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Translation of Excerpts From
"On the Party and Soviet Press"

(A Collection of Documents)
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NOTE

This project consists of translated excerpts from O Partiynoy i Sovetskoy Pechati [On the Party and Soviet Press] which itself consists, in many cases, of mere excerpts of original sources. Sources when included in the book are given here.

Brackets indicate translator's comments, expansion of abbreviations, or transliteration from the Russian.

<u>TABLE OF CONTENTS</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
The Sixth Congress of the RSDRP(b) (August 1917)	1
Organizational Report of the Central Committee (From the Report of Ya. M. Sverdlov)	3
From Resolutions and Decisions of the Congress	4
The Pre-Election Campaign to the Constituent Assembly	4
From the Statutes of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party	4
On Propaganda	5
Manifesto Of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party	6
Decree on the Press, A Decree of the Council of Peoples' Commissars (November 1917)	14
On the Revolutionary Tribunal on Press Affairs; a Decree of the Council of People's Commissars (January 1918)	16
Editorial in the First Issue of the Newspaper <u>Bednota</u> (March 1918)	18
Letter of the Central Committee of the RKP on Proletkulty [Proletarian Cultural Organizations] (December 1920)	19
The Tenth Congress of the RKP(b) (March 1921)	23
Resolution of the Congress on Party Unity	23
Resolution of the Congress on Glavpolitprosvet and Agitation and Propaganda Tasks of the Party	26
On Antireligious Propaganda (August 1921)	32

	<u>PAGE</u>
The 11th Congress of the RKP(b) (March 1922)	33
Resolution of the Congress on Press and Propaganda	33
Central Committee Letter on the Plan of Local Newspapers (June 1922)	41
Central Committee Letter on Party Magazines (June 1922)	45
The 12th Congress of the RKP(b) (April 1923)	47
From the Resolution of the Congress on Industry	47
From the Resolution of the Congress on the National Question	47
Resolution of the Congress on Questions of Propaganda, Press, and Agitation	48
Resolution of the Congress on Setting up Antireligious Agitation and Propaganda	67
Editorial in the First Issue of the Newspaper <u>Krasnaya Zvezda</u> (January 1924)	71
Priority Tasks of the Party in the Field of the Press: From a Decree of the Central Committee (February 1924)	73
The 13th Congress of the RKP(b) (May 1924)	83
A Resolution [Rezolyutsiya] on the Press	83
Plenum of the TsK RKP(b) (October 1924)	96
From the Resolution of the Plenum on the Immediate Tasks of Work in the Village	96
On Wall Newspapers	100
Decree [Postanovleniye] of the Orgburo TsK RKP(b) (December 1924)	104
On the Peasant Periodical Press	104
Decree of the Orgburo TsK RKP(b) (February 1925)	104
On the Policy of the Party in the Field of Artistic Literature [i. e. Belles Lettres]	110
Resolution of the TsK RKP(b) (June 1925)	110
Regulations [Polozheniye] on the Telegraph Agency of the USSR (TASS)	116
Confirmed by the Presidium of the TsIK USSR and the SMK USSR (July 1925)	116

	<u>PAGE</u>
The 15th Congress of the VKP(b) (December 1927)	120
From the Resolution on the Report of the Central Committee	120
On Measures for the Improvement of the Press for Youth and Children	123
Decree of the TsK VKP(b) (July 1928)	123
The 16th Conference of the VKP(b) (April 1929)	126
On the Purge [Chistka] and Check-up [Proverka] of Members and Candidates of the VKP(b) - From a Resolution of the Conference on the Report of M. Yaroslavskiy	126
To all Workers and Peasant Workers of the Soviet Union (The Address of the Conference)	126
On the Reorganization of the Newspaper Network in Connection with the Elimination of Okrugs	134
The Decree of the TsK VKP(b) (August 1930)	134
On [Training] Newspaper Workers	136
The Decree of the TsK VKP(b) (November 1930)	136
On Poster Literature	139-a
The Decree of the TsK VKP(b) (March 1931)	139-a
On the Reorganization of the Worker and Village Correspondent [Rabsel'kovskiy] Movement	140
Decree of the TsK VKP(b) (April 1931)	140
On the Publishing House "Molodaya Gvardiya" ["Young Guards"]	145
The Decree of the TsK VKP(b) (December 1931)	145
On the Reorganization of Literary and Art Organizations	149
The Decree of the TsK VKP(b) (April 1932)	149
The Misinterpretation by Some Local Party Organizations of the Decree of the TsK VKP(b) on Resuming the Admittance of New Members into the VKP(b)	151
The Decree of the TsK VKP(b) (October 1936)	151
On Organizing Party Propaganda in Connection with the Publication of <u>A Short Course in the History of the VKP(b)</u>	154

	<u>PAGE</u>
Decree of the TsK VKP(b) (November 1938)	154
On Literary Criticism and Bibliography	179
[A Report on the Decree of] the Central Committee of the VKP(b), 1940	179
On the Work of Rayon Newspapers	183
Letter of the Administration of Propaganda and Agitation of the TsK VKP(b) (March 1942)	183
On the Work of War Correspondents at the Front	195
From the Regulation Confirmed in 1942 by the Administration of Propaganda and Agitation of the TsK VKP(b) and the Main Political Administration of the Red Army	195
On the Tasks of Rayon, Oblast, Kray, and Republic Newspapers in Connection with the Harvesting of Crops and Procurement of Agricultural Products in 1942	198
Letter of the Administration of Propaganda and Agitation of the TsK VKP(b), July 1942	198
On the Shortcomings of Newspapers in Giving an Account of the Work of Industrial Enterprises	211
Letter of the Administration of Propaganda and Agitation of the TsK VKP(b) to all Editors of City, Oblast, Kray, and Republic Newspapers (March 1943)	211
On the State of and Measures for Improving Mass-Political and Ideological Work in the Tatarskaya ASSR Party Organization	237
In the Central Committee VKP(b), 1944	237
On the Immediate Tasks of Party Organizations of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Belorussia in the Field of Mass- Political and Cultural-Educational Work Among the Population	243
In the Central Committee VKP(b), 1944	243
On the Four-Page Issues of Oblast, Kray, and Republic News- papers for 29 July 1945	248
In the Central Committee VKP(b)	248
On the Four-Page Issues of Republic, Kray, and Oblast Newspapers for 5, 12, and 19 August 1945	252
In the Central Committee VKP(b)	252

	<u>PAGE</u>
Concerning the Agitation-Propaganda Work of Party Organizations in Connection with the Law Passed on the Five-Year Plan for Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1946-1950	258
In the Central Committee VKP(b), 1946	258
On Measures for Improving the Oblast Newspapers <u>Molot</u> (Rostov-on-Don), <u>Volzhskaya Kommuna</u> (Kuybyshev), and <u>Kurskaya Pravda</u>	261
In the Central Committee VKP(b), 1946	261
On Party and Social-Political Periodicals	271
Decree of the TsK VKP(b) "On Periodicals of the Central Committee", 1946	271
On the Work of OGIZ [Unified State Publishing Houses] of the RSFSR	273
In the Central Committee VKP(b), 1946	273
On the Work of the Party Committees of the Ivanovskiy Melange Combine, the Glushovskiy Cotton Combine, and the Tashkentskiy Textile Combine, 1946	277
On the Training and Additional Training of Leading Party and Soviet Workers	278
In the Central Committee VKP(b), 1946	278
On the Periodicals <u>Zvezda</u> and <u>Leningrad</u>	291
From the Decree of the TsK VKP(b) of August 1946	291
On the Repertoire of Drama Theaters and Measure for its Improvement	297
From a 26 August 1946 Decree of the Central Committee VKP(b)	297
On the Film <u>Bol'shaya Zhizn'</u> [<u>Great Life</u>]	304
The Decree of the TsK VKP(b) of 4 September 1946	
On the Shortcomings in and Measures for Improving the Work with Agitators in the Stalingrad Party Organization	311
In the Central Committee VKP(b), 1947	311
On the Opera <u>Velikaya Druzhba</u> [<u>The Great Friendship</u>] by V. Muradeli	318
The Decree of the TsK VKP(b) of 10 February 1948	318
On the Magazine <u>Krokodil</u>	326
On the Decree of the TsK VKP(b), 1948	326

	<u>PAGE</u>
On the Creation of Editorial Boards in Republic, Kray, and Oblast Newspapers, 1948	329
On the Shortcomings in and Measures for Improving the Publication of Political Posters	330
Decree of the TsK VKP(b), 1948	330
Concerning the Magazine <u>Znamya</u>	333
A Check-up on the Fulfillment in 1948 by the Editorial Staff of <u>Znamya</u> of the 1946 Decree of the TsK VKP(b) Concerning the Magazines <u>Zvezda</u> and <u>Leningrad</u>	333
On the State of and Measures for Improving Party Education in the Yaroslavskaia Oblast Party Organization	337
The Decree of the TsK VKP(b), 1949	337
On the Work of the Gosplanizdat [Publishing House of Gosplan] and the Magazine <u>Planovoye Khozyaystvo</u> [Planned Economy]	342
Decree of the TsK VKP(b) of January 1950	342
On the Serious Shortcomings in the Selection of Authors for Articles in the <u>Large Soviet Encyclopedia</u>	344
Decree of the TsK VKP(b) of September 1951	344
On the Shortcomings in the Magazine <u>Krokodil</u> and Measures for its Improvement	346
Decree of the TsK VKP(b) of September 1951	346
On the Serious Shortcomings and Errors in the work of Gosyurizdat [State Publishing House of Juridical Literature]	347
Decree of the TsK VKP(b) of April 1952	347
On the Facts of the Flagrant Political Distortions of the Texts of Dem'yan Bednyy's Works	350
Decree of the TsK VKP(b) of April 1952	350
On Measures for the Improvement of City Newspapers	352
Decree of the TsK VKP(b) of July 1952	352
On the Shortcomings in the Distribution of Newspapers and Magazines	357
Decree of the TsK KPSS of June 1953	357
On the Serious Shortcomings in the Work of Gospolitizdat [State Publishing House of Political Literature]	361
Decree of the TsK KPSS of December 1953	361

USSR DECREES ON THE PRESS, 1917-1953

THE SIXTH CONGRESS OF THE RSDRP (b), (August, 1917)

A total of 157 delegates with a deciding vote and 110 delegates with a consultative vote, representing about 240,000 members of the party, were present at the congress, which met in Petrograd from 26 July-3 August (8-16 August, new calendar) 1917.

The agenda of the congress was: (1) report of the Organization Bureau; (2) report of the Central Committee of the RSDRP(b) [Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Bolsheviks)]; (3) local reports; (4) the current situation, including: (a) the war and the international situation, and (b) the political and economic situation; (5) revision of the program; (6) organizational problems; (7) elections to the Constituent Assembly; (8) the International (instructed by the Central Committee to draw up a resolution); (9) the unification of the party; (10) the trade-union movement; (11) elections; (12) miscellaneous questions. In addition, the report of

G. K. Ordzhonikidze on V. I. Lenin's non-appearance at court was discussed.

The congress was held illegally. Pursued by the sleuths of the Provisional Government, V. I. Lenin was unable to be with the congress, but he guided it secretly through his companions-in-arms and followers, I. V. Stalin, Ya. M. Sverdlov, V. M. Molotov, and G. K. Ordzhonikidze.

The political report of the Central Committee and the question of the political situation, in which the guiding instructions of V. I. Lenin were stated, were the main questions discussed by the congress. In his reports on these problems, I. V. Stalin pointed out that in spite of all efforts of the bourgeoisie to put down the revolution, the revolution was growing and developing, and had produced the problem concerning the effecting of workers' control over production and the distribution of products, concerning

the transfer of land to the peasants, and concerning the transfer of power from the hands of the bourgeoisie into the hands of the working class and the poor peasants. The revolution was becoming socialist in character.

At the congress, I. V. Stalin laid down the Leninist tactics of the party in the struggle for the socialist revolution, established a slogan for the preparation of armed revolt, defended the Leninist theory of socialist revolution, the theory of the possibility of the building up of socialism initially in a single country. The congress decisively rebuffed a group of Trotskyists who had spoken against the Party line on the proletarian revolution, and who had thought the victory of socialism in Russia impossible.

The congress rejected the capitulatory policy of Bukharin, which was based on Trotskyist lines, and maintained that the peasants had assumed a defensive attitude, and that they were in a bloc with the bourgeoisie and were not following the working class. The congress rejected the amendments of Preobrazhenskiy and Bukharin and approved the draft resolution on the political situation proposed by I. V. Stalin.

The congress discussed and approved the economic platform of the Bolsheviks, the main principles of which were: confiscation of the land of all landowners and the nationalization of all the land in the country, nationalization of banks, nationalization of large-scale industry, and establishment of worker's control over production and distribution.

The sixth congress emphasized with special force in all of its decisions the Leninist principle on the unity of the proletariat and the poor peasantry, as conditions for the victory of the socialist revolution. The congress condemned the Menshevist theory of the neutrality of trade unions.

The question of the appearance of V. I. Lenin for trial was discussed at the congress. Kamenev, Rykov, Trotsky, and others -- even prior to the congress -- thought that V. I. Lenin should appear at the court of the

counter-revolutionaries. The congress decidedly spoke out against the appearance of V. I. Lenin at court, arguing that this would not be a trial but a mockery of justice. The congress protested against the bourgeois-political persecution of leaders of the revolutionary proletariat and sent its greetings to V. I. Lenin.

The sixth congress adapted new party statutes. It was pointed out in the party statutes that all party organizations should be built on the principles of democratic centralism.

The party manifesto issued by the congress called upon workers, soldiers, and peasants to prepare their forces for the final battle with the bourgeoisie. The sixth congress aimed the party at an armed revolt, at a socialist revolution.

The congress elected the following as members of the Central Committee: V. I. Lenin, I. V. Stalin, Ya. M. Sverdlov, F. E. Dzerzhinskiy, Artem (F. A. Sergeyev), S. G. Shaumyan, and others.

Organizational Report of the Central Committee (From the Report of Ya. M. Sverdlov)

The Central Committee, through Pravda, has carried out both ideological and practical leadership of the entire party. In Pravda the comrades have found answers to all theoretical questions. During the time of the party's underground existence, evasions were necessary, but now there is no need for them. -- From Protokoly Shestogo S'yezda RSDRP(b) (Proceedings of the Sixth Congress of the RSDRP(b)), pp 37-38, 1934. [Note: Source citations in this work are translated as they appear.]

From Resolutions and Decisions of the Congress

1. The Pre-election Campaign to the Constituent Assembly

III. Agitation

7. Written agitation:

(a) publication of a peasant newspaper;

(b) popular pamphlets and leaflets, stating simply all the basic slogans of our platform;

(c) the publication by a Central Commission of a guide for agitators, indicating the plan and contents of speeches, as well as lists of the necessary literary sources. In addition, this guide should give the main principles of the Electoral law, its special features, and electoral techniques.

8. Oral agitation: to be conducted by cadres of trained workers. To this end, short-term courses for agitators should be organized under the Central Commission and in the local areas; in addition, the sending of knowledgeable workers and soldiers into the villages during the election campaign period should be practiced.

2. From the Statutes of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party

1. Anyone who acknowledges the program of the party, enters one of its organizations, obeys all the resolutions of the party, and pays membership dues is recognized as a member of the party.

6. All organizations are autonomous within their own scope of activity. Each organization of the party has the right to publish party literature in its own name.

7. The party organizations are organized according to rayons and oblasts. Rayon and oblast committees are elected at rayon and oblast conferences.

The boundaries of rayons and oblasts are determined by rayon conferences. In the case of a disagreement between neighboring oblasts, resolution of the problem is turned over to the Central Committee.

8. New party organizations are approved by oblast committees, and in their absence, by the Central Committee. Control over the approvals rests with the Central Committee. The Central Committee announces each new organization in the party press.

13. The Central Committee is elected annually at the congress. For its day-to-day work, the Central Committee chooses a small group from its membership.

Plenary sessions of the Central Committee are held at least once every two months. The Central Committee represents the party in its relations with other parties and institutions, organizes various party institutions and directs their activity, appoints the editorial staff of central organs working under its control, organizes and manages enterprises of general party importance, distributes the forces and resources of the party, and manages the central fund of the party.

3. On Propaganda

The growth of the party organization and the inclusion within its ranks of the vast working masses from the first days of the revolution sharply pressed upon the party the question of the correct organization of propaganda and agitation.

The flow of intelligentsia away from the ranks of the proletarian party, beginning in 1905, became rampant after the February Revolution, when the class content of the activity of our party inevitably determined the attitude toward it of nonproletarian elements.

For the purpose of deepening the consciousness of the masses united in our party and adhering to it, for the purpose of strengthening the influence created by the political situation and by the historic role of our

organization, the [propaganda] section (seksiya) considers necessary the constant elucidation of our party program through discussions, courses, and lectures. Special attention should be given in the present case to the clubs, the role of which is important in the extension and broadening of our program.

For the purpose of drawing active workers from the proletarian intelligentsia, the section considers necessary:

(1) the creation of party schools, in which the workers could learn to speak independently;

(2) the publication of popular-scientific organs, from which the workers could extract materials for speeches on current topics and on points of our program.

Manifesto of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party

Workers of the world, unite!

To all laborers, workers, soldiers, and peasants of Russia:

Comrades! Five months have passed since the revolutionary proletariat and troops overthrew the rule of whip and lash and put Nikolay Romanov under lock and key.

The workers threw off the chains in which the police order had shackled them. The soldier became a free citizen. In the midst of world barbarism and brutality, the voice of the Russian Revolution resounded powerfully:

"Peace and brotherhood of nations."

The proletariat had gone in advance of the revolutionary fighters. From the very beginning, the Russian proletariat has understood that for the success of the Russian Revolution, for the cause of peace, and for the cause of freedom, the mutual support of the workers of all countries and the international revolt of the enslaved and bleeding proletarians of Europe were necessary. Its war-cry became: "Long live the International Revolution!"

International capital answered this cry with a plot against the Russian Revolution. For it, the Russian Revolution signified a break-through on the imperialist front. The Russian Revolution threatened to kindle the flame of world revolt, to shatter and smash the power of capital, and to grind into the dust the golden idol. For the international stock-exchange wolves and the bosses of banks arose the full-blown problem: to smother the Russian Revolution at any price, to destroy its forces, to decapitate the international proletariat, and to slaughter its party.

The invaders of Russia entered into a close alliance with them, and they became bound with secret threads. From the very first days of the revolution, the financial bourgeoisie and its party -- the so-called party of national freedom -- concluded an agreement with the plunderers of West European imperialism. The Russian bourgeoisie had nothing against the overthrow of the autocracy of the tsar, the rule of which made impossible even the conduct of war (the thievery and dissipation of tsarist ministers prevented this). But the further course of the revolution threatened it with innumerable "terrors": the revolution was to transfer land to the peasants, curb capitalism, arm the workers, and put an end to the predatory policies. In the dirty secret treaties of the bloody tsar, the "allied" bankers vowed fidelity to the general cause of seizure of power and the smothering of the Russian Revolution. The entry of America into the war inspired the allied imperialists still further. They knew perfectly well the value of this "great democracy," which electrocutes its socialists, oppresses small nations with weapons in hand, and through the mouths of its diplomats, unparalleled for their impudent cynicism, "harps" on lasting peace. The American multimillionaires, who have filled their vaults with the gold coined from the blood of those dying in the fields of devastated Europe, have merged weapons, finances, counterespionage, and diplomats in order to annihilate their German colleagues in international plundering, and also to tighten the noose of strangulation around the neck of the Russian Revolution.

The Russian bourgeoisie turned out to be tied in with the capitalists of Europe and America, through both general aims and a heavy gold chain, the ends of which met in the banking houses of London and New York. Thus was organized the capitalist bloc against the revolution.

The petty bourgeoisie of Russia, the upper strata of the peasantry, and part of the workers and impoverished peasants who were deceived by capitalism, did not see and did not want to see all the dangers of the capitalist conspiracy. Their parties, the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries, with a majority in the Soviets, went with the large bourgeoisie. They took the standpoint of defense, not understanding that the bourgeoisie of all the countries deceives the workers with this word and while it talks about defense, is thinking about seizure of power. They decided not to take all power into their own hands but transferred it to the bourgeoisie. They cordially greeted the "socialist-patriotic" agents of West European capitalism, those deceivers and poisoners of the people. With each day they became more entangled in the nets which international capital was spreading.

Only the revolutionary proletariat and its party, supported by the poor peasants and soldiers, sounded the alarm. The party of proletarian socialism, the party of international revolution, steadfastly and consistently tore the deceitful mask of peace-lovers from the imperialist plunderers. It unmasked all the intrigues of the bourgeoisie, and criticized the cowardliness, indecision, and helplessness of the Menshevik and Social-Revolutionary tactics. With great insistence it demanded the transfer of power into the hands of the people, a break with the capitalists of all countries, the publication of all secret treaties which were concealed from the people. It demanded the immediate transfer of the land to the peasants, workers' control over production, and universal peace, concluded by the people themselves. "Bread, peace, and freedom!" was written on its red banner.

In the country, writhing in the throes of a three-year war, an unprecedented economic and financial crisis formed like an avalanche. The cruel

hammer of war crushed and ground to dust the surviving remains of the accumulated national wealth. With each day the country was becoming more and more like a paralytic. The destruction of productive forces and their barbarous plundering led to bankruptcy. The war, like a great vampire, sucked dry all its lifeblood and took away all its power, There was no fuel, raw materials, or bread. The spectre of famine began to walk through the cities, through the living quarters of the poor. The bottomless abyss ruin gaped before the country.

Capital is deliberately pushing the people into this abyss.

The upper bourgeoisie aggravated the crisis and strengthened anarchy by shutting down enterprises and disorganizing production. The united syndicalists, while wailing about patriotism and the motherland and exposing revolutionary workers, to dishonor, persistently and systematically impeded the course of production - in order to seize all power within its grasping claws, after having created chaos and turmoil and placing the blame on the workers. In the ruins of the national economy, ensnared in the convulsions of war, and over the bones of countless ruined petty businessmen, the hyenas of large-scale capitalism, greedily seizing fabulous profits in provisions and profiting by the famine of the impoverished masses, conducted their impudent policy of onslaught upon the working class. Within the lower strata an undercurrent of dissatisfaction and indignation with capitalism and its ministers began to ripen. The grumbling of the millions in the armies of labor was becoming more and more audible.

They were answered with a political attack. The united capital of the allies drew up its forces for an assault on the Russian Revolution. English and American capitalists, who, as creditors, were becoming the masters of Russian life, united with their faithful Russian handmaidens, decided to deliberately drive the patently unprepared army into battle. The result of the battle was not important to them. The frustration of the armistice, the

renewal of military operations, and the reinforcement of the power of the commanding officers were important to them. They again had to harness the exhausted army to the chariot of war. They had to drown out the claps of thunder of the class struggle and revolution with the roar of cannon.

The Social-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks approved the policy of attack and betrayed both themselves and the revolution. With their constant conciliation with the imperialists and their lack of any hint of resoluteness, they gave themselves into captivity to the inveterate plunderers. With their own hands they turned the power over to the counter-revolutionary military clique. And the triumphant big shots of the banks and stock-exchanges are now insolently defying the people, declaring openly their desire to conduct a war "to the finish", that is, without end, until it breaks from the pressure of the gold from the vault of the American Morgans, until the bloody dew thoroughly soaks the fields of the land which has been torn to pieces.

The bourgeoisie were temporarily succeeding. Where were the majestic appeals for the brotherhood of all nations? Where were the unfurled banners of the world revolution? The Social-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks replaced these appeals with the appeals for the continuation of the war. The servants of the bourgeoisie handed over these banners to be desecrated by the heroes of aggression; they smeared them with mud.

An increase of dissatisfaction and indignation was the response given this policy by the proletariat and progressive soldiers. And the stormy, spontaneous outburst of this indignation led the worker and soldier out into the street, while the Constitutional-Democratic ministers, who had received a secret dispatch on the failure of the attack, hastened to go off and place all the responsibility on their "socialist" lackeys. The 3rd and 4th of July placed before the leaders of the petty-bourgeois "socialism" and before the Soviet majority this great historical problem: on whose side were they -- with the proletariat against the counter-revolution, or

with the counter-revolution against the proletariat? In those days one had to make a decision. Here one had to choose clearly and definitely. And they chose, these ministerial socialists: against the workers and soldiers who displayed on their banner the slogan: "All power to the Soviets!" The leaders of the Soviets called out the suppressor army. Having entangled themselves in conciliation with the counter-revolution, they supported this counter-revolution and directed the muzzle of a gun against the workers' battalions, against the cream of the revolutionary forces, against the party of the proletariat. Only this party, our party, remained standing at its post. Only it, in this fatal hour of freedom, did not desert the workers' quarters. Only it sought to impart a peaceful and organized nature to the action, in going along with the masses. This was its revolutionary duty. Its revolutionary honor demanded this.

The Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries, carrying out the will of the bourgeoisie, disarmed the revolution while at the same time arming the counter-revolution. The bourgeoisie let them engage in the dirty business of suppression and destruction. With their silent consent the frenzied dogs of villainous bourgeois slander were unleashed against the glorious leaders of our party. It was they who carried on a disgraceful and shameful trade involving the lives of the proletarian leaders, betraying them one after the other to the enraged bourgeoisie. It was they who betrayed the heart of the revolution, a heart which could be heard beating throughout the world, the capital of Russia, to being torn apart by the military cadets (Yunkery) and the Cossacks. It was with their help that Pravda was raided and there began a violent advance against the left flank of the revolution.

The July days opened a new page of history. For the first time the counter-revolution temporarily gained a decisive victory, and power went into the hands of the bourgeoisie and the military staff. Up until then power had been divided equally. Up until then tremendous power had been in

the hands of the Soviets. Behind them stood the armed masses of soldiers and workers, the free people. Now the Soviets began to lose their strength. Having disarmed the workers, disbanded the regiments of the revolution, and herded Cossacks into the principal cities, they bound themselves hand and foot, and converted themselves into an appendage of the bourgeois government. They silenced the "socialist" ministers. Their bourgeois colleagues chained them. They used them when it was necessary to suppress something, and spat upon them when they rose up to protest.

Having transferred power into the hands of the counter-revolution and having betrayed the revolution, the leaders of the lower middle classes, of the Social-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, began to underwrite almost all the counter-revolutionary measures of the government. The red flag of freedom was lowered. In its place flew the black flag of capital punishment. The executions of soldiers and workers, censorship, judicial slander, counter-espionage, arrests, the restoration of the hated tsarist legal provisions against political crimes, dirty Okhrana slander -- all the charms of the old regime have been set in motion by the new governments for "the salvation of the revolution" -- by a government which is arresting revolutionaries, setting free tsarist ministers and provocateurs, postponing the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, and today convoking instead the counterrevolutionary "Moscow Conference of the 'Big Shots' of Industry and Trade." Having strengthened its position within the country, the counter-revolution went over to old methods in other respects. A decisive attack is being carried on against the Ukrainians not only by decrees, but also by cuirassiers. They are disbanding the Finnish Seim and are using armed force to threaten the very right to self-determination, which was so solemnly proclaimed in official declarations. Dark intrigues are being carried on through government envoys against the meeting of even the most moderate "socialists" in Stockholm.

The slogan, "Peace without Annexation" was relegated to the archives, and in its place the Milyukov and Guchkov slogan was displayed: "War to Complete Victory". Kerenskiy proclaims the slogan, "Annihilate the Bolsheviki" and sends a telegram "in the name of the Russian people" to that next-of-kin of Wilhelm Hohenzollern and Nikolay Romanov -- the English King George. The slogan of the revolution: "Peace to the Hovels, War Against the Palaces" is being replaced by the slogan "Peace to the Palaces, War Against the Hovels".

But the counter-revolution is celebrating its victory prematurely. It cannot feed the hungry with a bullet. It cannot wipe away the tears of mothers and wives with the Cossack lash. It cannot dry the sea of suffering with lasso and noose. It cannot soothe the people with bayonets. It cannot stop the breakdown of industry with a peremptory order.

The subterranean forces of history are at work. In the very depths of the popular masses, an undercurrent of dissatisfaction is ripening. The peasants need land, the workers need bread, and both these and others need peace. The stormy petrels have already begun to wing their way throughout the world. In England the workers are already beginning an open struggle against the control of capitalism; in France, soldiers are agitating for peace and revolution; in Germany, there is continuous ferment and strikes and in America, the bourgeoisie is turning to the execution of socialists raising the banner of the struggle against war; Spain has been enveloped in the flames of the revolutionary struggle of classes. Financiers of all countries are already meeting in secret conferences to discuss the imminent threat. They already hear the iron step of the workers' revolution. They already see the inevitable.

Our party is going into this close combat with flying banners. It holds them firmly in hand. It has not bowed before the ravishers and the dirty slanderers, the traitors to the revolution, and the servants of capitalism. Henceforth, they will hold these banners high, while fighting for

socialism and for the brotherhood of nations. For it knows that a new movement is approaching, and the death-hour of the old world is coming.

Prepare for new battles, comrades-in-arms! Steadfastly, bravely, and calmly, without yielding to provocation, gather up your forces, form fighting columns! Under the banner of the party, you proletariat and soldier! Under our banner, you oppressed of the villages!

Long live the revolutionary proletariat!

Long live the union between the workers and poor peasantry!

Down with the counter-revolution and its "Moscow Conference"!

Long live the world workers' revolution!

Long live socialism!

Long live the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Bolsheviks)! --
The Sixth Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Bolsheviks),
Petrograd, 12 August 1917.

The above selections from resolutions and decisions of the Sixth Congress are taken from KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh (The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions), vol 1, pp 379-380, 384-385, 387, 389-394.

DECREE ON THE PRESS (NOVEMBER, 1917)

In the terrible decisive hour of the revolution and the days immediately following it, the Provisional Revolutionary Committee was forced to undertake a whole series of measures against the counter-revolutionary press in its various [political] shadings.

Immediately there arose from all sides cries that the new socialist government was thus violating the fundamental principle of their program, having infringed upon the freedom of the press.

The worker and peasant government turns the attention of the populace to the fact that in our society what is really hidden behind this liberal screen is freedom for the propertied classes to take into their own hands

the lion's share of all the newspapers, freedom to freely poison the minds and to sow discord in the consciousness of the masses.

Everyone knows that the bourgeois press is one of the most powerful weapons of the bourgeoisie. Especially in this critical moment when the new government, the government of workers and peasants, is just gaining strength, it is impossible to leave this weapon entirely in the hands of the enemy, as it was no less dangerous in these times than bombs and machine-guns. That is why temporary and special measures have been taken to suppress the stream of dirt and slandey, in which the yellow and green [peasant] press would readily drown the new victory of the people.

As soon as the new order gains strength, all administrative influence upon the press will be discontinued, and full freedom established for it within the limits of legal responsibility, in accordance with the broadest and most progressive law in this respect.

Considering, however, the fact that constraint of the press even in critical moments is permissible only within the limits of absolute necessity, the Council of People's Commissars decrees the following:

General Regulation on the Press

1. Only the following press organs are subject to closure: (1) those which invite open resistance or disobedience to the worker and peasant government; (2) those which spread discord by means of clearly slanderous distortion of facts; (3) those which invite acts of a clearly criminal, that is, criminally punishable nature.
2. Restraints upon organs of the press, either temporary or permanent, are to be imposed only in accordance with decrees of the Council of People's Commissars.
3. The present regulation is of a temporary nature and will be replaced by a special ukase with the return of normal conditions of public life. -- Vladimir Ul'yanov (Lenin), Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars. From Pravda, 10 November 1917.

ON THE REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL ON PRESS AFFAIRS; A DECREE OF THE
COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS (JANUARY, 1918)

(1) The Revolutionary Tribunal on Press Affairs is set up under the Revolutionary Tribunal. The jurisdiction of the Revolutionary Tribunal on Press Affairs extends to crimes and misdemeanors against the people, committed through the use of the press.

(2) To crimes and misdemeanors through the use of the press belong all dispatches containing false or distorted information on occurrences of public life, in so far as they are infringements upon the rights and interests of the revolutionary people, as well as violations of laws issued by the Soviet government concerning the press.

(3) The Revolutionary Tribunal on Press Affairs consists of three persons, elected for a term of not more than three months by the Soviet of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies.

(4) (a) Committee of Inquiry, consisting of three persons elected by the Soviet of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies, is set up under the Revolutionary Tribunal on Press Affairs for the carrying out of preliminary investigations.

(b) Upon receipt of reports or complaints, the Committee of Inquiry must, within 48 hours, consider them and draw up a case for court trial or arrange for a hearing in a session of the Revolutionary Tribunal.

(c) Decisions of the Committee of Inquiry concerning arrests, searches, seizures, and the release of arrested persons are valid if they are made by a board consisting of three persons. In cases which are not urgent, measures of suppression can be taken individually by each member of the Committee of Inquiry, provided such measures are approved by the Committee of Inquiry within 12 hours.

(d) Decrees of the Committee of Inquiry are carried out by the Red Guards, the militia, and the troops and executive organs of the Republic.

(e) Complaints on decisions of the Committee of Inquiry are made to the Revolutionary Tribunal and are considered in an administrative session of the Revolutionary Tribunal on Press Affairs.

(f) The Committee of Inquiry has the right to: (1) demand from all departments and officials, and also from all local self-governments, legal establishments and authorities, notarial institutions, public and professional organizations, commercial-industrial enterprises, state, public, and private credit establishments the furnishing of needed information and documents, and also cases which have not been terminated; (2) to review through their own members and through especially delegated persons the cases of all the establishments and authorities mentioned in the previous item for the extraction of needed information.

(5) Investigation takes place with the participation of prosecution and defense.

(6) All citizens of both sexes who enjoy political rights are permitted to act as prosecutors and defenders, having the right of participation in the case.

(7) Sessions of the Revolutionary Tribunal on Press Affairs are public. A full report of all the sessions is made in the Revolutionary Tribunal on Press Affairs.

(8) Decisions of the Revolutionary Tribunal on Press Affairs are final and are not subject to appeal. The Commissariat, for cases of the press, under the Council of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies, carries out the decisions and sentences of the Revolutionary Tribunal on Press Affairs.

(9) The Revolutionary Tribunal on Press Affairs assigns the following punishments: (1) a monetary fine, (2) an expression of public reproach, concerning which the press is enlisted to inform the general public by methods indicated by the Tribunal, (3) conspicuous publication of the sentence or even a special refutation of the false information, (4) temporary or permanent suspension of publication or removal from circulation.

(5) confiscation to public property of printing-houses or the publishing equipment of the newspaper, if said equipment belongs to those indicated, (6) deprivation of freedom, (7) banishment from the capital, from various districts, or from the limits of the Russian Republic, (8) deprivation of all or part of the political rights of the guilty party.

(10) The upkeep of the Revolutionary Tribunal on Press Affairs is assigned to the government. -- V. Ul'yanov (N. Lenin), Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars. From Gazeta Rabocheho i Krest'yanskogo Pravitel'stva (Newspaper of the Workers' and Peasants' Government), No 30, 22 February 1918.

EDITORIAL IN THE FIRST ISSUE OF THE NEWSPAPER "BEDNOTA" (March 1918)

From time immemorial it has been the custom in the world that some people live in wealth, doing nothing, while others, even though they work, live in inescapable poverty.

And for a long time the poor have been constantly striving to destroy such unjust customs.

There should be neither rich nor poor. All workers should be equal and provided with all necessities. He who does not wish to work does not have the right to an existence.

But it is not easy to put an end to these deep-rooted, accursed customs. They have taken root too deeply.

Each step forward requires terrible sacrifices on the part of the people.

Nevertheless, we are moving forward.

The main instrument for the enslavement of the workers (property being invested in the land) has now been taken from the hands of the enemies of the people.

The poor are already approaching the other strongholds of the existing order -- banks, plants, and factories -- and forcing them to serve the people and not the capitalists.

The path of the people toward liberation is hard and thorny. Along with the victories, defeats have sometimes been suffered here.

But a final victory is inevitable, and it is not far distant. The poor of the cities and villages will conquer and destroy wealth and poverty.

Our newspaper will serve the great cause of the struggle of the city and village poor for the final liberation of labor from the rule of capitalism. -- From Bednota (Poverty), 27 March 1918.

LETTER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE RKP ON
PROLETKULTY (PROLETARIAN CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS) (DECEMBER, 1920)

The Central Committee of our party and, with its instructions, the communist fraction of the last All-Russian Congress of Proletkult has adopted the following resolution:

1. On the basis of the interrelations of the proletkult with Narkompros (People's Commissariat of Education), a closer intimacy of the work of both organs should be prescribed in accordance with the resolution of the Ninth Congress of the RKP (Russian Communist Party).

2. The creative work of proletkult should be one of the component parts of the work of Narkompros as an organ effecting proletarian dictatorship in the field of culture.

3. Accordingly, the central organ of proletkult, taking an active part in the political and educational work of the Narkompros, enters it in the status of a section, subordinate to Narkompros and guided in its work by the direction dictated to Narkompros by the RKP.

4. The interrelations of the local organs -- the sections of public education and political education -- with the proletkults are formed according to the following pattern: the local proletkults enter the public education sections as subsections, and they are guided in their work by the direction given to the guberniya public education sections by the guberniya committees of the RKP.

5. The Central Committee of the RKP gives instructions to the Narkompros to create and maintain conditions which will guarantee to the proletarians the opportunity for free creative work in their institutions.

The Central Committee of the RKP considers it necessary to give the following explanations to the comrades of the proletkults, and to the leaders of local and guberniya sections of public education and party organizations.

The proletkult sprang up before the October Revolution. It was proclaimed "independent" by the worker's organization, independent of the Ministry of Public Education at the time of Kerenskiy. The October Revolution changed the perspective. The proletkults continued to be "independent", but now this was "independence" from the Soviet government. For this and a number of other reasons, elements socially alien to us rushed into the proletkults, petty-bourgeois elements, which sometimes actually take the leadership of the proletkults into their own hands. Futurists, decadents, supporters of a hostile Marxism of idealist philosophy, and finally, simply unlucky wretches from the ranks of bourgeois publicists and philosophers, began here and there to change everything in the proletkults.

Under a sort of "proletarian culture," they presented to the workers bourgeois views in philosophy (Machism). And in the field of art they instilled the workers with absurd, unnatural tastes (futurism).

Instead of helping the proletarian youth to study seriously, to extend its communist method of approach to all problems of life and art, these artists and philosophers -- who were essentially far from communism and were hostile to it -- having declared themselves truly proletarian, prevented the workers who had been seized by the proletkults from traveling the wide road of free and real proletarian creative work. The intelligentsia groups and cliques, under the guise of proletarian culture, thrust upon the outstanding workers their own semi-bourgeois philosophical "systems" and devices. The same anti-Marxist opinions, which flourished so prolifically after the defeat of the Revolution of 1905, during the years 1907-1912, occupied the

minds of the "socialist-democratic" intelligentsia, who were drunk at the time of the reaction with divine creation and other types of idealistic philosophy; the anti-Marxist groups of intelligentsia were now trying to instill the proletkults with these same opinions in a disguised form.

If our party until now has not interfered in this matter, then this is explained by the fact that, being occupied with military work on the fronts, our party could not always pay the proper attention to these vital problems. Now, when the opportunity is arising before the party to be more thoroughly occupied with cultural-educational work, the party should pay much more attention to the problems of popular education in general and to the proletkults in particular.

These very intelligentsia elements, which tried to smuggle through their reactionary opinions in the guise of "proletarian culture," are not stirring up loud agitation against the resolution of the Central Committee mentioned above. These elements are trying to interpret the resolution of the Central Committee as a step which will supposedly hinder the workers in their artistic creative work. This, of course, is not so. The best working elements of the proletkults understand completely the motives by which the Central Committee of our party has been guided.

The Central Committee not only does not want to bind the initiative of the working intelligentsia in the field of artistic creative work, it wants to create for it sounder, more normal conditions and give it the opportunity to have a fruitful effect on the whole matter of artistic creative work. The Central Committee clearly realizes the fact that now, when the war is ending, the interest in the problems of artistic creative work and proletarian culture among the workers will grow increasingly. The Central Committee values and respects the aspiration of the outstanding workers to put first problems concerning the richer spiritual development of personality, etc. The party will do everything possible to have this matter really get into

the hands of the working intelligentsia, and to have the worker's government give the working intelligentsia everything necessary for this purpose.

From the draft of directions drawn up by Narkompros and approved by the Central Committee of our party, any interested person will see that the autonomy of the reorganized worker's proletkults in the field of artistic, creative work has been guaranteed. The Central Committee gave quite exact instructions in this plan for the activity of Narkompros. And the Central Committee will watch and instruct the guberniya committees to see that the guardianships over the reorganized proletkults do not become small-minded.

At the same time the Central Committee realizes that in the field of art the same intelligentsia elements which have exerted a corrupting influence in the proletkults have made themselves felt until now in Narkompros itself. The Central Committee is striving to have the above-mentioned bourgeois tendencies eliminated also in the Narkompros. The Central Committee made a special resolution concerning the fact that the guberniya public education sections, which will, in accordance with the new decision, direct the work of the proletkults and will be composed of people who have been strictly examined by the party. In the merging of the guberniya public education sections with the proletkults, the Central Committee sees a guarantee that better proletarian elements, which until now have been united in the proletkults, will now take a very active part in this work and thus help the party to give a truly proletarian nature to all the work of Narkompros. The Central Committee of our party also calls for a merging as close as possible, and for harmonious work among our educational organizations, which should all become -- not in word but in deed -- organs of a real, genuine, proletarian culture. -- From Pravda, 1 December 1920.

THE TENTH CONGRESS OF THE RKP(b) (MARCH, 1921)

Resolution of the Congress on Party Unity

1. The Congress directs the attention of all the members of the party to the fact that unity and solidarity of its numbers, the guarantee of complete trust among the members of the party and of work of truly harmonious, truly realized unity of mind of the vanguard of the proletariat is especially necessary at the present moment, when a number of circumstances are intensifying the indecisiveness among the petty-bourgeois population of the country.

2. Meanwhile, some signs of factionalism have come to light prior to the general party discussion concerning trade-unions in the party, that is, the springing up of groups with special platforms and with the aspiration to withdraw to some extent and create their own group discipline.

It is necessary that all class-conscious workers clearly realize the harm and intolerability of any factionalism whatsoever, which inevitably leads, in fact to the weakening of harmonious work and to intense repeated attempts of enemies who adhere to the governmental party to deepen the division and to use it for the purpose of a counter-revolution.

The utilization by enemies of the proletariat of all deviations from the strictly steadfast communist line showed itself with the greatest clearness in the Kronstadt revolt, when the bourgeois counter-revolution and the white guards in all the countries of the world suddenly revealed their readiness to accept the slogans of even the Soviet regime, just to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia, and when the socialist-revolutionaries and the general bourgeois counter-revolution used the slogans of revolt in Kronstadt as though in the name of the Soviet power, but against the Soviet government in Russia. Such facts show fully that the white guards are striving for and can turn into communists and can even appear to be

"left" of them, just to weaken and overthrow the stronghold of the proletarian revolution in Russia. Menshevik leaflets in Petrograd on the eve of the Kronstadt revolt show similarly how the Mensheviks used the differences within the RKP actually in order to instigate and support the Kronstadt rebels, the socialist-revolutionaries, and the white guards, but appearing in words to be enemies of the revolt and supporters of the Soviet power, with supposedly only small corrections.

3. Propaganda on the given problem should consist, on the one hand, of a detailed explanation of the harm and danger of factionalism from the standpoint of unity of the party and the realization of unity of the will of the vanguard of the proletariat, as basic conditions for the success of the dictatorship of the proletariat; on the other hand, it should consist of an explanation of the originality of the latest tactical methods of the enemies of the Soviet power. These enemies, having been convinced of the hopelessness of the counter-revolution under the unfurled white-guard flag, are now making every effort, using the discord within the RKP, to promote the counter-revolution in any event through the transfer of power to the political groupings which are seemingly closest to acknowledgement of the Soviet power.

The propaganda should also elucidate the experience of the previous revolutions, when the counter-revolution supported the petty-bourgeois groupings closest to the extreme revolutionary party, in order to shake and overthrow the revolutionary dictatorship, thus opening the way for the subsequent complete victory over the counter-revolution, the capitalists, and the landowners.

4. It is necessary that each organization of the party watch closely to see that the absolutely necessary criticism of the shortcomings of the party, any analysis of the general lines of the party, or a calculation of its practical experience, verification of the execution of its decisions,

and the method of correcting errors, etc., be placed for discussion before all the members of the party, and not before groups which are putting together some "platform," etc. For this purpose, the Congress prescribes that a regular "Debate Leaflet" and special collections be published. Each one, appearing with a criticism, should take into consideration the position of the party among the enemies surrounding it, and also should by direct participation in soviet and party work strive for correction in the matter of mistakes of the party.

5. Instructing the Central Committee to carry out a complete abolishment of any factionalism, the Congress declares at the same time that in regard to the problems which attract the special attention of the members of the party -- purifying the party of non-proletarian and unreliable elements, the struggle against bureaucratism, the development of democracy and the independent action of workers, etc. -- any business proposals whatever should be considered with the greatest attention and tested in practical work. All the members of the party should know that for these problems the party will not carry out all the necessary measures, meeting a whole series of various obstacles, and that, while rejecting definitely unbusinesslike and factional criticism, the party will nevertheless continue tirelessly, testing new methods, to struggle with any means against bureaucratism, for the extension of democracy and independent action, and for the revelation, disclosure, and expulsion of those who [falsely] adhere to the party, etc.

6. The Congress prescribes that all groups which have formed on some platform or other be dispersed immediately without exception and instructs all the organizations to watch closely to see that no factional speeches are permitted. Non-observance of this resolution of the Congress should result in unconditional and immediate expulsion from the party.

7. In order to effect strict discipline within the party and in all soviet work and to achieve the greatest unity with the elimination of all

factionalism, the Congress gives the Central Committee the authority to employ, in the case (or cases) of a violation of discipline or the revival or permission of factionalism, all measures of party punishment up to expulsion from the party, and with respect to members of the Central Committee, their reduction to candidate status and even, as an extreme measure, expulsion from the party. As a condition for the application of such a severe measure (for members of the Central Committee, candidates to the Central Committee, and members of the Control Commission) there should be a convocation of a plenum of the Central Committee with an invitation to all candidates of the Central Committee and all members of the Control Committee. If such a general meeting of the most responsible leaders of the party finds necessary by a two-thirds vote the reduction of a member of the Central Committee to candidate status or his expulsion from the party, then such a measure should be carried out immediately.

(Note: Point 7 of the above resolution, in accordance with a decision of the [Tenth] Congress, was not published; it was presented for the first time in a report by I. V. Stalin at the 13th Party Conference.)

Resolution of the Congress on Glavpolitprosvet and Agitation and Propaganda

Tasks of the Party

1. The center of the main work of Glavpolitprosvet (Main Administration of Institutions for Political Education) and its organs should lie in agitation-propaganda work among the masses outside the party and in their cultural education, but the apparatus and personnel of Glavpolitprosvet should also be used in every way possible for raising the level of knowledge among party members (via party schools of basic political knowledge, etc.).

The center of the main work of the agitation-propaganda sections of party committees, besides guidance of the appropriate subordinate organs of Glavpolitprosvet, should consist of work within the party for raising the knowledgeability of its members and for their communist education.

Party work among the masses outside the party should be: direction of non-party conferences and congresses, agitation during elections to the soviets, agitation-propaganda work in connection with recruiting of new members, and general agitation-propaganda work in connection with organizations.

2. Mutual relations of Glavpolitprosvet with the cultural-educational divisions of trade unions should be constructed on the basis of mutual agreement on the following principle: That VTsSPS (All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions) and Gubprofsovety (Guberniya Councils of Trade Unions) combine their own political-educational work with the corresponding organs of Glavpolitprosvet and will then use their own goals the apparatus and personnel of Glavpolitprosvet.

