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# RADIO PROPAGANDA REPORT

SOVIET-SATELLITE PRESS TREATMENT  
OF THE WARSAW TREATY ANNIVERSARY

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SOVIET-SATELLITE PRESS TREATMENT OF THE WARSAW TREATY ANNIVERSARY

Summary

1. The standard rationale for the Warsaw Treaty as a purely defensive instrument, an alliance forced on its members by NATO and West German re-arming, was uniformly reiterated in Soviet and Satellite press articles marking the treaty's second anniversary on 14 May. PRAVDA's commemorative editorial article, moderate as compared to other current Soviet propaganda, said nothing about the danger of equipping West Germany or NATO with nuclear weapons. Most other Soviet as well as Satellite papers noted the projected nuclear arming of the NATO powers, though none echoed RED STAR's intimation a week before the anniversary that the Warsaw Treaty Organization might follow suit.
2. East German comment alone failed to specify the "temporary" nature of the Warsaw Treaty--the proviso in Article 11 that the alliance is slated to disband once NATO is also dissolved under a European collective security system. GDR comment espoused the concept of European security without alluding to ultimate disbandment of the Warsaw pact; unlike almost all the Polish and some Czech and Soviet comment, it did not entertain the idea of a limited armaments zone encompassing both Germanies; warning of the danger of a nuclear-armed Wehrmacht, it was particularly emphatic about the "inviolability" of the GDR and the Oder-Neisse line. It deferred to Soviet leadership of the pact, brandished Soviet strength, and said nothing about the "equality" of pact members.
3. The Polish press was the most insistent on the "equality" of the Warsaw allies. All Polish papers except the Party organ TRYBUNA LUDU referred openly to the pact as a "military" grouping and regretted that security reasons compelled Poland to belong to it. ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI even referred to "people in Poland who do not like the Warsaw Treaty." Unlike the rest of the Satellite press, Polish papers almost uniformly applauded the idea of a limited armaments zone that would "naturally" include Poland. None of the Polish articles recalled the Hungarian events, cited in virtually all the other Bloc papers as having tested and vindicated the Warsaw alliance.
4. Hungarian articles were more defensive than the others about the necessity for Soviet troops on Hungarian soil. Most Satellite comment represented the presence of Soviet forces on foreign territory as an illustration of cooperation and mutual confidence. Hungarian papers insisted that Hungary would have gone capitalist if the pact had not existed and charged Nagy with having "repudiated socialism" when he repudiated the Warsaw alliance.
5. Bulgarian comment was especially militant, with four articles by top military men. The Soviet RED STAR carried one article by a military spokesman--but a Czech, not a Soviet general. Bulgarian articles deferred, like the Czech and East German press, to Soviet leadership of the pact. They made more effort than any of the others to brandish Chinese Communist support of the pact: One Bulgarian paper quoted Chinese Communist Defense Minister Peng Te-Huai's belligerent 1955 statement that the capitalist system would be destroyed if aggression were launched, and another portrayed the pact members as united around "the USSR and China."

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SOVIET-SATELLITE PRESS TREATMENT OF THE WARSAW TREATY ANNIVERSARY

This study is based on scrutiny of central press organs in the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and East-ern Germany. Altogether, the 39 newspapers under review carried some 45 articles commemorating the second anniversary of the War-saw Treaty Organization on 14 May.

Common to all the articles was reiteration of the standard ration-ale for the pact as a purely defensive instrument forced on the socialist countries by the Paris Agreements, the creation of NATO and West German rearming in NATO. Most articles used the same gen-eral format: (a) an introductory paragraph recalling the formation of the treaty and enumerating its participants; (b) an explanation that Western aggressive policy forced the socialist countries to insure their own defense, followed by an enumeration of the differ-ences between the open Warsaw alliance and closed Western aggress-ive groupings; (c) a paragraph opening with the claim that the treaty was tested and vindicated during the Hungarian "counter-revolution"--some articles also specified the attack on Egypt--and proceeding to contrast at length the peaceful endeavors of the USSR with Western warlike policy; and (d) a concluding definition of the value of the treaty to the respective country, winding up with an affirmation that the treaty will exist as long as NATO does.

Soviet, Hungarian and East German articles adhered to this pattern less rigidly than the Czech, Bulgarian and Rumanian ones. The Po-lish articles were the most original. Some of the more noteworthy variations in content and emphasis are described below.

1. GDR Press Fails to Reiterate "Temporary" Nature of Pact

Commemorative articles in all the countries except East Germany played up the stipulation in Article 11 of the Warsaw Treaty that the alliance is slated to disband once NATO is also dissolved under a European collective security system. Almost every article except the East German ones con-cluded with the pledge that "as long as NATO exists there will be a Warsaw Treaty Organization," and some turned the formulation around to specify that the Warsaw Treaty will end when NATO does. It was claimed repeatedly that while the pact counters NATO it does not parallel it--that the Warsaw alliance cannot be equated to capitalist pacts because it is open to all and does not oppress its members and because its ultimate goal is to obvi-ate the need for its own existence.

