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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. cable  letter case (8490161)	from AmEmbassy Moscow to Sec. of State re: Chernenko's plenum speech (2pp) <i>R 12/10/02 MOZ-012 #1</i>	1/15/83	<del>P-1</del> P-5
<del>2. memo</del>	<del>from Matlock to Robert McFarlane re: Chernenko (1p)</del> <i>R 5/1/03 MOI-012 #10</i>	<del>2/10/84</del>	<del>P-1</del> P-5
<del>3. memo</del>	<del>copy of item # 2 (1p)</del> <i>R ~ ~ #10 (copy)</i>	<del>2/10/84</del>	<del>P-1</del> P-5
4. bio	re; Chernenko (2pp)	2/10/84	P-1
5. bio  letter case (8401238)	copy of item # 4 (2pp)	2/10/84	P-1
6. letter	from Ronald Reagan to Chernenko re: Andropov's death (3pp)	2/11/84	P-1
7. letter	copy of item # 6 (3pp)	2/11/84	P-1
<del>8. cable</del>	<del>from AmEmbassy Moscow to Sec. of State re: Chernenko (6pp)</del> <i>R 9/30/05 MOI-012 #11</i>	<del>2/13/84</del>	<del>P-1</del>
9. cable	from AmEmbassy Moscow to Sec. of State re: Chernenko's acceptance speech (4pp) <i>R 12/10/02 MOZ-012 #4</i>	2/13/84	<del>P-1</del>
10. memo	to McFarlane re: Vice President's meeting with Chernenko (1p)	2/14/84	P-1
COLLECTION: MATLOCK, JACK F.: Files			dlb
FILE FOLDER: Cherneko, Konstantin Ustinovich [1 of 3] <del>QA 90879</del> <i>Box 21</i>			10/19/95

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11. cable	from AmEmbassy Moscow to Sec. of State re: Andropov funeral (17pp) R 12/10/02 M02-012 #6	2/15/84	<del>P-1</del>
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	<del>2 MEMO</del>	<del>MATLOCK TO MCFARLANE RE CHERNENKO (#10)</del>	<del>1</del>	<del>2/10/1984</del>	
	<del>3 MEMO</del>	<del>COPY OF PREVIOUS RECORD</del>	<del>1</del>	<del>2/10/1984</del>	

JPRS L/10431

2 April 1982

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CHERNENKO  
(Soviet leadership  
p. 4).

# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

(FOUO 11/82)

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USSR REPORT  
POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

(FOUO 11/82)

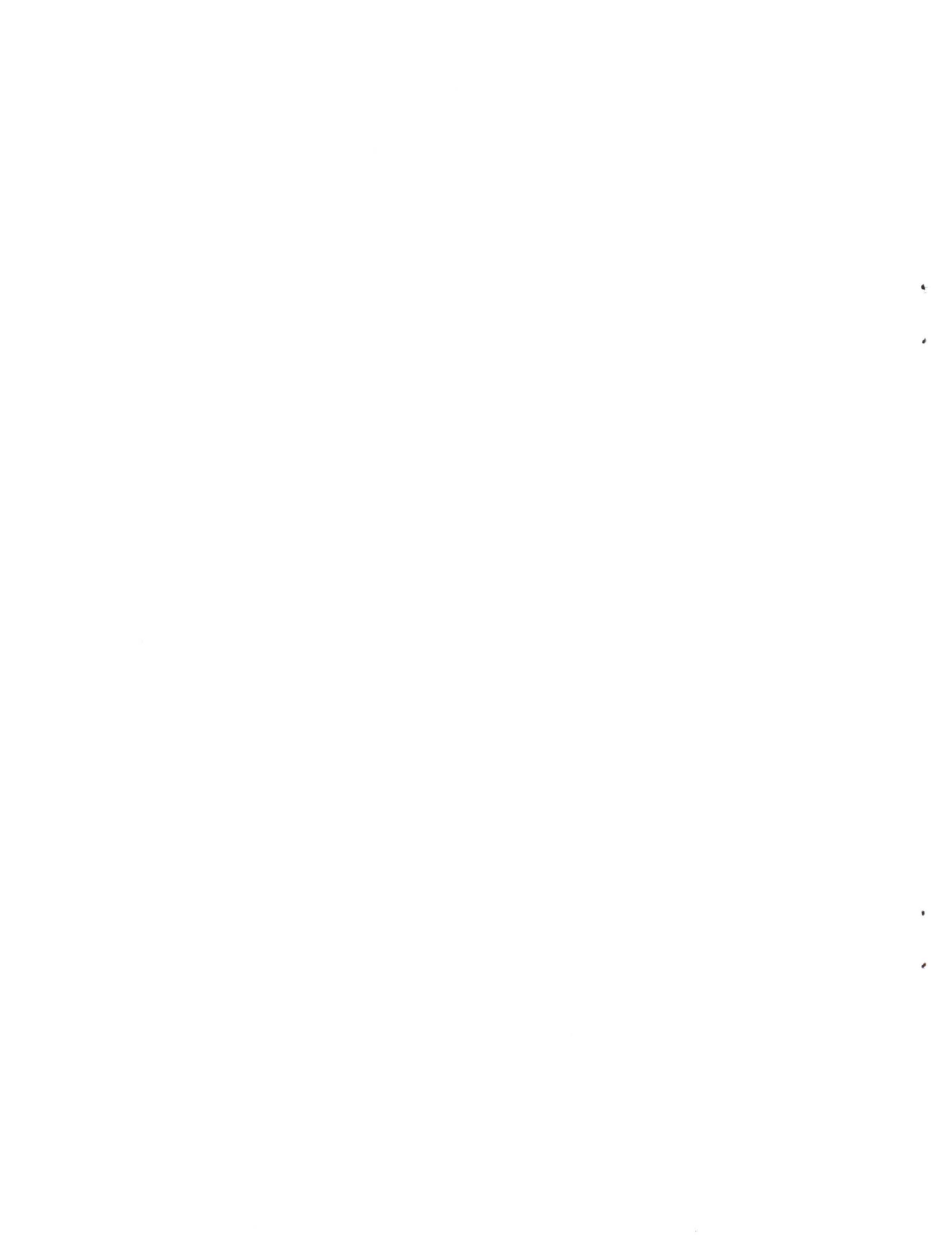
PREVIOUSLY UNPUBLISHED CHERNENKO SPEECHES

Moscow K. U. CHERNENKO: IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STAT' I in Russian 1981 pp  
1, 3-4, 133-149, 372-391, 423-432, 495-513, 676-679

[Annotation, Table of Contents, and Speeches from the book "K. U.  
Chernenko: Selected Speeches and Articles", Politizdat, 679 pages]

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[Text] ANNOTATION

The book by a member of the Politburo and the Secretary of the CC CPSU comrade K. U. Chernenko contains his selected articles and speeches during the period from 1971 through December 1980. The works which have gone into the collection throw light upon the fundamental problems of the work of the CPSU and of improving the system for the management of socialist society, and on the issues of the foreign policy activities of the CPSU. The author touches upon a wide range of theoretical and practical questions.

The book is designed for a wide range of party, government, and economic workers and for the aktiv.

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From the Publisher

The book being offered to the reader by the member of the Politburo and Secretary of the CC CPSU comrade K. U. Chernenko includes speeches and articles pertaining to the period of his work in leading party posts from 1971 through December 1980.

This period in the life of our party, the Soviet state, and the entire Soviet people was marked by outstanding historical events--the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses, the adoption of the new USSR Constitution, and the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 30th anniversary of the Victory by the Soviet people during the Great Patriotic War. These and other events are reflected in the materials of the book.

The speeches and articles which have gone into the collection deal with the fundamental problems of the work of the CPSU and convincingly demonstrate the increased leading role of our Leninist party in the society of developed socialism and the untiring creative work of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Politburo of the CC, and the General Secretary of the CC CPSU and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

Among the major social and political problems which are raised in the book, the topic of mastering the Leninist style of party and state work runs through it like a red thread. The Leninist style, the author emphasizes, is one of the very great possessions of the party which makes it possible for it to successfully perform the leadership of Soviet society.

Many of the materials in the collection are devoted to the issues of improving the system of the management of socialist society and the work of the apparatus of our party and state agencies, and to strengthening its relations with communists and with all of the workers. An especial place has been assigned to K. U. Chernenko's addresses at the All-Union Conferences of Party Workers in 1976, 1978, and 1980 which are being published for the first time. In these addresses there is a broad-based examination of such aspects of the work of the party apparatus as the preparation and making of decisions, supervision and verification of execution, and work with workers' documents and letters; they also reveal the many-sided work of the party in the selection, education, and placement of cadres, the strengthening of the party and state apparatus, and an increase in responsibility and performance discipline at all sectors of party, government, and economic work.

A number of the materials which have gone into the collection are devoted to the issues of the foreign policy activities of the CPSU. As a member of the Soviet Union's delegation at European Conference on Security and Cooperation in Helsinki, in a number of his articles and addresses on this topic the author devotes a great deal of attention to the many-sided activities of our party and state in the struggle for a durable peace, international cooperation, disarmament, and the relaxation of international tensions. K. U. Chernenko's addresses at congresses of our fraternal parties and at international solidarity movements have also been included in the book. They express the firm Leninist foreign policy course of our party and its Central Committee, a consistent internationalism, and the unshakable endeavour of our communists and of the entire Soviet people to realize the Peace Program which was worked out by the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses.

The range of the theoretical and the practical issues which are touched upon by the author of the book is wide and diverse. However, it will not be difficult for the reader to define the chief topic which unites them: the indefatigable work of our Leninist party and its indissoluble unity with the entire Soviet people in accomplishing the magnificent tasks of communist construction.

The book opens up with a speech by K. U. Chernenko to the voters of the Kuybyshev Election District of the city of Moscow on 15 February 1980. After this the speeches and articles which have been placed in the collection are in chronological order. Some of the materials are being published in abbreviated form. For the convenience of the reader, a thematic table of contents and a subject index are provided.

REALIZE THE HISTORIC DECISIONS OF THE 25th CPSU CONGRESS

From a Report at the All-Union Conference  
of Party Workers on 19 May 1976

[Text] Dear Comrades!

All of us find ourselves under the profound impression of the 25th CPSU Congress. This outstanding event in the life of our party and of the entire Soviet people has given rise to enormous political and labor enthusiasm and has determined the life and work of every communist and every Soviet person for many years into the future.

Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev spoke profoundly and movingly about the congress: "The history of our Leninist party has been marked by a remarkable galaxy of congresses. Each of them was an important landmark in the life of the party and the country. And you need have no doubts, comrades, that the 25th Congress will occupy among them its own special and inimitable place--as a congress of great accomplishments which was held under the sign of realism and efficiency, and a calm confidence in our strength, a confidence in new victories for our great cause of the construction of communism. . . ."

The 25th Congress convincingly demonstrated the enormous successes which have been achieved by our party and the Soviet people in the struggle for the preservation, defense, creative development, and multiplication of the gains of October, and for the realization in concrete reality of the ideas of the construction of a socialist and communist society.

The life-giving power of the ideals of Marxism-Leninism, and the gigantic scope and depth of the constructive accomplishments of the Soviet people were demonstrated at the congress.

The forum of Soviet communists took place under the conditions of the monolithic unity of our party, its indestructible solidarity with the people, and the growing authority of the CPSU in the world communist and workers' movement and in the minds and hearts of all of progressive mankind.

History knows of parties which have called themselves socialist and which have gone out onto the arena of struggle for social ideals. But some of them sooner, and others later depart from this arena, and become dissolved in petty bourgeois, some-



times nationalistic, but, for the most part, reformist aspirations, unable to endure the strenuous struggle which they attempted to wage.

Our Leninist party not only withstood all storms and bad weather, but, having become hardened in this struggle, proved with practical deeds the greatness of its ideals, the correctness of its entire strategy and tactics, and the mighty transforming force of the ideas for which it was struggling.

This is why the eyes of all progressive mankind are turned to it. They see in it a combination of boldness and staunchness, devotion to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and solidarity and unity with the people the expressor of whose thoughts and hopes it is.

All of this was demonstrated in the most convincing manner at the 25th Congress of our party.

Comrades! The atmosphere of the congress, its exceptionally practical and creative approach to the solution of extremely large problems left an unforgettable impression. Its work was distinguished by enormous optimism, purposefulness, and exactingness toward communists and cadres. This is a result of the unshakable confidence in the success of our work, in the fact that if the party with its collective mind maps out goals, sets tasks for itself and for the country, then these goals will without question be reached, and these tasks, indisputably, will be accomplished.

The many-faceted and fruitful work of the Central Committee and its Politburo headed by the outstanding political leader of the present day and the tireless fighter for peace comrade L. I. Brezhnev received unanimous approval and high praise at the 25th CPSU Congress.

It was emphasized in the speeches at the congress that the Central Committee is steadfastly implementing the general line of the party and consistently pursuing the course which was worked out after the October (1964) Plenum of the CC CPSU and which received a further development in the decisions of the 23rd and 24th Congresses. The delegates to the congress noted with deep gratitude that the work of the Central Committee, Politburo, Secretariat of the CC, and personally of the General Secretary of the CC CPSU L. I. Brezhnev is a vivid example of service to the people, and a model of the realization of a Leninist work style and of our communist construction plans. It is characterized by a scientific approach, realism and far-sightedness, collectivity in developing decisions and efficiency in realizing them, the greatest trust in cadres and great demandingness with regard to them, and a close connection with local party organizations.

The results of the country's economic development and the titanic work of the party in this field received a high evaluation at the 25th Congress. As L. I. Brezhnev noted, the past five-year plan was the best of all of the five-year plans. Our party has achieved enormous successes in the accomplishment of our chief economic task--"Everything in the Name of Man, For the Good of Man."

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After discussing the results of the past five-year period, the 25th Congress made an attentive and objective analysis of the experience which had been gained, examined the plans for the future, and concentrated its attention on unsolved problems. The congress outlined a principled political course for the party. It defined, on a scientific basis, the economic strategy for the 10th Five-Year Plan and for the more distant perspective, and put forward tasks to increase the country's economic potential and to strengthen its defense capacity.

The congress devoted a large amount of attention to the situation in the world and to the international activity of our party. After having unanimously approved of the fruitful work which has been done by the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Politburo of the CC, and by comrade L. I. Brezhnev in this field, the congress emphasized that the Soviet Union's international position is strong today, as never before. The noble and constructive foreign policy goals of our country which were described from the rostrum of the party congress have been welcomed with understanding and hope by the peace-loving progressive forces of the planet.

The 25th Congress synthesized as it were the party's entire colossal long years of experience in the struggle for communism. Basing itself on the solid foundation of this experience, the congress defined a new program for advancing the economic, political, and spiritual life of the Soviet people, throwing a bright light on the path for the further growth of public welfare.

The results of the 25th Congress of the CPSU and the tremendous tasks which were put forward by it astonish the boldest imagination. These results are giving rise among our people to unprecedented political and labor enthusiasm. The tasks which have been put forward by the 25th Congress inspire us communists, and summon us to new victories and new accomplishments.

The entire country is living today with the ideas and decisions of the congress. The decisions of the 25th Congress are the source from which communists will for many years in the future get answers to the most important questions of our life and work. Their beneficial influence is having an effect upon all of the aspects of the life and work of Soviet people, and upon the work of party, government, economic, and public organizations. The delegates to the party congress have taken its ideas and decisions into the masses, there where victory is forged, and where the plans of the 25th CPSU Congress are put into practice and materialized in concrete deeds and accomplishments.

After the congress plenums and meetings of the party aktiv took place everywhere. Everywhere where the work results of the congress were discussed in one or another form they found a living response among communists and non-party people, among all of the workers of our country. During the course of these measures there were discussions of the prospects for the future and of the tasks which follow from the decisions of the congress, and concrete plans of action were discussed and mapped out.

The entire work of the congress and its ideas and instructions represent a high dynamism, accumulate a charge of enormous energy and power, and, for this reason,

exclude slowness and call to action. The party today is conducting a combat review of the forms and methods of work and is discovering unutilized reserves so as to put all of its detachments into movement in an organized manner and, without losing time, to begin the practical realization of the decisions of the congress.

Comrades! The content and importance of intra-party work was discussed from the lofty rostrum of the 25th Congress with great personal involvement and concern.

A concrete place has been determined for every party and government worker in the great national work of accomplishing the tasks which have been put forward by the party congress. They must, first of all, be conscious of and understand the full depth of the responsibility which is being placed upon the workers of the apparatus who have the task of performing a large amount of organizational work to realize the decisions of the congress.

It is extremely important with regard to the high demands of the 25th CPSU Congress to self-critically evaluate the state of affairs in our work sector also, to weigh the importance of the changes which have taken place in recent years, to analyze the experience that has been gained, and to extract the necessary lessons for the future. By measuring what has been achieved against the tasks which have been set by the congress, and by evaluating the past from the point of view of the present, it is possible to define with the necessary measure of objectivity our successes and defects in the work that has been done and, thereby, come to a better understanding of the vital problems of the present day.

The period in the history of the CPSU which is connected with the direct work of V. I. Lenin to form a party and state apparatus has left for our party a most valuable heritage of Leninist norms and demands upon the style of party work.

"The results of the past five-year period," Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev said in the Summary Report to the 25th Party Congress, "convincingly testify to the fact that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been following a Leninist course."<sup>2</sup> During these years Leninist norms of party life and Leninist traditions in the work of the party apparatus received a further creative development with regard to the new demands and new tasks. They have been gaining a new content and have been strictly implemented, and have become the basic factor in improving the political and organizational work of the party.

Creative constructive work was performed at all sectors, and the organizational strengthening of all of the party's elements and qualitative improvement of all of the parts of the party mechanism was carried out on a wide front. Highly important experience was acquired in solving a number of important problems of party construction. The qualitative composition of the apparatus's cadres was steadily improved, their responsibility for their work became greater, and their creative initiative was developed.

In recent years appreciable successes have been achieved in improving the style and methods of party work on the basis of more careful attention to it and a scientific approach. This is expressed above all in better organization, a

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detailed analysis of the actual state of affairs, the practical use of the results of scientific research, and the selection of optimal forms in relation to the specific nature of the work of the party organizations. The level of execution supervision and verification for decisions which are taken has risen.

The study and use of public opinion on the most important issues of political, economic, and cultural life--a careful, daily analysis of the letters, proposals, and responses received from workers--has occupied a substantial place in the work of the party apparatus.

The content and importance of the measures which have been carried out in this field and the breadth and depth of the changes provide us with grounds for characterizing the period after the 24th Congress as the beginning of a new stage in the development of the work system of the party apparatus.

One of the characteristic features of this stage is the increased attention of the Central Committee and of local party agencies to the work of the party apparatus and to the organization of work with documents. The fact that the Central Committee shows constant concern for this important aspect of party work is a remarkable Leninist tradition.

The attention of the CC to the work of the party apparatus is marked today by the purposefulness and concreteness of its approach and it is comprehensive and consistent. It is precisely the generous and timely concern of the Central Committee that became the basis of the positive changes, for example, in the field of work with documents.

The necessity for improving work in this field was and is dictated by the rapidly growing demands of life, and by the expansion of the dimensions and complexity of all of party work. In view of this, the Central Committee developed and carried out a whole system of concrete measures. A number of decrees were adopted which have had a profound influence on all of the aspects of work with documents and on improving the work of the entire party apparatus.

A central place in improving the work of the party apparatus belongs to the theses and conclusions set forth by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev in the Summary Report to the 25th Congress, at the plenums of the CC, and in his speech at the Conference of Party Workers on 4 April 1974. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev called attention to the importance of correctly organized work with documents as an indispensable condition for the establishment of a genuinely party style. He provided a principled evaluation of the state of this matter; and he revealed the deep connection between work with documents and such vitally important issues as the strengthening of party and state discipline, an increase in the personal responsibility of cadres, the eradication of bureaucratic manifestations, an uncompromising struggle against the creation of "paper work," an improvement of management, and so forth.

Speaking at the All-Union Conference of Party Workers, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev emphasized that without observing the necessary precision in the preparation of

all types of party documents, without scrupulousness in this matter, and without a sincere and party attitude toward documentation we cannot know the true face of our party.

The decrees of party bodies, he stated, demand especial attention and responsibility. It is important that every work and every formulation in a party decision be carefully weighed; they have to be distinguished by precision, briefness of exposition, expressiveness, and political pointedness. This is what needs to be achieved in the preparation of materials in a party committee. The deeper a question has been thought out and the higher the quality with which it has been prepared, the richer in content and specificity is the decision, and the stronger its mobilizing and organizing influence. The costs which are permitted in the preparation of a document and the insufficient substantiation of recommendations may create difficulties for work in the future when the document becomes the basis for organizational work.

As is known, the decrees of the CC CPSU and the principled theses and practical recommendations stated by comrade L. I. Brezhnev were welcomed by the workers of all of the elements of the party with great satisfaction and perceived as a guide to action; they were at the basis of a broad complex of measures which have already been carried out or are planned for the future.

Note has to be taken of the ever increasing attention of local party committees to improving work with documents as one of their paramount and important questions. In them there occurs a collective interpretation of these questions, and an analysis of the ways, forms, and methods of work performed. All of this fosters a deeper understanding of the place and role of documents in the system of the party's organizational and political work and has a positive influence on the effectiveness of the work of the party apparatus.

Planned measures are in the final analysis verified by concrete deeds and evaluated through achieved results. And in this sense the improvement of the system of work with party documents during the period after the 24th Congress convincingly testifies to the correctness, timeliness, and great vital strength of the measures being carried out by the party.

A study of the work in a number of republic, kray, and oblast organizations shows that everywhere there has been a growth in the responsibility of apparatus workers for complying with the demands of the CC, greater punctuality and better quality in the preparation of materials, and efficiency and clarity in the execution of the documents and letters of workers; the level of supervision has also risen. It is important to note that these positive changes are being spread to most of the party's gorkoms and raykoms, and also to many primary party organizations.

Party committees are showing more and more activeness in influencing the organization of the execution of their decisions, and an improvement of the work style of the apparatus of government and economic agencies. And this is very important. For the results of the execution of many party decisions are directly dependent upon the responsibility, confidence, and quality of the work of the apparatus.

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There is one other circumstance that should be especially emphasized: during the course of improving and strengthening the system of work with documents and letters the cadres of apparatus workers have matured. They have built up a substantial experience. Their knowledge has increased. In their majority they possess the necessary measure of responsibility, and the ability to approach their work with initiative and efficiency.

Comrades! The paramount task today consists in carefully preserving what has been achieved and persistently increasing it. Everything that we have succeeded in achieving in recent years has to be regarded as the beginning of a great responsible job to improve the style of all of the aspects of our work.

It has to be remembered that no matter how substantial the results which have been attained, they, as the party demands, should without fail be evaluated with regard to the increased possibilities and, most important, with regard to the high demands upon party work which follow from the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress: take a mature approach in evaluating your work, do not engage in self-delusion, and consistently seek the solution of issues in accordance with the demands of the party congress.

In defining the concrete participation of the workers of the party apparatus and their place in the realization of the tasks put forward by the 25th CPSU Congress, one has to proceed first of all from the demands of a Leninist style. It is precisely in the Leninist style, as comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted at the congress, that there is an important condition for the success of party leadership.

The questions of improving work style are today the most important ones. Party workers and activists are showing an untiring interest in them.

Our communists discussed these issues with great personal interest during the period of the report and election campaign on the eve of the 25th CPSU Congress. Whatever problems the delegates to the party conferences and congresses touched upon, the discussion invariably concerned the necessity for a further improvement of the work style and methods of the party committees and an increase in performance discipline.

Comrades! I have had many occasions to emphasize in my speeches that the ability to work with a document is an inseparable aspect of the successful work of a party apparatus worker.

The effectiveness of party work depends upon how deeply and validly a document has been prepared, upon whether it responds to the issues of the day, and whether it is capable of mobilizing people for the organization of a concrete deed so as to obtain as a result the greatest effect and the fullest return.

However, it is not a secret that sometimes there appear documents in which general and non-concrete tasks are merely declared, arbitrarily, and without regard to the demands of life. Frequently this reduces the effectiveness and, sometimes, completely devalues the decisions which are being taken.

The reason for this, as a rule, is a superficial attitude toward work, poor knowledge of the situation in the localities, and a formal approach to analyzing the work of party organizations.

Such shortcomings are especially palpable if they concern the work of the apparatus of a raykom. One of the most important elements of our party, the rayon committee has the task, first of all, of being the direct organizer of party work and of mobilizing the workers for the accomplishment of the tasks of economic and cultural construction.

However, in certain raykoms an excessive number of decrees are adopted and, moreover, some of them are not concrete, do not bind anyone to anything, and, in the final analysis, bring no benefit and only distract the workers of the small raykom apparatus and hinder them from engaging in live organizational work.

On the other hand, frequently obkom sections, more from tradition than from necessity, request from the gorkoms, raykoms, and, recently, from the primary party organizations every possible kind of information, reference, and data, which greatly increases the flow of paper.

Our position in this question has to be clear and absolutely definite: we have to resolutely oppose those who produce excessive amounts of paper and accumulate it "just in case."

I would like to call your attention to the following matter. As a result of the expansion of the sphere of activity of the party committees, there has been an appreciable increase in the flow of documents addressed to them: business papers, information, work correspondence, and also various requests by organizations, departments, and enterprises. In many cases there is no doubt about their usefulness. Major party and state issues are frequently raised in them, and they contain valuable and necessary information.

At the same time, the creation of a large number of documents is explained by the endeavour of certain leaders to shift the decision for purely economic questions to higher party agencies and, thereby, remove from themselves the responsibility for the work which can and should be carried out independently, without the intervention of higher agencies.

The acuteness and importance of this problem was emphasized by comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the December (1973) Plenum of the CC CPSU, and in his address at the conference of party workers. Measures which have been taken recently by local party, government, and economic agencies to bring order into the work with documents of this kind have already produced palpable positive results.

Nevertheless, party committees still receive quite a few requests and telegrams which testify to the helplessness and, sometimes, to the inactivity of certain leaders. Such solicitations make work more difficult and distract the apparatus from more important problems which really require the intervention of party agencies.

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The endeavour of certain leaders to protect themselves with excess paper in order to remove from themselves the responsibility for failures in work is a clear manifestation of bureaucratism. And where there is bureaucratism, there immediately appears unnecessary papers. Instead of organizational work and of a real struggle for the fulfillment of planning assignments, "objective" reasons are thought up and dozens of requests are directed to various organizations.

The Central Committee of the party constantly directs the efforts of party committees and of all communists toward a resolute and uncompromising struggle against this ugly phenomenon. Bureaucratism, unfortunately, is alive in our day also. Under present conditions it cannot show itself to garishly, but its harm is no less palpable because of this. It manifests itself in a disregard of the essence of a matter for the sake of form, in an attempt to shift its own direct responsibilities onto others, in an excessive over-insurance, and in an attempt to drown a vital matter in a flow of paper. And today bureaucratism also makes itself felt in red-tape, a violation of the unity between word and deed, a retreat from the solution of vitally important problems, and so forth.

The struggle against bureaucratism is a multi-level and many-sided process. It provides for organizational, administrative, educational, and other measures. I want to emphasize that this is not a struggle against documents as such. On the contrary, putting order in the work with documents is an effective means of struggle against bureaucratism.