3. Mutual relations with RKSM (Russian Communist Youth Union) are determined also by means of mutual agreements on the following bases: RKSM conducts its own independent work among the members of the union on the basis of a single political-educational plan. But in the field of work among the worker-peasant youth outside the union, Glavpolitprosvet relies upon the union as if it were its own contractor, and as long as the union coordinates the plan of its own educational work with the general state plan. Glavpolitprosvet does not create its own independent organ for work among the youth.

4. The control and guidance of the political-educational work in the Red Army and Navy should belong to Glavpolitprosvet. Political-educational work in the extra-territorial military units and institutions (divisions, separate brigades and units) is directed by the puokry (political administrations of military districts) and by the poarmy (political education sections of the army) and the managing of political-educational work is controlled entirely by Glavpolitprosvet although the established subordination of military organs of administration and commands is preserved.

For precise establishment of mutual relations between the political sections and the local party organizations, as well as for examining a number of questions related to the transfer of direction of the political work in the army to Glavpolitprosvet, the congress has ordered the Central Committee to convoke, within one month, a meeting of responsible military workers and members of Glavpolitprosvet and to confirm conclusively and put into practice a system of new mutual relationships in the field of political work in the Red Army.

5. Glavpolitprosvet should enter into the general system of Narkompros [Peoples Commissariat of Education], which confirms the organizational plan of Glavpolitprosvet and controls its fulfillment, coordinating the work of Glavpolitprosvet with the work of other organs of Narkompros.

The indicated mutual relationships should not impede the transformation of Glavpolitprosvet, in its basic work into a direct apparatus of the party within the system of government organs.

6. One of the fundamental tasks of Glavpolitprosvet is the widespread raising, directing, and assisting in anti-religious agitation and propaganda among the broad mass of workers. For this goal, Glavpolitprosvet should, by the way, make natural and historical knowledge accessible to these masses via the publication of magazines, books, textbooks, the establishing of a systematic series of lectures and the utilization of all kinds of modern techniques (photos, movies, etc.) for the dissemination of this knowledge.

7. For successful fulfillment of their basic tasks, and of mass communist propaganda and agitation, Glavpolitprosvet should acquire the flexibility of the party apparatus, sensitivity toward the requirements of the masses, mobility, combining these qualities with systematism, accuracy, speed and work according to a known plan. In addition to the urgency of supplying the workers Glavpolitprosvet and all of its apparatus, this can be achieved only with the transferring to political-educational work of a

sufficient quantity of responsible members of the party who have sufficient experience in agitation-propaganda work. For achieving this same goal and for avoiding the creation of cadres with narrow specialties in political work, isolated from the atmosphere of general party activities, it is necessary systematically to rotate the Glavpolitprosvet workers into general party work, for the uninterrupted replacement of the persons who have left by new cadres from the workers of the party organization.

Agitation and Propaganda Tasks of the Party Organs

For intensifying and improving the quality of agitation-propaganda work of the party, the congress finds it necessary to effect the following measures:

8. The most outstanding party writers must have a party obligation to take part in the compilation of popular brochures on the important questions which are arousing the broad masses, and on the regular tasks of Soviet construction. Besides this, the party should strengthen the mobilization of better agitation personnel in the center and in the local areas for their trips into the volosts, the villages, places where the army is stationed, for making speeches in factories, in areas of mass labor conscription, etc. It is also desirable to have mutual exchanges^{of} agitation forces for short periods between neighboring guberniyas for a greater variety in methods and content of agitation.

9. It is necessary that all newly entered members take a short course for familiarization with the program. In addition, all newly entered members should be divided into small circles and distributed for processing among all responsible workers. Every senior communist should bear personal responsibility before the party for the education of the junior communists assigned to his group. The references by circle directors should serve as important material for evaluation of a newly entered comrade in the reregistering of new members.

10. The minimum program which the party should set for itself in the field of party schools in the coming year should be the following: in addition to the organization of two-year courses at the party university, the creation of four higher universities and oblast soviet party schools [Sovpartshkola] higher than the guberniya types, the party should secure a good supply of soviet party schools in every guberniya city with two or three graduations a year, and should organize uyezd Soviet party schools in not less than half the uyezds of [each] republic for a brief program. It is necessary to assign general forces to Glavpolitprosvet, Sverdlovsk University and the Agitation Section of the Central Committee in order to ensure the uyezd schools not less than 300 sufficiently trained lecturers. It is necessary to require all responsible workers of the party to be lecturers at the party schools and to regard this work as one of the most important of their duties. For the purpose of creating a series of communist textbooks, it is necessary to complete the mobilization of a number of responsible party writers by the Central Committee and to introduce a system of training for two months of the year in order that all mobilized comrades fulfill this task as well as refresh their knowledge. Besides this, it is necessary in every way to support the organization, around the responsible senior workers, of groups of young student communists, utilizing for this purpose the scientific facilities of the Socialist Academy.

11. The work of the Russian Communist Union of Youth [RKSM] has great, quite exceptional importance in the matter of communist education and self-education of the worker-peasant youth. The party should give the union much more attention and aid than it has up to now. For its own part, the party should demand from the workers of the union a concentration of the bulk of its work, not toward representation of every type in Soviet organs, not toward the simple increasing of its membership, but toward aiding members of the union to master scientific communist education. Each responsible

worker of the union should be first of all a propogandist among the backward comrades, and then a worker in other fields of activity in the Russian Communist Union of Youth.

12. In its program of agitation work, the party in the coming year should include the creation of agitation sections [agitotdely] under all guberniya committees, oblast committees, bureaus of the Central Committee and large party committees. These agitation sections will not have an unnecessarily large apparatus, but will be supplied with sufficient leading party personnel, and the heads of sections will be released from all other regular work. Women's sections [zhednotdely] and sections for work in the villages should be included in the general system of agitation sections of a given organization. The soviet party schools are organized and conducted for political education under general theoretical guidance of party committees.

13. The head of an agitation section of a guberniya committee should be, as a rule, a member of the guberniya committee. At the head of the guberniya unit of Glavpolitprosvet should stand a highly responsible worker, preferably also a member of the guberniya committee; it is permissible to have persons holding several jobs in these posts only where there is a considerable shortage of personnel.

The congress orders all the agitation-propaganda organs of the party and Glavpolitprosvet to develop the most efficient agitation in connection with new zones of revolution and with the task of the struggle with the petit-bourgeois counter-revolutionaries.

The above resolutions of the tenth congress are taken from KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh, vol 1, pp 527-530, 549-553.

ON ANTIRELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA (AUGUST, 1921)

8. The agitation section of the Central Committee and Glavpolitprosvet are to work on a series of popular scientific brochures, which answer as completely as possible the questions set forth in point 7; they are to revise those brochures and books of antireligious character which are issued by the press, and to determine how many of them should be republished; they are to outline new themes and to order written new brochures; as well as turning their attention toward the proper organization of the newspaper "Church and the Revolution."

(NOTE: Point 7 treats of the necessity for conducting serious cultural educational work which will introduce a scientific foundation for the historical elucidation of the question of religion.)

9. It is necessary that the editorial staffs of party organs, particularly mass organs, vary their own antireligious propaganda, that they do this seriously, intensify it. From time to time, the very reliable organs, where there are good literary staffs who have been well briefed in these questions, should issue popular scientific features, which would help the less developed workers and peasants to develop new attitudes toward the questions of religion and morals.

10. In antireligious debates as well as in the press, narrowly directed agitation sometimes aimed at one or another cult is to be carefully avoided; on the contrary, it is to be systematically emphasized that the Russian Communist Party struggles not against any separate religious group, but against all religious world views in general. Anything which would give occasion for any individual nationality to think -- or for our enemies to say -- that we turn people from their beliefs is to be carefully avoided.

From the 9 August 1921 Decree of the Plenum of the Central Committee RKP(b) "On the Question of the Violation of Point 13 of the Program and on the Establishment of Antireligious Propaganda," Spravochnik Partijnogo Rabotnika [The Party Worker's Handbook], second edition, pp 92-93.

THE 11TH CONGRESS OF THE RKP(b) (MARCH, 1922)

Resolution of the Congress on the Press and Propaganda

On the basis of the growth of capitalist attitudes, the intensification of the bourgeois influence is inevitable not only in the petty-bourgeois strata of society, but even in the more backward sector of the proletariat. Having established that the bourgeoisie is striving by means of literature and cultural works to influence the working masses, the Congress believes that it will be necessary to counteract these influences with energetic political work. The party, therefore, should expand and intensify in every possible way its agitation and propaganda work.

I

The press is one of the most powerful instruments in the struggle of the party for influence upon the masses and for their communist education and organization.

Meanwhile, the party and soviet press finds itself in a state of very severe crisis. The most characteristic features of the crisis are: (a) a sharp reduction of the quantity of newspapers and a decrease of circulation in other publications, due to the lack of monetary means, the shortage and expensiveness of paper, and the excessiveness of typographic expenses; (b) weak ties with the masses, insufficiently complete reflection of the current needs and requests of the working people, and poor elucidation of the problems of local construction; (c) the insufficient firmness of newspapers in their party and political aspects; (d) complete lack of organization in the apparatus of dissemination, particularly among the worker and peasant masses.

The party committees, which bear the main responsibility for the condition of the press, exhibit, in an overwhelming majority of cases, a careless

and negligent attitude toward the requests and needs of the press. A resolution of the Eighth Congress of the RKP on the press and circulars of the Central Committee RKP on the improvement of local newspapers and the registration of journalists, etc., have not been put into practice by local organizations in the majority of cases.

Because of these considerations the Congress decrees that:

1. The central and local committees of the party must henceforth devote much more attention to the problem of the press than it has heretofore. The party-political management of the entire press must be strengthened. Each party committee must select special cadres of workers of the press. Leading elements of the party committee must have charge of party publications without fail. The congress considers newspaper work to be basic party work for the communist journalist.
2. The nature of the local press must be decisively changed. Problems concerning local construction and the life, work, and struggle of the workers must serve as the basic contents of the local newspapers, and these problems must be considered in the pages of the newspaper in the form of a vital, direct response to the requests and needs of the readers. The district (uyezd) press, except for specific workers' regions, must be exclusively peasant; the guberniya press must devote much space to peasant problems; special peasant newspapers must be organized in a number of oblast centers.
3. The Congress approves the decision of the Central Committee to establish, on the tenth anniversary of Pravda (5 May 1922), an All-Russian Press Day; the Congress directs all local organizations to turn their serious attention to conducting Press Day.
4. The Congress will permit the participation of communists in private publications only as an exception, with the permission of the appropriate party committees.
5. Considering that for the press the normal way out of an embarrassing situation consists in the expansion of subscriptions and the increase of

copies for sale, the Congress in the present transitional period will acknowledge the necessity of giving material support to the press and instructs the Central Committee to take measures immediately for the securing of monetary means and newsprint for Soviet and party newspapers.

6. Resulting from the fact that the party organs are being disseminated to an extremely insignificant degree and that hundreds and thousands of members of the party do not read their own party newspapers, the Congress resolves that it is the duty of each member of the party to read and subscribe (individually and collectively) to one of the party newspapers.

7. The Congress finds that the press organs of the Komsomol must obtain support of every kind; in particular, independent organs of the union must be preserved in a number of large guberniya centers, and elsewhere the "Young People's Page" should be kept in party and Soviet organs. The press of the Komsomol should publish under the general management of the guberniya party committees.

8. Noting that until the present time in many guberniya and oblast committees no apparatus has been created for the management of the press, the Congress proposes that the guberniya and oblast committees organize -- without delay -- subdivisions of the press on the basis of the statute adopted in the meeting of oblast and guberniya party secretaries (December, 1921).

9. The Congress is turning its attention to the publication of newspapers and literature in general for the national minorities, in the Turkic languages in particular.

II

1. The development of the work of Marxist education is absolutely impossible without the creation of a fund of appropriate literature. Noting the development of private publishing houses hostile to the Soviet power, the Congress turns the attention of the Central Committee and the party

committees -- oblast centers above all -- to the necessity of setting up a publishing house of militant agitation-propaganda and Marxist literature. The Congress approves the decision of the Central Committee concerning the conversion of the publishing house of Glavpolitprosvet into a direct party publishing house of popular-agitational, anti-religious, Marxist literature. The party publishing house should answer the requests of the workers and the peasant masses. Considering the inadequacy of the publication of Marxist textbooks in the past year, it will be necessary to take all measures for their writing and publication, after choosing for this purpose a sufficient number of workers and coordinating the work in this field in the local areas. The Congress instructs the Central Committee to take measures to see that in the very near future the Marxist classics -- primarily the Marxist works of Plekhanov -- are published.

2. Regarding the periodicals of the guberniya party committees, they should contain: first, guiding political articles; second, material for agitators and propagandists in the form of theses, etc; third, circular and information material concerning the activity of the guberniya committee; fourth, discussion material. General periodicals of such a type should replace existing special publications: Izvestiya Gubkomov [News of Guberniya Committees], Vestnik Agitpropagandy [Herald of Agitation and Propaganda], Sputnik Agitatorov [Agitators' Guide], etc.

3. Vestnik Agitatsii i Propagandy [Herald of Agitation and Propaganda], an organ of the Central Committee RKP, should be published once every two weeks and should be a periodical designed for members of the party, giving basic guiding material on problems of politics, economics, agitation, and propaganda. The party publishing houses should be ahead of private ones in all organs.

4. The Congress recognizes the extreme necessity of the creation of literature for the working and peasant youth, which could be an opposing influence upon the young people against the cheap literature which is arising,

and promote the communist training of the masses of youth. The Congress approves the decision of the Central Committee concerning the publication of a large, popular-scientific, literary, and artistic periodical and instructs the Central Committee to expand this undertaking, creating in the very near future, with the participation of the Komsomol, a popular-scientific and artistic library for young people.

III

1. The clean-up (chistka) has revealed, on the average, an extremely low level of political training of the members of the party. Hence the task of systematically raising of the level of Marxist political education of the party masses. This task is to be carried out chiefly by a system of party and Soviet-party schools -- from schools of the political rudiments up to and including the highest party schools.

The school and propaganda functions of the cells should be reduced to a minimum. The renewal and strengthening in every way of ties with the non-party masses should be the principal purpose of the cell. The cell should justify its purpose: to be the primary unit of the party organization, directly and daily connecting the party with the masses. It will be necessary to place the practical daily work, tied to current policy and directly concerning the material basis of the life of the masses, in the center of its internal work. The tasks of systematic, profound, theoretical, Marxist education should be carried out with the help of the system of schools, courses, and clubs, since in the very near future it will be necessary:

(a) definitely to re-examine, organize, and consolidate a network of party and Soviet schools, so that in each guberniya city and (in the guberniyas themselves) in each two or three districts (uyezds) there will be one school of the appropriate level;

(b) to extend the existing network of party schools for the elimination of political illiteracy among the members of the party. These schools should

unite several cells. They should take stock of the political literacy of the members of the party. The members of the party who do not satisfy the elemental requirements of political literacy should without fail attend schools of political literacy, with a release from party duties during the time they are in school; it is necessary to organize into Marxist circles those having elemental political training;

(c) to carry on and strengthen the organization of schools of a higher type, the Institute of Red Professors, courses under the Socialist Academy, two-year courses at the Sverdlov and Zinov'yev Universities, the Communist University of National Minorities of the West, and the University of Workers of the East; to achieve an exact demarcation of the tasks of each of these institutions of higher type, and to achieve their correct functioning. The Congress directs the attention of the local party organizations and the Central Committee to the necessity for a more careful selection of students in these schools;

(d) the Congress proposes that the Central Committee and the guberniya committees choose for specialization in the field of lecturing and teaching, work cadres of Marxist trained comrades, having taken measures for their complete material support. At the same time, the Congress acknowledges the necessity of reserving, from each group graduating from the guberniya Soviet and party school, groups of students for training for lecture work;

(e) the Congress acknowledges the necessity of instituting in the center and in the provinces the working out of problems of pedagogy and methodology in education in the spirit of Marxism;

(f) the Congress directs the attention of the Central Committee of the party to the necessity for improving material conditions in the Soviet and party schools. Noting that the great majority of students of the schools have continued their studies in spite of cold and hunger in the school, regarding their studies in the school as their highest party duty, the

Congress considers it necessary also to instruct the Central Committee to find means for immediate improvement of the material condition of the Soviet and party schools.

2. Along with the system of schools, it will be necessary to raise and develop the work of the party clubs and Marxist circles, turning them into weapons of party education, seriously cultivating a Marxist attitude in the members of the party. It will be necessary to give special attention to the party clubs, converting them into a center of exchange of experience in practical work among party workers and, moreover, into a center of intra-party propaganda work.

IV

The Congress considers it one of the main tasks of the present period to raise to the proper level the political educational work in the villages. This work should chiefly be connected with the problem of the raising of agricultural production. Noting that in connection with the new economic policy, village reading rooms have been abolished almost everywhere, the Congress considers necessary the revival of those reading rooms, which should be made the center of all the political educational work in the villages. It will be necessary to make the reading rooms the center of correct and regular information for the wide masses of the peasantry concerning the political life of the country (the regular delivery of newspapers, oral reading of them, discussion, etc.). The Congress considers necessary the financing of the reading ^{rooms} halls from local means of guberniya executive committees and the enlisting of cooperatives for their subsidization, with the necessary condition of the retention of the managing role by the party and the sections of political education. The Congress entrusts Glavpolitprosvet with conducting conference courses and meetings of the workers of village reading rooms in the very near future in the center and in the provinces. In addition,

the Congress directs the attention of party committees to the necessity for more careful selection of these workers from comrades who have been organically connected with the village.

Along with this, it will be necessary to intensify the attention of the party organizations toward the cultural and political educational work of Vserabotzemles [?] through the strengthening and extension of the network of cultural and educational bases under secretariats and sovkhoses.

V

1. The Congress considers necessary the strengthening of agitprop (agitation and propaganda) sections, selecting comrades for their management who have adequate Marxist training, and transforming them into fighting centers of struggle for Marxist ideology and ideological influence of the party on the masses.

2. The Congress confirms the resolution of the Tenth Congress concerning Glavpolitprosvet and its organs and categorically censures the striving of some party committees to abolish the work of the political educational sections (politprosvet); in particular, it will be necessary to allot for them, from the top to the bottom, strictly reserved sums from the funds of the People's Commissariat of Education. The guberniya committees, which have been obliged to provide for this work sufficiently steadfast party workers and to help with the work of the political educational sections with both their own instructions and their own authority, are being made responsible by the Congress for the correct organization of the work of the sections of political education.

3. In the field of interrelations of the sections of agitation and propaganda, political education, and trade-union cultural sections, the Congress, confirming the resolution of the Tenth Congress on this problem, finds expedient a personnel union in the managing staff of the sections of

agitation and propaganda and of political education. The Congress directs the attention of the party committees to the necessity for a more careful selection of leaders of the cultural sections of the trade-unions. -- From KPSS v Resolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh, vol 1, pp 642-648.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE LETTER ON THE PLAN
OF LOCAL NEWSPAPERS (JUNE 1922)

(Letter of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party,
7 June 1922:)

Dear Comrades! To fulfill the decree of the 11th Congress of the Russian Communist Party on the press, the Agitation and Propaganda Section of the Central Committee proposes to form local party and Soviet newspapers, keeping to the following general plan:

The Guberniya Newspaper

The main task of the guberniya general political newspaper is the reflection and portrayal of the life of the guberniya in all of its manifestations. Local material must occupy a large portion of space in the paper.

1. Lead article: 80-120 lines. The articles must be of a concrete character. Basically they must be based on definite events and facts, more often on local political and economic news, on general republic news, and only in exceptional cases on international news.

2. The second, purely business article on questions of local construction.

From time to time it is necessary to publish articles specially connected with party life and party construction.

Two lead articles are definitely sufficient for a guberniya newspaper. Exceptions are permitted only in rare instances. Sometimes it is possible to limit the paper to one article. The lead and secondary articles should give

guidance and direction, and outline the basic line of conduct. The lead and secondary articles are not to be conversations, or discourses, but political instructions and directives.

3. News of the Soviet Republics: information from Radio ROSTA (Russian Telegraph Agency Radio Station), processed and combined in the sections of the press according to character and content. Accounts are to be concrete and popular in quality. Its normal space will be 120 to 150 lines. The space is to be expanded with the occurrence of important events, depending on the importance of the event.

4. International news: only outstanding events. Labor's struggle against capitalism. The revolutionary movement. All events and facts having immediate bearing on the Soviet Republic. Materials are to be combined into summaries and distributed according to the sections. Normal space will be 80 to 100 lines.

5. Party life: one of the main sections. Thorough portrayal of the work of the local organizations, ^{up} ~~down~~ to and including the most important cells. Notices, correspondence and chronicle. Space will be 120 to 150 lines.

6. Labor and Trade Union News: these are two sections which may be united into one. Portrayal of the worker's life in all of its manifestations. Letters from local workers. The work of the trade unions, workers' cooperatives, and plant trade-union committees. Space will be 150 to 200 lines.

7. Industry: condition and work of local industry. Influence of the new economic policy on it. Private industry. Facts and figures, vividly brought out and explained. Space will be 100 to 150 lines.

8. Agriculture: the condition of agriculture in the guberniya. The work of the local agricultural departments. The work of the village committees. The question of soil improvement. Space will be 100 to 150 lines.

In industrial guberniyas the main focus is to be on industry and the worker's life, and in agricultural guberniyas, on agriculture and rural life.

9. Cooperatives: the work of the gubsoyuz (guberniya union of consumer and cooperative organizations) and other cooperative institutions. The work of agriculture cooperatives. The influence of cooperatives on the market. Space will be 80 to 100 lines.

10. News of the Red Army: 50 to 70 lines.

11. Correspondence from uyezds. This section must be well provided with news. The life of the uyezds as a whole must be portrayed in it. A certain portion must be devoted to correspondence from uyezds where there are no newspapers. Space will be 150 to 200 lines.

12. Question and answer section. Answers to readers' letters. Answers explained in detail, and information given in popular form. A direct, live tie with the readers as established through this section.

These are the regular required sections. These must be carried daily, as far as possible. The remaining space in the paper is to be occupied by various other material not already contained within the limits of the aforementioned sections. (Municipal services, public education, health, city chronicle, etc.)

Of course, besides these regular sections it is frequently necessary to create "shock" sections, for example: "Famine," "Genoa," "Soving Campaign," etc.

The size of the different sections may vary in one direction or another, depending on the nature of the material.

The Uyezd Newspaper

News of the Uyezd is the major subject of the uyezd newspaper; following it, in order of importance, come: news of the guberniya, news of the Soviet Republic, and international news.

The uyezd material occupies predominate space in the paper. Regular sections are not compulsory in the paper; one may select only those that are main and vital.

A single lead, concrete-fact article is enough. Perhaps a second, regular article. Each article is to be of 60 to 80 lines.

General, republic information is to be given in the form of combined summaries. From international news, only main events and facts are to be selected, and also given in combined summaries.

The lead articles, general republic and international information are to occupy a third of the paper. The remaining two thirds are to be devoted to news of the uyezd and guberniya.

The news of the uyezd must be broadly and fully portrayed. Agriculture and rural life are to be placed first. Correspondence from volosts (small rural areas) and villages, letters from peasants, work of agricultural administrations, village committees, etc. As much factual demonstrative material as possible, and a minimum of theoretical discourse.

Special attention is to be devoted to agricultural cooperatives, soil improvement, land management, and the improvement of agricultural techniques. There must be a required section for party news. Industry, labor and trade-union news must occupy second place in the uyezd paper if the uyezd is not an industrial center.

Complete and thorough portrayal of the handicraft industry.

A question and answer section for the letters of the readers is compulsory. This section has exceptional importance in the uyezd paper, as the main readers are peasants who need counsel, explanation, and information. -- From Spreyochnik Partiynogo Rabotnika, third edition, pp 142-143.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE LETTER
ON PARTY MAGAZINES (JUNE 1922)

(Letter of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party,
July 7, 1922:)

All the guberniya and uyezđ committees must keep in mind that all the circulars and decrees of the Central Committee and the party congresses about the press pertain both to newspapers and to party magazines to an equal degree.

Keeping in mind the great task which stands before the party journalists, the guberniya committees should also create appropriate conditions for the work of editorial staffs of magazines.

The editor and secretary should not be overloaded with work which does not have any relation to the magazine.

The more or less permanent sections of the magazine, which include whole groups of problems, are basically the following:

1. Problems of Intra-Party Life

This includes explanations of resolutions and decrees of the guiding institutions of the party (congresses, conferences, the Central Committee of the party, guberniya committees, etc.), as well as discussions of problems of intra-party life, letters from local areas, etc.

2. General Political Problems

In this section belong items: (1) dedicated to problems of domestic and foreign politics and explaining the main measures of the Soviet regime; (2) concerning problems of the international workers and the communist movement; (3) explaining the tactics of the political parties which are hostile to us, etc.

3. Economic and Working Life

In this section it is necessary to put items and matters illuminating problems of our economic construction, agriculture, trade unions, cooperatives, the economic struggle between labor and capitalism, etc., on the basis of local experience.

4. Problems of the Press, Agitation, and Propaganda

This section has as a task the management and instruction of party work in the field of the press, agitation, and propaganda, as well as the reporting of local experience.

5. The Agitator's Handbook

Here it is necessary to give guiding, accurate material which is necessary for our agitators in their daily work. The section should be formed under the direct management of the agitator-propagandist.

6. Organizational Work of the Party

The most important circulars of the guiding party institutions are placed in this section. Facts about the activity of guberniya and ^{uyezd} district committees are given in a condensed form. The section is formed under the direct management of the Organizational and Instructor Section.

7. Bibliography

Here are given references on books and brochures of a social and political nature. The bibliographic notes should keep in view the practical needs of the party workers and help them in the selection of necessary literature for self-education and for their daily work.

Different names may be given to a section, and materials may be grouped in different ways, but in general the magazine only carries out its duty when it includes the groups of problems which have been enumerated above. A special discussion section should not be established. Items of a discussionable nature, if they do not exceed the limits of the program of our

party, and if they are not directed against decisions of the corresponding party organs which have already been formed, should be printed in the corresponding sections. -- From Spravochnik Partiyynogo Rabotnika, third edition, pp 143-144.

THE 12TH CONGRESS OF THE RKP(b) (APRIL 1923)

From the Resolution of the Congress on Industry

14. Printing

The question of the correct adjustment of the printing situation has not only economic but also great cultural significance.

The Congress acknowledges that the present situation of printing is unsatisfactory and considers it necessary to adopt decisive measures for its improvement.

It is necessary to improve the technical level of publication, directing it first of all at a mass market. The question of the organization of the printing industry must be decided in the shortest possible time and must be directed so that the most prominent and important state publishing houses will have the opportunity for a broad, correct, technically satisfactory work situation. -- From KPSS v Resolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh, vol I, p 705.

From the Resolution of the Congress on the National Question

The congress commissions the Central Committee to conduct as practical measures:

- a. the formation of Marxist circles of a higher type, from local party workers of the national republics;
- b. the development of principal Marxist literature in the native languages;

- c. the strengthening of the University of the Peoples of the East and its local branches;
- d. the creation of instructor groups from the local workers under central committees of national Communist Parties;
- e. the development of mass party literature in the native languages;
- f. intensification of party educational work in the republics;
- g. intensification of work among the young people in the republics. --

From KPSS v Resolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh, vol I, p 718.

Resolution of the Congress on Questions of Propaganda, Press, and Agitation

I

1. The unifying and guiding work of the party must be directed as soon as possible toward the conclusion of the unification, now under way, into one coordinated system of all branches of communist education; party organs in both the center and outlying areas, in conducting the work, must establish everywhere one and the same main task: to train the worker and the peasant to be a practical worker of the revolution, armed with the methods of the Marxist approach to specific questions of revolutionary construction.

2. In the entire system of communist education, as before, the central spot must be occupied by mass elementary political education in party schools and courses on the rudiments of political knowledge, in primary schools and schools of the political section [politchast] of the Red Army, at delegation meetings of workers and peasants, and at likpunkty (stations for liquidation of illiteracy) and schools for the semiliterate in the city and village.

Elementary political education within the party must be conducted on the basis of results of a check on the political literacy of the members of the party, and this check should be in the nature of systematic work according to established plans for calculating the political knowledge and Marxist training of all party members.

The party, continuing to work with its usual energy toward the elimination of political illiteracy, among party members, the RKSM, the working youth, and members of trade unions and the Red Army, must in the near future, establish as an immediate task the elimination of political illiteracy among the village communists, strive tirelessly for increasing the scope of this work toward the inclusion of all pre-conscription youth, and those circles of non-party, poverty-stricken peasants which are closest to the party.

Of primary concern in the work of the party organizations -- and particularly in agricultural areas -- are: forming the most rational channels for this elimination [of political illiteracy]; broad development and utilization to these ends of cultural-political sponsorship of the village party cell by the large factory and plant enterprises, by Soviet party schools, and by workers' faculties and higher educational institutions; and training and utilization of the elements among rural school teachers who are closest to the party, workers in village cooperatives, agronomists, etc., for political education in the village.

The elimination of political illiteracy among party members and non-party national minorities must be conducted in the appropriate native language. In this, as in all work in elementary political education among adults, serious attention must be paid to overcoming general technical illiteracy in the native language, first of all among members of the party and trade unions.

3. Club work, which has recently enveloped more and more of the broad mass of workers, especially the working youth, must in the near future be placed on a level in accordance with its increasing significance. The clubs must be converted into actual centers for mass propaganda and development of the creative abilities of the working class. However, the utilization of the club as a place of rest and reasonable entertainment must be kept in

mind. A bond must be established between club work and everyday life and revolutionary practice in various ways, depending on the type of club (party, Komsomol, worker, Red Army).

Special attention should be directed by party committees to the working out of methods of club work and the utilization of the experience gained in well-established clubs (which up to now have not been numerous) for the whole club network, and to reinforcing workers' clubs with party personnel and concentrating around the clubs the heretofore scattered work in a scholastic communist education.

The party committees must unite under their guidance the club work of the ^{politprosve+y ONO} political education committees of (public education divisions), cultural sections of trade unions, political education committees of the RKSM and political sections [politotdely] of the Red Army. The tendency observed in some localities of several of the above organizations to conduct this work separately must be quickly eliminated by the party committees.

4. The restoration of the primary form of educational work in the village, the reading room, suggested by the 11th Party Congress as one of the most important immediate tasks, has not yet produced any significant results. The agitation and propaganda sections of the party organs and the political education workers of ONO should exert every effort to fulfill the instructions of the 11th Congress: to establish a substantial network of reading rooms in each guberniya, not less than one per volost, supported by local funds; to attract to their membership village societies, cooperatives, and economic organizations; to improve the selection of reading rooms workers, organizing their training in Soviet party schools.

The work of likpunkty and schools for the semiliterate, with their elementary political education of the peasantry, must be concentrated around the reading rooms, insofar as the latter are restored. Sponsorship of the village by the city must also be utilized in their work. Around the reading rooms must be grouped all the cultural units of the village, at present few

in number, able to work hand in hand with the party; dissemination of newspapers and political educational literature to the village must be conducted through them. All political educational work of the reading rooms must be as closely related to questions of agricultural production and the everyday needs of the peasant as the work of the city club is related to questions of production and the everyday needs of the worker in the factory and plant.

5. Without expanding the network of Soviet party schools and communist universities proposed last year, the party and political educational committees must concentrate all their attention on the following as soon as possible:

- a. establishing precisely the practical aims of these schools;
- b. improving the selection of students, from the standpoint of industrial and practical experience, and increasing the senior age groups in the make-up of the Soviet party schools;
- c. creating the material opportunity for attendance at these schools by workers who have families, by providing for the latter;
- d. strengthening the general material basis of the Soviet party schools;
- e. improving the scholastic work, academic work, and cultural-educational work in these schools;
- f. reinforcing their workers.

6. The academic-educational experience of the Soviet party schools and communist universities must be studied, systematized, and publicized in the party and political educational periodical press. The experience of the communist universities, as the highest qualified party schools, must be used by the Soviet party schools of the first, and especially the second, level.

In view of the extreme shortage of necessary methodological and other scholastic aids and materials in the local party schools of the national minorities and in national branches of guberniya Soviet party schools, KUTZ

(Communist University of Working Peoples of the East) and KUNZ [probably Communist University of Minority Nationalities of the West] must supply them with such aids and materials.

The party organizations, while by no means losing sight of the basic tasks of the Soviet party schools (i.e. the training of a command staff for party, trade union, and Soviet agencies in the local areas), must, along with this, set themselves the task of transforming the Soviet party schools and communist universities into model schools of communist education; social economic and political education in all schools -- above all in military and specialist schools and in workers' faculties -- must be brought closer to the communist university model for such education.

No matter what the basic tasks are in each type of school (higher educational institutions and technical schools in particular) the school produces a specialist in one or another branch of construction and at the same time must prepare him to be a public political worker armed with Marxist theory.

7. All of the most valuable achievements in the Soviet party schools, communist universities and military-political schools in the field of methods of academic work with an adult worker-peasant audience, must become the common possession of all schools for adults. A break with all of the old authoritative dogmatic methods of instruction and a transition to methods developing the habit of gathering independently, especially in small circles, of doing research and intensive work on the study material, must be the immediate task of the day. It is necessary to proceed to the fulfillment of this task wherever there is the least opportunity, training, in the appropriate manner, cadres of teachers which are available for this task.

8. Everything in the field of communist education that cannot be included in the framework of academic study as such must be taken up in widely developed, extra-academic, political, educational work, especially club work.

9. Marxist circles, organized on the basis of voluntary enrollment, must, according to the scope, volume, and degree of their depth of learning in the problems of theory and practice of Marxism, be approximated to courses of the Soviet party schools and communist universities.

The heterogeneity of methods of organization and content of the work of these circles, which has prevailed up to this time, must be brought to an end by concentrating them around clubs, by concentrating their leadership in the hands of the agitation and propaganda sections of the party committees through organs of these clubs, and by unifying the programs issuing from the center.

In the organization of Marxist circles it is necessary to take into consideration the availability of trained leaders and the general level of the members of a given party organization.

10. The deep thirst for knowledge both among members of the party and non-party workers and peasants is not confined, especially in the village, to the present limits of the work of schools, clubs, and circles. This brings before the party a new, heretofore ignored, task: first, the organization of communist education of party members at home, and second, the unification and guidance of the work of agencies of Narkompros, trade unions, and RKSM in communist self-education of the workers. It is necessary to unite this self-education work around clubs in the city and reading rooms in the village, converting it into a permanent element of work in communist education.

11. Party organizations must in every way strive to include schools for children and youth in their sphere of influence, and to concentrate party personnel as soon as possible chiefly in factory and plant schools.

12. It is necessary to coordinate under united party guidance the program and methodological work of all of the organs of the party, Narkompros, the Red Army, the trade unions, and the RKSM which are managing communist

education in the center and in local areas forming for this a special scientific methodological commission under the Agitation and Propaganda Section of the Central Committee.

13. It is necessary for Narkompros and the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party to take all measures toward actively organizing work which has heretofore been in an extremely poor state: the preparation and publication of textbooks and teaching aids, particularly for the national minorities; to this end they should select, as soon as possible, a special group of competent comrades; some of the latter should be completely free from any other responsibilities, and others should be relieved of them to the greatest extent feasible.

14. It is necessary to adopt quickly a series of measures on training and refresher training of communist education workers.

15. It is necessary to expedite a series of measures for the complete registration and expedient use of all party members who are able to conduct work in communist education, by removing such comrades from other branches of soviet, party, and other work and transferring them to work in communist education.

16. To reserve for the needs of educational work in the villages (reading rooms, schools, libraries, etc.), -- work which will be of exceptional political significance in the near future -- not less than half the party personnel who are being assigned to the villages.

17. Considering that the execution of the decree of the 11th Party Congress concerning intensification of agitation and propaganda (see part V, point 1, of the resolution on the press and propaganda) during the past year barely progressed at all, it is necessary to prepare carefully, and during the next six months to carry out, special mobilization for the immediate reinforcement of the agitation and propaganda sections of the party with qualified workers. Three-month summer courses for the chiefs of agitation and propaganda sections of party committees (held in

Moscow for guberniya party committees and in oblasts and large guberniya centers for uyezd party committees) must be organized for these aims.

Noting, moreover, an insufficiently firm line in the mobilization of party workers for transfer from the capital cities to education work in provincial work centers, the congress deems it necessary to emphasize the absolute impermissibility of further delay in this matter.

18. It is necessary to supply both Zinov'yevskiy University and the provincial communist universities with Moscow lecturers.

19. Along with the servicing of communist universities, it is necessary to develop systematically the already practiced method of giving travel assignments [Komandirovki] to qualified lecturers, who go from Moscow to the provinces, as well as from the oblast and guberniya centers to the uyezds and volosts with the aim of serving the needs of mass propoganda (Soviet party schools, cycles of lectures and reports in worker and party clubs, etc.).

20. Work among the student youth should be given first priority and should be recognized as one of the most important tasks in the field of party and mass education. To this end it is necessary to strive steadily for the effecting of the following measures:

a. Strengthening of party influence in the guiding administrative and scholastic organs and the professorial staff of higher educational institutions and workers' faculties, primarily by means of unifying all communist scientific and instructor personnel into communist fractions of scientific workers of Vserabpros [All-Union Union of Education Workers];

b. Strengthening of student organizations, which bind the proletarian students with the party and with the trade unions (trade union sections); to the degree to which this is effected, the existing communist student unions (central and local bureaus of ^{the} communist student body) are to be abolished;

c. Broad development of political education work among the proletarian student body;

d. Drawing the student body into current party and trade union work.

21. While concentrating party attention on the tasks of work among the student youth, it is necessary to draw into the service of communist institutes of higher education, as well as ordinary institutes of higher education, all of the old-guard party members who have had training in this work.

It is necessary to put an end to the careless attitude of a number of very responsible comrades toward instruction in the higher school.

The 12th Party Congress commissions the Central Committee to appoint: (a) a group of highly qualified party specialists for training the instructor staff of communist higher educational institutions and ordinary higher educational institutions in the line of communist education; (b) a group of lecturers, able to serve, in an organized capacity and with the establishment of a regular order [of lectures], communist higher educational institutions and the higher educational institutes of Moscow, Petrograd and the provinces.

22. It is necessary that the Central Committee pay particular attention to periodic publications serving the student youth. A senior, party writer of tested reliability should direct student journals.

23. In close connection with the necessity for organized opposition to the influence of bourgeois and revisionist-minded professors -- above all on the student youth -- it is necessary, to a greater degree than at present, to set ourselves the task of enlivening the work of scientific communist thought, making the Socialist Academy the center of this work and broadening the scope of its activities beyond the limits of sociology. The Socialist Academy should be closely related in its work with scientific research activities of different institutions and organs (higher educational institutions, communist universities, people's commissariats, etc.), gradually being changed into a scientific-methodological center, which would unify all scientific-research work.

24. In view of the fact that during the past two years artistic literature in Soviet Russia has grown into an important social force, disseminating its influence first of all among the mass of worker-peasant youth, it is necessary for the party to set up in its own practical work the question of guidance of this form of social influence on the order of the day.

II

25. In the course of the recent months a considerable qualitative improvement of the periodic press and a noticeable growth in its circulation may be noted. Almost all newspapers have established close contact with the working masses; in this connection the chief merit lies with the worker correspondents, who play an increasingly important role in our press.

26. It is necessary, however, to stress that in the matter of improving the press, the party has at present taken only the first steps. Support rendered to the press during the past months by the party organizations has brought the oblast and guberniya press out of a serious crisis and has helped to a considerable extent to win over the reading workers, but still it must not be forgotten that the circulation of all our newspapers is extremely small, that, owing to this, the widest strata of non-worker population -- above all the peasantry -- is very poorly supplied with newspapers. And as the press is one of the most important tools of agitation and propaganda, playing at this time the role of transmission apparatus between the party and the working class, the 12th Party Congress commissions the Central Committee to pay primary attention to this field of party work. It is most urgently necessary to adopt a number of measures to expand the circulation of our newspapers and to adjust the matter of distribution of the press, in the villages first of all, as they have at the present time the most important political significance.

27. In the interest of serving properly all the various reading masses, it is necessary to conduct a differentiation of newspapers (central and oblast directing newspapers, central mass newspapers, oblast, guberniya, and uyezd mass newspapers, etc.). For every basic stratum of readers, it is necessary to create a particular type of newspaper. Having a whole system of newspapers, the party should distribute spheres of influence among them more or less precisely so that each newspaper would be oriented primarily toward a definite stratum of the mass of readers.

28. Experience has shown that the ordinary guberniya newspaper cannot be simultaneously a newspaper for the urban and rural population; it is first of all an urban paper. A special weekly peasant newspaper is needed for serving peasants in large guberniya centers. But where special peasant newspapers cannot be created, guberniya newspapers should devote a maximum of attention and space to questions of rural life.

29. For the purpose of improving newspapers written in the languages of the national minorities, increased supervision and instruction of national-minority newspapers by the Agitation and Propaganda Section of the Central Committee of the RKP is necessary.

The uyezd press should devote a major portion of its material to peasant problems, giving priority to the illumination of life in the village. A situation wherein uyezd newspapers are almost completely oriented toward the urban reader (and, as a rule, toward the bourgeois urban reader) is quite impermissible. The guberniya party committees are obliged to take all measures for properly setting up the uyezd press, which can be most easily disseminated in the village.

30. A new feature in the field of the party and soviet press, along with the worker correspondents, should be pointed out: the factory and plant newspapers. In the center, the latter are beginning to play a noticeable role. These newspapers are products of the creative activity of the

leading proletariat. Their significance consists in that, by illuminating questions of local factory or plant life, they draw the more backward strata of the proletariat into public life and into the interests of production. Stressing the value of this new press, the 12th Congress points out the necessity for taking it under party guidance.

31. It is necessary to note that, while the system of self support [khozraschet] has undoubtedly revived our publishing house, and given them the opportunity to work on a firm and healthy basis, commercial independence, on the other hand, has brought lack of coordination into its work, with the result that unnecessary, poorly prepared literature is often thrown on the market. This leads to a clogging of the book market and is a waste of money and labor. Considering that this circumstance comprises no small threat to all our book matters, it is necessary to introduce some coordination in the work of our publishing houses, without, however, disrupting their economic independence.

The 12th Congress commissions the Central Committee to work out and put into practice the necessary measures for putting into order the publication of Marxist classics (speeding up their release by Gosizdat [State Publishing House], prohibiting their republication without their being examined and signed by the appropriate responsible editors, etc.).

32. It is necessary to note the extreme spottiness and variety of oblast and guberniya party journals, in relation to character as well as quality. The majority of these newspapers are managed extremely poorly, and at times quite unsatisfactorily. The general shortcomings of the majority of the journals are: poor illumination of current questions of party life, inconsistency in theoretical articles, backlogs of unexploited report materials, and absence of well-prepared bibliographical sections. It is necessary to go over the list of journals and, where it is impossible, to set them up properly, discontinue them entirely and substitute bulletins. Further, it is necessary that the central committee institute the supplying of local journals with

article materials on general questions (through the Press Bureau of the Agitation and Propaganda Section of the Central Committee).

33. The basic condition for strengthening and broadening the press is strong material support. To this end, it is necessary first of all to supply to the newspaper and book publishing houses with their own printing apparatus and to arrive at a decision on the paper problem from the point of view of the interests of the press. Next, it will be necessary to take the first steps toward creating individual combined publishing-house units (newspapers, journals, shipping offices, printing plants, paper factories, etc.).

34. State financial aid for a whole number of publications is still quite mandatory. Without this aid the price of a number of local publications will make them financially unobtainable for the mass of readers.

Periodical publications in the languages of national minorities, which serve almost exclusively the poorest and most backward masses of the national minorities, need (in view of their poor dissemination, lack of paid advertising, etc.) increased material support, without which their existence is impossible.

35. The instructions of the 11th Party Congress, that each member of the party be a subscriber (individually or collectively) to one of the party newspapers, should be put into practice completely as soon as possible.

36. In view of the quite natural competition among different party and soviet newspapers, it is necessary to stress that the party organizations may in no case "take sides" in this competition. The party committees are obliged to conduct propaganda and agitation in the whole party press, to make clear to the masses the character of each of the newspapers, not favoring any particular one, however, with regard to dissemination.

37. Considering the extremely small supply of experienced communist journalists and the necessity for expanding and strengthening all our press matters, it is necessary to put unswervingly into practice the decisions of the 11th Congress concerning the transfer of communist journalists to work in their speciality.

38. The party's new force in Soviet journalism -- the worker correspondents -- is of tremendous significance. The party organizations, local as well as central, should take measures toward the political education of the worker correspondents, toward their unification and recruitment into general party work.

39. It is necessary that the party organizations pay very special attention to the party-political education of the workers of the press. To this end the party committees should pay serious attention to "Houses of the Press," clubs, and sections of the workers of the press. It is necessary that communist-workers of the press be connected very closely with the party's everyday life and work.

40. It is urgently necessary to set up the publication of special mass literature for distribution among the peasants, which would illuminate the whole gamut of questions which interest village readers, in a form accessible to them, beginning with basic political education and ending with creative literature and practical questions on the rebuilding of peasant economy (agronomy, applied and agricultural technology, etc.).

41. Considering the inaccessibility of the existing daily press for vast numbers of village readers due to the prohibitive price, it is deemed expedient to organize the daily newspapers for mass distribution in the village.

III

42. The old type of agitation for fulfillment of undertakings of the Soviet regime -- produce allotment [prodravverstka], produce tax [prodnalog], labor-transportation tax [trudguzhnalog] -- and for the strengthening of its agencies -- militia, court -- tends to die out as the Soviet apparatus gradually gets on its feet. The agitation organs of the party gradually cease to play a directly auxiliary role for the apparatus of the Soviet regime. This process is not yet complete, however, and, taking the course of maximum curtailment of campaigns of the Soviet type, we should, as before, directly

supervise, in the center as well as in the local areas, those of the campaigns which have important political significance -- the financial tax campaign (Finnavalgovaya Kampaniya), for example.

43. In the hands of the party agitation remains a most powerful instrument for broad and planned elucidation for city and village working masses of the political and economic measures of the Soviet regime and of all the outstanding events of domestic and international news, as well as an instrument for attracting fresh worker and peasant forces into the party.

The party is carrying out the indicated tasks by means of an appropriate organization of the press, as well as by means of all possible forms of verbal agitation (meetings, assemblies, etc.). These means are used primarily during elections to the soviets, in trade union organs, consumer organs, village and credit cooperatives, insurance and hospitalization offices, peasant mutual aid committees, and all other organizations which include the broad proletarian and peasant masses; the party sets as its own goal the systematic strengthening, by means of agitation, of its own ideological and practical influence over all the above organizations, to bind themselves as closely as possible to the peasant masses through these organizations, fighting the anti-Soviet elements which penetrate them.

The party's task of everyday agitation -- the servicing of campaigns and elections under the complicated conditions of NEP (New Economic Policy) in the cities and particularly in the villages -- demands a rise in the quality of agitation. For meeting this demand, in addition to the proper organization of instruction of agitators during campaigns, it is necessary to organize collectives of agitators under the guberniya committees and (with the sanction of the guberniya committee) under the uyezd committees, for the analysis of individual campaigns, particularly pre-election campaigns, and for elucidating the basic questions of international and internal policies of the Soviet regime (in particular the agricultural, financial, industrial, and national policies). In the preliminary analysis of broad campaigns, the party cells as a whole must be drawn into the work.

Taking into consideration the necessity for a transition to deeper agitation and the necessity for preliminary analysis of agitation campaigns in the party, active individual and group agitation by party members among the worker and peasant masses must be set up as regular work in the field of agitation, and the whole [party] organization must be drawn into this new form of agitation as far as possible.

44. Simultaneously, in the villages, first priority must be given to the organizational and propaganda work of the cells; the village reading rooms should serve as centers of the party's agitational influence on the peasants.

