

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

Routing Slip

TO:		ACTION	INFO	DATE	INITIAL
1	DCI				
2	DDCI				
3	EXDIR				
4	D/ICS				
5	DDI		✓		
6	DDA				
7	DDO		✓		
8	DDS&T		✓		
9	Chm/NIC				
10	GC				
11	IG				
12	Compt				
13	D/EEO				
14	D/Pers				
15	D/OEA				
16	C/PAD/OEA				
17	SA/IA				
18	AO/DCI				
19	C/IPD/OIS				
20					
21					
22					

SUSPENSE _____

Date

Remarks:

ABC
Executive Secretary

10/14/82
Date

3-537 (10-81)

State Dept. review completed

Soviet Propaganda Alert

No. 10

September 30, 1982

SUMMARY

(Further details of the items on this sheet
can be found on the referenced pages)

Soviet propaganda on international themes in August stressed:

- Arms Control and Peace Movements. Soviet media denounced the U.S. for alleged espousal of the doctrine of "winnable protracted nuclear war," failure to pledge "no first strike," and failure to join in certain arms control treaties. The Soviets charged that the U.S. participates in arms talks only under pressure, and uses them as cover for a huge military buildup aimed at attaining global superiority. A second edition of the Soviet booklet Whence the Threat to Peace was advertised as countering "U.S. lies" on the "mythical Soviet threat." Coverage of Peace March-82 stressed the supposed congruence of European peace movements and Soviet policy. See p. 1
- Middle East. Soviet propaganda on the Lebanon crisis overreached itself in claiming that Israel would never accept a political solution, only the military solution of physical annihilation of the Palestinians. With the success of the Habib mission, Soviet propagandists had to fall back on other themes, such as the putative Israeli goal of annexing southern Lebanon. See p. 6
- Poland. The Soviet media emphasized the progress of "normalization" in Poland in connection with the mid-August meeting between Wojciech Jaruzelski and Leonid Brezhnev, and the dangers of "counterrevolution" in connection with Solidarity's call for demonstrations at the end of August. See p. 8
- Gas Pipeline Sanctions. The Soviets criticized American "pressure" on NATO allies, but declared that sanctions are futile. They asserted the USSR can and will build the pipeline with its own technology. Washington was said to be anxious to wreck mutually advantageous trade between Europe and the USSR not only for anti-Soviet motives but because of U.S. fears of a strong, economically competitive Europe. See p. 10
- Psychological Warfare. The overall theme was denunciation of the American "anti-Soviet propaganda campaign." The Reagan administration was accused of hypocrisy and lies on a range of issues. Western radio broadcasts were strongly attacked, particularly broadcasts to Poland. See p. 11
- U.S. Government and Society. Soviet media focused on depicting President Reagan's foreign policy as unpopular with the American people, and his efforts to solve economic problems as a total failure. See p. 14

Office of Research
United States Information Agency
Washington, D.C.

-1-

ARMS CONTROL AND PEACE MOVEMENTS

As always, arms control and peace movement issues constituted principal themes of Soviet propaganda. In reporting on international events, Soviet media consistently strove to depict the U.S. as a bellicose, expansionist power and the USSR as a steadfast champion of peaceful causes.

Military Doctrine and Policy

Soviet propaganda intensified its attacks on U.S. policymakers for allegedly embracing the doctrines of winnable "limited" and "protracted" nuclear war. Soviet media also complained that Washington ignored the official Soviet pledge of "no first use [of nuclear weapons]." They lauded the "no first use" pledge as proof positive of the USSR's total commitment to peace. Meanwhile, the U.S. was repeatedly accused of "planning" or "preparing" nuclear war against the USSR.

Several Soviet commentaries responded specifically to statements by Secretary Weinberger appearing in the U.S. press. Citing in particular an interview in the New York Times and the Secretary's speech in San Francisco, Soviet reporters declared that

all military planning groups in the U.S. have been ordered to prepare for protracted nuclear war.... [Weinberger] again confirmed the intent of the United States to achieve strategic superiority over the Soviet Union (TASS, August 11).

The Secretary was also subjected to personal attacks: TASS (August 12) asserted he had an "odious reputation" which his recent "salvo of brazen misinformation and falsehoods enhanced."

Toward the end of August, Soviet propaganda concentrated on denouncing "the U.S. Defense Department's directives on building up the U.S. Armed Forces in the next 5 years," and the "new presidential directive which provides for waging a protracted nuclear war." The latter was characterized as "a logical extension of President Carter's notorious PD-59." Soviet media described the two as "complementary documents" which set forth "Washington's new strategic credo [of] the advocacy of the 'permissibility' of a nuclear war and the 'possibility' of a victory in it" (TASS, August 22).

Treaties and Arms Control Talks

The U.S. decision not to ratify previous agreements limiting nuclear weapons explosions and not to renew U.S.-British-Soviet talks on banning nuclear tests drew a hail of fire from the Soviet media. According to a Moscow radio English broadcast to North America (August 4):

-2-

The fact that Washington is going back on agreements that are already effective and is withdrawing from the talks on a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty proves once again that the United States is fully committed to the arms race, to boosting its nuclear arsenal in a bid to achieve military superiority.