The workers of the party apparatus have to thoroughly and deeply analyze and objectively and demandingly evaluate the usefulness of sending any document to a party agency, must reduce unnecessary correspondence on questions which can be efficiently resolved by means of personal contact, and so forth. An increased responsibility for the slightest manifestations of bureaucratism and paper work creation has to be developed in every party and government worker. This will help to create a healthy atmosphere in work and will improve matters to a substantial degree.

In examining the many-sided problems of the work of the party apparatus through the prism of the tasks which have been advanced by the 25th Congress, we should put the questions of content, efficiency, and quality in the forefront. These questions have the directest relationship not only to workers, kolkhoz workers, and specialists, that is, to those who are directly employed in the sphere of material production. Quality is a universal factor whose action is spread to all of the aspects of the economic and political development of society.

The task of improving qualitative indicators, the turn toward the qualitative side of things, and the party's course aimed at intensive methods embrace all of the aspects of the work of the party apparatus. Work quality is the question of questions for every party worker. No matter at what sector he may be and no matter what he does, quality has to comprise the chief content and be the decisive indicator and basic pivot of his work.

The turn toward the qualitative factors of all of our many-sided activities is making greater demands upon performance supervision and verification.



The effectiveness of the party apparatus--one of the most important qualities of its work--is impossible without well organized performance verification. Our party is organically characterized by the unity of decision and execution. This is why it is constantly concerned for an improvement and perfection of performance control and verification. V. I. Lenin repeatedly emphasized the necessity that "first place be taken by actual supervision over the actual realization of the decrees of the central authority and local institutions."<sup>3</sup>

The party constantly teaches that an irresponsible attitude toward the execution of the decisions and directives of leading agencies is a violation of party and state discipline, the most harmful manifestation of bureaucratism, and it calls upon us to struggle against this evil by means of performance control and verification.

At the present time new and deeper tasks are being moved to the forefront in this work. And this is entirely natural. The reduction of control merely to inventing the movement of documents and to the simple establishment of the facts of performance dates violations is no longer able to ensure satisfactory results.

A further improvement of the system of verification, the giving to it of the necessary depth and many-sidedness, and an increase in its effectiveness presupposes a comprehensive strengthening of the planning principle in this work. Otherwise, it will be impossible to get free of elements of spontaneity, to provide for the necessary sequence of measures and the most efficient distribution of forces, and to ensure the efficient coordination of the actions of the party apparatus.

First of all, we are speaking about the fact that the very concept of supervision should receive a more concrete embodiment and materialization in practical work. The process of the organization of supervision should be looked at more broadly; the chief thing here is to find the real reason for one or another violation, to see to it that it is eliminated, and to work in such a way that in the future there will be no such violations.

Comrades! The work with workers' letters found a deep reflection at the 25th Congress.

During the course of the preparations for and the holding of the congress the high political consciousness of Soviet people and the life-giving power of socialist democracy was again demonstrated. Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev spoke vividly and convincingly at the congress about letters: "One of the important forms of the connection between our party and its Central Committee with the masses is workers' letters. The number of them is steadily increasing, reflecting the growing public activeness of Soviet people. Support for the party's policies is expressed in them, and opinions are stated on many of the fundamental issues of the life of our party and state."<sup>4</sup>

The decree of the CC CPSU "On a Further Improvement of Work with Workers' Letters in the Light of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress" was a new expression of the party's exceptional attention and concern for this sector of work.

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What is the essence of this decision? The CC CPSU believes that with the consistent development of socialist democracy and a strengthening of the ties between the party and the masses a further improvement of work with letters and a comprehensive improvement of its forms and methods is acquiring ever greater importance.

It is emphasized in the decree that in recent years significant changes have occurred in the content and character of workers' letters. There has been an increase in the number of letters in which questions which are of general party and state importance are raised. Many of the proposals which were made by the authors of the letters were used in preparing the materials of the congress and found a reflection in its documents, and the most important counsels and considerations are examined in the CC CPSU and taken account of in the practical work of leading bodies.

The decision of the CC CPSU gives a high evaluation to the work with workers' letters which was performed during the period of the preparations for and holding of the congress. Especial attention is being directed toward the necessity of consolidating, disseminating, and developing the positive work experience with letters which was gained during the course of this work.

The task consists in taking guidance from this decree of the Central Committee, in raising the level of work with letters to a qualitatively new height.

The workers of the apparatus should analyze a bit more frequently the mail which is received by party committees and give some thought and consideration to what kind of phenomenon this is in our life--letters from workers, why is the quantity and character of the correspondence being received changing, what are the reasons for the repeated solicitations of certain writers, and so forth.

With their thoughtful and conscientious work with workers' letters, as one of the important channels of information, party apparatus workers have the task of maintaining an exceptionally favorable atmosphere in society, in the state, and in the party. Every person who addresses a party agency should be confident that he will receive an accurate, clear, and friendly reply. A large number of the letters which are now coming in to the CC and local party committees testify without doubt to an improvement of the work with them. The expansion of the circle of our correspondence speaks about the fact that ever more workers are joining this great national cause. In their letters they seek the advice of the party, share their innermost thoughts, and make suggestions. This kind of constant communication between a person and party agencies strengthens his faith in the affairs and designs of the party, and deepens his trust in the Central Committee. This is real and not imaginary democracy.

Of all of this, comrades, we have to be deeply conscious and from these positions approach work with workers' letters. It must always be remembered that work with letters is not the mechanical reading of them and the preparation of a reply. This has to become a genuine laboratory, a system of creative work on a person's reflections which have been set forth in letters. It must always be remembered

that letters are an invaluable source of human thoughts and hopes, and are one of the important forms of the party's connections with the masses.

In working with workers' letters the party worker must always remember that the Soviet man is a very sensitive and proud one and that he demands attention and respect for himself. If he has written a letter one or two times and has not received a reply, then he will not write at all, or he will write about his painful questions to superior agencies, which still often happens with us. Practice shows that in many cases the reason for such solicitations to the CC is the result of an inattentive attitude toward workers' letters by certain local organizations and departments.

Many of the proposals and recommendations which are in workers' letters get a practical embodiment. Thus, during 1975 and this year the Central Committee adopted a number of documents on party organizational, ideological, and mass political work, economic construction, the foreign policy of the CPSU, and others. In general, comrades, this is a very important and large matter. For this reason we believe that correct action was taken by the Krasnodarskiy kraykom, and also the Ivanovski, Kurski, Odesski, Dagestanski, Dzhezkazganski, Chimkentski and certain other party obkoms which held a wide and very detailed discussion of the issues in work with letters at their plenums.

The very fact of a discussion of this question at the plenums of party meetings increased the feeling of responsibility of every party organization for the work with letters, for improving all mass political work, for strengthening the relations between party organizations and the masses, and for replies to all of the questions which arise in Soviet people.

The workers of the party apparatus have to take measures in the near future for the full realization of the decree of the CC CPSU on this issue. A program of our action for the next few years has been defined in this important party document.

It has to be especially emphasized that at all of the stages of work with letters there have to be people involved who are sensitive, attentive, and who understand the fact that behind every letter there is a living person with his thoughts, cares, and hopes and that he expects not a formal, but a concrete and exhaustive reply.

If it is not possible to satisfy the request of a declarant, and this does happen, then it is necessary to reply not formally, but in such a way that the author of the letter will understand that the issue which has been posed by him has been studied and examined from every angle, but because of objective reasons cannot be resolved positively.

It is important for every apparatus worker to understand that a letter has been written not to him personally, but addressed to the party organization, and he, in his turn, in the name of the party organization and on its charge is working with this letter. At the same time, he must clearly understand that the author of the letter believes in the justice of the party organization to which he has turned and through it in the justice of the decisions of our party.

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Thus, only a sensitive in the wide meaning of this word attitude towards the letters guarantees an improvement of all of this work. Work has to be organized in such a way that absolutely all party, government, and economic agencies which receive letters directly or from party bodies regard this matter with great responsibility. This is why the CC CPSU is setting the task of enlisting the party and government aktiv more widely in the work with letters, systematically verifying this work, and of making active use of the party press in this.

Comrades! The party organizations and labor collectives of the country are at the onset of an important stage of the deep study, understanding, and practical embodiment of the Directives of the 25th Congress in real deeds; that is, the basic and most responsible period has arrived, the period of the practical accomplishment of the tasks which have been set by the congress for every communist.

The frontiers which were taken by us during the years after the 24th Congress have made it possible to evaluate anew the measure of the possible and necessary in our work, and the prospects for further movement forward. The tasks which follow from the decisions of the 25th Congress require a constant rise in the level of activity of the party apparatus, and, this means, a constant creative search for the achievement of qualitatively new indicators in its work.

An exceptional coolness, maximum mobilization readiness, and the highest responsibility and conscientiousness in the big and in the small is being demanded today from all of the apparatus workers. Without this kind of attitude toward work and without the development in oneself of such qualities it is difficult to count on success.

Everything positive that has been accumulated during the pre-congress period has to be generalized, made maximum use of, and increased. This, comrades, is our great possession and we have to regard it as owners and bring it to every worker of the apparatus.

Concern for the introduction of positive experience cannot and must not be reduced to passive waiting for one or another finished model to appear. The task is for party workers to persistently and purposefully seek and create positive models at all of the sectors of our work, to teach people on their basis, and, thereby, to promote a further improvement of party work. Moreover, this does not mean only experience on a wide scale: any, even the smallest grains of positive experience, are valuable and precious.

It is important to also emphasize something else. Today, in order to take a serious step forward along the path of a qualitative improvement of our work, it is not sufficient merely to improve and perfect only individual aspects of the work of the apparatus. It is important, basing ourselves on science and advanced experience and with additional support in searches, to bring about the introduction of the most efficient forms and methods which produce a maximum return in the entire complex of our work.

The new tasks which have been advanced by the 25th CPSU Congress are also making new demands upon the training level of the party apparatus cadres. This is why today for every worker a high responsibility for his work consists in his ability to objectively evaluate the correspondence between his knowledge and his ability and today's high demands.

Very good, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev said in his speech at the Motor Vehicle Plant imeni Likhachev: "To organize collective labor in a really effective way is an enormous task which demands great attention not only from leaders. Contemporary production demands that every worker have a clear idea of his place in the labor process, know what he is doing and why and what depends upon him, and feel that his work is a necessary part of the general work."<sup>5</sup> This applies in equal measure to the work of the apparatus.

Speaking about the efficiency of the work of the managerial apparatus, V. I. Lenin recommended that "the true measure of the labor productivity of every given institution be taken to be above all the degree of the real and urgent performance of all of the work items that pass through it."<sup>6</sup> These demands are topical today in the work of the apparatus of any party and state agency.

Vladimir Il'ich Lenin stated that the effectiveness of management and the success of the apparatus's work depend upon the correct selection of people. He advised here that workers be evaluated from the point of view of their conscientiousness, politics, knowledge of their work, and organizational abilities. All of these high qualities, taken together, signify a profound partiynost', and the readiness and ability to selflessly labor in any sector with which the party has entrusted a communist. In addition, V. I. Lenin emphasized that no amount of conscientiousness and no amount of party authoritativeness can substitute for what in the given case is basic, namely, a knowledge of one's work.

He demanded insistently that the management of affairs remain always in the hands of workers who were completely competent and who guaranteed the success of the work, that at the decisive sectors there stood people who were not only unquestionably devoted, but really educated people, with enormous potentialities, talented people, and, comrades, with each passing day we have more and more of such capable and talented people. Only they have to be skillfully selected, placed, educated, and worked with.

There cannot be a mechanical shifting of jobs in the party apparatus, and the selection of cadres has to be thought out and practical. In addition, it has to be kept in mind that the demands upon workers always bear the features of their time and these demands upon cadres are growing with each passing day.

The style of party work today is characterized by trust in and support for every worker in his search for ways toward a better and efficient performance of his work. Under these conditions, trust becomes a great power. It inspires a person and gives him self-confidence. And this engenders initiative, and an endeavour to bring something new into work and to resolve questions creatively and more boldly.

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Concern for and trust in workers does not have anything in common with a liberal attitude toward those who violate discipline and order. Demandingness and exactingness--these are also forms of trust and concern for cadres, concern for their growth and education, for an observance of discipline, and for increasing the responsibility of every worker for his work.

However, trust is not a formal act which confirms a worker's membership in the party apparatus. Trust is won by one's attitude toward his work. Sensitivity and concern for people--this has to be one of the chief components which defines the good name of an apparatus worker who has gained complete trust in himself.

We know that to merit a good name among the people who surround you is not so simple, while it can easily be lost. This is why this quality can be developed and solidly preserved in the person when he is diligent in his work, faithful to his duty, and demanding in everything toward himself and others, and when he knows how to separate the chief matter from the secondary unnecessary matter which hinders the creation of a good climate in the collective, and to organize good work.

Indeed, comrades, it is impossible to work in the party apparatus without profound and sincere trust. This is why this demand has to permeate the whole of our life and work.

In a conversation with a group of party workers L. I. Brezhnev said that we owe our successes to the large and sincere trust in our cadres, in our party workers, who bear the responsibility for the practical realization of the tasks which have been defined by the Central Committee of the party. All of our cadres work with great trust, which excludes elements of petty tutelage, and the pulling about of people with and without reason. With us everything is based, Leonid Il'ich continued, on profound party trust in cadres and on freedom of action within the framework of the tasks which have been defined by the CC of the party or by a congress.

It is precisely this kind of attitude toward cadres that now penetrated the entire life of the party and of the state and economic organizations of our country. This, one of Lenin's basic demands, has been filled with a new content and has become one of the principles of the work style of our party organizations. It is precisely this that created the conditions for the diversity of the forms and methods of party, state, and economic work and for the successful accomplishment of the tasks facing the country and facing the party.

The atmosphere in our party is trusting, healthy, and business-like. In recent years our cadres have grown substantially and have been enriched with experience, and they are now capable of any question and any task.

At the same time, there are still workers in the party apparatus who, relying on their previous baggage, believe that they will be able to move matters forward without any special strain. It is they who most often find themselves in a difficult situation.

There are also those workers who we do not criticize: there does not appear to be any reason to. They do not pretend to "chief roles," they work within their set limits, and they do the work under their charge, but don't ask anything else from such workers. Such workers meet with their "guns drawn" any living matter which requires initiative, a new approach, and personal responsibility. And they will do everything to get back as quickly as they can into the well-worn rut of a calm and understood life. Persistent and painstaking work has to be conducted with such people so as in the end to inculcate in them an interest and a need for real creative work.

The large tasks which today are facing party workers are giving rise to the necessity for a deep study and skillful employment of the entire very rich experience which has been built up by the party. The party's practical work and its work style are for us invaluable riches and our very great possession. For this reason, a profound mastery of Leninist work principles and style is the chief condition for a further improvement of the work of the apparatus. Having passed through the school of life, every party worker has the task of always drawing knowledge and wisdom from the clear and clean source of Marxism-Leninism.

Many years of experience shows that systematic studies and a collation of his hours with Leninist time provides a party worker of any category not only with an orientation point for a correct and errorless solution of the most important questions of life, but also imparts strength and confidence to his decisions. In the final analysis this helps to cultivate in the party apparatus worker such qualities as modesty, obligatoriness, correctness, efficiency, and responsibility.

Thus, the essence of the demands of today consist not only in the mastery to perfection of an entire sum of knowledge, but also, and this is the chief thing, the ability to apply all of this knowledge practically in life, in one's work. This is one of the mandatory conditions and demands upon party apparatus workers.

Comrades! The decisions of the 25th Congress have armed the Soviet people with a magnificent program of construction and have pointed out the only correct road--the road of truth, the road of freedom, and the road of the people's happiness. The realization of this program will demand great efforts from the entire party and an increase in the results and quality of the work of all of the elements of the party apparatus.

Speaking at the closed 25th Congress, comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "The plans which have been approved by the congress are difficult and strenuous plans. The tasks which it has set are very serious tasks. But we are confident, comrades, we are firmly confident in the fact that these plans will be realized and that these tasks will be accomplished."<sup>7</sup>

Communists, party organizations, and our entire party now see their duty above all in ensuring the successful realization of the historic decisions of the 25th

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CPSU Congress and in achieving new accomplishments and remarkable victories in the name of communism--the bright future of all mankind.

(Comrade K. U. Chernenko's report was listened to with great attention and repeatedly interrupted by applause.)

**FOOTNOTES**

1. Brezhnev, L. I., "Following Lenin's Course," Vol 5, p 557.
2. Ibid., Vol 5, p 519.
3. Lenin, V. I., "Complete Works," Vol 37, p 366.
4. Brezhnev, L. I., op. cit., Vol 5, p 524.
5. Ibid., Vol 6, p 10.
6. Lenin, V. I., op. cit., Vol 54, pp 101-102.
7. Brezhnev, L. I., op. cit., Vol 5, p 554.

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IMPROVE THE STYLE AND METHODS OF THE  
WORK OF THE PARTY APPARATUS

From a Report at a Conference of  
Party Workers of Siberia and  
the Far East, Krasnoyarsk  
11 July 1978

[Text] Comrades! The time in which you and I have to come to meet is a truly unusual time.

A little more than two years has passed since the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The transforming power of its ideas is being felt today as real in all of the spheres of the life of our society: in economic, scientific, and cultural development, in improving the well-being of Soviet people, and in the struggle for peace.

The past year of 1977--the year of the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the year of the adoption of the new USSR Constitution--has become a vivid page in the chronicle of our party and state. These historic events have placed their stamp on all of the party's activities and on the work of all of the country's public organizations.

The December (1977) Plenum of the CC took place. In the report by L. I. Brezhnev at the Plenum a clear program of action for all party organizations is defined, and the issues of party, state, and production discipline are posed sharply. The letter of the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, and the CC of the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League on the development of a socialist competition for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the 1978 plan has been adopted. This document is an example of a practical and constructive approach to existing problems and shortcomings.

Recently a plenum of the CC CPSU which discussed the question of the further development of the country's agriculture finished its work. The July (1978) Plenum of the CC has become yet another important landmark in the realization of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. It pointed out the way for further progress by agriculture--one of the most important economic branches of our country.

It was emphasized at the plenum that the overall level of the development of agriculture does not yet accord with the rapidly growing needs of society and requires energetic efforts to further strengthen the material and technical base and improve the organization of production so as to be able in the very nearest future to much more fully satisfy the needs for food and for raw materials for industry.

The report by the General Secretary of the CC CPSU comrade L. I. Brezhnev gives a many-sided and profoundly scientific analysis of the party's policy and prac-

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tical work to develop our socialist agriculture at the current stage, and it defines the ways and concrete measures to its progress. This is an important new page in our Leninist agrarian policy. For at all stages of the construction of socialism agriculture has always been the affair of the entire party and the entire people. And this was heard with especial expressiveness at the July Plenum of the CC CPSU.

The report by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev is an enormous new contribution to the Leninist teachings on the problems of agrarian policy. It is a model of the combination of the theory and practice of socialist construction. It is a substantiated, well-grounded program of movement to a higher stage in the development of the country's economy.

The program which has been mapped out by the plenum is designed for the long period. Now, comrades, it is a matter of realizing these plans of the party and embodying them in life. And all of us are confident that our communists and our entire people will correctly perceive this new step by the party which is aimed at the accomplishment of the general task of raising the material and cultural levels of the workers of our country and of strengthening the might of our homeland.

Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev emphasized at the plenum that a higher level of party leadership and improved methods of work in the masses have to correspond to the new stage of the struggle to advance agriculture.

Active organizational and ideological-political work by the party, as its entire historical past testifies, is a weapon with which nothing can compare. With its help the party has accomplished the most complicated tasks and has taken the most difficult frontiers.

For this reason, our success today will depend to a large extent upon how deeply and seriously in a party manner these most important party documents are received and their political pointedness understood and appreciated. It is important that party workers and the party apparatus apprehend these documents not only with their minds, but also with their hearts. That they be understood first of all in their general party and general political meaning, and not in a narrowly departmental or purely professional sense. For the struggle to advance agriculture for communists is a struggle not on different fronts: in field work, animal husbandry, or land improvement. No, this is a struggle on a single, party-political front where every leader and every communist has to be permeated by a feeling of involvement and personal responsibility for the common task. To cultivate in the party worker precisely this kind of approach--this is our task today.

Recently the Secretariat of the CC CPSU examined the question: "On Measures to Realize the Decisions of the July (1978) Plenum of the CC CPSU." The following tasks have been placed before party organizations:

First, to bring the ideas and the meaning of the decisions of the plenum to the entire party and to every communist. Toward this end, the results of the CC Plenum have to be discussed everywhere at plenums of party committees or meetings of the party aktiv, and also at meetings in the primary party organizations and in the labor collectives.

It is important to ensure a profound explanation of the materials of the plenum among the broad working masses. Leading party, government, and economic cadres have the task of taking direct part in this work. Specialists, scientists, production innovators, and the best propaganda forces also have to be enlisted in it.

Secondly, the decisions of the plenum have to be secured by a large amount of organizational work by party, government, and economic agencies. In working out measures it is important to concentrate attention above all on improving the leadership of agriculture and on eliminating shortcomings. Matters have to be organized in such a way that every communist and every Soviet toiler finds his place in all of this work.

At the present time all of the organizational and political work of party and government bodies has to be subordinated to the chief issues--the successful performance of the harvest and the fulfillment of the plans and socialist commitments to sell the state grain and other cropping and animal husbandry products, and the organized completion of all agricultural work in 1978.

And thirdly, along with the accomplishment of current tasks, it is necessary to develop future overall measures for the realization of the plenum's decisions over a period of many years into the future.

The Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet which recently concluded considered and adopted a large number of laws. This Session can serve as a classical example and as a model of the timeliness and fullness of the fulfillment of the demands of the new USSR Constitution.

It demonstrated convincingly that the Soviet state, proclaiming in its Constitution various theses, immediately puts them into practice. Moreover, this is achieved not by semi-measures, but by effective measures which define the great paths toward the further transformation of our country. It is precisely this kind of example that has been shown to us by the Soviet Parliament which examined and thoroughly discussed and adopted the Law on the USSR Council of Ministers, the Law on the Procedure for Concluding, Carrying Out, and Denouncing International USSR Agreements, and the Law on Elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The tasks which follow from the decisions of the CC Plenum and the Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet oblige us to be ready for a large amount of strenuous work. A new stage has begun in the party's and people's struggle for the fulfillment of the last two years of the five-year plan--and it is a matter of honor for every communist to take a place in the front ranks of this struggle.

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Comrades! The party organizations of our krays and oblasts have been given tasks of enormous importance in connection with the decree of the Politburo of the CC CPSU, Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and USSR Council of Ministers on the results of the trip by L. I. Brezhnev to the areas of Siberia and the Far East. The trip by L. I. Brezhnev is of great importance for the execution of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress on the overall mastery of the resources and the development of the productive forces of Siberia and the Far East which are of enormous importance for the economic development of our country.

A decisive role is being assigned to the local party, government, and economic agencies in organizing the work to fulfill the planned program. Much will depend upon the efficiency, maximum organization, and self-discipline of the party committees and their apparatus and on the organization on the necessary level of performance supervision and verification. And all of this has the most direct and immediate relation to your work sector and will require from you additional new efforts to search for and introduce more rational and effective forms and methods.

Comrades! In Krasnoyarsk we are concluding a series of conferences which have been held on a decision by the Central Committee of the CPSU. The materials of our and other zonal conferences will be analyzed and studied. But already today it is possible to say that these conferences have been successful.

Before my departure for Krasnoyarsk I met with Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev and briefly informed him about the zonal conferences being held by us. He asked me to convey his greetings to you and his best wishes for your work and lives.

He also expressed regrets that this time he himself was not able to take part in the work of the conferences. As is known, he has participated twice in such conferences. At the same time, Leonid Il'ich asked us all to keep it in mind that the advice and instructions given by him at our previous meetings remain in force.

Comrades! The first conclusion which suggests itself from an acquaintance with the materials of all of the conferences which have been held, including ours in Krasnoyarsk, is that they have once again shown how our cadres have grown, and with what interest they approach the discussion and analysis of the forms, methods, and devices of party work which ensure the successful accomplishment of the tasks posed by the 25th CPSU Congress.

At the same time, there was not only an interest that was shown at the conferences, but also the deep knowledge and high level of practical competence of all of the participants.

I would like to emphasize as a positive and pleasant phenomenon in our work the ability of the party workers who have spoken at these conferences to see our everyday affairs against the background of the enormous tasks of the day of our entire party and our entire country, and to tie them in with the practical solution of the problems which face individual organizations and enterprises.

If we were to put it briefly, the totality of the problems which were examined during the course of the zonal conferences confirmed the indisputable truth that a rise in the level of party leadership and an improvement of the work style of the party apparatus is inseparably connected with an improvement of work with documents.

Many of you know that at the All-Union Conference of Party Workers in 1976, when the many-sided problems of the work of party committees were examined through the prism of the tasks which had been set by the 25th CPSU Congress, the issues of the content, efficiency, and quality of our work were moved to the forefront.

The zonal conferences have convincingly demonstrated that during the post-congress period a new step has been taken along the path of a further improvement of work with documents and workers' letters, and that this work is now characterized by a systematic and overall approach and is exercising a positive influence on the style, forms, and methods of the work of the party apparatus.

At the same time, we are able to convince ourselves today that the uniform approach to work with documents which has developed in the party is being skillfully combined with a further development of creative principles and with the introduction of positive experience. In this regard, one can refer to the work of the party committees on whose basis the zonal conferences were held. Each of them contains, as they say, its own special quality in work which merits attention and a high appraisal.

But all of them--the CCs of the Communist Parties of the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan and the Leningrad, Gor'kiy, and Rostov obkoms--are characterized above all by a creative search for the most effective forms and methods for the work of the party apparatus and for a rise in the standards of its work.

Diverse forms and methods of organizational and political work have also developed in the Krasnoyarsk Kray party organization in which the party committees are persistently searching for the kinds of modes and methods which will exercise an increasingly effective political influence on the development of the kray's productive forces, economy, and culture.

For this reason, the task is being set of bringing the conclusions and recommendations of the zonal conferences to all party committees and party workers, and of defining the measures which will ensure a further improvement in the work of the apparatus, the introduction of advanced experience, and the elimination of shortcomings.

I would like to call especial attention to the use of positive experience in work. Unfortunately, there frequently occurs in this large and important matter a definite gap between the popularization of advanced experience and its practical realization.

To actively propagandize advanced experience is only the first stage. The most important thing is its universal practical introduction. It is precisely here

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that painstaking organizational work is essential, since the process of introduction itself is a very complex and difficult matter.

It is important for the experience which you have studied to become the property of all of the party committees and of all cadres, to receive a practical development, and to be the basis for improving all of our work.

Comrades! I will tell you frankly that in preparing for the conference I thought for a long time about how best to conduct this conversation with you and I came to the following conclusion: Life and the practice of recent years has been dictating with increasing persistence the necessity for defining the concrete tasks of our work in relation to general party tasks. For this reason, perhaps, our affairs should be spoken about against the background of certain problems of general party work; for example, the role and place of the party worker under present conditions and certain other questions.

Let us take such a question as the further improvement of the various aspects of the work of the party apparatus in recent years. This work has acquired a general party character and a general party importance. The very fact of the participation in our zonal conferences of a group of leading party cadres which includes members of the Politburo and candidate members of the Politburo, and secretaries of the CCs of the communist parties of the union republics, kraykoms, and obkoms is a living testimony to the importance of this matter. This attention and concern of the party about our work not only gratifies us, but above all obliges us to work even better.