In view of the rise in the level of political consciousness of the wide masses of workers and peasants and of the appreciable growth of demand, not for meetings, but for serious, exhaustive, objective elucidation of the political and economic undertakings of the Soviet regime, as well as of all outstanding events of domestic and international news, it is necessary to work out and put into effect a series of measures for the transition from the meeting type of agitation to mass propaganda.

45. It is necessary to set up in practical form the question of using the theater for systematic mass propaganda of the ideas of the struggle for communism. To this end we must, by attracting the appropriate personnel in the center as well as the local areas, intensify the work of creating and selecting an appropriate revolutionary repertoire, using especially the heroic moments of the struggle of the working class.

The theater should also be used as a means of anti-religious propaganda.

46. During the time of the New Economic Policy, the number of motion picture theaters and their capacity have grown in great measure. Inasmuch as the cinema uses either old Soviet pictures or pictures produced in Western Europe, it has actually become a disseminator of bourgeois influence or corruption of the working masses. It is necessary to develop cinematography

production in Russia, not only with the aid of special government subsidies, but also by means of attracting private (foreign and Russian) capital, provided ideological direction and supervision on the part of the party and the state are fully guaranteed. In view of the great educational and agitational significance of the cinema, it is necessary to provide the cinema with communists who have worked in cinematography before the revolution, as well as business personnel able to set up matters on a basis of economic accountability ^{khoz-ya ystvennyy raschet} [i.e. without the use of state funds] on one hand, and on the basis of serving the working masses to fullest extent possible on the other hand.

The Congress directs the attention of the Central Committee especially to the reinforcement of the directing personnel of Goskino ^{GOSKINO [Central State Photography and Motion Picture Establishment]} ~~[State theater]~~. The Congress suggests that this be done as soon as possible.

The Congress also calls attention to the necessity for rendering assistance to Proletkino ^{motion-picture studio} ~~[Proletarian theater]~~ in its work for creating revolutionary films and films about production.

47. It is necessary for agitation and propaganda purposes, and especially for influence in the villages, to make extensive use of that constant tie which exists between the Red Army and the villages (individual postal correspondence, leaves of absence, etc.), as well as the periodic preconscription call-up for [preliminary] military training.

In the areas where militia divisions are being formed, the party organizations should, before the period of the first call-ups, develop a wide campaign for explaining this system of military development, which is new for Soviet Russia, assisting in every way possible the success of the matter and at the same time widely using the call-up of militia units for agitational influence in the village.

IV

48. The material crisis in the NEP period has had its most noticeable effect on the apparatus of the press and the political education institutions

which serve non-Russian nationalities. Agitation and propaganda work in the languages of non-Russian nationalities has seriously fallen behind that done in the Russian language. Not only insufficient financial means, but the absence of sufficient cadres of administrative workers has served as a great hindrance in the work; there has been a careless attitude toward the work among the national minorities on the part of a few party organizations and in some places the detached nature of this work from the general party system has not yet been eliminated.

All this, on a basis of insufficient or very poor class differentiation among peoples whose [native] language is not Russian and of the quite insignificant development of large industrial proletariat among them, has, since the beginning of the New Economic Policy, been manifested in a strengthening of the petty-bourgeoisie and the nationalist-clerical influence among these peoples; among the peoples of the East, pan-Islamism and pan-Turkism has grown; among the Jews, along with the break-up of the former conciliationist parties, Zionist clerical-cadet groups have sprung up; among the Poles, the Catholic elements are striving to seize the schools; among the Latvians and Estonians, the Baptist Church, and its influence on youth, is growing.

49. By virtue of a number of historical factors and circumstances of custom, the influence of non-orthodox churches and clergy among the national minorities was, and is to the present day, particularly among the Catholics and Moslems, stronger than the influence of the Orthodox Church and priests in its corresponding environment.

Anti-religious propaganda among the national minorities should take this factor into consideration and adapt its methods to fit the peculiarities of a given environment.

Special circles for anti-religious propaganda should be organized among the national minorities, consisting of communists of that nationality, and special literature should be published.

50. The schools are the most important organizational center for the large mass of national minorities in villages and small towns. Therefore the work among the teachers of the national minorities takes on a special significance.

51. In view of the backwardness of the masses of the national minorities and their poor participation in political life, agitation work among them is still needed in those forms and methods which to a considerable degree are dying out in Russian practice (meetings, wide extra-party conferences, etc.).

52. Where Red Army units are stationed among the national minorities, the guberniya committees should take measures for systematically acquainting the Red Army soldier, officers, and political workers with the particular social and political conditions of their life and the history of the oppression to which they have been subjected in the past, in order to strengthen the ties of the Red Army with the workers of non-Russian nationalities.

53. It is necessary that the party committees bear full responsibility for work among the national minorities and guarantee for this work a sufficient number of appropriate workers.

The needs of national minorities in the agitation, propaganda, scientific and literary fields should be ensured in the distribution of party personnel.

54. In the field of party library affairs, the work should be directed along the lines of transforming party libraries into an active system of party education establishments, directly related to the party and party trade union clubs, serving the schools of ^{education} basic political knowledge [shkoly politgramoty] and Marxist circles, and filling the needs of communist self-education.

55. In addition to basic Marxist political-educational literature, party libraries should be supplied with natural-scientific literature.

56. In view of the persistent delay in receipt, in local areas, of the necessary literature for current agitation and propaganda campaigns, it is necessary to work out advance supplying to the party libraries of this literature and the supplying of bibliographical indexes.

57. It is necessary to take measures to aid the party in correcting the general library network, which at present is in a chaotic condition.

58. The development of agitation and propaganda work during the past year pressingly demands an increase in the work of registering local agitation and propaganda experience for the purpose of strengthening relations with locales and increasing the guidance of agitation and propaganda work as a whole. -- From KPSS v Resolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh, vol I, pp 730-743.

Resolution of the Congress on Setting Up Antireligious Agitation and Propaganda

The Revolution shook loose the religious prejudices of the broad working masses, unmasking the counterrevolutionary role of the historic organization of the church in the service of capital and large land-owners.

However, the revolutionary process has not yet reorganized the economic structure of millions of peasant farms, which continue to exist in a state of heavy dependence on nature, as they have for centuries; in the cities, private-capitalistic industrial relations continue to exist and even to develop under the terms of the New Economic Policy; our schools and political enlightenment work are not in a position to serve workers in the cities, and especially the village. While these conditions continue, religious prejudices, although loosened and undermined by life, will hold their ground for a long time, "Only the existence of planning and conscious effort (soznatel'nost') in all the social and economic activities of the masses," -- reads the program of the party, "will bring about a complete disappearance of religious prejudices."

At the present time we see, along with the decay of old church organizations, in particular the Orthodox Church, and along with the diminishing of

the influence of Orthodox Church religion and of its hierarchy (the extent of which influence, however, should not in any case be exaggerated, particularly in relation to the village), the considerable growth of several sects, whose leaders are ideologically allied with certain elements of European and American bourgeoisie.

Under these conditions, the work of the party in the conclusive destruction of religious belief in all its aspects among the worker and peasant masses inevitably takes on, first of all, the aspect of systematic and intensified propaganda which graphically and convincingly reveals to every worker and peasant the falsity of all religion and the way it contradicts his interests, propaganda which exposes the ties of different religious groups to the interests of the ruling classes, and which replaces with clear scientific views of nature and human society the outlived remnants of religious ideas. In doing this, as set forth in the party program, it is necessary to be careful to avoid offending the feelings of believers, which would only lead to a strengthening of religious fanaticism. Intentionally rude approaches, often practiced in the center and in the localities, and mocking at cults and articles of faith instead of conducting serious analysis and explanation do not hasten, but hamper, the deliverance of the working classes from religious prejudices.

One of the basic and urgent tasks of our party in the fields of anti-religious propaganda and agitation, is the publication of appropriate literature, not only popular scientific literature but particularly literature which seriously elucidates the history and origins of religions.

While declaring that there have been significant successes in this field, it is nevertheless necessary to emphasize that most of the literature published cannot satisfy the mass reader. It is necessary to publish brochures and leaflets accessible for the average worker or peasant, which would answer intelligibly questions on the origin of the world and life and on the essential nature of human relationships, which would unmask the counterrevolutionary role of religion and the church, especially the Russian church, its

origins, evolution, its position in relation to class government and the liberation movements of the proletariat and the peasantry at different times, which would expose the physiognomy and concealed class nature of various sects which influence the masses. Considering the fact that the 30 million Moslems of the Union of Republics have up to the present preserved, almost intact, numerous medieval prejudices related to religion which are [now] used for counterrevolutionary aims, it is necessary to draw up forms and methods for liquidating these prejudices, taking into account the particular features of the different nationalities.

In the system of mass propaganda being developed which the party is using on an ever larger scale, it is necessary to give particular position and attention to antireligious mass propaganda in the form of lively and understandable lectures, with a careful selection of lecturers. Specialists naturalists, and materialists should be encouraged to deliver these lectures. Attention should be paid to the drawing up of special methods of antireligious propaganda which depend on the social make-up of the audience.

If, in the near future, the party is able to organize a broad program of training for its agitators and propagandists in the field of struggle against religion, it will be able to cope with this task; it must use for this purpose all aspects of Soviet and party education, beginning with the communist universities. It is necessary that special courses in the origin, development, and history of religion, religious beliefs, cults and religious church organizations be introduced along the entire front of communist education. These courses must be instituted in close connection with the study of human society and the class struggles of the exploiters with the exploited and should expose the real, numerous, and varied ties between capital and religious propaganda. Along with the programs of anti-Soviet political parties, it is necessary to acquaint the students in Soviet party schools with the makeup and activities of different religious organizations which are

attempting to exert influence on the worker and peasant masses to the detriment of the Communist Party. In introducing antireligious education in the general system of communist school education, it is necessary at the same time to give all possible support to special antireligious circles and seminars both within and without the walls of communist educational institutions, with the provision that there be competent party guidance of their work.

The party, in setting up systematic antireligious propaganda and agitation as one of the most effective means of spreading party influence among the broad working masses, must not forget that all our antireligious agitation and propaganda will not penetrate to the thick of the people as long as a considerable majority of the village population remains illiterate, and until the work of schooling the working masses of city and village in the spirit of scientific-materialistic natural science moves once and for all out of its inert status. Only the appropriate organization of the school and the training of schoolteachers, the distribution of a broad network of political education institutions (particularly the reading rooms), the planned supplying of the village with Soviet newspapers and booklets, and a full and final liquidation of illiteracy, plus the successes of Soviet power in the cause of raising industry and agriculture, will create the conditions for final and complete up-rooting of religious superstitions in the minds of tens of millions of citizens of the republic. -- From KPSS v Resolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh, Vol I, pp 743-745.

EDITORIAL IN THE FIRST ISSUE OF THE NEWSPAPER

'KRASNAYA ZVEZDA' (JANUARY 1924)

We are beginning the publication of a central military newspaper in full awareness of all the responsibility and difficulty involved.

Our newspaper should become a laboratory of military thought of the entire Red Army and Navy.

The Red Army and Red Navy are the same age as the Republic of Soviets. ^{They are still very young.} ~~That age is still very brief.~~ But the small number of years of the existence of our army is rich with direct war experience. War experience is the best caulker of organizational forms. And the first task of the military educator, hence, the first task of our newspaper, should be the critical evaluation of the war period of our army and a revelation of the experience gained during this period, and the acquiring of useful military traditions. But this war experience of our army has been highly restricted. It is impossible to rest on the achievements of our development. Otherwise we would hopelessly lag behind general development. Military technology is having new successes every day. Both the organizational forms of modern armies and their tactical methods are changing accordingly.

The future bloody tests for which our army should be preparing are exceeding the bounds of war experience which has been built up by the Red Army. We must persistently and strenuously look ahead, studying and considering the influence of the development of technology upon methods of organization, upon strategy, and upon tactics in a future war.

Our military thought should stand on a level with these achievements. But it should remain lively and critical thought; not the trite mastering of every "latest word" which reaches us from abroad, but the careful study of these innovations and the adaption to our particular conditions of what is really progressive in them; more than that, the independent consideration of all military problems and the bold search for a new Soviet word.

Our newspaper sets as its aim the constant support of this wholesome criticism, this creative, initiative -- filled thought of the workers of the Red Army. Our newspaper should live in consideration of the experience of work in the local areas above all, and it should assist the organization of this experience of the local areas.

Krasnaya Zvezda (Red Star) was intended for all levels of the army and navy, for everyone who strives to comprehend his own work and regard it thoughtfully.

The Red Army, like no other in the world, is united with the whole country. And this is revealed especially in the development of the basic foundations of a militia in our military construction. As never before, the Soviet and party organs have now drawn nearer to their army and have taken a practical interest in military work. Therefore our newspaper should keep in mind both these new needs and this new circle of readers, civilian workers who are active participants of military development.

The tasks which stand before our newspaper are complicated and diverse.

It is clear that Krasnaya Zvezda will only be able to fulfill successfully these complicated tasks if its readers are at the same time contributors. A vital indissoluble bond should be established between the newspaper and the army. Each worker whose vital interests are those of the army should support this bond, respond to questions which have been discussed in the paper, and present to the paper problems which arise in the course of practical work.

Neither the seeming insignificance of the facts to be reported nor the form in which they are to be presented to the paper should stop anyone. The editorial staff will accept with gratitude and use 100 percent of any material, no matter in what form it is received. And from seemingly unimportant facts one can sometimes obtain, in generalization, conclusions of vast general usefulness.

The editorial staff of Krasnaya Zvezda sends comradely greetings to all soldiers of the Red Army and Navy and expresses strong confidence that through their common efforts Krasnaya Zvezda will be able to burn as a clear beacon in the cause of the development of our native Red Army. -- From Krasnaya Zvezda (Red Star), No 1, 1 January 1924.

PRIORITY TASKS OF THE PARTY IN THE FIELD OF THE PRESS:
FROM A DECREE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE (FEBRUARY 1924)

In connection with the internal and external situation of the Republic and the increasing rise of the cultural-political level of the advanced group of workers and peasants, the role of the press is growing greatly. Its significance is especially important for the following reasons:

1. It is one of the most important forms of communication of the party with the worker and peasant masses and of the influence of the city on the country.
2. It is an instrument for the strengthening and solidarity of the party.
3. It is a means for the dissemination of knowledge among the worker and peasant masses and the raising of their cultural-political level.

Accordingly, it is necessary to place questions of the press in the center of party attention.

I. In the Field of the Peasant Press

(a) The task for next year is to bring the mass of workers and peasants, who are not yet covered by the work of the press, to the level of newspaper coverage already reached among workers of industrial regions. The circulation of the central Krest'yanskaya Gazeta [The Peasant Newspaper] must be brought to 200,000 copies by spring, and especially intensified work must be conducted among Red Army personnel and teachers.

(b) In the field of service to the peasants, it is necessary by all means to support uyezd (district) and guberniya (province) peasant newspapers. The press section (otdel) of the Central Committee must develop a concrete plan for a network of uyezd peasant newspapers, conforming it to the special conditions of different areas and aiming at the extension of the areas served by the newspapers (okrug newspapers in the Ukraine), aiming at their change-over to service of the peasants and at the same time closing down those uyezd newspapers which do not serve peasants or workers. It is necessary to increase the instructing of uyezd newspapers and improve the staff of their workers, setting up model uyezd newspapers in a number of agricultural guberniyas (up to 10).

(c) In all types of peasant newspapers, first place should be given to questions of the economic and political situation of the republic from the point of view of strengthening of the union of the working class and the peasantry, along with discussion of questions of cooperation and propagandizing of agronomic measures which can be employed on a mass basis and which can produce even a minimum extension and improvement of peasant economy. It is necessary also to devote special attention to the discussion in peasant newspapers of questions of everyday life, especially that of peasant women.

(d) The Peoples Commissariat of Education and the Central Committee of the Union of Educational Workers (TsK Rabpros) must take all measures for the establishment of ties between village teachers and the central, as well as the local, peasant newspapers, so as to convert them into one of the supporting points for distributing and reading peasant newspapers and organizing village correspondents.

(e) The network of Red Army newspapers must be strengthened and supplied with the necessary means and qualified workers. Guidance of the Red Army press must be intensified and it must be used not only for the military and political education of the Red Army masses, but also for influence through

the Red Army on the village. In connection with the contemporary situation, there must be increased attention in all the press, both central and local, to explanation of the internal everyday life of the Red Army and Navy. In addition, the supplying of Red Army personnel of [minority] nationalities, with newspapers in their native languages, must be promoted by every means.

(f) It is recommended that the Central Committee of the Komsomol jointly with the press section of the Central Committee [of the party] begin a survey of their press and begin the establishment of weekly organs of the union [i.e. the Komsomol], in the national republics first of all, in the local languages.

leading organs of the
 II. In the Field of the Central Press

In the leading organs of the press, which are of especially great significance as a means of party solidarity, it is necessary to assign first place to questions of party policy, in the field of international relations as well as in the field of internal, economic, and general policy. Leading party newspapers should give a party orientation to the party member, avoiding superficial agitational work and the narrow departmental interpretation of questions, and giving more facts and elucidating them in a planned and systematic manner. They should begin a systematic explanation of the basic deviations and a systematic ideological struggle against them. They should improve the organization in newspapers of the "Party Life" section. They should devote attention to the necessity of simplification of the language (especially in worker and peasant newspapers).

The leading press is given the task of explaining the basic questions which interest the wide masses of the party. They should continue and deepen the broad discussion of questions of the party line in such subjects as "Nozhnitsy" [literally "scissors"; ^{is perhaps to coordination} allusion not clear], wages and the like, with the broadest possible attraction of communists working in the lower party cells to the discussion.

In the press there must be a full and many-sided interpretation of all the new tasks of the party resulting from the huge growth of the worker nucleus of the party; there must be ample servicing of the new party members in political education; they must be drawn into the functions of worker correspondents. The role of party newspapers as "collective organizers" should be developed to the maximum under present conditions.

III. In the Field of Book Publishing

(a) It is necessary to increase work for the creation of popular books for workers and peasants. The necessary regrouping of labor and money must be conducted to attain the greatest possible increase in the publication of popular, cheap books for the peasant, political and reference literature, revolutionary and entertaining fiction, and books on agronomic subjects, which can have mass application. Special attention must be devoted to the compiling and disseminating of a Soviet textbook for peasant schools of the first grade, which will be of great cultural and political significance.

(b) In the field of book publishing in non-Russian languages, the Press Section [of the Central Committee] together with the Peoples Commissariat of Education and representatives of the central and local nationality publishing houses shall develop measures for invigorating the local publishing houses, measures which would answer the real needs of the masses of the population and would create a mass readership. This work shall be centered around the publication of the necessary quantity of popular Marxist literature, political literature for villages, and textbooks for peasant schools. No duplication of effort in this shall be permitted. In the national republics, especially in the Ukraine and Central Asia, the number of Russian books to be published or republished shall be reduced to the minimum. The center of gravity of publishing activity is to be shifted to the localities. Under the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Ukraine it is considered necessary to create a special party publishing house along the lines of "Krasnaya Nov'".

(c) For aiding the self development of non-party workers as well as communist workers, who do not have the opportunity to study regularly, a series of "libraries" are to be created on questions of the history of the organization of the party, the international worker movement, natural science, technology, and the like. Publication of a cycle of books of the home university type is to be started. In particular, a library of 10-15 books shall be created for the average party member, embracing the basic questions of the development of society to communism and the structure of the party and the Soviet regime.

IV

A basic condition for attaining success is the reduction of the cost of newspapers and books and the improvement of the apparatus of dissemination. For the necessary regrouping of funds, the decisive reduction of departmental literature (not less than 50 percent by 1 January), including that servicing the guberniya party apparatus, shall be continued. A survey of all the basic elements of the cost of books shall be made, with a view to decisive reduction. Government reductions in price and subsidies are to be concentrated on peasant and non-Russian books and newspapers, introducing in a 2-week period the necessary sums into the budget of the Union. In the field of dissemination, all dissemination agencies (contractors, the All-Union Council of Consumers' Cooperatives, and the People's Commissariat of Posts and Telegraph) are advised to concentrate their efforts and money on the transport of books and newspapers from the guberniya center to the uyezd and village.

V

The Press Section, with the help of the People's Commissariat of Education and the Worker Peasant Inspection (RRI), should increase its direction and supervision of the work of government and party publishing agencies (Glavlit;

Main Administration of Literary and Publishing Affairs, and Rosta: Russian Telegraph Agency), of the central press, of the national press, and of the dissemination agencies; the study of the activities of publishing houses should be conducted along with the latter. It is proposed that the Registration and Assignment Section [Uchraspred] of the Central Committee, and the Press Section, according to the decree of the 12th Congress, systematically improve the quality of press personnel by transferring comrades with more party and political experience to newspaper work, primarily in the larger worker centers, the border zone, and the Ukraine, and by training new workers in school.

The editorial and publishing staff of the larger party and soviet publishing houses should be surveyed and strengthened. Not later than 1 January, an exact registration of press workers must be completed. The Press Section must increase personal instruction on the spot through more frequent visits of instructors and also through meetings of workers of newspapers and publishing houses of the same type. In Moscow, Kharkov, Leningrad, and Tiflis, regular meetings of responsible editors of the central newspapers must be convoked, under the guidance of the Press Section of the Central Committee.

At the same time the immediate creation and strengthening of the organs of press leadership in all oblast centers and guberniya cities conducting extensive literary publishing work is deemed necessary.

VI. Measures Necessary for the Supplementing and Developing of the General Directives

1. In Organizing Correspondent Communications:

(a) In areas of the strongest worker and peasant newspapers, conferences of worker correspondents are to be conducted to instruct them and to strengthen party influence in them (Bakhmut, Ivanovo, Baku, the Leningrad "Krasnaya Gazeta," Saratov, Rostov, Kharkov, Kiev, the Moscow "Gudok", and,

as an experiment, the peasant newspapers in Voronezh, Gomel', Uman', and Luga.) The direct leadership of the conferences is to be the responsibility of the local party committees. Representatives of the Central Committee are to be delegated to these conferences.

(b) It is proposed that all party committees intensify work in the political education of worker and peasant correspondents, drawing them into general party life in order to guarantee observance of the party line in their work.

(c) Work for the formation of a staff of women worker and peasant correspondents is to be intensified in women's sections [zhenotdely] as well as in the general press. Maximum utilization of women delegates is to be sought for this purpose.

2. In the Field of Party Journals.

The reduction of the number of party journals is to be accelerated, with the transfer to a system of oblast party journals; some of the guberniya journals are to be converted into small party bulletins. It is necessary to give the oblast party journal a leading character, discussing in them questions of intra-party life as well as questions of general and economic policy, based primarily on local material, local economic and political experience. A regrouping of literary personnel working in party journals is to be conducted to obtain an improvement in party journals in large worker centers, especially oblast centers, and in the autonomous and independent republics.

3. In the Field of Textbooks

The examination of old and the creation of new Soviet textbooks, is to be accelerated especially for first-and second-level schools, to supply all the first-level schools with a politically high-quality textbook for the coming school year. Party and Soviet publishing houses are to be drawn into textbook publication, on a basis of collaboration with Gosizdat, and preserving the principle of government monopoly. Special attention is

to be given to the publication of even the minimum necessary quantity of textbooks for first-level schools in non-Russian languages, in conformity with local conditions. The People's Commissariat of Education is instructed to consider the question of possible administrative and educational measures necessary for the introduction of a Soviet textbook. The cost of textbooks for first-level schools, especially peasant schools, is to be reduced.

4. In the Work of the State Publishing House

In accordance with all the above measures, the work of the State Publishing House is to be intensified; its work is to be concentrated primarily on the publication of textbooks.

A reorganization of the personnel and finances of the State Publishing House is to be conducted for promoting in its work the task of the publication of books for mass readers.

Measures are to be taken for the creation of a Soviet children's literature.

5. In the Field of Criticism and Bibliography

(a) Party guidance of criticism and bibliographic work is to be intensified with qualified party personnel.

(b) All newspapers are obliged to carry regular book review [bibliograficheskiye] sections giving the reader not chance reports, but systematic guidance in the selection of books based on the circle of readers the newspaper or publication serves. Questions of party education (Leninism) should be given special attention.

(c) Under Agitprop, in the press section, periodic meetings of active workers in criticism and book reviewing are to be held for analyzing questions of bibliographic selection.

(d) The Book Chamber [Knizhnaya Palata] of the RSFSR is to be reorganized into an all-union agency.

(e) For training workers in criticism and bibliographic selection, a special course is to be held in the programs of GIZh [State Institute of Journalism], VLKHI [Higher Institute of Literature and Fine Arts], and the literary department of FON [Faculty of Social Sciences].

6. In Reducing the Cost of Books

The reduction of the cost of books is recognized to be one of the most important party tasks. In this task, it is necessary to survey, for the purpose of a decisive reduction, all the basic elements of the cost of books (printing expenses, paper, transportation, and postal charges, taxes, merchandising expenses, and the expenses of the editorial and publishing apparatus). The state's cost reductions are to be concentrated on peasant and non-Russian books. In view of the success experienced by the State Publishing House, "Krasnaya Nov!"¹, and some local newspapers, which had a printing plant and a paper mill assigned to them, it is deemed necessary to establish a commission to analyze the possibility of extending this method to other large publishing houses. This commission shall finish its work in two weeks. The Press Section is instructed to report within two months on achievements in this field.

7. In Dissemination:

It is recommended to all dissemination agencies that they concentrate their efforts and finances on the transfer of books from guberniya centers to the uyezđ and village. The press section is instructed to begin a campaign through the guberniya party committees for enlisting local cooperatives of all types in the book trade and in the distribution of newspapers. The experience of the Ukraine in the creation of cooperative book shelves and in the technique of delivery of books and newspapers to the village is to be studied and disseminated. The People's Commissariat of Posts and Telegraph shall work out, within a month, the question of the possibility of the utilizing volost postal points as book and newspaper agencies. The maximum utilization of counters, bazaars, stands, and book kiosks is recommended to all dissemination agencies, as well as the organization and development of a network of book-sellers. The management personnel of the press dissemination agencies is to be reviewed for the purpose of strengthening it with experienced specialists as well as party members. It

is proposed that the guberniya party committees devote attention to the book trade and to party direction of it. It is proposed that the village commission speed up discussion of the question of the facilities for the transportation of literature and newspapers to the village.

8. In the Training of Workers

The main emphasis in the training of press workers is to be shifted to the training of workers for the peasantry and the non-Russian nationalities of the USSR. For this purpose newspaper affairs sections are to be organized under KUTV (Communist University of Working Peoples of the East) and KUNWZ [probably Communist University of National Minorities of the West], the non-Russian staff of GIZh is to be given maximum reinforcement, and short courses in newspaper affairs in local languages are to be given in the Ukraine and the Transcaucasus. Plant and factory schools are to be organized for the training of typesetters for the non-Russian press in the national republics. The possibility of organizing a newspaper section at Sverdlovsk University is to be investigated.

With regard to GIZh, the effecting of the decrees of the Organizational Bureau, granting GIZh equal status with communist universities with respect to food, material, and financial supply, is to be accelerated, and its communist instructor staff is to be reinforced. The strengthening of the Higher Institute of Literature and Fine Arts with proletarian elements is to be continued, and the necessary minimum of Communist Marxist lecturers is to be sent there. -- From Spravochnik Partiyonogo Rabotnika, fourth edition, pp 169-173.

THE 13th CONGRESS OF THE RKP (b) (May 1924)

Resolution [Rezolyutsiya] on the Press

1. The past year has been characterized by the growth in circulation of the periodical press (from 2 million to 3 million), by the strengthening of its financial position, and by the qualitative improvement and strengthening of its contacts with the broad masses of the workers through worker, village, military, and other correspondents, which are elements of a genuine workers' democracy. Along with the great achievements of the worker and party press in the field of distribution, the growth of the peasant press, headed by Krest'yanskaya Gazeta, which is winning individual subscribers, and some successes in boosting the circulation of the national press must be mentioned. All these achievements however, must serve only as a starting point for further systematic work in increasing the circulation of our newspapers and in improving their quality. The tasks of the coming year are: to ensure that there is not a single party member who is not a subscriber and reader of a party newspaper; that not a single working man, working woman, or Red Army soldier, does not read the newspaper; that there are 2 million newspapers in the village, i.e. not less than one newspaper for every 10 peasant households.

2. Under present conditions, the press is taking on particularly great significance as an instrument for the education and organization of the working masses. It is necessary to strengthen the contact of the press with the masses, to draw it nearer to them and to concentrate its main effort on the explanation of basic questions occurring in the daily lives of millions of workers and peasants. This should determine the tasks and content of party, worker, and peasant newspapers and books for the party, worker, and peasant strata.

3. In accordance with the cultural and political growth of the working class, the mass worker press should intensify and delve more deeply into discussion of questions of politics and economics (the international position of the USSR, the world labor movement, questions of finance, cooperatives [kooperatsiya] and trade, wages, industry and agriculture, the activities of the KK [Control Commission] and RKI [Worker-Peasant Inspection] in improving the state machinery); it should connect them with questions of plant and factory life and production (as with the experience of Gudok). The worker press should also satisfy the needs of readers in the field of general education and should systematically devote attention to questions of science, technology, and literature (feuilletons, reviews, and bibliography). In worker newspapers, it is necessary to interpret village life systematically from the standpoint of strengthening the union between the working class and the peasantry.

Further work is necessary on the style of language used in newspapers and on the skillful combination of a maximum of popularity and clarity of expression with seriousness and thoroughness of content.

4. The most important task of the worker press is servicing the Lenin Enrollment, its education in the spirit of Bolshevism and enlistment in practical work (party and social).

It is necessary in this connection to establish an all-union mass party newspaper and at the same time, to intensify the discussion of questions of party policy, party organization, party life and the propaganda of Leninism in all the organs of the mass worker press.

5. The Congress considers it necessary to impose upon our party-soviet and trade union [professional'nyy] press, the obligation to conduct an especially thorough discussion of the work of cooperatives, especially their

local [nizovyye] organs, and to organize the cooperatives' propaganda, recording their genuine practical achievements, the initiative and experience of local areas, exposing speculation and the abuses of private trade capital, uniting the masses in the struggle against private capital and at the same time subjecting to strict criticism all the abuses of bureaucracy, negligence, and incorrect approach (assortment of merchandise, overhead expenses) in the work of cooperative organization. It is necessary that the party organs pay increased attention to the cooperative press and strengthen it with party workers.

6. The Congress notes with satisfaction the significant achievements of Pravda in the field of extending its circulation and improving its content, particularly in interpreting questions of party life. The Congress instructs the Central Committee to strengthen the central organ of the party, Pravda, with suitable personnel, so that it will be able to explain the basic principles of Bolshevism systematically and conduct a campaign against all deviations from it. It is also necessary to strengthen and improve the leading party organs in the national republics and in the larger centers, widely establishing "Party Life" sections [otdel] in them.

7. The trade union press should become a mass medium and concentrate its primary attention on meeting the everyday economic and cultural needs of the working class, familiarizing them with the general tasks of the trade union movement, and directing its attention primarily to the work of factory committees [fabzavkomy], delegates' meetings, and union organizations, increasing their authority and getting the broad masses of the proletariat into contact with them. The trade union press should get into closer contact with its readers and subscribers (through mass enlistment

of local trade union correspondents and transfer to individual subscription). The mass trade union journals should begin servicing broad circles of local trade union workers and progressive members of unions. The party organs should promote the improvement and strengthening of the trade union press.

8. It is necessary to impose an obligation on the press to listen as keenly as possible to the demands and suggestions of the masses. It is necessary in every way possible to strengthen rabkors [worker correspondents] as a group, carefully protecting them from any kind of bureaucracy or red tape. The basic form of rabkor organization should be their association at the newspaper. The assistance and leadership of the rabkor movement by the party should consist in the intensification of communist education of rabkors, assistance to newspapers in the selection of correspondents, organization of political educational work among rabkors (circles, clubs, short courses, congresses, etc.) and assistance in the improvement of their rabkor qualifications. The increased attention of the party and trade unions to rabkors should in no case degenerate into tutelage (censorship of local cells, factory committees, etc.). The work of the party in the field of the rabkor movement should be oriented toward further mass attraction of fresh personnel from the working class into rabkor work (in particular from the Lenin Enrollment) and toward strengthening and intensifying the ties between rabkors and the masses, in the process of production as well as in daily life.

9. Wall newspapers are acquiring even greater significance in our press system, as an instrument for influencing the masses and as a form of expression of their activity. Plant and factory newspapers are already playing a large role in the field of improvement of production, correct

organization of production and construction of a new mode of life, in the struggle against illiteracy and religious prejudices. Work on the wall newspaper in enterprises should be conducted with the greatest possible assistance from, and under the direction of, the party cell and the Komsomol. Party committees should strengthen their leadership of wall newspaper work.

The wall newspaper in the village should become one of the most important forms of work of party and Komsomol cells in the village. It should fight for the improvement of peasant agriculture, for the cooperatives, for raising the cultural level of the village, for the interests of the peasants with small holdings, against the exploiting tendencies of the kulak and against abuses of administration. It is necessary to connect the wall newspaper in the village with the reading room, the agricultural station [agropunkt], and the school.

10. There must be further development of the network of weekly peasant newspapers, strengthening of existing peasant newspapers, increasing of their circulation, improvement of their contents, and strengthening of their connections with the peasantry through mass enlistment of sel'kors [village correspondents] through circles such as "Great Readings," "Friends of Newspapers," "Electionists," etc. The work of the correspondents should meet with help of every kind from party and Soviet organs. Having an attentive attitude toward peasant letters, dealing with every peasant complaint according to Soviet procedures, rendering legal aid to the peasantry, skillfully combining agrarian propaganda with the interpretation of general political and economic questions, especially cooperatives, and finally, reasonable reporting to the peasant, without false simplification and unnecessary vulgarization — all these are necessary qualities for a mass peasant newspaper.

The Red Army and Red Navy press has great significance in serving the peasantry. It should be strengthened by every means and its content and language should be adapted to the youth who joins the army. It is also necessary to make wide use of ^[territorial troop meetings] tersborya for establishing ties between the peasantry and the Red Army and peasant newspapers.

11. It is necessary to complete the transfer of the press of the national republics to local languages, to increase the circulation of the national press and to strengthen its ties with the masses through rabkors and sel'kors and through the development of a type of newspaper adapted to the level of the backward peasantry of the national republics. The national press demands, in particular, an intensification of party leadership and a strengthening of politically reliable party worker-journalists. In the field of publishing, the shift of all national publishing houses, on the whole, to printing in non-Russian languages must be achieved; a high quality, cheap textbook for elementary schools, popular books for the masses of workers and peasants and the popular Lenin series, which will be comprehensible to the broad masses of the local population, must be published.

12. The expanding work of the Komsomol has devoted, for a long time, insufficient attention to literature. It is necessary to consolidate and provide for a network of youth oblast newspapers (worker, peasant and national). An all-Russian Komsomol newspaper should be created. It is necessary to devote special attention to peasant and national newspapers and to extend the network of youth worker correspondents and youth village correspondents.

Komsomol publishing work should be intensified, especially through strengthening Komsomol editorial staffs with party Marxist editors. An immediate task before the Komsomol is the necessity to promote the creation of a literature for the masses of peasant youth. In Soviet, party, and other publishing houses which publish literature for youth, party control must be strengthened and strict ideological content must be ensured. All work in this field should be coordinated with the educational activity of the Komsomol. In popular literature for youth, special attention must be devoted to the history of the Russian Communist Party, especially the struggle of Bolshevism against opportunism and intra-party deviations.

It is necessary to begin the creation of a literature for children under the careful control and direction of the party, for the purpose of intensifying features of class, international, and labor education in this literature. It is necessary in particular, to develop the publication of pioneer literature, drawing party, trade union, and Soviet organizations to the aid of the Komsomol in this work.

13. It is necessary to strengthen existing periodical publications for working women and peasant women and to give more consideration to discussing questions of labor and mode of life of the broad masses of working women and peasant women, in the general organs of the press. It is necessary to increase the participation of working women and peasant women in our press (women worker correspondents, women village correspondents, women trade union correspondents), attracting primarily, women Leninists [lenininki], women delegates, etc.

Special attention must be paid to interesting women workers and peasant women in work on wall newspapers. Women party workers, participating in

the work of the general press, should also be attracted to servicing publications for working women and peasant women. In the eastern republics, it is considered necessary to dedicate the greatest attention possible to questions dealing with the emancipation of women and to make arrangements for the creation of a periodical and a non-periodical press in the national languages for women workers in the east.

14. A further reduction in the price of printed matter must be effected. In the field of distribution, maximum efforts and money must be concentrated on getting the books and newspapers out to the broad masses through the development of a local book trade network, using all the organs of distribution, (contract agencies [kontragenstva], organs of the Peoples Commissariat of Post and Telegraph [Narkompochteli], and especially cooperatives). It is necessary to reduce the costs of distribution of the press; to strengthen party guidance in the correct organization of this measure; to improve the work of organs of the Narkompochteli in the field of press distribution, especially in the village; and to support mass voluntary associations for the distribution of literature, in every way possible (Komsomol, factory-plant, village circles, "Friends of Books and Newspapers," etc.).

15. The government should render special financial assistance to the support of the national, peasant, and Red Army press, to special mass literature for peasants and to the publication of the works of V. I. Lenin through the creation of corresponding funds from the general government budget, and [funds] for the national republics similarly from local budgets.

16. It is necessary to take immediate measures for the publication of peoples editions of the works of V. I. Lenin, printed in all languages of the Soviet Union, and widely circulated, devoting special attention to

the editorial aspect of these publications, their comprehensiveness, cost, and distribution; organize the issuance of a series of collections of V. I. Lenin's works for party members of the Lenin Enrollment and for non-party members. The Congress instructs the Central Committee to accelerate and put on the necessary level, the publication of a complete collection of V. I. Lenin's works in Russian and the publication of selected editions in all the most important non-Russian languages of the Soviet Union.

17. Noting the strengthened aspect of our publishing houses and the significant development of publishing activity, the Congress considers it necessary to increase work on: 1) the differentiation (delimitation) of publishing houses according to basic types of printing and types of editions; 2) the development and consolidation of publishing houses in the large national and oblast centers; 3) the unification of party, Soviet, trade union and cooperative publishing houses, in centers as well as in local areas, for the purpose of extending the influence of party committees on the work of publishing houses, achieving the greatest amount of coordination in publishing plans and the best possible organization in publication and distribution.

18. It is necessary to accelerate work on the creation and publication of popular, high grade, books and pamphlets for mass consumption, making them completely understandable to workers and peasants, and with servicing the broad masses as the basic and immediate task of our publishing houses; it is also necessary to improve and intensify the publication of inexpensive, popular, peasant literature, devoting special attention to the uneducated peasant reader and to editions which are of practical use and interest to the village.

Completion of the shift to publishing new, high grade, textbooks, and teaching and training aids which are politically and methodologically

correct, is to be the basic task in the field of educational literature. Special attention is to be devoted to the creation and distribution of a Soviet textbook for the peasantry, which is of utmost cultural-political significance and to the preparation and publication of a series of textbooks on political literacy and the social sciences for city and village schools of the masses. Attract other great Soviet and Party publishing houses to the publication of educational literature, on principles of cooperation with government publishing houses of the Union republics, while preserving the principles of government monopoly on its publication.

In order to aid self-education of non-party workers as well as communist workers, stress the publication of suitable collections of books and the publication of books of the "University in the Home" type.

Increase party leadership in the critical-bibliographic work of our publishing houses, periodicals and newspapers, organizing regular, systematically conducted sections in them and devoting special attention to questions of party education and mass publications.

19. The basic work of the party in the field of artistic literature should be oriented toward the creative work of workers and peasants, who are becoming worker and peasant writers in the process of the cultural rise of the broad masses in the Soviet Union.

Rabkors and sel'kors should be regarded as the reserve from which new worker and peasant writers will be drawn.

Advancement and material help should be strengthened in every way possible for the proletarian and peasant writers who came into our literature, part from the lathe and the plow, part from that strata of the intelligentsia which, in the days of the October Revolution and in the period of war communism, entered the ranks of the Russian Communist Party and the Komsomol.

Special attention should be allotted to those writers and poets from the ranks of the Komsomol, working actively amidst the working youth.

More serious artistic and political work and freedom from narrow clan-nishness, with every possible assistance from the party, and party literary critics in particular, is fundamental to the development of worker-peasant writers.

At the same time, it is necessary to continue the systematic support of the more gifted of the so-called "fellow travelers," who are being educated by the school and by comradesly work with communists. A consistent party criticism should be established which, while selecting and supporting talented Soviet writers, would at the same time point out their mistakes, resulting from their inadequate understanding of the character of the Soviet system and would aid them in overcoming bourgeois prejudices.

Considering that no single literary trend, school or group can and should speak on behalf of the party, the Congress emphasizes the necessity for regulating literary criticism and the fullest possible interpretation by the party of models of artistic literature in the pages of the Soviet press.

The Congress devotes special attention to the necessity for creating a mass artistic literature for workers, peasants, and Red Army men.

20. The growing significance of the press and the complication of reader inquiries demands that party organs most carefully and accurately select workers for the mass press from among those comrades who are sufficiently competent and steadfast with respect to the party and good in their business relations with the comrades. It is necessary to continue the transfer of party journalists to work in the press.

In the elections of party committees, especially in industrial centers, it is necessary to select comrades capable of directing the work of the most important local organ of the press. It is necessary also to intensify the systematic training of new workers coming from the ranks of rabkors and sel'kors, especially through the State Institute of Journalism, which should be strengthened with party journalist personnel. Special attention must be devoted to the training of workers for the national press.

It is also necessary for party organs to undertake the careful selection of the leading staff especially the editorial staff for the most important local publishing houses for the purpose of strengthening and reinforcing them.

21. The increased significance of the press as a means of party communication with the masses, demands the creation and strengthening of the organs for guiding the press, the strengthening of party control and leadership through press sections and subsections of party committees, and on the part of party committees on the whole. Party committees must come nearer to a solution of all the basic questions involved in guiding the press and include them in its planned work. The strengthening of the control and leadership of newspapers and publishing houses demands especially, the strengthening of the press sections of the oblast committees, national central committees, and the bureau of the Central Committee.

22. The necessity for transferring to a system of oblast and kray party periodicals oriented to the middle peasant party member, with conversion of a series of guberniya party periodicals into small party bulletins must be recognized. Party leadership in the educational field must be strengthened in party periodicals, and, drawing principally upon local

material and experience, questions of economic and cultural construction must be discussed along with questions of Leninism and intra-party practice and life.

23. Party organs, through press sections and subsections in the center and in local areas, should steadfastly continue a policy directed toward the liquidation of all types of departmental literature so that those resources can be released for the support of the peasant and national press. The expenditures of the government on departmental literature should be rigidly curtailed.

From -- KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh

Part 1, pp 863-871

PLENUM ToK RKP(b) (October 1924)

The plenum discussed economic questions, on which the following reports were heard: Immediate Economic Questions and The Budget and Currency; it discussed questions of work in the village on which the report of V. M. Molotov Immediate Tasks of Work in the Village, was read. A resolution The Immediate Tasks of Work in the Village was passed by the Plenum in its fundamentals and was confirmed in final draft form by the Politburo.

From the Resolution of the Plenum Concerning Immediate Tasks of Work in the Village.

Proceeding from the decisions of the 13th Party Congress on questions of work in the village in which basic instructions were given for all the most important aspects of this work (for example: the party and Soviet apparatus in the village, the improvement of agriculture, tasks of cooperatives and collectivization of agriculture, protecting the interests of the poor and the krestkoma [peasant-?] the organization of farm labor and the development of trade union activity in the village, cultural-educational work and attracting the village intelligentsia to it, work among youth and peasant women, in the territorial divisions and others), and also considering further growth of political activity in the village, it is necessary to recognize the following additional instructions as indispensable to party organizations.

I

Increase the leadership of work in village cells and volost committees. For this purpose, it is necessary to devote special attention to the maintenance of the work of cells in the village. Cells and volost committees in the village must dedicate the necessary attention to questions

on the economic and cultural life of the village and to the work of corresponding Soviet and economic organizations, cooperatives, peasant committees and the like, along with questions of the political education of their members and political-educational work among the peasant masses (among the farm laborer and poor peasant group). In connection with the work of the soviets, questions of the volost budget, agricultural aid, organization of land exploitation, melioration, livestock-raising, the local court, schools, reading rooms, the distribution and reading of newspapers and other everyday questions from village life, in conformity to local conditions of a given moment, should occupy first place in the work of village party cells and party committees (of volost and rayon); at the same time, however, it is impossible to allow the replacement of the soviets (and executive committees), cooperative organs and the like with party organs. Therefore it is necessary:

a) to establish the systematic work of the Commission for Work in the Village under the Central Committee, oblast committees, guberniya committees, okrug committees (and where necessary uyezd committees), if possible connecting this work with the general plan;

The commission should work under the chairmanship of a secretary (or member of a bureau) of an oblast committee, guberniya committee, or okrug committee;

b) to place a regular village page etc. in Pravda and also in other central and local newspapers (where there still isn't one);

c) to approve the conducting of a campaign in Pravda (and also in Bednota and Krest'yanskaya Gazeta) for review of the work of party organizations in the village;

d) to approve the creation of a bi-weekly periodical, Village Communist, for leading party personnel in the village.

IV

In organizing all our agitation and propaganda in peasant regions, and also in conducting basic general political campaigns, local as well as central organs (and also in the press and in public speeches) should strive for the observance of a really considerate and attentive attitude toward the inquiries, needs and sentiments of the broad masses of the peasantry. For this purpose it is necessary:

a) to work out special instructions for local organizations (especially for the press) on questions which could result in negative political results in the village if there were an incorrect approach to mass peasant sentiment (such questions as the mutual relations of the working class and the peasantry, the kulaks etc);

b) to organize general political campaigns (for example, the struggle against crop failure, the raising of the productivity of labor etc.) not only on behalf of the party, but at the same time to conduct (organize) them also through corresponding Soviet organs, trade unions, cooperatives etc.;

c) to prepare popular pamphlets and books carefully and publish them systematically in mass editions (up to 1/2-1 million and more copies) in which there will be, not only a regard for the psychology of the peasant masses, but which will be read even before publication in a number of localities by peasants and approved by them from the standpoint of clarity of language and popularity of expression;

d) to give all possible aid to education in the spirit of the principles of Marxism and Leninism using peasant men and women themselves.

from the new strata of political and practical workers, devoting particular attention to sel'kors. For this purpose, it is necessary, among other things, to take those persons under the protection of Soviet laws and Soviet organizations whose exposure activities could evoke threats of violence on the part of kulak and counterrevolutionary elements in the village;

e) to confirm categorically the necessity of an especially discreet approach to questions of anti-religious propaganda and unconditionally forbid those measures of administrative action (closing of churches, etc.), which in most cases achieve only negative results.

From — WPS v Rezolyutsiyakh i
Resheniyakh, Part 1/ pp 906-907
910

ON WALL NEWSPAPERS

Decree of the Orgburo of the TsK RKP (b) (December 1924)

A. The Role of Wall Newspapers

The 13th Party Congress in its resolution on the tasks of the press, recognized that wall newspapers are acquiring ever greater significance in our press system as an instrument for influencing the masses and as a form of revealing its activity; factory-plant newspapers already play a large role in the improvement of production, its correct organization, in the task of construction of the new way of life and in the struggle against illiteracy and religious prejudices. Work on the wall newspaper in the enterprises must be conducted with assistance of every kind and under the direction of the party cell and the Komsomol, with the cooperation of organizations of women workers. The party committee should strengthen its leadership of the work on wall newspapers.

B. Leadership of Wall Newspapers

1. At present, direct leadership of the editorial boards of wall newspapers as a general rule, is concentrated in the party cells. In addition to representatives of party cells, the staff of the editorial board is made up of representatives from the cells of the RLKSM [The Russian Lenin Communist Youth Union] and the factory committee.

