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**International
Communication
Agency**

United States of America

Washington, D. C. 20547

Executive Registry
81-2681

Director



October 27, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR:

(Addressees are
listed in alpha-
betical order)

The Honorable
Richard V. Allen

The Honorable
William J. Casey ✓

The Honorable
Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

The Honorable
Caspar W. Weinberger

FROM:

Charles Z. Wick *[Signature]*

SUBJECT:

PROJECT TRUTH

As part of the continuing PROJECT TRUTH campaign, USICA has initiated a monthly publication explaining Soviet propaganda techniques and themes, designed for U.S. policymakers and overseas distribution, entitled "Soviet Propaganda Alert." A copy is attached for your use.

Any further thoughts or recommendations you might have on PROJECT TRUTH or the attached publication would be most welcome.

PROJECT TRUTH

Soviet Propaganda Alert

No. 1

October 15, 1981

Re: Project Truth

In addition to the efforts underway of a complementary nature, this is the first in a monthly series of reports on Soviet external propaganda. The reports will be based on evaluations of cable reporting, primary source material, and secondary sources such as Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) publications. Because this report is the first, it contains more general and introductory material than will be included in updates.

Presented in this report are:

- o An overview of Soviet propaganda principles and techniques.
- o A list of major political-military propaganda themes and societal comparisons drawn between the U.S. and the USSR. Selected regional and country propaganda themes are also provided.
- o A case study of a Soviet propaganda campaign currently in progress: the anti-neutron weapon (ERW) campaign.

While the focus is on Soviet external propaganda, most of the themes are echoed in the domestic media. Thus, Soviet citizens do not in general get different messages than do foreign audiences.

Office of Research
International Communication Agency
Washington, D.C.

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I. CHARACTERISTICS OF SOVIET EXTERNAL PROPAGANDAA. Soviet External Propaganda*

Soviet external propaganda has two main purposes:

- o To represent the Soviet Union as dedicated to peace and detente, and
- o To show the Soviet Union as a just, fair, progressive society, worthy of admiration if not emulation.

For these purposes, Soviet propagandists follow several basic principles. The first of these is a systematic denigration of the U.S., its culture, political system, and belief structures. By showing that the U.S.--the acknowledged representative of all things Western--is a doomed, decadent, inherently evil society which opposes all progressive change, Soviet propagandists hope to persuade target audiences that it is not a fit model for their own countries.

The Soviet Union presents itself as the only alternative to the U.S. as a system of social organization. It portrays itself as the near-perfect society. Armed with an ideology that maintains that the Soviet form of society is the inevitable next step in human development, Soviet propagandists draw invidious comparisons between almost every aspect of American and Soviet life.

Another key feature of Soviet propaganda is the argument that while the U.S. and the West are doomed in historical terms, the U.S. is all the more dangerous because it will defend its way of life to the end, taking the rest of the world with it to destruction if need be.

By contrast, the Soviet Union arms only to defend itself and its allies. It does this reluctantly because its main goal is to perfect the social, cultural, and economic lives of its citizens; and armaments are a drain on that process.

From these basic principles flow the whole litany of Soviet propaganda and, for that matter, foreign policy:

- o Support for "national liberation" movements is justified in terms of putting them on the road to the higher plane of existence enjoyed by the Soviet Union.
- o The foreign and domestic policies of Western countries are criticized because they are dedicated to the preservation of the status quo and are opposed to progressive change.

* In the Soviet lexicon, the word "propaganda" does not carry the negative connotation that it does in the West.

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- o Western military measures are portrayed as inherently aggressive because they are directed against the Soviet Union and the progressive principles for which it stands.
- o Anti-imperialism (anti-Americanism) is claimed to be good because it represents a movement against the ancien regime and toward historical progress. The methods used in the anti-imperialist struggle are sometimes harsh but are justified by the ends.
- o The Soviet Union is the natural ally of Third World countries and all others who have freed themselves from imperialism (i.e., Eastern Europe).

B. Soviet Propaganda Techniques

Soviet propagandists employ a vast array of techniques, crude and sophisticated. As well as simply being very good at what they do, Soviet propagandists are not restrained by truth, honesty, and morality; rather, they are guided by a new morality, defined by Lenin as that which serves the good of the Party. Their ideology rationalizes the use of falsehood and deception by promising that the end--the perfect society--justifies all means and that shrinking from the use of all available means constitutes betrayal of the cause.

