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SOURCE Krasnaya Zvezda and Krasnyy Flot.

SURVEY OF SOVIET MILITARY PRESS REVEALS CHANGES
 IN INTERPRETATION OF ARMED FORCES' MISSION, 1950-1952

A qualitative and quantitative analysis was made of Krasnaya Zvezda and Krasnyy Flot for the 4-week period 9 February - 9 March of 1950, 1951, and 1952 to determine whether a change had occurred in the definition of the mission of the Soviet Armed Forces. The analysis revealed a growing tendency on the part of the Soviet military press to de-emphasize the mission of the armed forces as one of "guarding the Soviet frontiers," with a subsequent increase in references to "guarding the state interests of the USSR" and "guarding the creative labor of the Soviet people."

Tables 1-5 are appended.

Using the 4-week period surrounding the anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Armed Forces, February 23, for the years 1950, 1951, and 1952, a count was made of the number of times the terms "guarding the Soviet frontiers," "guarding the interests of the USSR," and "guarding the creative labor of the Soviet people," used in reference to the mission of the Soviet Armed Forces, appeared in articles published in Krasnaya Zvezda and Krasnyy Flot. Two of the three terms stem from the 1 May 1946 Order of the Day of the Minister of the Armed Forces, as published in Pravda, 1 May 1946, in which Stalin said: "Now our armed forces are confronted with no less important a mission -- that of vigilantly guarding the victories of peace and the creative labor of the Soviet people, that of being the faithful guardians of the interests of the Soviet Union."

The following table shows the number of articles which were devoted to the anniversary each year, and the number of times each of the definition of the Soviet Armed Forces' mission was used. The decrease in the number of articles devoted to the anniversary in the 9 February - 9 March 1951 issues of the military press may be attributed to the fact that the anniversary that year was celebrated amidst preparations for elections to the supreme soviets of the union and autonomous republics and for the meeting of the World Peace Council in Berlin. In addition, all newspapers for 17 February 1951 devoted their entire front page to Stalin's interview of the preceding day with a Pravda correspondent.

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50X1-HUM

	9 February - 9 March		
	1950	1951	1952
Total number of articles on anniversary	129	110	163
Number of references in articles to mission of the Soviet Armed Forces as guarding the:			
Soviet frontiers	20	9	7
Interests of the USSR	28	21	35
Creative labor of the Soviet people	<u>30</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>34</u>
Total number of references	78	45	76
Approximate percentages of individual mission references to total mission references:	<u>Percent</u>		
Soviet frontiers	26	20	10
Interests of the USSR	36	47	48
Creative labor of the Soviet people	<u>38</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>42</u>
	100	100	100

Thus, numerically as well as proportionately, there was a decrease in the number of references to the mission of the Soviet Armed Forces as one of guarding the Soviet frontiers, plus a considerable increase in the number of references to missions of guarding the interests of the USSR and guarding the creative labor of the Soviet people.

An analysis of the lead articles alone that were published 9 February - 9 March in 1950, 1951, and 1952 showed an even steeper drop in the number of references to the mission of guarding the Soviet frontiers, and a steady percentage increase in the number of references to guarding the interests of the USSR and guarding the creative labor of the Soviet people. (See Table 1.)

A similar analysis of the special articles published over the same period in the Soviet military press revealed that while there has been a steady increase in the number of references to each of the various missions of the armed forces, there have been no significant relative changes. (See Table 2.)

A comparison of the lead articles published in Krasnaya Zvezda and Krasnyy Flot on each of the anniversary dates for 1950, 1951, and 1952 shows a total absence of references to the mission of the armed forces as one of guarding the Soviet frontiers, and a gradual increase over those years in the number of references to missions of guarding the interests of the USSR and guarding the creative labor of the Soviet people. In the special articles which appeared on 23 February each year, there was one reference to guarding the Soviet frontiers in 1950, none in 1951, and one in 1952. (See Table 3.)