The Soviets charged that the U.S. is claiming problems of verification as an excuse for these steps so it can continue to test new weapons under development. Actually, argued Soviet commentators, other arms talks indicate that satisfactory compromises on verification can be reached. In addition, it was pointed out that "back in 1979 UN experts made a special report saying the problem of verification was not an impediment to agreement any more" (Moscow English, August 4). Furthermore, the Soviets contended that they have honored all their commitments and that the U.S. has provided no proof to the contrary.

On the MBFR talks and on the subject of arms control negotiations in general, Soviet propaganda stressed the familiar lines that:

- o U.S. proposals are "unrealistic," demanding unilateral concessions from the Soviet side;
- o the U.S. ignores Soviet proposals which are fair and feasible;
- o the U.S. participates in talks only under "pressure" (from domestic sources and world public opinion); and
- o the U.S. uses talks only as a smokescreen while it continues an enormous arms buildup.

Military Publications

Soviet media heralded the release of a second edition of the USSR Ministry of Defense publication Whence the Threat to Peace. TASS English announced (August 4):

They in the West have launched a large-scale propaganda campaign over an alleged military superiority of the USSR and "intolerable lag" of the U.S. in the military field. [Whence the Threat to Peace] convincingly refutes these lies and quotes concrete figures to illustrate the real balance of forces and the existence of military equilibrium between the sides.

The Soviet publication's overall theme is that the U.S. is pursuing military supremacy while the USSR, by contrast, "has never strived for military superiority, and always confined itself to measures that are indispensable for ensuring its own reliable security and that for its allies" (TASS, August 5). Soviet arguments are predicated on the claim that rough parity currently prevails between U.S. and Soviet, and NATO and Warsaw Pact forces. Soviet reviews of the second edition stressed the same ideas as had been emphasized the first time: the U.S. is the initiator of the arms race; it uses false pretexts of being

behind the USSR to justify arms escalations; it is escalating the race by producing qualitatively new kinds of arms; and U.S. chemical and neutron weapons pose special threats to the world.

The NATO publication NATO and The Warsaw Pact--A Correlation of Forces met with strong condemnation in Soviet and East bloc media. An interview with Soviet General Nikolai Chervov appearing in the Czech press (Rude Pravo, August 3) accused the publication of being one-sided and distorted in its attempt to substantiate the thesis of the Warsaw Pact's "crushing supremacy." Without offering much detail in support of his arguments, Chervov criticized it as

limited to enumerating the strengths of the two sides' armed forces and arms and [intentionally overlooking] the military-economic and mobilization possibilities, the human and material resources, the geographical positions and other factors in the military-strategic situation.

Peace March-82

Soviet media at the end of July and beginning of August heavily covered Peace March-82, emphasizing the "cordial welcome" marchers received from the Soviet citizenry along their route. Reporting on the speeches and conversations of march participants, Soviet propagandists paid great attention to words of praise for the "peace-loving course" of the USSR, especially the "peace initiatives" of President Brezhnev. Non-Soviet participants--particularly those from NATO countries--were often quoted on this subject.

Efforts were made to convey the impression that the peace march and Soviet policy are on one side against "anti-peace" U.S. and NATO forces. For example, slogans and expressions customarily used in connection with Soviet policy were also used in describing the aims of the peace march. The Soviets sharply denied Western reports of restrictions placed on the marchers, and claimed that such reports were designed to mislead people and discredit the Soviet Union.

Responding to Western press criticism that the USSR is manipulating the peace movement, Yurii Zhukov, chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, offered rather disingenuously: "We would be happy to organize Peace March-83 in the West in order that the people there can hear about our striving for friendship" (Moscow English, August 3).

Soviet media reported on other peace movement activities, ranging from a "world youth festival" in Finland to a conference in New York on "disarmament and mankind's needs." Also discussed was the "Week of Peace" (August 6-13) and the "Day of Peace" (September 1) declared by the World Peace Council in connection with the commemoration of the victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

-4-

The Role of Europe

The peace march served as a peg for broader media treatment of the peace movement in Western Europe, characterized as already considerable in size and influence and constantly increasing. In direct response to Western media criticisms of the peace movement's one-sided anti-American orientation, Soviet propagandists blandly responded that there is simply no reason for protest against the USSR since its policies are perfectly in line with the goal of peace.

The theme of Western intra-alliance tensions continued to be a Soviet favorite. The U.S. was depicted as fiercely pressuring its NATO allies to increase their military budgets "to take on a greater share of the cost of implementing President Reagan's militarist policies." TASS English (August 3) said the U.S. is "seeking to subjugate [the Europeans] more to Washington's global imperial ambitions." This goal, according to the Soviets, is pursued by various methods: by "arm-twisting" (supposedly the mission of administration officials traveling to Europe), by the banning of pipeline-related equipment deliveries, and by attempts to revive an "anticommunist crusade" among Europeans. Discussing, among other things, U.S.-European "steel wars," Soviet commentators alleged a close interrelationship between U.S. economic and military-strategic "calculations" in the overall effort to undermine detente and weaken socialism.