Soviet propagandists use selective information, half-truths, distortions, and innuendo, as well as outright lies. Many Soviet propagandists (such as Radio Moscow's Vladimir Pozner) have an excellent understanding of the American psyche and take advantage of American feelings about fair play to justify their own actions or call those of the West into question.

A favorite Soviet propaganda technique is indirection: an item from a Western or other non-Soviet source is cited in support of the Soviet position on an issue, the item sometimes having been planted by the Soviets. Ironically, the Soviets tend to think sources from the bourgeois West will have the greatest credibility, even among their own population. An alternative form of indirection is the inaccurate citation of a foreign source or the portrayal of the source as broadly representative of the larger society when it is not (i.e., frequent citations from the U.S. Communist Party newspaper, Daily Worker).

Disinformation is another technique. It is impossible to tell how widespread the practice is because good disinformation is usually not detected. One form of disinformation is the "revelation" of false information (such as a forged U.S. document), preferably in a foreign source that cannot be directly associated with the Soviet Union. Another disinformation technique is to draw attention to past covert actions by U.S. intelligence agencies and then to imply that the attempted assassination of the Pope or the bombings in Iran are similar

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types of activities. From here it is a short step to the suggestion that the U.S. could have been involved.

A most effective technique is imputing false motives to U.S. policy. The Soviets are quick to exploit any opening offered by a U.S. action by pointing out adverse consequences or offensive features to the countries affected. Thus, any U.S. action which can be interpreted to support Israel is portrayed as being anti-Arab in nature. U.S. attempts to achieve "balance" in situations such as the recent South African incursion into Angola are dismissed as hypocrisy.

Another technique is to debase the meaning of words. Soviet propaganda has succeeded in appropriating the word "socialist" as a synonym for the word "communist," and propagandists seldom refer to themselves or their East European allies as communist countries. In so doing, they acquire at least semantic legitimacy with groups and countries that consider themselves to be socialist but not communist. Perhaps the term most debased is "anti-Soviet": virtually every development in the world is seen as either pro- or anti-Soviet and whatever is not clearly "pro" is immediately labeled "anti." There is also the example of the application of "national liberation movement" to groups which seek the violent overthrow of governments unfriendly or neutral toward the Soviet Union.

Diversion is a technique used to blunt attacks on the USSR. When the USSR is criticized, Soviet propaganda responds with a barrage of countercharges, trying to turn the accusation made against the USSR against the accusers themselves. For example, Western charges of Soviet experimentation with biological warfare, arising in connection with the Sverdlovsk anthrax incident, were answered by a Soviet propaganda blitz on Western development of biological weapons. Soviet propagandists often concoct even the most absurd accusations in the belief that even these will help distract attention from the charges against the USSR.

This is not to say that everything that Soviet propagandists create is untrue or that Soviets necessarily disbelieve their own arguments even if they appear to be untrue in Western eyes. Because their ideology dictates the "correct" interpretation of most facts, Soviets may often read a vastly different meaning into a situation or action than would their Western counterparts. Over the years, Soviet ideologists have developed an array of philosophical rationalizations that make all Western actions appear to be threatening or malevolent regardless of their objective intent, while all Soviet actions are laudable, no matter how they might appear to the outside observer.

II. CURRENT SOVIET EXTERNAL PROPAGANDA THEMES

This list of current propaganda themes and variations is not exhaustive. Soviet propagandists adjust quickly to changing situations, developing variations on general and constant themes in the Soviet repertoire to suit the needs of the moment. Thus, a general theme (e.g.: "The U.S. is a threat to peace") can be refined to apply to an unlimited range of geographic and situational requirements.

The themes are organized according to their geographic concerns--global, regional, or country-specific--and within these categories according to whether they involve military-strategic matters or seek to contrast the Soviet Union with the United States.

A. Global Themes: Military-Strategic

The aggressiveness of the U.S. as contrasted with the peace-loving nature of the USSR is one of the dominant themes of Soviet propaganda. It encompasses many sub-themes, some of which are discussed below.

According to Soviet propaganda, the U.S. is escalating the arms race, provoking conflict, and trying to counter every aspect of Soviet influence in the world in its efforts to regain the military-strategic superiority it once possessed. Aggressive behavior by the U.S. stems largely from its inability and/or unwillingness to adjust to the new "correlation of forces" in the world (the decline of the Western capitalism and the rise of socialism). U.S. frustration at no longer being "number one" is expressed in violence, directed primarily at its chief rival, the Soviet Union.

