

## **Weakening of the Censorship of the Soviet Power Structures**

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**Abstract:** This study focuses on the domestic influence of the American media, particularly the Voice of America (USSR), on the collapse of the Soviet Union. In it, the propaganda and propaganda work of the American mass media aimed at overthrowing the communist regime in the Soviet Union, and the determined efforts made in this way; The rise and fall of censorship by Soviet power structures; explores the organization's key role in protecting the Soviet establishment from the influence of the US media.

**Keywords:** Berlin Wall, Reconstruction, Disclosure, Bourgeoisie, Communism, Communist Party, Cold War, Dahanaki Battle, Poster Communism, American Imperialism, Martin Luther King.

Helmut Kohl, the former chancellor of the GDR, was openly surprised by the simplicity and short-sightedness of Gorbachev's policies in an interview with a writer hired to edit his memoirs before his death. According to the words of the former chancellor, it would be enough for him to "play with his muscles" to prevent the irreversible changes that happened today for our country in Europe. But such a game did not correspond to the desire to look good to others. Therefore, the direction of self-destruction continued.

Another area that created this paradox is Gorbachev's technology policy.<sup>1</sup> In 1985, he criticized Stalin's heavy industrial policy and declared that his economic development policy was aimed at promoting high technology and foreign trade. But to do this effectively, he needed power over the media. In the early 1980s, he was able to convince the majority of the population, as well as the Communist Party, to support his "Openness" ideals. In his first speech in 1985, he began by reprinting articles on the need for Soviet power structures to focus on science and scientific progress to aid their reconstruction policies. He also directed budget funds allocated for Soviet power structures to research on microelectronics, computer technologies, and the production of tools and devices.<sup>2</sup> Abandoned and unfinished projects during the time of L.I. Brezhnev came under severe criticism. In addition, at the XXVII Congress of the Communist Party held in February 1986, he "increased the heated debate about whether the achievements of capitalism have left communism behind in the development of robotics and computer technology."<sup>3</sup> Gorbachev cited the development of Western technology and mass media to support his point. This meant to him that media monitoring is important in foreign policy. In his speeches and

<sup>1</sup>М.С.Горбачев, Ускорение восстановления экономики (Accelerate economic recovery). Pravda 1990 January 30. P, 1-3

<sup>2</sup>TACC, Перестройка: нам нужно чем заняться (Perestroika: we need things to do). Pravda 1990 February 21. P, 2.

<sup>3</sup>Е.Кулапин, Границы плюрализма (The boundaries of pluralism). Pravda 1990, February 21.P, 4.

interviews with journalists, he regularly expressed a positive opinion about the reality of the West.<sup>4</sup>

Gorbachev also emphasized the importance of "Openness" as a bridge between the West and the Soviet Union. His criticism of the backwardness of Soviet society and his emphasis on the need to transform the social economy gave rise to two separate media policies in the late 1980s. That is, on the one hand, they tried to censor journalists who criticized. And Gorbachev's relentless criticism allowed the media to quote him to criticize the system. In February 1990, Gorbachev's paradoxical policy became evident in an interview published in *Pravda*, which appeared not only on the front page of *Pravda*, but also on the pages of other newspapers.<sup>5</sup>

In it, Gorbachev officially accepted the protests across the Union as a reaction to the "Openness". He welcomed much of this criticism, but on the other hand, other publications unrelated to him tried to minimize such criticism. Apparently, the only critic of the USSR should have been Gorbachev.

Thus, after the "Revelation", Gorbachev's political influence began to decline, and censorship had to be strengthened to reverse this trend. "Speak your mind without fear, and you will not be punished,"<sup>6</sup> Gorbachev said at a 1987 conference of Communist Youth Union (Komsomolskaya Molodyoj) youth. These young people then responded with various articles and ideas. But while his goal of promoting transparency had a huge impact on the general public and set an example for everyone, he felt that his actions had become too dangerous.

Gorbachev indirectly shared his fears in a question-and-answer session with Sergey Tarasov and Fyodor Gruzgov. "What were the expected results before the reconstruction was completed?" Gorbachev answered enigmatically: "The October Revolution, World War II, Stalin's terror, and the Cold War will be remembered as historical events." People live in a world where capitalism and socialism are combined. This period is called "History zigzag"<sup>7</sup> Gorbachev also hinted at a post-restructuring strategy in mind.

