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SUBJECT: Soviet Propaganda and Active Measures Efforts to Influence Arms Control Issues [Redacted]

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OGI/FSIC/SA [Redacted] (11 July 86)

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Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D. C. 20505

DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

11 JUL 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR: (See Distribution List)

FROM:

[Redacted]

Chief, Foreign Subversion and Instability
Center, Office of Global Issues

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SUBJECT:

Soviet Propaganda and Active Measures Efforts
to Influence Arms Control Issues [Redacted]

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1. The attached memorandum is a new publication that outlines recent Soviet propaganda and active measures efforts to influence arms control issues. It highlights major Soviet activities in the areas of space, nuclear, chemical and biological, and conventional weapons. Also included are a calendar of forthcoming events that are likely to figure prominently in Moscow's propaganda campaigns and a list of Soviet arms control initiatives since the beginning of the year. This publication deals only with Soviet propaganda and active measures and does not attempt to address Soviet arms control policy vis-a-vis ongoing negotiations with the United States. [Redacted]

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2. This memorandum was prepared by analysts in the Office of Global Issues and the Office of Soviet Analysis. [Redacted]

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3. Comments and queries are welcome and may be directed to me [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Attachment:

Soviet Propaganda and Active Measures
Efforts to Influence Arms Control Issues [Redacted]
GI M 86-20163, July 1986, [Redacted]

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Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D. C. 20505

DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

11 July 1986

Soviet Propaganda and Active Measures Efforts to Influence Arms Control Issues [redacted]

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Summary

General Secretary Gorbachev continues to take the lead in pushing Moscow's arms control agenda. In addition to launching a string of arms control initiatives since the beginning of the year, his speeches on arms control have set the tone for harsh Soviet criticism of US policies--the latest of which he delivered on 1 July at the Polish Communist Party Congress. While Western Europe remains the USSR's top priority, Moscow also targets the US public and is using arms control propaganda in the Third World to fan anti-US sentiment there. During the past few months, the Soviets have campaigned actively against the Strategic Defense Initiative and Western development and deployment of binary chemical weapons, and in favor of eliminating nuclear weapons. Nonetheless, their latest push--the so-called Budapest appeal of 11 June--centers on conventional weapons. In the coming months we do not expect any major changes in Moscow's arms control campaigns and believe that public diplomacy will continue to be the dominant factor in Soviet strategy. [redacted]

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This memorandum was prepared by analysts in the Office of Global Issues and the Office of Soviet Analysis. Comments and queries are welcome and may be directed to the Chief, Foreign Subversion and Instability Center, OGI, [redacted]

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Soviet Propaganda and Active Measures Efforts to
Influence Arms Control Issues

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Space Weapons

Moscow continues to allocate considerable resources to its worldwide effort against the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI). Press conferences and other overt propaganda techniques play the major role in the USSR's attempts to derail SDI. At the annual International Labor Organization meeting last month in Geneva, for example, the Soviets alleged that the growing arms burden--fueled by the US commitment to SDI--was one of the roots of unemployment worldwide, according to Soviet press reports. Other recent forums used by Moscow to promote anti-SDI rhetoric include an April meeting between the US and USSR Academies of Science and the May conference on the UN World Disarmament Campaign in Tbilisi, USSR.

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The USSR has exploited diplomatic venues to press its anti-SDI views with Western policymakers. Recent noteworthy contacts with foreign politicians during which the Soviets discussed SDI include Moscow party secretary Yel'tsin's meeting in Bonn with West German Bundestag President Jenninger; President Gromyko's meeting with Oskar Lafontaine, Minister-President of the Saar state in West Germany; and discussions between veteran Soviet propagandists Georgiy Arbatov and Vadim Zagladin and a visiting British parliamentary delegation. While the impact of these activities is difficult to assess, they provide Moscow with opportunities to state its case against SDI among those who can shape Western policy.

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Soviet front organizations remain actively involved in the anti-SDI campaign, staging international conferences condemning SDI in order to pressure Western public officials. At the May meeting of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) in Moscow, for example, a message read on behalf of Gorbachev accused the United States of efforts to create new superweapons within the framework of SDI. The April meeting of the World Peace Council (WPC) in Sofia attacked SDI as well. Because of a growing public awareness of Soviet control of groups such as AAPSO and the WPC, Moscow has begun exploiting other, more credible propaganda vehicles, most notably the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW). At the IPPNW congress last month in West Germany, the group's leadership followed the Soviet line by suppressing discussion of the Chernobyl' nuclear accident and linking the disaster to a call for a halt to the militarization of space, according to US Embassy reporting.