The USSR, on the other hand, has always been and continues to be dedicated to the struggle for peace. Its military might is intended only to defend itself and other peoples who want and deserve help in defending themselves. In recent months, the so-called Brezhnev "peace offensive" has been cited repeatedly as testimony to the peace-loving nature of Soviet policy.

While Soviet propaganda always presents U.S. military-strategic aggressiveness as a real and dangerous threat, it also indicates that U.S. actions will ultimately prove futile. For as Marxism-Leninism teaches, the capitalist/imperialist world is doomed, despite its desperate efforts to survive, and socialism--with the USSR its leading representative--is the future. Nonetheless, the forces of socialism cannot wait passively for the collapse of the capitalist world; they must actively counter its "last gasps" of harmful activity.

Sub-Themes

1. The U.S. seeks military superiority over the Soviet Union. The U.S. has lost the military preeminence in the world it enjoyed after World War II when only it possessed nuclear weapons. The U.S. wishes to regain its former position in order to blackmail the Soviet Union and its allies, to force its will upon other countries, and to resist forces of change and progress, especially in the Third World.
2. The U.S. is not seriously interested in arms control negotiations. The U.S. strives to create an international atmosphere which is counterproductive to arms talks, it has failed to respond to any of the sincere Soviet initiatives in the sphere of arms control, and it has blocked ongoing efforts such as the MBFR talks. Although the American failure to ratify SALT II is no longer a major emphasis, it is still regularly referred to in the context of more general criticisms of U.S. arms control behavior.
3. The U.S. is introducing sinister new weapons such as the neutron weapon, the Pershing II, the MX, chemical and biological weapons. In its drive to regain superiority, the U.S. is developing and deploying new weapons systems which endanger the alleged parity that Soviet propagandists maintain now exists between the two countries. The U.S. is willing to use any weapon, including chemical and biological devices which most other countries have outlawed. The U.S. is also developing the space shuttle mainly for military use and is working on killer satellites, particle-beam weapons, and laser applications.
4. The U.S. is forcing its allies to accept its weapons and to increase their own arms expenditures. The U.S. blackmails its allies into accepting the placement of weapons (e.g. Pershing II's). Its allies resist because they recognize that the U.S. is trying to export a future war, that is, to ensure that it is not fought on U.S. soil. There is a growing split between the U.S. and its allies.
5. The U.S. seeks to forge an anti-Soviet alliance with such countries as China, Japan, Pakistan, and Turkey. The U.S. wants bases for its troops or the right to stockpile military supplies on the soil of other countries. The U.S. uses economic aid, military assistance, weapons sales, or simple blackmail to gain concessions.
6. The U.S. engages in psychological warfare against the Soviet Union. It spreads untruths about the USSR through its propaganda activities--especially radio: VOA, RFE, and RL--and foments anti-Soviet hysteria and war mentality. These activities are in violation of basic international agreements such as CSCE.

7. The U.S. wages economic warfare against the USSR. The U.S. is trying to provoke a costly new round of the arms race that will strain, exhaust and ultimately destroy the Soviet economy. It also uses economic weapons such as the grain embargo to force the Soviet Union to accede to its will. Soviet propagandists always strongly emphasize that the Soviet economy will never be ruined by a forced arms race. Although the Soviet leadership would much prefer to use Soviet resources for improving the people's living conditions, the USSR is certainly capable of keeping pace with U.S. military strength and is determined to do this, even if sacrifices are necessary in other sectors of the economy.

8. The U.S. grossly interferes in the internal affairs of other countries. The U.S. seeks to manipulate the domestic political process of other countries, including its allies. It attempts to guarantee that these countries' domestic and foreign policies will be subordinate or at least complementary to its own. The U.S. is willing to use all methods to this end, including propaganda, blackmail, bribery, and assassination. In the case of countries that seek to free themselves of U.S. or colonial domination, the U.S. assists repressive regimes in putting these movements down or sponsors counterrevolutionary activities which will restore the status quo.

9. The U.S. faces vast resistance to its aggressive plans. The world public opposes the aggressive plans of the U.S. and its allies. Large-scale resistance is seen in almost all countries. Pacifism and neutralism are growing, especially in those countries most threatened by U.S. plans. Even within the U.S., there is a major split between the Government and the people over defense policy.