Preserving this order of leadership, it is expedient to call extensive meetings of the editorial board with the participation of rabkors, shop organizations and representatives from the most important organizations from enterprises -- the Culture Committee, the Committee for Labor Safety, the Committee for Work among Women, the Committee for Productivity of Labor. Such meetings will give the editorial board

an opportunity to better orient themselves in the different fields of activity of the enterprise and to check quickly the facts reported in correspondence.

Editorial boards should render periodic accounts of their work before open meetings of cells and general meetings of the workers.

2. General leadership of wall newspapers should be concentrated in press sections and subsections. The latter should choose an individual comrade for this work, who must directly lead both the editorial boards and the party cells on questions of wall newspapers.

Periodic meetings must be called with representatives of culture sections of trade unions and local newspapers so that general questions of leadership of wall newspapers may be solved; meetings of editorial boards of wall newspapers must also be called for exchange of experience, instruction, etc.

Arranging exhibitions, judgements, and critical reviews of wall newspapers in local newspapers have special significance for wall newspapers.

The wall newspaper should be only a wall newspaper and should not be distributed as a periodical publication.

C. The Contents of Wall Newspapers

1. In wall newspapers it is necessary to insert articles on themes closely connected with the status of the enterprise, its activity and organization; for example, articles explaining a newly concluded collective agreement, the production task received, the totals for industrial activity for a definite period, technical achievements, etc.

The articles should be short and comprehensible to the mass reader.

The wall newspaper should not content itself merely with the insertion of notices of exposures or notices on defects; simultaneously with the revelation of defects, there must also be a disclosure of the causes.

for the defects, suggestions about the methods for eliminating such defects — in general, a revelation of everything new and better.

2. General campaigns should be discussed in the wall newspaper in the light of the interests and tasks of a given enterprise. The discussion of revolutionary anniversaries should if possible, be tied in with the life of the enterprise, and in all cases it is necessary to avoid general political reviews and articles. In anniversary issues of wall newspapers, space should be allocated to current material in addition to anniversary material.

D. The Wall Newspaper in the Village

1. The wall newspaper in the village is often our entire political educational work in the village and should be connected with the reading room.

2. Party and Komsomol cells should take upon themselves the leadership of wall newspapers in the village and also choose the editorial board of the newspaper. The most progressive village correspondents can be drawn into the editorial board and also the teacher or agronomist and the supervisor of the reading room.

3. The editorial board of the wall newspaper gives an account of its work to the cell bureau and works according to its directives [direktiva].

4. City cultural sponsors of village cells should assist village cells in every ^{way} possible in setting up wall newspapers.

5. The editorial board of the wall newspaper should strive to attract more contributors to participation in the newspaper from among the local peasants, especially from youth and demobilized Red Army men.

6. It is especially necessary to devote attention to attracting peasant women into work on wall newspapers.

7. According to the resolution of the 13th Party Congress concerning the press, the following should be the basic content of wall newspapers: questions on the improvement of peasant agriculture, cooperative, raising the cultural level of the village in connection with local peculiarities, the protection of the small peasant holders against kulaks and other local shortcomings. The wall newspaper must be tied in closely with the agropunkt and the school.

8. It is necessary to recognize the insertion of political information ("The Latest News") as obligatory for a wall newspapers.

From -- Spravochnik Partijnogo Rabotnika
Issue [No] 5, pp 344-345

ON THE PEASANT PERIODICAL PRESS

Decree of the Orgburo TsK RKP (b) (February 1925)

1. The 13th Congress indicated the necessity for the following, in the capacity of a basic directive: a) increase circulation to 2,000,000 (1 newspaper for every 10 households); b) extend the network of guberniya peasant newspapers.

To date, these directives must be considered on the whole, as fulfilled.

With regard to the content of the peasant press, not only should the improvement of newspaper technique be mentioned, but also that the level is more defined for the peasant-reader than before 1924. These achievements are particularly noticeable in guberniya peasant newspapers.

At the same time however, an insufficiently informed and incorrect approach to the discussion of general questions of domestic and foreign policy, is typical of guberniya and, especially, uyezd peasant newspapers; the reason for this is often the unsatisfactory selection of editors.

2. The national peasant press also registers growth for the year, mainly among the more developed nationalities (the Ukraine, the Tatar Republic); however the quality of national peasant newspapers, especially uyezd ones, is considerably lower than Russian newspapers. The relative saturation of the national peasantry by newspapers still remains very low.

3. The growth of the Komsomol peasant press has been noted and this places the task of developing a regular network for it next.

4. There has been increased attention to the Red Army newspaper and in view of the development of the territorial formation [terformirovaniye], the tasks of the newspaper have increased significantly.

5. Worthy of note, along with aforementioned achievements, is the improvement of the material position of the peasant press, accomplished mainly through the growth and strengthening of the guberniya workers newspapers, which are publishing peasant newspapers and covering the deficit of the latter, and also accomplished through the improvement of distribution methods (kol'tsevaya pochta [literally, circular mail], forwarding of newspapers throughout sel'kor organizations, circles, "Friends of Newspapers," etc.).

6. Ascertaining the aforementioned achievements in the development of the peasant press, the Central Committee considers it particularly necessary to note the importance of serious defects in the contents of peasant newspapers.

In connection with this, the Central Committee considers it expedient to propose the improvement of the contents of peasant newspapers as an immediate task, having set the task of reaching the level of the central "Peasant Newspaper."

At the same time, the Central Committee, warning against hasty extension of the network of guberniya weekly newspapers and pointing out the necessity for gradual curtailment of the uyezd newspaper network, recognizes the expediency of increasing the circulation of the peasant press, striving toward increasingly extensive newspaper service in the village.

In order to accomplish these tasks, a series of measures must be fulfilled including the following problems:

- a) the economic status of the peasant press;
- b) the establishment of a regular peasant press network (general peasant press, Komsomol, Red Army, and national);
- c) the content of the peasant newspaper;
- d) wall newspapers;
- e) personnel in the peasant press.

7. It is necessary to carry out the following measures concerning the economic status of the peasant press:

- a) reduce the price of newspapers; the subscription price of a weekly issue should not exceed 10-12 kopecks, with an issue 2 or 3 times a week — 20-30 kopecks;
- b) establish a preferential rate for the mailing of the subscription fee (and for payment by the editors of franked [besmarkovyye] letters);
- c) continue the organization of kol'tsevaya pochta, spreading it through all the territory of the USSR;
- d) on the legislative level, establish criminal responsibility for delay or stealing of newspapers in the organs of the NKPS [Peoples Commissariat of Transportation], of the volost executive committees and village soviets.

8. The network of peasant newspapers, in accordance with the ~~decree~~ ^{decision} [postanovleniye] of the Orgburo dated 1 December, should be organized according to the following plan:

- a) in industrial centers and guberniyas — a peasant weekly newspaper;
- b) in purely peasant guberniyas, transform the leading local newspapers into peasant newspapers;
- c) transform mixed [smeshannyye] uyezd newspapers into peasant weeklies;
- d) strive for further gradual extension of the network of guberniya peasant newspapers; review the network of uyezd newspapers, taking into account division into rayons and the necessity for an okrug peasant newspaper in future policy.

9. The network of peasant Komsomol press should include:

- a) a central bi-monthly Journal of Peasant Youth and, if possible, the same journals in local national languages;
- b) oblast weekly Komsomol newspapers;
- c) in the future, an all-union newspaper orientated toward the activist.

Isolation from village conditions and lack of party spirit must be eliminated from Komsomol peasant newspapers and the entire content of the newspaper must be organized in strict compliance with the current tasks of the Soviet Union and the party in the village.

10. Noting the process characteristic of the current year for the conversion of the national newspapers to the peasant type, continue the conversion of the majority of national newspapers to the peasant type. Strengthen the peasant trend in the mixed newspapers.

In the near future, set the tasks for organizing a network of guberniya, peasant, and national newspapers and continue work on the improvement of the content and language of national newspapers.

11. Fulfilling its main tasks -- the education of the Red Army (education in battle traditions, introduction of the fundamentals of discipline etc.), the Red Army press should assign its most important space to discussion of the question of the mutual relations of the working class and the peasantry.

There should be constant communication between the organizations of the military and civil press for reciprocal information and coordination in the conduction of campaigns in the press.

It is necessary to push the peasant press forward into the village, to the territorial troop man and to the youth of pre-military age.

12. In order that the periodical press may better service the broad mass of peasant women, it is necessary to strengthen the women's sections in existing periodical publications and to reinforce the leadership of them by press sections. It is necessary that periodicals for peasant women be in close contact with peasant newspapers. The interpretation of questions on the labor and the way of life of peasant women should be made permanent subject matter for peasant newspapers; space should be systematically allotted to them either in the general sections of the newspapers, or in separate "pages," "corners," supplementary sheets, and leaflets intended for the uneducated peasant women. The Press Bureau of the Central Committee must furnish material for peasant newspapers, in its bulletins, on labor and the way of life of peasant women, and in the periodical Krasnaya Pechat', it must furnish articles of a guidance nature on the organization of these questions.

13. In orienting toward the agricultural side (questions of agronomy and cooperation), the peasant newspaper should devote special attention to:

- a) discussion of worker life, work in raising the productivity of labor etc.;
- b) making the Red Army and its organization well-known, aiming at the level of the territorial army man and the youth of pre-military age,
- c) interpretation of questions on policy toward the regeneration of the work of the soviets (explanation of the new "situation" [polozheniye] concerning VIKI [volost executive committees] and village soviets etc.)

14. Guidance and leadership of wall newspapers in the uyezd is the responsibility of editors of uyezd newspapers; where there are no newspapers,

it is the responsibility of the agitprop [section] of the uyezd committee. All correspondents writing regularly for the wall newspaper and all those actively interested in wall newspapers should be brought together in circles.

15. Along with other measures (the selection, transfer, and advancement of worker correspondents etc.) for the qualitative improvement of the editorial staff of peasant newspapers, it is necessary to create six-month courses at the GIZh [State Institute of Journalism] for editors of guberniya and uyezd newspapers; in these courses, special attention should be devoted to training workers of the national press.

Spravochnik Partiyного Rabotnika.

Issue [No] 5, pp 346-348

ON THE POLICY OF THE PARTY IN THE FIELD OF ARTISTIC LITERATURE
[i. e. BELLES LETTRES]

Resolution of the TsK RKP (b) (June 1925)

1. The improvement in the material welfare of the masses in recent times along with the revolution of thought produced by the Revolution, by the intensification of mass activity, and by the gigantic widening of horizons etc., is causing a tremendous increase of cultural inquiries and needs. Thus we have entered the field of cultural revolution, which is the prerequisite for further progress toward a communist society.

2. Part of this mass cultural growth is the growth of the new literature — proletarian and peasant primarily, beginning with forms which are embryonic, but at the same time unprecedently broad in scope, (rabkors, sel'kors, wall newspapers, and others) and culminating in an ideologically matured literary-artistic production.

3. On the other hand, the complexity of the economic process, the simultaneous growth of contradictory and even directly conflicting economic forms, the process of the birth and strengthening of a new bourgeoisie provoked by this development; the inevitable, although not immediately recognized gravitation to it by a part of the old and the new intelligentsia; the generation from the depths of society of new ideological agents of this bourgeoisie — all this must inevitably be reflected on the literary surface of public life.

4. Just^{as} the class struggle does not stop with us, so it does not stop on the literary front. ~~In a class struggle does not stop with us, so it does not stop on the literary front.~~ In a class society, art is not and cannot be neutral, although the class nature of art generally and of literature in particular, is expressed in forms infinitely more varied than, for example, in politics.

5. It would be absolutely incorrect however, to lose sight of the basic fact of our public life, namely the fact of the conquest of power by the working class, the presence of a proletarian dictatorship in the country.

If the proletarian party kindled the class struggle before the seizure of power and pursued a policy directed toward the outburst of the entire society, then the following questions face the proletarian party during the period of proletarian dictatorship: how to live with the peasantry and slowly transform it; how to allow a certain collaboration with the bourgeoisie and slowly supplant it; how to place technical and every other type of intelligentsia at the disposal of the revolution and ideologically win it over from the bourgeoisie.

Consequently, although the class struggle does not stop, it changes its form, for the proletariat, prior to the seizure of power, strives for the destruction of a given society, and during the period of its dictatorship, puts "peaceful organizational work" in the forefront.

6. The proletariat must, while preserving, strengthening and ever widening its leadership, occupy a corresponding position in a great many newssectors of the ideological front. The process by which dialectical materialism penetrates completely new fields (biology, psychology, and natural sciences in general) has already begun. The conquest of positions in the field of artistic literature must become a fact in exactly the same way sooner or later.

7. It must be remembered, however, that this task is infinitely more complicated than other tasks being solved by the proletariat, for already within the limits of capitalist society, the working class was able to prepare itself for a victorious revolution, organize cadres of fighters and leaders and develop a splendid ideological weapon of political struggle. But it could not work out scientific or technological problems, and likewise, it, the culturally depressed class, could not develop its own artistic literature, its own special artistic forms, or its own style. If the proletariat already has in its hands an infallible criterion for the social-political content of any literary work, then it still does not have such definite answers to all questions concerning artistic form.

8. The policy of the leading party of the proletariat in the field of artistic literature should be determined by the above mentioned. Here, primarily the following questions are relevant: correlation between proletarian writers, peasant writers, the so called "fellow travelers" and others; the policy of the party with respect to proletarian writers themselves; questions of criticism; the style and form of artistic works and methods for the development of new artistic forms; and finally, questions of an organizational character.

9. Correlation between different groups of writers according to their social-class or social-group content is determined by our general policy. However here it is necessary to keep in mind that leadership in the field of literature belongs to the working class on the whole with all its material and ideological resources. There isn't yet a hegemony of proletarian writers, and the party should help these writers to win for themselves the historic right to this hegemony. Peasant writers should meet with a friendly reception and enjoy our unconditional support. The task consists in transferring their growing cadres onto the rails of proletarian ideology, by no means, however, eliminating peasant literary-artistic patterns from their creative work, for these are also a necessary prerequisite for influencing the peasantry.

10. With regard to the "fellow travelers" it is necessary to keep in mind: (1) the differences among them; 2) the importance of many of them as qualified "specialists" of literary technique; 3) the existence of waverings among this group of writers. The general guide here should be that of a tactful and careful attitude toward them; that is, the type of approach which would ensure all the conditions for their swiftest possible transition to communist ideology. The party must eliminate anti-proletarian and anti-revolutionary elements (now extremely insignificant), and combat the ideology of the new bourgeoisie being formed among part of the fellow

travelers" of the Smena Vekh doctrine [from a series of articles entitled "Smena Vekh" which appeared in Prague in 1921 among the Russian emigres advocating that the New Economic Policy be used as a means of restoring capitalism in Russia]; at the same time the party must take a patient attitude toward intermediate ideological forms, patiently helping overcome these inevitably numerous forms in the process of an ever closer comradesly collaboration with the cultural forces of communism.

11. With regard to proletarian writers, the party, while aiding their growth in every possible way and supporting them and their organizations by all means, must with all its resources, prevent the development of communist conceit [komchanstvo] as the most destructive phenomenon among them. The party, just because it sees in them the future ideological leaders of Soviet literature true to the idea of communism, must in every possible way fight against a thoughtless and negligent attitude toward the old cultural inheritance, and likewise toward specialists of the artistic word. Equally deserving condemnation is underestimating the great importance of the struggle for the ideological hegemony of proletarian writers. Against capitulation on the one hand, and against communist conceit on the other - such should be the slogans of the party. The party should fight against attempts at a purely hothouse "proletarian" literature. Proletarian literature should encompass the broad scope of events in all their complexities, and not close itself up within the confines of a single factory; it should be a literature not of the factory, but of a great fighting class, leading behind it millions of peasants -- such should be the frame of content of proletarian literature.

12. On the whole the tasks of criticism, which is one of the main educational instruments in the hands of the party, are determined by the above-mentioned. Not relinquishing the positions of communism for a minute, not deviating even a jot from proletarian ideology, bringing to light the

objective class thought in different literary works, communist criticism should ruthlessly fight against counterrevolutionary manifestations in literature, reveal "Smena Vekh" liberalism etc. and at the same time observe the greatest tact, vigilance, and patience in regard to that literary group which can and will go with the proletariat. Communist criticism should prohibit the use of the tone of literary command. Only when it is based on its ideological superiority, will this criticism have deep educational significance, Marxist criticism should decisively drive out from its midst all types of pretentious, semiliterate, and self-complacent communist conceit. Marxist criticism should follow the slogan - Study! - and should reject all worthless writing and improvisation in its own ranks.

13. Recognizing unmistakably the social-class content of literary currents, the party on the whole can in no way connect itself with any movement in the field of literary form. The party, directing literature on the whole, can little afford to give support to any one fraction of literature (classifying these fractions according to difference of views on form and style), just as it can little decide questions concerning the form of the family by means of resolutions, although undoubtedly it does and should direct the building of the new way of life in general. All this suggests that a style corresponding to the period will be created, but it will be created by other methods, and the solution of this question has not yet been outlined. All attempts in this movement to connect the party to a given phase in the cultural development of the country should be rejected.

14. Therefore the party should declare itself for the free competition of different groups and trends in a given field. Any other decision of the question would be a formal bureaucratic pseudo-decision. In exactly the same way, a legalized monopoly on the literary-publishing activity of any

group or literary organization by decree [dekret] or party resolution [postanovleniye] is inadmissible. Supporting materially and morally a proletarian and proletarian-peasant literature, aiding "fellow travelers" etc., the party can not allow a monopoly of any of the groups, even of the most proletarian in its ideological content; this would signify ruining proletarian literature to begin with.

15. The party should by all means eradicate attempts at amateur and incompetent administrative interference in literary affairs; the party should attend to the careful selection of people in those institutions which carry out press activities, in order to ensure really correct, useful, and tactful leadership of our literature.

16. The party should point out to all workers in artistic literature the necessity for a correct delimitation of functions between critics and writer-artists. The center of gravity of the latter's work must be shifted to literary production in the true sense of the word, using the vast material of the present for this purpose. It is necessary to devote increased attention to the development of a national literature in the numerous republics and oblasts of our Union.

The party should emphasize the need for creating an artistic literature meant for the actual mass reader - peasant and worker; it is necessary to break more boldly and more decisively with aristocratic prejudices in literature and, employing all the technical achievements of the old workmanship, develop a suitable form which would be understood by millions.

Soviet literature and its future proletarian advance guard will be able to fulfill their cultural-historical mission only then when they solve this great problem.

Spravochnik Partiyonogo Rabotnika

Issue [No] 5, pp 349-352

REGULATIONS [polozheniye] ON THE TELEGRAPH AGENCY OF THE USSR (TASS)
 [Central Executive Committee]] [Council of Peoples' Commissars]
Confirmed by the Presidium of the TsIK/USSR and the SNK/USSR (July 1925)

1. The Telegraph Agency of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the central information organ of the Soviet Union.
2. TASS is responsible for the dissemination, throughout the USSR and abroad, of political, economic, commercial and other information of general interest, concerning both the USSR and foreign governments.
3. In order to fulfill its assigned tasks:
 - a. TASS enjoys the exclusive right to gather and disseminate information outside USSR limits, as well as the right to disseminate foreign and All-Union information within the USSR; it directs the work of the republic telegraphic agencies in disseminating foreign and All-Union information within the limits of the corresponding republics.

Note: 1. Correspondents of foreign agencies and newspapers, who were admitted in the established manner to work in the territory of the USSR, are to enjoy the right of gathering information within the borders of the USSR and transmitting it abroad.

Note: 2. The telegraph agencies of the union republics gather and disseminate information exclusively in the territories of their own republics and give TASS information of the republics for dissemination to the USSR proper and abroad.

- b. in accordance with its mission, TASS receives all types of information from the telegraph agencies of the union republics: political, financial, economic, commercial, and all other information of general or specific interest;

- c. organizes departments [otdeleniya] and correspondent points abroad, which act on the basis of special instructions which are given them by TASS:

Note: By way of exception, telegraph agencies of the union republics can send their own correspondents abroad in order to get additional specific information interesting to the corresponding republics. A list of cities and candidacies for correspondent is being set up in agreement with the telegraph agencies of the union republics and TASS and is being confirmed by the Peoples Commissariat for Foreign Affairs;

- d. TASS enjoys the exclusive right to enter into contractual relations with telegraph agencies of other countries;
- e. it fixes and receives funds for its own information reports and publications, not excepting payment for the use of information disseminated by radio;

Note: Press bulletins and other publications of the Agency can be issued for public sale within the Soviet Union, as well as abroad.

- f. TASS appoints its own authorized agents for gathering subscriptions and disseminating published material of TASS both abroad and within the USSR, in localities where there are no telegraph agencies of the union republics; and it concludes suitable contracts with the latter;
- g. it enjoys all the rights of a juridical person.

4. TASS is attached to the Council of the Peoples Commissars of the USSR.
5. At the head of TASS is the Council consisting of the following nine persons appointed by decree of the Council of Peoples Commissars of the USSR: chairman of the Council, the responsible director of TASS, and seven members.

6. Directors of telegraph agencies in the union republics are appointed by the Councils of the Peoples Commissars in the corresponding republics upon recommendation from TASS.
7. The following are also under the authority of the Council of TASS:
 - a. establishment of a general plan and order of work on the basis of present situation;
 - b. examination and resolution of questions on opening TASS departments abroad, confirmation of the heads of these departments, and also confirmation of TASS overseas correspondents, and agreement on the candidacies of correspondents for telegraph agencies of the union republics in the order of the note to point [P.] "c", Page [ST.] 3 of the present statute [polozheniye].
 - c. examination of the annual estimates of profits and expenditures of TASS;
 - d. submitting recommendations to the Council of Peoples Commissars of the USSR on all debatable questions between the agencies of the union republics and TASS.
8. The responsible director is responsible for the direct leadership of all activities of TASS and all executive functions.
9. TASS is organized on principles of Khozraschet [cost accounting].
10. TASS is to submit its yearly financial account in the established order.
11. Financial relations between TASS and the republic agencies are regulated by special agreements between them.
12. TASS and the telegraph agencies of the union republics enjoy the right of using preferential tariffs for all its means of inter-communication in all territories of the USSR.

Note: Preferential tariffs are established by special agreement of the interested departments [vedomstva] with TASS and confirmed by the Council of Peoples Commissars USSR.

13. Telegrams sent by TASS and telegraph agencies of the union republics have priority over private telegrams, but not over government ones. However, all telegrams of TASS and the telegraph agencies of the union republics, which transmit word for word, decrees [dekrety] and government regulations [rasporyazheniya], as well as financial quotations [birzhevyya] are sent with the same priority as government telegrams.
14. TASS enjoys all copyrights on information it distributes by any means of communication, in accordance with existing statutes concerning copyrights in the USSR and the union republics.
15. The Central Administration of TASS is located in Moscow.

From -- "Sobraniye zakonov i Rasporyazheniya Raboche-Krestyanskogo Pravitel'stvo Soyuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik,"

[Collection of Laws and Regulations of the Worker-Peasant Government of the USSR] 1925, pp 646-648

THE 15TH CONGRESS OF THE VKP(b)

From the Resolution on the Report of the Central Committee

Calling all party, economic, trade-union and Soviet organizations to undertake with all their energy the solution of this most important task -- socialist rationalization -- the 15th Congress of the VKP(b) considers that only on the basis of such rationalization is it possible to accomplish the industrialization of the country (including the industrialization of agriculture), the reduction of unemployment, the elimination of the bureaucratic misinterpretations of the proletarian government, the increasing satisfaction of the needs of the worker-peasant masses, their further cultural growth, and the mastery of the main difficulties of socialist construction.

In spite of the leading and ever-growing role of the socialist sector of the economy, the increase of the productive forces of the economy of the USSR is inevitably accompanied to some extent by an increase of class contradictions. The rural and urban private capitalistic elements, joining up with some bureaucratic elements of the Soviet and the economic apparatus, are trying to increase their resistance to the advances of the working class and to exercise an influence, hostile to the proletarian dictatorship, on certain elements among white-collar workers [sluzhashchiye] and intelligentsia and backward elements among craftsmen, peasants and workers. This influence is manifest also in the cultural-political and ideological field (the Smena Vekh doctrine, the slogan of the kulak "Peasant Union," chauvinism, antisemitism, the teachings of bourgeois democratic "freedoms" and, connected with it, the two-party slogan of the petty bourgeois opposition, etc.). The working class, headed by the VKP(b), has opposed this dangerous influence and growing activity of capitalist elements by strengthening the regime of proletarian dictatorship,

by a still greater rise of the activity, independence, and culture of the proletarian masses (reinvigoration of the soviets, development of trade union democracy and a cooperative community, strengthening of the ideological influence of the proletariat in rural areas, cultural-educational work among the masses, etc.), and also by strengthening the ideological influence of the proletariat in rural areas, cultural-educational work among the masses, etc.), and also by strengthening the ideological influence of the proletariat on broad strata of Soviet intelligentsia. Noting the many unquestionable successes in this field of the struggle, the Congress considers it necessary henceforth to mobilize the proletarian masses in every way and especially to intensify the struggle on the ideological and cultural front.

Attesting to the qualitative and quantitative growth of our party since the 14th Congress, wholly approving the policy of the Central Committee for regulating the social composition of the party, and noting the success of the "October Summons" of workers into the party in connection with the tenth Anniversary of the Soviet regime, the 15th Congress of VKP(b) declares that the directing role of the VKP(b), as the basic instrument of the dictatorship, can be preserved and strengthened only on the basis of Leninist solidarity and proletarian discipline of the ranks of the party, accompanied by the constant raising of the ideological-theoretical and cultural level of its members, the consistent execution of intra-party democracy and the systematic improvement of the social structure of the party through the constant recruitment into the party of workers from production.

In view of the complexity of the tasks facing the party, and in order to increase the activity of the whole mass of party members, the Congress considers necessary the development of intra-party democracy,

practical criticism of defects in the Soviet apparatus as well as in the party itself, the intensification of the struggle with careerism, etc. Simultaneously with this, the Congress directs the attention of the party to the need for intensifying work in the Komsomol, among working youth generally and among women.

From -- KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh, Part 2, pp 319-320, 325

ON MEASURES FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE PRESS FOR YOUTH AND CHILDREN

Decree of the TsK VKP (b) (July 1928)

1. The qualitative and quantitative growth of the Komsomol and children's press has been accompanied by an increase in their specific influence in the work of Komsomol and Pioneer organizations, as well as in school life. The periodic Komsomol and children's press, growing quantitatively, is gradually embracing a broader and broader strata of worker and peasant youth. There have been a number of achievements in youth and children's books: certain reductions in price, improvement in the appearance of books, the increase of the specific influence of state publishing houses on the children's book market.

2. At the same time, the Central Committee has ascertained major shortcomings in the general state of the press for youth and children:

a. the press (both periodical and non-periodical) is carrying out the task of party education inadequately, reacting weakly to unhealthy developments among worker and peasant youth, and at times, getting off onto politically undignified sensations; the new groups of young workers that have recently arrived in industry are hardly served at all by the press;

b. the press has made very unsatisfactory progress in rural areas. Newspaper circulation in the country is extremely small. Books for country youth are decreasing in number;

c. artistic literature for youth is still expensive and low in quality (it often contains elements of unhealthy adventure and inept interpretation of social subjects);

d. only the first steps have been taken in the creation of a children's literature which meets the needs of communist education. The most negative aspects of children's books are still: an unsatisfactory exposition, or outright avoidance of social themes; the high price of books; an orientation

toward the children of the wealthier strata of the population; uninteresting presentation and a lack of interesting, lively plots; a misuse of tendentious propaganda stories [agitka]. The private owner is still in a strong position in the children's book market.

3. The basic task of the press for youth and children should be the communist education of the worker and peasant youth, instilling in them the fighting traditions of the Bolshevik party and attracting young people through the youth movement and other forms of the organizational work of the press, into direct participation in the building of socialism; inculcating in them a proletarian class implacability in the struggle against obstacles to progress in the way of life and economic-cultural development. All this must be combined, without fail, with an elevation in the cultural level of the worker and peasant youth and, in particular, with all possible assistance to the development of their technical and specialized knowledge.

4. In view of the above, the Central Committee considers the following to be necessary:

a. the creation of popular books must be ensured which would promote the party education of youth and also popular publications on the basic questions of Marxist theory, as well as artistic literature, which would meet the social and daily-life inquiries of youth. Along with this, a popular scientific and technical literature is needed which would give youth a knowledge of the basic problems of natural science and technology;

b. special attention must be devoted to the publishing of popular literature, accommodating the inquiries of the broad mass of peasant and farm-labor [batratskaya] youth and promoting their communist education;

c. noting the improvement in Komsomol'skaya Pravda, which on the whole is satisfactorily fulfilling its role as guiding organ of the Komsomol, the Central Committee points out the need hereafter, to intensify the work of newspapers in raising the level of theoretical knowledge of Komsomol.

members, to elucidate the problems in the party's practical guidance of the Komsomol and the Pioneer movement, to explain more fully the work of the party and the Komsomol in the village and in the national republics, and at the same time, to set forth more extensively the positive features of the building of socialism;

d. the need for improving the financial basis of the youth press must be acknowledged, by increasing the subsidies to the Komsomol newspapers in accordance with the press budget and by taking measures to satisfy more fully the needs of the youth press from local budgets;

e. in recognition of the special importance of publishing youth literature in the national languages, propose to all national publishing houses that they give sufficient place to youth and children's literature in their publishing plans. Together with this, it is necessary to begin extending the network of Komsomol periodic organs of the press in the national languages;

f. extend and improve the publication of artistic literature for children, as well as books on natural science, technics, etc. with special attention to books which would aid in educating children in the spirit of ^{inter}collectivism and nationalism, as well as to social and political books for the Pioneers.

Children's books, as a rule, should actually be directed toward the needs of the children of workers and peasants;

g. the Narkomprosy of the republics and the Central Committee of the VLKSM must take positive measures to reduce prices of youth and children's literature especially of popular books, and to see that this literature actually reaches a broad strata of the workers and the poor and middle class peasant youth in the village.

From -- Izvestiya TsK AVKP (b)

No 23, 1928

THE 16th CONFERENCE OF THE VKP(b) (April 1929)

On the Purge [chistka] and Check-up [proverka] of Members and Candidates of the VKP (b) - From a Resolution of the Conference on the Report of M. ~~Stalin~~

12 ROSLAVSKIY

10. During the period when the ranks of the party are checked, an especially important task falls on the party press. It is necessary to make certain that, from the very beginning, a consistent interpretation of the tasks of purging, in principle, is ensured. This is to be done so that a certain political level in the discussion of the problems of purging will be maintained, and so that everything valuable and positive in the check-up of organizations will be adequately noted in the press, side by side with an elucidation of merciless eliminations of everything worthless [negodnoye] from party ranks. While castigating worthless elements, the press should not in any case terrorize and persecute comrades who commit errors accidentally, by virtue of their inexperience. Local central commissions must guide in the press the exposition of everything revealed by the check, not allowing the party to be discredited because of unsuitability and faults of its individual members.

To All Workers and Peasant Workers of the Soviet Union (The Address of the 16th Conference of the VKP(b))

Comrades! History has put gigantic tasks before the workers of our country.

We must, in what is historically a comparatively short period of time, reach and overtake the advanced capitalist countries in a technical-economic

sense, accomplishing the socialist reconstruction of our entire economy.

We must ensure the rapid growth of industry and at the same time of agriculture, always developing a mighty socialized economy in rural areas (sovkhozes, kolkhozes) on the basis of advanced machine technics.

We must extend to the utmost the broad cultural movement of the masses and eliminate any and all types of elements of excess, waste, poor management, red tape and bureaucratism from our government apparatus.

We must further the attack on capitalistic elements. We must overcome and supplant the capitalistic elements not only of the city but also of the villages.

We must steadily strengthen the defensive capacity of the Soviet Union.

The accomplishment of all these tasks must be based on a firm union of workers and peasants under the leadership of the working class.

For the fulfillment of these tasks, the party has approved the Five-Year Plan for Economic Construction, a party program for the elimination of the country's economic and cultural backwardness, for the building of socialism, for the victorious development of the international proletarian revolution.

During the five-year plan, 64 billions will be invested in the construction of factories, plants, electric power stations, railroads, sovkhozes, kolkhozes, and schools. It exceeds the prewar level of socialist industry by three times. All factories, plants, and mines will be operated on a seven-hour working day.

The rapid tempo of the country's industrialization and the socialist reconstruction of agriculture with an intensified attack of the proletariat on capitalistic elements in the city and country are provoking frenzied resistance and opposition by the class enemies.

The kulak and the nepman will not give up their positions without a struggle. The kulaks are resisting Soviet policy in grain procurement and in construction of kolkhozes and sovkhoses, and are trying to intimidate the builders of the new rural society with terror. The kulak and the nepman support counterrevolutionary saboteurs in industry. Bureaucrats in our institutions assist them. Foreign capitalists incite and support them in every possible way.

The pressure of classes alien to us has caused wavering and hesitation in certain strata of the working class and the peasantry and has given birth to an opportunist right wing in the ranks of the Communist Party.

Only by overcoming hesitation and wavering in its ranks, only by giving a crushing blow to the right wing, will the party and the proletariat be able to break the resistance of the class enemy and fulfill the Five-Year Plan for the building of socialism.

In different stages in the building of socialism the working class of our country was faced with a multitude of barriers and difficulties and, in overcoming them, the development of mass initiative in the working class had great significance.

In 1919 when the country, hemmed in by the ring of the White bandits and interventionists, was suffocating in the grip of ruin and hunger, when hundreds of thousands of the best proletarians and peasants were perishing at the fronts, the workers on the home front exhausted with hunger, under conditions of devastation, began on their own initiative to organize communist Saturdays of voluntary labor to raise labor productivity and obtain an extra hundred poods of coal, grain, and fuel necessary to feed the fire in the furnace of the proletarian government. Lenin then called the voluntary Saturday work days a "great innovation," a heroism of the workers on the homefront.

In 1920, the 9th Party Congress issued a decree on labor competition, an idea which Lenin indissolubly connected with the building of socialism.

"Each social structure (slave, serf, and capitalist)" points out a decision of the 9th Congress of the Party, "had its methods and devices of labor compulsion and labor education in the interests of the exploiting leadership."

The Soviet structure faces in its full scope the task of developing its own methods for increasing the intensity and purposefulness of labor on the basis of a socialized economy in the interests of all the people.

Along with agitational-ideological influence on the toiling masses and repression of deliberate loafers, parasites, and disorganizers, competition is a powerful force for raising the productivity of labor.

In capitalist society, competition [sorevnovaniye] had the character of rivalry [konkurentsia] and led to the exploitation of man by man. In a society where the means of production have been nationalized, labor competition, not violating the principle of solidarity, can only raise the total sum of labor products.

Competition between factories, rayons, shops, workshops and individual workers should be an object of careful organization and attentive study on the part of trade unions and economic organizations.**

*(Note: See KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh Part 1, pages 213-214 — Editor)

This decision of the 9th Party Congress, ^{is} completely timely and vital.

Comrade workers and working peasants!

In order to overcome the difficulties of building socialism, to develop a further attack on capitalistic elements in the city and country, to fulfill the five-year plan — organize competition in all fields of construction,

in plants, factories, mines, railroads, sovkhozes, kolkhozes, Soviet institutions, schools, and hospitals.

Organize competition for the following: reduction of costs, raising the productivity of labor, the strengthening of labor discipline, the extension of the acreage under crop, the increase of crop yields, the drawing of the peasantry into kolkhozes and the cooperatives, the simplification of the government apparatus and the strengthening of its ties with the masses, the improvement of the operation of institutions^{which are} social and cultural [kul'turno-Bytovyye] serving the mass of workers.

Socialist competition which developed this year on the initiative of the Leninist Komsomol and the press is being converted more and more into a mighty mass movement. As a result of the first steps of the competition, the miners of the Don Basin (Lugansk [now Voroshilovgrad] and Shakhty) overfulfilled the production program for coal in March; the textile workers of Ivanovo, Tver' [now Kalinin] and Moscow concluded an economic-political agreement between themselves for the fulfillment of the industrial and financial plan for the current economic year; the workers of the Urals, Leningrad, Dnepropetrovsk, Moscow and Rostov have created hundreds of shock brigades and shifts; each day, more and more new detachments of workers are entering competition; the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the Ukraine are already competing among themselves; Siberia, the Northern Caucasus, and the Lower and Middle Volga regions have joined together with them in the campaign for crops and collectivization.

The labor heroism and self sacrifice of workers is also expressed in the voluntary increase of the norms of production, in the finishing of work on holidays, in the gigantic growth of suggestions from production meetings, in the boycott of loafers and slackers, and in the struggle for raising the productivity of labor.

"Communism begins where the rank and file workers have a self-sacrificing concern for increasing the productivity of labor [and a determination] to overcome great difficulties" *

*(Note: V. I. Lenin, Sochineniya [Works], 4th edition, vol. 29, pg. 394)

Competition, awakening the creative energy and initiative of the masses, must become a permanent method for drawing workers into the building of socialism.

Competition, side by side with self-criticism within the proletarian ranks must be the means of socialist education of the working class, especially of new workers -- those from the village and petty bourgeois city groups.

Competition must lead to the reorganization of the forms and methods of work of our social and governmental organizations, especially of trade unions and economic organizations, facilitating the attraction of the masses into the administration of the economy and all the government.

Trade unions and economic organizations must widely employ a system of encouraging participants in competitions. The names of the best workers, the best specialists, the best industrial administrators agronomists, the names of factories and mines, and of the best sovkhoses and kolkhozes must be made known by all the country.

It is necessary "that the comparison of the practical results of the economy of individual communes be an object of general interest and study, in order that outstanding communes be rewarded immediately (by a reduction of the working day, by a raise in pay, by the granting of many cultural and aesthetic benefits and values, etc)" *

*(Note: V. I. Lenin, Sochineniya, 4th edition, vol 27, pg. 232)

The press should submit to the judgement of the masses a comparison of the actual results of competing enterprises, systematically interpreting the progress of competition and arousing the broadest interest in it.

The heroic traditions of the past years have been preserved and multiplied by the working class of our country. The Leninist idea "of organizing competition on socialist principles" is finding greater practical realization. The principles of the communist attitude toward labor are increasingly being introduced into production.

The shock brigades being created in enterprises and institutions, continue the best traditions of communist voluntary labor Saturdays. Production surveys, roll calls, and contests, etc., in connection with the growing scope of the work of production meetings and conferences, are acquiring great significance for the cause of building of socialism. A new type of socialist worker is developing in Soviet plants and factories. The role and participation of the mass of workers in the administration of the government is growing.

The socialist competition which is developing is one of the best guarantees that, on the basis of the general party line, the Five-Year Economic Plan will be fulfilled and the working class, in spite of the opportunist waverings of skeptics and alarmists, in spite of the frenzied resistance of its class enemies, will go forward victoriously with the working masses of the village in the building of a socialist society.

The Five-Year Plan is a plan of struggle of the working class to overcome capitalist elements, a plan of socialist re-education of the masses, a plan for the creation of a foundation for a socialist society.

Socialist competition is a powerful medium for awakening and organizing the initiative of the masses for the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan and at the same time a powerful medium for the development of self-criticism from below.

Competition and the Five-Year Plan are indissolubly connected. Under the banner of fulfillment of these tasks, the proletariat of the USSR moves to a further attack on the class enemies of the proletarian dictatorship.

The party calls all proletarians, all workers of the city and country to develop the struggle for the industrialization of the USSR, for socialism, with still greater energy under the Leninist banner of the VKP(b).

Long live socialist competition!

Long live communism!

16th Conference of the VKP(b)

29 April 1929

From -- KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh

i Resheniyakh

Part 2, pp 482, 495-499

ON THE REORGANIZATION OF THE NEWSPAPER NETWORK
IN CONNECTION WITH THE ELIMINATION OF OKRUGS

The Degree of the TsK VKP(b) (August 1930)

a) In accordance with the decision of the Central Committee of 15 July 1930, okrug newspapers are to be eliminated. On the basis of the elimination of okrug newspapers, and also kolkhoz-sovkhoz and some factory-plant printed newspapers, a network of rayon newspapers must be developed in the industrial and the most important agricultural rayons.

In the okrug cities, which are being reorganized into rayon centers, the okrug newspaper, as a rule, is to be reorganized into a rayon newspaper and remain at this rayon center. In certain cases, if okrug centers do not have great economic or cultural significance, consider it advisable to transfer the former okrug newspaper to another, more important industrial or agricultural rayon center.

b. Cities having the greatest industrial or cultural significance (Moscow, Leningrad) and also cities in which city party committees have been created (Khar'kov, Odessa, Vladivostok, Dnepropetrovsk, Tula, Zlatoust, Kiev, Rostov, Astrakhan', Shakhty, etc.) may publish city newspapers which are organs of the local party committees and soviets.

c. As a rule, in the organization of a newspaper and the determination of its volume, circulation, and days of issuance, the kray committee and oblast committee of the VKP(b) must proceed from the base of available printing equipment and the existing norms of consumption of newsprint. The necessary funds for the maintenance of rayon newspapers should be provided for by the local budget. Supplementary publication of new rayon newspapers (not on the basis of already existing okrug, kolkhoz-sovkhoz and factory printed newspapers) is only permitted with the sanction of the TsK VKP (b) in each individual case.

d. The rayon newspaper must be a mass political organ and must have a strongly pronounced production character (in accordance with the economy of a given rayon).

e. The extension of the network and the consolidation of printed newspaper must be accompanied by the development of local newspapers -- wall newspapers and factory newspapers in enterprises, in shops, in villages, sovkhoses and kolkhozes.

f. In republic, oblast, and kray centers, the leading party-Soviet, peasant, Komsomol and Pioneer newspapers, as a rule, are to be preserved. The kray press, jointly with sectors of the press of the kray committees, must provide help and operative management to the rayon and local press. In order to service the rayons, especially those which do not have their own newspapers, mobile editorial offices [vyvezdnyye redaktsii] and pre-cast type pages [smennyye polosy] should be used extensively.

g. Within a month, the oblast committees, the kray committees and the Central Committees of the Natskompartiy [National Communist Parties of the Soviet Union] must submit a [plan] for a network of newspapers to the Central Committee for approval.

h. The Kul'tprop [Section] of the Central Committee, jointly with the kray and oblast committees of the VKP(b), the Committee for Press Affairs, the Committee for Printing [Poligrafkomitet], the Central Committee of Printers and Paper Manufacturers, are to plan measures for ensuring the publication of rayon newspapers (printing equipment, allocation of editorial personnel, etc.).

i. It is proposed that within 20 days, TASS, ROSTA [Russian Telegraph Agency] and the Peoples Commissariat of Posts and Telegraph work out measures for ensuring the servicing and distribution of newspapers in the rayons.

From -- Spravochnik Partiy'nogo Rabotnika

Issue [No.] 8, pp 362-363

ON [TRAINING] NEWSPAPER WORKERS

The Decree of the TsK VKP (b) (November 1930)

The tasks "for further improving the press and increasing its role in the development of the socialist advance" demand from editors and the entire staff of editorial workers a genuine Bolshevik steadfastness and an aptitude for organization, skill in militantly organizing the masses at the necessary tempo in the solution of basic tasks of building socialism. The reorganization of newspapers for the discussion of primarily economic problems requires the enlistment of new groups of the aktiv in the work of the editorial staff: rabsel'kors-udarniki [-shock workers], administrators, specialists, etc.

Noting that the selection of personnel, the [existing] staff [sostav], the training and retraining of editorial workers, are all in an unsatisfactory state, the Central Committee considers that, at the present moment, it is decisively necessary that party organizations devote special attention to newspaper personnel and put into practice the decisions of the Central Committee on promoting comrades who are members of the party committee bureaus from party work to work as editors. The work on advancing rabsel'kor-udarniki into the staffs [apparaty] for leading editorial positions is completely unsatisfactory.

The Central Committee considers it necessary to carry out the following measures.

1. (a) Improve the staffs and the work of the central editorial staffs immediately, by assigning to them some of the students from courses of Marxism-Leninism (editorial department), the [Institute] of LIYa [Literature and Languages] of the Communist Academy, KIZh [Communist Institute of Journalism], Higher School of the Trade Union Movement of the VTsSPS [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] (newspaper department),

and also, with the permission, of the Central Committee in each individual case, students of the following who show ability in literary work: the Industrial Academy, the Trade Academy, the Transport Academy, IKP [Institute of Red Professors], and aspirants of Komvuzy [communist universities] and the Cooperative University. Require editors to provide for systematic work with those assigned to them, taking into account that students and aspirants of KIZh, [Institute] of LIYa of the Communist Academy, the editorial departments of courses in Marxism, the Higher Schools of the Trade Union Movement, and the Komvuzy, must work no less than one-third of their time in productive work in the order of on-the-job training on the newspaper, while the rest (those of the Industrial, Trade, Transport, and Planning Academies, aspirants of Komvuzy, the Cooperative University and others), are to work as on a party assignment, with release from other types of work. The work of students of the Institutes of Red Professors who are sent to newspapers is given the same status as their pedagogical work.

Instruct the Kul'tprop [Section] of the Central Committee, along with editors and editorial offices of newspapers, to draw up a concrete program and carry out this measure.

Propose to local party committees that they carry out the same measures with regard to Komvuzy, higher educational institutions, and affiliates of the IKP, the Communist Academy, and the Industrial Academy. In addition, assign economists, administrators, aspirants and teachers to newspapers.

(b) Depending upon their degree of preparedness, organize the systematic study, by workers of the editorial offices of newspapers, TASS, OGIZ [Association of State Publishing Houses of the RSFSR] and the Radio Center, of courses in Marxism (editorial department [otd.]) at LIYa of the Communist Academy, at KIZh, at the higher School of the Trade Union Movement

(editorial) department, and locally, at Komvuzy (department [otd.] of newspaper workers), placing on editors, the bureau of cells, and the educational institutions the responsibility for controlling the progress of the studies of the aktiv of editorial offices. Expenditures necessary for the organizing and conducting of studies, is to be borne by the editorial boards and publishing houses of newspapers, OGIz, TASS, and the Radio Center.

2. Rabkors and sel'kor-udarniki must be one of the main sources from which the cadres of newspaper workers will be formed. The editors of the central, republican, kray and oblast newspapers must widely develop the training of these cadres by organizing short-term courses, circles etc.

3. Establish a system of training as follows:

(a) courses in Marxism (editorial department), Institute of Literature and Languages of the Communist Academy trains workers of the central, republican, kray, and oblast newspapers;

(b) the Communist institute of Journalism (formerly GIZh [State Institute of Journalism]) trains the middle-level group of these newspapers, and also the editors of large rayon and city newspapers. Scientific research in the field of journalistic disciplines is also concentrated in this Institute. The newspaper department of the Higher School of the Trade Union movement of the VTsSPS trains workers for the trade union press;

(c) the department of printing trade workers of local Komvuzy and evening institutes of journalism, train editors of rayon newspapers and also editors of factory-plant, sovkhoz, and kolkhoz newspapers;

(d) literary faculties, institutes, tekhnikum [technical schools] and gazetuchi (schools of newspaper apprenticeship) train literary and technical cadres.

4. In order to train editors and other principal workers of republic, kray and oblast newspapers/organize, not later than 1 January 1931, 2-3-month courses at KIZh for 50 men each which will be in session continuously. Courses in Marxism, Institute LIYA of the Communist Academy, KIZh, Komvuzy,

and the Radio Center must ensure the formulation of correspondence study for newspaper workers, especially for those from rayon and local newspapers.

5. In the development of the present decree, the Kul'tprop Section of the Central Committee is to work out special measures providing for the training and advanced training of cadres of the national press.

6. Instruct the Culture and Propaganda Section of the Central Committee to develop an extensive plan for training newspaper cadres and to submit contingents of students for the coming year to the Central Committee for approval, taking into account that there must be an independent newspaper in each rayon by the end of the five-year plan. In connection with this also select contingents of aspirants.