Soviet propaganda also expressed strong objections to planned relocation of U.S. troops in border areas of West Germany. This was called a "blatant provocation" against the socialist states, and a link in the "militaristic chain" of measures supposedly taken "to 'Europeanize' any possible nuclear war, thereby diverting the threat of retaliation from [U.S.] territory" (TASS, August 16).

Military Uses of Outer Space

As in the previous several months, Soviet media affirmed the USSR's support for the exclusion of military activity from space. President Brezhnev's August 9 message to the international conference on the study and use of outer space for peaceful purposes in Vienna was widely publicized. Juxtaposed with declarations of the official Soviet position on this issue were accusations that the U.S. is "stepping up military preparations in outer space."

U.S. Arms Sales

In detailed reports on U.S. arms exports, Soviet media charged that

the United States...has long been the world's biggest weapons trader.... It foists a monstrous burden of militarization on the developing countries, diverting tremendous funds from the struggle against economic backwardness, hunger and poverty.... American weapons serve aggression, interference in sovereign states' internal affairs and the suppression of the national liberation struggle (Krasnaia zvezda, August 4).

-5-

The Soviets further contended that "the flow of weapons to pro-American military dictatorial regimes increased sharply with the coming into power of the Reagan administration" (TASS, August 8).

General Commentaries

The anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Accords (August 1, 1975) provided the occasion for editorials on the alleged threat to European security posed by U.S. bellicosity. Lauding Helsinki with the customary platitudes, the Soviet press warned of U.S. behavior that "flagrantly violates the spirit and letter of Helsinki." The most strident commentaries professed outrage that the security of Europe "should depend on the whims of an American president."

A number of Soviet "catchall commentaries" on peace and security questions linked various U.S. policies and actions, and gave blanket condemnations of these alleged manifestations of U.S. militarism and expansionism. As a Moscow radio English (August 3) political observer put it:

There is continuing active support of Israel's barbaric action and of the destruction of the peaceful population in Lebanon. There is also support for the pro-American government in El Salvador, which is annihilating its own people. America supplies arms to Pakistan, whose territory is used for staging hostile acts against neighboring countries. The U.S. continues to hold onto its old military bases and build new ones....

As for U.S. diplomats, they are advancing clearly unacceptable demands at the talks on limiting arms, and have decided to curtail in general talks on ending nuclear tests. U.S. diplomats are very active when it comes to working out various sanctions against economic contacts among countries, and extremely passive when discussing measures of strengthening universal peace.... The Pentagon is carrying out an unprecedented in peacetime program of building up the strategic potential of the United States, from nuclear missiles and neutron shells to new bombers and chemical weapons.

While stressing the peace-loving nature of Soviet policy, Soviet propagandists lost no chance to remind audiences that the USSR will do whatever necessary to provide for its own--and its socialist allies'--defense:

Today people [in Washington] care not about equality and equal security but about creation of new and increasingly destructive weapons...and about establishing their dominance over other countries and peoples. In the face of this aggressive policy...it becomes clear that the Soviet Union, while firmly pursuing the course of safeguarding peace and detente, is not only forced but obliged to take measures to strengthen its defense capability. (Izvestiia, August 5).

MIDDLE EAST -- CRISIS IN LEBANON

Israeli "Genocide" in Lebanon

The Soviet media's harshest criticism in recent weeks was directed against the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. On August 3, TASS International Service accused Israel of

genocide in the fullest meaning of the term: the deliberate calculated destruction of the Palestine and Lebanese peoples--men, women, children and old people. Bombs are rained down on their heads, they are thrown into concentration camps and jails to rot.

Soviet commentators openly ascribed "such unrestrained behavior" to the "racist nature of international Zionism." An Izvestiia commentator likened Israeli premier Menachem Begin to Adolf Hitler:

The hateful word Hitler is coming up often in international communications now, but not in the context that Begin used it. It is he, the Israeli premier, who is being compared with Hitler, both in the East, in the socialist countries, and more and more often in the West. He is revealing himself to be a maniac and fanatic like Hitler, and probably no less a racist than the fuehrer either--yes, a racist.

A second Israel objective was seen as the annexation of southern Lebanon and the establishment of a puppet regime in Lebanon. A third Israeli goal was, as one TASS analyst stated (August 2), to secure "the withdrawal of the pan-Arab peace-keeping force from Lebanon"--or, in other words, to strike at Syria.

U.S. "Responsibility"

The theme of "U.S. responsibility" runs consistently throughout Soviet media coverage of the Lebanon crisis. The aims of the U.S. and Israel were portrayed as fully congruent. Soviet commentators also drummed away at the theme that the U.S. has rendered "complete support" to Israel. One Soviet observer stated that "Israel is getting the most modern weapons; it is getting practically unlimited financial assistance and is given political support."