10. The U.S. and allies are responsible for international terrorism. The U.S., Israel and some of the NATO allies are behind terrorist activity in the world. There is a tradition of terrorism associated with right-wing extremists in the West and the U.S. is a violent, unstable society which spawns terrorist activity.

11. The CIA is behind much of the unrest in the world. In its efforts to carry out its policies, the U.S. resorts to all available means. Along with military, economic, and psychological weapons, the U.S. employs the CIA to subvert other countries and to bring their policies in line with its own. It attempts to control other governments through its agents or to destabilize those countries it cannot control. The CIA has unlimited funds and will employ any means to achieve its ends.

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12. The Soviet Union seeks only peace and detente. Soviet policy is peace-loving and defensive. The USSR has often sought to reach agreement with the U.S. and its allies to reduce tensions, disarm, and engage in peaceful economic and social intercourse. The Soviet Union respects the independence and sovereignty of other countries and does not interfere in their internal affairs. The world public recognizes and appreciates this policy, and regards the Soviet Union as the greatest force for peace on the planet.

13. The Soviet Union arms only to defend itself and its allies. The USSR is forced to respond to U.S. and Western threats by building its own forces. These forces are purely defensive, but can be used to defend the gains of socialism and national liberation movements such as in Afghanistan.

14. The U.S. cannot succeed in gaining military superiority. The Soviet people are willing to make whatever sacrifices are necessary to provide adequate defenses. In spite of the U.S.'s superior resources, it will never be allowed to regain military superiority.

B. Global Themes: U.S. and USSR As Competing Social Models

The propaganda themes listed in this section are meant by the Soviets to show that the U.S. is an unattractive, vicious, exploitative society which has outlived its time. The Soviet Union is portrayed as the society which has found the answers to the challenges of modern society. While the Soviet Union is acknowledged to have some problems, these are of a temporary nature and will fade as the society develops.

The Soviets are especially defensive about social and economic comparisons with the U.S. and other Western countries. They react immediately to charges from Western officials which call into question the quality of life in the Soviet Union or challenge the idea that the USSR constitutes a model for future society.

Sub-Themes

1. The U.S. slanders the Soviet Union. U.S. policy is pervasively anti-Soviet. "Bourgeois falsifiers" in the West carry on a relentless campaign of anti-Soviet slander. They slur the Soviet way of life, Soviet reality, nationality relations, foreign policy, economic system, etc. Western "secret services" and their "mouthpieces" and "voices" are in the forefront of this campaign of anti-Sovietism.

2. The neocolonialist U.S. and its allies are not friends of the Third World. The U.S. holds up the American system as a model for Third World countries but in fact it is not a fit model. Imitating it means continuing in a mode of colonial-

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style oppression and injustice. The U.S. supports tyrannical regimes (e.g. Chile, South Africa) if they are pro-West and anti-Soviet, and it opposes national liberation movements. It has no genuine concern for the welfare of the Third World peoples; its main concern is access to resources. American exploitation of Third World takes many forms--economic, cultural, political. For example, U.S. corporations extract profit from the Third World while exploiting their resources; the CIA manipulates foreign regimes by "dirty tricks"; U.S. museums and private collectors steal Latin American artifacts.

3. The Soviet Union is the natural ally of Third World countries. Its dedication to the interests of the common people is manifested in its support of national liberation movements. The USSR generously extends opportunities to Third World students to study in the USSR. It unstintingly gives economic assistance for peaceful purposes and sends Soviet technicians and specialists of all kinds to Third World countries to work jointly with the indigenous population on construction and other projects.

4. The U.S. is an insecure, unstable, inhumane society in a permanent state of crisis. Its most striking features are:

- o High unemployment (especially among blacks).
- o Racial discrimination.
- o Abject poverty juxtaposed with excessive wealth concentrated in the topmost elite.
- o Widespread demoralization as well as material deprivation among the poor, the unemployed, and the otherwise disadvantaged.
- o High cost of education, medical care, etc. (access and quality depend upon ability to pay).
- o Rampant crime and antisocial behavior (decadence, drugs, and pornography).
- o Neglect of and lack of respect for the elderly.
- o Widespread worker dissatisfaction (as evidenced by strikes).
- o Political prisoners.
- o Lack of genuine democracy.