According to Scott Shane, the Russian media has been completely censored since the mid-1990s. As before 1985, even the most basic information was censored.<sup>8</sup> In other words, the loosening of Soviet power structure regulations, the growth of cable channels, and the rapid proliferation of US and Western media on the black market—all of this happened. In the late 1980s, the chance was that Gorbachev's "Openness" and "Restructuring" were not to transform socialism, but to renew it. In addition, after the collapse of the USSR in August 1991, mass media in most of the former Soviet republics returned to strict state control. This is despite the fact that before the collapse of the Soviet Union, the mass media tried to protect their activities from the influence of the government. It was an indication that Gorbachev's short-term media regulation policy had no long-term effect.

In the 20th century, the world was divided into two poles - the Western and the Eastern. There are a number of specific reasons for this. Ideological, religious and many other factors can be cited as reasons for this. However, the main reason for this is that by the end of the 20th century, the world was almost occupied by the ruling countries. All continents were divided. After this process was completed, the redistribution of the occupied land was started. He subjugated

<sup>4</sup>Отвечает М.С. Горбачев на вопросы корреспондента "Правды". Наш идеал – гуманный демократический социализм. [Answers M. S. Gorbachev to questions from a *Pravda* correspondent. Our ideal is humane democratic socialism], "Pravda", February 21, 1990, pp. 1-6.

<sup>5</sup>Отвечает М.С. Горбачев на вопросы корреспондента "Правды". Наш идеал – гуманный демократический социализм. [Answers M. S. Gorbachev to questions from a *Pravda* correspondent. Our ideal is humane democratic socialism], "Pravda", February 21, 1990, pp. 1-6.

<sup>6</sup>Речь Горбачева на съезде комсомола в 1987 году: "Молодежная творческая сила революции ционного обновления". (Youth-Creative Force of Revolutionary Renewal), brochure containing text of the speech of April 16, 1987, Moscow: Politizdat 1987, pp.18-19.

<sup>7</sup>Shane 1994, pp. 9-43.

<sup>8</sup>Shane 1994, pp. 112-145.

Europe, the African continent, and the countries of the Middle and Middle East. And Russia has occupied Central Asia, the Caucasus, and even the Far East.

At the beginning of the 19th century, the Russian Empire covered the lands from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean under its influence. This process continued until the 1860s. Its total land area has increased from 16 million km<sup>2</sup> to 18.8 million km<sup>2</sup>. In 1867, after selling the Aleutian Islands in the territory of Alaska and California to the USA (1.5 million km<sup>2</sup> in total), Russia left the American continent. By the end of the 19th century, the total land area of Russia reached 22.4 million km<sup>2</sup> (16.8% of which is land area), so 80.3% of it was land in Asia. By that time, the Russian Empire occupied the second place in the world (after Great Britain) in terms of land area (31.9 million km<sup>2</sup>).

It was not easy to dominate this huge field. There were times when it reached an extremely high economic peak. However, under these lights, there were also protests. Stepan Razin, Yermak uprisings, Decembrist uprising in 1825 took place in the history against the tsarist government. At the beginning of the 20th century, the ideas of Marxism entered this region. It is an end to the exploitation of man by man, to the principles of common property, completely equal to the principles of stratification, against classism, to all equality, to the equal distribution of labor and the product of labor to all based on the idea of communism. Do you think the capitalists will like this idea? This idea was completely against the interests of the representatives of world imperialism.

Marx's idea of communism was celebrated in Russia after the October Revolution. Power passed into the hands of worker-peasant soviets. Literature, art, and culture were purged of bourgeois elements. Private property was abolished and turned into common, that is, state property. A policy of collectivization was carried out. So, a new, socialist system was established in a large country. At first, the Bolsheviks proposed the idea of transplanting the revolution. For this purpose, they called upon the suffering, struggling strata of all countries to unite: "Proletarians of the whole world, unite!" - the slogan was thrown in the middle. Spreading the idea of communism to other countries, forming the initial cells of the communist party, and establishing close relations with them.

The Communist Party had its organizations in America, China, Singapore... in fact, in all countries. (In China, Mao Xi was the leader of the party in America, Angela Davis, in Bulgaria, Dmitriyev, etc. are famous) Only in China, this party is still at the top of the state.