Membership in such a great party as ours whose creator and organizer was Vladimir Il'ich Lenin is not only a great honor, but also a great responsibility. And to be elected to a leading party body and to work in the party apparatus--this is all the more honorable and responsible.

Many of you know with what sincere trepidation workers welcome a representative of our party and state abroad, how much is expected from him, and with what sincere warmth he is looked upon. And this is true first of all because the authority and attractive force of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are great. People measure themselves against Soviet communists, take an example from them, and study the experience of the CPSU with the profoundest attention and interest.

I recently had occasion, on a charge from the CC CPSU, to be in Greece, and for this reason I still have fresh impressions from my participation in the work of the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of Greece and from my meetings with Greek communists who, after an interruption of more than 30 years, held a legal congress in Athens. Worn out by underground work and maimed by prisons and persecutions, they courageously endured, were hardened in struggle, and came to their congress united and faithful to the cause of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

And everybody with whom I had occasion to meet and talk during this journey--from the General Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party comrade Florakis to rank-

and-file communists: workers, peasants, and party veterans--everybody spoke with the profoundest conviction about his solidarity with the CPSU and with the communists of the Country of Soviets and was sincerely delighted by the great historical experience of the party of Lenin, and by the courage, self-sacrifice, and staunchness of the Soviet people.

The following episode has been imprinted in my memory. At a meeting in one of the provinces I was approached by an old communist, covered with wounds from his participation in the partisan movement during World War II. He was holding a modest bouquet of field flowers in his hand.

"This valley in which you and I are standing," he said with emotion, "is called the Partisan Valley by us. Here we--Greek patriots--shoulder to shoulder with Russians who had escaped from concentration camps fought heroically and gave the fascists a good beating. Quite a bit of Greek blood and of the blood of Soviet people was spilled on this land, and these flowers are now growing on it. They are more precious to us than any other flowers. Take them as a gift, as a symbol of our fraternal friendship which has been sealed by the blood we spilled together!"

These are weighty words, comrades. They give rise to a heightened feeling of enormous pride in our membership in the great Leninist party and in the great Country of Soviets--the Homeland of October. At such moments you become convinced again and again of the indisputable authority of our party as the proponent of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. In such a party, possessing a charge from it and its trust, it is simply impossible to work badly or to make half an effort.

Why am I speaking about this today? Above all, because it is only from these positions that we are able to evaluate the work of any party worker, of any communist. To cultivate pride in his native party, remembering at the same time that the authority and strength of the party has to be increased--this is the affair of every communist. Just as the ocean is reflected in a drop of water, so the qualities which are inherent in our entire Leninist party have to find their personification in every communist and, especially, in every party worker.

Our party can be presented, figuratively speaking, as a single, mighty, living organism. The Central Committee of the CPSU is bound by thousands of threads to the party organizations and to the communists who are in the front line of the struggle, and through them to the working masses. The Central Committee gets its life-giving experience from these deep sources, generalizes it, and, enriching it with new ideas, returns it again to the masses of people, to the party. This is why it is so important that all of the cells of this living organism work with a full return. And this depends upon every communist and upon every party leader.

Apropos of this, in recent years our writers, unfortunately, have been writing little about party work and about the real party worker. But the depth of this constructive work which is amazing in its content has to be revealed more frequently and more fully. I would say, elements of romanticism have to be brought

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into these concepts, and it is necessary to know how to see in the everyday affairs of party workers who are on the front line of the struggle not only dry statistics, but work with a living content which later develops into the general constructive work of our party.

What is party work today? If this question were to be asked of the comrades who are present here, in each one's memory there would involuntarily arise a kaleidoscope of cares and affairs and a large number of simple and complex questions which have to be resolved every day and every hour and to which tens and hundreds, and, sometimes, even thousands of people are waiting for a reply. And all of this is labor, and, moreover, heavy and strenuous labor. At the same time, it is also the most noble labor because its highest and only goal is service to the people.

Indeed, comrades, if you look attentively at a party worker you will notice above all that his thoughts are always occupied with unresolved questions. This is a person who always strives for the better, for the ideal.

If this is a real party worker, then his attitude toward all matters, large and small, is equally serious: He will prepare a party meeting, a conference, a session of the bureau, or some other measure with his fullest energy. He thinks not only about what is going to be discussed and how at the presumed bureau or conference, but also about what meaning there will be from this discussion in the future, and how what will be discussed can be embodied in concrete deeds. He thinks about whether the chief link has been found in the accomplishment of a general chain of tasks. And if it has been found, then how can all of the other links be used more fully and effectively. In a word, he prepares himself for any measure as if he were doing it for the first time in his life. He unflinchingly tries to find something new in his approach to the solution of a problem.

Here is how N. I. Kalinin spoke movingly about the party worker: "The secretary of the party committee is the most responsible person at an enterprise, in an institution, and in a rayon.

But what is required from a secretary of a party organization for him to have actual influence on the masses, for the masses to listen to him, and for them to believe him? . . . The party leader, propagandist, or agitator has to be a person with an ideology who is deeply devoted to the communist party, and he has to know, at least in general terms, the history of our party and understand the tasks which our party is setting for the working class and the people. With regard to the level of his political development, the party leader has to be in every case no lower than others, and it would not hurt for him to have a definite general cultural training. . . . It is necessary that the party leader not be prideful and a snob. . . . The party leader has to be absolutely honest with other people. The secretary of a party organization is the party eye."<sup>1</sup> Said wonderfully simply and aptly!

The party worker is always ready upon the party's call to go into the most difficult and complex matter. He is always among people. His actions and his



deeds are evaluated by everybody. And this is the strictest evaluation and, obviously, the truest one. People are either delighted with him and learn from him, or they censure and criticize him. His life and work are an example for imitation; and the youth and all those around him learn from him not only to work, but also to live--such, comrades, is the kind of responsibility which lies on every communist and on every party worker.

The task consists in having the remarkable qualities of the genuine leaders of the masses be developed in every party member and in having such features forged in them as selfless devotion to the ideas of the party, the use of all of one's energies in work, a readiness to be at the chief direction, to be always and in everything an example, and to do everything in such a way that words and deeds never diverge from one another.

Party workers are not born, they become such. And they become party workers not through their titles or positions, but through work.

In recent years the party committees have been entered by quite a few specialists in the various branches of the economy, science, and culture who have behind them a good school of production and public work in the labor collectives. And this is good.

But, this is still not sufficient to become a real party worker. That is only, I would say, elementary school. But it is necessary to obtain university, if you wish, academic training in the daily struggle for bread and steel and for the new Man in order to become a genuinely political leader of the masses. This is a very important and mandatory condition in our work.

The demands upon cadres are growing continuously. In the documents of the party and its Central Committee, and in the works of comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev we find the most valuable statements about which qualities the party leader today, under developed socialism, has to have. To put it briefly, this is above all an alloy of political maturity, communist efficiency, and moral purity.

The make-up of the party worker is truly many-faceted. Even a simple enumeration of the demands which are being advanced by life would occupy quite a bit of time. But just as a skillful jeweler highlights the necessary facets on the stone, so the party at every stage of communist construction advances to the forefront those qualities which most fully and accurately respond to the tasks of the day.

L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes: "The contemporary leader has to organically unite within himself *partiynost'* and a deep competence, and discipline with initiatives and a creative approach to work."<sup>2</sup>

It is in the cultivation of precisely these qualities--*partiynost'* and competence, and high responsibility which unites strict discipline and creativity--that the party today sees the key element of its cadre policy.

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In our time, in the age of technological progress, it is essential to increase practical knowledge, I would say, to increase the class rating of every leader, and to skillfully combine expertise with a high party responsibility for one's work.

Thus, the task consists in every communist really becoming a political fighter for the party's ideals, and in his activeness, and his clear political position being materialized in the concrete deeds of communist construction, while every party organization is a fighting detachment of our party on the front line of struggle for communism. A clear ideological thrust, efficiency, and practical results--these are the criteria by which party work is now evaluated.

Comrades! When we speak about party and state work, in the broad sense of the word, and about the management of the economy of our country we invariably turn to that which the great Lenin bequeathed to us.

As far back as the dawn of the existence of the Soviet state, Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, defining the role and place of the ruling party in the construction of the new society, emphasized: ". . . it is precisely in the realization of our revolutionary tasks, precisely in the name of the idea that these tasks do not remain a utopia, or an innocent desire, but really be transformed into reality--be realized immediately,--it is precisely in the name of this goal that we must now pose, as our first and most important task, precisely the practicality and efficiency of organizational work."<sup>3</sup> Through all of its history our party has been worthily holding to loyalty to these Leninist behests.

The dimensions and complexity of the tasks of the social and economic program which has been advanced by the 25th CPSU Congress are inseparably bound up with the elevation of all organizational, political, and economic work to the level of the demands which accord with the qualitative characteristics of developed socialism. The ability to correctly dispose of existing possibilities, to select the key problems which ensure the success of the entire matter, to find efficient ways of solving them, and to mobilize the masses for the fulfillment of what has been planned is acquiring an especially topical importance. And this means that every leader and specialist is obliged to master the Leninist style in work and the Leninist science of management.

The Leninist style is not a sum of finished all-purpose recipes for all of the occasions of life; it is a living, creative method. And the party takes care to see to it that in the process of constructive work all of its sides and facets are developed.

When we speak about concrete examples--models of party work,--then, of course, each of us turns first of all to the work of the Central Committee of the CPSU. Of course, not all of the forms and methods in the work of the CC can be mechanically transferred into another party organization, and it is not at all necessary to copy measures being carried out by the Central Committee. But there is, comrades, a main direction as it were in work, there is a style in work, and there is the essence itself of the many-faceted affairs of this head-

quarters of our mighty party of many millions which have to constantly enter into the life and work of any party organization.

The activities of the CC CPSU are on many levels, seething and strenuous. In inseparable connection with local party agencies--obkoms, kraykoms, and the CCs of the communist parties of the union republics,--it persistently and consistently conducts a large amount of organizational work to realize the general line of our party as defined by the 25th CPSU Congress.

Thus, all or almost all of the most important problems raised by the 25th party Congress are examined in the Politburo. And this is done above all for these problems to be, on the one hand, at the center of the party's attention and at the center of the attention of the entire public, and, on the other, in order for them to be transferred into the channel of a practical decision with regard to time, place, and material and other resources. Such decisions were made month after month during the last two years.

We frequently speak about dynamicness in work. But this concept is interpreted in various ways. Some people regard dynamicness as a simple enumeration of all measures being taken. In fact, this concept is considerably deeper.

Let us take, for example, the foreign policy actions of the Soviet Union and of our party. We will easily convince ourselves that the Central Committee of the CPSU proceeds from the thesis that one does not await peace, peace cannot be served up to us as a gift, it has to be won, it has to be achieved. And, for this reason, the constant struggle for peace which is being waged by our party and its CC and personally by L. I. Brezhnev is a model of dynamic activity in the field of foreign policy. All of the actions in this field represent the gigantic path of the party's struggle for peace and for a relaxation of tensions.

In domestic policy, after the 25th Congress, the CC of the party concentrated its attention on effectiveness and efficiency in accomplishing the tasks which followed from the decisions of the congress. The development of socialist competition may serve as an example. And although the problems of organizing it are not new to us, it is not difficult to become convinced of how much labor, initiative, and creativity has been invested in recent years in its organization and in the renewal of the forms and content of socialist competition.

After the congress, the Central Committee repeatedly discussed at its meetings and approved the initiatives and new starts of workers; moreover, many of these undertakings define tasks not only of the present day. These undertakings born in collectives and approved by the CC of the party are becoming constantly operating factors in the improvement of work. Recall, for example, the initiative of the Rostov workers--"To Work Without Laggards"--or the Zpatov method of work. These, comrades, are not only forms which speed up work or improve its quality, but which change the moral principles of people, their views, their attitude toward life and work and toward their every day, and so forth--in a word which change the make-up of a man himself.

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Or another example: L. I. Brezhnev's trip through Siberia and the Far East. The range of issues which were examined during the course of this trip testifies to its profound influence on all of the aspects of the life and work of the party, to the close and indestructible connection between the party and the people, to the profound understanding by the people of the tasks which are advanced by the party, and to the dynamic nature of the life and activity of the party and the people.

Mention must also be made of such an important phenomenon in our lives and work as L. I. Brezhnev's memoirs "Little Land" and "Rebirth." These works have become a rich possession of our party and people, and they are alive and in active operation. It is a source from which we extract and will for long years to come extract ideas and inspiration for creative work. Such books could only appear under present conditions when a favorable climate has been created in our party for the work of cadres. The truthful and sincere works of L. I. Brezhnev impel us to reflect, to analyze, and to always actively strive to work for the glory of the homeland. Everyone is deeply moved by the wealth of their ideational content, their party penetration into the sources of the heroic military and labor feats of our people, their deep judgments, generalization of phenomena, and by their author's sincerity in his exposition of events and facts. These books have become for us a rich textbook of political wisdom, and a treasure house of party experience. They teach us to be active and conscious fighters for the party, to give all of our strength and knowledge for the good of our homeland, and to justify with dignity the lofty title of member of a Leninist party. These books carry a powerful charge of patriotic feelings, mobilize communists for a model performance of their duty, and give a new impulse to the work of party organizations.

Comrades! Given the strenuous and dynamic life and activities of the party, great demands are being made upon the level, style, and methods of work of the party apparatus which has an important role in increasing the effectiveness and quality of party leadership.

It is the apparatus that is one of the chief links which connects the party leadership with communists and with all of the workers, and which is an essential instrument of the party direction of all of the affairs of society. With the help of the apparatus, the party puts its political line into practice, realizes plans, generalizes experience which has been gained, and exercises control over the fulfillment of party decisions. Its tasks also consist in noticing problems which are arising in time, evaluating them punctually and realistically, from Leninist positions, and being timely in making the solutions of leading party agencies which are adopted to meet the essence of these problems a property of all party organizations. The realization of the principles of party democracy depends to a substantial degree upon the party apparatus.

The apparatus is merged with the party into a single whole. As the role of the CPSU as the leading and directing force of our society grows, the role and importance of the work of its apparatus also grows.

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Today the work of the party apparatus is characterized by many-sidedness, a diversity of forms, and a wealth of content. Performance supervision and verification is one of the most important aspects of its work.

Careful attention to the organization of supervision was always characteristic of the communist party. At the contemporary stage of communist construction these questions belong to a category of especial importance. Today the state of performance supervision and verification is a daily measure of the effectiveness and quality of the work of party committees, their apparatus, and every party worker.

It has already become an indisputable truth that supervision has to begin with the creation of a document. Only a precise, clear, and concrete document provides the preconditions for the organization of effective supervision. Supervision must not be formal, just for the record; it has to be a component and inseparable part of party work as a whole. The lack of the necessary supervision of the execution of decisions has to be qualified as a lack of respect for the results of one's own labor, one's own work.

In recent years forms of control (supervision) have undergone substantial changes for the better. Control today is one of the forms of party work into which above all the meaning of benevolence has been put. It is carried out, as a rule, on the basis of a deep knowledge and consists of two main component parts: first, from the functions of verification, and, second, from the functions of providing assistance in the solution of various problems. The party committees proceed in their practical work from the idea that control and the organization of performance is a single process of political organizational work.

The role of collegial bodies has increased appreciably in the organization of performance verification. Systematic control over the execution of decisions has become the chief content of the work of the secretariats of the CCs of the communist parties of the union republics, the kraykoms, and many obkoms.

The party committees employ diverse forms of performance supervision (control) and verification, and take an overall and systematic approach to their selection and use. The questions of control over the execution of decisions which have been made occupies one of the central places in the long-term and current work plans of the bureaus, secretariats, and sections of the party committees.

A clear perspective, and the ability to single out the chief and decisive element--these are the special features in the organization of control which today characterize the work of the party apparatus. This kind of approach makes it possible to forestall shortcomings in time, to see new tendencies in the realization of what has been planned in time, and to move from the registration of omissions to the planned improvement of the work.

Meanwhile, there are still party committees in which the effectiveness of control is poor, and performance verification has an episodic character and is not connected with the organization of work, which leads to a failure to carry out decisions.

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Frequently attention is given only to one side of control--compliance with performance schedules. Here, the actual state of affairs is lost sight of.

Party committees have to more resolutely come out in opposition to elements of a formal approach and seek the absolute, full, and high quality execution of every decision.

In the future also we need to crystallize all of the forms of control. Moreover, it is always necessary to proceed from the fact that control has to engender more confidence in cadres and elicit a greater desire to solve problems in the spirit of the demands of the party's CC.

Control of the present conditions is a concept, comrades, which is very broad. The state of affairs needs to be controlled. At the same time, shortcomings need to be eliminated. But control has to be organized in such a way that it is possible to study and disseminate experience.

The chief task and the essence of performance verification consists in ensuring the punctual realization of tasks, preventing the slightest deviations from the norms of party life, and cultivating in cadres a responsibility for their work and an endeavour, under any circumstances, to keep their word. It reaches this goal only if it has a systematic, all-round principled character and includes organizational work and the timely provision of practical assistance to executors.

Thus, the conclusion consists in the fact that performance control and verification, like all party work, is a living, creative matter. The most diverse forms and methods are in its arsenal. The situation, the conditions, and the character of the tasks determine which of them are to be used in one or another case. But it is important to remember that performance control and verification have to embrace all of the sides of economic and public activity, and be an effective means of party leadership.

Comrades! The Central Committee is constantly fixing the attention of party committees on the problems of organization and efficiency in the work of the apparatus.

Realizing L. I. Brezhnev's instructions, the party committees are taking measures to decrease the number of meetings and conferences and to increase the effectiveness with which they are held. Many of them have defined concrete days for the performance of measures in party, government, and economic organizations, and for the meetings of elective bodies, and the procedure for summoning leading workers.

However, in a number of party organizations concreteness, clarity, and efficiency in work are replaced by numerous conferences and by the evolution of various measures. It cannot be regarded as normal when individual workers of the apparatus, referring to overwork, do not appear in the primary organizations for months, do not meet with people, and do not address them. But this is the most important thing in work. To free a maximum amount of time for the party worker for organizational and political work in the masses is one of the most important tasks of party agencies.

Comrades! The power of party leadership is in its collegiality. In combination with personal responsibility, the collegiality of leadership is the fundamental principle of Leninist style on the basis of which the party and all of its agencies improve their work. It is precisely collegiality that creates maximum opportunities for producing on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory, taking account of the experience of the masses in strictly scientific party policy, and its successful realization in life, and which guarantees against one-sidedness and against the making of subjective decisions.

Collegiality can turn into simple formality if a situation of genuine efficiency, creativeness, and principle is not created in the work of party agencies. This kind of situation does not arise upon orders from instructions or prescriptions. It is created in the process of live practical work, as a result of comradely cooperation which is permeated with a general concern for the successful realization of the party's plans.

The collegiality of party leadership presupposes a constant expansion and deepening of its connections with the masses. It is good to know the feelings and the hopes of Soviet people and to have a clear idea of what the people's order is today--this is an immutable norm of the work of every party agency.

Connections with the masses is a many-leveled phenomenon. First of all, it is a profound knowledge of life. On the other hand, it is a very important channel through which the party influences the masses, educates them, and mobilizes them for the accomplishment of tasks.

It has become a good tradition with us to discuss all important questions of political, economic, social, and cultural life with the broad and immediate participation of the workers. The national discussion of the draft of the new USSR Constitution was a model of this truly Leninist approach.

Workers' letters is one of the effective forms of connection between the party and the masses. The Central Committee of our party, the Politburo, and the Secretariat of the CC are constantly calling attention to the necessity for an attentive and genuinely Leninist attitude toward this.

In 1977 more than 650,000 workers' letters and telegrams came to the CC CPSU. A total of around two million letters and applications were considered in the CCs of the communist parties of the union republics, the kraykoms, the obkoms, and other party committees.

It can be said that there is no aspect of the life of our society and there are no important issues of party, state, and economic construction which are not touched upon to one extent or another in the letters. The wide horizon and mature judgment of Soviet people and their active life positions are reflected in these genuinely human documents.

The questions which are raised in workers' letters are constantly at the center of the attention of the CC CPSU. A substantial number of them have received a

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positive resolution and have been taken account of and made use of in preparing and adopting the most important decrees connected with the realization of the tasks put forward by the 25th CPSU Congress.

The party committees have done a great deal to carry out the decree of the CC CPSU "On a Further Improvement of Work With Workers' Letters in the Light of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress." It can be noted with satisfaction that the examination of proposals, applications, and complaints is now organized on a higher organizational level. Their discussion at the meetings of collegial party bodies is widely practiced.

The positive tendencies in this work have to be further developed and secured. This involves above all the qualitative side of the matter, the examination of letters addressed to the essence of the problems raised in them.

Although the level of work with letters is constantly rising, its coefficient of useful effect can and must be even greater. Unfortunately, there are shortcomings in this matter, cases of formalism and bureaucratism.

To this day in certain places the letters of workers are looked upon as purely personal solicitations. But, comrades, if a person complains, it is a matter, as a rule, of a sincere desire to eliminate shortcomings, and of an intolerance toward everything that goes counter to the norms of the life of our Soviet people.

Daily and unremitting attention to every address and to every criticism and proposal, and the satisfaction of the vital needs and requirements of the workers continues to be one of the most important tasks of all party committees and workers of their apparatus.

Comrades! In recent years party agencies have done a great deal to improve the organization of intra-party information and to increase its importance as an instrument of party leadership and as a means of education and control. It has become more regular and systematic, and it makes it possible to more deeply analyze the state of affairs in the localities and to better know the feelings and needs of people. On its basis party practice is evaluated more objectively, long-term and current plans are worked out, and more substantiated decisions are taken.

Regular information for communists on the activities of superior party agencies and on the work experience of the party committees of other oblasts, cities, and rayons is widespread in party organizations. This kind of information makes it possible to compare experience which has been gained and to constantly extract everything that is new and progressive. This has a positive effect upon improving all of party work.

Our time is characterized by a colossal and constantly increasing amount of information. What conclusion suggests itself from this? Either to be swept away by a gigantic wave of information, or to learn how to skillfully manage it.



In order for intra-party information to fully accord with its purpose, it has to possess such qualities as reliability, currency, and fullness.

I would like to emphasize that information is not a holiday report. It is a political document in which a situation has to be characterized with maximum precision and party principle. "We need complete and truthful information,"<sup>4</sup>-- V. I. Lenin taught.

Unobjective information is capable of disorienting party agencies and pushing them to take erroneous decisions. This has to be spoken about since, in providing information to superior agencies, certain gorkoms and raykoms see their basic goal in reporting about successes, while shortcomings and that which was not done is described in hurried meaningless words, or kept in complete silence.

Practice shows that information most fully fulfills its role when it is subordinated to the solution of those problems which are the chief ones for party organization and which have a determining importance for all of its work.

On the basis of the experience of the CC CPSU, many of the CCs of the communist parties of the union republics, kraykoms and obkoms have analyzed the quality of the information materials which are presented to party agencies and have mapped out measures to put order into directing them.

This work has to be performed very persistently in the future also, demands for secondary reporting data, diverse information, and other information materials have to be reduced consistently and in a planned manner, and the quality of the information which is presented has to be improved.

The flow of incoming information should be analyzed deeply and systematically, and its real necessity in practical work determined so that it does not turn into an immovable property of many volumes. Of course, the measures which are taken in this direction must not narrow the information available to party committees.

Comrades! Party workers and all communists emphasize with satisfaction that in recent years a creative and business-like atmosphere has been created in the party and in the country. This is a great gain of ours and it has to be taken care of and strengthened in every possible way. Of course, it is necessary here for everyone to correctly understand what goes into forming this atmosphere.

Today we have a really calm working atmosphere in the party and the state which completely excludes voluntarism and various kinds of willful decisions, far-fetched reorganizations, and so forth which at one time created uncertainty in the work of our cadres. Behind all of this a deeper meaning and a deeper content has to be seen.

You know, comrades, how exceptionally self-critical the report by L. I. Brezhnev at the July (1978) Plenum of the CC CPSU was. This is exactly the way our party

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acts--it always speaks boldly and frankly with the people and never hides anything from it. In this is the strength of our party, and in this is the strength of criticism.

Or take such a concept as trust in cadres. But trust is not a weakness of the truster, but an enormous power, and in this case the power of the party. This is why the Central Committee of the CPSU acts strictly in cases when certain leaders understand this trust in a distorted manner.

In a word, a good, kind, and trusting atmosphere can exist when there is a high responsibility in cadres for their work. And this in itself demands a high level of maturity in cadres and an ability to correctly evaluate and understand this trust. A great deal here depends upon their qualifications, practical training, political maturity, and their ability to organize work.

Of the full totality of qualities which a party apparatus worker has to possess, competence should be placed in one of the important places. Competence is the chief thing that today determines the efficiency and quality of the work of the party committee apparatus. It is precisely upon the extent to which a worker knows his work, how capable he is of digging down to the essence of phenomena and facts, and how he mobilizes people for the fulfillment of the party's directives--it is precisely upon this that in a decisive degree the realization of our plans depends.

The party committees have been consistently implementing a series of measures aimed at a further rise in the theoretical ideological level and practical qualifications of apparatus workers. It is necessary to continue improving work in this direction. The theoretical level and practical thrust of all of the forms of instruction for party apparatus workers has to be heightened, and basic attention has to be concentrated on a deep study of Lenin's heritage, of the issues of party construction, the assimilation of practical experience, and the development of the ability in each concrete case to creatively realize tasks which have been set.

To justify the party's high trust means to work to one's full strength, knowledge, and experience, to constantly show a maximum level of organization, self-control, and high discipline and to persistently improve and refine the style and methods of one's work.

I think that I would be expressing the opinion of all of those present in saying that for this noble cause we would not spare any efforts and in this way we will justify the party's trust.

Comrades! In conclusion allow me to say several words outside of the topic of our conference. I would like to address these words to the hosts of our conference--the Krasnoyarsk workers.

First of all, we thank you again for your hospitality and well prepared conference.

Secondly, the fact is that I remember Krasnoyarsk of the 1930s, and Krasnoyarsk before the war and at the beginning of the war. And now, more than 35 years later, I have seen a city in which I worked and lived at one time. And if something similar has happened to anyone in his life, I think that he will believe me and will understand my impression. And its essence is that this city on the banks of a mighty Siberian river is a good illustration of how our country has marched forward, of how full these years were, years of the construction of a new life, years of the ascent to the heights of socialism and communism.

We know many of our great compatriots, comrades, who have said good words about Siberia, including Krasnoyarsk and the Yenisey. We know and remember the words of Lomonosov, Chekhov, Gor'kiy, Surikov, and others. We also know very clearly that the light of our epoch, the contours of our future, and the answer to what Russia should be and what our party should be were born here, on the banks of the Yenisey, in the first foundation-laying works of the great Lenin--the organizer and leader of our party and state.

And it is quite symbolic, comrades, that the world's largest hydroelectric power station is being built today next to the historic Shushensk. This will be a worthy memorial to Il'ich.

The remarkable plans of the great genius of our time were transformed into the great energy of a people which accomplished a revolution and built socialism in its country. It is precisely Lenin's ideas that gave us that mighty power which is today possessed by the Country of Soviets. And this cannot but gratify all of us. And, of course, make us very happy that we are not only the witnesses, but also the participants in all of the achievements which are taking place today in our country and under its influence in the entire world.