Note: While usually less prominent and extensive than propaganda on international issues, propaganda on U.S. internal affairs is nonetheless a staple feature of the Soviet media. Themes are

longstanding and change little over time, although treatment and tone vary. Commentary is usually tied to some news event or development in the U.S. which illustrates negative aspects of American society. Soviets do not need to make up stories or "disinformation" although they are not above it. All they must do is give one-sided coverage of issues, drawing from Western press articles and data that show American society in an unfavorable light.

By contrast, Soviet propagandists portray the USSR as having solved or nearly solved most of its problems. Because economic rights (jobs, wages, pensions) are considered to be basic human rights in the Soviet Union, the system is shown to be more humane and dedicated to the welfare of the masses. Social relations are based on equality, antisocial behavior is an aberration, and the people regard the system as fair and just.

5. The U.S. violates fundamental human rights while accusing others of doing so. The U.S. hypocritically attacks the Soviet Union for alleged human rights violations, while it is the U.S. that is violating fundamental human rights. The U.S. is interested in human rights only as an issue with which to attack the Soviet Union.

6. Soviets who fall prey to Western propaganda tend to be unsuccessful and miserable when they emigrate. Soviet emigres miss their homeland intolerably, regret their decision to emigrate, and are desperate to return to USSR. Their reasons for being disenchanted with life in the West tend to be both economic and "spiritual": difficulty of getting a job commensurate with one's education and experience; unsatisfactory living conditions; feeling out of place in a cold, uncaring, dog-eat-dog, every-man-for-himself capitalist society.

C. Regional and Country Themes

Many of the global themes previously described appear in Soviet propaganda directed at or concerning specific regions and countries. This section sets out the main lines of propaganda about a few countries and areas.

1. Poland. Soviet propaganda accuses outsiders--especially the West and particularly the U.S.--of interfering in internal Polish affairs, stirring up trouble through its radio propaganda (VOA and RFE), and supporting antisocialist elements. Various Polish organizations and individuals have been criticized, but favorite targets are Solidarity, the Committee for the Defense of the Workers (KOR), and groups which allegedly seek to separate Poland from the socialist community or restore capitalism. FRG interference and revanchism is also a recurrent theme.

2. Afghanistan. Major emphasis is on the humanitarian, economic, and otherwise peaceful aid rendered by the Soviet Union

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to Afghanistan. Outsiders, especially the U.S. together with the PRC and Pakistan, are charged with interfering in Afghan affairs and in the Persian Gulf, supporting and encouraging the "bandits" (insurgents) and generally provoking discord and chaos. The CIA is accused of being behind "bandit" activity.

3. Iran. The Iranian people are said to have overthrown the oppressive, U.S.-backed regime of the Shah. The U.S. is still trying to regain its previous dominance and is behind attempts to overthrow the revolutionary regime. The U.S. (through the CIA) is responsible for the rash of assassinations of Iranian leaders.

4. China. China is accused of taking an uncooperative and hostile stance toward the Soviet Union. It is depicted as conspiring with the U.S. on military and political adventures which threaten the USSR and its allies and endanger peace--for example, in Afghanistan. The point is made, however, that the USSR remains ready to have normal relations with the PRC.

5. Japan. Japan is ganging up with China and the U.S. against the Soviet Union. It is making outrageous claims on Soviet territory (the disputed Northern Territories).

6. Cuba. Cuba and the USSR are loyal allies. Cuba is the bastion of progressivism and freedom in Latin America. Latin Americans elsewhere seek to follow its example, but are often discouraged or prevented from this by the U.S. (through the CIA) together with its allies. Since Castro took power, the U.S. "special services" have been plotting and conniving against him. The U.S. constantly threatens and provokes Cuba.

7. El Salvador. The U.S. is propping up an oppressive, unpopular regime. It has promoted falsehoods about the situation there, bolstered with forged and falsified (by the CIA) documents. The U.S. has made false claims about Soviet clandestine involvement in El Salvador in order to distract attention from its own activities.

8. South Africa. South Africa is a racist renegade state which suppresses its national liberation movement with the support if not the assistance of the U.S. Its recent attack on Angola is evidence of its lawless, aggressive nature, and the UN veto is evidence of U.S. support.