7. Suggest that the editorial staffs discuss the problems of training press cadres.

Spravochnik Partiyonogo Rabotnika

Issue [No.] 8 pages 363-364

ON POSTER LITERATURE

Decree of the TsK VKP(b) of 11 March 1931

1. The Central Committee considers intolerable the disgraceful attitude of various publishing houses (GIZ [State Publishing House - before unification], IZOGIZ [State Publishing of Graphic Arts], Sel'khozgiz, AKhRR [The Association of Artists of Revolutionary Russia], Tsentrosoyuz, Gostrudizdat [possibly State Publishing House on Labor Questions], etc.) toward pictures and posters, which is evidenced in the issuance of a large percentage of anti-Soviet posters and pictures.

2. The Central Committee considers the control of picture and poster production by Glavlit [Main Administration for Literature and Publishing] as entirely unsatisfactory; it also notes that the Glavlit has not fulfilled the decree of the Central Committee of 5 September 1930 as far as systematic leadership by specially appointed representatives is concerned.

3. Request the TsKK - RKI [Central Control Commission of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection] to investigate the problem of the release of ideologically harmful posters and pictures and to call to account the specific culprits. In connection with the unification in IZOGIZ of all matters concerning posters and pictures, and with the entry into it of a number of publishing houses, request the TsKK - RKI to clean up the IZOGIZ apparatus.

4. Transfer the leadership of mass poster and picture production to the Section for Agitation and Mass Campaigns of the Central Committee and propose that it work out a series of measures directed toward the improvement of the organization of picture and poster agitation.

Propose that the kray committees, oblast committees, and the central committees of the Natskompartii, in those localities where posters and pictures are published, organize a check-up of the condition of poster and

picture production through the agitmassovyye [possibly sections for agitation and mass campaigns] sections; transfer the leadership of these matters to the agitmassovyye sections.

5. Call upon the Kul'tprop [Section] of the Central Committee together with the Section for Agitation and Mass Campaigns and OGIZ to provide this sector of ideological work with the necessary cadres within 20 days.

6. Call upon the periodic press to publish regular reviews of the posters and picture which are issued.

7. Enlist the aid of the Section [Sektziya] for Graphic Arts of the Communist Academy, RABIS [the Central Committee of the Artists' Trade-Union of the USSR] and GLaviskusstvo [the Main Administration for Art Affairs], in making practical contributions to matters concerning posters and pictures. In order to raise the ideological and artistic quality of posters and pictures, organize a special society of artists and creators of posters and utilize the students of the Institute of Red Professors for political advice.

8. Under IZOGIZ, organize a workers council of representatives from the largest enterprises of Moscow; in the enterprises, establish a system for the preliminary evaluation of IZOGIZ publishing plans, and by means of the construction of mobile displays, draw men and women workers into commenting on and discussing the outlines and also into reviewing the poster and picture products.

9. Unite the publication of all mass picture and poster production under IZOGIZ.

From -- Spravochnik Partiyonogo Rabotnika

Issue VIII, pg 366

ON THE REORGANIZATION OF THE WORKER AND VILLAGE
CORRESPONDENT MOVEMENT

Decree of the TsK VKP (b) (April 1931)

1. During the period of the socialist reconstruction of the national economy and the tremendous increase in the creative activity of the masses, the significance of the rabsel'kor movement as an active promoter of the general party line grew to a great extent.

Rabsel'kors, becoming advanced shock workers in the struggle to fulfill the industrial and financial plan and carry out kolkhoz-sovkhoz construction, are "commanders of proletarian public opinion, striving to direct the inexhaustible forces of this most important factor to the aid of the party and the Soviet regime in the difficult task of building socialism" (Stalin).

The present period of large-scale socialist offensive confronts the rabsel'kors with new, more complex tasks.

If during the first period of the development of the rabsel'kor movement, the main task of the rabsel'kors was the discovery and exposure of "small" defects of the mechanism, then in the present period they must investigate much more deeply all the most important problems of socialist construction, exposing defects in detail, and also discussing the most clearly positive aspects of the achievements of socialist construction on all levels, beginning with the unit [agregat], department, shop, factory, trust, etc.

Under the direction of the party, rabsel'kors serve as organizers of the masses for socialist construction, fulfillment of production plans and the large-scale offensive on class enemies.

2. They must achieve "the greatest degree of good organization and discipline, the decisive improvement in the quality of the work of all

units [zveno] of the state machinery and the economic and cooperative apparatus, the firm introduction of the planning principle and planning discipline into economic development, and further growth of the activity and increased labor productivity of the broad masses of workers (socialist competition, shock work, and a corresponding [vstrechnyy] industrial and financial plan)."

Along with striving against defects in the state machinery, exposing and condemning bureaucratic perversion, rightist and leftist opportunistic distortions of the party line and decisively repulsing class enemies, rabsel'kors must point out the achievements and victories of socialist construction; they must present the best enterprises, kolkhozes, shops, shock brigades, etc., as examples to the less advanced and promote the exchange of production experience in all fields of socialist construction.

Rabsel'kors must be in the forefront in mastering the technics of production, persistently striving to meet the quantitative and qualitative indices of the industrial and financial plan, improving Khozraschet [economic accountability] and one-man management, developing further socialist competition and shock work, utilizing internal resources, improving rationalization of production, making progress in inventive capacity, etc.

In connection with these tasks, new forms of work among the masses must be widely employed: surprise checks, shock brigades, collective effort [obshchestvennyy buksir], efficiency and rationalization records, roll calls [pereklichki], etc.

3. A reorganization of the work of the rabsel'kors is a condition for the further progress and success of the movement.

experience of advanced kolkhozes to backward ones, socialist competition, shock work, etc. In a determined struggle for complete collectivization and, on the basis of this, for the liquidation of the kulak as a class, the sel'kors must demonstrate the superiority of the kolkhozes over individual farms, exposing the maneuvers of the kulak class and its agents, the rightist opportunists and leftist deviationists.

4. Along with improving in every way possible the political and newspaper training of the rabsel'kors, bringing the most outstanding of them up to the level of qualified journalists, enlisting new cadres of advanced factory and kolkhoz workers in their ranks, the party organizations and editorial boards of newspapers must exploit the successful experience of Pravda in the creation of press brigades which are a model for the collective work of rabsel'kors.

These press brigades, however, must never be isolated from the rest of the rabsel'kors. They must become the leading group of the entire rabsel'kor movement.

5. The Central Committee notes the inadequacy of the leadership by party organizations and editorial boards of newspapers, of the rabsel'kor movement, especially in the national oblasts and rayons.

There must be more concrete direction of the movement to meet the specific needs of the various branches of industry and agriculture (meetings and gatherings of rabsel'kors in enterprises of the same kind, work with those of individual professions, discussion with them of plans for newspaper work, etc.)

Party and trade union organizations do not devote the necessary attention to the local industrial press (printed and wall newspapers in enterprises, shops, trains, sovkhoses, machine tractor stations, and kolkhozes) in spite of the fact that this press is now acquiring extraordinary

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significance. Besides its role in the struggle for [the fulfillment of] the industrial plan, labor discipline, and socialist competition, the local newspaper must become the collective rabkor of the central, kray, oblast, and rayon newspapers.

The Central Committee obliges the central, oblast, and rayon newspapers to regularly publish reviews of factory, sovkhos, and kolkhos wall and printed newspapers, criticizing their mistakes and pointing out their achievements, and also publishing the most valuable material in their own pages.

6. Commissions must be created under the party committee for the leadership of rabsel'kors and the local press; these commissions are to be made up of the Chief of the Kul'tprop Section, newspaper editor, representative of the RKI, public prosecutor [prokuratura], and an instructor for the press [instruktor po pechati]; under the kul'tprop [sections] of the largest rayon committees there must be, in addition, an instructor of the press [instruktor pechati]. Trade unions, party study rooms [partkabinet], agitators and propagandists must assist rabsel'kors and the local press.

The Central Committee of the VKP(b) suggests that newspaper editors give serious attention to the training and promotion of the best rabsel'kors for regular work in organs of the press.

7. The Kul'tprop [Section] of the Central Committee is to systematically check [how] individual newspapers and party organizations are working with rabsel'kors and also check on the training and promotion of rabsel'kors.

8. Pravda is charged with the general leadership of the rabsel'kor movement.

Pravda is authorized to publish once a month a supplementary sheet on matters of work with rabsel'kors and the local press.

From — Partiynoye Stroitel'stvo

1931, No. 8, pp 56-57

ON THE PUBLISHING HOUSE "MOLODAYA GVARDIYA" [Young Guards]

Decree of the TsK VKP (b) (December 1931)

At this moment in history, the struggle for the Bolshevist education of youth and children in the spirit of Leninism, and for the international education of the proletarian and kolkhoz youth of the Soviet Union require exceptional attention to the sharpest Bolshevik weapon on the ideological front -- literature for youth and children.

The Central Committee of the VKP(b), having heard the report of the publishing house, "Molodaya Gvardiya", notes some successes of the publishing house, particularly in the field of its organizational-economic activity.

At the same time, the Central Committee VKP(b) points out the publication of many politically harmful artistic and historical works, memoirs, and childrens literature, and of many ideological errors in political textbooks and periodicals. It also calls attention to the publication of books which contribute little to the education, mobilization, and organization of youth around the tasks of economic and cultural construction and little to their communist education.

The Central Committee of the VKP(b) notes the unsatisfactory servicing of the million new members of the Komsomol; the serious quantitative and qualitative shortcomings in the book which disseminates information on the work and practice of the Komsomol Union within the [Soviet] Union; and the completely unsatisfactory servicing of sovkhov-kolkhoz youth.

The Central Committee particularly notes the low ideological and artistic level of literature for children and children of preschool-age, its unsatisfactory technical format (illustrations and print), and also the almost complete absence of visual aids for children of pre-school age.

The Central Committee declares that all these deficiencies in the work of the publishing house result from weakness in the ideological

leadership of the publishing house, the inadequacy of editorial cadres, its extreme weakness in educational and organizational work with authors and artists, and its almost complete lack of contact with the proletarian, Komsomol, pedagogical, and juvenile community.

It being established that Molodaya Gvardiya has not developed its field of work toward the fulfillment^{of the decree} of the Central Committee of the VKP(b) of 15 August 1931 on "Publishing," it is proposed [predlozhit'] that the publishing house carry out the following:

1) publish a number of books and series, which will organize Komsomol, worker, and kolkhoz youth under the militant banner of Bolshevism, educating them in the spirit of Leninist implacability toward all petty bourgeois vacillations and deviations from the general party line and also in the spirit of the merciless struggle with ideologies hostile to the proletarian class sense, with counterrevolutionary Trotskyism, and rotten liberalism;

2) Compile^{books} on the history of the party and Leninism, the history of the Soviet regime and the civil war, with their content related both to the concrete tasks of building socialism in our country and to the general tasks of the world proletarian revolution. These books must be designed mainly for the new members of the Komsomol, and youth newly brought into industry;

3) to depict in belles lettres the heroism of socialist construction, the participation of youth in it, the transformation of social relations and the forming of people with new ideas -- heroes of socialist construction. Immediately develop work for the creation of a popular, well-published technical book for youth;

4) publish books for the Pioneer movement, devoting special attention to the quality of the books, the form of expression and format. The Pioneer book must mobilize the masses of Pioneers as the leading children's group

[aktiv] striving for the drawing of children into public life, for the polytechnization of schools, for the communist education of children, especially in the organization of physical culture, games, and recreation;

5) decisively eliminate the basic defects of childrens literature: ignoring the specific needs of children, and dry uninteresting presentation. Mercilessly fight against slipshod work which disguises itself as the creation of a new children's book.

The best writing talent and artists must be enlisted in the creation of the children's book. In thus using proletarian writers, they and the artists, must be treated with consideration, -- as fellow travelers, striving to create a Soviet children's literature. They must be provided with political advice and competent friendly criticism.

The children's book must be full of Bolshevik courage, calling to struggle and victory; it must show in clear and graphic form the socialist transformation of the country and people and educate children in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. Improve the format of children's books and illustrations radically, making certain that the latter do not distort the political thought of the book or the artistic education of children.

Within 10 days the Culture and Propaganda [Section] of the Central Committee together with the Central Committee of the Komsomol is to select a group (10-15 persons) of highly qualified editors for the purpose of strengthening the editorial cadres of the publishing house. The Society of Old Bolsheviks is to assist the publishing house with political editors and reviewers from its staff. Chairs of literature for youth and children are to be organized in the editorial courses at OGIZ, the Institute of Literature and Languages of the Communist Academy, and all the literary departments of Vuzes and Komvuzes.

The periodical press, especially the Komsomol periodical press must radically improve the bibliography and criticism of youth and children's books. OGIZ must supply the "Molodaya Gvardiya" with the paper and printing

equipment necessary for fulfilling its plan and ensuring a definite increase in book production in 1932 as compared with 1931.

The main book publishing houses (ONTI [the Association of Scientific Technical Publishing Houses], Partizdat [Party Publishing House], Sel'kolkhozgiz [the State Publishing House of Agricultural Kol'khoz-Cooperative Literature], Transgiz [State Publishing House of Transport Literature]) must organize youth book sectors [sektory] for providing youth with books on special problems.

Narkomprosy must organize research work on children's books, giving due importance to the work of the Children's Book Institute.

The Central Committee of the VLKSM, at meetings of the Secretariat and the Bureau of the Central Committee, must listen systematically to reports on editorial plans for individual series and for the most important books. Yearly editorial and publishing plans must be approved at plenums of the Central Committee of the Komsomol, after careful consideration of these plans, primarily with regard to their content.

From -- Partiynoye Stroitel'stvo

1932, No. 5, pp 63-64

ON THE REORGANIZATION OF LITERARY AND ART ORGANIZATIONS

Decree of the TsK VKP(b) (April 1932)

1. The Central Committee states, that on the basis of the notable successes in socialist construction in recent years, there will be great quantitative and qualitative growth in literature and the arts.

Some years ago, when there was still considerable influence of alien elements in literature, especially in the first years of the NEP, and the cadres of proletarian literature were still weak, the party helped in every way to create and strengthen basic proletarian organizations in the field of literature and art, so that the positions of proletarian writers and workers in the artistic field would be strengthened.

At the present time, when success has already been achieved in developing cadres of proletarian literature and art, and new writers and artists have come up from plants, factories, and kolkhozes, the limits of existing proletarian literary and artistic organizations (VOAPP [the All-Union Society of Associations of Proletarian Writers] PAPP [the Russian Association of Proletarian Writers], RAMP, and others) are already becoming narrower and hindering the serious range of artistic creation. This creates the danger of transforming these organizations from a means for achieving the greatest mobilization of Soviet Writers and artists around the tasks of socialist construction into a means for cultivating exclusive circles, isolated from present political tasks and from important groups of writers and artists, who sympathize with socialist construction.

Hence there is a need for appropriate reorganization of literary and artistic organizations and a widening of the basis of their work.

Therefore, the Central Committee of the VKP(b) decrees:

- (1) abolish the association of proletarian writers (VOAPP and PAPP);
- (2) unite all writers, supporting the platform of the Soviet regime and striving to take part in socialist construction, into a single union of Soviet writers with a communist faction in it;
- (3) carry out an analogous change in other fields of art;
- (4) instruct the Orgbureau to develop practical measures for fulfilling this decision.

From -- Partiynoye Stroitel'stvo
1932, No 9, p 62

THE MISINTERPRETATION BY SOME LOCAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS OF THE
 DECREE OF THE TsK VKP(b) ON RESUMING THE
 ADMITTANCE OF NEW MEMBERS INTO THE VKP(b)

Decree of the TsK VKP(b) (October 1936)

The Central Committee in its decree of 29 September 1936, "To All Party Organizations -- On Resuming the admittance of New Members into the VKP(b)" -- strictly warned party organizations against the danger of misinterpretation, and the repetition of mistakes which occurred in the past in admitting new members; it warned against substituting for careful individual selection, a wholesale campaign for admission which would lead to indiscriminate admission into the party and to the presence of notoriously undesirable elements in the ranks of the Party, alien, hostile, and casual toward the party.

In spite of these warnings and the exact instructions of the Central Committee, some party committees, rayon committees, and city committees of the party have clearly strayed onto the very path condemned by the party, by transforming the process of admitting new members into a regular campaign, and organizing gatherings and meetings of workers, kolkhoz members, and sympathizers for mass recruitment purposes. Such was the case, for example, at the sewing factory in Bryansk, where on 1 October 1936 the party committee called a meeting of 2,000 people and summoned workers to enter the ranks of the party. Such mass meetings of workers on the matter of joining the party also ^{took place} in many other organizations (those of Astrakhan', Teganrog, Shakhty, Orsk, Gomel', Panza, etc.).

Some party organizations, in violation of the instructions of the Central Committee, are planning a speed-up system of reviewing applications for party membership, creating special commissions for this purpose, determining for

themselves control figures and allotment quotas for admittance and requiring communists as a party assignment to make recommendations even in those cases where the party members do not know the person who handed in the application. Thus, for example, the Kol'chuginskiy Rayon Committee of Ivanovskaya Oblast in its plenum decided beforehand on the indiscriminate transfer of 206 persons from the status of candidates to members of the party and the acceptance of 92 as party candidates. Similar procedures are being outlined by other party organizations, which have not yet learned that such practices inevitably lead to a breach of the directive of the Central Committee concerning the admission of new members into the party on a strictly individual basis.

Some newspapers create an atmosphere of pomp and ostentation around the acceptance of new members into the party, publishing articles and paragraphs in exultant and bombastic tones, praising the intention to enter the party as some great exploit or heroism, including photographs of those wishing to enter the party; for example, the newspapers Molot, organ of the Azovo-Chernomorskiy Kray Committee, Zvezda, organ of the Perm' City Committee of the VKP(b) and others are acting in a similar manner.

The Central Committee categorically condemns such practice as bearing no resemblance to the teachings of Lenin on the party.

The Central Committee of the VKP considers that such practice is based on the frivolous, thoughtless attitude of [party] workers toward the very important matter of admitting members to the party. It considers that with all the favorable conditions for the study and checking of those being accepted as candidates for the party (from groups of sympathizers) and those being transferred to party membership (from the candidate stage), wholesale, indiscriminate recruiting is senseless and criminal, and inevitably leads, as experience has shown, to contamination of the ranks of the party with

alien, harmful, and elements accepted by accident, and as a result, to mass expulsions from the party upon investigation and purge, which can only injure the authority of the party.

The Central Committee obliges the oblast committees, kray committees and the Central Committees of the Natskompartii:

(a) to stop immediately all attempts to transform the admission of new members into the VKP(b) into a regular campaign and an occasion for pompous ostentation;

(b) to unconditionally ensure the admission of members on an individual basis, a careful check of each person being accepted into the party, and study and analysis of each application for admission, regardless of the time involved or the category of person being accepted (whether workers, peasants, or working intelligentsia);

(c) to condemn any hastiness in admitting members to the party and strictly forbid the establishment of quantitative quotas for membership and any competition whatsoever in this matter;

(d) to ensure the correct explanation in the press of matters concerning the admission of new members into the party.

The Central Committee obliges oblast committees, kray committees and the Central committees of the Natskompartii, in accordance with present instructions, ^{to} correct mistakes, immediately which were permitted by local party organizations in putting into effect the decision of the Central Committee of the VKP(b) of 29 September 1936.

From -- Pravda, 22 October 1936

ON ORGANIZING PARTY PROPAGANDA IN CONNECTION WITH THE PUBLICATION OF
A SHORT COURSE IN THE HISTORY OF THE VKP (b)

Decree of the TsK VKP (b) (November 1938)

I

The publication of "A Short Course in the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik)" is the most important event in the ideological life of the Bolshevik Party. With the appearance of this work, the party received a new powerful ideological weapon of Bolshevism, an encyclopedia of basic knowledge in the field of Marxism-Leninism. The course of the history of the party is a scientific history of Bolshevism. ^{It} is explained and generalized the gigantic experience of the Communist Party, which no other party in the world has equalled or is equalling.

It is a most important instrument for the solution of the problems in mastering Bolshevism, and arming party members with Marxist-Leninist theory; that is, with a knowledge of the laws of social development and political struggle, a means by which to increase the political vigilance of party and non-party bolsheviks, and raise Marxist-Leninist propaganda to the proper theoretical level.

The Central Committee of the VKP in compiling this work, proceeded from the following problems.

1) It was necessary to give the party a single textbook [rukovodstvo] on the history of the party, a text representing the official interpretation of the basic problems of the history of the VKP(b) and Marxism-Leninism, verified by the Central Committee of the VKP(b), and not allowing any arbitrary [proizvol'nyye] interpretations. With the publication of the "Course in the History of the VKP(b)" which was approved by the Central Committee, came an end to arbitrariness and confusion in the explanation

of the history of the party, and to the diversity of viewpoint and arbitrariness of interpretation of the most important questions of party theory and party history, which appeared in a number of textbooks on party history published earlier.

2) In compiling this work, the Central Committee undertook the task of eliminating the dangerous gap in the field of propaganda between Marxism and Leninism which has developed in recent years. As a result of this gap, Leninism came to be taught as an independent study, separate from Marxism, from dialectical and historical materialism, and from the history of the party, forgetting that Leninism grew and developed on the basis of Marxism, that Marxism is the basis of Leninism, and that, without knowing this basis, it is impossible to understand Leninism.

In creating this "Course", the Central Committee undertook to provide a textbook on the theory and history of the VKP(b) which would reunite into one whole the artificially split components of the single Marxist-Leninist teaching -- dialectical and historical materialism and Leninism, but with historical materialism related to the policy of the party, -- a text, which would point out the indissoluble unity, integrity, and continuity of the teachings of Marx and Lenin, the unity of Marxism-Leninism, and would explain the new ideas that were contributed by Lenin and his disciples to Marxist theory on the basis of the generalization of the new experience of the class struggle of the proletariat in the period of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

3) In contrast to some old textbooks, whose accounts of the history of the VKP(b) were primarily about historic personalities, with a view to educating cadres in personalities and their biographies, the "Short Course" gives the history of Marxism on the basis of the development of the basic

ideas of Marxism-Leninism and has in mind the education of party cadres primarily in the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

In creating the "Short Course", the Central Committee undertook to teach the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism on the basis of historical facts. It had in mind that such a statement of Marxist-Leninist theory would best serve the purpose, since the basic ideas of Marxism-Leninism can be demonstrated better, more naturally, and more intelligibly on the basis of historical facts; because the history of the VKP(b) itself is Marxism-Leninism in action, since the correctness and vitality of Marxist-Leninist theory has been proven in practice, by the experience of the class struggle of the proletariat, and Marxist-Leninist theory was developed and enriched in closest contact with practice, on the basis of the generalization of the practical experience of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

4) In this work the Central Committee attempted to free Marxist literature from over-simplification and vulgarization in the interpretation of many questions of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the history of the party.

Such vulgarization and simplification found expression, for example, in the clearly anti-Marxist views, which were widespread until recently and which were long condemned by the party, concerning the role of personality in history, when the question of the role of personality in history was expounded by some pseudo-theoreticians and propagandists with semi-Socialist-Revolutionary attitudes.

The incorrect interpretation of the victory of socialism in our country is another such simplification and vulgarization of Marxism.

Distortions of the Marxist-Leninist views on the nature of wars in the contemporary period, a failure to distinguish between just and unjust wars, and a false view of the Bolshevik as a kind of "pacifist", have become wide-spread.

In historical science, until recently, anti-Marxist distortions and vulgarization were connected with the so-called Pokrovskiy "School," which distorted historical facts, interpreting them, in defiance of historical materialism from the point of view of the present day, and not from the point of view of the circumstances in which the historical events resulted, and thereby distorting actual history.

For example, as a result of the anti-historical falsification of actual history and the anti-historical attempts to embellish history, instead of reporting it correctly, the history of the party has sometimes been depicted in our propaganda as a continuous path of victories, with no temporary defeats or retreats whatsoever; this clearly contradicts historical truth and, as a result, hinders the correct education of cadres.

Anti-Marxist base confusion was also reflected in the dissemination of incorrect views on the Soviet government, in the minimization of its role and significance as the main weapon in the hands of workers and peasants for the victory of socialism and the defense of the socialist liberation of the workers from capitalist encirclement.

The "Short Course" puts an end to this and similar vulgarization and debasement of Marxism-Leninism while renewing the aims of Marxism-Leninism.

5) In creating "A Short Course in the History of the VKP(b)", the Central Committee has undertaken a graphic demonstration of the power and significance of Marxist-Leninist theory, which reveals the laws of the development of society scientifically, -- a theory which teaches the application of these laws for the leadership of the revolutionary activity of the proletariat, -- a theory which, like all science, continuously develops and perfects itself and which does not fear to

replace individual obsolete principles and conclusions with new conclusions and principles, corresponding to new historical conditions.

The position of the Central Committee was that without a knowledge of the theory of Marxism-Leninism, without a mastery of Bolshevism, without overcoming their theoretical backwardness, our cadres will be crippled, because the correct leadership of all branches of socialist construction demands that practical workers master the principles of Marxist-Leninist theory, and have the ability to be guided by theory in the solution of practical problems.

It is erroneous to think that mastering theory is within the power of only a small circle of workers. The mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory is an attainable goal. Now, under the Soviet regime and the victory of socialism in the USSR, unlimited possibilities have been created for our leading cadres to successfully master Marxist-Leninist theory and study the history of the party, the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. In order to master the theory of Marxism-Leninism, it is necessary to show only the desire and stability and strength of character in the achievement of this aim. If it is possible to master such sciences as physics, chemistry, and biology successfully, there is even less reason to doubt that it is possible to completely master the science of Marxism-Leninism.

6. In creating this "Course", the Central Committee is striving to aid cadres engaged in theoretical and propaganda work, to reorganize and improve the quality of their work, to eliminate their theoretical backwardness and their deficiencies in ideological preparation and to aid in raising propaganda work to the necessary level.

All these tasks, decreed by the Central Committee, found their solution in A Short Course in the History of the VKP(b).

II

What are the main defects of propaganda work?

How is it necessary to reorganize the propaganda and theoretical work of the party?

1) The main defect in the organization of party propaganda is the lack of centralization in its leadership and the resulting unsystematic work methods and poor organization of propaganda.

The latter two are apparent first of all in the fact that party organizations have selected oral propaganda through circles [kruzhki-study groups] as the basic form of propaganda, forgetting that the circle method of propaganda was peculiar mainly to the period when the party was illegal, by virtue of the conditions of party work at that time, and that under the Soviet regime, with so powerful a propaganda weapon as the press in the hands of the Bolshevik Party, completely new conditions and possibilities have been created for an unlimited scope of propaganda and for centralized direction of it.

Instead of utilizing these possibilities, party organizations continue to cling to the old forms of propaganda, not taking into account that under present conditions, circles can no longer be the principal method of training our cadres in Bolshevism; that independent study of the history and theory of the Bolshevik Party, a method proven by the experience of the older generation of Bolsheviks, must be the principal method of training cadres; that the party must come to the aid of cadres in this respect through the press and a centralized highly qualified consultation service on questions that arise in the process of study, through lectures, reports, etc.

With oral propaganda through circles as the principal method of propaganda, party organizations were drawn into the mistaken project of

uniting all communists into circles, relying on a quantitative extension of the network of party circles, on a drive to include all communists indiscriminately, and compulsorily, in party circles.

In the drive for numbers of circles, party organizations have missed the main element -- the quality of propaganda.

The abundance of circles, which deprived party organizations of any real control of propaganda work, resulted in their letting the direction of propaganda slip out of their hands, reducing its activity mainly to the collection of bureaucratic statistical reports on the taking of communists into circles for training, on their number and attendance. As a result, the circles were transformed into autonomous and uncontrolled organizations, carrying out work on their own responsibility.

As a result of the great numbers of circles, the cadres were overcrowded with people who were badly prepared theoretically and often politically uneducated and unreliable, who not only were incapable of helping party members and non-members master Bolshevism, but could only substitute harmful simplification for a true exposition of Marxist-Leninist theory, and confuse their listeners.

In the drive to increase the number of propagandists, party organizations let slip out of their hands the theoretical direction of the training and advance training [perepodgotovka] of propaganda cadres and the control of propagandists' work in circles. Instead of centralizing the direction of propagandists and assuring thereby an improvement of the quality of work with them, the party organizations here, too, mistakenly took the route of quantity; they dispersed the aid to propaganda cadres through the creation of a large number of party study rooms [partkabinety] at enterprises, seminars for propagandists, short term courses for propagandists, etc. In the drive of these institutions for quantity at the expense of quality,

party study rooms and seminars for propagandists became devoid of the necessary party direction; the lack of qualified leaders of propaganda seminars and party study rooms led to a lowering in the quality of their work, and to the dissatisfaction of the propagandists with the organization of the service for them, converting the attendance of seminars and study rooms into mere formal obligation.

In converting attendance at circles into a duty for party members, in treating them as eternal schoolboys of elementary classes, incapable of independent study of Marxism-Leninism, party organizations resorted to all kinds of administrative devices for attracting and holding party members in circles, and followed the path of petty tutelage and regulation of the work of communists in circles.

Incorrect scholastic methods which hindered the ideological and political growth of party members took root in the circles, and resulted in the establishment of uniform days of study for all circle members, uniform regulations for their work, and the banning from the circles of the method of discussion and lively friendly debate.

Going beyond this, party organizations undertook the bureaucratic and harmful "control" of each reader of a Marxist-Leninist book, made him report on what he had read.

As a result of this incorrect organization of propaganda work, communists who were obliged to study for years in the same circles and were deprived of the proper assistance in the study of Marxist-Leninist literature at home, lost interest in theoretical training, and attendance at the studies of the circles frequently became a painful burden.

The violation of the principle of voluntary enrollment in circles, the bureaucratic-administrative practice of mechanical and compulsory

enrollment of party members in circles, and the incorrect view of circles as the only form of party education, undermined the faith of party members in their own ability to successfully study Marxism-Leninism by independent reading; these impaired the deep and independent mastery by communists of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the ideological growth of party cadres.

The faith of communists in their own power and in their ability to master Marxist-Leninist theory must be restored.

It is necessary to root out harmful prejudice, that Marxism-Leninism can only be studied in a circle, when in reality the main basic method of such study is independent reading.

2) One of the basis causes of the excessive exaggeration of circle work and oral propaganda generally, to the detriment of propaganda through the press, is the harmful gap between the organizations for the press and oral propaganda, as exemplified in the separate existence of propaganda sections and press sections in oblast committees, kray committees, and the Central Committees of the natskompartiya, as well as in the organization of the Central Committee of the VKP(b).

In Marxist-Leninist propaganda, the main, decisive weapon must be the press -- periodicals, newspapers, and pamphlets; oral propaganda must play a subsidiary, auxiliary role. The press can make a truth the immediate possession of all and for this reason it is more effective than oral propaganda. The very division of the leadership of propaganda between two sections led to a disparagement of the role of the press in Marxist-Leninist propaganda and thereby, to the contraction of the scope of Bolshevik propaganda, to amateurish work and lack of organization.

Party agitprop sections which limited their activity to oral propaganda, and strived to increase the number of circles, did not utilize the

party press for propaganda and as a result, deprived themselves of the opportunity to direct propaganda in its essence.

In their turn, the press sections, being deprived of the necessary qualified cadres of propagandists, who almost completely went into oral propaganda, proved to be incapable of carrying out Marxist-Leninist propaganda in the press.

3) The most outstanding shortcoming in party propaganda is the neglect by party organizations of political training, of Marxist-Leninist hardening [zakalka] of our cadres, of our Soviet intelligentsia, -- party, Komsomol, soviet, economic, cooperative, trade, trade union, agricultural, educational, and military cadres -- i.e. the cadres of the party, government, and kolkhoz apparatus, with whose help the working class and the peasantry govern our Soviet Land. The practice of our party propaganda which concentrated mainly on the enlistment of workers at machines, lost sight of supervisory personnel -- our soviet, party and non-party intelligentsia, made up of yesterday's workers and peasants.

One of the tasks of "A Short Course in the History of the VKP(b)" is putting an end to this preposterous, anti-Leninist, neglectful attitude toward our Soviet intelligentsia and toward its political, Leninist educational needs.

The course is addressed, primarily, to the leading cadres of party, komsomol, economic, and other workers, to all our party and non-party intelligentsia in the city as well as in the country.

Our party, soviet, economic, and other leading Leninist cadres, busy with practical work, are extremely backward in the field of theory. In creating this course in the history of the party, the Central Committee undertook to begin to eliminate this theoretical and political backwardness.

A basis for the action of the Central Committee was this statement -- "If we could, if we knew how to train our party cadres ideologically from

top to bottom and harden them politically in such a manner that they could freely orientate themselves in the internal and international situation; if we knew how to make them fully mature Leninists and Marxists capable of deciding without serious mistakes the problems of the leadership of the country, then we would have solved nine tenths of all our problems.

(NOTE: "I. Stalin, On the Defects of Party Work and Measures for the Liquidation of Trotskyists and Other Double-dealers." 1938, page 22 -- Editor)

The Central Committee also took as its basis the fact that the art of Bolshevik leadership requires a knowledge of theory; that is, of the laws of the development of society, of the development of the working class movement, of the proletarian revolution, of socialist construction, and the ability to use these laws in practical work for the guidance of socialist construction.

All our cadres constitute the huge army of the Soviet intelligentsia. The Soviet intelligentsia has all its roots in the working class and the peasantry. This is a completely new intelligentsia, and there is none similar in any other country of the world.

No government can do without its intelligentsia, least of all the socialist government of workers and peasants. Our intelligentsia, which has grown during the Soviet regime, is made up of the cadres of the State machinery and with the aid of these cadres, the working class conducts its internal and foreign policy. They are yesterday's workers and peasants and sons of workers and peasants, who have moved up into command posts. The intelligentsia has special significance in a country such as ours, where the government directs all branches of the economy and culture, including agriculture, and where each government worker, in order to perform his work conscientiously and successfully, must understand the policy of the government and its problems inside and outside the country.

Consequently, the problem of the Marxist-Leninist education of Soviet intelligentsia is one of the most immediate and important problems of the Bolshevik Party.

In spite of this important role of the intelligentsia in the Soviet state, the Central Committee has noted that, up to the present time, the disdainful attitude toward the intelligentsia has not yet been overcome; this represents a most harmful transfer to our Soviet intelligentsia, of those views and attitudes toward the intelligentsia which were widespread in the prerevolutionary period, when the intelligentsia served the landowners and capitalists.

This scorn for the intelligentsia is expressed in the neglect of ideological-educational work with cadres; in the neglect of political work among the intelligentsia, white-collar workers, teachers, doctors, students, kolkhoz intelligentsia, etc; in a great lack of regard for the party and non-party intellectual, as if he were a second-rate man, even though he be yesterday's Stakhanovite, promoted on his merits to a leading post in the Soviet state.

Such an anti-Bolshevik attitude toward the Soviet intelligentsia is wild, hooligan-like, and dangerous for the Soviet state. It must be understood that just such neglect of political work among the intelligentsia, among our cadres, led to a situation whereby part of our cadres, which found themselves outside the political influence of the party and deprived of ideological hardening, went astray politically, became confused and were the prey of foreign intelligence services and their Trotskyite-Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist agents.

The Central Committee considers it necessary to put an end to this antileninist, Makhayevskiy* attitude toward the intelligentsia.

*[petty bourgeois movement, beginning in 1900, which considered the intelligentsia part of the exploiting classes]

It is necessary to educate the Soviet intelligentsia in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

Without such an intelligentsia, the Soviet government cannot successfully lead the country.

'A Short Course in the History of the VKP(b)' is a means for such an education of the Soviet intelligentsia

III

The Central Committee of the VKP(b) decrees the following.

1. The drive for the enrollment of large numbers of communists in circles of the network of party education, to the detriment of the quality of propaganda, is an incorrect practice, resulting in the division of forces and a lowering of the level of propaganda work.

2. Party organizations are to eliminate amateurish organizational work in party propaganda, to establish the necessary centralization of its reorganize party propaganda so as to assure a leadership and a rise in its quality, and its ideological level.

3. The 'Short Course in the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik)' is to be taken as the basis for Marxist-Leninist propaganda.

The study of the history of the VKP(b) is to be differentiated as follows:

For the lower echelon of cadres, which include many of the insufficiently prepared comrades, it is expedient to study the course in abridged form according to the three main stages of party history: (1), the struggle for the creation of the Bolshevik Party (chapters 1-4), (2), the Bolshevik Party in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat (chapters V-VII), and (3) the Bolshevik Party in power (chapters VIII-XII).

For the middle echelon, which consists in the relatively better prepared comrades and which is the most numerous echelon of our cadres, the Central Committee recommends the study of "this work as a whole, following its 12 chapters.

For the higher echelons, that is, for the best prepared comrades, it is expedient to study A Short Course in the History of the VKP(b) according to the subdivisions of each chapter, simultaneously with the study of suitable works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin from the original sources.

4. Since the principal method of study of Marxism-Leninism must be that of independent study, propose that oblast committees, kray committees, and the Central Committees of the Natskompartii curtail the number of circles for party education.

With a correct approach to the matter, instead of the dozens, and sometimes even hundreds, of circles existing now in each large enterprise, institution, and VUZ, it will prove expedient to have in a large enterprise or institution approximately two or three circles for lower echelons, two or three circles for the medium level and one advanced circle for the most developed and prepared people, and in the VUZes several circles of the medium and advanced type.

In rural rayons where there are those wishing to study A Short Course in the History of the VKP(b) in circles and where there are qualified propagandists, it is possible to have several circles for the village intelligentsia: party and soviet aktiv, teachers, trade and cooperative workers, kolkhoz aktiv, etc.

In view of the curtailment of their number, it is necessary to provide circles with genuinely qualified propagandists.

5. The administrative-bureaucratic practice of compulsory enrollment of communists in party educational circles is to be eliminated.

Explain to each communist that participation in circles is an entirely voluntary matter.

6. The work of circles must be organized on the basis of active conversation and comradesly debates. Harmful scholastic-administrative methods, red tape, and over-simplified outline presentation [skematizm], which hinder the ideological education of party and non-party Bolsheviks, must be resolutely eliminated from circles. Propagandists must give comradesly explanations of questions which interest members of the circle.

It is necessary to put an end to the formal-bureaucratic regulation of the work of circles (uniform day of party study, two-hour studies immediately after work, refusal to present practical questions of interest to the members of the circle, etc). The schedule of studies of each circle must be established by its members together with the propagandist, depending on local conditions. Each study period must continue only as long as the members of the circle consider necessary for a thorough discussion of the questions presented.

The work of the circle must be organized so that studies would not be dragged out for too long a period of time. It is necessary to avoid one of the fundamental defects of present day circles -- that of devoting an unlimited amount of time to the first subjects, and leaving unexplored the post-October period, which is of utmost importance in the history of the party.

Party history study circles must be organized so that they provide for a more or less uniform level of general educational and political preparation of their members. According to the level of preparation, it is advisable to have three types of circles corresponding to the differentiated character of the study of A Short Course in the History of the VKP(b) :

- a) circles for the lower echelon of our cadres, studying the course in abridged form and with an easier explanation of questions of theory;
- b) circles for the middle echelon, studying the whole course by separate chapters;

c) circles for the best prepared comrades, studying the course by the subdivisions of each chapter, with simultaneous reading of original sources.

7. Lectures which are an important method of propaganda of Marxism-Leninism, must be introduced. A well prepared lecture, rich in content, should be a substantial aid to comrades who are independently studying A Short Course and the classics of Marxism-Leninism. It is necessary also to organize lectures on problems of the international situation and on separate theoretical and political problems. The lecturer should answer questions after the lecture. Public lectures with a small admission charge should be organized.

8. Amateurish work and lack of supervision in work with propagandists, evidenced in the drive for the indiscriminate establishment of party study rooms and seminars for propagandists, must be eliminated. Party organizations are required to study and review in a two-month period the network of party study rooms, decreasing their number, and retaining party study rooms for assistance to propagandists and consultation purposes for those engaged in political self-education, as a rule, under the city and rayon committees of the party. Party study rooms at enterprises and institutions not provided with qualified consultants, must be decreased in number or used as reading rooms and libraries for those engaged in self-education. Party organizations are required to curtail the number of propaganda seminars, after having concentrated the work of seminars for propagandists under the large city rayon committees and under city committees, oblast committees, and kray committees of the VKP(b).

Party organizations, in the creation of seminars for propagandists, must provide them with Marxist-educated, politically reliable leaders. City committees, oblast committees, and kray committees of the VKP(b) must exercise constant supervision over the content of the work of these seminars.

The work of the seminars for propagandists on the history of the VKP(b) must be organized in conformity with the three basic stages for the study of VKP(b) history and, in addition, must be organized so as to be ahead of circles in the study of the Short Course :

The seminar must not be a place for "pumping" information into propagandists. Studies must be organized in seminars so as to provide for the creative work of each member of the seminar so, that vital discussion of theoretical questions would be conducted, and comradely discussion of theoretical and methodological questions would be provided for.

9. The Agitprop Section of the Central Committee of the VKP(b) is required to bring together the most qualified propagandists of our party, lecturers, speakers, and consultants, who must collaborate on theoretical magazines and on central newspapers, give lectures and reports in local areas, and give real help to local party organizations in the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism.

It is considered necessary to collect and systematically publish in the press the experience of the best propagandists, their studies, consultations, and lectures.

It is recommended that city committees, oblast committees, kray committees and the Central Committees of the Natskompartii hold a regular convocation of propagandists and press workers in order to discuss the basic questions of propaganda.

10. There must be an end to underestimation of the significance of the press as the most important weapon of Marxism-Leninism and the all-union tribune of propaganda.

Heighten the role of the press in Marxist-Leninist propaganda. For this purpose the editorial boards of Pravda, Krasnaya Zvezda and Komso-
molskaya Pravda and also republic, kray, and oblast party and Komsomol

newspapers are to publish regularly articles on theoretical questions of Marxism-Leninism, consultations, lectures of the best propagandists and "answers" to "questions" of readers. Establish propaganda sections, headed by comrades trained in theory on the editorial boards of Pravda, Krasnaya Zvezda, Komsomolskaya Pravda and also on republic, kray and oblast party and Komsomol newspapers, and enlist the best propagandists to work in these propaganda sections.

It is considered necessary to reorganize the magazine Bolshevik in order that it may be a theoretical organ of the party and an all-union book of reference [vsesoyuznaya konsul'tatsiya] on questions of Marxism-Leninism, giving answers and explanations to theoretical and political questions in its pages of interest to party and non-party members.

The Party Agitprop Section of the Central Committee of the VKP(b) and the State Publishing House for Political Literature [Gospolitizdat] are to provide for the publication of popular pamphlets to aid propagandists and especially the local aktiv studying the history of the party, and also to develop a plan for the publication of textbooks on the history of the party.

11. A scornful attitude toward the Soviet intelligentsia and the problems of its ideological education in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism is condemned as savagery [dikost'] and hooliganism. Party organizations are obliged to restore the correct Bolshevik attitude towards the Soviet intelligentsia and to develop ideological work among the intelligentsia, among white-collar employees, students and the kolkhoz intelligentsia. The immediate and principal task of party organizations in the field of propaganda is the elimination of the theoretical and political backwardness

of cadres of party and non-party intelligentsia, having provided them with every kind of aid in the mastery of Bolshevism, in the study of party history and the classics of Marxism-Leninism.

12. It must be noted that the workers of the theoretical front, are seriously lagging behind; this becomes apparent in their theoretical weakness, in their fear to raise actual theoretical questions freely, in widespread dogmatism [nachetnichestvo] and pedantry, in the corruption and debasement of various principles of Marxism-Leninism, in the lagging of theoretical thought, and in the lack of theoretical generalization of the vast practical experience amassed by the party in all sectors of socialist construction. All workers of the theoretical front are called upon decisively and quickly to correct their intolerable lagging by putting an end to the fear of freely raising theoretical questions, which advance Marxist-Leninist theory, by putting an end to pedantry, dogmatism, scholasticism, and the corruption and debasement of various principles of Marxist-Leninist theory.

13. Eliminate the neglect of ideology which found its expression, in particular, in the unsatisfactory work of the Institute of Marx, Engels, and Lenin; this Institute allowed a series of distortions and inexactitudes in the translations into Russian of the Works of Marx and Engels, and also the most flagrant political errors of a harmful character in the appendices, footnotes and commentaries to some volumes of the Works of Lenin.

14. The Institute of Marx, Engels, and Lenin is obliged to correct as soon as possible the distortions allowed in the translations of the Works of Marx and Engels, and also the most flagrant political errors in the appendices and footnotes to the Works of V.I. Lenin, for example in Volume XIII.

The Institute Marx, Engels, and Lenin is to accelerate the republication of the works of Marx, Engels, and V. I. Lenin.

15. It must be noted that our theoretical periodicals are too remote from the real problems of life and the struggle of our party; they are too self-sufficient and tend too much to academism.

The editorial boards of these periodicals must reorganize their work, providing in their pages for the presentation of actual theoretical problems, the generalization of the experience of socialist construction, attending to theoretical inquiries from our cadres, working out of new theoretical problems and creative discussion on questions of theory.

16. In addition to the system of advanced political training of leading party cadres, established by the February-March Plenum of the Central Committee, the following measures for the advanced training and training of qualified party propaganda cadres must be carried out:

a) Organize one-year courses for the advanced training of propagandists and newspaper workers in the following centers; 1)Moscow, 2)Leningrad, 3)Kiev, 4)Minsk, 5)Rostov, 6)Tbilisi, 7)Baku, 8)Tashkent, 9)Alma-Ata, 10)Novosibirsk. These courses organized in the centers indicated must serve not only the given oblast or kray, but also adjacent oblasts, krays, and republics. This program of propaganda courses should be planned in conformity with the program of "Courses in Leninism", but the studies must be organized ^{so} as to develop skill in propaganda work and in independent deep study of the works of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

The general quota of students of all one-year propagandist training courses is set at from 1,500 to 2,000, with newspaper workers to make up approximately one half of this number.

b) a Higher School of Marxism-Leninism under the TsK VKP(b) is to be organized with a three year course for the training of highly qualified theoretical cadres of the party.

17. Organize the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory in VUZes, on the basis of the intensive study of 'A Short Course in the History VKP(b)'. In connection with this:

a) instead of independent courses on Leninism and dialectical and historical materialism, there is to be introduced into VUZes a unified course, "The Bases of Marxism-Leninism", keeping in the study plan the total number of hours, which were formerly allotted to social-economic disciplines. Teaching the bases of Marxist-Leninist theory in these institutions must begin with the study of 'A Short Course in the History VKP(b)', with simultaneous study of the original sources of Marxism-Leninism. The teaching of political economy must follow the study of 'The History of the VKP(b)'.

b) instead of the present separate chairs of dialectical and historical materialism, Leninism, and the history of the VKP(b), a unified chair of Marxism-Leninism, is to be created in VUZes;

c) in universities and institutes where there are faculties of philosophy, history, and literature, a course in dialectical and historical materialism is to be retained in those faculties;

d) the Propaganda and Agitation Section of the Central Committee, VKP(b) and the All-Union Committee for Higher School Affairs is to select leaders of the chairs of Marxism-Leninism by the beginning of the 1939-40 school year and present them for confirmation by the TsK VKP(b). Central committees of the INatskompartii, kray committees, oblast committees, and city committees of the VKP(b) are to select theoretically trained and politically reliable teachers of the bases of Marxism-Leninism;

e) organize six months courses for the training of teachers of Marxism-Leninism for VUZes at the Higher School of Marxism-Leninism.

IV

In order to effect a fundamental improvement in party direction of Marxist-Leninist propaganda, the TsK VKP(b) decrees the following.

18. Unite the party propaganda and agitation sections and the press and publishing sections of the TsK VKP(b), the central committees of the ~~Union of Party Propagandists~~ ^{Natskpartii}, the kray committees and the oblast committees of the VKP(b), creating [in each case] a single agitprop section.

19. Concentrate in these latter sections all the printed and oral propaganda work of Marxism-Leninism and mass political agitation (party press; publication of propaganda and agitational literature; organization of the printed and oral propaganda of Marxism-Leninism; the control of the ideological content of propaganda work; the selection and distribution of propaganda cadres, the political advanced training and training of party cadres; the organization of mass political agitation).