The city of Krasnoyarsk is only one of the cities of our immense homeland, but, as the sea is reflected in a drop of water, the gigantic stride of socialism is reflected in it.

An exciting prospect is opening up before the city and the kray in the future. Today Krasnoyarskiy Kray is an enormous construction site which stretches for almost 3,000 kilometers. Sixty-nine large industrial objects which are of enormous importance for our entire country are being built here.

This year Krasnoyarsk will mark its 350th anniversary. Permit me to ardently and sincerely congratulate the people of Krasnoyarsk on this wonderful date and to wish them new success in the further development and transformation of their remarkable city and kray.

It gives me especial satisfaction to carry out a commission of the CC CPSU and personally of comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev--to congratulate the people of Krasnoyarsk upon their high government award. For the great services of the workers of the city in the revolutionary movement, for their contribution in the struggle against the German fascist invaders during the Great Patriotic War, and for the successes which have been achieved by them in economic and cultural

construction, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has awarded the city of Krasnoyarsk the Order of the October Revolution.

(Comrade K. U. Chernenko's report was listened to with great attention and repeatedly interrupted by applause.)

FOOTNOTES

1. M. I. Kalinin, "Advice to the Party Worker," Moscow, 1975, pp 185, 186, 187.
2. L. I. Brezhnev, "Following Lenin's Course," Vol 5, p 528.
3. V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol 36, p 159.
4. Ibid., Vol 54, p 446.

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A HIGH AWARD TO OUR VALOROUS BORDER GUARDS

Speech at a Gala Meeting Devoted to the  
Presentation of the Order of the Red  
Banner to the Border Guard Detachment of  
the Red Banner Eastern Border District on  
16 August 1979

Dear comrades!

We have gathered here to mark a great and joyous event in the life of a border guard detachment--it is being presented today with the Order of the Red Banner.

Accept, comrades, the most heart-felt congratulations of the Central Committee of our party, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and personally of comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev.

For your great services in the defense of our socialist fatherland, and for your duty successes in protecting the state border of the USSR, the homeland has conferred a high combat award upon your border guard detachment.

I will tell you frankly, comrades, it is very pleasant for me to be together with you on this holiday, and to speak to border guards. For me, a former border guard, today's event is doubly moving: it is precisely in your border guard detachment that my military service began when I came here as a volunteer in 1930.

The years of that difficult, anxious, and exciting service have been imprinted forever in my memory; I always think of them with sincere warmth and gratitude. It is just here that one of the great events of my life took place--I was accepted into membership in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It was here that the communist border guards elected me secretary of their party organization. And since then the meaning and content of my entire life has been party work. This is why this commission is so dear to me--to present the homeland's award to you.

Of course, comrades, I do not intend to appear before you today with personal reminiscences. Nevertheless, I would like to say a few words about that time.

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You know that for the Soviet country the beginning of the 1930s was a difficult period; but its pathos consisted in an offensive by socialism along all of the directions of state, economic, and cultural construction. The entire country was seized by labor enthusiasm. Industrial giants were built in record time--Magnitka, Dneproges, the Stalingrad and Khar'kov Tractor Plants, the Gor'kiy and the Moscow Motor Vehicle Plants, the city of youth Komsomol'sk-na-Amure, and the Turkistan-Siberian Railroad Trunk Line. The complete collectivization of agriculture was begun, and the construction of new sovkhoses and machinery and tractor stations was in progress. In all of the spheres of the spiritual life of our society a new, socialist ideology was being established.

The country's international situation was difficult. The capitalist world not only showered streams of slander and lies upon the Country of Soviets, placing the reality of our plans in doubt, but did not stop before direct military provocations against us. There was no quiet on the Soviet borders. Attacks on our Central Asian republics by Basmach bands were organized by imperialist agents from the territory of Afghanistan, Iran, and Sintszyan. In 1929 a conflict arose on the Chinese-Eastern Railroad. In an order of the USSR Revolutionary Military Council on this occasion it was stated: "The conflict on the Chinese-Eastern Railroad has been resolved. But we shall be on our guard, and we shall vigilantly keep a watch on every movement by the imperialists. Let the struggle in the Far East harden our ranks even more, and let us pour in new strength for the further combat training of the Red Army." This appeal was absolutely justified. At the end of the 1930s the Japanese militarists engaged in large military provocations, first in the area of Lake Hasan, and then at Khalkhin-Gol.

The Leninist Komsomol was the party's fighting assistant in strengthening the country's defense capacity and in educating fiery patriots of our homeland. At that time the most popular professions for young people were the military professions of seamen, flyer, tank operator, and, of course, border guards. During these years the posters summoned: "Komsomol Member--To the Airplane, the Tank, the Battleship!"

Service on the border was the limit of our dreams, the Komsomol members of that time. And when this dream came true, the youth strove to justify the high trust and to perform its duty honorably to the end.

Decades have passed since that time, and much has changed. Today the border is guarded by the grandsons of those who selflessly defended it during the stern prewar and war years. There has been an incomparable growth in the combat readiness of the border forces; they are supplied with first-class equipment and with the most modern weapons. The people of the border themselves have grown--an indicator of this is the high educational, political, and professional level of the border soldiers.

But I involuntarily search in the faces of today's border guards for the features of the border sentries of the 1930s. And I see the courageous inspired faces of soldiers who are boundlessly devoted to the cause of the party, to their

socialist fatherland, and to the cause of their fathers and grandfathers. In this we have the continuity of the generations of border guards, and fidelity to the heroic traditions of our glorious people and to the traditions of our border guard forces. Alarms, details, and training--this is what our border guards' every day was made of, and that is what it remains today. As for us, the border soldiers of the 1930s, so for you to whom the protection of the country's borders has been entrusted in the 1970s, the most important thing was and remains enormous responsibility, the highest self-control and vigilance, and a constant readiness to protect the quiet of the border against any encroachments.

Comrades! Somewhat more than three years have passed since the 25th CPSU Congress. This was a period full of historic events. The celebration of the 60th anniversary of Great October, the adoption of the new USSR Constitution, and the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet--all of this placed an inimitable stamp upon the work of the party and upon the entire social and political life of the country, and helped to give scope to the struggle for the fulfillment of the decisions of the congress.

The party's chief domestic policy line and its general course is an improvement of the well-being of the people. This course is consistently being turned into practical deeds. In all of the directions of our social development during the three years of the five-year plan we have made substantial forward movement.

During this time the country's economic potential underwent substantial growth. The industry of the USSR now produces more output than was produced in the entire world in 1950. On the basis of an increase in the productivity of social labor, during the years 1976-1978 four-fifths of the increase in national income was obtained.

A large amount of work has been done by the party to carry out a long-term and economically valid course which is aimed at the progress of agriculture. The July (1978) Plenum of the CC CPSU is of fundamental importance in this.

We remember what the first five-year plan began with in the village: 27,000 tractors, 700 trucks, 2 (!) grain harvest combines--that was almost our entire machinery arsenal in 1928.

Now there are working on the kolkhozes and sovkhoses more than 2,500,000 tractors, 700,000 grain harvesting combines, and more than 1.5 million freight trucks. Agriculture's energy might in our time comes to 525 million horsepower. This is 25 times more than in 1928.

Your rayon is convincing testimony to these changes. The rayon's kolkhozes and sovkhoses have turned into large highly mechanized and energy-supplied farms which are strengthened by qualified cadres of specialists. In 1978 the rayon's rural workers sold the state a record amount of grain--more than 10 million poods. As a result of the large amount of work which is being performed by the rayon party and government organizations and by all of the workers, the rayon and an advanced kolkhoz have been awarded for their successes for the fourth

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time with the Red Challenge Banners of the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, and the CC of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League.

The successes in the country's economic construction have given rise to a further improvement of the material and cultural level of the people. On the basis of the results of three years of the five-year plan, the assignments to increase the population's monetary income have been completely realized. In 1978 the average wages of workers and employees reached 160 rubles a month and, in this way, was almost twice as high as the 1960 level. Thanks to the growth of our social consumption funds, the possibilities are increasing in our country for satisfying various social needs of Soviet people, such as obtaining an education, health protection and rest, financial security in old age, and others.

Since the beginning of the 10th Five-Year Plan around 6.5 million new well-appointed apartments with a total area of 323 million square meters have been built and commissioned in the USSR. This figure by itself is sufficiently eloquent. But its dimensions will become even more graphic if it is recalled that on the eve of the Great Patriotic War the entire city housing fund of our country was slightly more than 420 million square meters. In three years around 32 million Soviet people celebrated house-warmings. And, nevertheless, there is still not enough housing. As yet not all Soviet people have the kind of housing conditions they would like. But the scope of construction is expanding, and housing difficulties are diminishing.

Soviet people are working strenuously over the fulfillment of the plans of the fourth year of the five-year plan. It is quite clear, comrades, that the fulfillment of the five-year plan as a whole will to a large extent depend upon the results of this year. While taking note of the indisputable achievements of our economy, the party is at the same time calling attention to the difficulties and shortcomings in our work and to unsolved problems.

Last winter and spring the weather served us quite a few surprises. And during the summer months extensive areas of the European part of the Union suffered from a drought. This is why it is so important now to mobilize ourselves and to put all of our reserves into movement so as to provide normal food supplies for the country's population.

The essential thing, of course, is not only to know about problems. The chief thing is to draw the necessary conclusions for one's work, and to take the correct measures to eliminate shortcomings, without stopping half-way and without being satisfied with individual successes. The party demands deeds, the consistent and steady improvement of all of the elements of our state and economic mechanism, and their qualitative improvement.

Recently the Central Committee of the party and the Soviet government adopted the decree "On Improving Planning and Strengthening the Action of the Economic Mechanism on Increasing Production Efficiency and Improving the Quality of Work." This document is addressed not only to planning organizations and ministries and departments; it is addressed to every Soviet person.



In this document the party provides a resolute reminder of the inseparability of planning and production, of managerial tasks and the moral climate in the country. The economy of our country has grown immeasurably, and it has become more complex not only quantitatively, by volume, but also qualitatively. Economic relations have become more complex. The scientific and technological revolution is making increasingly great demands upon us. Now the task, it is noted in the decree of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers, consists in raising the level of planning and economic management, bringing them into correspondence with the requirements of the present stage--the stage of developed socialism,--and achieving a substantial increase in the efficiency of social production, an acceleration of scientific and technological progress and a rise in labor productivity, and an improvement of output quality and, on this basis, ensuring a constant improvement of the country's economy and of the well-being of the Soviet people.

In thinking about and weighing all of the sides of the tasks which follow from this document, you understand that we shall probably still have to overcome psychological barriers: inveterate habits, inertness, and indecisiveness in taking the most operational measures in accordance with this decree.

This is why today in the party and country, where there is a wide discussion of this decree, concrete measures are being worked out to realize it in every collective. We believe that every Soviet person will make a worthy contribution to this cause of all of our people, that the level of our well-being will rise even higher, and that the economic might of our homeland will grow even greater. And the society of developed socialism will take one more step forward.

The tasks that face the country are enormous ones, and it is necessary for every Soviet person to participate consciously and actively in their accomplishment. Our common successes are formed from the successes and achievements of every labor collective and every individual worker. In a situation when the interdependency of large collectives one upon the other has been growing immeasurably from day to day, such qualities as reliability and obligatoriness become especially important. Frequently, comrades, besides our own conscience, we have no controller over us. It is then that the life position of a person comes to light--what he cherishes, in the name of what he works, and by what values he orients himself.

But it is not only in our affairs and in work that we pass through a test for reliability. In human relationships, in the perception of events, and in their evaluation each of us also is examined for strength.

Obligatoriness is not simply fidelity to a word or a promise. Obligatoriness demands from a person fidelity to his own ideals and convictions, and firmness in the life position which has been chosen--in a word, that which we call a sense of principle. And behind this there is always an ability for independent thought, a heightened civic-mindedness, and the ability to struggle and to defend one's point of view.

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Everybody has his own measure of responsibility, but the measure of his duty to his homeland and to his people is a single one.

Each of us has to be ready at any moment to fulfill this duty to our homeland. Everyone bears personal responsibility for the accomplishment of common tasks--this is the essence of the matter.

The new USSR Constitution is permeated with the idea of people's power and of the direct participation by Soviet man in the administration of the affairs of society and in the creation and distribution of social goods and riches. First of all, the authority and powers of the Soviets of People's Deputies at all levels is strengthened and expanded. In their composition and coverage they represent practically all of the strata of the population, and with regard to the number of deputies they are a very enormous democratic force. To have the potential of the soviets go into fuller action in the interest of communist construction, to resolve through the soviets questions which arise with more initiative, without red-tape, and in a more organized manner, and to respond to the needs of the population--the Basic Law binds us to do this, the CPSU summons us to this, and in this is one of the preconditions for our rapid forward movement.

Comrades! Our people rightly connect all of our successes and achievements in the socio-economic and social life of the country with the tireless work of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Central Committee, Politburo, and personally of the General Secretary of the CC CPSU comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev.

The strength of our party, as was once again graphically demonstrated by the recent elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet, is in its close connection with the masses. It gets from its indestructable unity with the people mighty energy and an unshakable will and strength! In this unity is the guarantee of all of our future successes and achievements.

All of us experience a feeling of legitimate pride in our party when we speak about the positive changes on the international arena. Carrying out the decisions of the 25th Party Congress, the CPSU and the Soviet state have been increasing their efforts in favor of detente and ensuring peace on earth.

Recently there was a meeting between comrade L. I. Brezhnev and the President of the United States Jimmy Carter which governments and peoples followed with the utmost attention. And this is understandable. On the agenda of the negotiations were the key problems of the present day and, above all, the problem of restraining the arms race.

In Vienna the second Soviet-American treaty was signed on limiting strategic offensive weapons for a period until 1985. When it comes into force definite barriers will be created for a further build-up of the most destructive and most expensive types of weapons. Moreover, for the first time states will even reduce somewhat the number of their strategic missiles and other nuclear war-

head carriers and will commit themselves to show restraint in the development of new strategic weapons systems.

The road to the treaty was a long one--it took almost seven years. Moreover, the treaty itself might have been more perfect and more far-reaching. However, since it accurately maintains the principles of equality and equal security, the Salt-II Treaty in its present form can play a positive role both in relations between the USSR and the United States and in efforts to improve the entire international situation.

We hope that the Vienna meeting will have a beneficial influence on the whole of the international situation which during the last two years has been very contradictory. Now in one, and then in another point of the planet peace is subjected to dangerous trials. The names of these "hotpoints" are well known. They are the Near East, where under the umbrella of a separate deal between Cairo and Tel Aviv the Israeli aggressors are continuing with their robbery, and they are the south of Africa which has been enveloped by the flames of a liberation struggle against racist and apartheid regimes.

Reaction finds it impossible to reconcile itself to the revolutionary aims of the people of Afghanistan, and is organizing dangerous armed diversions against a neighboring and friendly country of ours.

A tense situation continues in Southeast Asia. The Beijing aggressors have gotten out of the populated points of socialist Vietnam. However, as the first two rounds of negotiations in Hanoi and Beijing have shown, the Chinese leadership still has not drawn the correct conclusions from the failure of its military adventure. It is attempting to dictate its conditions for a settlement to Vietnam, to impose Maoist tendencies upon the Vietnamese in foreign policy questions, and is attempting to teach Vietnam how to conduct its domestic affairs.

Recently the Beijing leaders decided to halt the action of the Treaty on Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Aid between the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic which was concluded in 1950. At the same time, the Chinese leadership agreed to sit down at the negotiation table and discuss with us the problems of Soviet-Chinese relations in order to improve them. The Soviet side gave its opinion of the denunciation of the treaty. It was obvious to everybody that this was not an act of good neighborliness, and an action which is not constructive in its thrust. As for the negotiations, the USSR repeatedly favored halting them. This is a sensible way of eliminating difficulties and disagreements. The future will show what is understood in Beijing by negotiations and by an improvement of relations with the Soviet Union.

For now we shall proceed from the facts which show that the chauvinistic and expansionist intoxication which was engendered by Maoism has not yet been dispelled in Beijing. The Chinese leadership continues, in contact with imperialist circles in the United States, Japan, and a number of other states, to weave intrigues against the socialist commonwealth, and against the progressive, revolu-

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tionary, liberation forces. More than that, China is counting on help from the West in modernizing its armed forces.

For this reason, we have to think about the strength of our eastern borders, about maintaining the defense capacity of the Soviet state on the necessary level, and about improving the material and technical base of our army and navy. This is the concern of our entire country and entire people, a concern for our peaceful today and calm tomorrow.

There is no doubt that in the future also we shall not submit to provocations and attempts to draw us into hasty steps. Behind the at first glance minor violations of the border conditions which are regularly done by the Chinese side there may be a big political calculation, an endeavour to artificially inflame the situation, and to heat up anti-Soviet passions among a section of the Chinese population. We see this and take it into account.

Are there objective reasons for the tension on the Soviet-Chinese border? To this we reply unambiguously--no. A border between countries does not at all have to remind one of the front line. It by no means has the task of disuniting peoples. But for this to be the case a border has to be respected as a symbol of a state's sovereignty, and as the frontier of national security.

This, comrades, is the way the issue is put. The vital interests of our Soviet state demand constant concern for the security of our borders.

After the 25th CPSU Congress a number of effective measures were taken in order to further develop the border forces, and orientations and recommendations were issued regarding the defense of the border and organizational and political work among the soldiers.

The 60th Anniversary of the covered in glory Border Guards was celebrated in our country as a big holiday. In connection with the anniversary, a number of border detachments and other units, and also a large group of border soldiers were awarded with high government awards.

Our party strengthens its army not only by means of increasing the amount of equipment and perfecting it, but also, as you know, the party devotes an enormous amount of attention to the education of the personnel of the Soviet Army in general and of the border forces in particular. All of these directions in the work of the party to strengthen the army are interconnected. Constant attention to its army by the Central Committee and the Soviet government is an entirely natural phenomenon. Soviet soldiers have been entrusted with a most important sector of communist construction--the reliable defense of the socialist homeland and of the peaceful labor of our people. The importance and complexity of the tasks which are accomplished by the army and the navy increase with each passing day.

Weapons and combat equipment are becoming increasingly complicated, and the methods of their employment in combat are being perfected. And this means that

the demands upon the personnel are constantly growing. And in order to be equal to these demands, a soldier needs to have not only deep technical knowledge and skills, and not only good ideological political, will, and physical conditioning, but also a lofty morality and a conscious attitude toward his duty.

Comrades, how has the border guard been preserved in my memory? First of all, he is an ideologically convinced fighter for our just Leninist cause, he is a brave and bold person who knows how to orient himself in any situation and under any circumstances, a person who has formally defined his life positions and his ideals and who is ready to defend our fatherland with his blood.

These and other components of the image of the border guard I have taken with me throughout my whole life and I have become convinced that systematic studies are necessary for this. In order for a border guard to be faithful to his military oath and to the rules and regulations which define the essence of military service, in order for this to be it is necessary to study, to study, and again to study, to make a profound and comprehensive study of military science, to improve one's political knowledge, and always to keep in step with the events taking place in our country.

V. I. Lenin said that a revolution is worth something when it is able to defend itself against its enemies. We, comrades, have what to defend, have what to defend it with, and have the people to defend it.

Every page in the history of the border forces contains an enormous ideological charge, and teaches fidelity, fearlessness, and selfless service to the homeland. The history of the border forces is a history of struggle with numerous enemies, secret and open, who have encroached on our sacred borders. The glorious chronicle of the border forces is full of examples of the courage and valor of our Chekist-soldiers and of their devotion to the communist party and to its great cause. The heroes of past years remain in our combat formation, march the patrol paths with young soldiers, fill their hearts with courage, sharpen their vigilance, help to win over difficulties, and to keep the border on a strong lock.

When we say that the "border is on a lock," we mean that our entire enormous border is in reliable hands. The party has always believed in this and it believes in it now.

You all know very well, comrades, what great responsibility and what complicated duties are shouldered in our day by the command and political personnel, the party and Komsomol organizations, and all of the soldiers of the border forces. Given the existence of the most highly perfected equipment, success is ensured by people, ideologically staunch and convinced of the rightness of the great cause which they are defending. In order to be able to skillfully use modern military equipment every border guard has to have broad knowledge and must constantly add to it.

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The entire contemporary situation and the sharpness and difficultness of the struggle on the ideological front is making increased demands today upon ideological educational and political work among the troops. Recently the decree was adopted by the CC CPSU "On a Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work" which sets a number of additional and new tasks for the political agencies and party and Komsomol organizations of the border forces.

The qualities which are cultivated today during the period of military service-- a lofty consciousness of duty, organization, and selflessness--are also needed when a soldier returns after service to his labor collective. It is known to everybody that those who have gone through the school of military service, especially border service, can be relied upon also in peaceful constructive labor. This is being proven by your recent comrades-in-arms--now the young builders of BAM, KamAZ, the Sayano-Shushensk Hydroelectric Power Station, and other great construction projects of our time.

Comrades! Today the Order of the Red Banner is being presented to your border detachment. Behind this award is not only the strenuous military labor of border soldiers to ensure the inviolability of our borders, but also the great patriotic assistance which is given to them by the people's druzhinniki, the workers of enterprises, kolkhozes, and sovkhoses, the detachments of young friends of the border guards, and the entire border area population.

I should also mention the daily attention and concern for strengthening the eastern borders of our country and for our border guards which is shown by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, Kirghiziya, and Tajikistan, the border obkoms and raykoms, the ispolkoms of the Soviets of People's Deputies, and Komsomol organizations.

Permit me, dear comrades, to once again ardently congratulate you on your high award from the homeland and to wish you large new successes in accomplishing the difficult tasks of protecting the sacred frontiers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This award is not only the crown of your successes in the past, but a hope for even greater successes in the future. Permit me in the name of the CC CPSU and in my own name to express my firm confidence that the soldiers, sargeants, ensigns, and officers of the detachment will continue their model performance of their military duties and their vigilant protection of the sacred frontiers of the Soviet state!

(The speech by comrade K. U. Chernenko was listened to with great attention and repeatedly interrupted by stormy, prolonged applause.)

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CSO: 1800/272

THE AWARD SUMMONS TO NEW ACHIEVEMENTS

Speech at a Gala Meeting Devoted to the  
Presentation of the Order of Lenin to the  
City of Chelyabinsk on  
29 May 1980

[Text] Dear comrades!

I have been given the honorable and very pleasant mission of presenting today the city of Chelyabinsk with the Order of Lenin.

On this gala and festive day permit me, dear comrades, on the charge of the Central Committee of our party, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Soviet government, and personally Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, to offer my heart-felt congratulations to you, all of the workers of the city, with this high and deserved award.

The very fact of the awarding of a state award is always a big and exciting event, whether we are talking about the life of one person, of a labor collective, or a city. For every time it testifies to the entire people's recognition of the services of those who with their deeds are increasing the might, honor, and glory of our socialist fatherland.

But the awarding of an honor which bears the name of the great Lenin is an event of truly enormous importance. This is the highest award of the USSR. And to be granted it is only possible for especially outstanding services to the Soviet state and society. This is how the statute on the Order of Lenin reads.

The names of the best sons and daughters of the Soviet people are written in the remarkable chronicle of those awarded with our homeland's most precious and honored award. It has recorded in it advanced enterprises, military units, cities and oblasts, and krays and republics. Henceforth the Order of Lenin will also be on the standard which is enveloped with the revolutionary, combat, and labor glory of your city, the city-toiler of Chelyabinsk.

Your city has been awarded in the year of the 50th anniversary of the instituting of the Order of Lenin. Between these events there exists a profound symbolic

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connection: the path which has been covered in 50 years--from the first five-year plan to the 10th--is as it were summed up.

As we know, quite a few severe trials befell the city of Chelyabinsk on this path. And it is all the more joyful to know that the selfless labor of many generations of Chelyabinsk workers has received a proper evaluation from the party and the people.

Today's event is given especial meaning and significance by the fact that the Order of Lenin is being presented to the city in a year when Soviet people and all progressive mankind have commemorated the 110th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin.

Time passes. And with each year that we live we become the more deeply aware of the greatness of Lenin's ideas, feel with increasing vividness their influence on the fate of the world, our country, and every Soviet person, and see more and more clearly the embodiment in life of Lenin's designs.

V. I. Lenin today remains a participant in all of our deeds and accomplishments. "His teachings," L. I. Brezhnev said, "will always be a call and a guide to action, and the heroic feat of his life--an inspiring example for communists, and for millions of people."<sup>1</sup>

There is no corner of our limitless homeland which was not touched by the sagacious thought of Lenin and by his concern and attention. The rise and rapid flourishing of the economy of the Urals, including Chelyabinsk, are connected with the name of V. I. Lenin. It was determined by Lenin's plan of the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia, and Lenin's idea of creating the Uralo-Kuzbass. Taking note of the gigantic stocks of ore in the Urals, V. I. Lenin wrote: "The exploitation of these natural resources with modern equipment will provide the basis for unprecedented progress by the productive forces."<sup>2</sup>

Our party has and continues to do everything so that Lenin's plans are embodied in life. In different times the Central Committee has assigned many outstanding party and government leaders to help the Chelyabinsk communists. Ya. N. Sverdlov and N. I. Kalinin, and K. Ye. Voroshilov and G. K. Ordzhonikidze invested part of their strength, talent, and Bolshevik passion in the cause of socialist construction in the South Urals. Their names are carefully preserved in the grateful memory of Chelyabinsk workers.

Let us look in our mind's eye into the not-too-distant past. This kind of action always creates the possibility of a deepened knowledge of history and makes it possible to more fully understand the present day.

Here are a few lines from the portrait of Chelyaba at the beginning of the 20th century: "In its external appearance the city resembles a big village. . . . Ten factories and plants and 14 churches. . . . The number of workers--233 people. The largest enterprises--a steam mill, a hulling mill, and a distillery. . . ."



The whole look of the once provincial city has changed beyond recognition during the years of Soviet power. Here are a few figures for comparison. In 1913 the enterprises of Chelyabinsk produced 5.5 million rubles worth of output, and in 1979--5.2 billion rubles. In a year the city consumes six times more electric energy than all of Tsarist Russia did in 1913.

The city's housing fund in 1917 came to only 120,000 square meters. This is almost 15 times less than what was built in Chelyabinsk in four years of the 10th Five-Year Plan. Before the revolution 87 percent of the population of Chelyabinsk was illiterate. At the present time 87 percent of the city's workers have a higher or secondary (complete or incomplete) education.

Today's Chelyabinsk with its more than one million people is one of the largest industrial and cultural centers of the country. It is among the first 10 cities of the Soviet Union for the amount of output it produces. It is a city of science and vuzes, palaces, museums and theaters, and a city of sports. Your heart is gladdened when you become acquainted with its modern plants and factories, cultural institutions, and well-built residential quarters.

Cities are created by people. . . . Looking at your city you are involuntarily amazed by the titanic force which was able in only a few decades to accomplish truly fabulous transformations here. And all of this is the result of the creative thought and selfless labor of workers, engineers, scientists, and of all of the toilers led by the party of communists!

There are these lines in the proletarian poet V. V. Mayakovsky: "Let our common monument be socialism built in battles." Today's Chelyabinsk is a living embodiment of the developed socialist society which has been constructed in our country. It is a man-made monument to its builders and, above all, to the heroic working class.

Comrades! The history of Chelyabinsk is in many respects similar to the history of dozens of others of our cities. Nevertheless, it has its own special and inimitable fate. Its rapid jump into the 20th century began with a labor industrial march.