East Germany's NEUES DEUTSCHLAND specified the provision in Article 9 that any country could join the alliance, but ignored Article 11. It pointed to the need for a general security system to insure peace but nowhere di-rectly acknowledged that the alliance is pledged to disband once such a system is established.

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Each of the Satellite countries offered specific reasons to show that its own security was particularly endangered and that its own participation in the alliance was especially necessary and beneficial. Bulgarian papers, for example, pointed out that Bulgaria was a small country on the southernmost borders of the socialist area and would be particularly vulnerable to imperialist attack if there were no Warsaw Treaty.

Satellite depiction of the West German militarist threat was in direct ratio to the distance of the respective countries from Germany. Bulgarian and Rumanian papers had the least to say about the dangers of a renascent West German army, Hungarian papers went into somewhat greater detail and Czech papers recalled past suffering during World War II.

Polish papers built their whole argument around the revival of German militarism, playing up Bonn's goals of revising the Oder-Neisse border. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, the most vehement in charging Western preparations for an "aggressive atomic war," called the Oder-Neisse line "inviolable" and insisted that the GDR was also inviolable by virtue of support from the united invincible Warsaw alliance.

Playing up the joint GDR-Polish-Czech parliamentary statement about strengthening the pact, publicized on 11 May, East Berlin comment warned of Bonn plans to liquidate East German, Polish and Czech "popular rule" and to revise existing frontiers "as their first aim in an attack" on the socialist states as a whole.

3. Comparative Moderateness of Soviet Comment

Moscow's comment, on the other hand, avoided any implication that the USSR would be the country most likely to profit from the pact. PRAVDA's editorial article on the treaty anniversary was not as mild as the commemorative editorial article in IZVESTIA last year, but it was strikingly moderate as compared with other current Soviet propaganda: It made the standard charges about Western war preparations, but it did not specify the danger of a nuclear-armed Germany--the predominant theme of other Soviet propaganda--in explaining the pact's purely defensive, peaceable character.

Other Soviet comment, less authoritative than the PRAVDA editorial article, paralleled almost all the Satellite comment in noting that the NATO powers, including West Germany, are being or will be equipped with nuclear weapons. But neither the USSR nor any of the Satellites echoed RED STAR's intimation a week before the anniversary that the Warsaw Pact might counter NATO's nuclear arming with "corresponding measures." The GDR-Polish-Czech statement of 11 May spoke only of "strengthening" the pact. Moscow had not acknowledged the statement by Zhukov to West German newsmen in April, which the East German ADN had publicized, that the Warsaw Pact might begin nuclear arming.

Most of the commemorative articles in ten Soviet papers under review appeared on the third and fourth pages, as against front-page material in all the Bulgarian and Rumanian papers and in East Germany's NEUES DEUTSCHLAND.

There was one article in the Soviet press by a military man--but a Satellite rather than Soviet military man, Czech General Lomski in RED STAR. The East Berlin radio broadcast an anniversary talk by Defense Minister Col. Gen. Willi Stoph, and Bulgarian papers published articles by Defense Minister

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Gen. Panchevski (in OTECHESTVEN FRONT), First Deputy Defense Minister Col. Gen. Kinov (in NARODNA ARMIYA), Political Administration chief Maj. Gen. Mishev (in TRUD), and Chief of Staff Gen. Zakhariev (in ZA KOOPERATIVNO ZEMDELIE), but none of the other Satellites publicized any articles authored by Soviet or Satellite generals. Uniformly, the comment by army men stressed the necessity to strengthen one's own army in order to be a worthy member of the Warsaw alliance, a feature absent from the editorials and articles by non-military authors.

4. Only Poland Fails to Claim Pact Was Vindicated by Hungarian Events

Hungarian papers, almost without exception, claimed that Hungary would have gone capitalist had it not been for the Warsaw Treaty. They argued that not only would the Hungarian people have been subjected to renewed exploitation and poverty, but Czechoslovakia, Rumania and other socialist countries would have been exposed to a capitalist neighbor. Almost all the papers in all the Bloc countries except Poland declared that the Warsaw Pact was tested and vindicated during the Hungarian events. But not a single one of the seven Polish papers reviewed even mentioned the Hungarian events.

5. Only Poland and Hungary Deplore Pact's "Military" Character

Except for Polish and Hungarian papers, all the commemorative articles drew a black-and-white distinction between Western "military pacts and blocs" and the "peaceful association" set up by the Warsaw Treaty. A few noted the pact's diplomatic significance--the fact that it provides for diplomatic and other consultations among its participants. Two papers, the Moscow VECHER-NAYA MOSKVA and the Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT, called the signing of the treaty the beginning of a new era of relations in the socialist camp, a transition from bilateral to multilateral agreements, but with the qualifier that bilateral agreements are nevertheless important and useful.