As much as the Soviets were in favor of spreading the idea of communism, the imperialists mobilized all their efforts to uproot it from the face of the earth. From this period, a new phase of the struggle between two opposing systems began. The mechanisms of destroying each other were activated. This was particularly useful to the imperialists. The desire to conquer new lands, live a prosperous life at the expense of dependent countries and oppressed peoples became possible to express as a struggle against communists and a campaign aimed at destroying the idea of communism.

They were afraid that Russia, the victor of the Second World War, would quickly recover and gain power. Although they fought together against Hitler, they were worried that "If we run away from the rain and don't get caught in the hail..."

After the Second World War, at a meeting with college students in the American state of Missouri, U. Churchill called the USSR a "hotbed of evil". He said that an "iron curtain" fell between the countries that were allies in the great war. This was the first phase of the "cold war" process, which lasted for many years.

I don't know how well the term "Cold War" fits its name, but I would like to present it to the Uzbek customers in the style of "Dahanaki jang". After all, this war is a struggle in the information field. Publishers, cameras, radio reporters - all of these served as cannons, and words and sentences flew like bullets. Anti-aircraft defense equipment served as anti-aircraft defense

equipment. We know that there are two sides to everything. We often use the proverb that wood has two ends. Basharti, when analyzing the existence of two opposite poles and the struggle between the two, while facing its negative aspects, its positive aspects are also visible. For example, both countries followed each other secretly sometimes, and openly when the time came.

All areas were not overlooked. If someone noticed a mistake in someone else's linen or a defect in some area, he would spread it to the world by beating a drum. In a word, they followed one of the main principles of democratic principles - the principle of mutual restraint. This required constant attention to the country's life and people's lifestyle. Both systems were trying to work flawlessly and not make mistakes. They tried to hide the bad and exaggerate the good. Phrases such as "Poster Communism" and "The Original Person of American Imperialism" are the product of the rivalries of the time.

The West and Europe were in an offensive position during the Cold War, and the USSR was in a defensive position in the information field. One of them broadcasted in about thirty languages, while the other tried to block his path and distract him from the attention of the people. So what are the negative aspects?

Both the West and Europe, as well as the USSR, tried to artificially hide their existing problems. If anything was working, he would be happy. For example, in America, until 1965, the honor and dignity of a person was trampled at every step. Only white people were considered human. Other nationalities, especially black people, had no place in society. The activity and tragic death of Martin Luther King, who appeared as a defender of the rights and rights of black citizens, is a clear confirmation of this. The issue of the rights of the black people became a sensation due to an incident that happened on December 1, 1955.

Rosa Parks, a 42-year-old seamstress working in a department store in Montgomery, Alabama, was arrested by the police and fined. The reason is that there was no room for a white person on the public bus. At that time, black people had to give way to white people, even if they were younger than themselves, and this was stipulated in local laws. After this event, Ed Nixon called for all blacks to go on strike. This movement is led by the Rev. Martin Luther King. Thanks to his persistence, the boycott - called "March for Rights" - will last 381 days. "Voice of America" did not speak about events like this, which brought a huge financial loss to the automobile company and caused a number of protests in the society...

America, which has made a profession of talking about human rights and giving guidance to other countries in the world, and which has been using force to lower its boots on the governments that do not have a tendency to democracy, is still dealing with this issue. z has not found a solution.

The Soviet system was not free from such mistakes. The planning activity carried out at the government level, taking into account the interests and problems of all regions of the country, was not fully consistent with the requirements of uniform development. It is possible to dwell on this issue for a long time, but I would like to briefly dwell on one issue that is equally clear to everyone. That's why it clarifies many things. Look, despite the fact that the Republic of Uzbekistan is the main supplier of raw materials in the field of oil and gas, while gas supplies Europe with blue fire through the Drujba - Dostlik pipeline, the Uzbek people are burning firewood in rural areas. Many people know that the saying "I am an Uzbek who turned on the gas and turned on the stove" was popular among the people. "Voice of America" had regular reports about it.

The "cold war" between the two hegemonic countries, the continuous informational attacks against each other, not only in the form of small battles, but also caused situations that could turn into a formal war. For example, in 1956, Soviet troops suppressed anti-communist riots in

Hungary. In 1962, due to the "cold war", the situation became tense and caused the Caribbean crisis. The two hegemonic countries are just one step away from starting a nuclear war.