9. Middle East. The main propaganda target is Israel, which is depicted as the prime military and political threat in the region. Zionism is condemned as a pernicious force and is equated with anti-imperialism. Egypt is another favorite target of Soviet propaganda, with personal attacks often made on President Sadat. The U.S. is criticized for efforts to reach a "separate deal" with Israel and Egypt which is doomed to fail. The U.S. is also charged with general aggressiveness in this area. This is contrasted to the "peace, friendship and cooperation" offered by Soviet Middle East policy. Steadfast Soviet support for the PLO's cause is reiterated.

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10. Western Europe. NATO countries are often lumped in with the U.S. in propaganda on military/strategic themes. On TNF, the U.S. and "some NATO leaders" are the villains, while the European people are generally described as peace-loving. All manifestations of opposition to neutron weapon and other weapons receive heavy play. Disagreements or conflicts between the U.S. and its European allies receive heavy and unbalanced attention from Soviet propagandists. A constant theme is that the U.S. exploits Europe in its (U.S.) anti-Soviet policies and uses heavy pressure in countering European resistance to U.S. domination. Another theme, used mostly in connection with the FRG is the "resurgent neo-Fascism, neo-Nazism" in the West.

III. A CASE STUDY: THE ANTI-NEUTRON WEAPON CAMPAIGN

This section describes a Soviet propaganda campaign on a specific issue to show how propaganda themes and techniques fit together in a concrete situation. The anti-neutron weapon campaign is a major effort, is current, and is typical of Soviet propaganda activity.

The Soviets have mounted an intensive worldwide propaganda offensive against the neutron weapon (ERW) in response to the recent U.S. announcement of plans to put ERW into production. The campaign began immediately after the U.S. announcement on August 6, and it has quickly grown into one of the biggest Soviet propaganda efforts in recent memory

The Soviets' current themes and techniques are largely reminiscent of those used in their 1977-78 anti-neutron weapon campaign. Some themes, however, are given new or different emphasis, in line with present circumstances.

ERW in the Context of General Propaganda Themes

In addition to targeting the ERW issue directly, Soviet propaganda frequently treats it as one of many elements constituting the most important "general trends" in U.S. nuclear-strategic policy. ERW is almost always brought up in the context of discussions of these broader themes, several of which are listed below (see pp. 6-9 for general discussion of these themes):

- o The U.S. is initiating a costly new spiral of the arms race. The neutron weapon decision is an obvious component of this. The U.S. hopes to achieve military superiority over the USSR but this is a futile effort. Escalating the arms race can only lead to an ever more dangerous world situation and the peoples of both countries will suffer because the resources needed for butter will go for guns.
- o The U.S. is seeking to destabilize the world situation and to take advantage of that instability to intervene in other countries in order to further its own interests. The

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neutron weapon is linked to other U.S. military programs and plans geared to this goal. The neutron weapon decision, for example, is tied to U.S. preparations for nuclear aggression in the Persian Gulf-Indian Ocean area; the creation of the "Rapid Deployment Force," in combination with ERW and other things, assumes a "particularly sinister character."

Major Themes on ERW

Most of the Soviet propaganda on ERW interweaves a variety of general (e.g., "The U.S. is not serious about arms control negotiations") and specific themes. The specific themes include:

- o The neutron weapon is a new type of weapon, distinct from other weapons; its introduction will significantly disturb the present military parity between the USSR and the U.S.
- o By blurring the line between conventional and nuclear-strategic weaponry, the neutron weapon lowers the threshold for nuclear war and makes nuclear war more "thinkable."
- o The neutron weapon is a particularly "monstrous" and "barbaric" weapon. That it is designed expressly to destroy living things while leaving inanimate objects and property intact is a clear and horrifying reflection of capitalist/imperialist priorities.
- o The U.S. is making "nuclear hostages" of the Western Europeans. In the event of nuclear war, Europeans would become the first victims and many countries would cease to exist.
- o It is common knowledge that despite the present U.S. decision to store the weapons on American territory, the neutron weapon is intended primarily for use in Western Europe and deployment of the weapon on European soil can be expected before too long. The U.S. failed to consult with its allies on this decision--although it affects them directly and it continues to "trample callously" on their concerns. The U.S. thus seeks to impose its will on Western Europe regardless of strong opposition at a popular--and even to some extent official--level.
- o Worldwide opposition to U.S. introduction of the neutron weapon has been and continues to be fierce. Manifestation of anti-neutron weapon sentiment has been greatest in Europe, but is occurring elsewhere, too; including in the United States. Popular demonstrations have taken place, prominent figures have spoken out, letter-writing campaigns have been conducted, committees have been formed, and other activities against the neutron weapon have been undertaken.
- o The neutron weapon decision "complicates" and "puts off" the question of LRTNF talks, thus intensifying the overall problem of European security.