Last year we took wide note of the 50th anniversary of the First Five-Year Plan. It has become a symbol of the revolutionary transformation of reality, of high rates of economic growth, and of the heroic labor feat of our people. Its successful fulfillment ensured the creation of a solid material foundation for the construction of a socialist society.

Today we speak with pride about the fact that among the first who laid this unshakable foundation were the Chelyabinsk workers. It was precisely Chelyabinsk that was granted the honorable and responsible role of being one of the basic foreposts of the industrialization of the country.

During these years a number of enterprises of the new socialist industry went into operation. We remember the birth of the Chelyabinsk Tractor Plant with

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especial emotion and pride. A giant of socialist industry, it was a very important technical base for the collectivization of agriculture. Its name stands in a single rank with the other great construction projects of those unforgettable years: the Dneproges and Magnitka, the Uralmash and Turksib, the Kuznetsk Metallurgical Combine and the Gor'kiy Motor Vehicle Plant. And the brand name ChTZ which is known to the entire country became as it were the symbol of the might of the tractor which was called among the people "the Ural bogatyr."

On 2 June 1933 N. I. Kalinin, who had come for the celebration in connection with the start-up of the plant, emphasized, addressing the tractor builders: "Your plant is in the public eye. . . . People in the whole world will be watching your work, both your successes and your failures. . . . It is necessary . . . for every person who works at the tractor plant, not only the engineer or the team leader, but even the one who sweeps the floor, to feel the responsibility."<sup>3</sup>

The Chelyabinsk tractor builders replied with deeds to the call to master the plant as rapidly as possible. On 7 November 1933 the first Soviet caterpillar tractors passed across Red Square in Moscow, and in March 1940 the plant collective won a remarkable victory: the 100,000th tractor came off the main conveyor. V. I. Lenin had dreamed about this number of tractors. The Chelyabinsk workers realized Lenin's dream, showing the entire world how the Ural Bolsheviks know how to create powerful equipment!

The cadres of the builders of socialism were formed in the crucible of the First Five-Year Plan, and the character of a new Soviet man was forged. Yesterday's peasants, day laborers, and skillless workers became qualified specialists and demonstrated models of high labor productivity. Today, on this festive day, while taking note of the great contribution of the workers of the city to the industrialization of the country, I would like to say sincere words of thanks to those who with their labor created the foundations of the economic might of our homeland.

Here, in this hall, are the grey-haired representatives of the glorious galaxy of heroes and shock workers of the first five-year plans. . . . It was your, dear comrades, calloused hands which laid the first stones in the economic foundation of socialism. And the Order of Lenin which is being presented today to the city--it is also your award!

Comrades! The labor feat of the Chelyabinsk workers which was performed by them during the Great Patriotic War will never be effaced from the people's memory. During a grave hour of trial, when a mortal danger hung over our homeland, the Urals was turned into the backbone of the country's defense, into a mighty arsenal of the Red Army.

"Rear--To the Front!" These brief words made up the essence and meaning of the life of the city during the war years. The restructuring of the entire economy onto a war footing was accomplished in the briefest time. Under the most difficult circumstances 70 industrial enterprises which had been evacuated

from the western areas of the country acquired a second life. New energy, metallurgy, and machine building capacities were put into operation and existing ones were expanded. The production of armaments, ammunition, and military equipment grew continuously. For the workers of the rear the front line passed by the blast furnaces, the rolling mills, and the conveyors.

One can say with complete justice that the front line passed through the heart of the people.

In the terrible year of '41 a new and extraordinary alloy, metaphorically speaking, was obtained in Chelyabinsk. Its "components" were three of the country's large plants--the Chelyabinsk, Leningrad, and Khar'kov. In essence, a city had arisen within a city, and the people gave it the severe and proud name of Tankograd. This city was never named on a single geographical map. But the newspapers of the war years wrote about it, Sovinformburo mentioned it in its summaries, and it is discussed in the "History of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union."

Almost one-fifth of the tanks produced for the war were given to the front by Tankograd.

Chelyabinsk tanks covered themselves with unfading glory in the battles around Moscow and on the Volga, at the Kursk Arc, and during the Berlin operation. And it is not only that brilliant technical thought had been put into their creation. This glory was created by the best traditions of the Petersburg proletariat, the high standard of precision machine building of the Khar'kov workers, and the great practical experience of the Chelyabinsk tractor builders. And if you were to multiply these qualities of the Tankograd workers by their great love for their homeland and their sacred hatred of the enemy, only then is it possible to fully understand what the Chelyabinsk T-34 was.

Among the many awards of the tank builders there is one special one. It is the Order of Kutuzov First Degree. "The Order of Kutuzov on the standard of a plant," PRAVDA wrote in 1945, "means that our state equates the outstanding work of the military plants in the rear to a battle won on the front."

During the war years the Chelyabinsk working class passed through a stern test for strength. The words "thousander" and "front shock team" became the banner of the heroic labor days of the city.

But Chelyabinsk did not only forge weapons. Like the entire country, it sent its best sons to the front. Tens of thousands of Chelyabinsk men fought in tank brigades, in "snow battalions," and in paratroop detachments. Written forever into the chronicle of glory are the combat deeds of the 63rd Chelyabinsk Volunteer Tank Brigade, the 96th Tank Brigade imeni the Chelyabinsk Komsomol, and many other units which were formed in the city. On 9 May 1943, in accordance with an old Russian custom, the people of Chelyabinsk saw off to their military heroic feats the fighters of the Urals Volunteer Tank Corps. The words of the instructions with which the South Uralites addressed their volunteers at parting were stern and penetrating:

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"Our dear sons and daughters, fathers and husbands!

Since ancient times it has been with us in the Urals that in seeing our sons off to war deeds, the Uralites gave them their people's instructions. And the sons of the Urals have never disobeyed the people's instructions. The Urals has never blushed and never felt ashamed for the deeds of its sons. They have never brought shame to its age-old Russian glory.

Seeing you off and blessing you for battle with the fierce enemy of our Soviet homeland, we also wish to address you in parting with our instructions. . . . Do not forget: you and your machines are a part of us, you are our blood, our ancient Ural good glory, and our fiery hatred for the enemy."

The tankers replied to the instructions which had been given to them with an oath that was as firm as Ural granite. They rolled from the walls of Orel to the capitol of Czechoslovakia, increasing the glory of the white-haired Urals. Their legendary T-34 was the first to break into Prague and froze forever on a granite pedestal as a symbol of heroic labor, military valor, internationalism, and the friendship of peoples.

The further the years of the Great Patriotic War move from us, the more vivid is the consciousness of the greatness of the military and labor feat achieved by the Soviet people. This feat has gone into history and will not grow dimmer in the centuries to come.

Our entire country, and the workers of the fraternal socialist countries celebrated the 35th anniversary of the Great Victory. During this bright holiday we bend our heads and honor the memory of those who in the mortal skirmish with fascism gave their lives in the name of the honor, freedom, and independence of their homeland, in the name of peace and socialism, and in the name of life on earth.

Special mention has to be made of our glorious women workers. A difficult burden came down on their shoulders--to work for themselves and for those who had left for the front. They endured! And what a cup of sorrow and grief they had to drink during the stern war period?!

A low bow to you, our dear women, for your labor feat, for your staunchness and courage, and for your enormous contribution to the victory over the enemy.

Here in this hall are present the representatives of the heroic war years generation of Chelyabinsk people. . . . It was with their sweat and blood that victory was forged at the front and in the rear.

In taking note of the great contribution of the workers of the city to the defeat of the German fascist invaders during the Great Patriotic War, we address you, dear comrades, with words of the deepest thanks and sincere gratitude. And the Order of Lenin which is being presented to the city today--it is your award! Honor and glory to you!

Comrades! I would like to note with especial satisfaction that today also the workers of Chelyabinsk are at the front lines of communist construction. They are making a weighty contribution to strengthening the country's economy and to realizing the plans of the 10th Five-Year Plan, and they are persistently realizing the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress.

During four years of the five-year plan 128 million rubles worth of above-plan output was sold. This, as you understand, is considerable. And it is especially gratifying that the entire increase in production was obtained through a rise in labor productivity.

Fixed productive capital has increased in the city by almost one-third. A large amount of work has been carried out to reequip enterprises, renew the products list of the products which are produced, and improve output quality. There has been a marked increase in the production of consumer goods.

The social program which is stipulated by the long-term plans for the development of the city for the years 1975-1980 is being consistently carried out. A great deal is being done to turn Chelyabinsk into a city with a high standard of production and a high level of culture in everyday life.

As you know, Chelyabinsk was acknowledged as victor in the All-Russian socialist competition for an increase in production efficiency and an improvement of the quality of work and for the successful fulfillment of the State Plan for the economic and social development of the RSFSR for 1979 and was awarded the Red Challenge Banner of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and the All-Union Council of Trade Unions. This is a deserved and a worthy evaluation!

Today's Chelyabinsk is a whole constellation of enterprises which make up the pride of Soviet industry. Many of them have been awarded for their 1979 results with the Red Challenge Banners of the CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, and the CC of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League, and have been entered on the Board of Honor of the Exhibition of the Achievements of the Economy of the USSR. It is pleasant to note that veteran-plants and young ones are here in a single formation.

The output which is made by the hands of the descendants of the Ural craftsmen is well-known not only in our country. It is sent to 66 countries of the world. And this is not only a convincing certification of the Chelyabinsk brand name, but a graphic characterization of the breadth of our economic relations. It is a graphic confirmation of the correctness of Lenin's words: "The bourgeois countries have to trade with Russia: they know that without certain forms of economic relationships the collapse in their countries will go further than it has to date. . . ."4

You know, comrades, that today certain people on the other side of the ocean are attempting to create the opposite, and are playing new variations on the old theme of the use of "economic sanctions" against the Soviet Union. I think that here it would be proper to recall some other words of Lenin's: "We have seen

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enough threats, and, moreover, more serious ones than the threats of a tradesman who is getting ready to slam the door. . . . And if it pleases you, gentlemen representatives of the bourgeois state, to amuse yourselves and . . . notify the entire world: 'We shall put Russia in the position of the subject of an experiment,' then we will see who does what to whom. We have already been put to the test, and put to the test not with words, not with trade, and not with the ruble, but with the billy club."<sup>5</sup>

Of course, we cannot force the foreign "strategists" to study the works of V. I. Lenin. But it probably is worthwhile to remind some people another time of the lessons of history. Incidentally, the workers of Chelyabinsk gave such lessons.

Once, for example, some Western companies attempted to put us in a difficult situation by suddenly refusing to sell us large diameter steel pipes. And then the Chelyabinsk pipe rollers had their weighty say. They mastered the production of our own domestic pipes in record time, proving to the capitalists what Soviet Urals workers are capable of.

This lesson was given by Chelyabinsk workers more than 15 years ago. Since then a great deal has changed. Our economic and scientific and technological potential is not what it was, and our working class has grown up. Today it is capable of accomplishing even greater tasks.

It is the working class which comprises, in Marx's figurative expression, the backbone of the people, and it plays a leading and ever growing role in communist construction. It is the main transforming force in all of the fields of social development, be it the production of material values, ideology, or the socialist way of life.

Of course, this concerns first of all the industrial nucleus of the working class which personifies the best features and qualities of the builders of the new world. It is, as it were, the social and moral standard by which all of the other detachments of the working class of our country orient themselves.

In seeking to comprehend the historic path which has been covered by the Soviet working class, even if you take the last 15-20 years, you can clearly see the colossal changes which have occurred in its quantitative and qualitative composition, and in its entire spiritual make-up. In essence, a new type of worker has developed in whose work physical labor is being increasingly combined with intellectual, engineering labor.

When we say "contemporary worker," we mean, of course, good professional training, diverse knowledge, and a broad cultural outlook. But, above all, it is a high level of class consciousness, collectivism, discipline and organization, and a proprietary responsibility, and not only for one's own sector, but for the entire country. For such a worker the ideals of communism, socialist patriotism, and proletarian internationalism are the essence of his entire worldview and determine his active life position.

Today an army of more than 400,000 workers is laboring at the enterprises of Chelyabinsk. They are distinguished by skillful hands, an ardent mind, and inexhaustible creative energy. This is one of the largest and most tested detachments of the Soviet working class on which one can rely in any matter!

"Every new generation of people," L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, "is strong in that it bases itself on the experience of the preceding generations and on the results achieved by them."<sup>6</sup> On such a day as today, you feel especially keenly that the present generation of Chelyabinsk workers is worthily continuing the revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions of its predecessors.

Here, in this hall, are present those who with their deeds are increasing the labor glory of the city. It is gratifying to see among them a considerable number of representatives of the youth which is carrying forward the baton which has been passed on to it with honor.

In taking note of the successes which have been achieved by the workers of Chelyabinsk in economic and cultural construction, there is every ground for stating: The Order of Lenin which is being presented today to the city--this is also your order, dear comrades!

Special mention should be made of the fact that the inspirer and organizer of the profound changes which have occurred in Chelyabinsk during the years of Soviet power is the city party organization--a tested detachment of our Leninist party.

Throughout their entire history the communists of the city have acted as courageous and unbending fighters for the people's happiness. Their leading role manifested itself especially clearly during the most difficult, turning point periods of our life. With their fiery Bolshevik words and personal example they raised the workers to a struggle for Soviet power and for the industrialization of the country, and led them to labor and military feats during the Great Patriotic War. And today the Chelyabinsk communists, like always, are in front, at the most difficult and decisive sectors of communist construction.

The party organization of Chelyabinsk has always been, is, and will be a strong support for the Central Committee of our party.

On this festive day I would like to wish the city committee of the party, and all of the communists of the order-bearing city to continue to hold our revolutionary Leninist banner high!

Comrades! All of you understand very well that we have not met here today only to pay tribute to the glorious history of the city and to the successes and achievements of its workers. On days of celebration, and on days of our victorious moods, V. I. Lenin taught, we have to become permeated by that labor enthusiasm, that will to work, and stubbornness upon which our rapid forward movement now depends.

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I think that we will be acting correctly if we concentrate our attention today precisely on these questions. This year, as you know, is in many respects a special year in the life of our party and people. It sums up the strenuous labor to carry out the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the plans of the 10th Five-Year Plan, and it is laying the foundation for the following five-year plan. This is the year of the initiation of active preparations for the 26th Congress of our party.

In speaking about special characteristics, I would like above all to emphasize the enormous measure of responsibility which the period now being lived through by us is placing on every communist and on every Soviet person.

We have entered 1980 with clear work goals and prospects. The key tasks, and the ways and methods of accomplishing them, have been formulated with exceeding clarity in the decisions of the November (1979) Plenum of the CC CPSU and in the speech at the Plenum by comrade L. I. Brezhnev. The party has put forward a fighting slogan: Not only fulfill, but exceed the plan assignments and turn the concluding year of the five-year plan into a year of shock work, of work in the Leninist manner.

The party's summons found an ardent response in the hearts of millions upon millions of Soviet people. The struggle for an absolute fulfillment of the decisions of the November (1979) Plenum of the CC and of the plans and socialist commitments has become the chief content of the work of labor collectives.

As is known, the word of communists and the word of a Soviet man does not diverge from deeds. Our people are laboring inspiredly and strenuously, and that is producing results. The four-months plan for output sales, production growth, and a rise of labor productivity has been overfulfilled in industry.

During the days of Lenin's anniversary 7,000 enterprise and association collectives, 235,000 teams, shops, and livestock sections, and more than 5 million workers reported the advance conclusion of the five-year plan and assignments. They all received the high praise of their homeland--they were awarded honorary Lenin Certificates.

Most of the enterprises of Chelyabinsk have also begun 1980 well. Many of them are working at the level of the control assignments of the five-year plan. The city's workers have fulfilled the plans for the four months for all of the basic economic indicators.

The first work results cannot but be gratifying. As they say among the people--a good beginning is half the job. If the rates which have been taken are maintained in the future, it can be said with certainty that the mapped out frontiers will be taken.

At the same time, the optimism with which we look to the future by no means provides grounds for complacency. In a number of positions we have still not succeeded in eliminating the shortcomings which were discussed at the November (1979) Plenum of the CC.



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I think, comrades, that I will not spoil your holiday mood if I say that in your work also there still are, unfortunately, shortcomings and unutilized reserves. For today it is especially important to concentrate our efforts on unsolved problems, to make a detailed analysis of a situation, and to put all existing economic and political potentialities into operation for the successful conclusion of the five-year plan.

Individual enterprises of the city did not meet the assignments of the four months for production volume and output sales. Chelyabinsk metallurgical workers failed to give the country thousands of tons of iron, steel, and rolled goods. A number of enterprises failed to fulfill delivery contracts. In some places losses from defective goods continue to be great, and the number of complaints is not being cut down.

I could have cited examples of the slow reorganization of enterprises for the production of modern equipment instead of machinery and mechanisms of obsolete design which are inferior to the best domestic and foreign models in their productivity and metal intensiveness.

At the November (1979) Plenum of the CC CPSU L. I. Brezhnev made serious criticisms of the technical level of the T-330 tractor which is produced by the Cheboksary Tractor Plant. As you well know, this is also a reproach to the Chelyabinsk designers who participated in the creation of the tractor. I would say that it does not become Chelyabinsk workers to lower the prestige of their brand name.

Some of the city's enterprises are working below their possibilities to produce consumer goods. Many articles in mass demand which could be produced locally have to be imported into Chelyabinsk from other oblasts and republics.

Not all of the enterprises of the city are as yet giving the necessary attention to improving labor organization, the mechanization of labor intensive processes, and a reduction of losses of working time. At the present time more than 90,000 workers are employed in manual labor in industry. Last year losses of working time from truancies made up an enormous figure--more than 100,000 man-days.

The situation in construction is slowly improving in the city. At individual construction sites there has been a substantial lagging. The problem of housing construction remains a sharp one for Chelyabinsk.

I am not setting myself the task, comrades, of revealing here the entire spectrum of your internal problems. Although, of course, it would be possible to name shortcomings also in the work of transportation, trade, domestic services for the public, and certain others.

The essence, as you understand, is not in the size of this list. The main thing is that we really do not have any right to lull ourselves with our achieved successes.

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It should be noted that it is precisely from these positions that the city party organization approaches the evaluation of work results. As I was told, this occasioned a sharp and principled conversation at the plenums and meetings of the party aktiv to discuss their tasks in the light of the statements of L. I. Brezhnev made by him at a meeting with the voters of the Bauman Election District of the city of Moscow.

It seems to us that the chief reason for the existing shortcomings is the fact that the party gorkom and raykoms, the primary party organizations, and government and economic agencies did not succeed in fully carrying out the planned measures to increase production efficiency and improve the quality of work.

Unfortunately, the struggle for high final results and for the fullest utilization of the effective factors of growth and of internal reserves has not yet become the heart of the work of every labor collective. And it is precisely here, in the labor collective, that the fate of the national economic plans is in the last analysis decided. It is well known that the labor collective is the basic and primary cell of our society. As the ocean is reflected in a drop of water, so does the entire totality of socialist social relations find a reflection in every labor collective.

The communist party and its Central Committee attribute enormous importance to increasing the organizational and educational role of labor collectives. The new Soviet Constitution has fixed for them in law a wide complex of rights and duties which ensure their effective participation in the discussion and deciding of state, economic, and public matters and in the education of the workers.

I would like to especially emphasize the role of labor collectives in strengthening discipline. It is not accidental that I am putting this question in first place. An analysis of the reasons for shortcomings shows that their common denominator is above all discipline: performance, labor, production, and planning discipline.

The Central Committee of our party regards work on strengthening labor discipline as one of the chief directions for increasing production efficiency. This is clearly stated in the decree of the CC CPSU "On a Further Strengthening of Labor Discipline and a Reduction of Labor Turnover in the Economy." The practical realization of the tasks posed in this has to become the daily concern of every labor collective and of all workers.

Putting the issue this way is not the result of some kind of extraordinary circumstances, but is an objective demand of our progressive movement forward. "The communist organization of social labor," V. I. Lenin stated, "is based on, and the further it goes the more it will be based on the free and conscious discipline of the workers themselves. . . ."7

I suppose that anybody sitting in the hall could cite more than one instructive additional example of what today results from the damage from any violation of labor, planning, or production discipline. The trouble is that words on this

topic are still not always followed by painstaking daily organizational work, clear performance verification, and a flexible well-conceived cadre policy. Cases of lack of discipline still do not meet everywhere with a quick and sharp reaction from labor collectives.

Discipline is needed in this matter. I would emphasize--conscious discipline. In showing concern for strengthening it, we thereby create a solid foundation for the development of initiative and creativity--our mighty accelerators of economic growth.

And here, comrades, mention has to be made of the role which labor collectives are called upon to play in the development of socialist competition and in the dissemination of advanced forms and methods of work.

As is known, good initiatives are in need not only of praise, but also of practical support. The Central Committee of our party is constantly turning to the experience of the workers, and it carefully studies and disseminates the new and the valuable that is born in life and that helps to move things forward more rapidly. The well-known decree of the CC CPSU on the work of the Chelyabinsk obkom on economizing ferrous metals at the enterprises and construction sites of the oblast may serve as an example of this.

It can be noted with satisfaction that at many of the enterprises and construction sites of the city a large amount of work has been done around this decree and also the greetings of L. I. Brezhnev to the participants of the seminar which was carried out on the basis of Chelyabinsk oblast. The socialist commitments to economize metal which were adopted for the 10th Five-Year Plan were fulfilled in four years, and 445,000 tons of ferrous metals were economized. These tangible results graphically demonstrate how the party, expressing the aspirations of the people itself, is directing its efforts to accomplish practical tasks in the most effective way.

However, unfortunately, matters do not stand like this everywhere, not in every labor collective. In some places people are not averse to only "making a little noise" about advanced experience and "voting" for it, but if you look, it is not disseminated.

The reasons for this situation are well known. First of all, insufficient organizational work and poorly organized control.

Discipline and initiative--they are, as it were, the two sides of a single medal. That which we call the conscientiousness and responsibility of a person can in the final analysis be reduced to them.

There is the profoundest meaning in the simple words--readiness to answer for one's work with a clear conscience. Behind them are the nobility of intentions, the daily and full use of one's spiritual and physical energies, and an inflexible will to achieve a goal. It is precisely these qualities which in our country distinguish those who are ahead. It is not simple to cultivate them in

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oneself, since the task of leading others after oneself, speaking with Lenin's words, "cannot be accomplished with a single heroic burst, but requires the most prolonged, the most stubborn, and the most difficult heroism of mass and daily work."<sup>8</sup>

The education of an honest attitude toward labor is the duty of every labor collective. This duty doubles and triples when we are speaking about the education of the youth. It is in the labor collectives that professional experience, expertise, and the habit of working conscientiously is passed on from generation to generation. "It is precisely here," L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, "from heart to heart--that the youth is given communist ideology, loyalty to the cause of the party, and a readiness to always be in front, at the most difficult and at the most decisive sectors."<sup>9</sup>

The tutorship movement is a vivid example of the continuity of the generations of the working class in our country. The word "tutor" has always been used with us to name those who gave their knowledge and experience to the youth, "put them on the true path." There is enormous spiritual wealth and generosity that wafts from this ancient Russian word.

Today this remarkable and noble movement has become the mighty lever which makes it possible to raise to a new height the professional training and communist education of the youth and its active access to the constructive work of the working class and of our entire people. There are already more than 2.5 million worker-teachers who, ordered by their souls and hearts, are teaching young men and women industriousness and expertise and are educating them in the heroic traditions of the working class, passing on to them, the labor baton as if from the present to the future.

It is pleasant to note that among the initiators of the tutorship movement who were the first to be awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labor is the Urals metallurgist Aleksey Leont'yevich Shatilin. And it is even more gratifying that today we see among his followers more than 12,000 of the best representatives of the working class of Chelyabinsk.

The labor collective, and its opinion and influence play, as a rule, a decisive role in strengthening discipline and in the formation of an active life position. Its role is no less important in production management and in the accomplishment of the most important state affairs.

I would like here to emphasize that the consistent development and perfection of democratic forms and methods of leadership and management is one of the chief tendencies of mature socialism. The realization of the broad rights granted by the USSR Constitution to labor collectives makes it possible for millions of Soviet people to join even more actively in the management of the economy and in the work to supervise the activities of economic agencies. Large possibilities in this regard are being opened up by the decrees of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers on improving the planning and management of the economic mechanism.

The party organization has always been, is, and will be the political nucleus of the labor collective. We often compare the primary party organizations with powerful roots with which the party goes into the very thick of the masses. And this is understandable. Nourishing the party from the depths of the people's life, they give it energy, experience, and a knowledge of the needs of social development. On the other hand, the party carries out its policy directly through the primary organizations and unites it with the living creative work of the masses.

Under present conditions the center of the party's work is increasingly shifting to the production section, teams, shifts, to those elements which comprise the basis of the entire production organism. In this connection, the role of the shop organizations and party groups has been constantly growing. For they are closest of all to people and they operate in places where the large concepts of politics and economics are translated into the language of practical work, where their ideological positions, attitude toward labor, and moral qualities are cultivated in the first place in people.

A communist is a political soldier of the party. His highest duty is to be an example in labor and in the struggle for our great goals, and to demonstrate by word and deed how, under concrete conditions, to build communism today. "Communists," L. I. Brezhnev stated, "have no privileges except one--to give more than others to our common cause, and to struggle and work better than others for the sake of its triumph. Communists do not have any special rights except one--to always be in the front, to be where it is more difficult."<sup>10</sup>

Of course, a special demand is made upon the communist leader. The moral atmosphere in a collective depends to a large extent upon his personal qualities and personal actions.

The concept of the "qualification of an economic manager" includes, as is known, not only the sum of his economic and technical knowledge; it is much broader. A special feature of our day is that the organizational and technical side of management is connected in the closest way with the socio-psychological, pedagogical, and educational sides.

The fate of any matter is decided by people. And today the forefront is being more and more occupied by the, so to speak, human factor, the ability to work with people, to lead them after oneself. Without this it is impossible to be a good and real leader.

I think that every worker, regardless of what position he occupies, should experience a constant aspiration to be closer to people, to know their feelings and needs better, and to persistently learn the delicate art of communication with the masses. The Central Committee of the party demands from party, government, and economic agencies that they constantly study public opinion, and be attentive to the criticisms and proposals, and the letters and oral addresses of workers. This most valuable information from the point of view of practical work serves at the same time as a concrete form of the direct and mass participation by Soviet people in the management of society and the state.

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I would like to emphasize in this connection that only through the wide enlistment of the workers in management is it possible to accomplish the task of the full and final eradication of elements of bureaucratism which, unfortunately, are still characteristic of some of our government and economic agencies. ". . . There is one means against this," V. I. Lenin stated. "The development of the consciousness and the activity of the working mass itself."<sup>11</sup>

Comrades! All of our life serves as a vivid testimony to the fact that the policy of our party is truly the people's policy. It accumulates within itself the collective mind and experience of all of our workers, communists, and non-party people and fully and accurately expresses their thoughts and hopes and aspirations. The supreme principles of the genuine humanism of communists who have no other interests than the interests of the people and no other goals than its good and happiness find an embodiment in it.

It is precisely this most high goal which unites the party and all Soviet people in strong and inseparable ties. This is precisely why there are no limits to the trust, love, and respect of the people for its party in which it sees the mind, honor, and conscience of the age.

