	<u>Feb 1982*</u>
1. Middle East	67%	29%	81%	56%	13%	40%	25%	29%
2. Asia/Pacific	20%	48%	12%	09%	04%	07%	11%	08%
3. Europe/NATO	10%	06%	02%	15%	62%	11%	32%	12%
4. Latin America	03%	17%	02%	03%	02%	03%	05%	29%
5. China	00%	00%	03%	17%	09%	32%	07%	12%
	<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.)

As noted in previous reports, the major emphasis and focus given by Kremlin propagandists to American mutual security and military foreign assistance programs are based on selected U.S. foreign policy issues and/or international events. In September, Russian propaganda headlined and highlighted:

- o American military aid to Israel continues.
- o Increase of U.S. military presence in Middle East.
- o Pentagon wants to deploy more nuclear weapons to Japan.
- o United States increases military aid and assistance to Spain.

In August, the Soviets gave minimum coverage to U.S. military assistance to Israel; however, in September extended and repeated coverage was given to American military assistance programs to Israel. Selected abstracts of feature stories pertaining to the war in Lebanon and U.S. military assistance to Israel are presented below:

"Reagan plans to use Israeli occupation of Lebanon to expand U.S. military presence in the Middle East. Already, the Pentagon is planning to replace the arms Israel lost and/or used in the war with new weapons. Washington is already building a network of U.S. military bases in the Sinai, Sudan, Oman, Egypt and Somalia. If Reagan and Israel think that peace has arrived because the PLO is out of Lebanon, they are deceiving themselves."

"The Middle East aggression continues. Reagan's new Middle East peace solution is the same old thing - support for Israel, an increase of U.S. military presence

in the Middle East, and no support for Palestinian autonomy. the visit to Washington of Israeli defense minister Sharon was successful, and proves that the U.S. will continue military aid to Israel. The idea of Israel to create a Palestinian homeland in Jordan appeals to no one. Israel plans to recreate the map of the Middle East, with Israel dominating the map. Israeli appetite for land may not stop in Lebanon."

"Washington plans to continue to supply military aid and assistance to Israel. In 1983, the U.S. will send over \$167 million in military aid to Israel."

"U.S. continues to support Israeli action in Lebanon. Next year, the Pentagon plans to send Israel \$1.7 billion in military aid. U.S.-Israeli peace plan would give control of the Middle East to U.S. and Israel at the expense of Palestinian autonomy. The USSR supports an end to Israeli aggression, Palestinian autonomy and sovereignty of Lebanon."

"The world press and public opinion are critical of Reagan's plan for peace in the Middle East. This plan will only strengthen U.S.-Israeli presence in the Middle East."

Selected abstracts of feature stories and news items that reflect the overall tone, focus and scope of Soviet propaganda pertaining to U.S. military assistance and mutual security relations are presented below.

"Japanese-American conference on mutual security matters is held in Honolulu. Subjects covered include mutual military cooperation, increase of Japanese military forces and future joint military exercises."

"Japanese military leaders intend to increase sharply the size and scope of Japanese military forces. Reagan's strategy for the Asia-Pacific area is intensely anti-Soviet. The Japanese military budget will be over 2.8 trillion yen."

"U.S. Navy nuclear submarine, Thomas A. Edison, armed with Polaris nuclear missiles departs Yukosuka port after a stay of over a month."

"Japanese military officers will be sent to the United States to receive joint command training."

"Joint U.S.-Japanese military training begins on Hokkaido. Communication and other units participate in this joint training."

"Japanese and U.S. military forces conduct joint exercises in Western Japanese archipelago."

"Yukosuka is a permanent and favorable base for U.S. ships armed with nuclear weapons. U.S. nuclear submarines are permitted to dock in Yukosuka."

"Lt. Gen. Weyand is named commander of U.S. military forces in Japan."

"Over 96 new mid-range nuclear missiles will be deployed to Germany. The Pentagon plans to build new military bases and facilities to accommodate the new nuclear missiles."

"The West German defense industry is developing new tactical missiles in cooperation with United States and British defense firms."

"Spanish and Pentagon officials meet in Madrid to discuss Spain's role and activities in NATO. The Pentagon plans to sell 84 F-18A aircraft to Spain."

"The Danish defense industry will build three ships for the U.S. Navy."

"The U.S. and England plan to turn the Falklands into a military base in order to establish control over the South Atlantic."

"Great Britain will spend over 7.5 billion pounds to purchase the U.S. Trident 2 nuclear missile system."

"U.S. is busy sending new weapons to Spain after that country joined NATO. The Pentagon plans to arm Spain with 12 Harrier aircraft in the near future."