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- o The U.S. argument that the neutron weapon is a defensive, anti-tank weapon, intended to offset Soviet tank strength in Europe, is nonsense. The weapon can be used offensively, for example, to clear the way for invading troops.
- o Although the USSR opposes the production of any new types of weapons, it will respond with a "proper counterbalance" to the neutron weapon if the U.S. does not reconsider its decision to produce the weapon. The USSR is prepared to acquire a neutron weapon or whatever is necessary to defend against the American threat.

Trends in Soviet ERW Propaganda

Slight shifts in emphases on several themes have been noted recently. Thus far, Soviet propagandists have been concentrating heavily on what the neutron weapon means for Europe. While anti-neutron weapon propaganda is not directed exclusively to a European audience, this is nonetheless the group on which it has a primary and immediate impact.

Now in mid-September it appears that the Soviets are increasingly stressing the possible opportunities for use of neutron weapons in the Third World--opportunities, they suggest, which the Pentagon is pondering. According to Soviet propagandists, the neutron weapon can be used wherever the U.S. perceives a "sphere of vital interest"--which, it is noted, appears to be anywhere and everywhere. The Persian Gulf is mentioned as one of the most likely locations for U.S. use of the neutron weapon.

Anti-ERW propaganda dealing with the European context has not been decreased, but perhaps an attempt is being made to broaden the appeal of the Soviet campaign and make everyone feel more threatened by ERW and thus inclined to protest against it.

There has also been a shift of emphasis away from the theme of "the neutron weapon as an offensive weapon for clearing the way for invading troops." Stress is increasingly being placed on the argument that radiation contamination hazard from the weapon is much longer lasting and more intense than U.S. officials contend. If the Soviets want to play up the latter theme (as they evidently do), they cannot simultaneously charge that the weapon could be used to quickly clear the way for troops to move into or through an area.

There is no indication of a perceptible reduction in the intensity or quantity of anti-ERW propaganda generated by the mass media of the USSR and Soviet bloc countries. Their rhetoric also continues to be harsh.

Techniques

The techniques used in the anti-ERW campaign are no different from those commonly used in any Soviet external propaganda activity (summarized in pp. 3-5 of this report). Different

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themes are played up for different audiences, or one theme is treated in a sophisticated or simple manner. Thus a Radio Moscow English broadcast targetted to North America is likely to emphasize the cost of ERW and other weapons to the American public, commenting that it would be better for ordinary American citizens if arms expenditures rather than social programs were cut. Broadcasts to Western Europe, on the other hand, stress U.S. "victimization" of Western Europe and European opposition to ERW.

Various approaches used in the anti-neutron weapon campaign include the following:

- o TASS statements and official statements issued by top Soviet officials giving the Soviet position on ERW. As these constitute "news," they are generally reported widely in foreign media.
- o Statements issued by prominent Soviet figures in fields such as medicine, science, religion (e.g. the Patriarch of Moscow, the head of the USSR Academy of Sciences). These usually condemn ERW on "humanitarian" grounds.
- o Testimony by military experts (Soviet or non-Soviet) on the military characteristics of ERW. This material is often intended to refute American information on the subject. For example, an expert may discuss (in fairly technical terms) how the longterm ERW radiation hazard is much greater than U.S. specialists have disclosed.
- o Citation or reproduction of articles, speeches, reports, etc., appearing in non-Soviet, especially Western, mass media which support Soviet anti-ERW themes. References to Western sources to support Soviet positions is very common in Soviet external and internal propaganda. The Soviets may use foreign-originated material to suggest things they prefer not to state directly themselves or consider more credible to audiences if presented in non-Soviet sources. To give one example of Soviet use of foreign media items: Publicity was given to a secret ACDA study supposedly unearthed by Jack Anderson that "revealed attempts to reassure the U.S. leadership by emphasizing what would remain intact after the use of nuclear weapons." This, according to the Soviets, provided "further convincing evidence" that the U.S. is preparing for nuclear war.
- o Personal attacks on U.S. officials considered responsible for the ERW decision--Secretary Weinberger and Counselor Meese, for example. Their worldview in general and their motives for promoting particular policies are impugned.

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