An attempt was also made to determine whether the Soviet military press stressed either the army or the navy in referring to the mission of guarding the Soviet frontiers. The survey revealed that in 1950 and 1951, the largest percentage of references to this mission were made in connection with the navy /mostly in Krasnyy Flot/, the next largest to the armed forces jointly, a smaller percentage to the army, and one reference (in 1951) to the Border Troops of the MGB. In 1952, the joint armed forces were named in six out of the eight references made to guarding the Soviet frontiers. (See Table 4.)

- 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

A count was made of the number of lines devoted to articles in the Soviet military press for each of the 3 years on celebrations of the anniversary abroad. The count revealed a considerable increase in the number of lines devoted to celebrations in China, North Korea, the Mongolian People's Republic, and the People's Democracies, except Poland. There was in general a drop in the number of lines devoted to celebrations in Western European countries, and in the German Democratic Republic a sharp drop occurred. (See Table 5.)

The various military orders of the day, published on each of the anniversary dates for 1950, 1951, and 1952, showed a certain similarity in references to the armed forces' mission.

In his order of the day of 23 February 1950, as published in Krasnaya Zvezda and Krasnyy Flot of that date, Marshal A. M. Vasilevskiy, Minister of Armed Forces USSR, referred to the Soviet Army and Navy as "... the faithful guardians of the state interests of the Soviet Union."

In 1951, the 23 February order of the day of Marshal Vasilevskiy, now War Minister USSR /the Ministry of the Armed Forces was superseded by separate War and Naval ministries by decree of the Presidium, Supreme Soviet USSR, of 25 February 1950 (Pravda, 26 February 1950), stated that "... the Soviet Armed Forces ... have shown themselves to be reliable defenders of the peaceful creative labor of our people and of the state interests of the Soviet Union." The order of the day of Admiral I. S. Yumashev, Naval Minister USSR, stated that "... the Soviet Navy ... is faithfully guarding the peace and security of the sea frontiers of our country."

The 23 February 1952 orders of the day of both Vasilevskiy as War Minister USSR and Vice-Admiral N. G. Kuznetsov as Naval Minister USSR /Kuznetsov had replaced Yumashev on 23 July 1951, according to Vedomosti Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR, No 26, 31 July 1951/ confirmed the definition of the Soviet Army and Navy to one of "... trusty defenders of the state interests of the USSR."

Quotations from some of the important articles published in the Soviet military press for 9 February - 9 March of 1950, 1951, and 1952, and a review of some of the highlights of each of those periods, follow.

1950

The celebration of the 32d anniversary of the organization of the Soviet Army and Navy came in the midst of two other important events, the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Aid on 14 February, and preparations for the 12 March election of deputies to the Supreme Soviet USSR.

Krasnaya Zvezda featured a series of articles captioned "In Preparation for the 32d Anniversary of the Soviet Army" and dedicated to the artillery (8 February), the air force (10 February), the tank and mechanized troops (12 February), the navy (14 February), and the signal troops (22 February). Krasnyy Flot followed the same pattern, with articles on the Soviet Army (11 February), the "serviceman-citizen" (15 February), the Soviet Army in the Great Patriotic War (18 February), and the Soviet Navy (23 February).

The article on the navy, "Faithful Guardian of the Sea Frontiers of the USSR," written by Major General D. Korniyenko, which was published in Krasnaya Zvezda on 14 February, contained this statement: "The party's policy relative to the construction and strengthening of our navy ... conforms to the vital interests of the Soviet Union. That policy is directed toward the strengthening of the security of our frontiers, our sea and ocean communications. It is directed toward the end that our navy be prepared in the future to defend faithfully the state interests of the country of socialism."

- 3 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

The appeal of the TsK VKP(b) to all voters, printed in both papers on 17 February, assured the electorate that in voting for the Stalin bloc of candidates for the Supreme Soviet USSR they would be voting "... that the frontiers of the Soviet Union would in the future also be rendered inaccessible to any enemy, that the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union -- vigilantly guarding the victories of peace and the creative labor of the Soviet people, the interests of our socialist country -- would be strengthened ..." The appeal also made the following statement, which was widely repeated in other articles on the anniversary: "The Armed Forces of the USSR are a treat to any would-be aggressor and pretender to world domination."