"The first group of U.S. F-16 aircraft will arrive in Pakistan in December 1982. This is a very dangerous situation for India and the entire area."

"U.S. wants its Caribbean allies to form a NATO-type military block."

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 15 months an average of six percent of the space in Red Star about the U.S. was allocated to "other themes"; in September 1982 it was 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:

"After World War II the U.S. government gave asylum to many Nazis, hoping to use them later in secret mission against the USSR. The FBI and various intelligence agencies recruited the Nazis. Currently they are living safely in the United States under assumed identities."

"Over 400 U.S. CH-47 helicopters are grounded after a crash of a CH-47 in Mannheim, West Germany. All of the helicopters are being examined for flaws."

"A military T-38 aircraft crashed in Illinois, the pilot was killed."

"Two U.S. Army soldiers and three civilians were injured in a crash of a military vehicle in West Germany."

THE WAR IN LEBANON

In September, the editors of Red Star allocated more space to the war and events in Lebanon than to any other foreign country or international event (see Table 1).

Soviet propagandists continued to exploit vigorously all aspects of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Since early 1972, Soviet rhetoric strongly denounced Israeli military preparations for eliminating the PLO in Lebanon; consequently, the actual Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the shocking massacre of civilians in two PLO camps in Beirut was a propaganda bonanza for the Soviet news media.

In September 1982, approximately 19 percent of Red Star's space allocated to the war in Lebanon, directly and fully exploited U.S. military assistance, and American political support and encouragement given to Israel. Soviet rhetoric underscored and headlined that:

- o Reagan supports Israel in order to obtain military facilities and bases in Lebanon.
- o U.S.-Israeli peace plan would give control of Middle East to America.
- o Pentagon continues to supply military aid to Israel.

The Soviet news media gave minimum coverage to death of the President-elect B. Gemayel, of Lebanon. Only one short article, published on September 16, reported that:

"B. Gemayel is killed in an explosion at the headquarters of his political party in Beirut. He would have officially become president on September 23. Twenty people were killed and 60 wounded in the explosion. Washington claims that this act will bring more military activities and complicate the situation."

The vast majority of the space about Lebanon reported in great detail the "reprehensible and barbaric" actions of the Israeli military. Soviet propagandists compared Israeli actions and objectives in Lebanon with those of the Nazis during World War II. The Soviet press consistently used inflammatory and explosive headlines to exploit events in Lebanon. Some examples are:

- o Criminals must pay!
- o Terrorists and thieves!
- o Israelis acting like Nazis!
- o Israeli troops continue piracy in Beirut.

A chronology of selected abstracts from the Soviet media that present the focus, scope and tone of Soviet propaganda, pertaining to events in Lebanon, is presented below:

- Sept 1 - "Israeli troops reinforce positions in Lebanon. The last of the PLO forces leave Beirut."
- Sept 2 - "Israelis interfere with Lebanese government. The last of the PLO troops have been evacuated, but the Israeli troops refuse to depart; they are building military camps in the Bekaa Valley. Over 50,000 people have been killed in the invasion."

- Sept 3 - "Lebanese public wants Israel out of Lebanon. Israel wants a pro-Israeli treaty with Lebanon. Evacuation of the PLO has been completed. Evacuation does not mean that the battle has ended - PLO will continue to fight. Latest figures indicate the Israelis killed 17,825 and over 30,100 people have been wounded."
- Sept 5 - "Israeli units continue barbaric action in Beirut. Israel is reinforcing its positions in Lebanon, especially in the Bekaa Valley."
- Sept 8 - "Israeli intervention forces strengthen military positions in Lebanon. Israel is pressuring Lebanese government to sign Camp David type treaty."
- Sept 9 - "Lebanese government demands the withdrawal of Israeli troops. Israeli troops continue to blockade Beirut. Aircraft attacked Syrian positions in Bekaa Valley. The Israelis plan to occupy Lebanon for an indefinite period."
- Sept 10 - "Israeli troops loot and rob civilians and government facilities in Lebanon."
- Sept 11 - "Israeli war machine is causing tension in Lebanon, and is continuing attacks on Syrian positions in Bekaa. Israelis reinforce their armor units in the region."
- Sept 12 - "Israelis strengthen military positions in Lebanon, plan to attack Syrians in Bekaa Valley."
- Sept 14 - "Israeli aircraft bomb Syrian positions in Bekaa Valley. Israelis plan to stay in Lebanon for an indefinite period. Syria criticizes Reagan's peace plan."
- Sept 15 - "Israeli forces remain in Lebanon, continue to attack Syrian positions in Bekaa. Innocent people are being killed in air raids on Syrians. Lebanese government want Israelis out of Lebanon. U.S. is to blame for arming and supporting Israel."
- Sept 17 - "World press calls for peace in Lebanon - condemns Israeli aggression."