The practical execution of the present decision of the TsK VKP(b) is to be the basis of work for the Propaganda and Agitation Sections.

20. In order to improve the quality of Marxist-Leninist propaganda, henceforth party organizations as a rule, should rely for propaganda work upon cadres of comrades released from all other types of work, who can dedicate themselves completely to this type of work and tirelessly improve their theoretical and propaganda qualifications.

In this connection, the oblast and kray committees of the VKP(b) are to select the best propagandists for permanent propaganda work.

21. Workers of the propaganda and agitation sections must be selected by party organs from among the best qualified professional propagandists and party writers.

Lecture groups must be organized in the propaganda and agitation sections of the TsK VAP(b), of the central committees of the Natskompartii, the oblast committees, the kray committees and of the city committees of the VAP(b).

22. Since the reduction of the number of circles and party study rooms at enterprises and in institutions will release a part of the propaganda work in cities, oblast committees, kray committees, and the central committee of the Natskompartii are to transfer the better trained of these workers in order to enhance propaganda work in rural rayons.

23. The present kullprop [sections] of the city and rayon committees are to be reorganized into agitprop sections. Also it is considered necessary to create agitprop sections in those rayon committees where there are none at present. It is resolved, that the creation of agitprop sections in the rayon party committees is authorized by the TsK VAP(b) for each rayon taken separately, according to the availability of qualified workers, on the recommendation of oblast^{and} kray committees, and the central committees of the Natskompartii.

24. The heads [zavadyushchiya] of agitprop sections of oblast and kray committees, the central committees of the Natskompartii and the okrug, city, and the rayon party committees are to be confirmed by the Central Committee of the VAP(b), and all remaining responsible workers of the agitprop sections of these committees are to be confirmed by the bureau

of the oblast and the kray committees and the central committees of the Natskompartii.

The oblast and the kray committees and the central committees of the Natskompartii are required to complete selection and confirmation of workers of agitprop within two months.

25. In view of the close connection of the work of the Institute of Marx, Engels, Lenin with Marxism-Leninist propaganda, it is considered necessary to put this Institute under the jurisdiction of the Agitprop Section of the TsK VKP(b).

26. The TsK VKP(b) obliges all party committees to earnestly pursue Marxist-Leninist propaganda -- a matter of urgency to the Bolshevik Party. Party committees must direct propaganda in its essence, thoroughly scrutinizing its content. Oblast and kray committees and the central committees of the Natskompartii must take into their hands the direction of the entire matter of reorganizing Marxist-Leninist propaganda in accordance with this decree.

While pointing out to all party organizations that the reorganization of all party propaganda in the spirit of this decree requires their special attention and care, the Central Committee warns them against danger of a mechanical and formal approach to this reorganization, and against attempt at indiscriminate disparagement of all the past experience in propaganda work.

In order to improve the direction of party propaganda, it is provided that in each city, oblast and kray committee, and in the central committees of the Natskompartii there shall be a special secretary concerned exclusively with questions of the organization and content of propaganda and agitation.

The TsK VKP(b) directs the above-mentioned committees to explain this decision to the party aktiv and all members of the party.

The TsK VKP(b) emphasizes that the publication of A History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik)" must become the beginning of a turning point for our cadres--party, Komsomol, soviet, trade union, economic and cultural workers, the cadres of the whole Soviet intelligentsia, -- in the elimination of their theoretical backwardness.

A Short Course in the History of the VKP(b) marks the beginning of a new ideological and political upswing in the life of our party and of the Soviet people.

Mastering the theory of Marxism-Leninism, which equips one with a knowledge of the laws of social development, our cadres will become really invincible and still more successfully will lead all the Soviet people under the banner of this theory, under the leadership of the party of Lenin-Stalin, to the victory of communism.

14 Nov, 1948

KPSS V RezolyutsiyaKh.i Resheniyakh.

Part 2, pp 859-875

ON LITERARY CRITICISM AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

A Report on the Decree of the Central Committee of the VKP(b), 1940

In a recently adopted decree, the TsK VKP(b) noted that literary criticism and bibliography, which are important tools of propaganda and communist education, are being grossly neglected.

Recently literary criticism has almost disappeared from the majority of newspapers and magazines. Bibliographies of recommended reading, which are of considerable importance in raising the political and cultural-technical level of the broad masses, have been inadequately furnished. Up to the present time, bibliographical reference books, lists of books as recommended reading on the different branches of science, and indices of literature for various professions have not been developed.

Critical-bibliographic work has been cut off from the practical needs of socialist construction. Such scientific centers as IMEL Institute of Marx, Engels, Lenin, The Academy of Sciences of the USSR, The Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni Lenin, and also the Narkomaty Peoples Commissariats have not organized critical-bibliographic work in their own fields.

The Central Committee of the VKP (b) noted that, at the present time, the weakest link in critical-bibliographic work is criticism of belles lettres. The majority of critics are not engaged in the problems of Soviet literature and do not exercise an influence on its formation.

Contrary to the traditions of Russian literature, critics do not work on literary-artistic magazines which unite writers; instead they have isolated themselves in a section seksiya for critics under the Union of Writers. Writers in their turn do not take part in analysis and evaluation of literary works and do not write literary-critical articles for the press.

The Central Committee planned a series of measures for a fundamental improvement in literary criticism and bibliography.

The section for critics created artificially under the Union of Writers, must be eliminated. Critics must work with writers in the appropriate creative sections of the Union of Writers (prose, poetry, and dramaturgy).

The publication of the magazine Literaturny Kritik, which has been isolated from writers and literature, must be discontinued. The editorial boards of the literary-artistic magazines Krasnaya Nov', Oktjabr', Novyy Mir, Znamya, Zvezda and Literaturny Sovremennik, must create permanent sections [otdely] for criticism and bibliography in these magazines.

The editorial staffs of the newspapers Pravda, Izvestiya, Komsomol'skaya Pravda, Trud, Krasnaya Zvezda, all the republic, kray, and oblast newspapers and also the scientific and branches of production newspapers and magazines must organize sections for criticism and bibliography in their pages.

Critical-bibliographic sections of general political [obshchepoliticheskiya] central newspapers and magazines, besides critiques and bibliographic notes on individual books, must systematically review literature on the individual branches of learning and of science.

The editorial staffs of the following theoretical and general political magazines, must compile bibliographies and reviews of literature along with the publication of literary-critical articles and critiques, intended for their readers: Bol'shevik, Pod Znamenem Marksizma, V Pomoshch' Marksistsko-Leninskomu Obrazovaniyu, Istoriik-Marksist, Istoricheskiy Zhurnal, Problemy Ekonomiki, Partiynaya Stroitel'stvo, Sputnik Agitatora, Mirovaya Khozyaystvo i Mirovaya Politika, Molodoy Bol'shevik.

Republic, kray and oblast newspapers must regularly publish lists of recommended books and articles on the most important literary works and also ensure the reviewing of all literature from local publishing houses.

Branch newspapers and magazines must organize permanent critical-bibliographic sections and set up their work in such a manner that all special literature coming out will have an evaluation in the pages of the press. Reviews on the literature of each branch of production must be published not less than once each quarter. Branch newspapers and magazines must regularly furnish lists of recommended reading for workers and engineering-technical workers on the individual aspects of production and the professions and must furnish information on the most important of the foreign technical literature.

The Central Committee of the VKP(b) pointed out the necessity for developing in every way possible, the bibliography of recommended reading, concentrating it in the following scientific institutions:

a. the Institute of Marx, Engels, Lenin -- Marxist-Leninist literature. IMEL must organize the compiling of bibliographies on all the social-political literature published in the country. The magazine Kniga i Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya is being transferred to IMEL and will be reorganized into a bibliographic fortnightly, Marksistsko-Leninskaya Literatura;

b. the Institute of World Literature imeni Gor'kiy -- belles lettres. The magazine Literaturnoye Obozreniye is being transferred to the Institute and will be reorganized into a bibliographic reference book of recommended reading in belle lettres;

c. the Academy of Sciences of the USSR -- scientific and technical literature;

d. the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni Lenin -- agricultural literature. The existing Vestnik Sel'skokhozyaystvennoy Literatury will be reorganized into a bibliographic magazine of recommended agricultural literature, intended for the agro-technical and farm personnel of kolkhozes, sovkhoses, MTS, and the land organs.

e. Narkompros of the RSFSR -- literature for teachers of schools and VUZes, of students and pupils.

The bibliography of recommended reading for the branches of production, must be concentrated in the central branch libraries of the Narkomaty.

The Central Committee obliged the editors-in-chief of the Narkomaty to organize a bibliography of recommended reading for all technical literature in their own fields, and also a review of foreign technical literature.

The All-Union Library imeni Lenin is responsible for working out lists of recommended literature, intended for the masses of city and village libraries. The magazine Chto Chitat! is being transferred to the All-Union Library imeni Lenin and will be reorganized into a fortnightly bibliography of recommended reading for librarians of the masses of city and village library-reading rooms.

In 1941, the Academy of Sciences of the USSR must undertake the publication of a fundamental work on all the basic fields of science and knowledge entitled Kniga o Knigakh.

It has been proposed by decree of the Central Committee of the VKP(b) to centralize all state register Gosudarstvennaya registratsionno-uchetnaya bibliography and press statistics in the All-Union Book Chamber knizhnaya palata. The Book Chamber is obliged to keep a complete record of the literature published during the Soviet regime.

From -- Partiynoye Stroitel'stvo, 1940,

No. 22, pp 62-64

ON THE WORK OF RAYON NEWSPAPERS

Letter of the Administration of Propaganda and Agitation of the TsK VKP(b)
(March 1942)

The TsK of the VKP(b) has repeatedly pointed out that, on the basis of concrete, immediate and comprehensible facts drawn from local practice and from the life of its particular rayon, oblast, and country, the task of rayon newspapers is to teach and to politically educate the masses, to organize them in the solution of the tasks confronting the rayon. Even today, during the Patriotic War with the German-fascist invaders, these instructions of the TsK VKP(b) still retain their significance. The fundamental task of rayon newspapers is to inculcate in the workers a burning hatred for the German-fascist scoundrels who have encroached upon the life and freedom of our motherland; to inspire our people in the Great Patriotic War of liberation; to mobilize the workers in the fulfillment of the concrete tasks confronting the rayon in its active support of the front. In issue after issue, the newspaper must point out the way in the fulfillment of the instructions of Comrade Stalin that "our workers and white collar workers, men and women, work indefatigably in their enterprises; that they give to the front more and more tanks, anti-tank rifles and cannons, aircraft, guns [pushki], mortars, machine guns, rifles, military supplies [boyeprisy]; that our kolkhozniks, both men and women, work indefatigably in their fields and give the front and the country more and more bread, meat, raw materials for industry; that the entire country and all the peoples of the USSR organize into a united war camp, and together with our army and navy wage the great war of liberation for the honor and freedom of our homeland, for the utter defeat of the German armies."

However, acquaintance with rayon newspapers indicates that many editorial offices are still operating poorly. Newspapers inadequately publicize reports on atrocities of the German-fascist monsters in the rayons they temporarily occupy, on the pillage and destruction of our cities and villages, on the acts of violence committed upon women and children.

Newspapers are not mobilizing the workers for the fulfillment of the concrete tasks confronting the rayon, the kolkhozes and the enterprises in their active support of the front.

Many newspapers are almost entirely filled with material having no bearing on the life of their particular rayons. Frequently entire issues of rayon newspapers will be completely devoted to reprints from the oblast and central press or will be filled with lengthy and boring articles containing general abstract discourses on aid to the front. Articles on the experience of leading enterprises and kolkhozes of the rayon do not appear at all. Many newspapers erroneously discontinued the criticism of shortcomings in the work of individual enterprises, kolkhozes, MTSes, sovkhoses and institutions.

Recently, the editorial offices of rayon newspapers have weakened their ties with correspondents from the workers, kolkhozniks and the intelligentsia, which has resulted in a reduction in the flow of letters to the newspaper from the readers.

The Administration of Propaganda and Agitation of the TsK VKP(b) requires editors of rayon newspapers to eliminate the above-mentioned shortcomings immediately and to reorganize the work of the editorial office in compliance with wartime requirements.

According to a decree of the TsK VKP(b), all rayon newspapers are published in two type pages polosy. Undoubtedly the reduction in the

volume of newspapers complicates the work of the editorial office; however, as the experience of a number of newspapers has shown, it is possible to publish a good newspaper when doing so in two type pages. Along with this letter, the Administration of Propaganda is sending six issues of the rayon newspaper Kommunist, published in Voskresenskiy Rayon, Moskovskaya Oblast.

What characterizes this newspaper?

The newspaper is formed of local materials. Male and female kolhozniks, brigade leaders [brigadiry], chairmen of kolkhozes, Stakhanovites of enterprises and specialists are the authors of the majority of correspondence. Unlike many other newspapers, the editorial office is not tempted by reprints from the oblast and central press. The principal space in the newspaper is occupied by a report on the experience of the best people in the rayon, the leading kolkhozes and enterprises. The newspaper criticizes shortcomings in the work of individual enterprises and thereby helps them to set up their work in accordance with wartime requirements.

The editorial staff shows initiative in raising new questions; it takes up the initiative of the workers of the rayon, directed toward raising the productivity of labor in every way possible and mobilizing the internal reserves of enterprises and kolkhozes. On the newspaper, the Division for Information on the City and Village has been well organized and its themes are varied.

All articles and paragraphs in the newspaper are written in a simple Russian idiom, accessible and intelligible to the reader. The editors do not employ foreign words unless it is necessary and do not permit shortened words of any type. As a rule, sentences compiled from the correspondence are short and clear.

The editorial office has succeeded in improving the format of the newspaper; it economizes newspaper space, which is very important in publishing a newspaper in two pages [na dvukh polosakh].

Editors of rayon newspaper can borrow a good deal from the experience of the Voskresenskiy newspaper Kommunist. Let us examine the 25 January issue.

In the center of the first page, which calls on the readers to subordinate all work to the interests of the front, is the important topic, "Novlyanskoye Village helps the front." The chairman and a brigade leader of a kolkhoz tell how the kolkhozniks of the Novlyanskoye Village have aided the front and how they intend to increase this aid in the future. The editorial staff supports the proposal of the Novlyanskiye kolkhozniks in a leading article. It should be noted that the leading articles of the Voskresenskiy newspaper are concrete, brief, and as a rule, addressed directly to kolkhoznik, the worker, and the intelligentsia of the rayon. Published on the same page is a letter from a Stakhanovite with a proposal on organizing the supervision by Stakhanovites of young workers newly arrived in industry. Upon the initiative of the editors this letter was discussed at a meeting of senior Stakhanovite production men of Combine imeni Kuybyshev. The initiative of the Kuybyshev people was subsequently taken up by workers in the other enterprises of the rayon.

In the next issue the newspaper raises the question of utilizing the internal resources of the rayon. The following persons made concrete proposals on this subject: an engineer of Combine imeni Kuybyshev, a foreman of the rayon industrial combine, a kolkhoznik, and the chairman of a small industrial group [promyslovaya artel]. In their letters they wrote of better utilization of waste products, more efficient use of equipment, restoration of dormant enterprises, etc. For two days the editors published comments upon these suggestions.

In the third issue the editors printed the simply-written accounts of eyewitnesses to the atrocities of the fascist invaders in the Moshayskiy Rayon. A kolkhoznik of the village Romantsevo', F. Maksimov, told of Hitlerite abuses of the peaceful population, of the German destruction of

many villages in the rayon. A housewife, Ye. Khlebnikova, wrote to the newspaper concerning the brutal actions of fascist soldiers. She had witnessed cases in which German robbers had lain an ambush at wells and taken boots, kerchiefs, buckets, etc., away from women who had come for water. Cited in this same selection on the atrocities of fascist invaders, was a statement drawn up by wounded Red Army men describing mistreatment of wounded Red Army prisoners by the Hitlerite scoundrels.

The editors did well to publish this material on the foul and brutal actions of German soldiers and officers. However a shortcoming should be noted -- the editors placed this vital selection at the very end of the issue.

Shown on the first page of the third issue is an interesting selection: "Emulate the Experience of Leading Kolkhozniks." In their letters to the newspaper, kolkhozniks tell how they are preparing for the spring sowing, what measures they are planning for increasing productivity in order to harvest more grain, vegetables, and potatoes for the front. A brigade leader of the agricultural artel "Vpered k Sotsializmu" ["Forward to Socialism"] writes of how he had organized the collection of fertilizers; a brigade leader of the kolkhoz "Krasnyy Pakhar'" ["Red Plowman"] shares his ideas on measures for increasing the yield of vegetables.

In the 30 January issue, the fourth issue, the editors published, in addition to comments upon letters pertaining to the mobilization of internal resources, several brief letters from their readers on the subject, "What I have done for the front." People from the most diverse of professions related what concrete actions they had taken to aid the front. In the leading article of the fourth issue, the newspaper called upon workers not only to determine all inner potentialities of kolkhozes and enterprises of the rayon, but, what is more important, to master them more rapidly.

In the fifth issue, the editors included letters from kolkhozniks of the artel "Vpered" ["Forward"] concerning preparations for the spring sowing. A kolkhoz chairman, a brigade leader, an accountant, and some kolkhozniks made valuable proposals on this subject. Also worthy of note in this issue is an article by a brigade leader of Artel imeni 1 May entitled "What is new in our kolkhoz." In this article the author points out that the kolkhoz possesses all the means necessary for producing much of which had been imported from other areas [rayony] in peacetime.

The example of this newspaper demonstrates that even on two pages the life of a rayon can be well illustrated.

This does not mean, of course, that the newspaper Kommunist has no shortcomings.

The major defect of the newspaper Kommunist is that, in being preoccupied with economic problems, it fails systematically to raise questions of the political education of workers. A rayon newspaper must constantly explain to the workers that the war against fascist Germany is a matter of the life or death of the Soviet state, the life or death of the peoples of the USSR, and a question of whether the peoples of the Soviet Union shall be free or shall fall into slavery. The German-fascist scoundrels are pillaging and ravaging our cities and villages, killing and committing acts of violence upon the peaceful inhabitants of our nation, not sparing women, children, or the aged. The newspaper Kommunist publishes too little about this. The newspaper's presentation of the heroic struggle of the Red Army against the German-fascist invaders is also inadequate; the newspaper contains no letters from soldiers and commanders at the front and no letters from relatives to the front.

The editorial staff of Kommunist is very much interested in problems of the agriculture of the rayon. This is fine. But the editors have insufficient ability to show how leading kolkhozes and enterprises attain

increasingly higher indices of their work. For example, in an article by a kolkhoz board Pravleniya chairman, A. Shilova, it was explained that brigade leaders and squad leaders of this artel had prepared wagons, gear, and implements for the spring sowing, using only local material for this purpose. But how they achieved this and what other kolkhozes can adopt from them, is not evident from the letter. Had they gathered together the experience of kolkhoz blacksmiths who repair agricultural implements and all their suggestions for the rationalization of the work process, it would have been extremely valuable.

The newspaper contains valuable letters concerning the mobilization of the rayon's internal resources, but the majority of these letters have a general character. For example, a letter of the chairman of the Artel "2-Ya Pyatiletka" "Second Five-Year Plan" reads as follows:

"Our artel can produce a number of consumer goods from local raw material and furnish increasingly more products to the front.

"There is a possibility of enlarging the saddler's shop and turning out, at the very least, additional production worth 10,000 rubles."

The most important information, however -- what kind of raw material, what products would be turned out, how the shop would be enlarged -- does not appear in the letter. It is clear that this decreases the value of the letter. Letters on party themes also suffer from this shortcoming.

The themes of the leading articles in Kommunist are too monotonous. The newspaper writes primarily of administrative affairs of the rayon. This, of course, is narrowness. One cannot neglect such vital topics as the inculcation of patriotism and hatred for the German invaders, the progress of the overall military training of the citizens of the USSR, care for evacuated inhabitants, aid to the population of liberated areas, care for families of Red Army men, etc. Leading articles on the following

party-political themes should appear regularly in the newspaper: the tasks of local party and Komsomol organizations, admittance to the party, the vanguard role of communists in the kolkhoz and enterprise, the kolkhoz agitator, work with the aktiv, general services of the party [Partiynoye Khozyaystvo] etc. The number of leading articles on such important topics as the following are totally inadequate: work of village soviets, schools, theaters, village reading-rooms, libraries, clubs, the radio, hospitals, cooperatives, various cultural and welfare establishments, and problems on planning and organization [blagoustroystvo] in the village and rayon center.

Despite the shortcomings of the newspaper Kommunist, the Administration of Propaganda is of the opinion that this newspaper can in large measure serve as a fine example for other rayon newspapers.

The Administration of Propaganda considers it necessary for every rayon newspaper to contain the following materials.

Leading article. Every issue of the newspaper should contain a leading article based upon facts and examples drawn from the life of its rayon. It should be written in living language, comprehensible to readers and addressed directly to the kolkhoznik, worker, and Soviet intellectual. The leading article should not exceed 50-60 lines.

Aid to the front. This section should contain articles, comments, and letters from kolkhozniks, workers, specialists, and leaders of enterprises and kolkhozes of the rayon concerning the work of plants, factories, and kolkhozes on efforts to fulfill the plan, increase labor productivity, and strengthen labor discipline, on the mobilization of internal reserves, on inventions, suggestions for the rationalization of the work process and maximum economy of raw material, fuel, etc.

A basic task confronting every rayon today is successful preparation for the spring sowing. The editors of a rayon newspaper must know the

daily progress of preparation for sowing in every kolkhoz, sovkhoz, and MTS, gather together the experience of leading kolkhozes, and take up the initiative of kolkhoz members in supporting the front in every way possible. However one thing must be kept in mind -- that only when it goes into each matter in detail, will the newspaper be of service to the kolkhoz, sovkhoz, and the MTS. If a newspaper contains a selection on the repair of tractors or agricultural implements, this means that letters and comments should tell how labor should be organized in order to fulfill the repair plan and reduce its prime cost, how worn-out parts should ^{be}reconditioned, how to increase the productivity of a machine tool, which suggestions for the rationalization of the work process have been introduced, how to utilize local resources, etc. It is necessary to strive so that every plow, every sowing machine, and every tractor is in good repair and ready for the sowing. Naturally, only kolkhoz blacksmiths, tractor operators, repair workers, technicians, and engineers of sovkhozes and MTS can write of these matters with knowledge of the subject. If the editors' plan includes such a topic as the preparation of horses for spring sowing operations, then correspondence must be assembled concerning how fodder is prepared in the kolkhoz, how care of horses is conducted, how harnessing is repaired and adjusted, how the best kolkhoz stable men work, etc.

A basic shortcoming in much of the correspondence pertaining to kolkhoz preparations for spring sowing, is that they contain many generalities and intangible pledges ("We are preparing the necessary quantity of fertilizer," "Our brigade has assumed the obligation to repair implements on time," "The kolkhoz has a working plan for spring sowing," etc.). Such superficial correspondence is not remembered and does not teach anyone anything. To indicate kolkhoz readiness for spring sowing means to tell how the kolkhoz has completed grain deliveries and settled with the MTS for payment in kind [naturoplata], how it has repaired agricultural implements

and prepared the means of traction, what the quality of seed is and the care for it, how cadres are being trained, and whether each person knows his job, whether the maximum number of people have been freed for work in productive brigades, whether a clear-cut working plan for sowing operations exists in the kolkhoz and how it has been formulated.

A newspaper must conduct a relentless battle against all disorganizers on the homefront, against deserters, panic-mongers and disseminators of rumors of very kind and must instill in the people confidence in our victory over the enemy.

A rayon newspaper must regularly illustrate the progress of the general military training of citizens of the USSR.

At the same time, rayon newspapers must not disregard the discussion of problems connected with the workers' concern for everyday material conditions of life such as the work of cooperatives, dining-rooms, medical institutions, clubs, reading-rooms, etc.

News of the progress of military activities. In each issue of the newspaper the latest Sovinformburo [Soviet Information Bureau] report must be published along with the special reports of this bureau entitled "V Bosledniy Chas" [literally, the latest hour] and observations (40-50 lines long) concerning the heroic struggle of the Red Army against the German invaders. The newspaper should tell readers of the exploits of their countrymen fighting at the fronts; it should print letters from soldiers and commanders at the front to their relatives and letters from relatives to the front.

The task of every rayon newspaper is to explain daily to the workers the extent of the danger which threatens our nation. In the struggle against our bitterest enemy -- fascist Germany -- the fate of our homeland, the Soviet state, and the peoples of the Soviet Union is being decided. The

newspapers should explain every day that the German scoundrels mean to seize our lands, our grain, our petroleum, factories, and plants, destroy the workers of our country, wipe out the national culture and State system of the free peoples of the Soviet Union, restore the power of the landowners and capitalists, and transform the workers, peasants, and Soviet intellectuals into slaves of German princes and barons.

In issue after issue the newspapers should publish the accounts of eye witnesses to the Hitlerite atrocities, along with statements and documents concerning the unprecedented outrages and plundering committed by the Germans who have occupied Soviet areas. The rayon newspaper should instill hatred for the German-fascist invaders and muster all the strength of the people for the defeat of the enemy.

In publishing material on the successes of the Red Army, newspapers should bear in mind the precept of Comrade Stalin, that "it would be inexcusable shortsightedness to rest content with the success achieved and to believe that we are finished with the German troops." Newspapers should constantly explain to the workers that there are still many difficulties ahead and that in order to be completely victorious over fascist Germany and to drive the German invaders from all the Soviet land, it is necessary to double our efforts in the task of aiding the front.

Party life. The basic content of material on party topics is a demonstration of the work of local party and Komsomol organizations, the vanguard role of communists in production, and their skill in leading the masses and explaining the policy of the party.

Information. The newspaper should contain a division entitled "Po Nashemu Rayonu" / "In our rayon". In this division brief news items concerning the life of the rayon should be published.

Each issue must contain 2-3 brief TASS telegrams on the most important events with the country and 2-3 TASS telegrams on the most important

international events. As a rule, a total of 50-70 lines of brevier should be allotted to Union and foreign information.

The strictest economy of newspaper space should be observed, e.g., rejection of cumbersome "shapki" [literally, "caps" possibly headlines] striving to set the type closer together [bolevo plotnoy verstki], etc.

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All efforts of newspaper editors are to be subordinated to interests of the front and to the tasks of organizing the defeat of the German-fascist invaders. Newspapers must explain daily to the workers the danger which threatens our nation; it must help them to overcome apathy and complacency and develop Soviet patriotism; inculcate hatred for the German invaders and help the workers be prepared to devote all their efforts toward the defeat of the enemy.

From -- Administration of Propaganda
and Agitation, TsK VKP (b)

ON THE WORK OF WAR CORRESPONDENTS AT THE FRONT

From the Regulation Confirmed in 1942 by the Administration of Propaganda and Agitation of the TsK VKP(b) and the Main Political Administration of the Red Army

The right to have permanent correspondents at the front, as pointed out in the regulation, is reserved to: the Sovinformburo*, TASS, the All-Union Radio Committee, and the editorial staffs of the newspapers: Pravda, Izvestiya, Krasnaya Zvezda, Krasnyy Flot, Stalinskiy Sokol, and Komsomol'skaya Pravda.

* The Sovinformburo was created in the first days of the war. It reported daily concerning the course of military operations on the fronts, publishing summaries,

✓ "Ot Sovetskogo Informburo" ✓ From the Soviet Informburo

Republic and oblast' newspapers are authorized to have their own correspondents on the front only if the military operations occur in the territory of the given republic or oblast'.

It is noted in the regulation that members and candidates of the VKP(b), members of VLKSM, and non-Party members having experience in journalism and having the minimum military knowledge necessary for work at the front, can be war correspondents.

All permanent war correspondents are entered on the rolls of the Red Army (Navy).

War correspondents are responsible for providing the press and radio with war information and material, as follows:

a) the war experience of units, soldiers and commanding officers of the Red Army (Navy) in the Patriotic War of the Soviet Union against the German-fascist invaders, and experience of party political work in the units of the Red Army;

b) assistance from the population near the front to the military operations of Red Army units;

c) the atrocities, plunderings, and violence of the German fascist invaders upon the peaceful populations of the regions occupied by them, and the annihilation by them of Soviet war prisoners.

An important task of the war correspondents is the portrayal of people at the front -- the soldiers and commanding officers of the Red Army (Navy), their mastery of military techniques and combat tactics, their initiative, military skill and strategem in battle with the enemy, their hatred for the German-fascist invaders, their perseverance, selflessness, and discipline in carrying out the orders of the command.

Correspondents of Sovinformburo, in addition, are responsible for daily information on the situation at the front and the operations of units in decisive directions and sectors of the front.

The war correspondent is bound:

a) to show maximum personal initiative in the fulfillment of the tasks assigned to him, to be directly in the units (chasti) and large units (soyedineniya) of the Red Army (Navy) constantly and to tirelessly work on the expansion of its military training;

b) to extensively enlist the participation of soldiers, commanding officers, and political workers of the Red Army (Navy) in the press or radio;

c) to guard a military secret strictly;

d) by their conduct at the front, they are to be models of discipline, bravery, and tirelessness in work; they are to staunchly and bravely endure all obstacles and hardships of front life and to be ready at any minute for participation in a battle, if the situation so requires.

War correspondents are responsible for their work to the editorial staff of the newspaper, to the Sovinformburo, TASS, and the Radio Committee, and are accountable to them.

Daily management of war correspondents is carried out by the editor of the newspaper (Sovinformburo, TASS, Radio Committee) directly or through divisions for life at the front.

The editorial staffs, Sovinformburo, TASS, and the Radio Committee periodically summon their correspondents from the front for instructions and for a report on their work.

Permanent war correspondents, members and candidates of the VKP(b), and members of VLKSM are registered in a party or Komsomol organization of the Political Administration of the front.

Political organs, commissars of units and large units and commanding officers of the Red Army (Navy) give every kind of assistance possible to war correspondents in their work:

a) they systematically acquaint the correspondents with the situation at the front, with the course of military operations of the units and large units within limits, not divulging the distribution of the units and the future plans of the command, they help them in selecting the units and large units to be visited, and also in the selection of people who can be enlisted for newspaper work;

b) they acquaint the correspondents with documents which are of interest to the press and radio, and which do not divulge a military secret;

c) they help the correspondents in their movements along the front and in their communication with their own organizations.

ON THE TASKS OF RAYON, OBLAST, KRAY, AND REPUBLIC NEWSPAPERS IN CONNECTION
WITH THE HARVESTING OF CROPS AND PROCUREMENT OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS IN 1942

Letter of the Administration Propaganda and Agitation of TsK VKP(b), July 1942

The successful harvesting of crops and fulfillment of the plans for procurement of agriculture products, is today one of the most important military and economic tasks of all Soviet and party organizations, kolkhozes, sovkhoses, and MTS for a quick defeat of the German-fascist invaders. In the solution of this problem a major role must be played by our press -- the rayon, oblast, kray, and republic newspapers.

Harvesting is extremely complicated work on which much labor is expended. It can be carried out ^{as} successfully as the spring sowing only so long as all agricultural workers, every village communist and Komsomol member, every male and female kolkhoznik, and MTS and sovkhos worker exerts even more effort and works indefatigably in the field, and so long as Soviet and party organizations and leaders of kolkhozes, sovkhoses, and MTS do not allow laxity of purpose and organization in harvesting operations.

The mobilization of all forces for the successful harvesting of the crop and the fulfillment of agricultural procurement plans constitutes at this time one of the most important tasks of our entire press.

Acquaintance with the newspapers indicates, however, that not all editors have comprehended the exceptional significance of a timely and successful harvest and of the procurement of agricultural products during this year. For example, the newspaper Krasnaya Mordoviya was extremely late in beginning its discussion of questions pertaining to harvesting preparations. During June and the beginning of July the newspaper printed almost nothing on this subject. On 30 July the newspaper published a leading article concerning the results of the Mordovskiy Oblast Party Committee plenum,

which assessed the results of the spring sowing and the tasks of the harvest and procurement of agricultural products. In this article, entitled "The Urgent Task of the Party Organization in Mordvinia," the newspaper failed to mention a word about the impending harvest.

The Kuybyshevskaya Oblast newspaper Volzhskaya Kommuna depicts the course of harvest preparations in a one-sided manner. The newspaper writes a comparatively large amount about the repair of combines, but very little and rarely about progress in the repair of simple harvesting machines and ~~and~~ ^{hand} implements. On 4 July the newspaper published a short article on the kolkhozes "Krasnaya Dubrova" and "Volya," which stated that these kolkhozes had not begun the repair of simple harvesting machines and the stock of transportation equipment. This was an alarm signal. However, the newspaper did not draw any conclusions for itself.

Stalingradskaya Pravda, was also weak in its discussion of the progress of harvesting. Many kolkhozes and sovkhoses of Stalingradskaya Oblast had already begun the harvest. From the very first days the newspaper should have indicated how the harvest was organized, whether a selective harvest was being conducted, how working forces and machinery were utilized for the harvest, whether all harvesting machines were being utilized, what shortcomings there were in the organization of harvest operations, and what should be adopted from the experience of leading kolkhozes, sovkhoses, and MTS. Instead of an all-inclusive illustration of the experience of the first days of the harvest, Stalingradskaya Pravda limited itself to brief information reports on where the harvesting had begun, how much had been harvested, and how many grain-reaping machines had been put into operation. On 3 July the newspaper published a leading article entitled "Utilize Harvesting Forces Efficiently," in which the following was written:

"In Kharabalinskiy, Yenotayevskiy, Leninskiy, Sredne-Akhtubinskiy, and Kotel'nikovskiy Rayons the harvesting of the winter crop is late; this is the result of dereliction in the planning of work and the placement of forces."

It is impossible to learn from the newspaper precisely what derelictions in the planning of operations and utilization of forces are occurring, in these rayons. Such superficial criticism cannot be of any use.

The above-mentioned shortcomings also occur in a number of other newspapers. Newspapers continue to allot inadequate space to information on agricultural topics and are frequently late in bringing to light the most important problems of preparation for and conducting harvesting operations. Reports on the first days of the harvest bear a primarily informational character. Often newspapers merely record facts without probing deeply into questions on the organization of harvesting operations; they are unable to give an intelligible account of the positive experience of harvesting so that others might obtain useful information from this experience for themselves. Many newspapers fail to note in time the most serious shortcomings in the organization of harvesting operations in kolkhozes, sovkhoses, and MTS, such as the prolongation of the harvest, the inadequate use of draught animals and simple harvesting machinery, and disregarding manual harvesting.

Newspapers should boldly and resolutely criticize those who frustrate the successful completion of harvesting operations and violate legally-established time-schedules for the delivery of grain to the State.

In their discussion of harvesting preparations and harvesting, newspapers should focus their attention on the following questions: readying combines, tractors, and simple harvesting machines on time; ensuring their uninterrupted operation during the harvest; utilizing all simple harvesting

machines and hand implements for the harvest; fuel economy; recruiting all kolkhozniks, and sovkhos workers, without exception as well as the able-bodied population of cities and rural areas, and students for the harvest; proper organizing of labor at the harvest and proper placement of people in the field; organizing socialist competition for completing harvesting in a short time and without waste, and for pre-schedule fulfillment of all obligations to the State.

The repair and readying of harvesting machines on time is an extremely important condition for the successful accomplishment of the harvest. Therefore all newspapers should give very serious consideration to discussing the progress of readying combines, tractors, simple harvesting machines, threshing machines, locomobiles, and motor vehicles. The object is to ensure that every combine, every tractor, and every machine is utilized with the maximum of efficiency. Newspapers should put special emphasis on quality in the repair of harvesting machines.

Completely readying harvesting machines for the harvest means not only repairing them on time and satisfactorily, but also creating the conditions for utilizing the maximum capacity of each combine, tractor, and simple harvesting machine in field operations so that no harvesting machine will remain idle in the field because of technical difficulties. In this connection newspapers should publish a number of correspondence items on how MTS and sovkhoses are preparing mobile workshops, whether they are staffed with qualified repair workers, and whether they have a tool outfit, spare parts and materials required for the technical maintenance and repair of harvesting machines in the field, as well as fuel supplies and fire-prevention facilities.

In the days remaining before the mass harvest, newspapers should expediently publish leading articles and selections on subjects such as the following: put harvesting machines and hand implements into complete

readiness; staff all combine units with combine-operators and tractor-operators; set up mobile workshops for the repair and technical maintenance of combines and tractors in the field. At the same time newspapers should expediently publish a number of articles on the advice of specialists; for example, how to equip the mobile workshop; how to adapt mowing machines to the harvesting of grain; how to adapt a combine and thrashing machine to harvest and thresh sunflower seeds, millet, buckwheat, false flax, mustard seed, soya, and grass seed; how to equip a combine with a grain separator, straw shockers, and attachments for harvesting lodged grain, etc.

Industrial enterprises of cities can render great assistance to MTS and sovkhoses in preparing for and conducting harvesting operations. Newspapers should in every way possible support the initiative of industrial enterprises in establishing patronage Shefstvo over MTS and sovkhoses; they should be organizers of this activity and widely publicize those enterprises which, without hindering the fulfillment of military orders, provide the MTS and Sovkhoses needing them with repair workers -- forge workers, fitters, lathe operators, welders -- as well as engineers and mechanics, surplus equipment, instruments, spare parts, and materials.

Newspapers must put lagging MTS, kolkhozes, and sovkhoses under public control, uncover the real causes of their laggardness, by capable advice help them to correct their work, and resolutely expose negligent workers. An illustration of the experience of leading MTS, sovkhoses, and kolkhozes which have successfully carried out harvest preparations should occupy a large space in every newspaper.

A working plan for harvesting must be drawn up in every kolkhoz, sovkhos, and MTS. Newspapers should not only see to it that these plans are drawn up before the commencement of the harvest, but should render skillfull assistance in drafting them.

Special efficiency is required of each newspaper in giving an account of the progress of the harvest. All the following subjects must be ^{the} constant responsibility of every newspaper: how labor at the harvest is organized; whether selective harvesting is performed as the crops mature on the various plots of land; whether sheaves are bound and stacked immediately after the cutting of the grain; whether the ears are raked, selected, and stacked; whether the straw from under the combines is stacked and chaff collected for use as cattle fodder; how the threshing, accounting, and storage of grain is organized; whether seed plots are apportioned in all kolkhozes and sovkhoses; whether the condition of the seeded area on them is checked; how the harvesting, threshing, and storage of the crop from the seed plots is organized; whether the established order of storing seed supplies is being observed etc.

In each editorial office of a newspaper, a plan should already be drawn up for giving an account of the progress of the harvest; this plan should be discussed at the conferences of the authors' aktiv of the newspaper. In the plan for leading articles and selections, it is advisable to include the following themes:

Complete the harvesting in a very short time; harvest grain and spike [kolosovyys] crops in no more than 30 working days; complete the harvest of millet and bean crops in 20 working days; harvest sunflower seeds in 15 working days; complete the harvest of flax, mustard seed, and false flax in 10 working days; do not wait for the entire crop to mature, but conduct a selective harvest; for cutting of grain use mowing-machines; employ manual harvesting more extensively; every combine and simple harvesting machine should operate at least 16 hours a day; carry out the proper technical maintenance of combine units; mobile workshops at the harvest; do not leave unstacked grain in the fields; accomplish the harvesting without waste; begin the threshing of the crop no later than five days after beginning the cutting;

every threshing machine must work not less than 20 hours a day; organize a thorough accounting and reliable storage of the grain; iron discipline of labor is the most important condition for the success of the harvest; selfless labor at the harvest is the best aid that can be given to the front; during wartime each person must do the work of two or three.

As distinguished from past years, this year horses and manual labor, must be employed extensively along with combines. Newspapers must explain this to all kolkhozniks, sovkhos workers and agricultural workers, so that each one will understand that, unless horses and manual labor are used extensively from the very beginning of the grain-cutting, the harvest might ^{not only} be unduly prolonged, but might even fail. Newspapers should publish a number of leading articles and selections on this theme, for example: put all grain reapers, reapers, horse-drawn threshing machines, gear [privod], hay-mowers, and locomobiles in full working order; make certain that every sovkhos and kolkhoz contains a sufficient quantity of scythes and sickles; determine in advance in every kolkhoz field brigade and squad which kolkhozniks will perform the horse-driven harvesting and which the harvesting by scythes and sickles; employ horse and manual harvesting extensively from the very start of the grain-cutting; promptly train young kolkhozniks enlisted in the harvesting for the first time and the people mobilized from cities; make full and proper use of horses, oxen, cows, and steers in the harvesting and transport of agricultural products; do not permit personal irresponsibility in the use of draught animals in harvesting; organization of transport brigades in kolkhozes and sovkhos; ready transportation equipment and harness on time -- carts, wagons, collars, yokes, etc.

Newspapers should give serious attention to questions of fuel economy during harvesting. "The front needs fuel. Save every drop!" -- under such

a slogan newspapers must organize the struggle for the strictest economy of petroleum products, against the wasting of fuel and against the consumption of gasoline for anything unnecessary outside of harvesting operations, and must expose those who are slovenly, wasteful and do not conserve fuel. A special leading article should be devoted to this theme as well as a number of articles on the advice and statements of brigade leaders, tractor operators, and heads of MTS and sovkhos petroleum managements. By citing two MTS (one backward and one advanced) as examples, it is possible to demonstrate conclusively how fuel should not be consumed and how it can and should be conserved. Newspapers should focus special attention upon the use of gas-generating tractors in harvesting.

A tremendous exertion of all of our efforts and full utilization of all able-bodied inhabitants of villages in field operations are necessary in order to harvest this year's rich crop speedily and without loss. Every day, every hour, and, consequently, every worker, is valuable in the harvesting. Newspapers must explain this to all kolkhoz, sovkhos, and MTS leaders and to all village laborers so that all kolkhoz members -- male and female -- young people, all workers and white collar workers of S sovkhoses and members of their families, as well as the entire able-bodied population who are not kolkhozniks but who reside on kolkhoses and on sovkhos territory may be utilized in the harvesting. Today, in time of war, when the fate of our homeland is being decided, idleness cannot be tolerated. Newspapers should explain that the successful accomplishment of the harvest this year is one of the conditions for the earliest possible defeat of the German fascist invaders. Working indefatigably on the harvest from dawn to dusk is the sacred duty of every kolkhoz member, MTS and sovkhos worker, and all those enlisted in agricultural operations. Our entire press must broadly portray kolkhoz members diligently working in the field

as true patriots of our homeland and must expose slackers and work-shirkers. Now, as never before, the most rigid labor discipline is necessary in each kolkhoz, sovkhos, and MTS.

Newspapers should explain the harvest wage system and the incentives established for kolkhozniks working in the harvesting and transportation of agricultural products as well as the incentives established for combine and tractor operators, operators of tractor seeders [pritssepshohiki] and servicemen [zapravshchiki] for good harvesting.

As a result of the successful fulfillment of the spring sowing plan, our harvesting areas have increased considerably this year, while the number of workers in the villages, the number of machines and the number of draught animals have decreased in connection with the war. This creates certain difficulties in harvesting and the city must come to the aid of the village. City and oblast newspapers must explain to their readers that unless the city population participates extensively in the harvesting operations we cannot successfully cope with the harvest. Newspapers should publish a number of articles containing correspondence on the progress of mobilizing and supplying able-bodied persons from the city along with students, mobilized for harvesting operations, to the appropriate kolkhozes, and sovkhos; correspondence on their assignment in the kolkhozes and sovkhos to brigades, teams [zveno] and sectors [uchastok] as well as on how kolkhozes, sovkhos, and MTS are attending to the living conditions of the city dwellers who have arrived. The system of wages for the city people mobilized for agricultural work must be explained.

Newspapers should devote very serious attention to the fight against losses in the harvesting of crops. Material on this subject should appear on the pages of each newspaper until the end of all harvesting operations, and should occupy a central position in the plan of work of the editorial office. The publication of leading articles and selections on themes such as the following should be provided for.

Complete the harvest quickly and without loss; "Harvesting is a seasonal activity and it does not like to wait. Harvesting on time wins; delay in harvesting loses" (I. Stalin); the loss of every pood of grain in the harvest is a crime against the homeland; the successful harvesting of grain is a blow against the enemy. The forms for presenting the material may be greatly varied -- advice of specialists; statements of kolkhoz chairmen, brigade leaders, combine operators, threshing-machine operators, grain haulers, etc.; an account of the work of two kolkhozes showing how grain should, and should not, be harvested so as to avoid loss; letters from compatriots on the war fronts with an appeal to perform the harvest successfully, etc. The advice of specialists can, for example, develop the following themes: how to avoid loss in harvesting with combines; losses in the threshing of grain and how to counter them; cost of one day's losses in the harvest; why it is necessary to conduct a selective harvest without waiting for the entire crop to mature; how much grain can be lost if no raking of the spikes is carried out; how to avoid loss of grain during its transportation; how threshing floors, granaries, closed sheds for the drying of grain, and vegetable and potato storage houses should be prepared; how to construct drying plants, how to adapt places for the drying, threshing, and storage of crops. Newspapers should widely publicize the leading kolkhoz members and MTS and sovkhos workers who take the public welfare to heart and spare no efforts to complete a harvest of high quality in a very short time; they must resolutely criticize careless workers who permit losses during harvesting.

Material on the protection of crops from fire, theft, and spoilage should also occupy an important place in newspapers. It is necessary to heighten

the revolutionary vigilance of male and female kolkhoz members and all agricultural workers in every way possible. In addition to the publication of special leading articles on this theme, it is expedient to print a number of articles containing advice on themes such as the following: how to protect kolkhoz grain from fire; how to protect grain and other agricultural products from spoilage; how vegetables and potatoes should be stored; how the accounting and protection of grain should be organized at all stages of agricultural operations.

The delivery of agricultural products to the state must be carried out simultaneously with harvesting. Articles and correspondence such as the following should be published in the newspapers on this theme: the fulfillment of pledges to the state is the first order of every kolkhoz; the transportation of grain and other agricultural products to elevators and procurement points is to begin in kolkhozes and sovkhoses from the first day of harvesting; the plan for delivery of grain, industrial crops, potatoes, and vegetables to the state must be fulfilled on schedule; let us create a Red Army grain fund out of the 1942 harvest; promptly turn in the payment in kind for the work of MTS; organize the drying of grain in kolkhozes and sovkhoses on time; put elevators and procurement points in complete readiness.

Newspapers should explain the particularly great significance of the prompt fulfillment by kolkhozes and sovkhoses of plans for delivery of grain, industrial crops, potatoes, and vegetables to the state this year. It is necessary to encourage in every way possible the pre-schedule fulfillment by kolkhozes and sovkhoses of their pledges to the state, to criticize resolutely those leaders who drag out deliveries, and to expose anti-government tendencies aimed at disrupting state procurements.

The more extensively socialist competition is developed in kolkhoz and sovkhoz fields, the ^{more} successfully will the harvesting be accomplished. In response to the 1 May decree of the People's Commissar of Defense, Comrade Stalin, tens of thousands of kolkhozniks, MTS and sovkhoz workers have entered the All-Union Socialist Competition for High Crop Yields and Further Growth of Animal Husbandry, have assumed concrete obligations, and are successfully fulfilling them. The task of newspapers at present is to develop socialist competition in rural areas still more extensively; to draw into it all kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and MTS, all teams, brigades, and harvesting units, and all kolkhozniks and MTS and sovkhoz workers. Newspapers must strive so that each socialist competition participant will assume concrete obligations in harvesting and in the fulfillment of agricultural procurement plan and must check on their fulfillment. A particularly large space in the newspaper is to be devoted to propaganda of the work experience of outstanding participants of socialist competition—the best combine and tractor operators, repairmen, threshing machine operators, haulers, mowers, etc. Participants in socialist competition themselves should be listed as authors of articles and correspondence on the progress of the competition.

Every newspaper should insert on its pages a "Plaque of Honor of Outstanding People in Agricultural Competition" and a section, "Tribune for the Exchange of Work Experience in Harvesting."