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Nuclear Weapons

During the past several months, the Soviets have repeatedly pushed Gorbachev's 15 January proposal to eliminate nuclear weapons by the year 2000 through their own press, front group meetings, press conferences with Western journalists, and meetings with foreign delegations. In our view, this effort is intended principally to influence West European public opinion, especially opposition political parties such as the West German Social Democrats (SPD) and the British Labour party. Available evidence suggests that this strategy is meeting with some success. Following an April visit to Moscow, an SPD member of the West German Bundestag arms control disarmament subcommittee reported that the Soviets made a convincing case for taking their January proposal seriously, according to the US Embassy in Bonn. In addition, British Labour party Shadow Foreign Secretary Dennis Healy returned from Moscow last month optimistic about Soviet intentions on nuclear disarmament, based on an article he authored in the British press. [redacted]

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Moscow has also played up the nuclear disarmament theme in the Third World as a means of discrediting the United States. Largely through paid advertisements, Gorbachev's 15 January proposal received widespread coverage in Africa in an effort to convince Africans that Western arms expenditures divert much-needed economic aid from the Third World and to persuade them of Soviet sincerity in seeking arms reductions. The Soviets stress similar themes in the arms control propaganda that they routinely place in the Indian press as well. In the front group arena, Ethiopian radiobroadcasts indicate that the WPC sponsored an international conference in early June in Addis Ababa that called on peace-loving forces to "step up their struggle to divert toward development the money being wasted on producing weapons of destruction." [redacted]

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Moscow's efforts to push its own nuclear arms proposals have been accompanied by a major propaganda campaign arguing that the United States is intent on destroying SALT II. Following President Reagan's late May statement on SALT, Moscow warned of "dire consequences" for current and prospective arms agreements--asserting that US noncompliance would unleash an uncontrolled arms race and characterizing the US decision as the logical culmination of the Administration's lack of commitment to arms control. In what may signal a worldwide effort, the Soviets--according to the US Embassy in Buenos Aires--held an unusual Soviet press conference there in late June at which Soviet spokesmen tried to drum up opposition to the US position on SALT. [redacted]

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Chemical and Biological Weapons

In the area of chemical and biological weapons (CBW), Soviet propaganda during the past several months has focused on the US

[redacted]

decision to produce binary chemical weapons and deploy them in NATO countries. Moscow apparently hoped to fuel West European anxieties by alleging in Pravda in early June that Washington pushed the policy through NATO "behind the backs of the West European people and in the face of protests from a number of NATO governments." At the same time, the Soviets have played up their proposal for a chemical weapons ban, and endorsed a joint initiative by the West German Social Democratic Party and the ruling East German Socialist Unity Party for a chemical weapons free zone in Central Europe. [redacted]

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The Soviets have continued their worldwide disinformation campaign alleging that AIDS was developed jointly by the Pentagon and the CIA in the course of biological warfare experiments conducted during the 1950s and 1960s. Although the original intent of the campaign was probably to blame the United States for the appearance of AIDS in the Bloc countries, we suspect that the story now is being used to create fear of the US military abroad and of the forthcoming deployment of new chemical weapons outside the United States. [redacted]

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Conventional Weapons

Soviet propaganda recently began highlighting longstanding conventional arms negotiations. The Soviets particularly have stressed the "European" aspects of the talks, portraying the United States as a distant country attempting to undermine European interests. Pravda, for example, characterized the 11 June proposal from Budapest as "an appeal to all NATO member-states and to all European countries" in light of the "imperial, globalist ambitions of (the) US administration." During his recent talks with French President Mitterrand in Moscow, Gorbachev's arms control statements focused on conventional disarmament, according to a US Embassy report. [redacted]

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Soviet rhetoric on conventional weapons often follows a distinct pattern for all the European negotiating fora--the Conference on Disarmament in Europe (CDE), the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), and the Mutual Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR) talks. Prior to formal negotiations, Soviet media usually expound upon the virtue of Soviet positions, sometimes claiming extravagant goals for a given forum. During the negotiating sessions, the "righteous" stance taken by the Soviet representatives is typically played up. At the conclusion of a session, Moscow tries to focus the blame for any disagreements on the West, particularly the United States. This pattern was clearly evident at the May CDE meeting in Stockholm. Beforehand, TASS praised Soviet proposals while describing the US position on "various farfetched pretexts" of the United States and other Western countries. [redacted]