- Sept 17 - "Clashes between Israelis and National Patriotic Forces continue in Beirut. Once again, innocent civilians are being slaughtered. Israeli invasion of Beirut is supported by U.S."
- Sept 18 - "Israeli barbarism and genocide will never be forgotten. Israelis have taken over all of Lebanon - they have reinforced military positions and continue to blockade West Beirut. Cities have been leveled, thousands have been killed - mostly innocent civilians. West Beirut is in ruins. The entire population of two Palestinian camps have been massacred. Children and women have been victims of phosphorus and cluster bombs."
- Sept 19 - "Israel continues piracy - over 60,000 have been killed in invasion of Lebanon. The majority have been innocent civilians. Israel is not planning to withdraw in the near future. Israel forces have broken the ceasefire arrangements many times. Israel is reinforcing positions in the Bekaa Valley and is attacking Syrian positions. The world opposes Israel, while the U.S. plans to send more military aid to Israel."
- Sept 19 - "Israelis are to blame for the slaughter in two Palestinian camps. Over 1,000 were killed including women and children. Israelis strengthen their military positions in Lebanon."
- Sept 21 - "Details of massacre - Israeli soldiers committed this brutality. A six year old boy described how soldiers came into his apartment and killed the entire family. Over 1,800 people were killed in two camps. Lebanese were also killed in the slaughter. The entire world is shocked. U.S. and Israel are to blame."
- Sept 21 - "TASS denounces Israeli aggression in Lebanon. Israelis murdered men, women and children because they want to wipe out all Palestinian people. Whole world condemns Israeli barbarism. U.S. is responsible."

- Sept 22 - "Criminals must pay. Entire world condemns Israeli invasion. Israel violated United Nations law. Their reasons for this aggression is based on lies. Israeli actions were nothing and are nothing short of terrorism. Israel violated Geneva protocol by blockading supply of medical aid, food and water to civilian population. Israelis also bombed hospitals and ambulances."
- Sept 22 - "Over 32,000 were killed in massacre. Arafat blames U.S. and Israel. Israelis continue to arrest pro-Palestinian and PLO supporters. Witnesses say that Israeli professional killers were responsible for last week's slaughter. Reagan calls slaughter a great tragedy, however he does not blame Israelis."
- Sept 23 - "Over 3,000 were killed by Israeli cutthroats. Prime minister of Lebanon declares national day of mourning for those who were slaughtered. Witnesses heard Israeli officers give commands to kill even the smallest babies. Israelis plan to remain in Lebanon indefinitely."
- Sept 24 - "Terrorists and thieves. Israelis in Lebanon are acting just like the Nazis in Europe. They are terrorizing the peaceful population and killing innocent Palestinians and Lebanese, including women and children. Israel is preparing to spend the winter in Lebanon and may stay indefinitely. They are conducting operations against Syrians. Perhaps Damascus is the next goal of Israeli imperialism."
- Sept 25 - "French paratroopers arrive in Beirut. Israeli troops prepare to attack Syrians in Bekaa Valley. Israel is planning more aggression in Lebanon and Bekaa Valley."
- Sept 26 - "Israeli troops continue piracy in Beirut. Clashes occur between patriotic groups and Israelis. Israelis have prevented Italian units from entering Beirut. World is upset by recent slaughter - even Israeli citizens are outraged."

Sept 27 - "Situation in Lebanon remains tense. Israelis are strengthening positions in city. Italian units arrive. English newspapers blame Begin and Sharon for massacres in Palestinian camps. Over 400,000 demonstrate in Tel Aviv against Begin and Sharon."

Sept 29 - "Bloodshed and barbarism will never be forgotten. Not a square meter of West Beirut has been left untouched by Israeli bullets and bombs. All of Lebanon will have to be rebuilt."

SYRIA

In the past, the editors of Red Star provided its readers with minimum coverage relative to the combat performance of Soviet military equipment supplied to the Syrian military forces. In September, several feature articles reported that "Syrian weapons and aircraft are quite effective against American weapons used by the Israelis in Lebanon." The Soviets emphasized that "Syria denies Israeli and Western claims that Israel has superior weapons." One long feature article expressed the Soviet view as follows:

"Israeli propaganda versus actual facts. Israeli media are falsely reporting results about clashes with Syrians, they exaggerate Syrian losses and report less Israeli losses. They falsely report the superiority of their weapons and the inferiority of the Syrian weapons. They are doing this as psychological warfare to scare the enemy. Syrian officers say that only the naive believe Israeli reports. The Syrian military forces have clearly demonstrated heroism and courage."

