

[Translator's note: questionable points are marked in red; there are also bracketed comments/explanations]

*Workers of all countries, unite!*

CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

TOP SECRET

[Reg. No. illegible]

Protocol [i.e., Minutes] No. 111 §11c of a Meeting of the CC Secretariat of 15.II. 1965 [i.e., 02.15.65]

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On Measures Aimed At Providing Ideological Aid to the Party of Sudanese Union of the Republic of Mali

1. [It is hereby resolved to] grant the request of the National Politburo of the Party of Sudanese Union in regard to the gratuitous construction of the Higher Party School in Bamako [with a student body and teaching staff totaling] 300/

The State Committee on Foreign Economic Contacts under the auspices of the Council of Ministers of the USSR shall be instructed to negotiate the said HPS construction project with the Mali officials, jointly with the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and Gosmontazhsptestroi [acronym for State Committee on Special Assembly and Construction] of the USSR, with an eye to Nov. 1, 1966, as the deadline thereof, and, upon reaching understanding, to sign a pertinent agreement. The said agreement shall provide for a conference hall seating 350-400, [office] furniture, other equipment/facilities to secure an adequate teaching process, and the construction of a dorm for 300 students and a canteen seating 100.

The Rector's Office of the Higher Party School under the aegis of the CC CPSU shall be tasked with assisting the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Education of the USSR in working out the HPS construction, as well as in arrangements for the schooling process at the said School,

Expenses involved in HPS construction and equipment, also in the dispatching of Soviet specialists to Mali to deal with matters relating to the HPS construction project and organization of the schooling process shall be referred to the USSR Budget's expense items relating to gratuitous aid to foreign countries.

2. The Rector's Office of the CC CPSU Higher School shall arrange for 12 Sudanese Union party functionaries to undergo a six-month training course.

3. Sudanese Union's local organizations shall be supplied with six PAK-51 motor clubs [most likely truck-mounted movie projectors with loudspeakers and screen — Transl.] as a gift from the CC CPSU, the said clubs being stocked with Soviet documentaries and motion pictures; the National Politburo shall be supplied with

15 tons of print shop paper and sets of printing type for the print shop of the newspaper [title illegible]

[It has been further resolved to] adopt the draft resolution of the Council of Ministers of the USSR on this issue (enclosed herewith).

The expenses involved in the production and supply to Mali of the motor clubs, copies of films, printing paper and printing type shall be referred to CM USSR reserve budget expense items.

4. The news agencies Novosti (Comrade Burkov) and TASS (Comrade Goryunov) shall be tasked with taking decisive measures aimed at improving the quality of the material being sent to Mali and other African countries, with special emphasis on material meant for the African reading audience, demonstrating the experience of socialist construction in the USSR, along with articles, commentaries, and information items reflecting events and process in African countries.

5. The State Committee on Cinematography under the aegis of the Council of Ministers of the USSR shall be tasked with the production, in 1965, of a documentary reflecting the socioeconomic transformations in Mali and the Soviet Union's aid to this republic, with an eye to the screening [of copies of this documentary] in [other] African countries.

6. The request of the leadership of the Party of Sudanese Union, concerning the payment of expenses involved in the shipment, from the ports of Dakar and Abidjan to Makabo, of 29 motor vehicles, three motorboats as a gift from the CC CPSU to the Sudanese Union, along with the required maintenance disbursements, totaling up to 10,000 foreign currency rubles, shall be referred to the Cash Department of the State Bank of the USSR.

7. The Ministry of Communications of the USSR (Comrade Psurtsev), jointly with the CM USSR State Committee on Foreign Economic Contacts (Comrade Skachkov) and the CM USSR State Committee on Radio and Television (Comrade Mesiatsev), shall be tasked with studying the possibility of upgrading our technical means of beaming our programs on African countries, including the construction of a relay facility in one such country, and with submitting pertinent proposals to the CC CPSU within three months.

8. The International and Ideology Departments of the CC CPSU shall within two months resolve the issue of publishing a journal in the Soviet Union whose material will be meant for African reading audiences, and submit pertinent proposals to CC CPSU.

9. The editorial office of *Pravda* and the CM USSR State Committee on Radio and Television shall consider the possibility of establishing this newspaper's office in Bamako, along with the dispatching of a permanent Moscow Radio correspondent to the Republic of Mali, and submit pertinent proposals to CC CPSU.

10. The Soviet Association of Societies for Friendship and Cultural Contacts with Foreign Countries shall add to table of organization the post of SASFCC's

representative to the Republic of Mali, envisaging an expansion of the SASFCC apparatus by one official.