"The Soviet Army -- Favorite of the People," a lead article printed in Krasnyy Flot, 22 February, contained the statement "... that should the imperialists unleash a new war against our peace-loving nation, the Soviet Union, supported by the freedom-loving nations of the entire world, would put to rout any aggressor"

The 23 February lead articles of both newspapers portrayed the Soviet Army as a "... mighty bulwark of peace and security for the people" (Krasnaya Zvezda), and as a "... faithful supporter of the Stalin policy of peace and friendship among peoples" (Krasnyy Flot).

I. Tikhonov, author of Krasnyy Flot's special article of 23 February, "The Heroic Army of the Great Soviet People," wrote that "... the Soviet Army does not have and cannot have such aims as the seizure of foreign territory and the enslavement of other peoples" A special article published in Krasnaya Zvezda on that date, "The 3rd Anniversary of the Soviet Armed Forces," by Colonel General F. Kuznetsov, concluded: "... the Armed Forces of the country of socialism are ever ready under any circumstances to carry out the orders of their country and to defend with honor and distinction their country's interests, freedom, and independence."

Ilya Erenburg's "Bulwark of Peace," another special article published in Krasnaya Zvezda, 23 February, reassured the reader that the Soviet Army was one which desired peace, but warned that "... the mercenary people well know that the Soviet Army is frightening in its wrath, know that it will not permit anyone to encroach upon our native land"

Admiral I. Yumashev's article, "The Navy of a Socialist Power," printed in Krasnyy Flot, 23 February, stated that "... every day our sailors can sense the party's and Comrade Stalin's great personal concern that our fleet become an even more powerful defender of the interests of our socialist country on the high seas"

"On Guard Over the Sea Frontiers and the Interests of the Soviet Motherland," the lead article in Krasnyy Flot, 28 February, reviewed the expansion of the USSR sea frontiers as a result of the war (Sakhalin, the Kurile islands, the South Baltic coast, and the northern part of Pechenga are mentioned), and stated that "... for the defense of all these and our other sea frontiers there is needed a mighty naval guard, and it is the duty of the Soviet Navy to be that guard"

1951

In keeping with preparations for elections to the supreme soviets of union and autonomous republics on 12 March, Krasnaya Zvezda, 13 February, published a lead article entitled "The Soviet Soldier -- An Equal Citizen of the USSR." The article listed the rights and privileges of the soldier, and contrasted the Soviet Army ("... an army of brotherhood among the peoples of our country, an army

- 4 -

CONFIDENTIAL

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50X1-HUM

defending the freedom and independence of the peoples of our country ..."), with the armies of bourgeois states ("... armies of colonial repression, armies of pillage and brigandage, used for aggressive wars ...").

On 15 February, Krasnaya Zvezda coupled its lead article, "Revolutionary Vigilance -- Mighty Weapon of the Soviet Soldier," with the published notice of awards to border troops and collective farm workers in border areas. The article called upon the men of the Soviet Army to be particularly vigilant in the light of the international situation and praised the self-sacrificing service of the border troops, who were called "... the alert sentries of our country who vigilantly guard the borders of the socialist state."

The same issue of Krasnaya Zvezda carried an article by Colonel I Tyurin entitled "On Soviet Military Ideology," which was unusual in that the author discussed, in turn, Soviet military ideology, the nature of just and unjust wars, the defense of the state interests of the USSR, and the offensive spirit of the Soviet soldier.

The author defined military ideology as "... the Bolshevik Party's system of views and ideas on questions of safeguarding the state interests of the USSR by military means" Tyurin's views on the nature of just and unjust wars were fairly well summarized in his statement that "... unjust, predatory wars are alien to the Soviet state through [the state's] very nature. It has waged and can wage only just wars, wars of liberation, in the name of noble and lofty purposes"

The author used the phrase "guarding the state interests of the USSR" seven times in referring to the mission of the Soviet Armed Forces, but made no reference to the mission of "guarding the Soviet frontiers."

In his concluding discussion on cultivating the offensive spirit in the Soviet soldier, the author said that during the last war "... the Hitlerites counted upon a waning of the offensive spirit of Soviet troops as the Soviet state carried the war beyond the borders of our country. Despite these presumptions the offensive spirit of Soviet troops not only did not decrease during the war on enemy territory, but increased day in and day out until the final defeat of Fascist Germany."