The Budapest ESTI HIRLAP, on the other hand, referred to the Warsaw alliance as a "military pact" in regretting that Hungary and other socialist countries were compelled by security reasons to have recourse to it.

All the Polish central newspapers except the official Party organ TRYBUNA LUDU stated openly that "we do not like military groupings and blocs" because they restrict the sovereignty of participants and because foreign troops have to be stationed on other countries' territories. In all instances there was the careful qualifier that the pact is necessary, if unwelcome, and that although Poland would welcome the liquidation of both the Warsaw and NATO pacts it considers the Warsaw Treaty essential as long as NATO is extant. But ZOINIERZ WOLNOSCI, the most outspoken of the Polish central newspapers, went so far as to concede that there are "people in Poland who do not like the Warsaw Treaty."

6. Only Poland Plays Up Idea of European Limited-Arms Zone

Six of the seven Polish papers under review referred approvingly to the proposal for a "strip of reduced and controlled armament" in Europe, attributing the idea either to Eden or Eisenhower. It was specified in most instances that such a strip would "naturally" include Poland. Polish comment on disarmament has put considerable stress on the idea of a limited-armaments zone. One of the Polish articles on the anniversary, in SZTANDAR MLODYCH, declared that the establishment of a limited-armaments zone "as at present discussed at the London disarmament negotiations" would be a big step in the direction of liquidating both the NATO and Warsaw alliances.

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Of the papers in the other countries, only PRAVDA and the Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA alluded to the proposed zone, both mentioning that the two parts of Germany would be included.

7. Polish Press Outspoken on "Principle of Equality"

Polish papers made the most frequent and most outspoken references to the Warsaw Treaty's foundation on "the principle of equality of all members." Soviet and Bulgarian papers referred to the "principle," though less insistently. Rumanian and Czech papers only infrequently spoke of "equality," but in a few instances pointed out that the strongest country dominates imperialist pacts while the Warsaw alliance is run by joint command. Only one Hungarian paper broached the issue: NEPSZABADSAG claimed that before intervening in Hungary the USSR consulted all the Warsaw Treaty members and acted on a joint decision.

8. Czech, Bulgarian, GDR Deference to Soviet Leadership

Only Czech, Bulgarian and East German papers deferred directly to Soviet leadership. The others avoided the subject or discussed instead the USSR's leadership of "the struggle for peace." Czechoslovakia's RUDE PRAVO and GLOS PRACY called the USSR the pact's "most powerful" partner on whose strength the other socialist states rely. PRACE said flatly that the USSR "leads" the alliance. East German papers similarly recognized and paid tribute to Soviet leadership of the pact. The Sofia press spoke of unity around the USSR, paying personal tribute to Marshal Konev as "the glorious Marshal Konev" (NARODNA ARMIYA) and "the tested Army Leader Marshal Konev" (ZA KOOPERATIVNO ZEMEDELIE).

9. More Militant Satellites Play Up Chinese Support

Chinese Communist "support" of the pact was noted this year by Soviet as well as Satellite papers (Moscow had not referred to the CPR in its very limited comment on the 1956 anniversary). But the militant Sofia and East Berlin comment made more effort than the others to brandish CPR backing. ADN carried an interview with Chinese Defense Minister Peng Te-Huai noting "the Chinese people's support" for the 11 May GDR-Polish-Czech declaration. The Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI, in an article quoting Zhukov as saying the USSR has nuclear weapons and the means of delivering them everywhere, portrayed the pact members as united around the USSR "and China." And the Sofia TRUD quoted Peng Te-Huai as saying that "in case of aggression, crushing blows will destroy the capitalist system"--a statement Peng made at the 1955 meeting when the Warsaw Treaty was signed and one of the last such statements about the destruction of capitalism to appear before the inception of the "Geneva spirit."

10. Presence of Soviet Troops in Satellites Deemphasized

When mentioned at all, the presence of Soviet troops on foreign territories was cited as an illustration of international collaboration and mutual confidence, with the specification usually added that the troops were there by virtue of mutual agreements concluded in the spirit of non-discrimination or "equality" that permeates the pact. Only Moscow's VECHERNAYA MOSKVA alluded to "foreign propaganda's" efforts to fan nationalistic feelings in Bloc countries by playing on the issue of Soviet troops. The Budapest ESTI HIRLAP insisted that under present conditions the Soviet troops "must" remain in Hungary. The East German articles ignored the issue, not mentioning the 12 March bilateral agreement on the stationing of Soviet troops in the GDR.

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