POLAND

Red Star's coverage of events and activities in Poland decreased moderately in September - it was less than two percent of the total foreign coverage (see Table 1). The principal focus of Soviet propaganda continued to stress three topics:

- o The United States continues in its attempt to undermine and overthrow the Polish government.
- o Anti-socialist groups in Poland use any opportunity to destabilize the government and economy.
- o Counterrevolutionaries fail to organize strikes - martial law is a success.

As noted above, significant coverage was given to emphasize the topic that United States and NATO intelligence agencies are continuing to support anti-socialist groups in Poland. It was repeatedly underscored that Western spies enter Poland as tourists and diplomats.

Abstracts of the following Soviet propaganda articles reveal the overall tone and focus of Russian propaganda pertaining to Poland:

"Anti-socialist groups aided by foreign intelligence agencies. Anti-socialist groups in Poland organize demonstrations in Warsaw, Gdansk, Krakow and Vrtdslav. Militia and army units stopped the disturbances."

"Martial law has succeeded in stabilizing the country. The counterrevolutionaries have completely failed to organize strikes and demonstrations. Poland is also in the process of discussing repayment of debts with foreign banks."

"Polish courts begin to investigate actions of those arrested in connection with anti-government actions which took place on August 31."

"Poland will not be defeated by foreign forces. The Polish government has the full support of the USSR and Warsaw Pact countries."

"Polish news media criticize the anti-Polish propaganda campaign of the United States. Also blames Reagan for economic sanctions and problems."

AFGHANISTAN

Although the amount of printed space allocated by the editors of Red Star to the Marxist government in Kabul increased in September 1982 (see Table 1), coverage of events in Afghanistan is at a modest level. The main thrust of Soviet propaganda underscored that: (1) Afghanistan army units are efficient and continue to defeat counterrevolutionary bands; (2) the government in Kabul is independent and in control of the country and (3) Washington is fostering the counterrevolution movement in Afghanistan. The following abstracts reveal the overall tone and focus of Russian propaganda pertaining to Afghanistan.

"Afghanistan counterrevolutionaries use chemical warfare weapons in an attack near the town of Bamian. The chemical munitions were made in England."

"Since the April revolution, the U.S. has attempted to foster counterrevolution in Afghanistan. CIA and

Pentagon intelligence agents have close ties with counterrevolutionaries. The U.S. sends them weapons and trains them in Pakistan. U.S. allies have also aided the bandits. These terrorist bands in Afghanistan are called freedom fighters by the U.S. The people of Afghanistan do not support these bands. The momentum of the April revolution cannot be stopped. Afghanistan wants peaceful relations with its neighbors."

"Afghanistan soldiers visit and train in various military regions of the Soviet Union - Kazakhstan, Kirgizhia and Turestan. They discuss their problems with Soviet officers and soldiers."

"A Soviet officer is given a gift (a little blue elephant) for saving the life of an Afghan boy from bandits."

"President of Afghanistan, B. Karmal, pledges a unified front against the enemies of the revolution - especially the United States."

JAPAN

For over three years the editors of Red Star have allocated an average of two percent of their coverage of foreign news to Japan - in September it was slightly less than two percent (see Table 1). The main thrust and scope of Russian propaganda continued to underscore: (1) American-Japanese military assistance and cooperation and (2) the evils of Japanese militarism and imperialism.

The overall tone and focus of Russian propaganda pertaining to Japan are contained in the following abstracts:

"The U.S. strategy for Asia is intensely anti-Soviet. Japanese military leaders support this American strategy. Japanese Defense Ministry's White Book for 1982 indicated a vast increase in the Japanese military budget, in accordance with U.S. desires."

"Japanese Defense Ministry has launched a program to strengthen military ties with Western European countries, Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Defense ministry officials will tour these countries to discuss military ties."

"Japan plans to buy 155 mm howitzer from West Germany."

"Japan plans to build floating air bases in the Pacific Ocean."

"Japanese-American conference on security is held in Honolulu. The primary subjects of the conference were mutual military cooperation, Japanese military build-up and future military exercises."

"Japanese and U.S. military forces conduct very large scale exercises during September. Japan and the U.S. are strengthening their military alliance."

CHINA

The amount of space allocated by the editors of Red Star to China continued at a very low level in September 1982. For the past three years, the average amount of print space allocated to China has been over three percent of the total foreign coverage. Since July 1982, the average has been less than one percent. For the past three months the Soviet press has not published a single article about the "evil alliance between China and the United States." No mention has been made of U.S. military assistance to China. In September 1982, for the first time in three years, the majority of the Red Star articles have been neutral and/or friendly toward the government of China.