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Outlook

During the next few months, we do not expect any major changes in Soviet propaganda and active measures efforts to influence arms control issues and believe that public diplomacy will remain the dominant element in Moscow's strategy. On the SDI front, a recent letter from Soviet Prime Minister Ryzhkov to UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar reviving Moscow's "star peace" proposal indicates that the Soviets will raise SDI at the 41st UN General Assembly, which opens in September. By incorporating features designed to attract Third World support--such as the creation of a World Space Organization dedicated to the development of agriculture, improvement of communications, and establishment of a global weather forecasting service--the Soviets probably hope to overcome the apathy engendered by last year's "star peace" proposal. [redacted]

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We believe that in the weeks ahead Moscow will re-energize its propaganda campaign against nuclear testing. The USSR's unilateral testing moratorium ends on 6 August, the anniversary of Hiroshima and the opening of the summit in Mexico City of the Group of Six--the leaders of Argentina, Mexico, Tanzania, Sweden, Greece, and India. The USSR almost certainly will use the meeting--at which the Six are likely to renew their call for a moratorium--to publicize its willingness to negotiate a comprehensive test ban treaty. We believe the Soviets will also propagandize any unfavorable US response to such an initiative at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva and the UN General Assembly this fall. [redacted]

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Targets of future Soviet propaganda in the CBW arena are certain to include the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention (BWC) Review Conference to be held in Geneva in September. Because of the wide gap between the US and Soviet positions on the compliance issue, we believe that Moscow will try to gain maximum propaganda value by pointing to Gorbachev's proposal to ban chemical weapons, the interim agreement to prohibit CW transfer, and its touted flexibility on verification. The Soviets are likely to divert questions on compliance by arguing that BWC parties should await the outcome of ongoing negotiations on chemical weapons before tackling that issue. [redacted]

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Regarding conventional weapons, we expect the Soviets in the near term will continue to push their 11 June proposal for an "Atlantic to the Urals" Conference on Conventional and Tactical Nuclear Arms. We believe that they will continue to stress the theme of "mutual European concerns" and try to sell the view that the onus for successful negotiations at the November CSCE Review Conference in Vienna belongs on the United States. [redacted]

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Calendar of Key Events 1986-87

Listed below are arms control related events that are likely to figure prominently in Moscow's propaganda efforts.

1986

- 14-15 Jul Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to London.
- 14-19 Jul Geneva Graduate Institute of International Studies' Seminar on International Security, Geneva.
- 15-16 Jul American Society of Mechanical Engineers' International Conference on SDI Research, Brussels.
- 18 Jul End of CDE Round XI, Stockholm.
- 20-22 Jul West German Foreign Minister Genscher's visit to Moscow.
- 29-31 Jul Kyungnam University's conference on "The SDI: Implications for the Asian Community," Seoul.
- 5-6 Aug Group of Six Summit, Mexico City.
- 19 Aug-19 Sep CDE final session for 1986, Stockholm.
- 24-26 Aug Second World Congress on Chemical Warfare, Ghent, Belgium.
- 26 Aug-7 Sep Nonaligned Movement Summit, Harare, Zimbabwe.
- 29 Aug Conclusion of Conference on Disarmament, Geneva.
- 8-26 Sep Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention Review Conference, Geneva.
- 29-30 Sep IAEA General Conference, Vienna.
- Sep-Dec UN General Assembly, New York.
- 9-10 Oct Herald Tribune's International Symposium on SDI, Paris.
- 15-19 Oct World Congress for the UN International Year of Peace, Copenhagen.
- 4 Nov CSCE Review Conference, Vienna.

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- Jan Bundestag elections, West Germany.



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Soviet Arms Control Initiatives During 1986

- 15 January Proposal to eliminate nuclear weapons by the year 2000.
- 20 February Repackaged MBFR proposal.
- 27 March Proposal to withdraw US and Soviet fleets from the Mediterranean.
- 29 March Invitation to meet President Reagan on a comprehensive test ban.
- 18 April Proposal to reduce conventional and SRINF forces from the Atlantic to the Urals.
- 22 April Proposal at CD on elimination of CW production facilities.
- 14 May Extension of test moratorium and proposal to provide assistance during nuclear accidents.
- 15 May Presentation of draft INF agreement based on 15 January proposal.
- 26 May Offer to reduce Soviet strategic forces if British scrap their nuclear force.
- 28 May Agreement with the Natural Resources Defense Council on seismic exchange.
- 29 May Soviet proposal for extension of ABM Treaty withdrawal period.
- 11 June Budapest Proposal on Conventional Force Reductions.
- 11 June Proposal in START that changes previous SNDV and weapons ceilings.
- 11 June Proposal to UN Secretary General to create World Space Organization.

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