So, one thing is clear: above we mentioned that the land area occupied by the Soviet state is the second largest in the world. Officially ruling such a huge territory was not an easy task. In addition, unlike Great Britain, which has a larger land area, the USSR, as the heir of the former Russian Empire, was a country that experienced two world wars. The management of this huge country requires a person with the appropriate mind and will. Stalin had the same qualities, but the leaders who came to power after him began to make mistakes and shortcomings from time to time. It is appropriate to remember only one of them.

Due to Khrushchev's harsh criticism of Stalin and the revision of his past activities, China and the USSR became cold.

The leadership of the USSR, if it had acted wisely, could have used the "Voice of America" funded by the American Congress or the State Department (unofficially, of course) in its interests, turning this structure into its information partner. If he had tried to find reasonable solutions to the problems presented in the critical articles and audio materials published in the foreign press, he would have avoided the decline in the end...

When we study the archives of Pravda, the main publication of the Communist Party, this publication shows how the Communist Party reacted to the problems and topics raised in the periodic broadcasts of the Voice of America radio. In this study, over 200 editions of "Pravda" were analyzed in relation to the messages of "Voice of America" from 1950-1991.

These articles and the collected archive were selected based on a comparative analysis with previous studies conducted by Western scholars. During the selection process, the entire historical processes of the media conflict, which began in the 1950s, were taken into account, because we need to know the general weakening of censorship by the Soviet power structures and its flow in the late 1980s. Therefore, this study covered years of activity of the Soviet power structure and its ongoing censorship of VOA and other Western media. Finally, "Voice of America" reports on many events after 1987 and its Soviet interpretation were comparatively analyzed.

Censorship control of the Soviet power structures was not limited to mass media, but also reached universities. After 1980, students, even those from other communist countries, were permanently under the control of Soviet power structures. Soviet students who met them and spoke a foreign language were also seriously investigated. They (Soviet power structures) controlled the students in several ways. For example; was done by using very unique methods like unknown friends and others. Foreign literature, films and songs brought by foreign students were closely monitored, and even the students who used them were closely monitored.<sup>9</sup> This indicated that constant censorship was organized among students. In addition, the development of censorship began to be reflected in all types of press.

As a result, censorship began to be implemented through new terms and new methods. One of them is "Prophylaxis", a neologism that means "prevention" was developed by the Soviet power structures as a means of screening international students and students with whom they interact regularly.<sup>10</sup> The term prophylaxis was used a lot by the Soviet power structures. The purpose of this was to "hide" the name and practice of censorship in the international arena. However, the phrase became very popular as it started to be used more often. Due to activities such as prevention of any criminal activity, awareness of the problem in advance, this phrase has become popular day by day. Even this term has become a common practice in everyday life. When asked the reason for each examination, it became customary to answer with the phrase "Prophylaxis".

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<sup>9</sup>Shane 1995, p. 200-220. Note: Every international student and piece of foreign literature is scrutinized.

<sup>10</sup>Shane 1995, 240-300. Note: profiliyaktika- prevention, It was a well-planned operation aimed at preventing criminal activity

After that, there was no question left in anyone's mind. In addition, when students witnessed such behavior, the term "Eto internatsionali", "these internationals" was used by the Soviet power structures. The phrase, meant to separate international students and their local friends, was interpreted as a form of censorship. Because a person who hears such a word begins to distance himself from foreign students.

As a result, foreign students also understood this well and avoided interacting with local students as much as possible.<sup>11</sup> In addition, Soviet students knew very well that it would be impossible to find a job in the future if they interacted with foreign students.<sup>12</sup> This also indicates the overt and covert influence of the Soviet power structures. At the Moscow State University, the invisible "hand" of the Soviet power structures was particularly noticeable due to the increased "control" over their students from West and East Germany. Only students approved by the Soviet power structures could communicate with these students. However, this backfired. Eastern European students met and met Western European and American students in Moscow, as well as Soviet students approved by the Soviet power structures, and began to change their views on Communism. This forced them to rely more on VOA broadcasts than local campaigning. As a result, Eastern Europeans listened more to Voice of America broadcasts than to Soviet radio. This happened especially during Gorbachev's time, when the number of international students increased.<sup>13</sup>