The following abstracts reveal the overall tone and focus of Russian propaganda pertaining to China:

"12th Congress of Chinese Communist Party. Three major goals for the 1980s are: intensify socialist modernization, unity of the people, and fight for peace and against hegemony. Mao's mistakes are discussed. New economic goals are outlined. U.S. policy in regard to Taiwan is criticized. International affairs are discussed. China does not have expansionist plans."

"The 12th Congress of Chinese Communist Party continues. A new law is passed which changes the structure of the central organs and local organizations of the Communist Party. A central committee of advisors will be created to advise the Central Committee in political subjects."

"Chinese satellite which was launched on September 9, 1982 returns to earth in the designated area."

"Chinese newspapers criticize Japanese history text books for replacing words about Japanese aggression against China with Japanese invasion of China."

"Vietnam denies claim by China that two Vietnamese aircraft violated Chinese air space."

"Vietnamese government denies claims that Vietnamese forces attacked Chinese border region. China, not Vietnam, is guilty of provocation near border."

OTHER HIGHLIGHTS

Soviet coverage of NATO activities accounted for three percent of the foreign coverage in Red Star. Soviet propagandists exploited the following topics in regard to NATO.

- o Each year NATO maneuvers become larger and more provocative.
- o Militaristic demonstrations of NATO. Fall exercises include: Autumn Forge-82, Bold Guard, Northern Wedding, Carbine Fortress, Grosse Wehr and Cold Fire.
- o Construction of NATO bases in Sicily.
- o Integration of Spain into NATO.

The resignation of Chancellor Schmidt of West Germany was reported by the Soviets without excessive editorial comment. The editors of Red Star continued to emphasize the expansion of neo-Nazi groups in West Germany, and German military expansion and exercises.

In regard to Great Britain, the Kremlin highlighted the following topics:

- o Britain plans to use lessons learned from the Falklands war to improve and strengthen its military presence all over the world.
- o Lord Carver's book, "Politics in the Name of Peace" supports nuclear freeze. No need for further increase on nuclear weapons because there is parity between the U.S. and the USSR.
- o Exocet and anti-ship missiles played an important part in Falklands. If France would have supplied more missiles to Argentina, the outcome of the war would have been different.
- o International air show is held at Farnborough. U.S. B-1 bomber and other military aircraft and technology from 500 Western firms and 18 countries were on display.

- o Large arms fair is held in Farnborough, England. NATO countries demonstrate their weapons and military technology.
- o Unemployment in Great Britain is rising at an alarming rate.

PART II - COVERAGE OF SOVIET DOMESTIC ISSUES AND MILITARY TOPICS

GENERAL

Of the total space in Red Star for September 1982, 68 percent was allocated to domestic issues and comment in regard to military, political, economic and social topics in the USSR. News and feature stories about the Soviet military represented 57 percent of the total domestic coverage. A statistical view of major subjects about the Soviet Union as they appeared in Red Star during the past 14 months is shown in Table 6, below. (Percent is total of Soviet domestic coverage.)

Table 6

<u>SUBJECT/THEME</u>	<u>1982</u>										<u>1981</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>	<u>JAN</u>	<u>DEC</u>	<u>NOV</u>	<u>OCT</u>	<u>SEP</u>	<u>AUG</u>
Soviet Military	57%	67%	62%	57%	50%	63%	54%	65%	64%	60%	51%	66%	69%	69%
Domestic Politics ...	03%	03%	05%	13%	16%	09%	04%	06%	04%	11%	10%	07%	03%	04%
Economy/Technology ..	11%	08%	10%	05%	15%	06%	15%	06%	07%	04%	09%	06%	06%	05%
Society/Culture	12%	09%	10%	10%	10%	09%	14%	11%	14%	09%	09%	10%	09%	08%
Foreign Affairs	09%	05%	07%	09%	04%	05%	07%	03%	02%	09%	15%	06%	07%	05%
Other	08%	08%	06%	06%	05%	08%	06%	09%	09%	07%	06%	05%	06%	10%
	<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>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

The editors of Red Star continued to provide its readers with extensive coverage of Brezhnev's food production and conservation programs. All segments of the Soviet military were urged to cooperate in the production and conservation of food, fuel and other products. Daily and extensive coverage was given to Soviet military transport and other units that assisted farmers during the grain harvest. Examples of the scope and tone of articles about food production and conservation are listed below:

"The most important subject these days is Brezhnev's food program. Information about the CPSU's latest conservation programs must reach all military cadres. This is an important duty of political officers and party secretaries."

"The military council of air defense troops congratulates the transport division for helping to move over a million tons of agricultural products."