11. The Executive Committee of the All-Union Association of Soviet Trade Unions (VTsPS), the Central Committee of the Soviet Young Communist [Komsomol] League (VLKSM), Soviet Women's Committee, Soviet Committee on Solidarity with Asian and African Countries shall study the issue of additional measures aimed at expanding their activities in Mali and other African countries.

[Signed]

CC Secretary

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Copies forwarded to Comrades Ponomarenko, Ilyichev, Gromyko, Skachkov, Edyutin, Mitronov, Gabuzov, Smirtiukhov, Burkhov, Goriukov, Romanov, Poskonov, Psurtsev, Popova, Grishin, Pavlov, Popova, Tursun-Zade, Yakuborsky, Panoshchin [handwritten addition:] "Comrade Pigayev, 06.14.65"

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Addendum to P[rotocol] 11C. §111

Draft

## RESOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE USSR

### On Supplies of Motor Clubs, Films, Printing Paper and Type to the Republic of Mali

The Council of Ministers of the USSR hereby decrees:

1. The Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR shall task the Council of National Economy of the Latvian SSR with instructing the Liepaja Machine-building Works to secure the manufacture of 5 PAK-51 motor clubs and having them ready, duly packaged, for shipment to tropical areas, before June 1, 1965.
2. The Council of National Economy [CNE] of the USSR shall supply the Council of National Economy of the Latvian SSR with 6 GAZ-51 motor vehicles, manufactured and packaged, along with sets of spare parts and tires per vehicle, with an eye to shipment to tropical countries, before April 1, 1965.
3. The Chief Directorate for Interrepublican Defense and Radio Technology Equipment Supplies at CNE USSR shall supply the CNE of the Latvian SSR with six TU-100 radio broadcasting devices, packaged for shipment abroad, not later than April 1, 1965.
4. The CM USSR Committee on Cinematography shall supply the CNE of the Latvian SSR with six KN-11 roll-film mobile [truck-mounted] projectors, not later than April 1, 1965.
5. The CM USSR Committee on Cinematography, in coordination with the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the USSR, shall dispatch a Soviet projectionist to

Mali, in the second half of the year 1965, to aid the exploitation of these mobile cinemas for a term of up to two months.

6. The Ministry of Foreign Trade of the USSR shall be tasked with the supplying to the Republic of Mali of 15 tons of Grade No. 2 printing paper before April 1, 1965, with all disbursements referred to [the budget's] exports expense items.

7. Moscow City Council on National Economy, in keeping with orders from the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the USSR, shall secure the manufacture, at the Type Foundry of Moscow, and shipment of printing type, packaged for shipment to tropic countries, fit to be used by a local print shop, not later than May 15, 1965.

8. The Ministry of Foreign Trade of the USSR shall supply to the Republic of Mali **5 PAK-51** motor clubs [mobile cinemas] and printing type, packaged for shipment to tropical countries, before July 1, 1965.

9. The CM USSR Committee on Cinematography shall be tasked with the making of 15 Soviet historical-revolutionary motion pictures and documentaries dubbed in French (six copies of each), and sending them to the Republic of Mali.

10. All expenses involved in the production and shipment, to the Republic of Mali, of motor clubs [mobile cinemas], printing paper, printing type, and copies of the films shall be referred to the reserve budget of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

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Supplement to Resolution [No. ...] of the Council of Ministers of the USSR

LIST OF PRINTING TYPE (FRENCH) FOR THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF

[newspaper title illegible; also the printing type used at the time had to be somehow explained in terms of modern computer fonts — something like trying to explain the difference between a vintage Ford model, kept the way it was back in the 1930s, and one of those 2010 Ferrari daredevils]

Part/unit No.	Designation	Amount [Weight]
	New printing type	
KG1 [Font #1]	TTF light	
	Font 6	30 kg
	Font 8	75 kg
	Font 10	75 kg
KG3	TTF bold	
	Font 8	15 kg
	Font 10	18 kg
	Square font	

BG43	narrow bold	
	Font 16	24 kg
	Font 20	30 kg
	Font 28	36 kg
	Font 36	42 kg
	Blanks/Quads	
1. Space	Fonts 6, 8,10, 12, 16, 20	120 kg
2. Quad	1/2, 3/4, 1.0 [using] Fonts 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 16	105 kg
3. Leads	Fonts 2 and 4	30 kg
4. Clumps	Fonts 6, 8, 10, 12	70 kg
5. Babashka [ <b>bastard fonts</b> ]	Fonts 24... [illegible] 48	33 kg
6. Rules	ditto	30 kg
7. <b>Ornamented cliches</b>	ditto	20 kg
8. <b>Threaded leads</b>	Fonts 2, 3, 4)	72 kg
		Total: 825 kg