The monolithic unity and solidarity of the party and the people and of our entire socialist society is our great possession and the living and inexhaustible source of our strength and of all of our achievements. "And let our enemies remember the lessons of history," L. I. Brezhnev said. "Let them know that the unity of Soviet people becomes especially strong precisely when people attempt to speak with us in the language of threats."<sup>12</sup>

It has to be said there are apparently some people today who not only do not wish to reckon with the lessons of history, but are attempting to turn it back. The situation in the world at the threshold of the present decade has become much more complex.

It is frequently asserted in the West that the exacerbation of the international situation has allegedly been caused by the Afghan or Iranian events. This is not true. It was not today and not yesterday that the imperialist forces and above all the United States adopted a course hostile to peace.

At a conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the participant states in the Warsaw Pact which took place in May of this year in Warsaw a consistent analysis was made of the current international situation and the direct responsibility of the aggressive circles of the imperialist powers for the increased threat to the peace and independence of peoples was demonstrated. The current complication of the situation is a direct consequence of the imperialist policy of force, confrontation, and hegemonism. Imperialism is attempting to regain its military superiority over the socialist countries and to subordinate vast areas of the world to itself.

Is this not witnessed by the adoption in NATO two years ago of a program for an extensive increase in military preparations designed until the year 2000; and was this not the purpose of the leaders of the NATO bloc when, in reply to our proposal to lessen the military danger in Europe, they adopted a decision to place there a new American medium-range nuclear missile weapon aimed against the Soviet Union? And the sabotage of the ratification of the Salt-II? The opponents of detente, as we see, are not being idle.

The more limited the possibilities become for imperialism to subordinate to its hegemony other countries and peoples and to pump out their natural resources without hinderance, the more ferocious the reaction to this of the imperialist forces and, above all, of the United States of America.

Finding themselves face to face with very acute crisis phenomena, the most aggressive United States forces are attempting, brandishing their swords and threatening to institute economic sanctions, to dictate their will to other countries.

The decision of the Carter Administration to break diplomatic relations with Iran, to institute an economic blockade against it, and to station a very large formation of American naval forces in the Persian Gulf is an open escalation of blackmail and pressure and of tensions in the Near and Middle East.

About Afghanistan. If our military contingent had not come there at the request of the Afghan government, the forces hostile to peace would have turned this country into a staging ground from which they would threaten the southern borders of the USSR, and they would drown the Afghan revolution in blood. Well, would this have strengthened detente? Of course, not. The Afghan government has recently come out with an initiative which envisages a political settlement of the question. We support these proposals. But to date neither the United States nor Pakistan support them. But it is precisely these countries which together with China make up the power which is carrying out an invasion from without of the territory of the independent, sovereign, and non-allied state of Afghanistan. A political settlement in this area depends to a considerable extent upon them.

Iran, Afghanistan, the Near East, and the Indian Ocean--all of these are links in a single chain--a chain which is pulling toward increased military danger for all states and people. The Chinese leaders who have taken the path of a direct conspiracy with imperialism are harnessing themselves more and more actively in a common harness with those who are attempting to drag the world toward a dangerous development of events.

Remaining true to its wolf nature and wolf habits, trying, as in the well-known fable by I. A. Krylov, "to make the thing look right," imperialism seeks every pretext in order to justify its expansionist plans, adventurous "doctrines," and the inciting of a military psychosis. Having equipped themselves with open Goebbels methods of propaganda, the new-found proponents of the policy "from a position of strength" are spreading the myth of a "Soviet military threat" for all they are worth.

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The anti-Soviet hysteria which was recently raised by Carter and his entourage is unprecedented in its malice. What is there not piled up around this.

"The 'Doctrine' of military hysteria and of a feverish arms race," L. I. Brezhnev said, "is opposed by us with the doctrine of a consistent struggle for peace and security on earth. We are faithful to the Peace Program which has been put forward by the 24th and 25th Congresses of our party."<sup>13</sup> The Soviet Union, as in the past, consistently stands for a strengthening of detente, for a reduction of armaments, and for closer relations and mutual understanding between peoples. Our Leninist foreign policy is close and understandable to all who need and cherish peace and who are struggling for the freedom and independence of peoples and for social progress.

Together with the Soviet Union, all of the participant countries of the Warsaw Pact are reliably standing guard over peace and socialism. During the quarter century of its existence this organization has taken shape and it acts as a reliable shield for our socialist gains, as a mighty factor in our joint struggle for peace and international security, and as a source of the most serious peace initiatives.

In Warsaw, at the conference of the Political Consultative Committee, the unanimously adopted Declaration and Statement put forward a clear program of action for maintaining peace and contained new constructive proposals aimed at a further development of detente on the European continent, the harnessing of the arms race, and an improvement of the world political climate as a whole.

In reply to the intrigues of the imperialist forces, Soviet people are uniting their ranks even more closely around the communist party and its Central Committee and are increasing their efforts in the name of strengthening the economic and defense might of their beloved homeland.

Dear comrades! Allow me to make public the Ukaze of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the awarding to the city of Chelyabinsk of the Order of Lenin and to present this high award to the representatives of the city.

UKASE  
OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET  
On the Award to the City of Chelyabinsk  
of the Order of Lenin

For successes achieved by the workers of the city in economic and cultural construction, and in recognition of their great contribution to the industrialization of the country and the defeat of the German fascist invaders during the Great Patriotic War, the city of Chelyabinsk is awarded the Order of Lenin.



Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR  
Supreme Soviet

L. I. Brezhnev

Secretary of the Presidium of the USSR  
Supreme Soviet

M. Georgadze

Moscow, The Kremlin. 4 January 1980

Dear comrades! Permit me in conclusion to once again sincerely congratulate you with your homeland's highest award!

I am convinced that today's happiness and holiday mood is rightfully being shared with the Chelyabinsk workers by all of the workers of the oblast. For this award has in it the labor of the metallurgists of Magnitogorsk and Zlatoust, the labor of the miners of Kopeyask, and the labor of the farmers of your area.

The Central Committee of our party expresses its firm confidence that the Order of Lenin on the city's standard will always inspire the workers of Chelyabinsk and Chelyabinskaya Oblast to new accomplishments for the glory of our socialist fatherland.

Permit me, dear comrades, to wish you creative successes in your work, good health, happiness and prosperity, and a worthy reception for the 26th Congress of our dear Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

(Comrade K. U. Chernenko's speech was listened to with great attention and repeatedly interrupted by prolonged applause.)

FOOTNOTES

1. L. I. Brezhnev, "Following Lenin's Course," Vol 2, p 564.
2. V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol 36, p 135.
3. M. I. Kalinin, "Selected Works," Vol 3, p 30.
4. V. I. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 45, p 3.
5. Ibid., pp 5-6.
6. L. I. Brezhnev, op.cit., Vol 1, p 154.

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7. V. I. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 39, p 14.
8. Ibid., Vol 39, pp 17-18.
9. L. I. Brezhnev, op. cit., Vol 6, p 331.
10. Ibid., Vol 2, p 137.
11. V. I. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 42, p 11.
12. PRAVDA, 23 February 1980.
13. Ibid.

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- END -

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*File Chernenko*

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 07567

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, UR  
SUBJECT: CHERNENKO'S PLENUM SPEECH

1. ~~X~~ - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: CHERNENKO'S JUNE 14 DELIVERY OF THE MAIN PLENUM SPEECH INDICATES THAT THE ERSTWHILE ANDROPOV COMPETITOR IS IN AT LEAST SATISFACTORY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL HEALTH. MOST OF HIS REPORT HAS A STRONG ORTHODOX CAST AND CALLS ON IDEOLOGICAL APPARAT TO BE MORE AGGRESSIVE. HE STRESSES ANDROPOV'S DISCIPLINE THEME AND DOWNPLAYS INCENTIVES. HE DOES NOT ADDRESS SEVERAL CURRENT ECONOMIC ISSUES, ALTHOUGH HIS REFERENCES TO "CONTRADICTIONS" AND THE ROLE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES MAY BE DESIGNED TO ENDORSE A "FLEXIBLE" APPROACH TO A HOST OF SOCIAL QUESTIONS. THE COMBINATION OF APPEARING TO WORRY ABOUT PUBLIC CONCERNS AND TIGHTENING UP IDEOLOGICALLY HAVE BEEN THEMES SINCE THE 1980 DISRUPTIONS IN POLAND. IN ANY CASE, HIS SPEECH MAY BE A LESS RELIABLE INDICATOR OF FUTURE POLICY THAN EXPECTED CADRE CHANGES AND ANDROPOV'S CLOSING REMARKS IN THE SECOND DAY OF THE PLENUM. END SUMMARY.

3. WE PRESUME WASHINGTON AND OTHER ADDRESSEES HAVE OR WILL RECEIVE THE FULL TEXT OF KONSTANTIN CHERNENKO'S

REPORT ON IDEOLOGY TO THE JUNE 14 PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. THE FACT THAT THE FORMER BREZHNEV PROTEGE GAVE THE SPEECH IS SIGNIFICANT, BUT WE WOULD NOT GO AS FAR AS SOME WESTERN MEDIA--THE BBC, FOR EXAMPLE, CLAIMS THAT IT PROVES HE HAS OVERCOME ATTEMPTS TO OUST HIM FROM THE LEADERSHIP. WHILE POLITICAL MANEUVERING HAS BEEN INTENSE IN RECENT MONTHS, HIS APPEARANCE ADDS WEIGHT TO THE THEORY THAT ILLNESS WAS AT LEAST THE PROXIMATE CAUSE FOR HIS DISAPPEARANCE DURING THE SPRING AND SUGGESTS THAT HE IS HOLDING HIS OWN IN THE LEADERSHIP AND WILL RETAIN IDEOLOGICAL PORTFOLIO FORMERLY HELD BY SUSLOV. INDEED, ONE OF CHERNENKO'S MORE INTRIGUING REFERENCES COMES AT THE END OF THE SECOND PART OF HIS REPORT WHEN HE STATES THAT NO COMMUNIST SHOULD "SING IN AN ALIEN VOICE, SPREADING ALL KINDS OF GOSSIP AND RUMORS." IT IS POSSIBLE HE IS REFERRING TO RUMORS CONCERNING THE LEADERSHIP, MANY OF WHICH HAVE BEEN DIRECTED AT HIM OVER THE LAST 18 MONTHS.

4. MUCH OF THE REPORT HAS A DECIDEDLY ORTHODOX CAST AS SOME OF OUR SOURCES HAVE BEEN PREDICTING SINCE CHERNENKO INVOKES THE THREAT OF WESTERN, U.S. IDEOLOGICAL SUBVERSION (AT ONE POINT HE REPEATS THE ACCUSATION THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN IS CONDUCTING AN "ANTI-COMMUNIST CRUSADE"), WORRIES ABOUT SOVIET YOUTH AND RELIGIOUS BELIEVERS, AND UNSPECIFIED MEMBERS OF THE CREATIVE INTELLIGENTSIA FOR THEIR "DISTORTIONS" OF SOVIET REALITY. HE CALLS ON THE APPARAT TO PULL UP ITS SOCKS IN GENERAL, TO INSURE THAT THE MEDIA IS MORE INTERESTING AND RELEVANT, AND THAT THE ARTS GIVES THE PEOPLE, ESPECIALLY YOUTH, "POSITIVE HEROES." IN SHORT, HE GIVES AN AUTHORITATIVE BOOST TO THEMES WHICH HAVE INCREASINGLY BEEN PLAYED UP SINCE AT LEAST THE XXVI CONGRESS, AND MANDATES A MORE AGGRESSIVE AND ACTIVIST STANCE FOR BOTH DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN PROPAGANDA. HIS COMPARISON OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK TO AN "ORCHESTRA," WHOSE HARMONY IS ACHIEVED BY THE WISDOM OF ITS DIRECTORSHIP, ADDS TO THE IMPRESSION THAT THE LEADERSHIP WILL SEEK EVEN GREATER CONTROL OVER AND COORDINATION OF THE IDEOLOGICAL APPARAT.

5. HIS STRESS ON DISCIPLINE AND HIS ATTACKS ON CAREERISM, PRIVILEGE AND CORRUPTION PUT HIM ON THE SAME SIDE OF THE ISSUE AS ANDROPOV. HE CRITICIZES UNSPECIFIED PAST ATTEMPTS TO PAINT TOO ROSY A PICTURE OF EVOLUTION TO COMMUNISM AND, AS DID THE GENERAL SECRETARY IN HIS KOMMUNIST ARTICLE ON MARX, CALLS FOR REALISM IN EVALUATING PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS. HE SAYS LITTLE ON INCENTIVES TO PROMOTE PRODUCTIVITY, AND NOTHING ON ISSUES WHICH WOULD GIVE A BT

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PUBLIC (ESPECIALLY WORKER) OPINION AND TO CREATE THE IMPRESSION OF THE PARTY'S DESIRE TO AMELIORATE SOME KEY GRIEVANCES; AND, ON THE OTHER HAND, TO GIVE ADDED STRENGTH TO AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA WORK IN AN EFFORT TO NIP IDEOLOGICAL DISAFFECTION IN THE BUD. CHERNENKO'S SPEECH FITS VERY MUCH INTO THIS MOLD. WE ARE RELUCTANT TO OVERESTIMATE THE LEADERSHIP IMPLICATIONS OF THIS SPEECH. WHILE THE SPEECH REFURBISHES A POLITICAL IMAGE THAT SEEMED TO BE SHOWING SIGNS OF TARNISH, EXPECTED PERSONNEL CHANGES WILL BE, IN OUR OPINION, A MORE RELIABLE INDEX OF THE REAL DISPOSITION OF POLITICAL FORCES WITHIN THE LEADERSHIP.  
HARTMAN  
BT

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 MOSCOW 07567

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, UR  
SUBJECT: CHERNENKO'S PLENUM SPEECH  
CLEAR INDICATION WHERE THE REGIME IS HEADING ON ECONOMIC AND MANAGERIAL ISSUES SUCH AS MINISTERIAL REORGANIZATION, WAGE DIFFERENTIATION, OR PRICE MECHANISMS. HIS REFERENCE TO THE DEBATE ON CONTRADICTIONS AND HIS HINT THAT (NON-ANTAGONISTIC) CONTRADICTIONS CAN BE SERIOUS AND MERIT CLOSE STUDY SUGGEST THAT THE LEADERSHIP HAS BY NO MEANS CLOSED THE DOOR ON INVESTIGATING NEW WAYS TO SOLVE PROBLEMS. IN ADDITION, CHERNENKO'S EXTENSIVE REFERENCES TO SOCIAL SCIENCE, INCLUDING HIS PROPOSAL TO FORM A CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF PUBLIC OPINION, INDICATE THAT THE LEADERSHIP HAS ENDORSED ONE OF HIS PET PROJECTS. IN HIS CRITICISM OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTES' ACTIVITIES, HE CALLS INTER ALIA FOR GREATER "REALITY, INCLUDING PLUSES AND MINUSES," FLEXIBILITY, RELEVANCE AND PRACTICALITY. WHILE HE WARNS THAT CERTAIN CONCEPTS--I.E., DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM--ARE IMMUTABLE, HE SEEMS TO ENDORSE A MORE ENLIGHTENED AND OPEN APPROACH TO STUDYING AND DEALING WITH PROBLEMS.

6. COMMENT: EVER SINCE WORKER DISTURBANCES IN THE SUMMER OF 1980, THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN ATTEMPTING TO BATTEN DOWN IDEOLOGICAL HATCHES TO PREVENT THE SAME PROBLEMS FROM ARISING HERE. THE APPROACH HAS BEEN TWO-FOLD: ON THE ONE HAND, TO LEARN ABOUT THE TRUE STATE OF

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February 10, 1984

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: JACK MATLOCK *Jew*

SUBJECT: Chernenko: Initial Thoughts

RCM HAS SEEN *W/ me/ thank*  
*Brief*

I have not yet seen the Intelligence Community's assessment of the Soviet move in naming Chernenko head of the Andropov Funeral Commission, but my initial thoughts are the following:

-- Naming him head of the Funeral Commission makes Chernenko the favorite to be named Secretary General. If he does not receive the title over the weekend, however, this will be a clear indication that there is still controversy in the leadership.

-- If Chernenko is named to the general secretaryship, it will signify a clear victory by Brezhnev's cronies over Andropov's coterie, and possibly a victory of the traditional Party apparat over the police types favored by Andropov.

-- Naming Chernenko also means that the old men in the Politburo are not yet prepared to allow a generational change in the top leadership.

-- Chernenko's stewardship, like Andropov's, could turn out to be brief. He is 75, and even if he wins a couple of rounds, may still have Andropov's protégés hemming him in in various ways. To the extent that he can consolidate his leadership, however, he may be able to ameliorate some of the neo-Stalinist tendencies introduced by Andropov. (There is considerable circumstantial evidence that he opposed many of the moves, probably in self-interest.)

-- Meeting the President briefly during the funeral could be a plus for Chernenko in the intra-Party struggle. (In a sense, the President would be granting to him an honor denied Andropov when he was alive.) Even if this should be true, however, it should not carry much weight in the President's decision whether to go, since we have no real reason to believe that Chernenko would necessarily be easier to deal with than others in the leadership. And he may not be around for very long.

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MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

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*Chernenko*

ID 8401238

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FROM MATLOCK

DOCDATE 11 FEB 84

KEYWORDS USSR

HS

*File*

ANDROPOV, YURIY

SUBJECT: TWO PRES LTRS TO CHERNENKO RE DEATH OF ANDROPOV

ACTION: PRES SGD BOTH LTRS

DUE:

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SOV. LEADERSHIP  
Chernenko

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, UR  
SUBJECT: KONSTANTIN CHERNENKO AS GENERAL SECRETARY:  
-- HIS ROLE, VIEWS AND PROSPECTS  
1. (C) ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: AT 2 P.M. MOSCOW TIME ON FEBRUARY 13, SOVIET MEDIA ANNOUNCED THAT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAD UNANIMOUSLY ELECTED KONSTANTIN CHERNENKO GENERAL SECRETARY. TIKHONOV MADE THE NOMINATION. CHERNENKO DELIVERED A SPEECH SETTING OUT BASIC POSITIONS ON DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES (FULL ANALYSIS OF

THE SPEECH TO FOLLOW SEPTEL).

THE SELECTION OF KONSTANTIN CHERNENKO AS GENERAL SECRETARY REPRESENTS A POSTPONEMENT OF THE INEVITABLE GENERATION CHANGE IN THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP. THE OLD GUARD, PROBABLY SPEARHEADED BY USTINOV AND GROMYKO, HAS OPTED FOR THE EASY SOLUTION EVIDENTLY OUT OF FEAR THAT A YOUNGER AND MORE DYNAMIC GENERAL SECRETARY WOULD INTRUDE INTO THEIR TRADITIONAL BAILIWICKS. THIS BLOCKING ACTION, PARTICULARLY COMING ON THE HEELS OF ANDROPOV'S CAMPAIGN FOR PERSONNEL "RENEWAL," COULD WELL STIMULATE RESENTMENT AMONG RISING CADRES AND COULD LEAD TO STRAIN AND DISCORD WITHIN THE HIGHER PARTY RANKS.

THE CHOICE OF TIKHONOV, THE OLDEST OF THE OLD GUARD, TO NOMINATE CHERNENKO IS A FURTHER SIGN OF "SAFE" POLITICS IN THE KREMLIN. IT AVOIDED THE DIFFICULT QUESTION OF WHICH YOUNGER LEADER WOULD BE FAVORED, BUT AT THE SAME TIME PASSED UP THE OPPORTUNITY TO SHOW UNITY ACROSS THE GENERATION GAP.

CHERNENKO, WHO IS 72 (THREE YEARS OLDER THAN ANDROPOV AT HIS DEATH) AND IN LESS THAN ROBUST HEALTH, WILL IN ALL LIKELIHOOD BE NO MORE THAN A TRANSITIONAL LEADER. WHILE HE WILL PROBABLY ATTEMPT TO BROADEN HIS POLITICAL BASE, IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT HE WILL DEVELOP INTO A PRE-EMINENT POLITICAL LEADER OR WILL BE ABLE OR INCLINED TO CHART NEW DIRECTIONS IN EITHER DOMESTIC OR FOREIGN POLICY. A MORE GENUINELY COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP MAY WELL EMERGE. INDEED, IT WOULD NOT BE SURPRISING TO SEE A NEW TROIKA, WITH ANDROPOV'S PARTY JOB GOING TO CHERNENKO, WHILE A YOUNGER LEADER MOVES INTO ONE OF THE OTHER JOBS (CHIEF OF STATE OR PRIME MINISTER) IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

CHERNENKO'S PERSONAL LATITUDE WILL BE ESPECIALLY CONSTRICTED IN THE FIELDS OF FOREIGN AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, WHERE HE HAS LESS EXPERIENCE THAN BREZHNEV OR ANDROPOV HAD, AND WHERE GROMYKO AND USTINOV, RESPECTIVELY ARE FIRMLY ENTRENCHED. WE ARE UNLIKELY TO SEE NEW, IMAGINATIVE BT

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, UR

SUBJECT: KONSTANTIN CHERNENKO AS GENERAL SECRETARY:

-- HIS ROLE, VIEWS AND PROSPECTS

DEPARTURES IN SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY. INDEED, CHERNENKO'S OWN BACKGROUND PLUS HIS LACK OF A POLITICAL BASE ARGUES FOR AN INCREASE IN CONSENSUS POLITICS. NEVERTHELESS, BEFORE BREZHNEV'S DEATH, CHERNENKO WAS AN ACTIVE SPOKESMAN FOR DETENTE, PERHAPS OUT OF LOYALTY TO HIS PATRON. UNDER ANDROPOV, CHERNENKO ECHOED CRITICISM OF THE U.S. BUT REFRAINED FROM STRESSING PUBLICLY THE PRIMACY OF SOVIET MILITARY READINESS. NOR DID HE RULE OUT THE

POSSIBILITY OF IMPROVED U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS. WHILE NOT THE PRINCIPAL SHAPER OF FOREIGN POLICY, CHERNENKO WILL NONETHELESS BE A PRIME INTERLOCUTOR WITH FOREIGN LEADERS.

IN VIEW OF HIS OWN BACKGROUND IN PARTY AND IDEOLOGICAL WORK, CHERNENKO WILL BE BETTER PREPARED TO INFLUENCE THE DIRECTION OF DOMESTIC AFFAIRS. AT THE SAME TIME, HE HAS PLAYED LITTLE PART IN EITHER INDUSTRY OR AGRICULTURE AND WOULD DOUBTLESS DEFER CONSIDERABLY TO ROMANOV AND GORBACHEV IN THESE AREAS. CHERNENKO PAID LIP SERVICE TO THE ECONOMIC INITIATIVES LAUNCHED BY ANDROPOV, BUT THERE IS LITTLE TO SUGGEST FROM HIS PAST RECORD THAT HE WOULD SEEK TO FORCE THE PACE OF ECONOMIC CHANGE. NOR IS HE LIKELY TO HAVE THE INCLINATION OR THE CLOUT TO CONTINUE THE PROCESS ANDROPOV HAS STARTED OF REPLACING MARGINAL PERFORMERS IN THE BUREAUCRACY WITH A YOUNGER BREED OF TECHNOCRATS.  
END SUMMARY.

CHERNENKO AS GENERAL SECRETARY: THE LEAST COMMON

DENOMINATOR

3. CHERNENKO HAS ASSUMED THE MANTLE OF THE GENERAL SECRETARYSHIP WITH CONSIDERABLE HANDICAPS:

-- HE IS 72 YEARS OLD AND HIS HEALTH IS UNCERTAIN. WHILE CURRENTLY APPEARING REASONABLY FIT, HE WAS REPORTED TO HAVE SUFFERED A SERIOUS BOUT OF PNEUMONIA LAST SPRING WHICH CAUSED HIM TO BE ABSENT FROM THE POLITICAL SCENE FOR THREE MONTHS AND WHICH REQUIRED A LENGTHY CONVALESCENCE. OVER A PERIOD OF YEARS, CHERNENKO HAS BEEN REPEATEDLY OBSERVED TO SUFFER FROM SHORTNESS OF BREATH.

-- HIS CAREER HAS BEEN PRINCIPALLY AS A PARTY INSIDER, FULFILLING STAFF OR ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS. CHERNENKO'S RISE FROM OBSCURITY WAS DUE EXCLUSIVELY TO BREZHNEV'S PATRONAGE. HE HAS SERVED BRIEFLY AS A SECRETARY IN OBLAST PARTY ORGANIZATIONS (KRASNOYARSK AND PENZA), BUT HE NEVER ROSE TO HEAD ANY PROVINCIAL PARTY ORGANIZATION.  
BT

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DEATH OF MIKHAIL SUSLOV, AND IN PARTY ORGANIZATION WORK.

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 06 MOSCOW 01760

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, UR  
SUBJECT: KONSTANTIN CHERNENKO AS GENERAL SECRETARY:  
-- HIS ROLE, VIEWS AND PROSPECTS  
ALTHOUGH HE SPENT 18 YEARS DIRECTING THE IMPORTANT  
GENERAL DEPARTMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, HE WAS LARGELY  
VIEWED AS BREZHNEV'S CHIEF STAFF AIDE, OFTEN TAGGED AS  
A "PAPER SHUFFLER" OR A MERE BREZHNEV FACTOTUM. CHERNENKO  
HAS HAD ONLY LIMITED FOREIGN AFFAIRS EXPOSURE AND HE LACKS  
MUCH DIRECT EXPERIENCE IN MILITARY, INDUSTRIAL OR AGRICUL-  
TURAL AFFAIRS. HIS STRONGEST CREDENTIALS ARE IN THE  
IDEOLOGICAL REALM WHICH HE HAS SUPERVISED SINCE THE

4. USTINOV AND GROMYKO WHO WERE UNWILLING TO SUPPORT  
CHERNENKO IN THE LAST SUCCESSION, PRESUMABLY FOUND HIM  
MORE ACCEPTABLE THAN YOUNGER AND MORE VIGOROUS CONTENDERS  
THIS TIME AROUND FOR THE VERY REASON THAT HE COULD BE  
COUNTED UPON NOT TO INTERVENE IN THEIR OWN FIEFS. BOTH  
OF THESE MEN, AS WELL AS OTHER AGED LEADERS, MAY HAVE  
FOUND THE NOTION OF HAVING TO TAKE ORDERS FROM A JUNIOR --  
SUCH AS THE 61 YEAR OLD ROMANOV OR 52 YEAR OLD  
GORBACHEV -- UNPALATABLE. CHERNENKO, ON THE OTHER HAND, IS  
A MAN OF THEIR OWN GENERATION AND ONE WHO LACKS THE INDEPEN-  
DENT POWER BASE AND STATURE TO CHALLENGE HIS FELLOW  
SENIOR COLLEAGUES. CHERNENKO MAY ALSO HAVE A SERIOUS  
PUBLIC RELATIONS PROBLEM IN THAT HE HAS NOT THE FAINTEST  
SHRED TO A CLAIM TO AN ACTIVE ROLE IN WORLD WAR II --  
PREVIOUSLY VIEWED AS ALMOST A SINE QUA NON FOR ASPIRING  
LEADERS OF HIS GENERATION.