"Military auto transport units help farmers in Penzenskaya region to meet grain harvest quotas."

"Soviet military auto transport units excel in helping farmers during harvest."

"Military state farms excel in work and food production. All workers are trying very hard to improve production to meet Brezhnev's food production quotas."

"Young officers and Komsomol organizations excel in launching programs to support Brezhnev's food program."

"All military commanders must focus on conservation of food, fuel, supplies and energy. They must organize conservation programs and also use time wisely."

"All military units must play a part in improving their food supply and helping the entire nation in the food program. This can be done by growing vegetables and fruits in gardens on military bases, and in raising livestock. Military farms must increase production and improve the quality of fruits, vegetables, grain and livestock."

SOVIET MILITARY TOPICS

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

Table 7

<u>MILITARY/SUBJECT</u>	<u>1982</u>												<u>1981</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>	<u>JAN</u>	<u>DEC</u>	<u>NOV</u>	<u>OCT</u>	<u>SEP</u>	
Military Discipline/Morale	44%	47%	43%	44%	57%	51%	55%	45%	47%	43%	39%	39%	36%	
Soviet Military Training/Exercises	29%	17%	31%	23%	11%	23%	21%	24%	24%	23%	29%	31%	36%	
Soviet History/WW II ..	17%	21%	16%	13%	24%	14%	09%	18%	20%	22%	18%	20%	17%	
Military Logistics	08%	11%	07%	10%	03%	06%	07%	06%	08%	06%	05%	07%	04%	
Arms Control	01%	02%	01%	07%	03%	05%	06%	05%	01%	05%	08%	02%	04%	
Other Military	<u>01%</u>	<u>02%</u>	<u>02%</u>	<u>03%</u>	<u>02%</u>	<u>01%</u>	<u>02%</u>	<u>02%</u>	<u>00%</u>	<u>01%</u>	<u>01%</u>	<u>01%</u>	<u>03%</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>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	

The Soviet military political indoctrination mechanism (the political cadre) uses Red Star as the authority for daily lectures and indoctrination. Negative articles are frequently used as examples of "how not to perform." Generally, these negative articles contain an educational message for the audience - the correct and proper way for a good communist to perform.

In September 1982, only four percent of Red Star's space allocated to all Soviet military topics and subjects were critical and/or negative in tone in regard to individual and/or unit performance. (In July and August over ten percent of this coverage was negative.) However, eleven percent of the space (in Red Star) about Soviet military discipline and morale was critical in tone, 17 percent of the space allocated to the subjects of military logistics was critical in tone.

Potential psychological vulnerabilities within the Soviet military are evident from the consistent scope of topics and comment (in Red Star) critical in tone about selected Soviet military actions and activities of individuals, units and the bureaucracy. As in previous months, articles critical in tone continued to emphasized that:

- o Military officers must master technical skills, weapons and be able to motivate their soldiers.
- o Political and commanding officers must do better in order to improve troop morale and discipline.
- o Party organizations must firmly and consistently follow the correct (CPSU) line in military service and training.
- o Military commanders must be demanding, strict and set the example for correct behavior and discipline.
- o All units must do better to conserve food, energy and other resources.
- o Soviet officers and soldiers must be motivated to maintain the heroic standards established during World War II.

A selected group of abstracts of Red Star articles (from September 1982) that were, for the most part, critical in tone of Soviet military activities or performance are listed below:

Military Construction and Logistics

"Improve quality of work! Military construction units must focus on improving the overall quality of their work. This requires several kinds of effort: improving organization of work; efficient use of time; effective

use of materials and obtaining proper equipment. Each must strive 100 percent to excel in performance of work."

"Breaking promises! The commander of a construction unit is sharply criticized for repeatedly breaking promises to complete construction projects for the military trade directorate."

"Unsatisfactory billets! Letters to Red Star indicate that billeting directorates for military bases, all over the USSR, are far from satisfying the need for warm, winter-proof quarters. Red Star billeting directorates are to prepare housing for winter and get proper housing for the men that require it."

"Work on pipeline! Military construction unit excels in work on the Urengoy-Uzhgorod pipeline. The men who work in the unit are courageous, dedicated and stubborn. They get the job done under all adverse conditions."

"Poor work! Military construction units performs poor work and often neglects to complete projects that have been started."

"Inferior motorpool! Inspector general criticizes Baltic Fleet auto repair facility for neglecting to repair military vehicles over an extended period of time."

Military Training and Operations

"Flight safety is a problem! Everything must be done to ensure safe flights. Military pilots must know and obey safety rules. Aircraft must be properly maintained and inspected. Accidents cost the Soviet government valuable lives and planes. Proper training of pilots and technicians is a high military priority."