[The following page marked] 50ab/tk/es/St-625

TOP SECRET [followed by a stamp, most of which is illegible, except these figures: 0484]

Attention: CC CPSU

In the course of conversations with [members] of the Delegation of the CPSU, Modibo Keita and other key functionaries of Mali expressed their desire to uphold contacts and cooperation with the CPSU, stressing the importance of the Soviet Union and CPSU's support in solving problems relating to the building up of socialism in Mali. The leadership of the Sudanese Union is eager to put the CPSU experience to the best use [in their country]. Among the local party activists there is a noticeable desire to study Marxist-Leninist theory at greater length, relying on literary sources originating from the Soviet Union.

During the visit of the CPSU Delegation to Mali, the National Politburo of the Sudanese Union Party approached [the CPSU delegation's] members with a number of requests concerning political and ideological aid to the said party on the part of the CPSU. The Department of International Affairs, CC CPSU, believes the said requests should be granted, along with taking a number of measures aimed at upgrading our propaganda in Mali.

[Such measures] have been coordinated with CM USSR State Committee on Foreign Economic [Trade] Contacts ([namely] Comrade Arosipov), State Committee on Cinematography (Comrade Romanov), Ministry of Communications of the USSR (Comrade Psurtsev), Council for National Economy of the USSR (Comrade Martynov), Ministry of Foreign Trade of the USSR (Comrade Borisov), Moscow City *Sovnarkhoz* [acronym for Council on National Economy] (Comrade Doyenin), and Ministry of Finance of the USSR (Comrade Garbuzov).

Draft CC CPSU Resolution is attached hereto.

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Feb. 8, 1965

.... No. 25-C-262

3kk [illegible, then handwritten]  $\frac{626}{10.2.[19]65}$  [i.e., registration No. 626, dated 02.10.65]

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[illegible]

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Logo: SOVIET NATIONAL EMBLEM

SECTOR TWO

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE USSR

DIRECTIVE # [illegible]

25 February, 1965

Kremlin, Moscow

1. The Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR shall secure the manufacture, at the Lietuva Machine-Building Works, and shipment, in tropical packaging thence, of [illegible] PAK-51 motor clubs to the Republic of Mali as per directives and invoices of the Ministry of Foreign Trade [of the USSR], before June 1, 1965.
2. The Council on National Economy of the USSR shall supply the CNE of the Latvian SSR, before April 1, 1965, with 6 GAZ-51 trucks (tropical models), each complete with extra spare parts and tires.
3. The Chief Directorate for Inter-Republican Defense and Radio Technology Supplies under the auspices of the Council on National Economy of the USSR, shall supply the CNE of the Latvian SSR with 6 tropical versions of TU-100 radio broadcasting devices before April 1, 1965.
4. USSR CM State Committee on Cinematography shall, before April 1, 1965, supply the CNE of the Latvian SSR with 6 KN-11 roll-film mobile [truck-mounted] projectors adjusted for operation in a tropical environment.

5. USSR CM State Committee on Cinematography, in coordination with the Ministry of Foreign Trade, shall, in the second half of the year 1965, dispatch one [duly trained] projectionist to the Republic of Mali for a stay of up to two months, in order to assist with the exploitation of the mobile motor clubs [i.e., mobile cinemas]/
6. The Ministry of Foreign Trade shall supply 15 tons of printing paper — Grade 7 — to the Republic of Mali before April 1, 1965, at the expense of [of the central budget's] export expense items.
7. Moscow City Sovnarkhoz shall, before May 15, 1965, secure the manufacture of French typefaces at the Type Foundry of Moscow, and shipment thereof, packaged to endure tropical conditions, as per addendum.
8. The Ministry of Foreign Trade [of the USSR], before July 1, 1965, shall supply 6 PAK 51 [mobile cinemas] and typefaces.
9. USSR CM State Committee on Cinematography shall produce and supply to the Republic of Mali the French versions of 15 Soviet historical-revolutionary motion pictures and documentaries (six copies of each).
10. Expenses involved in the production and shipment of the said motor clubs [mobile cinemas], printing paper, typefaces, and copies of films shall be referred the reserve expense items of budget of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

SEAL

SIGNED

A. Kosygin,

Chairman, Council of Ministers of the USSR

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CONFIDENTIAL

ADDENDUM

Directive #333-pc, Council of Ministers of the USSR, 25 February, 1965

[What follows is a list of typefaces as provided above, except that it is signed and sealed by M. Smirnyukov, head of the USSR CM General Services Department]

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[The following page bears signatures by ranking apparatchiks at the top; none can be identified — Transl.]