Both Krasnaya Zvezda and Krasny Flot, 17 February, carried Stalin's interview of the preceding day with a Pravda correspondent. Issues of both papers from 18 to 22 February carried foreign comments on the interview.

The anniversary day lead and special articles in both papers emphasized the role of the Soviet Armed Forces as guardians of the peace and security of the country and of the peaceful creative labor of the Soviet people. The back pages of both papers for that date, 23 February, were devoted to the first session of the World Peace Council in Berlin.

On 25 February both papers concluded their coverage of the anniversary with articles on receptions given at Soviet embassies and missions abroad on the occasion of the anniversary.

1952

Coverage of this year's celebration of the anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy continued over a longer period of time than in either of the two previous years, with Krasnaya Zvezda printing its first article on 3 February, and its last on 2 March. The unusual feature of this year's coverage in the military press was that, for the first time in many years, Marshal Stalin's picture was missing from the 23 February issues.

- 5 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

In the special article, "V. I. Lenin and I. V. Stalin -- Organizers and Leaders of the Soviet Armed Forces," which appeared in Krasnaya Zvezda on 8 February, the assertion that the Soviet Union sought only to maintain peace throughout the world was qualified by the warning that "... in view of the capitalist encirclement, the country of victorious socialism must always be ready to resist a possible imperialist aggression." The existence of such a threat to the Soviet Union was pointed up by the frequent references in the military press this year to the Stalin statement that so long as capitalism exists, there remains the danger of an attack upon the Soviet Union and the outbreak of a new war. ^{The reference is probably to the Stalin statement in} Krasnyy Flot, 18 July 1946.⁷

Krasnyy Flot used the words "sacred frontiers" in three of its six references in 1952 to the mission of the armed forces as one of guarding the frontiers. A check of the military press coverage for 1950, 1951, and 1952 revealed that the words "sacred frontiers" had been used in six of the 38 references to guarding the Soviet frontiers -- three times in 1950 (twice in Krasnaya Zvezda and once in Krasnyy Flot), and three times in 1952 in Krasnyy Flot.

Krasnyy Flot's lead article of 13 February, "Train Seamen in the Spirit of Soviet Military Pride," stated that "... the Soviet serviceman is proud of the fact that our ... army ... has fought and is called upon to fight only in the name of just, liberation purposes"

"Mass Organization of Soviet Patriots," by Vice-Admiral I. F. Golubev-Monarkin, deputy chairman of the Organizational Committee of Dosaaf USSR, published in Krasnyy Flot on 22 February, was the first special article on the paramilitary organizations to appear in the military press in the 9 February - 9 March period of the 3 years covered. The article told of the recent unification of Dosaam, Dosaav, and Dosaflot into Dosaaf USSR, and of the resultant improvement in the work of Dosaaf's primary organizations. In discussing some of the shortcomings of the new organization, the author urged Dosaaf committees on all levels to apply full effort to attracting millions of new members and to set up primary organizations at every enterprise, kolkhos, institution, and educational institution in the country; for, as the author put it, "... millions of Soviet patriots are full of the desire to participate fully in the strengthening of the Soviet Army, Air Force, and Navy, in increasing still further the might of our beloved country ..."

The order of the day of the War Minister on 23 February again employed the phrase "... raising ... the combat readiness of the troops ...," which had been used in the 1950 order of the day, but was replaced with the somewhat weaker phrase "... Soviet warriors ... are tirelessly perfecting their military prowess ..." in the 1951 order of the day of the War Minister.

Both the lead editorial, "The Armed Forces of the Country of Socialism," and Marshal R. Malinovsky's special article, "The Glorious Anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy," in Krasnaya Zvezda, 13 February, contained the quotation from Stalin's 1 May 1946 order of the day as Minister of the Armed Forces: "... We must bear in mind the instructions of the great Lenin that, having passed to peaceful labor, it is necessary to continue being on the alert, and to guard like the apple of one's eye the armed forces and the defensive capabilities of our country."

In articles on the celebration abroad, the Soviet Army was portrayed as: an army of liberation, an army of peace, an army guarding the peace and security of the world, the saviour of mankind and civilization from fascist barbarity, etc.