"Unqualified officers! An army major criticizes the scope and quality of officer qualification training in his division. He emphasized that his unit does not have enough first class qualified officers."

"Better physical training! All aspects of physical training are important to military training. Combat demands endurance, energy and strength which only healthy men have. Sports and regular physical exercise are needed to guarantee that men can stand the rigors of combat."

"Chemical warfare training! Marshall Timoshenko, Commandant of the Chemical Defense Academy, is awarded the Order of October Revolution for an outstanding education program."

"Practice makes perfect! Before any member of a ship's crew can be called a first class specialist, he must be so well trained that he could fight in actual battle -he never makes mistakes. Practice makes perfect. This can only happen through constant training."

"Less theory and more practice! The preparation of officers in military colleges for actual duty is important. There is a need for less theory and more practice. Officers must be taught to be decisive, quick and good leaders. They need thorough training in technical fields and communist ideology."

"Obey air safety rules! An air force captain exhorts pilots and aircraft maintenance crews to study, get to know, understand and obey all safety rules."

"Better military training methods! Political officers must influence and supervise military training. They should develop organized training programs and plans of action. Plans must be exciting and cause men to become enthusiastic. A rigid formal approach to planning is not desirable."

"Civil defense must be prepared! Civil defense units must work to reinforce and develop defense capability of USSR. This can be done through proper military training and political training of all civil defense members. Men must be encouraged to become politically active, to listen to the radio, read papers, and to know more about the CPSU."

"Pass along what you know! Officers must be experts and fully qualified in their military fields, as well as political ideology. However, it is most important that they be able to pass along knowledge and expertise to their men."

"Officers must be competent! Officers must be good leaders and communists. They must be good soldiers, experts in their technical field, hardworking, conscientious and disciplined."

"Missile units must be able to react quickly! Soldiers of missile units must be emotionally and psychologically ready to carry out orders and tasks during tactical training. First, they must be completely professional and know their technical fields. Also, they must be prepared to follow orders, carry out their tasks with level, cool heads. They must be able to react quickly and decisively in nerve-racking situations."

Indoctrination, Troop Morale and Discipline

"Teach men to be honest! Political officers should make ideological training personal. They must teach it on a personal level, so the men can apply communist ideology in their daily lives. They should teach their men to emulate good communists, to keep their promises and to be honest."

"Young officers need good role models! Young officers need help and guidance from older, experienced officers. They must have good role models to emulate. They must learn to fulfill duties well, with pride and patriotism. They must learn communist principles, to be disciplined and conscientious."

"Commander fails to cooperate! The leader of a peoples' inspector team complained that the commanding officer of a repair facility did not cooperate during the inspection. In addition, the team found shortages of fuel, alcohol and other materials, and the books were altered. No satisfactory explanations were given for these irregularities."

"Discipline should be improved! A major goal of the Soviet armed forces is to improve discipline throughout the service. All officers must set a good example and teach the men to follow regulations. Political officers and military commanders must reach their men in regard to obeying military regulations."

"Must improve patriotic education! Communist Party and Komsomol organizations and all officers must focus on improving the patriotic education of their men. Soldiers must learn about the revolution, World War II and try to emulate heroics of the past."

"Commanders must be authoritative! Leadership must result in better and effective training, discipline and

morale of his (the commanders) unit. He must know how to work with people; commanders must know their field and must be dedicated."

"Punishment must fit the crime! Officers, especially senior commanders, must be educated thoroughly in Soviet law and military regulations. Punishments must fit the crimes. Every officer must obey military regulations and teach them to his men."

"Strengthen discipline and military readiness! An important goal of political officers is to strengthen discipline, morale and military readiness in the armed forces. Soldiers must apply party discipline and principles to every day life. Political officers must influence and set examples for their men."

"Read more newspapers! Military newspapers are a vital part of political indoctrination of military cadres. Criticism of those units that do not subscribe to military newspapers and magazines."

"It could have been handled better! A young officer has many difficult problems to face when assigned to a new post -no uniform, no housing and indifference to his problems by superior officers. He becomes frustrated and starts to drink and as a result he was dismissed from the service. It could have been handled better by his superior officers."

"No smoke without fire! Rumors about a group of officers' misconduct are spread throughout a military base. Red Star investigated the rumors - no smoke without fire - and discovered that the reported misconduct of the officers was real. Officers guilty of misconduct must be punished. The party organization must see to it."

"He is cheating himself and others! Military engineers need to be demanding with their subordinates. As officers they have the same duties to fulfill as all other officers regarding and maintaining morale and discipline. When an engineering officer only thinks about getting his job done and fails to lead his subordinates, he is cheating himself and others."