ATTENTION: CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU

As per CC CPSU Resolution (CTII/II [illegible] ), dated .... February of this year, the International and Ideology Departments of the CC of the CPSU were tasked with considering the possibility of starting a journal in the Soviet Union, meant for African readers, and submitting [pertinent] proposals to the CC CPSU.

The CC CPSU by its Resolution (CT 122/78-gs), of July 2 of this year, adopted the proposal of the Committee for State Security [KGB] under the Council of Ministers of the USSR to establish a Society of African Brotherhood with the central office in Lagos (Nigeria), in order to carry out anti-colonial and anti-imperialistic projects. Among the envisaged projects is the issuance of a journal meant for African leaders. The Committee for State Security under the Council of Ministers of the USSR has been provided with funds required for the carrying out of the said projects.

At present, the Committee for State Security is making arrangements for the issuance of the said journal.

The International and the Propaganda Department of the CC CPSU regards [the idea of] issuing the second journal in the USSR, meant to be promulgated in Africa, as inexpedient. In addition, its publication in Africa will require remarkably lower expenses and will make its distribution easier. In view of this the issue of publication, in the USSR, a magazine meant for African readers should be removed from the agenda.

We request your consent

[Handwritten in the left margin: "Archives. 10.28.65. A. Belikov."]

[Signed]

V. Korionov,	A. Yakovlev,
Deputy Head of the	Deputy Head of the
International Department,	Propaganda Department,
CC CPSU	CC CPSU

October 8, 1965

[illegible] 25-C-1999

[Handwritten]

"We have familiarized ourselves with these documents of the Secretariat. These documents can be transferred to the Archives."

[Signed illegibly] "Deputy Head of the Secretariat. 27-X [i.e., October 27]"

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ATTENTION: CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU

As per CC CPSU Instruction of February 15 of this year, the Ministry of Communications of the USSR, the State Committee on Radio and Television and the State Committee on Foreign Economic Contacts under the auspices of the

Council of Ministers [of the USSR] have forwarded a memorandum to the CC CPSU, concerning measures aimed at enhancing broadcasts to African countries.

The CC CPSU Resolution of October 14 of this year (#P217/20) "On Measures to Enhance Broadcasts to Asian, African, and Latin American Countries" has tasked the Gosplan [State Planning Committee] of the USSR, Gosstroi [State Committee on Construction] of the USSR, Ministry of Communications of the USSR, Ministry of Radio Industry of the USSR, Ministry of Electronic Industry of the USSR, and the State Committee on Radio and Television under the auspices of the Council of Ministers of the USSR shall submit, within two weeks, proposals to the CC CPSU, concerning the construction, over the shortest possible period of time, of three powerful radio centers [stations] on the territory of the USSR to secure reliable Soviet broadcasts to Asian, African, and Latin American countries.

Considering that the said Resolution envisages a solution to the problem stated in the memorandum of Comrades Psurtsev, Mesiatsev, and Skachkov, we believe it expedient to refrain from the proposal contained in the said memorandum as a separate point on the agenda.

We request your consent.

[Illegible signatures in the left margin]

[Signed]

A. Beliakov,	A. Yegorov,
Deputy Head of the International Department, CC CPSU	Deputy Head of the Propaganda Department, CC CPSU

[Handwritten:] "To be transferred to the Archives," signed " V. Korionov, Deputy Head of the International Department, CC CPSU," dated "October 21, 1965, {Registration number} 25-C-2081. {Handwritten date:} 11.26.65/4tk." Another barely legible handwritten memo, possibly meaning: "Apropos of CC CPSU consent in regard to Memorandum addressed there, namely to Comrades Psurtsev, Mesiatsev, and Yegorov [IN WITNESS WHEREOF] Secretary of the International Department, CC CPSU [illegible signature and date, smth like 11.19.65, the rest is indecipherable].

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TOP SECRET

Single copy

Sector 2, 20055

[Attention:] CC CPSU

As per CC CPSU Presidium's Directive of Feb. 1, 1965, re: measures to enhance broadcasts to the African countries, the Ministry of Communications of the USSR,

State Committee on Radio and Television, State Committee on Foreign Economic Contacts under the auspices of the Council of Ministers of the USSR have the following to report:

Broadcasts to African countries are being carried out for 19.5 out of every 24 hours, in 13 languages (Amharic, Arabic, English, Bambara, Zulu, Italian... [illegible, possibly Jalala — Transl.], Malagasy, Portuguese, Somali, Swahili, French, and Hausa).

