

[Translator notes are bracketed]

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Top Secret

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(Draft Minutes)

MEETING OF CC CPSU POLITBURO

July 12, 1984

Presided over by

Comrade

K.U. CHERNENKO

Attended by Comrades

G.A. Aliyev, V.I. Vorotnikov, M.S. Gorbachev, A.A. Gromyko, G.V. Romanov, N.A. Tikhonov, D.F. Ustinov, V.V. Kuznetsov, V.M. Chebrikov, Ye.K. Ligachev, N.I. Ryzhkov

1. Re: Further limitations to industrial, administrative, and public construction projects in Moscow

CHERNENKO: "The issue of limiting industrial construction projects in Moscow isn't new [on the agenda], but perhaps we should listen to what Comrade V.F. Promyslov has to say on the subject."

PROMYSLOV (Chairman of the Executive Committee, Moscow City Soviet [Council]): "As instructed by the CC CPSU Politburo, Moscow City Committee, and the Executive Committee of the Moscow City Soviet, we have prepared proposals concerning further limitations to industrial, administrative, and public construction projects in Moscow. Under the decisions of the CC CPSU and Government, a total of 715 construction projects have been allowed in Moscow, with a total area of more than 10 million square meters and a total budget of 9.5 billion rubles. We propose to reduce this number to 100 projects, the more so that the ministries and agencies concerned aren't being especially insistent on their construction. It is expected to complete the construction of 473 projects in the course of the 12th five-year plan, with a total area of some 5 million sq. meters. In addition, passing from the 12th to the 13th five-year plan, we propose another 110 projects with a total area of 2.4 million sq. meters.

"All these measures are caused by the existences of a tangible disproportion between the industrial and housing, social-cultural, and municipal construction projects in this city. The size of the population within the boundaries of the Moscow Belt Road..."

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12. Re: Head of the CPSU delegation to the 1st (Constituent) Congress of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia

GORBACHEV: "As you know, the first (constituent) congress of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia will take place this fall. It is proposed to send a Soviet party delegation led by Comrade G.V. Romanov."

CHERNENKO: "That's right."

A resolution [to this effect] is passed.

13. Re: A list of main issues slated for deliberation by the CC CPSU Politburo in the second half of 1984

CHERNENKO: "We have adopted the good tradition of adopting a list of main issues to be considered by the CC CPSU Politburo for one half of the year. The CC CPSU Secretariat has prepared this list. It includes eight issues and you have had an opportunity of familiarizing yourselves with them."

GROMYKO: "These are good proposals."

TIKHONOV: "They embrace all the key aspects of our domestic policy."

USTINOV: "This is useful practice. We could adopt the list of these issues."

POLITBURO MEMBERS concur.

Resolution is passed.

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CHERNENKO: "Apart from the agenda, I would like to inform you about some of the letters I have received. As you know, we have made a decision on one of these letters. I mean V.M. Molotov's request that his CPSU membership be reinstated. I received and spoke with V.M. Molotov. He nearly cried on learning about our decision. Molotov said this decision was his second birth. Molotov is 93 years old, but he looks spry and makes firm statements. He declared that the Politburo of the CC CPSU continues the work that has been persistently done by the party. The only bad thing, he said, is that we keep working late into the night. Molotov told me that he regularly reads the press and journals. He said, 'You're doing things right, that's why you are supported by the people.'"

USTINOV: "Such assessment on his part is important."

CHERNENKO: "Molotov said he doesn't understand people who join the opposition out of hurt feelings. He stated that he had realized his mistakes and made the necessary conclusions. After our conversation Viktor Vasilyevich Grishin handed V.M. Molotov a party membership card at the City Party Committee."

TIKHONOV: "All things considered, we made the right decision to reinstate his party membership."

CHERNENKO: "Afterward, the CC CPSU received letters from Malenkov and Kaganovich, also a letter from Shelepin in which he claims that he consistently opposed Khrushchev and states a number of requests.

"Allow me to read the letter from Kaganovich." (He reads the letter.)

"Malenkov sent a similar letter in which he recognizes his mistakes."