Finally, Soviet propagandists purported to discover U.S. "collusion" even to the extent of advance knowledge of the Israeli invasion (TASS, August 14):

This is confirmed by a statement made today by Israel's Defense Minister Sharon. In an interview with U.S. television, the ringleader of the Tel Aviv military states outright that

-7-

ten days before the beginning of the invasion he met in Washington with U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and the then U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig. He told them: "The situation sets in when we must act." Going by the words of the Israeli defense minister, Washington gave a green light for the implementation of the cruel intentions of the occupiers.

Given such "evidence," it was a foregone conclusion that Soviet propaganda would characterize U.S. Middle East policy as "duplicitous" and scorn U.S. efforts to resolve the crisis as no more than a "propaganda circus."

The charge of duplicity fell most heavily on Philip Habib, the U.S. special negotiator in Lebanon:

Habib is using Israeli threats in order to blackmail Lebanese and Palestinian leaders. His quiet diplomacy is successfully supplementing the barbaric actions of the Israeli military. The American emissary pretends to be some kind of neutral arbiter, but whom does he represent? Not a single international organ recognized his mission.... He represents only the Reagan government (TASS, August 14).

Propaganda Deadends

The success of the Habib mission soon forced the Soviet media to stretch well beyond the bounds of credulity.

First, Soviet propagandists carried to extremes even their position that Israel wanted the "physical annihilation" of the Palestinians. Lev Korneev, a "prominent Soviet strategist," predicted in the Kuwaiti media on August 5 that "Israel would launch a nuclear attack on besieged Beirut and other Arab countries in the future." Other Soviet commentators tried to claim that the only reason the Israelis had not entered Beirut was because they had been repulsed by strong Palestinian resistance, and that Israel would never agree to a political, rather than military, settlement in Lebanon.

Second, Soviet propagandists claimed that Washington "covets the stationing of American troops" in Lebanon "disguised as a peace-keeping force..." (Moscow radio, August 13).

As the elements of the Habib plan were made known, however, the Soviet propaganda line crumbled rapidly. Soviet propagandists strained to see U.S. and Israeli ogres at every turn. Israel was stalling: "the implementation of the [Habib] plan could be started at once, if Israel displayed at least the slightest wish to achieve peace through negotiations" (TASS, August 14). Israel wanted to pull a double cross: the Palestinian fighting men have the impression that the truce represents "attempts..."

-8-

simply to disarm and then to destroy them, thereby attaining the first aim of the oppressor's invasion of Lebanon" (Pravda, August 18). The U.S., for its part, still sought a permanent troop presence: "there are reports that the White House already has a plan of keeping an American military presence in Lebanon" (Moscow radio, August 27).

In the end, Soviet observers lamely continued to insist that "the Tel Aviv rulers were forced to agree to the evacuation of the Beirut defenders." ("Vremia" television program, August 24). Soviet propagandists were compelled to fall back on other favored themes: the "remaining" U.S.-Israeli objectives of a partitioned Lebanese puppet state and withdrawal of the pan-Arab peace-keeping force from eastern Lebanon.

The Reagan Peace Plan

On September 4, Pravda flatly rejected the Reagan peace proposal of September 1: "one cannot imagine a just and lasting peace when not peaceful ideas of cooperation, but aggressive objectives, are laid as its basis." The Soviet media have always attacked the Camp David accords, and in the present case Soviet commentators called the Lebanon invasion a "direct result of the Camp David agreement." Instead, they have called for a "comprehensive solution" with Soviet participation, to be worked out at an international conference.

POLAND

The Soviet media continued to repeat their standard line that Poland "is gradually returning to normal" (Moscow radio, August 6), but would do so more quickly were the process of normalization not blocked "by a counterrevolutionary underground whose activity is being inspired and supported mainly by the United States" (Moscow radio, August 18).

"Normalization"

Soviet propagandists emphasized three themes. First, they asserted the unshakable unity of Polish-Soviet interests "on the basis of the principles of socialist internationalism, equality of rights, respect for sovereignty and friendly mutual assistance," as the communique of the Jaruzelski-Brezhnev meeting phrased it. Second, they noted Soviet "generosity" in extending economic assistance. Replying to Western charges of Soviet intervention in Poland, one Soviet commentator claimed that "if there is any Soviet involvement, it is the delivery to Poland of the goods and commodities it requires, the guarantee of credits and orders to keep busy the bulk of its production capacity" (Moscow radio, August 19). Third, they hinted on several occasions that Poland must rely on the Soviet Union for support against West German "revanchism." Radio Moscow charged that West German CSU leader

Franz-Josef Strauss aimed "at removing individual East European states from the map of Europe" (August 5).

"Counterrevolution"

Soviet propaganda denounced Solidarity but continued to make careful distinctions about its various parts and constituencies. The sharpest words were directed at emigre Solidarity activists and organizations, and at KOR, KNP, and other "counterrevolutionary groupings." Nevertheless, the Soviet media said little about the Solidarity rank-and-file or the Polish working class in general. A Moscow radio comment of August 30 was typical: when the Gdansk accords of 1980 were signed, they "showed the country the way out of its economic crisis" but "the Solidarity leaders, especially their advisers from all manner of antisocialist organizations and their overseas patrons, were by no means interested in normalizing the situation." The Polish Catholic church was mentioned only briefly--in passing references to "some priests" who are "accomplished rabble-rousers" and to the church's "double game." (Trud, August 25).