Compared to some of the freedoms of the present day, censorship was in some sense positive in nature. By the end of the 1980s, censorship by the Soviet power structures in Central and Eastern Europe had begun to weaken, especially as economic difficulties intensified, and control became more difficult. Gorbachev's government can be considered the catalyst of this acceleration. He adopted a new state policy - the "Reconstruction and Acceleration" program, because he recognized that the real culprit of all the economic problems that brought the country to the brink - the communist system. He made statements about this, and as a result, his confession confirmed the opinion that the information distributed to the citizens of Central and Eastern Europe by "Voice of America" and Western media over the years is correct, and that of the Soviets, on the contrary... After the start of reconstruction, the Soviet power structures faced great difficulties and had to make serious adjustments to their activities.<sup>14</sup> Censorship of the Soviet power structures in Central and Eastern Europe also began to deteriorate, as they lost their financial resources.

The way to "Glasnost" - "Openness" was opened by recognizing that the root cause of the economic problems faced by the leadership of the USSR was the ruling structure in the country and accepting the need for "reconstruction".<sup>15</sup> As a result, the censorship practices of the Soviet power structures were severely criticized. Even Pravda, the official publication of the Communist Party, began to publish openly critical articles.<sup>16</sup> This indicated that the loyalty of the citizens of the Soviet state to the mass media published in our country has faded. Until now, there has been a perception that under the pressure of censorship, duplicate material has been given. In other words, they completely lost faith in the Soviet mass media.

It is difficult to trust the media, as evidenced by the information published in the press about the Chernobyl disaster. The 1986 nuclear disaster dealt a major blow to the government's credibility,

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<sup>11</sup>Shane. 1995. 120-144. Note: Eto internatsionalnii- It is international, In the future, the students suspected of using the phrase will be under constant supervision.

<sup>12</sup>Shane. 1995. 150-160. Note: Local students who interacted with international students were also monitored closely.

<sup>13</sup>Shane. 1995. p. 190-201. Note: Because of the surge in international students in the USSR during the Glasnost period, the KGB tightened control significantly. These controls, however, do not persist long.

<sup>14</sup> William F. Buckley Jr. Foreword by Henry Kissenger. Fall of the Berlin Wall. 20th anniversary Edition. Printed in USA 2004.

<sup>15</sup> Peter Kenez. A History of the Soviet Union from the Beginning to the End. University of California, Santa Cruz. Cambridge University Press. 1999, 2006, pp. 40-62.

<sup>16</sup>В.Керимов. Гласность и демократия (Glasnost And Democracy). Pravda 1988 June 19. Page 2.

and Communist Party leaders were forced to turn to the military to maintain order. This, in turn, led to the withdrawal of military forces stationed in Eastern Europe.<sup>17</sup> Eventually, by the end of 1986, the Soviet power structures began to face unexpected problems. On the one hand, it was necessary to deny the compensation demands of the foreigners and to convince them that this was a minor technical problem of the nuclear disaster, and on the other hand, the failure of the Soviet technology had to be kept a secret. The most difficult part was that "Reconstruction" imposed restrictions on their activities that had not been imposed until now. As a result, demonstrations in Eastern Europe could continue without the intervention of Soviet power structures. The fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 also caused a decrease in the censorship of the Soviet power structures.<sup>18</sup> Because the information disseminated by censored organizations in the Soviet state was false, the West did not believe these propaganda tools, and subsequent official statements about Chernobyl failed to restore the previous information dominance.<sup>19</sup> The years of "openness" and then such processes only accelerated. Sharp changes were about to happen in Eastern and Central Europe.