Newspapers must also devote serious attention to giving an account of the experience of party-political work in harvesting and the experience of the work of MTS and sovkhoz political sections. Oblast newspapers must regularly publish material to assist the village agitator and illustrate on their pages the experience of agitation work in the field.

A great number of youth, including minors, will be engaged in this year's harvesting. In this connection, newspapers should give wide coverage on their pages to the participation of youth in harvesting operations and also to the role of Komsomol organizations in the harvesting. Material should be published regularly on the experience of the mass-political work of kolkhoz Komsomol organizations and the guidance of the work of the Komsomol organizations by the party rayon committees, especially in those kolkhozes where there are no local party organizations. Leading Komsomol workers should be enlisted as authors of articles and correspondence.

Newspapers should not neglect problems on the care of the cultural and living conditions of workers in the field (organizations for field camps, children's nurseries, etc.)

In all their work of reporting the progress of the preparation and accomplishment of harvesting and procurement of agricultural products, newspapers must be guided by the decree of the Council of Peoples' Commissars USSR and Central Committee VKP(b), entitled "On the Harvesting and Procurement of Agricultural Products in 1942." This decree is the Bolshevik program developed for the organization of harvesting operations for all Soviet, party, and Komsomol organizations, all kolkhozes, sovkhoses, and MTS, and also for our entire press. "Today there is no more important and honorable task for village communists, Komsomol members, male and female kolkhoz members, MTS and sovkhos workers and for all those enlisted in agricultural work," the decree states, "than the mobilization of all forces for the prompt execution of the decisive operations in agriculture — the preparation, harvesting, and fulfillment of pledges to the state, in order thereby to provide the nation and the Red Army with an adequate supply of agricultural products." This directive must be the foundation for the work of every rayon, oblast, kray, and republic newspaper in the next few months.

From — Upravleniye Prppagandy i Agitatsii,
TsK VKP(b)

July 1942

ON THE SHORTCOMINGS OF NEWSPAPERS IN GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF
THE WORK OF INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES

Letter of the Administration of Propaganda and Agitation of the
TsK VKP(b) to All Editors of City, Oblast, Kray, and Republic
Newspapers (March 1943)

City, oblast, kray and republic newspapers play an important role in the organization of socialist competition in industry and the improvement of the work of enterprises. Although noting the positive work of the press in this field, the Administration of Propaganda and Agitation of the TsK VKP(b) considers that the influence of newspapers on the work of enterprises is still extremely inadequate.

The principal defect of newspapers is that the work of industrial enterprises is discussed superficially, without skill, without deep analysis of the state of affairs at enterprises.

Let us cite several examples, characterizing the superficial interpretation of the work of industry by our press.

The newspaper Sotsialisticheskaya Karaganda reported the following on 10 February.

"The employees of the plant where Comrade Sharov is the director and Comrade Yevseyev is the party organizer of the TsK VKP(b), promised to produce 125 tons of defense production above the plan, to overfulfill the plan for productivity of labor by five percent, to save 20 tons of fuel oil, 60,000 kilowatt hours of electric power, one ton of lubricating oil, and 50 tons of non-ferrous metals.

In January, the workers of the plant fulfilled the monthly program by 105.8 percent, producing 134 tons of products above the plan. The task for productivity of labor was fulfilled by 104.8 percent. The following

savings were made: electric power -- 60.1 thousand kilowatt hours, fuel oil -- 52.3 tons, lubricating oil -- 1.28 tons, non-ferrous metals -- 50 tons. Nineteen workers were instructed in the Stakhanovite methods of labor. Forty-four new workers were trained. Forty-six suggestions for the rationalization of the work process were collected.

The workers of the plant continue to work rhythmically, and are every day overfulfilling the plan of production for the front." (No 33).

The Kirovskaya Oblast newspaper wrote the following.

"The employees of TETs [Heating and Power Station] No 1 are working in a disgraceful manner. TETs is deficient by a large amount every day in its delivery of electric power to the enterprises and public services institutions of Kirov. The period for putting the Kirove-Chepetskiy TETs into operation has been delayed.

Is it that directors of the power station don't understand in what a responsible sector they are located? The poor work of the electric power station has an effect on the work of all enterprises working for the front, for the motherland.

We can no longer tolerate the poor work of the electric power station."

(Kirovskaya Pravda, No 286).

Wherein lies the deficiency of these accounts? First of all, not one of them contains an analysis of the work of the enterprises. In the first account they speak of the successes of a single plant, but there is not a word about how the successes were achieved. In the second account they speak of the poor work of the Kirovskaya Oblast electric power plant; however, the reader remains in the dark as to the nature of shortcomings in the work of the electric power station and what measures are necessary to eliminate these shortcomings. Such newspaper articles teach industrial workers very little.

The examples cited above are not rare. A great proportion of the material published by newspapers on industrial questions has an informational character. Thus, for example, the newspaper Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, except for the articles of the Kazakhstanskiy Telegraph Agency, contains almost nothing on the work of the coal industry. The newspaper reports only results and does not go into the heart of the matter of work in the coal industry; it does not explain the reasons for the success of some mines and the backwardness of others.

Newspapers, of course, must publish information reports on industry. However, it is wrong to concentrate all newspaper work in this field on information.

A superficial approach by newspapers in their interpretation of work in enterprises often results in a neglect of the most important industrial problems.

In reality, how can one explain the fact that the majority of newspapers until recently almost completely ignored questions of power engineering? It is no secret that in a number of cases the lack of electric power limits the work of the most important enterprises. If newspaper workers would try to investigate this, if they would visit electric power stations, they would understand that the answer lies not only in the insufficient capacity of the electric power stations, but to a significant degree in the fact that many of them do not have the proper order and discipline, that the rules of technical operation are not observed, the repair of equipment is neglected, and that electric power stations are not supplied with fuel. Newspapers could give great assistance to our enterprises, if they would raise all these questions pointedly and on time. They could accomplish a great deal for the cause of saving electric power. It is well-known that electric power is consumed wastefully at many enterprises. If

newspaper workers would investigate the work of industry, more often visit enterprises and electric power stations, and consult the workers of enterprises, they would not overlook these questions.

All these facts indicate that newspapers do not have a well-thought-out plan for their work in the field of industry. In most cases, materials in newspapers on industrial questions are casual. Many newspapers completely avoid questions on the quality of production and the struggle for lowering costs. The number of enterprises about which newspapers write is extremely limited. Some newspapers do not take into account the most important enterprises.

A large oil industry is located in Andizhanskaya Oblast (Uzbek SSR). The significance of oil in war time is well-known to everyone. The plan for oil extraction is not being fulfilled in Andizhanskaya Oblast. It would seem that the Andizhanskaya Oblast newspaper Stalinskoye Znamya would sound the alarm on this matter; however, as a check showed, during the last 3 months not even the word "oil" was mentioned.

The republic newspapers of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan also publish almost nothing about oil. How could newspapers be silent about the work of the oil industry, which today has such great significance? Evidently newspaper workers do not yet realize that they bear the responsible for the condition of the work of industry.

A serious shortcoming of newspapers is the fact that recently many of them have almost completely stopped the criticism of the work of industrial enterprises. As a rule, newspapers write only about leading enterprises and often ^aoverprise them; as a result, a wrong, one-sided impression of the work of industry is sometimes created among the ^{readers.} ~~workers.~~

The Ussuriyskaya Oblast newspaper Kumunar published 40 accounts and articles about industry in January, and only two of them mentioned defects.

All the remaining material was devoted to the successes of the work of enterprises.

In January and the first half of February, Krasnaya Tatarsiya published 45 accounts and articles on industry and only three of them mentioned defects in the work of individual enterprises.

In issue after issue the newspaper printed enthusiastic articles about the victories of the leaders of competition.

"Plan Overfulfilled"

"Pledge Fulfilled Ahead of Time"

"They Overfulfill the Task Daily"

"Pledges Fulfilled With Honor"

"February Program Fulfilled"

"Production Above the Plan" etc.

Such is the tone characteristic of almost all the newspaper articles about industry. The newspaper is enthusiastic about the successes of leading factories and plants, and barely mentions the backward ones. It is difficult to find out from the newspaper, whether there are backward enterprises in the Tatar republic. The newspaper conducts propaganda concerning the experience of leading workers in the same unskillful way. The following is an article typical of those from this newspaper.

"MODELS OF HIGH PRODUCTIVITY

The workers of the factory, where Comrade Slutskiy is director, are systematically overfulfilling production tasks ... more than 80 percent of all the workers are Stekhanovites. Comrade Chuyev is producing six norms per shift. Comrade Morozenko is exceeding his task by five and one half times. Comrade Gubeydullin is fulfilling his norm by 420 percent."
(No 29, 5 February 1943).

What do such articles give to the readers? Everyone would like to know how the factory achieved successes in production, by what method high productivity of labor was achieved. However, it is impossible to learn anything about this from the newspaper.

What for example, can such a description of the work of a Stakhanovite possibly teach.

"A tall man stood under a shower of sparks. A flame blazed on his lean, long unshaven, manly face, and his features seemed poured out of copper ... he looked carefully at the place from which golden needles of sparks flew, gave some orders, and although his voice sunk in the din and roar of the bellows, some unseen hand by his will guided the shaft of the machine."

(Newspaper Stalinskaya Znamya No 119,
city of Chirchik, Uzbekskaya SSR)

The Administration of Propaganda and Agitation of the TsK VKP(b) pointed out in due time the outstanding defects of the Ivanovskaya Oblast newspaper Rabochiy Kray in giving an account of the work of textile plants. What were these deficiencies?

The newspaper misinformed readers of the work of the oblast textile industry.

The newspaper reported as follows in an article giving the 4-month totals of the All-Union Socialist Competition in the Textile Industry.

"The textile industry has entered a period of rising production... the rise in textiles is characterized by an increase from month to month of workers that are fulfilling the norms" (No 227).

In ten days the newspaper published a summary of the work of the textile industry and again reported concerning "the increased output in textile plants," concerning the fact that production "grew in the majority of enterprises." (No 236)

In just such a tone, the newspaper wrote about textile enterprises in subsequent issues. The following is a summary of the articles and accounts published at that time by the newspaper.

"No Less Than 110 Percent of the Plan"

"Weavers Outstrip Spinners"

"Order for the Front Fulfilled"

"Our Aid to the Front"

"Thus is Victory Won"

"Plan Fulfilled by 204 Percent" etc.

If one can believe the newspaper, the textile industry in Ivanovskaya Oblast worked well. But was that actually true?

For nine months in 1942, the textile plants of Ivanovskaya Oblast fulfilled the plan in all by 46 percent and were 600 million meters of textiles short in their delivery to the country. The TsK VKP(b) in its decree "Concerning the Work of the Ivanovskaya Oblast Committee of the VKP(b)" deemed this a disgraceful failure in the work of the enterprises of the textile industry. Therefore, there was no basis for the newspaper's enthusiasm over the "increased production" in the textile industry. And what is more, there was every reason to be disturbed very seriously over the work of textile plants. As a check proved, the following were prevalent in the textile plants of Ivanovskaya Oblast; lack of discipline in the organization of production, mismanagement and irresponsibility on the part of engineer-technical personnel and factory directors, and shattered labor discipline. The newspaper did not see all this. It proved to be isolated from textile plants and misinformed readers about the situation in textile enterprises. Thereby, the newspaper not only failed to give the necessary assistance to oblast enterprises and party organizations, but were actually harmful to them.

The newspaper also misjudged the leadership of textile plants by rayon and city party organizations. The following, for example, is what the newspaper wrote about the work of the Ivanovskaya city party organization.

"The success of the plants of the oblast center is unprecedented; the majority of the enterprises have fulfilled the monthly plan. Here all party organizations have persistently and unremittingly devoted themselves to problems of textile fabrics." (No 183)

The newspaper wrote in just such a tone about other party organizations. Actually, as it turned out, the leaders of the city party committees and the rayon party committees, including the Ivanovo city party committee, do not know the actual condition of affairs at the factories, seldom visit enterprises and dormitories [for workers], mingle very little with the workers and concentrate their work mainly on meetings and conferences, but do not check on the fulfillment of the decisions of these meetings and conferences. Consequently, the newspaper had no basis for its praise of the work of local party organizations. And what is more, there was every reason to write serious criticisms to a number of party committees.

It is worthy of note that all articles of the newspaper on party questions were distinguished by extreme irresponsibility and thoughtlessness. The newspaper did not note such serious shortcomings as neglect of agitprop work in plants, weakening of discipline among party members, and a lessening of the role of party meetings. Articles on mass agitational work at the Ivanovskiy Melanzhevyy Combine may serve as an example of how unscrupulous the newspaper has been in its approach to questions of party life.

In the leading article "Widely Utilize the Experience of Party Organizations of Leading Enterprises," the newspaper wrote that the

Melanzhevyy Combine has accumulated "an exceptionally rich experience in mass party work under wartime conditions and has developed socialist competition." The newspaper included the combine among those enterprises about whom "it is possible to say without exaggeration, that the party organizations of these enterprises were able to organize production victories, that the successes of the workers of these enterprises depends to a large extent on the correct organization of mass party work."

The newspaper wrote, "it is possible and necessary to learn the organization of oral and visual agitation from the workers at the Ivanovskiy Melanzhevyy Combine; it is necessary to imitate the experience of their work with the collective. Recently question and answer meetings have been put into practice there." (No 212)

A half a month elapsed and the newspaper published a new leading article about mass-party work, citing the Melanzhevyy Combine as an example. However, this time the newspaper maintained exactly the opposite of what appeared in the preceding article.

The newspaper writes, "one of the causes of the poor work of the combine is unsatisfactorily organized mass-political work. Agitation at the combine was carried out without any connection with the production tasks of shops, crews, and brigades; it did not mobilize workers to overcome the difficulties of war time. Only an insignificant part of the workers are included in political agitation...very few meetings of workers including reports and lectures on current topics are held at the combine; evenings of questions and answers are not organized.

The party committee has not devoted enough attention to the selection of agitators...a negligent attitude towards agitational work on the part of the party committee of the Melanzhevyy Combine has resulted in a serious weakening of all mass-political work at the Combine." (No 226)

Every other day, the newspaper publishes the article "Our Leading Agitational Workers" in which the agit-prop work at the Melanzhevyy Combine is held up as an example to all party organizations. It is completely clear, that such confusion in the evaluation of the condition of mass-party work at the combine is capable only of harming matters.

The mistakes of the Ivanovskaya Oblast newspaper are not an exception. In one way or another, they also occur in a number of other newspapers.

Such are the basic deficiencies of newspapers in the interpretation of industrial questions.

What is the cause of these deficiencies and what are the measures for their elimination?

The principal cause is the isolation of newspapers from enterprises and party committees. Newspapers have little contact with the workers of enterprises and rarely consult city and rayon party committees. A large number of the articles on industry published by newspapers are written by regular employees of the editorial staff. Thus, for example, of 64 articles and accounts published by the newspaper Ural'skiy Rabochiy, (Sverdlovskaya Oblast) in January, 57 were written by employees of the newspaper and only 7 articles and accounts by factory workers. Of 58 articles concerning competition published in the Kuybyshev newspaper Volzhskaya Kommuna, 50 were written by employees of the editorial staff and only one by a Stakhanovite worker. Out of 39 articles published in January in the newspaper Chkalovskaya Kommuna, 29 belong to employees of the newspaper. Editorial staffs lost their author aktiv. Workers, artisans, shop chiefs, directors and engineer-technical workers of enterprises, rayon, city, and oblast party committee workers rarely write for the press.

Newspapers do not show sufficient perseverance in bringing the questions they raise to a conclusion and newspapers very rarely apply to party committees for support. As a result of this, they inevitably cease to take the newspaper seriously. Newspaper articles in most cases are not discussed anywhere and no measures are taken for the correction of the defects pointed out by the newspapers. All this lessens the authority of newspapers and weakens their influence on the work of enterprises.

The Administration of Propaganda and Agitation TsK VKP(b) calls upon the editors of city, oblast, kray, and republic newspapers to immediately eliminate the defects and errors in the interpretation of the work of industrial enterprises as indicated in the present letter.

First of all, it is necessary to put an end to the superficial approach of newspapers to the work of industry. Newspaper workers must study the work of enterprises thoroughly, study their economic structure, know the real needs and demands of enterprises, show the maximum of initiative in bringing to light new possibilities for improving the ^{work} of factories and plants, resolutely reveal defects and suggest measures for their elimination. Only under these conditions can newspapers give practical assistance to workers of enterprises.

The Administration of Propaganda and Agitation of the TsK VKP(b) calls the attention of newspaper editors to their special responsibility for giving an account of the work of such branches of the national economy as metallurgy, the fuel and power industry, and transport, which constitute the basis of the national economy and determine, in the final analysis, the success of the work of all enterprises.

The Duties of Newspaper in the Struggle
for the Improvement of Metal Production

Our temporary loss of the southern metallurgical industry has aggravated our need for metal. In connection with this, a special

responsibility for the work of war industry rests on the metallurgists of the Urals and Siberia.

The Administration of Propaganda and Agitation of the TsK VKP(b) calls upon the newspaper editors of Chelyabinskaya, Kemerovskaya, Sverdlovskaya, and Molotovskaya oblasts and other metallurgical areas of the country to establish control over the work of metallurgical enterprises. Special attention should be given to the following questions: supplying metallurgical enterprises with fuel, electric power, and raw materials; the work of the transport shops of plants; the increase of coke production; the utilization of the capacities of blast furnaces, open-hearth furnaces, and rolling mills; increasing the output of useable metal and savings in the consumption of ore, fuel, coke, and electric power; care of the living conditions of workers; political work in enterprises. Newspapers must also devote very serious consideration to giving an account of the training of cadres for enterprises and construction of ferrous metallurgical enterprises, to the work of metallurgical trade schools and schools of industrial training for the builders of metallurgical plants (the supplying of trade schools and schools of industrial training with leading cadres, the fulfillment of the student admission plan, the equipping of special classrooms and laboratories for metallurgy, chemistry, and physics, the cultural and living conditions of student life), the training of skilled workers in the order of individual and brigade apprenticeship enterprises of ferrous metallurgy.

Ferrous metallurgy is not only the concern of newspapers in those oblasts and rayons where blast furnaces and open-hearth furnaces are located; every newspaper is now obliged to see how it can aid ferrous metallurgy. The responsibility is great for the newspapers in areas which supply metallurgy with fuel, raw materials, electric power, equipment etc. It is necessary to constantly check on the fulfillment of all state tasks

for ferrous metallurgy, such as the following: the extraction and delivery of coal in accordance with established grades and technical stipulations as to ash content and coking qualities; the extraction and delivery to enterprises of ore, flux, and fireproof clay; the collection of scrap metal and the sorting of it before shipment to plants, etc.

Newspapers must devote much attention to constructing and putting into operation new blast furnaces, open-hearth furnaces, and rolling mills, and also to the interpretation of the work of the metallurgical shops of machine building plants, striving for the full utilization of their productive capacity.

Newspapers must daily give an account of socialist competition in blast furnace, open-hearth, rolling mill, and coke-chemical shops, iron and manganese ore pits; they must portray the experience of the work of leaders of competition, striving for the overfulfillment of the pig iron and steel smelting plan, the production plans for rolled iron and coke, and the ore extraction plan, and also for savings in the consumption of ore, coke, fuel, and metal; they must resolutely criticize backward enterprises and ore pits.

Tasks of Newspapers in the Struggle for Increased

Fuel Extraction

In connection with the temporary loss of the Don Basin, serious difficulties have arisen in supplying our industry and transport with fuel. Therefore, increasing fuel extraction by every means possible is now the most important military-economic task of party, soviet, and economic organizations and of our entire press. The successful operation of the metallurgy [industry], electric power stations, transport, and all military production depends on an uninterrupted supply of fuel.

The Administration of Propaganda and Agitation of the TsK VKP(b) calls upon newspaper editors in Kemerovskaya, Karagandinskaya, Sverdlovskaya, Chelyabinskaya, Molotovskaya, Irkutskaya, Tul'skaya, and Moskovskaya oblasts and other coal regions of the country to establish special control over the work of the coal industry. The basis for the work of newspapers is to be a struggle for the practical realization of the decisions of the TsK VKP(b) on measures for improving party work in coal regions, and in this, special attention is to be given to checking up on the execution of the following instructions of the TsK VKP(b): providing of underground work with the necessary number of workers -- especially loaders, miners, and timbermen -- by transferring surface workers to underground work; the struggle against idleness and fluctuation of man-power (putting in order the registration of labor at mines and the organization of time-board registration, tabel'nyy uchet, putting into practice the law on idlers and those whose absence from the mines is unwarranted); the struggle for the fulfillment by all workers of the established norms for outputs; the fulfillment of the plan for preparatory work; the organization of labor; the adherence to a technological method in coal extraction at mines; the elimination of mining accidents; the progress of new mine construction; improving the care of the material and living conditions of miners; holding production meetings by brigades and sectors, meetings of general mining workers, and also of party and administrative activists of mines and trusts.

Newspapers must extensively acquaint readers with progressive Stakhanovite methods of work, with the achievements of shifts, sectors, brigades, and individual workers, and must strive to include all groups and trades of miners in socialist competition.

Newspaper editors of the Azerbaydzhanskaya SSR, Bashkirskaya ASSR, and Molotovskaya, Kuybyshevskaya, Chkalovskaya, Gur'yevskaya, Andizhanskaya, Krasnovodskaya, Sakhalinskaya, and other oblasts are called upon to give a daily account of the work of the oil industry and oil and gas refineries, striving in every way possible to increase the extraction and refining of oil, and the output of gas for industrial and domestic requirements.

The struggle for an increase in fuel extraction is not only the concern of newspapers in coal and oil regions. Our country possesses huge resources of domestic fuel -- timber, peat, and shale. Prospecting for and maximum utilization of, domestic fuel is now one of our most important tasks. Timber felling and the transport of timber to railroads and waterways, the transportation of peat to enterprises and electric power stations, the extraction of shale, the utilization of waste products from production as fuel (coal fines, sawdust, peat crumbs, acid sludges, and kostry ^{lit-}erally, bonfire⁷), the struggle for the strictest economy of fuel -- all these questions must be constantly set forth in our press.

Duties of Newspapers in the Struggle to Increase

Electric Power Generation

In the field of power engineering, newspapers must concentrate their attention on the following questions: providing electric power stations with fuel and labor; instruction and technical training of the operational personnel of electric power stations; observance of the rules of technical operation; the struggle for strengthening production and technical discipline at electric power stations; the progress of capital repair and preventive maintenance of the equipment of electric power stations; the manufacture of spare parts and parts necessary for the repair of equipment; the quality of repair work; the mobilization of the internal resources of electric power

stations (economies in the consumption of fuel, electric power, materials, metal, and spare parts); material and living conditions of workers.

Newspapers must point out the experience of leading electric power stations which give an uninterrupted supply of electric power to enterprises. In articles and accounts on this subject, they must point out how the workers of this or that electric power station are achieving the full utilization of their established capacities, the fulfillment of the state plan for the production of electric and fuel power, and also the daily fulfillment of operational lad schedules of shipment; what measures guaranteeing the uninterrupted operation of electric power stations are being carried out; how economies in the consumption of fuel and electric power are achieved.

Along with reporting on the work of electric power stations, newspapers must also regularly give an account of progress in the construction of new installations ob'yekty and the enlargement of existing electric power stations, they must strive for the overfulfillment of the plans of construction and installation work and for putting new electric power capacities into operation ahead of schedule.

Problems in Transport

Because independent transport newspapers are published on railroad and water transport, some editors of city, oblast, kray, and republic newspapers think they can overlook transport questions. The Administration of Propaganda and Agitation of the TsK VKP(b) considers such a view wrong and calls upon newspaper editors to cover the work of railroad and water transport regularly.

The main task of newspapers in this field is the struggle for the establishment of the necessary discipline in all railroad and water transport

units, and for the education of the workers and employees in the spirit of military discipline, because transport especially under war conditions, is essentially a military organization.

Newspapers must devote special attention to backward railroads, departments, stations, depots, steamship companies, and ports, bring to light defects in their work, and resolutely struggle against any manifestation of laxity, lack of discipline, and violations of orders and government decrees on transport.

Newspapers must also give an account of the progress of socialist competition in transport, striving to include in competition all groups and trades among railroad and water transport workers. They must set forth progressive work methods and the achievements of shifts, sectors, brigades and individual workers and point out the experience of the best railroads, departments, stations, depots, plants, steamship companies and ports, which have succeeded in fulfilling and overfulfilling the state transport plan; they must point out the efficient and quick movement of trains according to schedule, the best utilization of steam engines and cars, and economies in fuel.

Serious attention must also be devoted to the experience ^{of} by party-political work in transport. The decision of the TsK VKP(L) of 1 November 1942, "Concerning the Work of the Political Sections of the Railroads Imeni Kuybyshev and Yuzhno-Uralskaya" is to be the basis for newspaper work in this field.

While not defining the entire plan of newspaper work in other branches of industry, the Administration of Propaganda and Agitation of the TsK VKP(b) calls the attention of newspaper editors to the following questions which must be within the field of vision of each newspaper in giving an account of the work of enterprises: strengthening order and discipline at enterprises;

production training and political education of new workers; a system of economy and maximum utilization of the internal resources of enterprises; the care of the materials and living conditions of workers and white-collar workers.

Strengthening Order and Discipline in Enterprises

The drive for strengthening order and discipline at enterprises has always been one of the main tasks of our press. Now, under war conditions, when the problems of labor discipline have acquired paramount importance, the drive to ^{strengthen} order and discipline at enterprises in every way possible has become the most important task of all city, oblast, kray, and republic newspapers.

Newspapers must tirelessly explain that strict order and discipline in industries are the decisive conditions for the fulfillment of the production plan; depict examples of the labor heroism of workers and white-collar workers, giving all their strength, energy, and will to the aid of the front; mercilessly stigmatize shirkers, loafers, and other disorganizers of production, as criminals doing great harm to the struggle against the German fascist invaders; carry out an uncompromising struggle against the slightest indications of lack of discipline, loafing, and slipshodness; explain that under wartime conditions, it is necessary to use extreme, decisive measures not only with respect to the insubordinate who break the laws of labor discipline, but also to those who are backward, slow, and inaccurate in their work.

Production Training and Political Education of New Workers

Some newspapers in giving an account of socialist competition at enterprises, limit themselves to a description of the production records of

Stakhanovite workers, forgetting about the whole mass of workers, about the fulfillment of production norms by each worker. Records of individual workers do not determine the fulfillment of the production program of enterprises. That depends on the fulfillment of production norms by rank and file workers. At many enterprises the rank and file worker, as a whole, is a new worker who has only gone into production in war time. This is why questions on the production training and education of new workers now take on such great significance.

Newspapers must regularly cover the work of trade schools and schools of industrial training, and also the organization of production training and education of new workers at enterprises, the training of workers in the procedures of individual and brigade apprenticeship, the work of courses, circles, etc. It is necessary to painstakingly select every grain of positive experience in training and educating of new workers, in improving their production qualifications, in inculcating in them order and discipline in the enterprise, in instilling in them the need for care of materials, instruments, and equipment, and also a love for their plant and their trade. Newspapers must point out workers and foremen who are successfully teaching worker-students.

Very serious attention must also be devoted to the political education of new workers. During the course of the war, the process of turnover of industrial workers proceeds very rapidly. The underestimation of political work among new workers is extremely dangerous and harmful, for it is a question of the formation of a new, important segment of the working class of our country. We must educate all new workers in the spirit of the best traditions of the working class of the USSR.

The Practice of Economy and the Maximum Utilization of the
Internal Potentialities and Resources of Enterprises

Under wartime conditions, when our industry experiences well-known difficulties in obtaining raw materials, materials, fuel, and electric power, the strictest practice of economy at enterprises is of exceptional importance. Economies in raw materials, fuel, materials, electric power, care of the instrument, machine tool, and equipment, and a resolute struggle against any indications of mismanagement and wastefulness are now the most important tasks of party, economic, Komsomol, and trade union organizations and our entire press.

The task of the press is, first of all, to attract the broad mass of workers into active participation in the regime of economy. Newspapers must point out from concrete examples in local life, what immense possibilities for growth in the production of armament and war supplies for the Red Army exist in our enterprises, if one approaches in an economical and intelligent manner the utilization of raw materials, fuel, electric power, and materials. It is constantly necessary to explain that what appears at first sight to be the most insignificant economy produces, on the whole, considering the huge scope of our industry, great profits.

Newspapers must give broad coverage to the execution of a regime of economy at enterprises: how the accounting of equipment, instruments, raw materials, materials, and semi-manufactured goods has been set up; how enterprises achieve complete and accurate utilization of the capacity of their equipment; how economies in the consumption of raw materials, materials, tools, fuel, electric power, are achieved and what the results of these economies are; how the search for substitutes for materials in short supply is set up; how workers and engineering-technical workers of enterprises participate in the regime of economy. Newspapers must enhance the authority

of production meetings at enterprises, point out their role in the struggle for the regime of economy and for lower costs, check on the execution of valuable suggestions made at production meetings.

The war makes more and more demands upon industry and impels us to work tirelessly for the perfection of technology, for mastery in the production of new products and new materials. Newspapers must awaken the creative thought of workers, foremen, and engineer-technical workers, assist in every way possible the introduction of new achievements of techniques into production and the prompt realization of all valuable suggestions for the rationalization of the work process.

Problems in the Care for the Material
and Living Conditions of Workers

The Administration of Propaganda and Agitation of the TsK VKP(b) considers it wrong that many newspapers have recently relaxed their attention to the problems of the daily life of workers, have ceased to be interested in the operation of worker supply divisions, stores, dining rooms, city transport, hospitals, childrens institutions, bath houses, laundries, barber shops, shoe and clothing repair shops, clubs, cinemas, and other institutions and enterprises which care for the cultural and living conditions of workers.

Underestimating problems of culture and living conditions results in an isolation of newspapers from the workers, from their daily needs and demands, lowers the authority of the newspapers and weakens its influence and efficiency in the struggle for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of production plans.

Newspapers must in every way possible support the initiative of trade-union, economic, and other institutions in the improvement of the work of public service bytovyye institutions and enterprises; give an account of positive experience in this field; point out capable workers having initiative, who are concerned with the satisfaction of the every-day needs of workers, employees; and their families, expose swindlers attached to trade and public institutions; see to it that not one criminal escapes severe punishment; expose good-for-nothings who are trying to cover up their idleness with references to the difficulties caused by the war; resolutely criticize negligent, and slow workers and those lacking in initiative.

Newspapers must show special concern for the families of those at the front, for their employment in production, for the satisfaction of their material-every-day needs, for granting them in good time the benefits and privileges provided by law, etc. Press workers must always remember that by concerning themselves with the welfare of the families of those at the front, they do half of our big job of caring for the Red Army.

The Administration of Propaganda and Agitation of the TsK VKP(b) calls upon newspaper editors to resolutely improve their work with the letters from workers writing for the newspaper. Not one letter should go unattended without concrete measures, without reply. A newspaper is obliged to be a model of sympathy and sensitivity to the needs of workers, show an example of quick response to all demands, complaints, and requests of workers, be tolerant of those who are indifferent to the complaints of workers.

There are two tasks in giving an account of problems of industry and socialist competition in factories and plants: the illustration of the experience of the best enterprises and leaders of socialist competition and criticism of the backward ones, with an urging and lifting of them to the

level of the leaders. As indicated above, many newspapers limit themselves to only one side of the question -- the illustration of positive experience -- and miss the second, but no less important -- the criticism of the backward. It is necessary to immediately correct this one-sided interpretation of the work of industrial enterprises.

Our industry is operating well in war time. But it can and must work still better. Along with successes in the work of industry, there are also shortcomings; side by side with leading enterprises, there are also backward ones; newspapers cannot ignore defects, and they are called upon to reveal the causes for the unsatisfactory operation of enterprises; they must strive to bring up the backward ones and strive for the uniform fulfillment of the plan by each enterprise separately -- in each shop, in each brigade, by each machine, by each shift, and not only by quantitative, but also by qualitative indexes, and for every category, with observance of established standards and in accordance with the established cost plan.

Newspapers must resolutely criticize mismanagement in the utilization of equipment, wastefulness in the utilization of instruments, raw materials, materials, and electric power; resolutely struggle with any indications of laxity and lack of organization, with the inability to work according to war conditions; expose loafers who lack a feeling of civic duty. The bolder we reveal defects, the more quickly will our industries be free of them. Newspapers which ignore defects are rendering poor service to our enterprises.

The Administration of Propaganda and Agitation of the TsK VKF(b) also calls the attention of newspaper editors to their unskillful management of propaganda on the advanced experience in the operation of industrial enterprises. Most of the materials on the positive experience of work published by newspapers are a bare enumeration of facts and figures concerning

the successes of enterprises (of a shop, brigade etc), without any indication of how the successes were achieved, without any analysis of why one enterprise successfully solved the tasks not solved by other enterprises.

It is necessary to achieve a fundamental improvement in the organization of propaganda on the best forms of work through the newspaper. Newspapers must become a genuine tribune for the exchange of work experience of leading enterprises, shops, brigades, and individual workers. In doing this, newspapers should not only give information on the work of enterprises, but should also analyze this information in order to draw practical conclusions for other enterprises. Newspapers must realize that it is not enough just to praise the successes of this or that enterprise; it is necessary to recount in detail, how these successes were achieved, to disclose work methods, and strive for the practical repetition of this experience by other enterprises.

Under wartime conditions, the role of local party organizations in the struggle to fulfill production plans of enterprises has grown significantly; their responsibility for the state of affairs in industry has increased. This requires rayon, city and oblast party committees to strengthen in every way possible their leadership of the work of local party organizations of industrial enterprises. In connection with this, the demands made of city, oblast, kray, and republic newspapers in giving an account of the experience of party-political work in enterprises are also increasing significantly.

The Administration of Propaganda and Agitation of the TsK VKP(b) considers it a mistake that some newspapers have recently relaxed their attention to problems of partywork, and calls upon the editors of city, oblast, kray and republic newspapers to resolutely improve the operation of the party sections of newspapers.

Newspapers must also regularly give an account of the work of Komsomol organizations at enterprises.

A serious improvement in the work of newspapers can be achieved only if newspapers succeed in extending and strengthening their contact with enterprises and party organizations, and enlist the cooperation of workers, engineering-technical workers, foremen, shop chiefs, directors of enterprises, and party workers as authors of articles, letters, and correspondence,

The Administration of Propaganda and Agitation of the TsK VKP(b) calls upon newspaper editors to radically reorganize the work of the editorial apparatus, to set before it the task of attracting a broad aktiv outside the editorial office into participation in the newspaper, and to cultivate and educate new cadres of correspondents not on the staff.

The Administration of Propaganda and Agitation of the TsK VKP(b) calls the attention of newspaper editors to the necessity for the strictest preservation of state secrets in the press. The press must show the greatest prudence and circumspection in explaining the work of industrial enterprises, so as not to divulge information of a secret nature. The editorial ~~skills~~ of newspapers share equally with censorship organs full responsibility for divulging state secrets in the press.

Questions of industry and the organization of socialist competition should be the center of attention of our entire press. The press must become a powerful organ for the stimulation of competition between factories and plants, between shops, shifts, aggregates, brigades, and individual workers, educating the workers in the living experience of leading enterprises, pulling up the backward, and organize public control of pledges made and registration of results achieved in competition.

Socialist competition has already given industry a number of great successes. The elimination of defects in newspapers should favor an even more extensive development of competition and thereby a great improvement in the work of our industry. Competition must become the principle method of work of our enterprises. Men and women workers, thanks to competition, are imbued with that labor enthusiasm, that will to work, persistence, endurance, sense of organization and discipline upon which, to a significant degree, the outcome of the war against the German-fascist invaders now depends.

March 1943

ON THE STATE OF AND MEASURES FOR IMPROVING
MASS-POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL WORK IN THE
TATARSKAYA ASSR PARTY ORGANIZATION

In the Central Committee VKP(b), 1944

The TsK VKP(b) adopted a decree "Concerning the State of and Measures for the Improvement of Mass-Political and Ideological Work in the Tatarskaya ASSR Party Organization. The TsK VKP(b) noted the neglect of mass-political and ideological work in the Tatarskaya ASSR and affirmed that direction of this work by the Tatarskaya Oblast Committee VKP(b) is unsatisfactory. Party organizations of the Tatarskaya ASSR, as indicated in the decree of the TsK VKP(b), do not devote the necessary attention to the study of Marxist-Leninist theory by party, soviet, and Komsomol cadres. In the Tatarskaya party organization, the method of independent study of Marxist-Leninist theory by party and soviet cadres proved to be neglected; very few lectures were delivered or consultations held to assist those studying the history and theory of the Bolshevik Party; the practice of establishing a large number of political circles in the absence of a sufficient number of trained propagandists was permitted. The Tatarskaya Oblast Committee VKP(b) did not organize work for the Marxist-Leninist training and advance training of rayon party workers, propagandists and newspaper editors; as a result many of them were seriously backward with respect to theory and were unfit to conduct political work among the population. Oblast, city and rayon party committees permitted two harmful practices -- they permitted propagandists and newspaper workers to get out of touch with their direct work and permitted these workers to be appointed, for long periods, as representatives in village soviets and kolkhozes; this led to the virtual elimination of the propaganda apparatus in party organizations and to the

weakening of political work among the masses. Party organizations insufficiently utilize the Soviet intelligentsia for conducting political and cultural-educational work among the population.

The Tatarskaya Oblast Committee VKP(b) gave unsatisfactory direction to republic and rayon newspapers. Republic newspapers are not yet genuine organizers of political work among the masses; they do a poor job of popularizing the experience of leaders in industrial and kolkhoz production, give weak accounts of party and Komsomol life. The republic newspaper Kraanaya Tatariya permitted serious errors in articles on military-political and international problems.

In the Tatarskaya ASSR, as indicated in the decree of the TsK VKP(b), political information is far from reaching the entire strata of city and village population. Many rayon party and soviet workers do not make political reports to the population. Reports and talks for Tartar workers and kolkhozniks in their native language are very rarely given. The population of Kazan' is not provided with daily political information. The rayon committees of the VKP(b) do not carry out systematic work with agitators, do not give them the necessary help, weakly conduct propaganda for the principles of kolkhoz construction and agitation for strengthening labor discipline and management of kolkhoz affairs. Cultural-educational institutions are operating unsatisfactorily in the Tatarskaya ASSR. Many reading rooms and libraries are closed; library funds are pilfered; a considerable portion of the movie projectors are not operating and there have been no movies at many kolkhozes during the whole period of the war. Radio broadcasting has not been organized in 29 rayons of the republic, in many village soviets telephone wires are not used for radiobroadcasts.

The Tatarskaya Oblast Party Committee gave unsatisfactory direction to the work of writers and art workers, insufficiently controlled the repertoires of art institutions, did not organize work for the ideological and political education of the intelligentsia; as a result of this, serious errors of an ideological nature took place in the republic in the interpretation of the history of the Tartar people, and also in Tartar literature and art.

The TsK VKP(b) called upon the Tatarskaya Oblast Committee VKP(b) to eliminate the shortcomings noted in mass-political and ideological work; it proposed that the oblast party committee and party organizations of the Tatarskaya ASSR put an end to the neglect of agitprop work, widely develop mass-political work among the population and raise the level of ideological and political-educational work in party organizations and among the intelligentsia of the republic. The TsK VKP(b) pointed out that a radical improvement of mass-political and ideological work must become the most important means for mobilizing the workers for the fulfillment of the economic-political tasks facing the Tatarskaya ASSR.

Noting that insufficient theoretical training of party and propaganda workers is a serious obstacle in the Tatarskaya ASSR to the suitable organization of agitprop work, the TsK VKP(b) proposed that the Tatarskaya Oblast Committee VKP(b) organize a republic party school in Kazan' with a one-year term of instruction for the training of leading rayon and city party workers; that a propaganda section for the advanced training of rayon propagandists and newspaper workers be created as a part of this school along with a Komsomol section for the training of secretaries of city and rayon committees of the VLKSM, that 2-month republic courses for propagandists be conducted in Kazan, and that all staff propagandists of city and rayon committees and the group of propagandists not on the staff be called for training in the work of directing rayon party schools and political education schools in the village. The TsK VKP(b) also proposed

that the oblast committee VKP(b) organize, under the city committees VKP(b),
^{the} operation of seminars for propagandists, drawing the leaders of party and
 Komsomol schools and circles into participation in them; it proposed that
 the oblast party committee hold two-week republic seminars of propaganda
 workers no less than twice a year in order to raise their theoretical level
 and generalize the experience of propaganda work.

In its decree the TsK VKP(b) emphasized the necessity for converting
 newspapers, in reality, into most important centers for political work among
 the masses and called upon the Tatarskaya Oblast Committee VKP(b) to strengthen
 control over the work of republic, city, and rayon newspapers and over the
 leadership of newspaper editorial offices; to discuss plans for the opera-
 tion of republic newspapers at the bureau of the oblast party committee;
 to organize control over the work of all newspapers in the agitprop section
 of the oblast party committee, sending surveys for each newspaper to rayon
 party committees no less than once every 3 months; to publish surveys regu-
 larly in republic newspapers for rayon newspapers; for the purpose of ex-
 changing experience and improving the qualifications of rayon newspaper
 workers, to organize practice work at the editorial offices of republic
 newspapers for editors of rayon newspapers and secretaries of editorial
 staffs. The TsK VKP(b) has proposed that the oblast party committee VKP(b)
 restore party life sections and propaganda sections in republic newspapers
 of the Tatarskaya ASSR and recommended that they publish in them (three
 or four times per month) articles and consultations on theoretical, politi-
 cal and economic problems and other materials for the aid of propagandists
 and agitators.

The decree also recommended a redistribution of the limits of news-
 papers within the republic by which, no less than 3/4 of the circulation
 of republic newspapers would be sent immediately to rayons, to local party

organizations, reading rooms, village soviets and kolkhozes; it recommended the creation of newspaper showcases at all village soviets and kolkhozes.

The TsK VKP(b) called upon the Tatarskaya Oblast Party Committee to organize the scientific development of the history of the Tatarskaya ASSR; to eliminate the serious defects and mistakes of a nationalistic character permitted by individual historians and writers in the interpretation of Tatar history (embellishing the Golden Horde, popularizing the khan-feudal epic of Idegey); to devote special attention to research and interpretation of the history of the common struggle of the Russian, Tatar, and other peoples of the USSR against foreign invaders, against Tsarism and the landlord-capitalist knout, and also to the history of the socialist transformation of the Tatarskaya ASSR during the period of the Soviet regime and to the popularization of the outstanding figures, scholars, and revolutionaries of the Tatar people and its sons — the heroes of the Great Patriotic War.

The TsK VKP(b) also called upon the Tatarskaya Oblast Committee VKP(b) to make a serious improvement in its leadership of educational work among youth, to ensure the organizational-political strengthening of Komsomol organizations, to strive for the creation of Komsomol organizations in all kolkhozes of the republic, to provide for the regular interpretation of the life of Komsomol organizations in republic newspapers. As stated in the decree, oblast, city and rayon committees VKP(b) are called upon to render daily assistance to Komsomol organizations in agitprop work among youth, to select propagandists for the leadership of circles and for the delivery of reports, lectures, talks, etc.

The TsK forbids the Tatarskaya Oblast Party Committee VKP(b) to utilize oblast, city, and rayon propagandists on the staff and newspaper workers for work other than propaganda work; it prohibits their assignment as representatives for campaigns on local economic affairs in rayons, village

soviets, and kolkhozes and proposes that by 1 November 1944, the oblast committee VKP(b) completely staff the apparatus of the agitprop sections of rayon committees VKP(b) and of editorial STAFFS of rayon newspapers. The TsK VKP(b) called upon the Tatarskaya Oblast Committee VKP(b) to institute a system at the bureau of the oblast committee whereby first secretaries of rayon committees report on the condition of agitprop work.

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pp 13-15, 16

ON THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY (BOLSHEVIKS) OF BELORUSSIA IN THE
FIELD OF MASS-POLITICAL AND CULTURAL-EDUCATIONAL
WORK AMONG THE POPULATION

In the Central Committee VKP(b), 1944

The TsK VKP(b) has passed a decree "On the Immediate Tasks of Party Organizations of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Belorussia in the Field of Mass-Political and Cultural-Educational Work Among the Population." The decree pointed out that one of the most important tasks of the TsK, oblast, city, and rayon committees of the Communist Party(b) of Belorussia is the development of mass-political work among the population, the re-establishment of the work of cultural-educational institutions, and the organization of the ideological-political education of party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol cadres and the intelligentsia. The TsK VKP(b) noted that, in the regions of the Belorussian SSR liberated from German occupation, mass-political and cultural-educational work among the population and also work for raising the ideological-political level of party cadres and the intelligentsia is developing slowly.

Considering that giving sound and timely political information to the population of liberated areas is the most important condition for the successful mobilization of the workers in the rehabilitation of the economy destroyed by the Germans, and for the prompt elimination of the consequences of this fascist occupation, the TsK VKP(b) proposed that the central committees, the oblast, city and rayon committees of the Communist Party(b) of Belorussia organize the general information acquainting the population with the outstanding victories of the Red Army and the principal stages in the Soviet Union's struggle against fascist Germany. Taking into account the fact that for 3 years the population of the Belorussian SSR has been deprived

of truthful Soviet information and has experienced the influence of lying fascist propaganda, party organizations of the Communist Party(b) of Belorussia must extensively utilize the facts of the bloody crimes of the German-fascist invaders against the Belorussian people in their agitprop work, make these crimes known to the entire population, expose the brigand German policy of enslavement and extermination of the peoples of the USSR, and enkindle the hatred of the masses for the enemy.

Party organizations are to tirelessly strive for the elevation of the political activity of workers and increase their revolutionary vigilance, and to uncover and stop in time the subversive activity of enemy agents and the lying, provocative rumours spread by them. While directing the special attention of Belorussian party organizations to educating the population in a socialist attitude toward labor and social property, to strengthening state discipline, and to overcoming the private property, anti-kolkhoz, and anti-government attitudes which were spread by the German occupiers, the TsK VKP(b) indicated that the main task of Belorussian party organizations is to rouse the workers of the republic to the aid of the Red Army for the complete destruction of the German-fascist invaders, for the prompt rehabilitation of the national economy and the strengthening of the kolkhoz system in every way possible.

In order to strengthen in every way possible the mass-political work among the populations of liberated regions, the TsK VKP(b) proposed that lecture groups consisting of leading party, soviet, trade-union, and Kom-somol workers and the best elements from the intelligentsia be created under the TsK KP(b) of Belorussia, and under the oblast, city and rayon committees; that their lectures and talks to the population about the military-political and international situation of the country, be so organized that the delivery of a political speech or talk no less than once a month in each enterprise and village would be ensured; that seminars for rayon

propaganda workers be regularly conducted in oblasts on questions of the organization and content of agitprop work, and also seminars for agitators instructing them in the main stages of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, in the problems of rehabilitating the economy and culture in the republic, and on the content and methods of mass-political work among the population; that rayon meetings of the intelligentsia are to be called and are to include the formulation of political lectures; that lectures and consultations for the intelligentsia are to be organized on questions of Marxist-Leninist theory.

For the purpose of transforming republic, oblast, and rayon newspapers into virtual centers of mass-political work among the population, the TsK VKP(b) proposed that the Central Committee of the Communist Party(b) of Belorussia select politically trained comrades capable of journalistic work, for work as editors and secretaries of the editorial offices of newspapers; organize monthly practice work under the editorial ~~st~~affs of republic and oblast newspapers for the training and advanced training of editors and secretaries of the editorial offices of rayon newspapers; create a faculty of journalism at the Belorussian State University for the training of qualified press workers; listen regularly at the bureau of the Central Committee, of the oblast and rayon committees of the Communist Party(b) of Belorussia, to the plans for newspaper work and to the reports of newspaper editors; institute a system at the bureau of the TsK of the Communist Party(b) of Belorussia whereby secretaries of oblast committees, and at the bureau of the oblast party committee whereby secretaries of rayon party committees, report on the leadership of newspapers. The TsK VKP(b) called upon the agitprop sections of the TsK and the oblast committees of the Communist Party(b) of Belorussia to keep a daily watch on the content of newspapers; to publicize their positive experience and reveal their shortcomings; to

send surveys and letters on the content and format [ofornenya] of newspapers to the editorial offices of newspapers not less than once a month or every six weeks; republic and oblast newspapers are to regularly publish surveys of rayon newspapers.