Soviet statements on the future of the trade union movement were ambiguous. On August 27, Moscow radio promised that "there can be no return to the situation in the 1970's, when the bureaucratic trade unions ceased to fulfill their main function of defending the interests of the working class; but in no way, either, can there be a return to the situation existing in 1981, when...the trade union was used for antisocialist activities."

Soviet media mentioned the possibility of demonstrations only toward the end of August. When the demonstrations did occur, the Soviets systematically diminished their significance. The demonstrators were portrayed as "groups of hooligan elements" and "rioting thugs"; TASS claimed that "workers did not take part," or even more disingenuously, asserted that, "there were no strikes" (it did not note that Solidarity had not generally called for strikes).

Western "Aggression" in Poland

Since it was "precisely support from the West which is the condition for the existence of antisocialist forces in Poland" (Pravda, August 19), Soviet media complained loudly against the West's "anticommunist, anti-Polish" campaign of "aggression," which amounted to "a crude violation of norms of international relations" (Moscow Radio, August 5).

According to the Soviet media, the principal offenders were Western radios broadcasting into Poland, especially Radio Free Europe. TASS (August 10) quoted a Polish intelligence officer as saying that RFE's work "can be summed up as political diversion and espionage." A close second was the "reactionary" AFL-CIO leadership, which was charged with "subversive acts" against Poland and "continued financing of counterrevolutionary activity."

-10-

GAS PIPELINE SANCTIONS

Soviet media extensively covered developments in the gas pipeline controversy. While there was much direct Soviet criticism of the sanctions, equal or greater space was devoted to criticism emanating from Western European and other non-Soviet sources. Opposition to the sanctions voiced by official Western Europeans, prominent Americans, Western media, and ordinary citizens was cited repeatedly as Soviet media dwelled on the "storm of protest" over the sanctions.

Major Soviet themes included:

- o The Soviet Union can, if necessary, supply all its needs for the gas pipeline domestically. If the U.S. thinks it can hinder the pipeline by any sanctions, it is greatly mistaken. Soviet efforts to use U.S. technology in the first place grew out of the Soviet commitment to "mutually advantageous" international economic cooperation and division of labor, and had nothing to do with the USSR's inability to produce the technology itself.
- o U.S. actions are one more manifestation of an arrogant attitude toward other countries, including its European allies. The U.S. refuses to consider European concerns and needs, and seeks to impose its "diktat" on Europe. (Some commentaries alleged that the U.S. fears economic competition and independence on the part of Western Europe, and is therefore trying to prevent those countries from growing stronger through beneficial East-West trade.)
- o The sanctions have totally backfired on the U.S. Tremendous damage has been done to European-American relations. And Soviet determination to complete the pipeline on schedule has been redoubled--witness the pledges issued at meetings of workers involved in pipeline construction.
- o U.S. "pseudoarguments" against the pipeline do not stand up under scrutiny. For example, France will not become energy-dependent on the USSR; according to French forecasts, in 1990 Soviet gas will not exceed five percent of French energy imports.

The Soviets also responded to Western media reports of political prisoners from Soviet concentration camps being used to work on the pipeline. Such Western assertions were scornfully called "a dirty falsehood...most likely supplied by Washington, where under the current administration lies are produced on a mass scale." According to a Moscow Finnish-language broadcast (August 5):

Central television has shown many programs describing the Soviet people's determination to build the gas pipeline according to plans.... Thus, who could believe that the Soviet Government told foreign consumers that they will receive the gas in accord-

ance with plans by relying on the reluctant work of its prisoners? Not to mention that in the Soviet Union there is not a single person who has lost his freedom for political reasons.

PROPAGANDA AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

Charges that the U.S. is escalating "propaganda warfare" against the USSR and other socialist states pervaded Soviet media. This alleged "American campaign of slander and lies" was blamed on U.S. "failure to adjust to current reality" or, in other words, U.S. desperation in the face of Soviet and socialist gains in the world. Allegations of Western "psychological warfare" against Poland constituted an important subtheme (see page 9).

Soviet propagandists often employed harsh rhetoric on this subject, but their accusations contained nothing new in substance.