5. CHERNENKO MAY NOT BE GRANTED THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF  
THE PRESIDUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET AS WAS ANDROPOV HALF  
A YEAR AFTER BEING NAMED GENERAL SECRETARY. WHILE PAST  
GENERAL SECRETARIES HAVE SERVED AS CHAIRMAN OF THE DEFENSE  
COUNCIL, WE DO NOT EXPECT HE WILL AUTOMATICALLY ASSUME  
THIS ROLE. THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE PRESIDUM MAY GO TO  
ONE OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION, WHO MIGHT SEEK TO USE THIS  
OFFICE TO VAULT INTO THE GENERAL SECRETARYSHIP AT A LATER  
DATE, OR TO A MORE NEUTRAL FIGURE OF THE OLDER GENERATION.

CHERNENKO'S RECORD: U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS  
-----

6. PRIOR TO BREZHNEV'S DEATH, CHERNENKO WAS PERHAPS THE  
MOST VOCAL OF ALL POLITBURO MEMBERS IN HIS SUPPORT OF THE  
DETENTE POLICY SHAPED BY HIS MENTOR. FOR EXAMPLE, HIS  
OCTOBER 29, 1982 SPEECH IN TBILISI--TWO WEEKS BEFORE  
BREZHNEV'S DEATH--WAS NOTABLE FOR THE WAY IN WHICH IT  
SOFTENED THE TONE OF BREZHNEV'S SHARP REMARKS ABOUT THE  
U.S. DELIVERED TO A MILITARY AUDIENCE TWO DAYS PREVIOUSLY.  
CHERNENKO ECHOED THE GENERAL SECRETARY'S CRITICISM OF  
U.S. POLICIES BUT ALSO SOUGHT TO DOWNPLAY THE THREAT POSED  
BT

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SUBJECT: KONSTANTIN CHERNENKO AS GENERAL SECRETARY:  
-- HIS ROLE, VIEWS AND PROSPECTS  
BY U.S. MILITARY CAPABILITIES AND MADE NO MENTION OF  
THE NEED FOR GREATER SOVIET MILITARY OUTLAYS TO COUNTER THE  
U.S. IN CONTRAST TO BREZHNEV'S OCTOBER 27 ADDRESS, WHICH  
DID NOT INCLUDE ANY EXPECTATIONS THAT U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS  
WOULD IMPROVE, CHERNENKO AFFIRMED THAT THE SOVIET UNION  
FAVORS "NORMALIZATION AND IMPROVEMENT" IN BILATERAL  
RELATIONS. "IF, HOWEVER, WASHINGTON PROVES UNABLE TO RISE  
ABOVE PRIMITIVE ANTI-COMMUNISM, IF IT PERSISTS IN ITS

POLICY OF THREATS AND DIKTAT, WELL, THEN, WE ARE SUFFICIENTLY STRONG AND WE CAN WAIT." CHERNENKO CONCLUDED ON THE HOPEFUL NOTE THAT SOONER OR LATER "REASON WILL TRIUMPH".

7. UNLIKE ANDROPOV, CHERNENKO HAS VISITED THE WEST. DURING A TRIP TO FRANCE IN 1982 HE MET WITH PRIME MINISTER MAUROY AND MADE A FAVORABLE IMPRESSION. FOLLOWING ANDROPOV'S ACCESSION, CHERNENKO'S PUBLIC WRIT AND PRIVATE ROLE IN THE FOREIGN POLICY ARENA WERE SIGNIFICANTLY DIMINISHED. HE WAS NO LONGER INCLUDED IN THE GENERAL SECRETARY'S MEETINGS WITH SENIOR FOREIGN LEADERS. HE DID CONTINUE, HOWEVER, TO RECEIVE ASSORTED DELEGATIONS FROM NON-RULING SOCIALIST OR COMMUNIST PARTIES. HIS SPEECHES AND ARTICLES DURING THE ANDROPOV ERA WERE LARGELY DEVOTED TO THE IDEOLOGICAL REALM, ALTHOUGH INTERNATIONAL THEMES WERE NOT COMPLETELY NEGLECTED. WHILE HE MADE REFERENCE IN HIS JUNE PLENUM ADDRESS TO THE NEED OF "FURTHER BUILDING UP OF THE ECONOMIC AND DEFENSE MIGHT OF OUR MOTHERLAND," HIS STRESS IN THAT FORUM AS WELL AS IN MORE RECENT ARTICLES HAS BEEN ON THE IDEOLOGICAL CHALLENGE POSED BY THE U.S. RATHER THAN THE MILITARY THREAT. WHILE THIS EMPHASIS ON IDEOLOGICAL WEAPONRY WOULD APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN A FUNCTION OF CHERNENKO'S RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE LEADERSHIP, THERE IS NOTHING IN THE PUBLIC RECORD THAT WOULD SUGGEST HE HAS SOUGHT TO CURRY FAVOR WITH THE MILITARY BY EXPOUNDING ON THE NEED TO COUNTER U.S. MILITARY OUTLAYS. WE WOULD CAUTION, HOWEVER, THAT IF USTINOV WERE NOT CONFIDENT OF CHERNENKO'S ACQUIESCENCE IN THE MILITARY'S CONTINUED PRIORITY ACCESS TO NATIONAL RESOURCES, IT IS MOST UNLIKELY THAT HE WOULD HAVE LENT HIM HIS SUPPORT.

8. CHERNENKO'S MOST RECENT STATEMENTS ON U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS WERE CONTAINED IN AN ARTICLE IN THE NOVEMBER 1983 ISSUE OF "PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM." IN THAT ARTICLE, CHERNENKO ACKNOWLEDGED THE SHARP AGGRAVATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS--LAID SQUARELY AT THE SHOULDERS OF THE U.S.--WHICH "PUSHES MANKIND TO THE BRINK." THE PROBLEM OF MAINTAINING THE PEACE IS "EXCEPTIONALLY COMPLICATED BUT ACTUALLY SOLUBLE," ACCORDING TO CHERNENKO, WHO ESCHEWED CALLS FOR INCREASED SOVIET MILITARY MIGHT  
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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, UR  
SUBJECT: KONSTANTIN CHERNENKO AS GENERAL SECRETARY:  
-- HIS ROLE, VIEWS AND PROSPECTS  
(INSTEAD POINTING TO THE "MILITARY EQUILIBRIUM . . . IN  
THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA"). HE EXPRESSED THE CONVICTION  
THAT "WORLD PEACE CAN BE MAINTAINED AND STRENGTHENED ON  
THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE." NOW THAT  
CHERNENKO IS THE GENERAL SECRETARY, WE CAN EXPECT HIM TO  
TAILOR HIS FOREIGN POLICY REFERENCES TO THE DEMANDS OF  
A BROADER CONSTITUENCY, BUT HE MAY SEEK TO TONE DOWN  
RECENT PROPAGANDA EMPHASIS ON THE THREAT OF A NEW WAR.

9. WHILE KONSTANTIN CHERNENKO WAS PERHAPS CORRECTLY SEEN  
IN 1982 AS THE MAJOR RIVAL TO YURI ANDROPOV FOR BREZHNEV'S  
MANTLE, HE HAS SOMETIMES BEEN LABELLED LESS PERCEPTIVELY  
AS A "CONSERVATIVE" IN OPPOSITION TO THE SUPPOSEDLY  
MORE FORWARD-LOOKING POLICIES OF ANDROPOV. IN GENERAL,  
SUCH PHRASES AS "LIBERAL" AND "CONSERVATIVE" HAVE LITTLE  
APPLICABILITY IN THE SOVIET FRAMEWORK.

10. THERE IS LITTLE EVIDENCE WHICH WOULD POINT UP  
MAJOR DOMESTIC POLICY SPLITS BETWEEN CHERNENKO AND ANDROPOV.  
POINTS OF CONFLICT SEEM TO HAVE CENTERED RATHER AROUND  
PERSONNEL QUESTIONS--A CENTRAL CONCERN OF ANY NEW LEADER  
SEEKING TO BUILD HIS OWN POWER BASE. FOR EXAMPLE,  
ANDROPOV'S FOCUS ON CORRUPTION AND THE HIGH "LENINIST"  
NORMS EXPECTED FROM PARTY AND STATE OFFICIALS WAS NOT  
A POLICY WITH WHICH CHERNENKO WAS A ODDS. INDEED, THE  
ENCOURAGEMENT OF LETTERS FROM THE PUBLIC--A PROJECT CLOSELY  
ASSOCIATED WITH CHERNENKO--COMPLEMENTED ANDROPOV'S CALLS  
FOR INCREASED EXACTINGNESS AND "WHISTLE-BLOWING" WITH  
REGARD TO LAX OR DISHONEST OFFICIALS.  
ONE CAN ASSUME, HOWEVER, THAT CHERNENKO RESENTED--AND  
PERHAPS OPPOSED BEHIND THE SCENES--ANDROPOV'S PURSUIT  
OF SPECIFIC INDIVIDUALS IN THE DISCIPLINE CAMPAIGN WHO HAD  
BEEN ALLIES AND PROTEGES OF BREZHNEV, A CATEGORY IN WHICH  
CHERNENKO HIMSELF SO CLEARLY BELONGED. ONE KEY FACTION  
THAT MAY HAVE CONTINUED TO SUPPORT CHERNENKO THROUGHOUT  
ANDROPOV'S TENURE MAY HAVE BEEN THE LONG-ENTRENCHED  
PARTY OFFICIALS WHO FEARED REMOVAL FROM THEIR POSTS AND  
LOSS OF THEIR HARD-EARNED PRIVILEGES IN THE DRIVE FOR

PERSONNEL "RENEWAL." THIS FACTION MAY HAVE LOBBIED  
FOR HIS SELECTION AS GENERAL SECRETARY IN PREFERENCE TO  
GORBACHEV, WHO SUPERVISES CADRES POLICY UNDER ANDROPOV  
AND COULD HAVE BEEN EXPECTED TO CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR  
ONGOING "RENEWAL." THE RANKS OF THE REGIONAL PARTY  
OFFICIALS WERE THINNED JUST SUFFICIENTLY BY ANDROPOV TO  
CAUSE THE REMAINING CADRES TO CLOSE RANKS BEHIND A  
SAFE OLD-GUARD FIGURE.

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SUBJECT: CHERNENKO'S ACCEPTANCE SPEECH: AN ANALYSIS

IMPORTANCE OF WORK DISCIPLINE. HE SEEMED, HOWEVER, TO PLACE MORE EMPHASIS THAN DID ANDROPOV ON THE NEED TO AVOID DUPLICATION BETWEEN THE PARTY AND THE GOVERNMENT IN ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT. AS EXPECTED, CHERNENKO HIGHLIGHTED DOMESTIC THEMES LONG ASSOCIATED WITH HIM, SUCH AS IMPROVED IDEOLOGICAL WORK AND ATTENTION TO "PUBLIC OPINION," AND HE DISTINCTLY REACHED OUT TO THE PROVINCIAL PARTY LEADERSHIP FOR SUPPORT--PROMISING THEM, IN EFFECT, GREATER JOB SECURITY THAN UNDER ANDROPOV. IN THE FOREIGN POLICY AREA, THE NEW GENERAL SECRETARY ADHERED FOR THE MOST PART TO THE PRESCRIBED LITANY, INCLUDING IN HIS REMARKS A CALL FOR INCREASED SOVIET MILITARY CAPABILITY. YET HIS TONE WAS MODERATE; HE DID NOT SINGLE OUT THE U.S. FOR CRITICISM; AND HE EXPRESSED A READINESS FOR DIALOGUE AND NEGOTIATION. END SUMMARY.

DOMESTIC POLICY: A LESS CRITICAL APPROACH TO PARTY CADRES?

3. CHERNENKO'S REMARKS ON DOMESTIC POLITICAL ISSUES UNDERLINED THE CONCERNS WITH WHICH HE HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY IDENTIFIED IN THE PAST, SUCH AS CLOSE TIES BETWEEN THE PARTY AND THE "MASSES", ATTENTION TO "PUBLIC OPINION", AND IMPROVEMENT IN IDEOLOGICAL WORK. "HEEDING WORDS COMING OUT OF THE WORKING CLASS ENVIRONMENT... AND CONSULTING WORKING PEOPLE SHOULD TODAY BE THE PRIME OBLIGATION," HE SAID. AS HE HAS IN THE PAST, CHERNENKO STRESSED THE IMPORTANT ROLE OF IDEOLOGY IN THE ONGOING "PERFECTION" OF "DEVELOPED SOCIALISM". HE DELIBERATELY UNDERScoreD THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NEW PARTY PROGRAM NOW BEING DRAFTED FOR PRESENTATION AT THE NEXT CONGRESS. (ANDROPOV HAD DRAWN ATTENTION TO THE NEW PROGRAM DURING HIS JUNE 1983 PLENUM SPEECH, AND CHERNENKO MAY SEEK TO USE THIS AS A VEHICLE TO PUT ACROSS HIS OWN IDEAS AND TO BURNISH HIS IMAGE.)

4. CHERNENKO WENT OUT OF HIS WAY TO APPEAL TO THE PROVINCIAL PARTY SECRETARIES, MANY OF WHOM MAY HAVE CAST THEIR SUPPORT TO HIM IN THE EXPECTATION THAT HE WILL NOT CONTINUE THE WIDE-SCALE "PERSONNEL RENEWAL" AMONGST THEIR RANKS WHICH ANDROPOV HAD SOUGHT. WHILE CHERNENKO REMINDED THESE OFFICIALS THAT THEY HOLD THEIR

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: CHERNENKO'S ACCEPTANCE SPEECH AT THE FEBRUARY 13 CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM FOR THE MOST PART STRESSED CONTINUITY WITH THE ANDROPOV ERA BUT SIGNALLED CERTAIN SHIFTS OF EMPHASIS IN BOTH DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY. THE NEW GENERAL SECRETARY ENDORSED HIS PREDECESSOR'S INITIATIVES IN THE ECONOMIC REALM AND STRESSED-- IF SOMEWHAT LESS INSISTENTLY THAN ANDROPOV--THE

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TAGS: UR, US, ECON, PGOV, PREL  
SUBJECT: CHERNENKO'S ACCEPTANCE SPEECH: AN ANALYSIS  
POSTS ON "FAITH OF TRUST," HE SEEMED TO BE SIGNALLING  
HIS INTENTION TO TAKE A MORE BENIGN ATTITUDE TOWARDS  
THIS POWERFUL CONSTITUENCY. IN EXPRESSING THE CON-  
VICTION THAT "YOU WILL DO EVERYTHING NECESSARY" IN  
TERMS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL TASKS, CHERNENKO MAY HAVE  
WISHED TO REASSURE OBKOM SECRETARIES THAT HE WILL NOT  
BE SEEKING FURTHER TURNOVER AMONG THEIR NUMBERS TO THE  
DEGREE THAT OCCURRED IN THE 1983-84 PARTY CAMPAIGN.  
IN ANOTHER POSSIBLE INDICATION THAT CHERNENKO'S TENURE  
WILL BE MARKED BY A LESS CRITICAL APPROACH TO PARTY  
OFFICIALS, TIKHONOV'S NOMINATING ADDRESS REFERRED TO

CHERNENKO'S "EXACTINGNESS TOWARD CADRES, AND AT THE  
SAME TIME, A BENEVOLENT ATTITUDE TOWARD THEM."

THE ECONOMY: CONTINUING WITH DIFFERENCES OF EMPHASIS

5. CHERNENKO'S COMMENTS ON THE ECONOMY ARE WELL WITHIN  
THE MAINSTREAM OF SOVIET ECONOMIC POLICY OVER THE PAST  
DECADE. HE CONFIRMS THAT THE "GUIDELINES" FOR  
DEVELOPING THE ECONOMY REMAIN: SHIFTING TO INTENSIVE  
GROWTH; SPEEDING UP THE INTRODUCTION OF HIGH TECHNOLOGY;  
AND IMPLEMENTING "LARGE-SCALE PROGRAMS" (I.E., FOOD,  
ENERGY, AND CONSUMER GOODS). IN ADDITION, CHERNENKO  
LENDING HIS SPECIFIC ENDORSEMENT TO THE SERIES OF POLICY  
MEASURES INITIATED OR IMPLEMENTED IN THE PAST 15 MONTHS  
INCLUDING: THE LAW ON LABOR COLLECTIVES; THE ECONOMIC  
EXPERIMENT IN INDUSTRY; MEASURES TO IMPROVE THE SERVICE  
SECTOR; AND THE ABOVE-PLAN PRODUCTIVITY AND COST  
REDUCTION TARGETS MANDATED FOR 1984. THERE IS NO  
SUGGESTION THAT CHERNENKO INTENDS TO ABANDON ANY OF THESE  
INITIATIVES OF THE ANDROPOV "ERA".

6. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND OF OVERALL CONTINUITY THERE  
ARE SOME DIFFERENCES OF EMPHASIS. WHILE CHERNENKO DOES  
REFER TO THE NEED TO MAINTAIN DISCIPLINE, HE PLACES IT IN  
THE CONTEXT OF CALLS FOR BETTER ORGANIZATION, MORE  
EDUCATION, AND GREATER WORKER AND MANAGERIAL INITIATIVE.  
IN DISCUSSING THE NEED TO PERFECT THE ECONOMIC MECHANISM,  
CHERNENKO USES THE SAME QUOTE USED BY ANDROPOV IN HIS  
AUGUST 1983 SPEECH TO THE PARTY VETERANS: "MEASURE  
SEVEN TIMES, CUT ONCE." HOWEVER, HE FOLLOWS IT WITH AN  
ADMONITION THAT THIS DOES NOT JUSTIFY THOSE WHO DO NOT  
WANT TO FACE "THE NEW REQUIREMENTS OF LIFE." CHERNENKO  
ALSO CITES THE NEED TO STREAMLINE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT  
DECISION-MAKING, AS DID ANDROPOV, BUT HE ELEVATES THE  
PROBLEM OF THE DUPLICATION OF PARTY AND STATE ECONOMIC  
FUNCTIONS TO "A MAJOR ISSUE." CHERNENKO CRITICIZES THE  
PRACTICE OF PARTY BODIES "SUBSTITUTING FOR ECONOMIC  
MANAGERS" WHICH, HE SAYS, CAUSES ENTERPRISES NOT TO  
SHOW "NECESSARY INDEPENDENCE", DEMORALIZES MANAGERS, AND  
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WEAKENS THE ROLE OF THE PARTY COMMITTEE AS "A BODY OF  
POLITICAL GUIDANCE". HIS INJUNCTION HERE TO PARTY  
OFFICIALS NOT TO DUPLICATE THE WORK OF ECONOMIC OFFICIALS  
APPEARS SOMEWHAT AT ODDS WITH HIS WORDS ELSEWHERE IN THE  
ADDRESS ABOUT THE ROLE OF PROVINCIAL PARTY OFFICIALS IN  
ENSURING ECONOMIC PRODUCTION. IT COULD BE THAT WHAT  
CHERNENKO HAS IN MIND IS THE MUCH RUMORED REORGANIZATION  
OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE ECONOMIC DEPARTMENTS. THERE IS NO  
SUGGESTION, HOWEVER, OF A MORE COMPREHENSIVE ECONOMIC  
REFORM.

7. THE GENERAL SECRETARY RITUALY SET FORTH IN HIS SPEECH THE STANDARD STAPLES OF THE SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY DIET: FIDELITY TO THE WARSAW PACT ALLIANCE, SOLIDARITY WITH THE THIRD WORLD, AND PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE WITH THE WEST. HE REFERRED TO THE THREAT TO PEACE BROUGHT ON BY "IMPERIALISM'S AGGRESSIVE FORCES" AND REITERATED, IN NOW-STANDARD LANGUAGE, THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD NOT PERMIT THE MILITARY BALANCE TO BE UPSET AND WOULD SEE TO THE FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF ITS DEFENSE CAPABILITY. YET CHERNENKO'S DEPICTION OF THE THREAT TO PEACE WAS MODERATE IN RELATION TO OTHER RECENT SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENTS, AND, SIGNIFICANTLY, HE DID NOT SINGLE OUT THE U.S. FOR SPECIAL OPPOBRIUM. MOREOVER, IN ADDITION TO REPEATING SOVIET SUPPORT FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES, CHERNENKO SEEMED TO GO OUT OF HIS WAY TO STRESS THAT THE USSR "WILL COOPERATE IN FULL MEASURE WITH ALL STATES WHICH ARE PREPARED TO CONTRIBUTE THROUGH PRACTICAL DEEDS TO LESSENING INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS AND CREATING AN ATMOSPHERE OF TRUST IN THE WORLD." THIS EXPRESSION OF A READINESS FOR DIALOGUE AND NEGOTIATION WITH THE WEST WAS SEEMINGLY REINFORCED BY TIKHONOV'S SINGLING OUT IN HIS NOMINATING ADDRESS CHERNENKO'S PRESENCE IN THE SOVIET CSCE SUMMIT DELEGATION IN HELSINKI IN 1975 AND HIS INVOLVEMENT IN "NEGOTIATIONS" ON STRATEGIC NUCLEAR ARMS IN VIENNA IN 1979 (WHERE HE ACCOMPANIED BREZHNEV FOR SIGNATURE OF SALT II).

CHERNENKO'S BIOGRAPHY

8. THE OFFICIAL CHERNENKO BIOGRAPHIC PROFILE ISSUED IN CONNECTION WITH HIS APPOINTMENT PROVIDED FEW REVELATIONS. NO ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO GLOSS OVER THE FACT THAT CHERNENKO SAW NO ACTIVE MILITARY SERVICE DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR, ALTHOUGH BRIEF SERVICE IN THE THIRTIES WITH A BORDER GUARD DETACHMENT WAS MENTIONED. THE MOST INTRIGUING ELEMENT IN THE BIOGRAPHY WAS THE CHARACTERIZATION OF CHERNENKO AS A "PROMINENT" ("VIDNII") FIGURE.  
BT

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LATTER'S TERM. THE COLLECTIVE VIEW, HOWEVER, WOULD  
APPEAR TO BE LESS GENEROUS.

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: UR, US, ECON, PGOV, PREL  
SUBJECT: CHERNENKO'S ACCEPTANCE SPEECH: AN ANALYSIS  
THIS CHARACTERIZATION IN CHERNENKO'S BIOGRAPHY,  
PRESUMABLY A COLLECTIVELY APPROVED PRODUCT, DIFFERS  
FROM THE TERM EMPLOYED BY TIKHONOV IN HIS NOMINATION  
SPEECH. TIKHONOV USED AN ADJECTIVE WHICH STANDS CLEARLY  
HIGHER IN THE SOVIET POLITICAL LEXICON--"OUTSTANDING"  
("VYDAYUSHCHIISYA")--NO DOUBT REFLECTING THE FACT THAT  
TIKHONOV IS CHERNENKO'S CLOSEST ALLY IN THE POLITBURO.  
TIKHONOV IS THUS PLACING CHERNENKO AT THE THRESHOLD OF  
HIS NEW CAREER ON THE SAME FOOTING AS THAT ACCORDED  
ANDROPOV--WHOSE OBITUARY SIMILARLY LABELLED HIM A  
"VYDAYUSHCHIISYA" FIGURE--AT THE CULMINATION OF THE

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FBIS 034

BULLETIN

AFP REPORTS CHERNENKO NAMED GENERAL SECRETARY

NC131036 PARIS AFP IN ENGLISH 1034 GMT 13 FEB 84

(TEXT) MOSCOW, FEB 13 (AFP) -- KONSTANTIN CHERNENKO, 72, WAS  
TODAY ELECTED GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY TO  
REPLACE YURIY ANDROPOV WHO DIED ON THURSDAY, AN AUTHORITATIVE SOVIET  
SOURCE SAID HERE.

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SUBJECT: ANDROPOV FUNERAL: CHERNENKO BILATERALS;  
-- FOREIGN REPRESENTATION AND TREATMENT

OP IMMEDIATE  
VSK273 510 UTS4837  
DE RUEHMO #1855/01 0461438  
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1. ENTIRE TEXT).

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5273

2. SUMMARY: IN HIS FIRST ROUND OF FOREIGN MEETINGS AS CPSU GENERAL SECRETARY, KONSTANTIN CHERNENKO MET WITH WARSAW PACT COUNTERPARTS EN MASSE, SPENT A HALF HOUR WITH VICE PRESIDENT BUSH, TOUCHED THE NECESSARY BASES WITH INDIRA GANDHI AND THE FRENCH, AND SAW DELEGATION HEADS FROM THE INF BASING COUNTRIES: THE UK, FRG, AND ITALY. REPORTS OF THE MEETINGS WERE IDENTICAL IN FORMAT; AMONG THE NATO ALLIES, REPORTS ON THE FRENCH MEETING WERE NOTICEABLY WARMER IN TONE. TIKHONOV HELD MEETINGS FEBRUARY 15 WITH THE GREEKS AND TURKS, AND GROMYKO HAD A SEPARATE SESSION WITH ANDREOTTI. (LATE ITEM: THE CHINESE TELL US THEIR DELEGATION MET THIS MORNING WITH ALIYEV.) TRUDEAU AND ZIA EXPECT TO SEE CHERNENKO TODAY, AND ABE, GROMYKO. BT

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3. FOREIGN REPRESENTATION AT THE FUNERAL TENDED TO CORRESPOND ROUGHLY TO THAT OF BREZHNEV, WITH A FEW INTERESTING WRINKLES. WESTERN EUROPEAN REPRESENTATION TENDED TO BE A GENERALLY HIGHER LEVEL, A FUNCTION OF ALLIED CONCERNS TO DEMONSTRATE A CONTINUING EAST-WEST DIALOGUE IN THE WAKE OF INF DEPLOYMENTS. CHINA'S DELEGATION WAS THE HIGHEST LEVEL TO VISIT MOSCOW IN OVER TWENTY YEARS. OTHER ASIAN COUNTRIES, INCLUDING JAPAN, WERE REPRESENTED AT A SOMEWHAT LOWER LEVEL THAN FOR BREZHNEV, WHILE DELEGATIONS FROM ANGOLA AND LIBYA WERE ALSO AN APPARENT STEP DOWN FROM FIFTEEN MONTHS AGO.

4. THE ORDER AND PROMINENCE ACCORDED FOREIGN DELEGATIONS AND CONDOLENCE MESSAGES TENDED TO PARALLEL SHIFTS IN DELEGATION LEVELS. AFTER A YEAR OF AMBIGUOUS TREATMENT UNDER ANDROPOV, CHINA RETURNED TO ITS PLACE AMONG THE SOCIALIST FAMILY. PLACEMENT OF THE VIETNAMESE AND SYRIAN CONDOLENCE MESSAGES ALSO APPEARED TO REFLECT  
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THOSE COUNTRIES' RISING STOCK IN MOSCOW. PRESIDENT  
REAGAN'S MESSAGE WAS LESS PROMINENTLY FEATURED THAN FOR  
BREZHNEV'S FUNERAL. THUS FAR, NO PLO CONDOLENCE MESSAGE  
HAS BEEN PUBLISHED, ALTHOUGH ARAFAT'S PARTICIPATION  
AS HEAD OF THE PLO FUNERAL DELEGATION HAS BEEN REPORTED.  
END SUMMARY.