TIKHONOV: "Perhaps we should put these letters aside for the time being?"

CHERNENKO: "We may do nothing in conjunction with these letters at the moment and agree getting back to them after the 27th congress of our party."

USTINOV: "My opinion is that we should reinstate Malenkov and Kaganovich's party membership. After all, they were statesmen, leaders. Let me put it straight: but for Khrushchev, there would have been no decision to expel these people from the party. There would have been no outrageous attitude to Stalin as practiced by Khrushchev. After all has been said and done, Stalin is our history. No enemy has done as much harm as did Khrushchev with his policy concerning the past of our party and state, and concerning Stalin."

GROMYKO: "I think the two should be reinstated. Both were members of the leadership of the party and state and spent years being in charge of certain sectors. I doubt that these people were unworthy [of their posts]. For Khrushchev the main task was solving the *cadre* problem, rather than exposing mistakes made by separate individuals."

TIKHONOV: "How about returning to this matter at the end of the year or the beginning of the next year?"

CHEBRIKOV: "I would like to inform you that Western radio stations have long been broadcasting the news about the reinstatement of Molotov's party membership. They claim that even now the working people and party members in our country know nothing about this. Perhaps we should announce Molotov's reinstatement in the Information Bulletin of the CC CPSU?"

"With regard to Malenkov and Kaganovich's reinstatement, I would like you to give us time to prepare a memo on the instructions the two wrote on the lists of names subject to repressions. In case they are reinstated, one ought to expect quite an influx of letters from those rehabilitated in the 1950s. Of course, they will be opposed to their — and especially Kaganovich's — reinstatement as party members. We have to be prepared for this. I think that the CC CPSU Politburo ought to have this memo when making the final decision."

TIKHONOV: "Indeed, but for Khrushchev, they wouldn't have been expelled from the party. He soiled and discredited our policy in the eyes of the whole world."

CHEBRIKOV: "Besides, a number of persons were unlawfully rehabilitated under Khrushchev, because they had been meted well-deserved punishments. Solzhenitsyn is a good example."

GORBACHEV: "I think we could do without announcing Molotov's reinstatement in the Information Bulletin of the CC CPSU. The Department of Party Organizational Work could notify the regional and district party committees.

"As for Malenkov and Kaganovich, I would support their reinstatement. Also, I wouldn't associate the time of reinstatement with the forthcoming congress of the party."

ROMANOV: "Right, these are old people, they might not live to see it."

USTINOV: "I am firmly resolved in my assessment of Khrushchev's activities. He has done a lot of harm. Just think of what he has done to our history, to Stalin."

GROMYKO: "He has done irreparable damage to the Soviet Union's positive international image."

USTINOV: "It is common knowledge that the West has never liked us, but then Khrushchev let them have arguments and material that will keep us discredited for years to come."

GROMYKO: "In fact, that was what brought forth the so-called Eurocommunism."

TIKHONOV: "And what he did to our economy! I used to work at a *sovnarkhoz* [regional economic council]."

GORBACHEV: "And what he did to the party by dividing it into industrial and agricultural party organizations!"

USTINOV: "We were always against the *sovnarkhozes* and you will recall that a number of Politburo members took the same stand.

In conjunction with the 40th anniversary of Victory over fascism, I would suggest discussing yet another issue, namely changing Volgograd back to Stalingrad. Millions of people would receive this well. Anyway, this is food for thought."

GORBACHEV: "This proposal has its pluses and minuses."

TIKHONOV: "Recently they released a very good documentary entitled *Marshal Zhukov*. It offers a sufficiently positive portrayal of Stalin."

CHERNENKO: "I watched it. A good film."

USTINOV: "I'll make sure to watch it."

CHERNENKO: "Talking of Shelepin's letter, he asks for an allowance on the level of a former Politburo member."

USTINOV: "I think he got enough when retired. He shouldn't have raised the matter in the first place."

CHERNENKO: "I believe we will confine ourselves to exchanging opinions on all these matters for now, but you all realize that we'll have to get back to them."

TIKHONOV: "Konstantin Ustinovich, we wish you a pleasant vacation."

CHERNENKO: "Thank you."

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