Typical Soviet attacks on President Reagan and his administration for supposed lies and deceit included the following:

Slander, multiplied by hypocrisy, brazen lies, strongly mixed with duplicity and pharisaism--this is today one of the main components of the hegemonistic foreign policy of the United States.... The ideologists of imperialism, who tear like fire the ever-increasing strength of the example of real socialism, are widely prattling about "tyranny" and "freedom," about "totalitarianism" and "human rights," seeking to smear the USSR and simultaneously, without any foundation, claim for themselves the role of "pillars of democracy."
(TASS English, August 3)

It has become everyday practice in American life for political declarations and documents...by highranking representatives of the present administration to contain a substantial dose of obvious exaggerations, flagrant distortions, false assertions and slanderous attacks.... The ignorant compilers of statements and speeches do not even bother to substantiate their conjectures with facts or historical references, supposing self-effacingly that since they themselves do not know history and do not have even the most elementary idea of the political situation [or leaders] of a particular country, their readers and listeners cannot or must not know these things. (Za rubezhom, August 5)

(Attacking Reagan's interview in Le Figaro) In the interview... he contrived to say not a single word of truth about the most important recent events--the tragedy in Lebanon and the relations between the United States and its West European allies. (Za rubezhom, August 12)

Soviet media continued to allege that a U.S. "anti-Soviet campaign" is designed to increase international tensions in order to provide a pretext for an arms buildup:

-12-

Unable to justify its hegemonistic line of destroying everything positive achieved in the international arena in the seventies, the present United States administration combines its turn towards fanning tension and intensifying confrontation with rude anti-Sovietism and anticommunism, converting them into a tool of stepping up the arms race, a means of undermining detente.... (TASS, August 3)

A typical attack on U.S. international radio broadcasting sought to equate it with lethal weaponry:

First, war on the air and then a limited nuclear war in Europe. The one as well as the other are parts of a homogeneous whole, the homogeneous plan of American world domination.... Not information but disinformation is disseminated, and inflammatory propaganda which harms relations between countries and can threaten world peace no less than the chemical and nuclear arms race.... (Moscow Radio in German, August 22).

This same commentary included what also appeared elsewhere--a parallel drawn between President Reagan and Hitler:

This information is merely capable of spreading on our continent Californian political morality as well as the lack of culture and manners of the Wild West.... If Reagan knew history better and made its lessons his own, he would not harbor any illusions since there were people before him, like Hitler, who had a special liking for using the miraculous weapon of inflammatory propaganda on the air.... (Moscow Radio in German, August 22).

In addition to attacking "propaganda warfare," Soviet media featured sensationalistic stories on the CIA and its alleged subversive activities against the socialist and developing worlds.

FOREIGN POLICY -- REGIONAL ISSUES

Japan. Soviet media were chiefly concerned with describing and condemning plans for increased Japanese defense spending. Krasnaia zvezda (August 27) noted strong objections by "broad public circles" in Japan to Tokyo's "militarist preparations." The Soviets contended that the decision was made under pressure from Washington. They ascribed an "anti-Soviet thrust" to the "militarist program," and warned that it threatens peace and security in the Far East. According to an article in Izvestia (August 16):

Washington would like to see its Far Eastern ally's armed forces as some unpaid appendage in any adventure the people on the banks of the Potomac consider necessary in that part

-13-

of the world to implement the White House's projects.... By joining in the buildup of tension...Japanese ruling circles are promoting the growth of the threat of a thermonuclear conflict, the first victim of which could be Japan itself.

Reporting on the U.S.-Japanese consultative conference on security opening at the end of August, TASS claimed it "serves to speed up military preparations" and is an opportunity for the U.S. to impose further military demands on Japan.

Southeast Asia. In response to U.S. official reports on Soviet chemical weapon use, Soviet media denied all such charges and sought to turn attention to "the chemical war which the United States conducted in Southeast Asia from 1961-1971" and its consequences.

Greece. Moscow radio in Greek (August 10) enumerated alleged dangers of having U.S. military bases in Greece, concluding that "the U.S. military presence in Greece constitutes a restriction on the country's sovereignty [and] a threat to its independence and the existing political regime."

Sweden. A Moscow Swedish-language broadcast (August 17) criticized Scandinavian media coverage of Soviet submarines in Swedish territorial waters as an "anti-Soviet campaign" consisting only of "absurd fabrications" inspired by Washington.

Nicaragua. TASS International Service (August 12) alleged that the U.S. is waging an undeclared war against Nicaragua. The U.S. aim, claimed TASS, "is to provoke a war between Honduras and Nicaragua and then use the conflict as a pretext for direct American intervention."

U.S. Caribbean Policy. TASS International Service (August 3) accused the U.S. of spreading a "campaign of threats against Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada, and of lies about the patriotic forces of El Salvador and Guatemala" and claimed that "U.S. military preparations" in the Caribbean "are being stepped up."

Kenya. TASS (August 2), in noting the attempted coup in Kenya, reported that "the rebels who had undergone military training in the USA or in Kenya under American military instructors, used American arms during this coup attempt." Moscow radio in Swahili (August 16), however, asserted that since the West, especially the U.S., has large investments in Kenya, "it is not surprising that in quelling an attempt to overthrow the government, foreign military advisers working in Kenya took part."

Iran-Iraq War. Moscow television (August 5) called the Iran-Iraq war "a senseless war which has caused and is causing great damage" to both sides. The "winning side," it concluded, "is the international imperialists."

-14-

U.S. GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY

Soviet propaganda's overriding concern vis-a-vis the United States is foreign policy, especially its military-strategic aspects. This preoccupation affects virtually all media treatment of the U.S. Thus it is not surprising that even Soviet reports which focused primarily on U.S. domestic issues had a foreign policy slant.