The broadcasts will be effected using eleven 50 kW, twelve 100-120 kW, and two 500 kW transmitters, beamed in four directions: Eastern African countries (Ethiopia, Somali, Kenya, Tanzania), Central and South Africa (Congo, the Republic of South Africa, Mozambique, Angola, Zambia, Malawi, Rhodesia), West African countries (Mali, Ghana, Guinea, Togo, Dahomey, Senegal, and Northeast African countries (Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco).

Soviet Radio sees its task in actively influencing public opinion in these African countries, allowing for their historical and sociopolitical conditions, by propagandizing the political course of the Communist Party and Government of the Soviet Union, explaining the main principles of Marxist-Leninist theory, popularizing the advantages of non-capitalist development, considering African specifics, elucidating the Soviet Union's effective support of the national liberation struggle being waged by the African peoples, along with the USSR's aid to the assertion of newly established independent African states.

Relying on the data at our disposal, our broadcasts to the East and North African countries are received on an adequate basis, while being unstable in the West of Africa, with no regular data concerning the quality of such broadcasts from South and Central African countries. Relying on a small number of letters received from our listeners, it is possible to assume that the quality of our broadcasts is also unstable there. This situation is explained by the lack of powerful transmitters with highly effective targeted antennas. Most of the available transmitters fail to provide broadcasts strong enough to be steadily received middle-to-lowest-class radios that are most widespread in Africa.

Meanwhile, the USA, UK, France, Portugal, and Spain have their broadcasts received loud and clear in Africa, by using relays that transmitted, as a rule, by local African stations.

In keeping with Resolution [number illegible], of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, of Feb. 12, 1964, and that of CC CPSU and CM USSR (#584-244, dated June 25, 1964, there will be new powerful, mostly short-frequency radio centers [transmitters] build in the Soviet Union, in the vicinity of the cities of Yerevan (2×500 kW and 4×100 kW), Dushanbe (1×500 kW), Krasnodar (2×500 kW and 8×100 kW), Lvov [Lviv] (1×500 kW), Nikolayev [Mykolaiv] (2×500 kW).

These radio centers will be equipped with highly effective antennas targeted on a number of African countries.

These measures will enhance [upgrade] Soviet broadcasts to African countries, but will not secure adequate hearing thereof in the south and west of the continent. In addition, owing to the remoteness of the Soviet transmitters, it is impossible to secure medium- and short-frequency broadcasts in the tropical environs, whereas these bandwidths are being extensively used by African radio stations.

It appears expedient to build relay stations to secure adequate reception [of Soviet broadcasts] in Africa, along with the construction of an additional number of radio stations in the Soviet Union. Allowing for the historical situation in Africa and technical expediency, it seems necessary to build a short-wave relay station (two compact 100 kW transmitters) in Algiers to help [Soviet] broadcasts to Central and Southwest African countries, along with a powerful medium-wave radio station in the Republic of Mali to relay our broadcasts to the neighboring countries. In view of the need to provide ideological aid to these friendly developing countries, such radio stations could be supplied to aid the local networks in Algeria and Mali, within certain timeframes.

It is necessary to build another six to seven 500 kW transmitters with highly effective targeted antennas in the Soviet Union to secure good reception of our broadcasts in the South, East, and Central African countries.

It is necessary to build a special radio station in the USSR, made up of several 200 kW single short band transmitters to send broadcasts to the relay stations in Africa (Mali and Algeria), along with two receiving stations in the said countries.

Tentative cost estimates with regard to the construction of relay stations in Africa and transmitters in the USSR point to 40-45 million rubles.

In view of everything stated above, we request that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in collaboration with the Ministry of Communications of the USSR, State Committees on Radio and Television and Foreign Economic Contacts under the auspices of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, negotiate the construction of relay stations with the governments of both aforementioned countries, and that the Gosplan be instructed to provide budget appropriations for the construction of radio stations, in the USSR and other countries, equipped to broadcast to Africa.

[SIGNED]

**N.** Psurtsev (with remarks), N. Mesiatsev, S. Skachkov (with remarks on the reverse side)

No. 339 c/05.02.65

[Handwritten] "\*In Algiers it is necessary to build a [radio] station made up of two 500 kW and two 100 kW transmitters, with an eye to broadcasting to American and African countries..."