In short, this study concludes that the Soviet power structure's control over information flows and its constant censorship were the main reasons why the USSR faced problems trying to weaken the Soviet power structure and was defeated by the US in the information war. The ideas that had been carefully thought out over the years, as a result of Gorbachev's "Openness" policy, were being eroded by messages from the West. During this period, "Voice of America" was able to produce shows such as "Vzglyad", which was the greatest internal enemy of the USSR: the Soviet people themselves and their product. Soviet experts warned of dire consequences in a 1989 report. But the Soviet leadership ignored these warnings because they saw changes like the rise of American-style television programs as an inevitable consequence of the changing television landscape. Nevertheless, the worries and predictions of experts turned out to be correct, and in December 1991, the USSR collapsed. Therefore, the disintegration of the USSR is also connected with the weakening of the censorship of the Soviet power structures. According to this thesis, the attacks made by the US media significantly intensified the external problems affecting the USSR and accelerated the emergence of internal problems. In addition, in this scientific work, it was studied that many and big crimes were committed in the USSR due to censorship. Therefore, in order to shed light on this issue, we considered it appropriate to conduct a comparative analysis of the archival data of *Pravda*, the main source of propaganda of the Communist Party, with the archives of the *Voice of America*. Although many Soviet newspapers have escaped our attention due to their direct coverage of the influence of the American mass media and efforts to combat them, we are grateful for this. "*Pravda*" is one of the most authoritative sources for providing full information about the declassification process. After World War II, the media's influence on global politics increased dramatically as Cold War relations between the United States and the Soviet Union intensified. This geopolitical politics clashed in Central and Eastern Europe; here, the conflict between the USA and the USSR, which were allies in the Second World War, is still there due to their different attitudes towards the occupied territories. It was this disagreement that led to the start of the Cold War. An arms race has begun for Kimozar. The fight in the information field has intensified: the main weapon in this fight is the mass media. As a result, US and Soviet propaganda intensified. For decades, these two superpowers have developed strategies to maintain information security and territorial integrity. This period can best be explained and dated by the expansion of Soviet censorship in response to American "information attacks". In the Soviet Union, the State Security Committee censored all types of media and mass media. He only supported the interests of the Communist

<sup>17</sup> Совет Экспертов. Уйти, чтобы остаться? (Leave to stay?) Российская газета, 2006, 26 декабря. С. 19.

<sup>18</sup> William F. Buckley Jr. Foreword by Henry Kissinger. Fall of the Berlin Wall. 20th anniversary Edition. Printed in USA 2004.

<sup>19</sup> Aline Sierp. Democratic Change in Central and Eastern Europe 1989-90. The European Parliament and the end of the Cold War. Maastricht: University of Maastricht, 2015, p.40-52.

Party. As a result, the Soviet power structures got an "information monopoly".<sup>20</sup> He was constantly supported by members of the Communist Party.<sup>21</sup> This monopoly was formed many years ago, and only strengthened after the Second World War. The Soviet power structures did not allow important information to be provided even to the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU. For decades, any news from the West or the entire Union was heavily censored by Soviet power structures.<sup>22</sup> However, after M. S. Gorbachev became the head of the Communist Party in March 1985, the situation changed dramatically. After his first official speech in 1985, the domination of the Soviet power structures over the mass media (Soviet power structures rule 1922-1991) began to gradually end. M.S. Gorbachev's first speech sparked controversy in the Western media and was supported by Western intellectuals.<sup>23</sup> The first signs of the waning dominance of censorship by the Soviet power structures were evident in Eastern Europe, which would eventually lead to the fall of the Berlin Wall.<sup>24</sup>

One of the emperors of the Russian Empire, Alexander III, has a saying: "Army and navy are the main support of Russia." He also believes in his people. This nation, which has always lived under the yoke of various invasions and wars, has historically proven that it is capable of great things. Two major world wars in human history took place on its territory. He also delivered unique manifestations in the field of literature, art and other forms of social consciousness.

Gorbachev's corrupt policy has seriously threatened the people, army and navy of this country. First, due to the policy of transparency, the liberals who were living in Russia came to the political scene. Various non-governmental organizations financed by Western funds, in order to absorb the allocated funds, began to denounce the Soviet system tirelessly day and night. The people's trust in the state is fading. It becomes a habit to look down on the regular criticism of power structures. Neither the restructuring nor the policy of "Openness" is justified.

Again, the press is full of critical articles. In order not to be left behind and not to absorb other publications, even "Pravda", the main publication of the party, based on its own interests, gives ample space to materials condemning the Soviet system. In short, the Soviet press, which has been an alternative to "Voice of America" until now, will become its partner. With their speeches, the opposition goes on to confirm the opinions expressed by the press. As a result, the foundations of the USSR will be destroyed.

In this scientific work, we have researched such issues and tried to draw important conclusions. We think that topics like this serve as an important resource for the young generation to learn political science and social science.

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<sup>21</sup> Bltjkjubxcrfz 'rcgfycbz fvthbrfycrjui bvgtbfkbpvf (The ideological expansion of American imperialism)/  
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<sup>22</sup> Пропаганда и агитация-боевые идеологические вооруженные партии (Propaganda and agitation is the party's  
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