The Reagan Administration

Soviet propaganda continued to stress that the "extreme right wing" is in power in the U.S. The Reagan administration was often referred to as the "Californian clique" and was characterized as a small, very wealthy group that is rabidly anti-Soviet and set on the goal of U.S. global supremacy. Under this administration, according to the Soviets, policymaking is imbued with a "Wild West" spirit that is totally unsuitable for present times and conditions.

A number of Soviet items on American perceptions of foreign policy stressed a supposed "growing resistance" to the Reagan administration among the American people and even in "influential circles." Differences over policy questions were not presented as something normal and desirable in American society. Rather, Soviet media concentrated only on portraying official American foreign policy as unpopular. Moscow domestic radio (August 15), enumerating cases of Capitol Hill/White House differences, stated:

Each of these facts by itself might not be very significant or very big, but taken together they suddenly create a picture of mounting opposition to the foreign policy being pursued by the U.S. administration.... We are witnessing growing opposition to Washington's present militaristic course.

Economic Situation

Soviet reportage on this subject was designed to show that the American economy is in bad shape ("prompting people to recall the Great Depression of the thirties"), high unemployment is a critical problem ("the multimillion-strong army of unemployed is increasing"), and the Reagan administration has failed to improve conditions. These problems were always explicitly tied to high and increasing defense spending:

...A process of the mass ruin of large, medium and small companies and also of farms is underway. The Federal budget deficit is growing, all the social programs have been almost completely cut back and the cost of housing, education, medical services and basic necessities is soaring disastrously upward....

But Washington is more and more strongly cranking up the military-industrial complex, hurling billions upon billions of dollars into the furnace of militarization, literally shaking the money out of taxpayers' pockets (Selskaia zhizn, August 14).

Debate over and passage of President Reagan's tax bill was reported in some detail. A Moscow television commentary on August 17 observed:

The President was forced to publicly acknowledge the full and stunning failure of his tax reform, which he presented only 2 years ago as a miraculous cure for the rehabilitation of the American economy.

Soviet commentators noted that the only solution for American economic problems would be an end to the "insane" military spending.

Several Soviet media features (e.g. a Russian-language radio broadcast on August 15 and an article in New Times on August 20) focused on unemployment in the West. Claiming the necessity of refuting "bourgeois propaganda" on the subject, the Soviets scorned unemployment benefits as inadequate and declared that financial help in any case cannot compensate for the grave psychological trauma caused by unemployment.

Juxtaposed with the negative treatment of economic conditions in the West were favorable references to Soviet and East bloc economic "progress." Soviet media emphasized supposed improvements in living standards, the benefits guaranteed by socialism (in particular full employment), and "mutual help" among Comecon nations.

State Department Leadership

Soviet observers reflecting on the resignation of Alexander Haig had no kind words for the former secretary of state. But they cautiously refrained from expressing opinions on Secretary George Shultz. A typical commentator (Moscow television, August 1) summarized favorable Western assessments of Shultz (calling them "optimistic opinions") and acknowledged his reputation for "sobermindedness." However, the commentator stressed the Soviet view that since the Reagan administration outlook is "narrow" and its foreign policy fundamentally "unrealistic," Shultz, even if he were to try, is unlikely to be able to achieve any significant improvements.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Listed below are representative Soviet press and TASS items on themes discussed in this report. Translations or summaries of virtually all appeared in the FBIS Daily Report (Soviet Union) during August.

ARMS CONTROL AND PEACE MOVEMENTS

- "High Responsibility," by V. Kuznetsov, Izvestiia, Aug. 4.
- "Who is Foisting the Arms Race on the World?" by I. Ablamov, Krasnaia zvezda, Aug. 4.
- "U.S. Imperial Policy Threatens Peace," by Col. Yu. Viktorov, Izvestiia, Aug. 5. [Review of Whence the Threat to Peace]
- "International Peace Marches," by V. Tereshkova, Pravda, Aug. 5.
- "View of Events: "Dangerous Playing With Fire," by G. Shishkin, Selskaia zhizn, Aug. 7.
- "Indifference or Criminal Irresponsibility?" by V. Bogachev, TASS, Aug. 10.
- "The American Threat to Mankind," by Capt. R. Samolis, Krasnaia zvezda, Aug. 10.
- "Another Concession to Washington," by A. Grigoriants, Izvestiia, Aug. 11.
- "To Ensure that the Tragedy of Hiroshima Does Not Recur," Za rubezhom, Aug. 12.
- "Weinberger Incurable," by V. Bogachev, TASS English, Aug. 12.
- "The Challenge to Peace from Washington," by G. Sidorova, Novoe vremia, Aug. 13.
- "USA: Development of New Means of Mass Destruction," TASS English, Aug. 13.
- "Disarmament in the Demand of our Times," by A. Nikonov, Pravda, Aug. 13.
- "On the Tightrope of Tension: The U.S. Militarists' Dangerous Preparations," by Lt. Gen. D. Volkogonov, Pravda, Aug. 16.
- "Dollars that Reek of Blood," by K. Geivandov, Izvestiia, Aug. 18.
- Interview with USSR Defense Minister D. Ustinov, TASS, Aug. 19.
- "International Security and Nuclear Adventurism," by M. Lvov, Pravda, Aug. 23.
- "The West's Negative Stance," by Yu. Sibirtsev, Izvestiia, Aug. 25.