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50X1-HUM

[Appended tables follow.]

Table 1. Mission References in Lead Articles,
9 February - 9 March 1950, 1951, and 1952

	<u>1950</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1952</u>
Total number of lead articles on anniversary	9	7	9
Number of references in lead articles to mission of the Soviet Armed Forces as guarding the:			
Soviet frontiers	8	3	1
Interests of the USSR	12	5	12
Creative labor of the Soviet people	15	7	15
Total number of references to mission	35	15	28
Approximate percentage of individual mission references to total mission references:			
		<u>Percent</u>	
Soviet frontiers	23	20	4
Interests of the USSR	34	33	44
Creative labor of the Soviet people	43	47	52
	100	100	100

Table 2. Mission References in Special Articles,
9 February - 9 March 1950, 1951, and 1952

	<u>1950</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1952</u>
Total number of special articles on anniversary	17	12	15
Number of references in special articles to mission of the Soviet Armed Forces as guarding the:			
Soviet frontiers	3	4	5
Interests of the USSR	14	15	24
Creative labor of the Soviet people	7	7	14
Total number of references to mission	26	26	43
Approximate percentage of individual mission references to total mission references:			
		<u>Percent</u>	
Soviet frontiers	12	15	12
Interests of the USSR	54	58	56
Creative labor of the Soviet people	34	27	32
	100	100	100

- 7 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

Table 3. Mission References in Lead and Special Articles,
23 February 1950, 1951, and 1952

<u>Lead Articles</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1952</u>
Total number of lead articles	2	2	2
Number of references in lead articles to mission of the Soviet Armed Forces as guarding the:			
Soviet frontiers	0	0	0
Interests of the USSR	2	3	5
Creative labor of the Soviet people	1	2	5
Total number of references to mission	3	5	10
Approximate percentage of individual mission references to total mission references:		<u>Percent</u>	
Soviet frontiers	0	0	0
Interests of the USSR	66	60	50
Creative labor of the Soviet people	33	40	50
approx	100	100	100
<u>Special Articles</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1952</u>
Total number of special articles	2	2	2
Number of references in special articles to mission of the Soviet Armed Forces as guarding the:			
Soviet frontiers	1	0	1
Interests of the USSR	2	1	3
Creative labor of the Soviet people	2	1	2
Total number of references to mission	5	2	6
Approximate percentage of individual mission references to total mission references:		<u>Percent</u>	
Soviet frontiers	20	0	17
Interests of the USSR	40	50	50
Creative labor of the Soviet people	40	50	33
	100	100	100

- 8 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

Table 4. References to Frontier Mission Assignment,
9 February - 9 March 1950, 1951, and 1952

	<u>1950</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1952</u>
Total number of articles on anniversary	129	110	163
Assignment of mission of guarding Soviet frontiers to:			
Armed Forces (named jointly)			
Army	7	3	5
Navy	4	1	1
Border Troops	9	4	1
	0	1	0
Total number of references to mission	20	9	7
Approximate percent of individual mission references to total mission references:		<u>Percent</u>	
Armed Forces (named jointly)			
Army	35	33	72
Navy	20	11	14
Border Troops	45	45	14
	0	11	0
	100	100	100

Table 5. Number of Lines Devoted to Articles on
the Celebration of the Anniversary Abroad
in the Soviet Military Press
(eight lines equal one inch)

	<u>9 February - 9 March</u>		
	<u>1950</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1952</u>
China	130	117	244
North Korea	-	42	104
Mongolian People's Republic	42	71	113
Poland	261	128	214
Rumania	56	64	165
Bulgaria	91	128	134
Hungary	30	38	100
Albania	26	46	70
Czechoslovakia	22	54	42
GDR	193	31	25
France	64	16	22
Denmark	51	-	20
Belgium	-	-	20
Finland	31	27	15
Norway	45	10	-
Great Britain	45	18	-
Italy	25	9	-
Netherlands	-	29	-
Sweden	-	26	-
Iran	-	10	-
Total number of lines	1112	864	1288

- F 7 D -

- 9 -

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