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HIGH LEVEL BILATERALS -- FEBRUARY 15

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AEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0670  
AEMBASSY ALGIERS 0756  
AEMBASSY AMMAN 2470  
AEMBASSY CAIRO 3373  
AEMBASSY DAMASCUS 2352  
USELO RIYADH 0197  
USINT BAGHDAD IMMEDIATE 1076  
AEMBASSY ISLAMABAD IMMEDIATE 1078  
AEMBASSY KABUL IMMEDIATE 1243  
AEMBASSY NEW DELHI IMMEDIATE 2777  
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AEMBASSY ANTANANARIVO 0047  
AEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0029  
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AEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0445  
AEMBASSY GABORONE 0214  
AEMBASSY MASERU 0015  
AEMBASSY MBABANE 0017

5. CHERNENKO HELD SEVEN HIGH-LEVEL MEETINGS FEBRUARY  
15, ACCORDING TO SOVIET PRESS REPORTS.

-- HE PARTICIPATED IN A SINGLE MEETING WITH THE SIX  
WARSAW PACT PARTY LEADERS. THIS CONTRASTED WITH ANDROPOV'S  
INDIVIDUAL MEETINGS WITH PACT LEADERS AT THE BREZHNEV  
FUNERAL (WHICH PROVIDED INITIAL INSIGHTS INTO HIS  
"PECKING ORDER"). THE MEETING WAS DESCRIBED AS  
BT

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"FRIENDLY." GROMYKO, USTINOV, TIKHONOV AND CPSU BLOC  
COUNTRIES DEPARTMENT CHIEF RUSAKOV PARTICIPATED.

OP IMMEDIATE  
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-- HE MET WITH HEADS OF DELEGATION FROM INDIA, THE US,  
FRANCE, THE FRG, THE UK AND ITALY (LISTED IN THAT ORDER  
IN MEDIA REPORTS). ALL SIX NON-BLOC MEETINGS WERE  
REPORTED UNDER THE CAPTION: "MEETING OF K.U. CHERNENKO  
WITH... (HEAD OF DELEGATION)." ATTENDING ALL OF THE  
BILATERALS FROM THE SOVIET SIDE WERE GROMYKO, BREZHNEV'S  
AND ANDROPOV'S FOREIGN POLICY AIDE ALEXANDROV-AGENTOV,  
AND V.V. PRIBYTKOV, WHOM OUR RECORDS SHOW AS A LONG-  
TIME AIDE TO CHERNENKO. ALEXANDROV IS LISTED BEFORE  
PRIBYTKOV.

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5276

6. WHILE THE GENERAL FORMAT OF THE NON-BLOC MEETINGS  
WAS IDENTICAL, THERE WERE SOME INTERESTING DIFFERENCES  
IN SOVIET DESCRIPTIONS OF THE MEETINGS.

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USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE 5448  
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AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE 6533  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE 6835  
AMEMBASSY BEIJING IMMEDIATE 5936  
AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE 2462  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE 2541  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE 3684  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN 2428  
AMEMBASSY LISBON IMMEDIATE 1678  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG 1001  
AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE 2919  
AMEMBASSY OSLO IMMEDIATE 1962  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE 2417  
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK 0911  
AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE 9797  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE IMMEDIATE 2515  
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE 9757  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN IMMEDIATE 5959  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST IMMEDIATE 0285  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST IMMEDIATE 9311  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE IMMEDIATE 0031  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA IMMEDIATE 9301  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW IMMEDIATE 1473  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN 0265  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO 0394  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 0671  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0672  
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS 0757  
AMEMBASSY AMMAN 2471  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO 3374  
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS 2353  
USELO RIYADH 0198  
USINT BAGHDAD IMMEDIATE 1077  
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD IMMEDIATE 1879  
AMEMBASSY KABUL IMMEDIATE 1244  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI IMMEDIATE 2778  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG 4243  
AMEMBASSY SEOUL 1398  
AMEMBASSY DHAKA 0557  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0673  
AMEMBASSY ANTANANARIVO 0048  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0030  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0019  
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SUBJECT: ANDROPOV FUNERAL: CHERNENKO BILATERALS;  
-- USA: THE REPORT OF US BILATERAL IS THE LONGEST OF SEVEN. IT FOCUSES ON CHERNENKO'S REAFFIRMATION OF MOSCOW'S COMMITMENT TO PREVENTING NUCLEAR WAR, BUT ALSO OF ITS DETERMINATION TO ENSURE THE SECURITY OF THE USSR AND ITS ALLIES. IT INDICATES THAT A DEMONSTRATION OF WILLINGNESS BY THE USG TO ABIDE BY THE PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY, MUTUAL RESPECT OF LEGITIMATE INTERESTS, AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS WOULD OPEN THE WAY FOR IMPROVEMENTS IN RELATIONS. THE REPORT GIVES NO INDICATION OF THE SUBSTANCE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT'S REMARKS.

-- FRANCE: THE REPORT OF THE FRENCH BILATERAL WAS BY FAR THE WARMEST IN TONE OF THE NATO MEETINGS. CHERNENKO IS REPORTED AS "VALUING" FRENCH CONDOLENCES (IN CONTRAST TO SIMPLE EXPRESSION OF GRATITUDE TO OTHER NATO DELEGATIONS) AND VIEWING THEM AS A SIGN OF TRADITIONAL SOVIET-FRENCH FRIENDSHIP. CHERNENKO EXPRESSED  
BT

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SUBJECT: ANDROPOV FUNERAL: CHERNENKO BILATERALS;  
"SATISFACTION" WITH THE STATE OF BILATERAL RELATIONS  
AND STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTINUING BILATERAL  
CONTACTS AND POLITICAL DIALOGUE.

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-- FRG/UK/ITALY: COVERAGE OF MEETINGS WITH THE "BASING"  
COUNTRIES' DELEGATIONS WAS NOTABLE FOR THE ABSENCE OF  
ANY REFERENCE TO ANDROPOV'S NOVEMBER 24 FORMULA LINKING  
MOSCOW'S WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS INF TO A NATO DEMON-  
STRATION OF "READINESS TO RETURN" TO THE PRE-DEPLOYMENT  
STATUS QUO. THE SOVIET SIDE IS REPORTED AS ADVISING  
THE ITALIANS, HOWEVER, THAT SOVIET PROPOSALS "FOR THE  
REDUCTION OF NUCLEAR MISSILE CONFRONTATION IN EUROPE  
ARE KNOWN AND FULLY REMAIN IN FORCE." CHERNENKO  
REPORTEDLY COMPLAINED TO BOTH THE GERMANS AND PERTINI  
THAT US LRINF DEPLOYMENTS IN THEIR COUNTRIES COMPLICATED  
RELATIONS WITH THE USSR. THERE WAS NO SUCH REFERENCE  
IN THE REPORT OF THE UK MEETING, WHICH, IN AFFIRMING  
MOSCOW'S RELATIONS WITH BRITAIN COULD BE MORE "SUBSTANTIAL"  
IF THE UK WERE WILLING, SEEMED TO RESPOND TO MRS.  
THATCHER'S RECENT OVERTURES FOR A BROADENED DIALOGUE.

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DE RUEHMO #1855/07 0461510  
O 151505Z FEB 84  
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7. WE HAVE CONFIRMED THAT PAKISTANI PRESIDENT ZIA  
AND PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU HAVE MEETINGS SCHEDULED  
WITH CHERNENKO TODAY.

OTHER BILATERALS  
-----

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5279

8. AS AFTER THE BREZHNEV FUNERAL, GROMYKO AND PREMIER  
TIKHONOV HELD SEPARATE MEETINGS WITH CERTAIN OF THEIR  
COUNTERPARTS.

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-- TIKHONOV IS REPORTED AS HAVING MET WITH GREEK PREMIER  
PAPANDREOU AND WITH TURKISH PRIME MINISTER OZAL.  
LACONIC DESCRIPTIONS OF THE MEETINGS PROVIDED NO  
INSIGHTS INTO THEIR SUBSTANCE.

-- GROMYKO MET WITH ITALIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ANDREOTTI  
FOR WHAT WAS DESCRIBED AS A DISCUSSION OF A "RANGE OF  
INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS AND CERTAIN QUESTIONS TOUCHING  
ON ITALIAN-SOVIET RELATIONS."

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FOREIGN REPRESENTATION

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9. THE LEVEL OF REPRESENTATION SAW SOME SIGNIFICANT CHANGES FROM BREZHNEV'S FUNERAL. WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES SHOWED A CLEAR UPGRADING -- PRESUMABLY REFLECTING A DESIRE TO DEMONSTRATE THAT INF DEPLOYMENT HAD NOT MEANT AN END TO EAST-WEST POLITICAL DIALOGUE. FOR EASTERN EUROPE, LATIN AMERICA, SOUTHWEST AND SOUTHEAST ASIA THE LEVEL REMAINED RELATIVELY CONSTANT. AFRICA SHOWED A NUMBER OF CHANGES -- MOSTLY MIRRORING THE FLOW OF THESE COUNTRIES' BILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE USSR. MIDDLE EAST AND EAST ASIAN REPRESENTATION -- EXCEPT FOR CHINA -- APPEARED TO BE SLIGHTLY DOWN-GRADED. THE MOST NOTEWORTHY CHANGES:

-- WESTERN EUROPE: PRIME MINISTER THATCHER, ITALIAN PRESIDENT PERTINI, AND CHANCELLOR KOHL REPRESENT THE MOST SIGNIFICANT STEPS UP IN REPRESENTATION. PORTUGAL, NORWAY, ICELAND, AND DENMARK, HOWEVER, ALSO UPGRADED THEIR DELEGATION CHIEF TO THE PRIME MINISTER LEVEL. LIKE THE FRG, AUSTRIA SWITCHED FROM THE HEAD OF STATE TO THE HEAD OF GOVERNMENT -- A STEP DOWN IN PROTOCOL, BUT UP IN "REAL WORLD" TERMS. THE ONLY DOWNGRADING

CAME IN THE BELGIAN (PRIME MINISTER TO VICE PRIME MINISTER) AND DUTCH (DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TO FOREIGN

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MINISTER) DELEGATIONS. THE HIGH LEVEL OF NORWEGIAN  
REPRESENTATION (CROWN PRINCE HARALD ALSO ATTENDED)  
SUGGESTS A NORWEGIAN DESIRE TO PREVENT THE RECENT  
SPY SCANDAL FROM DISRUPTING RELATIONS.

OP IMMED  
UTS5218  
DE RUEHMO #1855/09 0461707  
O 151702Z FEB 84  
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

-- EASTERN EUROPE: ALL THE EXPECTED ATTENDEES APPEARED  
ON SCHEDULE. THE MAKE-UP OF THE YUGOSLAV DELEGATION  
CHANGED IN TERMS OF PERSONNEL, A RESULT OF CHANGES IN  
THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENTAL STAFFING STRUCTURE.

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AMEMBASSY ALGIERS 0762  
AMEMBASSY AMMAN 2476  
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SUBJECT: ANDROPOV FUNERAL: CHERNENKO BILATERALS;  
-- MIDDLE EAST: THE ATTENDANCE OF THE SYRIAN PRIME MINISTER AND THE JORDANIAN COURT MINISTER BOTH REPRESENT DOWNGRADING OF THESE TWO DELEGATIONS (THOUGH ASSAD'S HEALTH WAS PRESUMABLY A VALID EXCUSE FOR HIS ABSENCE). THE NON-APPEARANCE OF MAJOR JALLOUD FROM LIBYA WAS A SURPRISE; THE LIBYAN REPRESENTATIVE, UNEZ (PHONETICALLY FROM THE RUSSIAN) IS NOT KNOWN TO US. THE CONTINUED HIGH REPRESENTATION FROM IRAQ AND YEMEN AND THE LOW-LEVEL REPRESENTATION FROM IRAN (THEIR AMBASSADOR HERE) WERE EXPECTED.

OP IMMEDIATE  
STU9490  
DE RUEHMO #1855/10 0461715  
O 151710Z FEB 84  
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-- SOUTHWEST AND SOUTHEAST ASIA: THE ONLY CHANGE IN SOUTHWEST ASIA WAS THE UPGRADING OF THE BANGLADESHI DELEGATION (ADMIRAL KHAN ATTENDED THIS YEAR'S WHEREAS THERE HAD ONLY BEEN LOW-LEVEL REPRESENTATION AT BREZHNEV'S FUNERAL). AS IN THE CASE OF NORWAY, THIS IS PROBABLY DUE TO A BANGLADESHI DESIRE TO PREVENT FURTHER DISRUPTION OF RELATIONS FLOWING FROM THE RECENT EXPULSIONS OF SOVIET DIPLOMATS FROM DHAKA. SOUTHEAST ASIA SHOWED ONLY INSIGNIFICANT VARIATION IN THE LEVEL OF REPRESENTATION.

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5282

-- EAST ASIA: WHEREAS THE NORTH KOREAN AND MONGOLIAN ATTENDANCE WAS DE RIGEUR, JAPAN (PRIME MINISTER TO FOREIGN MINISTER), INDONESIA (VICE PRESIDENT TO FOREIGN MINISTER) AND THE PHILIPPINES (MRS. MARCOS TO THE RESIDENT AMBASSADOR) ALL DOWNGRADED THEIR DELEGATIONS. CHINA, ON THE OTHER HAND, RAISED ITS REPRESENTATION TO THE HIGHEST LEVEL IN TWENTY YEARS (REF: BEIJING 02281).

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SUBJECT: ANDROPOV FUNERAL: CHERNENKO BILATERALS;  
-- AFRICA: TWO OF THE MAJOR SOVIET CLIENTS -- ETHIOPIA  
(MENGISTU AGAIN APPEARED) AND MOZAMBIQUE (MACHEL ALSO  
WAS ON HAND ONCE MORE) -- MAINTAINED THEIR LEVEL OF  
REPRESENTATION. ANGOLA, HOWEVER, DOWNGRADED THEIR  
REPRESENTATION WITH POLITBURO MEMBER LUVALALU (WHO  
IS BELIEVED TO BE A NEUTRAL IN THE MPLA INTERNAL DEBATE)  
INSTEAD OF PRESIDENT DOS SANTOS. UPGRADED DELEGATIONS  
CAME FROM UGANDA (THE PRIME MINISTER, DEFENSE MINISTER,  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTER AND INTERIOR MINISTER ALL  
REPORTEDLY CAME THIS TIME), MADAGASCAR (THE PRESIDENT  
CAME THIS TIME; THERE WAS ONLY LOW-LEVEL REPRESENTATION  
AT BREZHNEV'S FUNERAL), NIGERIA (THE DEPUTY MILITARY  
COMMANDER CAME AS DID THE HEAD OF THE AIR FORCE AND  
THE FOREIGN MINISTER), CAMEROON (THE FOREIGN MINISTER  
CAME THIS TIME), AND BOTSWANA (THE FOREIGN MINISTER  
APPEARED THIS TIME). DOWNGRADED DELEGATIONS CAME FROM  
MALI AND THE CONGO (BOTH PRESIDENT TO FOREIGN MINISTER),  
LESOTHO (DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TO AMBASSADOR), AND  
TANZANIA (VICE PRESIDENT TO MINISTER WITHOUT PORTFOLIO).  
TWO COUNTRIES NOT MENTIONED IN ANY OF THE SOVIET PRESS  
ACCOUNTS WERE GHANA AND UPPER VOLTA. CHAD WAS LISTED  
AS REPRESENTED -- PRESUMABLY BY A LOW-LEVEL EMBASSY  
STAFFER (IT IS NOT KNOWN WHETHER HE WAS A GOUKOUNI OR  
HABRE ADHERENT). THERE WERE SEVERAL OTHER VARIATIONS  
IN REPRESENTATION OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES, BUT THEY  
APPEARED TO BE RELATIVELY MINOR SHIFTS TO THE EXTENT  
THAT DELEGATION IDENTITIES COULD BE DETERMINED OR  
APPEARED IN THE SOVIET MEDIA.

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SUBJECT: ANDROPOV FUNERAL: CHERNENKO BILATERALS;  
-- LATIN AMERICA: CUBAN, NICARAGUAN AND GUYANESE  
REPRESENTATION LEVEL REMAINED CONSTANT. NOT SURPRIS-  
INGLY IN VIEW OF THE POSITIVE (IF NOT EXPANDING) CONTACTS  
BETWEEN THE NEW ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT AND THE SOVIETS,  
THE ARGENTINE DELEGATION WAS UPGRADED AND LED BY THE  
VICE PRESIDENT. ALTHOUGH THE SOVIET PRESS HAD BEEN  
EQUALLY UPBEAT ON THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN VENEZUELA, THE  
VENEZUELAN DELEGATION WAS DOWNGRADED. THE MINISTER OF  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS CAME FOR BREZHNEV'S FUNERAL; THIS TIME  
THE VENEZUELAN AMBASSADOR REPRESENTED HIS COUNTRY. ALL  
OTHER DELEGATIONS (MOST OF THEM LOW-LEVEL) REMAINED  
CONSTANT EXCEPT FOR THE ANTICIPATED ABSENCE OF ANY  
REPRESENTATIVE FROM GRENADA (SOON APPEARED FOR BREZHNEV'S  
FUNERAL).

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SUBJECT: ANDROPOV FUNERAL: CHERNENKO BILATERALS;  
-- NON-GOVERNMENTAL DELEGATIONS: EUROPEAN COMMUNIST  
PARTIES WERE GENERALLY REPRESENTED BY THEIR PRESIDENT  
OR GENERAL SECRETARY. BERLINGUER, FOR INSTANCE, CAME  
FROM ITALY. BOTH SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTIES WERE  
REPRESENTED: THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN BY F. ROMERO  
MARIN, A MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND SECRETARIAT;  
AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY (SPAIN) BY GENERAL SECRETARY  
I. GALLEGO. THE OLD PARTY IS LISTED BEFORE THE NEW,  
BUT REPRESENTED AT A LOWER LEVEL. THE IRAQI AND  
CYPRIOT COMMUNIST PARTIES WERE REPRESENTED (THEY HAD  
NOT BEEN REPORTED AT BREZHNEV'S FUNERAL). THE INDIAN  
AND SPANISH ARE LISTED SIGNIFICANTLY HIGHER IN THE  
REPORT OF ANDROPOV'S FUNERAL THAN THEY HAD BEEN AT  
BREZHNEV'S. THE CHILEAN AND URUGUAYAN PARTIES ARE  
LISTED SIGNIFICANTLY LOWER THAN AT BREZHNEV'S FUNERAL.  
ARMANDHAMMER, PRESIDENT OF OCCIDENTAL PETROLEUM,  
WAS THE ONLY FIGURE NOT CONNECTED WITH A GOVERNMENT,  
POLITICAL PARTY, OR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION, WHOSE  
ATTENDANCE AT THE FUNERAL WAS NOTED IN THE TASS REPORT.  
THE DEPUTY GENERAL DIRECTOR OF UNESCO, SH. BAKRI,  
ATTENDED, ALTHOUGH THE UN WAS ALSO REPRESENTED BY ITS  
GENERAL DIRECTOR FOR DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL  
ECONOMIC COOPERATION, RIPERT.

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AMEMBASSY AMMAN 2480  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO 3383  
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS 2362  
USELO RIYADH 0207  
USINT BAGHDAD IMMEDIATE 1086  
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD IMMEDIATE 1888  
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10. MOSCOW'S REPORTING OF FOREIGN DELEGATIONS ATTENDING ANDROPOV'S FUNERAL CONTINUED THE BASIC PATTERN OF BREZHNEV'S (SOCIALIST ALLIES, FRATERNAL PARTIES AND STATES, OTHER STATES AND ORGANIZATIONS). THE SOCIALIST ALLIES OF THE USSR (INCLUDING YUGOSLAVIA) WERE LISTED AGAIN IN (CYRILLIC) ALPHABETICAL ORDER. AS AT BREZHNEV'S FUNERAL, CHINA WAS LISTED NEXT AS AN ADDENDUM TO THIS FIRST GROUP BUT SEPARATE FROM ANY OTHER GROUP. THE MAJOR SOVIET CLIENT STATES IN THE THIRD WORLD -- AFGHANISTAN, PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN, KAMPUCHEA, SYRIA, ANGOLA, ETHIOPIA, NICARAGUA AND MOZAMBIQUE -- RETAINED THEIR POSITIONS, ALTHOUGH BOTH ANGOLA (DOS SANTOS DID NOT COME THIS TIME) AND SYRIA (ASSAD ALSO WAS A NO-SHOW) SOMEWHAT DOWNGRADED THEIR DELEGATIONS.

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11. IN CONSOLIDATING THE FRATERNAL STATE DELEGATIONS INTO ONE LIST (AT BREZHNEV'S FUNERAL THERE WERE TWO LISTS SEPARATED BY THE FRATERNAL PARTY LISTS), THE SOVIETS ADJUSTED THE RANKING OF SOME THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES:

-- MADAGASCAR (WHICH THIS TIME SENT PRESIDENT AND FOREIGN MINISTER) AND ALGERIA (WHICH SENT THE SAME DELEGATE -- THE FLN CENTRAL COMMITTEE PERMANENT SECRETARY -- WHO HAD ATTENDED BREZHNEV'S FUNERAL) BOTH WERE LISTED SIGNIFICANTLY HIGHER.

-- THE CONGO, WHICH SENT ITS FOREIGN MINISTER THIS TIME RATHER THAN ITS PRESIDENT AS AT BREZHNEV'S FUNERAL, SLIPPED FROM THE MIDDLE ALMOST TO THE BOTTOM OF THE FRATERNAL COUNTRY LIST.

-- SIERRA LEONE, THE BOTTOM FRATERNAL COUNTRY AT BREZHNEV'S FUNERAL, DROPPED OUT OF THE GROUP THIS TIME AND WAS SIMPLY LISTED WITH THE REMAINING STATE DELEGATIONS IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER.

-- TANZANIA, THIS YEAR'S BOTTOM FRATERNAL COUNTRY, IS NEW TO THE GROUP. VICE PRESIDENT JUMBE HAD

REPRESENTED THE COUNTRY AT BREZHNEV'S FUNERAL BUT A MINISTER WITHOUT PORTFOLIO, KAWAWA, LED THE DELEGATION THIS TIME.

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AMEMBASSY CAIRO 3386  
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS 2365  
USELO RIYADH 0210  
USINT BAGHDAD IMMEDIATE 1089  
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD IMMEDIATE 1891  
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AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI IMMEDIATE 2790  
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AMEMBASSY DHAKA 0569  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0697  
AMEMBASSY ANTANANARIVO 0060  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0042  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA 0031  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0458  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE 0227  
AMEMBASSY MASERU 0028  
AMEMBASSY MBABANE 0030

12. ALL OTHER COUNTRY DELEGATIONS (INCLUDING INDIA) WERE LISTED PROPERLY IN CYRILLIC ALPHABETICAL ORDER. ("EGYPT," WHICH CAME BETWEEN AUSTRALIA AND ARGENTINA, APPARENTLY WAS TREATED AS THE ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT.)

RANKING OF CONDOLENCES

13. COMPARISON OF PRAVDA'S PLACEMENT OF CONDOLENCE MESSAGES FOR THE ANDROPOV AND BREZHNEV FUNERALS POINTS TO A FEW "WINNERS" AND "LOSERS," ALL OF THEM EASILY EXPLAINABLE.

-- USA: PRESIDENT REAGAN'S MESSAGE WAS PUBLISHED NEXT TO LAST IN PRAVDA'S SECOND DAY OF REPORTS OF CONDOLENCE MESSAGES. FOR BREZHNEV, IT HAD BEEN ITEM TEN ON DAY ONE.  
-- CHINA: CHINA EMERGED A "WINNER" AFTER A YEAR OF AMBIGUOUS STATUS UNDER ANDROPOV (WHEN CHINESE CONGRATULATORY MESSAGES FOR THE DECEMBER 1982 SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE USSR CELEBRATION AND FOR THE 1983 REVOLUTION DAY FESTIVITIES WERE PUBLISHED OUTSIDE OF THE RANKS OF "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES). FOR ANDROPOV'S FUNERAL, TREATMENT OF CHINA WAS ALMOST ON A PAR WITH THAT FOR BREZHNEV: THE CHINESE MESSAGE WAS PUBLISHED BY PRAVDA

AS THE FIRST ITEM THE SECOND DAY CONDOLENCES WERE REPORTED, AND AMONG THE RANKS OF OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. AS BEIJING HAS NOTED (BEIJING 2281), THE MESSAGE WAS CONSIDERABLY WARMER THAN THE BREZHNEV MESSAGE.

-- VIETNAM: AFTER APPEARING SOMEWHAT LATE DURING THE BREZHNEV FUNERAL (DAY THREE), VIETNAM'S MESSAGE THIS  
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TIME APPEARED IN ITS MORE NORMAL ALPHABETICAL POSITION  
(THIRD) ON DAY ONE. THIS SUGGESTS SOVIET-VIETNAMESE  
STRAINSOVER WHAT AT THE TIME OF BREZHNEV'S FUNERAL  
WERE MOSCOW'S RECENT MOVES TOWARD CHINA HAVE DISSIPATED  
IN THE INTERVENING PERIOD.

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-- SYRIA: REFLECTING SYRIA'S IMPORTANCE TO SOVIET MIDDLE  
EAST CALCULATIONS, ITS MESSAGE WAS PLACED 11TH ON THE  
FIRST DAY'S LISTING OF CONDOLENCES. IT HAD APPEARED IN  
THE SAME POSITION ON THE SECOND DAY DURING THE  
BREZHNEV FUNERAL, WHEN RELATIONS REMAINED SOMEWHAT  
STRAINED BY SYRIAN LOSSES IN THE 1982 ISRAELI INVASION  
OF LEBANON.

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5289

-- YUGOSLAVIA: A SLIGHT GAIN, WITH PARTY AND STATE  
MESSAGES PUBLISHED IN POSITIONS SEVEN AND EIGHT ON THE  
SECOND DAY. THIS COMPARES RESPECTIVELY TO POSITIONS  
THREE, DAY THREE, AND ONE, DAY FOUR, FOR THE BREZHNEV  
FUNERAL.

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AEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE 2475  
AEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE 2554  
AEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE 3697  
AEMBASSY COPENHAGEN 2441  
AEMBASSY LISBON IMMEDIATE 1691  
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AEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE 2932  
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AEMBASSY CAIRO 3387  
AEMBASSY DAMASCUS 2366  
USELO RIYADH 0211  
USINT BAGHDAD IMMEDIATE 1090  
AEMBASSY ISLAMABAD IMMEDIATE 1892  
AEMBASSY KABUL IMMEDIATE 1257  
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AEMBASSY BUJUMBURA 0043  
AEMBASSY KAMPALA 0032  
AEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM 0459  
AEMBASSY GABORONE 0228  
AEMBASSY MASERU 0029  
AEMBASSY MBABANE 0031

-- SPANISH COMMUNISTS: IN A MOVE LIKELY TO IRRITATE  
THE PCE, PRAVDA CARRIED CONDOLENCES FROM ITS NEW RIVAL  
AHEAD OF THOSE FROM THE VETERAN, EUROCOMMUNIST PARTY.  
THE NEW PARTY'S MESSAGE APPEARED IN THE FOURTH POSITION  
ON DAY THREE; THE OLD IN THIRD ON DAY FOUR.

-- PLO: NO CONDOLENCE MESSAGE FROM THE PLO HAS APPEARED SO  
FAR IN THE SOVIET PRESS. THE PLO MESSAGE ON BREZHNEV'S PASSING  
WAS PRINTED IN ELEVENTH PLACE ON DAY THREE. EVEN IF PLO CONDOLENCES  
APPEAR IN THE NEXT DAY OR TWO, WE WILL ALREADY HAVE SEEN  
A SIGNIFICANT SLIP FROM NOVEMBER 1982. HARTMAN  
BT

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