-2-

CRISIS IN LEBANON

"Hands Off Lebanon," Izvestiia, July 30.

"The Palestinian People's Just Cause," by A. Vlasov, Izvestiia, July 31.

"End the Aggression," Pravda, Aug. 3.

Interview with Vitalii Kobysh, International Information Department, Prague Domestic Television Service, Aug. 6.

"Not a Victorious 'Blitzkrieg' but a Bloody Impasse," by A. Madiarov, Komsomolskaia pravda, Aug. 10.

Interview with Ye. Primakov, head of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow Arabic Service, Aug. 13-15.

"Brazen Brigandage Continues," by V. Vinogradov, Krasnaia zvezda, Aug. 15.

"Camp David and the Lebanese Tragedy," by S. Kondrashov, Izvestiia, Aug. 17.

"Washington's Duplicity," by L. Koriavin, Izvestiia, Aug. 18.

"Masking the True Goals: U.S. Secretary of State G. Schultz Press Conference," Pravda, Aug. 24.

"The Lebanese Tragedy and the Near East Crisis," by Pavel Demchenko, Pravda, Aug. 26.

"Political Observer's Notes: Indelible Spot," by V. Matveev, Izvestiia, Aug. 26.

POLAND

"Contrary to the Spirit of Helsinki," Pravda, July 27.

"From the Ideological Front: Aggression Against Poland," by Jerzy Kraszewski, Pravda, Aug. 7.

"Tool for CIA Provocations," TASS, Aug. 10.

"Who Is Directing the Counterrevolutionary Actions," Pravda, Aug. 19.

"In a Difficult Struggle," by O. Lesoto, Pravda, Aug. 26.

"The August Provocation: Who Is Organizing Subversions Against the People's Republic of Poland," by Yu. Nikolaev, Izvestiia, Aug. 27.

-3-

GAS PIPELINE SANCTIONS

- "Contradictions Sharpen," by F. Voloshin, Selskaia zhizn, Aug. 6.
- "World of Socialism: A Worthy Answer," TASS English review of Izvestiia articles, Aug. 9.
- "U.S. Diktat: A Flop," TASS English, Aug. 13.
- TASS review of Izvestiia, full page on pipeline progress, Aug. 18.
- "New Fabrication," by V. Serov, Sovetskaia Rossiia, Aug. 19.
- Interview with Minister of the Construction Oil and Gas Industry Enterprises B. V. Shcherbin, TASS English, Aug. 20.
- "Notwithstanding the Diktat," TASS, Aug. 24.
- "We Will Complete All Gas Pipelines on Schedule," editorial, Pravda, Aug. 25.
- "Despite Pressure from Washington," by A. Krivopalov, Izvestiia, Aug. 26.

PROPAGANDA/PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

- "Policy of Big Lie," TASS, Aug. 3. [Reviews article by Yu. Kornilov in Sotsialisticheskaia industriia, Aug. 3]
- "Lies as Policy, or the Policy of Lies," by "D.K.," Za rubezhom, Aug. 5.
- "Firebrands," by G. Alov, Izvestiia, Aug. 9.
- "Espionage," TASS International Russian, Aug. 10.
- "Escalation of Washington's Lies," by N. Pastukhov, Selskaia zhizn, Aug. 14.
- "President Reagan's Miraculous Weapon," commentary by V. Ostrogorskiĭ, Moscow radio in German, Aug. 22.

FOREIGN POLICY -- REGIONAL ISSUES

- Commentary on submarines in Swedish waters, by G. Deinichenko, Moscow radio in Swedish, Aug. 17.
- Commentary on U.S.-Greek relations, Moscow radio in Greek, Aug. 10.
- "Programmed Adventurism," by Yu. Bandura, Izvestiia, Aug. 16
[on Japan]

-4-

"Virus of Revanchism," by V. Ovchinnikov, Pravda commentary on Northern Territories and Japanese defense plans, carried on Moscow Russian radio, Aug. 26.

"Pleasing Washington," by V. Vinogradov, Krasnaia zvezda, Aug. 27. [U.S.-Japanese relations]

U.S. GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY

"Popularity Slumps," Krasnaia zvezda, Aug. 18.

"Washington's Hypocritical Policy," by A. Bovin, Izvestiia, Aug. 6.

"'The Other America'--Life Below the Poverty Level," by G.A. Shishkin; Moscow domestic radio Russian, Aug. 5.

"The World Today," television program by I. Fesunenکو, Moscow television, Aug. 17.

"President Reagan Stakes Prestige on Tax Bill," TASS English, Aug. 18.

"International Panorama," program with S. Kondrashev, Moscow television, Aug. 1.