APPENDIX A

A Selection of Propaganda Cartoons

Propaganda cartoons are used to underscore selected propaganda themes. The following sample of cartoons is from the September issues of Red Star, and reflects the scope and tone of Soviet propaganda in regard to the following topics/themes:

<u>Topic/Theme</u>	<u>Cartoon Number</u>
U.S. Military/Political Hegemony	1, 2, 3, 4
Military Budget/Arms Race	4, 5, 6
Israeli Aggression	1, 2, 3

Правители Тель-Авива при поддержке Вашингтона вынашивают планы создания «великого Израиля» за счет арабских земель.

(Из газет).



«Картограф» из Тель-Авива.

Рис. В. ВОЛКОВА.

Tel-Aviv leaders, with the support of Washington, are planning to create a Great Israel at the expense of Arab territory.

Cartographer from Tel-Aviv.

Опираясь на широкую поддержку США, расистская ЮАР готовит новое вторжение в глубинные районы Анголы.
(Из газеты).



Руки загибаются...

Рис. В. ВОЛКОВА.

Depending on great support of U.S., racist South Africa is preparing a new invasion in remote regions of Angola.

Grabbing hands!

Еще стелется дым над руинами Бейрута, еще ко-
вдывают на ливанской земле оккупанты, а правители спи-
нистой войны хлопочут в Вашингтоне над тем, чтобы
отвлечь внимание мировой общественности от преступных
деяний правящих кругов Израиля.

(Из газеты).



Пропагандистский камуфляж.

Рис. В. ВОЛКОВА.

Smoke is still floating above ruins of Beirut, occupiers of Lebanon are still in control, and the supporters of Israeli war machine in Washington are trying to distract world attention from crimes of ruling circles of Israel.

Propagandist camouflage.

Вашингтон и НАТО намереваются разместить в ряде стран Западной Европы новые американские ядерные ракеты средней дальности. Эти авантюристические планы вызвали небывалый подъем антивоенного движения. (Из газет).

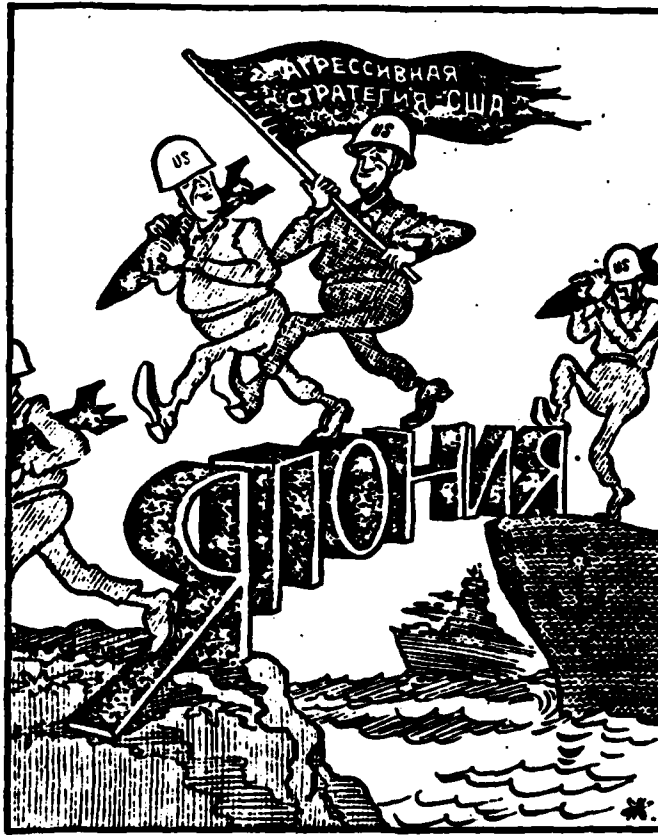


НАРОДЫ ПРОТЕСТУЮТ.

Рис. В. ВОЛКОВА.

Washington and NATO are planning to deploy new U.S. nuclear medium-range missiles in Western Europe. These adventurist plans have caused an unprecedented rise in anti-war movement.

Peoples are protesting.



ТРАП ПЕНТАГОНА.

Рис. В. ВОЛКОВА.

Pentagon trap.
(Bridge spells Japan)

Курс Вашингтона на безудержную гонку вооружений отражает интересы наиболее реакционных и агрессивных кругов американского монополистического капитала.

(Из газет).



Прибыльный источник.

Рис. В. ВОЛКОВА.

Washington's course towards an unrestrained arms race reflects the interests of the most reactionary and aggressive circles of U.S. monopolies.

A profitable source.

END

FILMED

1-83

DTIC