For the development of political and cultural-educational work among youth, the TsK VKP(b) proposed that the Central Committee, oblast rayon committees of the Communist Party(b) of Belorussia take measures to strengthen the work of Komsomol organizations; strive for the improvement of their ideological influence on the broad masses of youth and [the increase of their] active participation in the work for the rehabilitation of the economy, destroyed by the German-fascist invaders, and also their participation in the organizational and economic strengthening of kolkhozes and the restoration and repair of the work of schools and children's homes; to ensure the broad development of mass cultural-educational work among youth. The TsK VKP(b) authorized the publication in Belorussia of a newspaper for youth and a children's newspaper in the Belorussian and Russian languages. It proposed that measures be taken for the prompt restoration of oblast, factory and local committees of trade-unions and pointed out that the most important tasks of trade-union organizations of the republic are: the enlistment of workers, engineers, technicians, and white-collar workers in active work for the rehabilitation of the economy and cultural-public service institutions, destroyed by the German invaders; the development of socialist competition in every way possible; the strengthening of labor discipline and the education of workers and white-collar workers in a socialist attitude toward labor. The TsK VKP(b) called upon the TsK, the oblast, rayon, and city committees of the Communist Party of Belorussia to provide trade union organizations with daily direction and practical help; to restore the work of clubs in the enterprises and cities of Belorussia. The TsK VKP(b) also

ordered that the work of political educational institutions be restored and that in the plans for the rehabilitation of the economy, the repair and equipping of reading rooms, libraries, rayon houses of culture, and oblast people's art clubs be provided for; that each reading room be supplied with the central newspapers Pravda or Izvestiya, Sotsialisticheskoye Zemel'del'ye and with the magazines Sputnik Agitatora, Krest'yanka; that city and rayon editing departments be organized for local radiobroadcasting; that movie theatres be restored in the city and rayon centers of the Belorussian SSR; and that at the beginning of the school year in all the liberated areas of the republic, the network of primary, seven-year, and secondary schools must be restored; that the repair of school buildings be carried out along with the restoration and repair of the buildings of children's homes, boarding-schools, kindergartens, and political educational institutions.

The TsK VKP(b) called for the organization of monthly courses for all teachers returning to work in the Soviet schools, by the beginning of the 1944-1945 school year; it proposed that the Central Committee, oblast, city and rayon committees of the Communist Party(b) of Belorussia organize lectures and reports on general political themes, for teachers, to be delivered no less than once a month and organize political circles for the study of Marxist-Leninist theory by teachers.

The TsK VKP(b) called upon a number of people's commissariats and republican institutions of the RSFSR to render assistance to the Belorussian SSR in the restoration of the cultural-educational institutions of the republic.

From -- Sputnik Agitatora, 1944, No 17,
September, pp.17-18, 19

ON THE FOUR-PAGE ISSUES OF OBLAST, KRAY AND
REPUBLIC NEWSPAPERS FOR 29 JULY 1945

In the Central Committee VKP(b)

The TsK VKP(b) reached a decision "On the Four-Page Issues of Oblast, Kray, and Republic Newspapers for 29 July 1945"; it established that the increase of the volume of republic, kray and a number of oblast newspapers and the measures taken in connection with this by party organizations, have made it possible to improve the quality of many newspapers and to interpret more effectively in them the economic-political problems facing the workers of republics, krays, and oblasts. The TsK VKP(b) regards the issues of Zarya Vostoka (Georgian SSR) and Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, as the most successful of the republic newspapers for 29 July and the issue of Tikhookean-skaya Zvezda (Khabarovskiy Kray) as the most successful of the Kray and oblast newspapers published in four pages.

The following were published in the 29 July issue of Zarya Vostoka: a pithy leading article, "Discipline and Exactness in Party Work"; a varied and interesting report on life in the republic and the Soviet Union; a vivid review "Our Mighty Motherland"; material on the work of a machine-tool construction plant; two articles on party themes; a propaganda article, "The Economic Disarmament of Germany; a poem; a feuilleton; a review of a production at the opera-house; a press review; letters from readers; foreign information; news items; and advertisements. The materials in this newspaper are varied in content and are of high quality in literary and artistic style.

In the 29 July issue of the newspaper Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, the leading article and two pithy articles of correspondence were devoted to problems of party life. The newspaper published selections from materials on the work of industry, the harvesting of crops, articles on the development of cattle raising, information on the Soviet Union and the republic, a propaganda article, a sketch, a feuilleton, a poem and a story. Material on 14

of the 16 oblasts of the republic is supplied in this issue of the newspaper. The Sunday issue of the newspaper Tikhookeanskaya Zvezda is well planned and well executed. The editorial ~~staff~~ skillfully selects a principal task for the day -- preparation for the harvesting of crops -- and side by side with this, supplies interesting articles on the work of the most important branches of industry of the kray. The variety of genre makes the newspaper lively and interesting.

The TsK VKP(b) noted that the 29 July issue of the newspaper Turk-menskaya Iskra is completely unsatisfactory. The TsK of the Communist Party(b) of Turkmenia and Comrade Pitenko, the editor of the newspaper did not fulfill the decree of the TsK VKP(b) on improving the quality and increasing the volume of the newspaper; they published the issue of "Turk-menskaya Iskra" in two pages. The Sunday issue of this magazine testifies to the isolation of the editorial staff from the life of the republic; it does not contain one real article or correspondence. The pages of the newspaper are filled with casual, ungrammatically composed correspondence and notes, full of flagrant errors and misprints. The newspaper is printed so poorly, that it is even difficult to read the headlines of the newspaper.

Many local newspapers are unsatisfactorily formulated and have a low quality of printing (Krasnovarskiy Rabochiy, Sovetskaya Kirgiziya, Stalin-gradskaya Pravda, Kommunist (Saratov), Kommunist Tadzhikistana). Some newspapers publish too many photographs and drawings (Sovetskaya Litva, Sovetskaya Latvija, Sovetskaya Estoniya, Ural'skiy Rabochiy). The editorial staffs of the newspapers Golos Naroda (Estonian SSR), Pravda Ukrainy, Radvans'ka Ukraina, Sotsialistik Kazakhstan compile issues of long articles, which crowd out other information from the newspaper, make only slight use of authors not on the staff.

The TsK VKP(b) noted the irresponsible attitude of the TsK of the Communist Party(b) of Tadzhikistan to its newspaper; as a result, the Sunday 29 July issue of the republic newspaper Kommunist Tadzhikistan only left the press on Wednesday the first of August.

The TsK VKP(b) also noted that on 29 July almost all local newspapers were several hours late in coming off the press and in the cities of Vil'nyus, Kishinev, Sverdlovsk, Gor'kiy, and Tashkent, the majority of subscribers only received the newspaper on Tuesday. Acquaintance with the Sunday issues of local newspapers shows that, some central committees of communist parties of the union republics, kray and oblast committees VKP(b) and newspaper editors have not taken the necessary measures for improving the quality of newspapers. The shortcomings of local newspapers, noted in the decree of the TsK VKP(b) "On Improving the Quality and Increasing the Volume of Republic, Kray, and Oblast Newspapers," are being eliminated very slowly. Giving an unsatisfactory account of questions of international life is a serious shortcoming in the Sunday ~~issues~~ of many local newspapers.

The TsK VKP(b) noted that the editorial staffs of the newspapers Zarya Vostoka, Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, and Tikhookeanskaya Zvezda have done much work to improve the quality of their newspapers. The TsK VKP(b) noted that the TsK VKP(b) of Turkmenia does not devote the necessary attention to republic newspapers; does not direct their activities; does not concern itself with the needs of editorial staffs; as a result the newspaper "Turk-menskaya Iskra" is published on two pages and is on an extremely low level; the TsK VKP(b) pointed out to Comrade Pitenko, the editor of the newspaper, the irresponsible attitude toward editing the newspaper.

The TsK VKP(b) called the attention of the TsK VKP(b) of Tadzhikistan to the absolutely inadmissible delay of the newspaper Kommunist Tadzhikistan in coming off the press and proposed it take the measures necessary for the improvement of the republic newspaper and for the ensurance that it come off the press on time.

The TsK VKP(b) called upon the ^{central committees} ~~TAK~~ of the communist parties of the union republics, kray committees, and also oblast committees, by whom the publication of 4-page newspapers was authorized, to examine all newspaper issues which have been published since the increase of their volume, and to outline measures for improving the quality of their newspapers in accordance with the decree of the TsK VKP(b) "On the Improvement of the Quality and the Increase of the Volume of Republic, Kray, and Oblast Newspapers."

The TsK VKP(b) proposed that the central committees ^{of the communist parties} of the union republics, kray and oblast committees VKP(b) staff the editorial offices of republic, kray, and oblast newspapers with qualified workers within a period of two weeks.

The TsK VKP(b) called upon TASS to improve the international surveys for local newspapers, assigning the composition of these surveys to qualified writers, and also to increase the volume and improve the quality of the Union and foreign information given to local newspapers. The transmission of TASS reports for the regular issue of the newspapers must be completed no later than 0100.

The TsK VKP(b) has called upon the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics, kray and oblast committees VKP(b) to establish a rigid schedule for newspaper publication and to provide for the delivery of newspapers to readers on time. Local newspapers must come off the press no later than 0500.

Magazine Propagandist, 1945

No 16, pp 19-21

ON THE FOUR-PAGE ISSUES OF REPUBLIC, KRAY, AND OBLAST NEWSPAPERS,
FOR 5, 12, and 19 AUGUST 1945.

In the Central Committee VKP(b)

The TsK VKP(b), having examined the four-page issues of local newspapers for Sunday, 5 August 1945, noted that the most successful were the issues of Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, Sovetskaya Kuban' and the Rostovskaya Oblast newspaper Molot.

The editorial staffs of these newspapers published leading articles of substance and skillfully selected a main topic for the day -- crop harvesting and grain collection. By the example of leading kolkhozes and rayons, newspapers teach agricultural workers to overcome the difficulties in completing harvesting operations and grain collection, criticize backward kolkhozes, MTS, and rayons and call on kolkhozniks to fulfill on time their quotas for grain delivery to the state.

The TsK VKP(b) regarded as unsatisfactorily prepared the issues of the Kalininskaya Oblast newspaper Proletarskaya Pravda and of the newspaper Sovetskaya Litva.

The editorial staff of the newspaper Proletarskaya Pravda published an extremely weak poem and an essay, having no artistic value whatever, and filled an entire page by these materials. Almost half of the fourth page was devoted to advertisements. The newspaper gave a poor account of the problems in harvesting crops. There is absolutely no information on the oblast. The issue of the newspaper has been poorly planned and has an unsatisfactory format.

The Sunday 5 August issue of the newspaper Sovetskaya Litva consists of 4 extensive articles and some information. There is not one article in the newspaper about life in the Soviet Union or the republics. The materials of the issue are carelessly edited. The TsK VKP(b) noted the unsatisfactory format of the newspaper "Sovetskaya Litva".

The TsK VKP(b), having inspected the Sunday 12 August issues of newspapers published in four pages, noted that the editorial staffs of many newspapers have begun to compile better Sunday issues.

The TsK VKP(b) noted that the most successful issues for 12 August were published by the editorial staffs of "Rodyans'ka Ukrayina", "Sovetskaya Kuban" and "Gor'kovskaya Kommuna". The editorial staffs of these newspapers planned their Sunday issues well, having published materials in them ^{which are} varied in type and genre. These newspapers efficiently and skillfully give an account of the progress of crop harvesting and grain collection, propogandize the experience of leaders of agriculture in fulfilling of government quotas ahead of schedule, sharply criticize those who are slow and display lack of organization in the fulfillment of this most important government task. A positive characteristic of the Sunday issues of the above-mentioned newspaper is the fact that they contain a variety of information and materials with point and substance on problems of the work of industry, Soviet institutions, VUZes and schools; this makes the newspapers interesting to different strata of the population and heightens their role in the education of the workers.

The TsK VKP(b) regarded the issues of the following newspapers as unsatisfactorily compiled: Kommunist Tadzhikistan, Ural'skiy Rabochiy, Krasnoyarskiy Rabochiy and the Molotovskaya Oblast newspaper Zvezda.

The editorial board of the newspaper "Kommunist Tadzhikistan" included almost nothing at all on the progress of agricultural work in the republic. The newspaper's own materials were below standard and carelessly edited. The newspaper was poorly arranged and was extremely late in coming off the press.

On 12 August, the editorial staff of the newspaper Ural'skiy Rabochiy did not publish one article on the work of industry, and filled the news-

paper with articles summarizing the work of different sports societies of the oblast, which had little point and content and were uninteresting for the mass reader. Articles on agricultural subjects were written superficially. An article "School of Humanity" which was completely unsuitable for the press was published in the newspaper; crude anecdotes concerning sorceresses and quack veterinarians are contained in the article.

In the Sunday issue of the newspaper Krasnoyarskiy Rabochiy, there is no clarity of purpose and a main task of the day is not selected. This issue of the newspaper consists almost entirely in materials of an informational character and does not give a deep interpretation of one problem in the work of industry and agriculture. There is not one article about the work of party organizations and local soviets. There is a lengthy article on the sovkhozes of the kray and an article devoted to Physical Culture Day, both composed in the style of departmental reports. The newspaper contains no information on the Soviet Union and Krasnoyarskiy Kray. Most of the articles are carelessly edited, and the format of the issue is extremely poor.

The Molotovskaya Oblast newspaper Zvezda did not publish any articles on the work of industry in its 12 August issue. In the selection on the Kolkhoz "Gord Kuzhim" (Krasny Put'), a contradictory evaluation of the work of the kolkhoz is given; side by side with statements concerning the successes of this kolkhoz in crop harvesting, figures are cited which testify to the slow tempo of the kolkhoz's fulfillment of its harvesting plan. The editorial staff published a badly written feuilleton without point or substance.

For the purpose of improving Union information, the TsK VKP(b) considered it necessary to transmit no less than 200-300 lines of varied

and interesting Union information, to local newspapers daily, and also to regularly distribute to newspapers vivid sketches and skillfully composed articles on the life of the union republics, krays, and oblasts.

The TsK VKP(b), having examined the four-page issues of local newspapers, for Sunday, 19 August 1945, noted that the most successful are the Sunday issues of the Georgian republic newspaper Kommunist, the Khabarovsk newspaper Tikhookeanskaya Zvezda, the newspaper Gor'kovskaya Kommuna and the Saratovskaya Oblast newspaper Kommunist.

Well-prepared articles, sketches, and correspondence concerning the combat activities of Soviet aviation during the period of the Great Patriotic War were published in these newspapers in connection with Aviation Day. The newspapers tell stories about the fliers of their republic and oblast, who have become heroes of the Soviet Union, about the national love for Stalinist aviation and about the active participation of Soviet patriots in the strengthening of the Red Army Air Force.

The editorial staffs of the newspapers are consistently and persistently organizing reports on the progress of the harvesting of crops and grain collection, publishing operative correspondence and short reports from rayons concerning the progress of harvesting work and the fulfillment of quotas for grain delivery to the government. Simultaneously with the experience of leading kolkhozes, MTS, and rayons, they publish criticisms of those which are lagging in the fulfillment of the plan for crop harvesting and grain collection.

In articles concerning the work of industry, the newspapers concentrate their attention on the problems of the organization of production and the mastery of new types of production for the national economy and the satisfaction of the workers' needs. The editorial staffs also publish articles and information on the cultural life of the republic, kray, and oblast.

The Sunday issues of the above-mentioned newspapers are distinguished by their articles which are varied in type and subject, thus making them more appealing and interesting.

The TsK VKP(b) regarded as unsatisfactorily composed the issues of the following newspapers: Turkmenskaya Iskra, Sovetskaya Kirgiziya, and the Armenian republic newspapers Kommunist and Sovetakan Ayastan.

The editorial staff of the newspaper Turkmenskaya Iskra did not fulfill the decree of the TsK VKP(b) on improving the quality of the newspaper. The editorial staff did not publish even one article devoted to Aviation Day in the Sunday issue of 19 August. The editorial staff's own materials occupy less than one newspaper page in this issue and even they are ungrammatically composed. The editorial staff, as before, is isolated from the life of the republic and does not give an account of the activity of party organizations, local soviets of worker deputies, and does not set forth the work of industry and agriculture.

The editorial staffs of the Armenian newspapers Kommunist and Sovetakan Ayastan incorrectly planned their Sunday issues. The life of the republic was not reflected sufficiently in newspapers. Extremely weak and poorly edited articles were published in the newspaper Sovetakan Ayastan under the heading "Satire and Humour".

The Sunday issue of the newspaper Sovetskaya Kirgiziya does not contain even one article on the experience of leading enterprises and kolkhozes. The newspaper gives a one-sided interpretation of the life of the republic, and in some articles, permits a groundless defamation of the work of party, soviet, and economic organizations. In a leading article, the editorial staff limited itself to an enumeration of the facts of the extremely unsatisfactory work of the republic schools and placed all the responsi-

bility for this only on the teachers. The editorial staff passes over in silence the duties of party and soviet organizations in connection with the fulfillment of the law concerning universal compulsory primary education. Only negative facts are stated in the articles and correspondence of the "Party Life" section and in the selection on agriculture.

From - Magazine Propagandist 1945

No 17, pages 20-22

CONCERNING THE AGITATION-PROPAGANDA WORK OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN
 CONNECTION WITH THE LAW PASSED ON THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN FOR
 REHABILITATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL
 ECONOMY OF THE USSR FOR 1946-1950

In The Central Committee VKP(b), 1946

The TsK VKP(b) made a decision "Concerning Agit-prop Work of Party Organizations in Connection with the law passed on the Five-Year Plan for ~~the~~ Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1946-1950". The TsK VKP(b) suggested that party organizations broadly develop mass-political work for acquainting all workers with the above-mentioned law, for explaining to the workers the tasks of the post-war Five-Year Plan and of mobilizing the Soviet people to the struggle for fulfillment and overfulfillment of the new Five-Year Plan.

In this decision, the TsK VKP(b) emphasized that this work is not a short-term campaign, but an important component of the agit-prop work of the party for the coming period. Party organizations should point out to workers that the realization of the Five-Year Plan can only be ensured through the fulfillment and overfulfillment of current economic plans. The most important task of party organizations consists in developing this struggle for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the 1946 plan, of the quarterly and monthly plans of each republic and oblast, of every branch of the national economy, by every plant, factory, new project, mine, pit and railroad. Party organizations in the village are obliged to struggle for the successful completion of high-quality agricultural work in 1946, for increasing the harvest, and the productivity of livestock-raising in every kolkhoz, sovkhoz, rayon, oblast, which are important contributions to the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan and improving the standard of living of the workers. Party organizations should regularly point out to all workers that, on their efforts, on the

intensive and selfless labor of every Soviet man at his own post, depend the successful fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan, the further increase in the power of the socialist State, and an improvement in the material welfare of the Soviet people.

The TsK VKP (b) commissions all party, trade union and Komsomol organizations to develop extensively the socialistic competition of workers, competition of enterprises, kolkhozes, villages, cities, rayons, oblasts, krays, and republics for the fulfillment and over-fulfillment of yearly, quarterly and monthly plans in 1946, for the prompt rehabilitation of agriculture in the rayons which suffered from the German occupation, for the steady increase of the productivity of labor, for the successful realization of the Five-Year Plan.

The TsK VKP (b) has obliged the oblast and kray committees of the VKP (b) and the TsK of the communist parties of the union republics to organize lectures, reports and discussions for the workers on the following subjects concerning the Five-Year Plan: "Basic Tasks of the Five-Year Plan in Restoring and Developing the National Economy of the USSR"; "Plan of Developing Industry and Transport in the New Five-Year Plan"; "Plan for the Development of Agriculture of the USSR in 1946-1950"; "Raising the Material and Cultural Level of the Life of the People - The Most Important Task of the Five-Year Plan in 1946-1950"; "Five-Year Plan for Rebuilding and Developing the National Economies of the Union Republics"; "Basic Economic Tasks of the USSR"; "The Path for Concluding the Building-up of a Socialistic Society and of Gradual Transition From Socialism to Communism in the USSR"; "The Role of Soviet Science in the Struggle for the further growth of our motherland". In reports, lectures, and discussions, it is necessary to set forth the general tasks of the Five-Year Plan as well as the specific tasks of the different branches of the national economy, of the individual republics, oblasts, rayons and enterprises.

The TsK VKP (b) proposed that party organizations organize the careful instruction of lecturers and agitators, who are to give reports and lead discussions on the Five-Year Plan; organize the study of the new Five-Year Plan by all members and candidates of the party; organize consultations in the party consulting rooms for aiding communists who are studying the Five-Year Plan independently; conduct lectures and lead debates on the Five-Year Plan, in party schools, political schools and circles; organize the study of the Five-Year Plan in all VUZes and technical schools.

The TsK VKP (b) recommended that editorial ^{publish} staffs of newspapers and magazines regularly ~~propaganda~~ articles and material on the basic divisions of the Five-Year Plan, as well as give broad coverage to the progress of socialist competition of workers for its fulfillment and overfulfillment. In accordance with the decision of the TsK VKP (b), newspapers should daily explain to the workers the general tasks of the Five-Year Plan for the rehabilitation and development of the national economy, as well as the tasks before the individual republics, krays, oblasts, rayons and enterprises. It is necessary, day after day, by concrete examples and facts, to point out the practical fulfillment of production plans in all branches of the national economy of the country, to give wide dissemination to the experience of leaders in socialistic competition, to popularize the best methods for the organization of production along with the latest achievements in science and techniques, ensuring an increase in the productivity of labor. Simultaneously with the propaganda of the work experience of leading enterprises and kolkhozes, newspapers must boldly criticize the shortcomings of backward enterprises and kolkhozes.

The TsK VKP (b) has obliged the OGIZ of the RSFSR to publish the "Law on the Five Year Plan for the Rehabilitation and Development of the National Economy of the USSR in 1946-1950" as a separate book with a circulation of five million copies, and commissions the TsK of the communist parties of the union republics and the oblast committees of the autonomous republics to publish separate books with the text of the "law" in the languages of the peoples of the USSR.

From - Propagandist, 1946

No. 7-8, Pgs 35236- 26

CONCERNING MEASURES FOR IMPROVING THE OBLAST NEWSPAPERS MOLOT (ROSTOV-
ON-DON), VOLZHSKAYA KOMMUNA (KUYBYSHEV) AND KURSKAYA PRAVDA

In the Central Committee VKP (b), 1946

The TsK VKP (b) discussed the question and passed a decree on measures for improving the oblast newspapers Molot (Rostov-on-Don), Volzhskaya Kommuna (Kuybyshev), and Kurskaya Pravda.

It noted that the three newspapers are being conducted on a low cultural and ideological level and are not, in practice, centers of political work among the masses. The editorial staffs of the above-mentioned newspapers did not take advantage of the increase in the volume of newspapers to four pages as established by the decision of the TsK VKP (b) of 20 June 1945, for fundamentally improving the content and quality of newspapers. The editorial staffs of the papers are isolated from the local party and soviet organizations, do not study the actual state of local affairs, do not give the proper coverage to their own oblasts and do not show initiative in raising basic questions of party-political work, of economic and cultural construction. The newspapers do not fearlessly criticize the activities of local organizations; only feebly do they struggle for strengthening state and labor discipline in all groups of the soviet and economic apparatus. The editorial staffs do not indulge in self-criticism, and this results in many gross errors and shortcomings in the newspapers.

The TsK VKP (b) noted that in Molot, questions of party life are shallowly and unsystematically presented. The subjects on the party section are poor; the most important questions of party-organization and party-political work are not reflected in the newspaper; the quality of the material published is on a low level. Molot does not draw secretaries and members of the bureaus of local party organizations into participation in

the newspaper; it is isolated from the local party aktiv and does not criticize deficiencies in the work of party organizations of Rostov and Rostovskaya oblast. The life of Komsomol organizations and questions of party guidance of the komsomol have been completely ignored by the editorial staff of Molot.

The newspaper does not publish articles, lectures, replies to questions from readers, consultations to aid those studying the theory and history of the Bolshevik Party; not one of the better lectures given in Rostov and Rostovskaya oblast was printed in Molot; the local propagandist forces were not drawn into participation in the newspaper.

Molot does not conduct systematic propaganda work on the law concerning the new Five-Year Plan, and only weakly mentions the experience of the leaders in the competition in industry, in particular, the coal and metallurgical industries, and in agriculture. Questions on the development of animal husbandry in the oblast are very poorly treated. The newspaper only feebly struggled for the rehabilitation of enterprises and kolkhozes which were victims of the German occupation, for the further organizational-economic strengthening of the kolkhozes, for elimination of the after-effects of the false and slanderous German-fascist propaganda spread among the population of Rostovskaya Oblast.

Volzhskaya Kommuna gives an extremely poor account on its pages of the economics of the oblast. The editorial staff does not raise important burning questions in the operation of industry; instead, it is limited by petty monotonous paragraphs on the fulfillment of plans by individual factories, shops, sectors, brigades, and about the records of the Stakhanovites. The newspaper does not take the role of an organizer of socialist competition for the pre-schedule fulfillment of monthly and quarterly plans; it does not give an account of the experience of the leaders in industry; does not criticize the work of lagging enterprises.

In clarifying questions of agriculture in the newspaper, many cliches and stock phrases are used. The editorial staff does not study the reasons why individual rayons and MTS are lagging; correspondence, which criticizes the work of the sovkhozes and kolkhozes is written, in a superficial manner without any knowledge of the matter and therefore does not exert any influence on the progress of agricultural work in the oblast. Agricultural peculiarities of the oblast are not brought out in the newspapers; very little attention is paid to the basic crop, wheat; questions are not raised concerning broad measures in the struggle for the creation of a stable, productive agriculture during the drought conditions not infrequent in Kuybyshev. The newspaper writes very little about organizational-economic strengthening of kolkhozes, and does not devote any attention to the struggle for high agricultural engineering.

The "Party Life" section of Volzhskaya Kommuna suffers from extreme narrow-mindedness and monotonous themes. Questions concerning party-organizational and party-political work are almost completely ignored. The leading oblast, city, and rayon party aktiv are not taking part in the newspaper.

The newspaper Kurskaya Pravda struggles only feebly for the rehabilitation of the economy and culture in the oblast, which suffered from the hostile occupation; it does not conduct systematic work for mobilizing the workers to overcoming the difficulties entailed in the resolution of this important task.

The editorial staff gives a superficial and unsystematic account in the newspaper of such vitally important questions as: the organizational-economic strengthening of kolkhozes; the extension of acreage under crops; increasing productivity; developing animal husbandry; lifting the culture of the agriculture and the material standard of living of kolkhozniks.

Limiting itself to the publication of current and often insignificant information, Kurskaya Pravda does not present questions on the future development of agriculture and industry in the oblast; it does not conduct a serious struggle for the successful rebuilding of the cities and villages of the oblasts; gives a superficial account of the work of construction organizations and does not display initiative in disseminating the experience of the leading people [in industry and agriculture.]

An outstanding shortcoming in Kurskaya Pravda is its unsatisfactory presentation of questions on party life. The newspaper publishes a very little material on the education of young communists, on the political work of the party organization among the different strata of the population, on the education of youth or guidance of the komsomol.

The editorial staff of this newspaper does not devote the proper amount of attention to the of/propaganda of Marxist-Leninist theory, and only from time to time does it publish a propaganda article, lecture, consultation or a reply to a reader's question. The propaganda section in the editorial staff is not staffed with qualified workers.

Kurskaya Pravda does not render aid to rayon newspapers or direct their activities. Surveys of the rayon newspapers are very rarely published (from January to May only 2 surveys were published), and even they were unsatisfactory.

The TsK VKP (b) considers the leadership unsatisfactory which the Rostovskaya, Kuybyshevskaya, and Kurskaya oblast committees of the VKP (b) are giving to the work of their oblast newspapers. The oblast committees of the VKP (b) underestimate the significance of newspapers as an extremely important means for improving all ideological-political work among the masses, makes only slight use of them for strengthening the leadership of party, soviet and economic life and for mobilizing the workers to a resolution of

the tasks of economic and cultural construction. The oblast committees do not take measures to strengthen the editorial staffs by staffing them with qualified workers, do not discuss the reports of editorial staffs and do not examine their plans for the operation of the newspaper, do not give daily direction to the activities of the editorial staffs. The Rostovskaya oblast committee VKP (b) permitted a serious error in authorizing the publication of a special issue of the newspaper Molot on fishing paid for by the Azovo-Donskoy Fishing Trust, placing thereby the workers of the oblast party newspaper in material dependence on the business executives and permitting the trust to buy off any criticism of the shortcomings in its work.

It has been proposed that the Rostovskaya, Kuybyshevskaya and Kurskaya oblast committees VKP (b) eliminate the above-mentioned outstanding shortcomings in the work of oblast newspapers and guarantee an improvement in the quality of the newspapers as soon as possible, along with an elevation of their role as the strongest means for the improvement of the party's leadership of all branches of work in the oblast.

The TsK VKP (b) considers that the most important obligation of newspapers is the daily explanation of the tasks of the new Five-Year Plan and the mobilization of the workers to its fulfillment and overfillment. Newspapers must, by clear and convincing examples, point out the prospects for the economic and cultural development of the oblast, the means of increasing the productivity of labor in the basic branches of the national economy; must struggle for the most rapid development of the leading branches of the economy; propagandize the experience of industrial innovators, and of the foremost enterprises and kolkhozes; organize the bolshevist criticism of shortcomings in the work of the party, soviet, trade-union and economic organizations; indicate ways of overcoming difficulties in resolving economic-political tasks.

The TsK VKP (b) has required the Rostovskaya, Kuybyshevskaya and Kurskaya oblast committees VKP (b) and the editorial staffs of newspapers to make a radical improvement in the work of the party life sections in oblast newspapers, and to guarantee the regular presentation in newspapers of all important questions of party-organizational and party-political work. Special attention was directed to the need for increasing the role of newspapers in the political education of young communists and improving the work of local party organizations, particularly those in rural rayons. In the newspapers, it is necessary to publish material explaining what the party requires of each communist, the rights and obligations of party members, the significance of raising the ideological level of communists for the successful resolution of the tasks of socialistic construction. In clarifying the work of the party organizations, newspapers should educate communists in the spirit of fulfillment of the VKP (b) by-laws by every member and candidate of the VKP (b).

It is necessary to attract into active participation in newspapers, the leading oblast, city, and rayon party aktiv, along with secretaries and members of the bureau of local party organizations. Relying upon the party aktiv and strengthening their ties with party organizations, newspapers should point out how party organs fulfill the functions of political leadership and control; how they direct the activities of the economic organs, soviets, Komsomols, trade unions and other mass organizations of the workers.

Considering it inadmissible that questions of party guidance of the Komsomol and the life of the Komsomol organization have been completely ignored by oblast newspapers, the TsK VKP (b) has required that the editorial staffs of oblast newspapers regularly insert material on Komsomol subjects.

Noting that newspapers give a very weak account of questions of soviet construction, the TsK VKP (b) has proposed that editorial staffs regularly publish material in the newspapers on subjects concerning the work and advanced experience of local soviets, and in every way possible aid the further improvement of the activities of the soviet apparatus and the further strengthening of state discipline in all its sections.

It has been proposed that the editorial staffs of Molot, Volzhskaya Kommuna, and Kurskaya Pravda regularly print articles on questions of the theory and history of the Bolshevik Party, as well as on questions of the economics of their oblasts, replies to questions from readers, consultations, and better lectures; that they enlist qualified propagandists in newspaper work and give an account of propaganda work. Newspapers should devote particular attention to questions of the communist education of workers and of the struggle against the remnants and influences of the hostile ideology.

It is necessary to develop propaganda more extensively on knowledge, of the natural sciences, using the local cadres of scientific workers for this purpose.

In the interests of broadly familiarizing the workers with the issues of the day on international life, it has been recommended that editorial staffs of oblast newspapers insert better articles on the most important international and external political subjects published in the central press.

The editorial staffs of Molot, Volzhskaya Kommuna, and Kurskaya Pravda are to regularly publish surveys of city and rayon newspapers, thus rendering them assistance by practical advice and concrete instructions.

The oblast committees VKP (b) have been authorized to organize, under the editorial staffs of oblast newspapers, practical experience for editors and secretaries of the editorial boards of the rayon newspapers.

It is proposed that editorial staffs of newspapers print letters from the workers in each issue; listen keenly to signals from readers; that they do not let one letter go unattended and that they report to the authors concerning the measures taken on their letters.

Considering that the extensive enlistment in newspaper work of correspondents from among the workers, peasantry and the intelligentsia is the most important condition for the improvement of newspapers and the strengthening of its ties with the masses, the TsK (VKP (b) has proposed that the editorial staffs of newspapers organize daily work with the author aktiv and call meetings of the author aktiv outside the editorial staff, for discussing plans of the work of editorial staffs, as well as meetings of readers including reports from the editors on the operation of newspapers.

It has been proposed that the editorial staffs of Molot, Volzhskaya Kommuna and Kurskaya Pravda improve the leadership of their own correspondents by calling them together not less than once every two months for instruction and exchange of experience; that they confirm the work plans of their correspondents once a month and send their correspondents critical reviews of their material on a regular basis.

The TsK VKP (b) requests that the Rostovskaya, Kuybyshevskaya and Kurskaya oblast committees VKP (b), carry out the following measures for strengthening the editorial staffs of oblast newspapers and improving the leadership of them:

a) send a group of qualified workers for work in the editorial staffs of newspapers in order to strengthen the sections of editorial staffs;

b) completely staff the network of permanent correspondents of rayon newspapers within a month;

c) each month examine, in the bureau of the oblast committee VKP (b), the work plan of newspapers;

d) listen to the accounts of editors of oblast newspapers in the bureau of the oblast committee VKP (b) not less than twice a year, as well as the accounts of the heads of the sections of editorial staffs;

e) in order to strengthen editorial staffs organizationally and improve the quality of newspapers, recommend that the Rostovskaya, Kuybyshevskaya and Kurskaya oblast committees VKP (b) create in the newspapers Molot, Volzhskaya Kommuna and Kurskaya Pravda editorial boards [redaktsionnyye koulegii] of five to seven members [selected] from the leading workers in the editorial staffs, [thereby] strengthening the editorial boards with qualified and trained comrades.

The Administration of Propaganda and Agitation TsK VKP (b) is charged with the following: jointly with the corresponding oblast and kray committees VKP (b), it is to work out practical proposals for changing the structure of oblast and kray newspapers and their staffs in conformity with the economics and peculiarities of each oblast; to periodically hold seminars at the Administration of Propaganda and Agitation TsK VKP (b) for editors of oblast, kray and republic newspapers; to work out and execute plans for publishing literature to aid newspaper cadres; to consider the requests of the editorial staffs of Molot, Volzhskaya Kommuna, and Kurskaya Pravda on strengthening their polygraphic basis and to install the necessary equipment within a month.

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b) completely staff the network of permanent correspondents of rayon newspapers within a month;

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TASS is asked to improve the quality of the daily international surveys and Union information which are transmitted to oblast newspapers weekly, and to organize the distribution to oblast newspapers of articles on the more pressing problems of international life as well as essays on the life of the union republics, krays and oblasts.

The Press Bureau of Pravda has proposed that the servicing of oblast newspapers by propogandist articles be improved and that the filling of the orders of editorial staffs of individual newspapers for articles of interest to them be ensured.

From - Kul'tura i Zhizn'

No. 4, 30 July 1946

ON PARTY AND SOCIAL-POLITICAL PERIODICALS

On the Decree of the TsK VKP(b) "On the Periodicals of the Central Committee." 1946

The TsK VKP (b) passed a decree "On the Periodicals of the Central Committee".

It noted that the party periodicals, Partiynoye Stroitel'stvo, Propagandist, Sputnik Agitatora and V Pomoshch' Lektoru, which are being published at the present time, are not fulfilling their tasks satisfactorily, are duplicating their efforts, and are not equal to the growing demands of party cadres.

In order to radically improve the content of the party and social-political periodicals, the TsK VKP (b) decreed as follows.

As of 1 August 1946, the publication of Partiynoye Stroitel'stvo, Propagandist, and V Pomoshch' Lektoru, is discontinued in view of the fact that the publication of these periodicals which service the very same party cadres, results in a scattering of strength and to an artificial isolation of the different sides of party work.

Instead of these three periodicals, one periodical of the TsK VKP (b), entitled Partiynaya Zhizn' will be published twice each month in four or five pages and will have a circulation of 400,000 copies.

The periodical Partiynaya Zhizn' is intended for the oblast, city and rayon leading party cadres, as well as for secretaries of local party organizations and propagandists.

The periodical will give a regular account of the important questions concerning the policy of the party and the Soviet State, will bring up and work out present-day problems of party construction, will clarify for party cadres, the decree of the TsK VKP (b). It is responsible for generalizing and reporting on the experience of party-organizational, party-political and ideological work, as well as the activities of party organs in

selecting, training, advancing and educating party and soviet cadres. The periodical should develop a Bolshevist criticism of shortcomings in the work of party organizations.

The Administration of Propaganda and Agitation of the TsK VKP (b) is commissioned to take measures for the serious improvement of the periodical Sputnik Agitatora. The periodicity of this periodical has been increased from two to three times per month and the number of pages has been reduced from three to two.

The subscribers of Partiynoye Stroitel'stvo, Propagandist and V Pomoshch' Lektoru, are given the opportunity to subscribe to one of the following periodicals: Partiynaya Zhizn', Bol'shevik, Sputnik Agitatora.

From -- Kul'tura i Zhizn', No 6

20 Aug 1946

ON THE WORK OF THE UNIFIED STATE PUBLISHING HOUSES [OGIZ] OF THE RSFSR
In the Central Committee VKP(b), 1946

The TsK VKP(b) heard the account of the chief [zaveduyushchiy] of OGIZ under the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR and passed a decree which acknowledged the work of OGIZ as unsatisfactory.

OGIZ is not fulfilling the plans for the publication of social-political, literary and natural science publications and is systematically failing to issue textbooks for schools and VUZes.

The work of the editorial apparatus of publishing houses on manuscripts has been unsatisfactorily organized. Manuscripts pass through an unnecessary number of stages; as a result of this, editors do not bear the responsibility for books ready to go to press. The majority of editors and chiefs of editorial staffs of publishing houses are inadequately trained and therefore are not skillful editors of books.

Publishing houses do not enlist enough scholars and specialists to write books. Publishing houses frequently accept for publication, raw and incomplete manuscripts which are unfit for publication. Editorial councils of publishing houses, as a matter of fact, do not work on or discuss plans for the publication of literature or manuscripts accepted for publication.

OGIZ makes poor use of the polygraphic equipment of its own enterprises. As a result of organizational-technical difficulties, the printing houses stand idle, as a rule, 20-30 per cent of the working hours. OGIZ did not provide for the recruitment of workers for the printing houses, did not organize the training of personnel for printing enterprises and has not yet organized the operation of printing houses into two shifts. The vicious system of work norms and payment of labor has arisen in the printing houses of OGIZ, under which the workers in the book industry,

which demands highly skilled labor, receive less pay than do those in other industries. In view of this, the publication of valuable literature continues under unfavorable conditions.

Book-binding work in the printing houses of OGIZ has been neglected and has become a hindrance to the further increase in the output of books. The book-binding machinery available in the printing houses is not being utilized to the fullest extent and the newly-arrived book-binding and stitching machinery has not yet been installed; training has not yet been organized for the qualified personnel in this work.

Because of the incorrect selection and arrangement of personnel, insufficiently trained personnel occupy the leading posts in the polygraphic enterprises of OGIZ, while a great many engineer-technologists, engineer-mechanics, and other specialists are occupied with various types of office work in the apparatus of OGIZ. There is a great turn-over of engineers, technicians, and other skilled specialist.

The chiefs of OGIZ, and especially Comrade Yudin, the former chief of OGIZ, have had an irresponsible attitude toward the discharge of their duties, have not investigated the operation of the polygraphic enterprises, and did not introduce the necessary order into the publishing houses and printing houses. Shortcomings were covered up and disruptions of the plans for the publication of literature were not punished. To the detriment of valuable political, literary, and scientific books, OGIZ turned to the mass publication of various types of forms, card-board, note books, etc. The production of articles other than books and the filling of private orders not part of the plan, have been practiced on a wide scale.

The TsK VKP(b) noted that the unsatisfactory operation of OGIZ has resulted in a sharp curtailment of the number of books published in the country, and this in turn hinders the development of science and culture in our country.

It has been decided to reorganize OGIZ; it has been under the Council of Ministers RSFSR and will be under the Council of Ministers USSR.

The TsK VKP(b) requests Comrade Grachev the newly-appointed chief of OGIZ, to eliminate the shortcomings which have been uncovered in the work of the publishing houses and printing houses, and to take measures for the serious improvement of their operation.

Considering that an increase in the number of books published is one of the basic conditions for the further development of culture, science and technics in the country, the TsK VKP(b) has commissioned OGIZ to ensure a significant increase in the number of political, scientific, and literary publications during the next year.

It has been proposed that within a month Comrade Grachev, present the staff of the editorial councils of the following publishing houses to the TsK VKP(b) for confirmation: Gospolitizdat [State Publishing House of Political Literature]; Goslitizdat [State Publishing House of Belles-Lettres]; Gostekhizdat [State Publishing House of Theoretical and Technical Literature]; Sel'khozizdat [State Publishing House of Agricultural Literature]; and the [State] Publishing House of Geographic Literature.

The editorial councils have been charged with examining the plans for the operation of publishing houses, and also with discussing manuscripts for books arriving at the publishing houses. Directors of publishing houses are forbidden to publish manuscripts before there has been a preliminary discussion of them in the editorial council.

The TsK VKP(b) requires that OGIZ and the publishing houses of OGIZ and the publishing houses of OGIZ be guided in their work by the approved plans for the publication of literature and that they guarantee the unconditional fulfillment of these plans within the prescribed period. Directors of printing houses cannot remove from production those books which have been

stipulated by the plan for publication and, without the confirmation of OGIZ, cannot accept orders outside the plan. OGIZ has been obliged to decisively improve the quality of the polygraphy of books.

It has been proposed that Comrade Grachev, the chief of OGIZ, correctly place the cadres of engineering-technical workers in the printing houses, so that the basic mass of technically trained persons would work, not in the offices, but would direct the polygraphic enterprises and shops in the printing houses.

OGIZ is to basically reconstruct the book-binding and stitching industry and, by the end of 1947, is to exceed the pre-war level for the output of bound books.

The TsK VKP(b) also commissioned OGIZ to reorganize the work of the Scientific-Research Institute of OGIZ, having commissioned the Institute to work out the problems involved in the technical improvement of printing and binding, in the mechanization of the processes of production in printing houses, of improving the quality of the polygraphy of the books and periodicals published.

From -- Kul'tura i Zhizn', No. 13,

30 October 1946

ON THE WORK OF THE PARTY COMMITTEES OF THE IVANOVSKIY
MELANGE COMBINE, THE GLUKHOVSKIY COTTON COMBINE, AND THE
TASHKENTSKIY TEXTILE COMBINE, 1946

The TsK VKP(b) directed the attention of party committees to the necessity for strengthening the leadership of newspapers. Newspapers, as indicated by the TsK VKP(b), must give regular accounts of the problems of work within the party, of socialist competition, of the life of enterprises; must carry on a struggle against loafers and violators of labor discipline and must boldly criticize shortcomings in the work.

The TsK VKP(b) has authorized the party committees of the Ivanovskiy, Glukhovskiy and Tashkentskiy combines to increase the publication of the following factory newspapers to three times a week and the circulation to 2,500 copies: Melanzhist, Trudovoy Front, and Golos Stalintsa.

From -- Partiynaya Zhizn', 1946,

No 2, Pg 41

ON THE TRAINING AND ADDITIONAL TRAINING OF LEADING PARTY AND SOVIET WORKERS

In The Central Committee VKP(b) 1946

The TsK VKP(b) passed a decree "On the Training and Additional Training of Leading Party and Soviet Workers".

It regards the condition of the work of training and advanced training of party and soviet workers as unsatisfactory.

There is not the necessary system and order in the training of party and soviet workers. A drive for numbers of different party schools and courses is taking place to the detriment of quality in the training of party cadres. Instead of concentrating the training of party and soviet workers in the large centers of the country, which have qualified cadres of teachers, many short-term schools and courses were created, a considerable part of which were not provided with trained teachers.

The curricula of party schools attached to the oblast and kray committees, and central committees of the communist parties of the union republics are overloaded with a large number of subjects; students do not have time for independent work on the study of Marxist-Leninist theory. Recruiting for schools and courses often has a casual character and is conducted by means of an assessment on local party organizations. Enrollment in party schools is carried out without any preliminary check on the knowledge of those entering the schools. People who do not have experience in party work, are insufficiently mature with respect to the party, and who have not proved themselves in practical work, are frequently accepted for party schools, which have been called on to train leading party cadres. As a result of the above-mentioned outstanding shortcomings in the work of party schools, a significant portion of the cadres graduated by them, turn out to be poorly trained for leading work in party organizations.

The additional training of leading party and soviet cadres has been poorly organized. Many party and soviet workers have ceased to systematically work on raising their ideological-theoretical level and have not during the last few years volunteered for additional training courses. There is lacking a system by which leading party and soviet workers, after a certain period of time must undergo additional training.

The training of the theoretical cadres of the party is also unsatisfactorily organized. The party is experiencing an acute shortage^{of} cadres in the central regions and locally. Many propaganda sections of leading party organs, chairs of VUZes, scientific research institutions, and scientific periodicals have not been staffed with qualified workers in the field of Marxism-Leninism, economics, law, international relations, history, and philosophy; this impedes the further resolution of actual problems in Marxist-Leninist theory.

In order to significantly raise the political and theoretical level of leading party and soviet workers, the TsK VKP(b) deems it necessary, during the course of the next 3-4 years, to reach the principal leading republic, kray, oblast, city, and rayon party and soviet cadres with party schools and courses on the additional training of party and soviet workers.

The TsK VKP(b) decrees as follows.

I. Concerning the Higher Party School

There is to be, under the TsK VKP(b) under the jurisdiction of the Administration of personnel a Higher Party School with a three-year course of study for the training of leading party and soviet workers on an oblast, kray, and republic scale. This school is to have two faculties: party and soviet. The faculty of party workers is to have the following departments: organizational-party workers, propaganda workers, newspaper editors.

In order to give additional training to party and soviet cadres, nine-month retraining courses are to be organized for the following, at the Higher Party School: a) leading party workers -- secretaries and heads of sections of oblast and kray committees, central committees of communist parties of the union republics, secretaries of okrug committees and city committees of large cities; b) leading soviet workers -- chairmen, deputy chairmen, and heads of sections of oblast and kray executive committees, chairmen and deputy chairmen of the councils of ministers of the union and autonomous republics, chairmen of the executive committees of the city soviets of large cities; c) editors and deputy editors of oblast, kray and republic newspapers.

The quota of students confirmed for the Higher Party School under the TsK VKP(b) is 300 persons for each course and the quota of acceptance for courses of additional training at the school is 600 persons.

Members of the VKP(b) are accepted for the Higher Party School up to the age of 40 years, who have, as a minimum, completed a secondary education and who are working in the following capacities: secretaries of oblast committees, of central committees of the communist parties of union republics, secretaries of okrug and city committees of large cities; heads and deputy heads of sections of oblast and kray committees VKP(b), of central committees of the communist parties of the union republics', chairmen and deputy chairmen of the executive committees of the councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics; chairmen of the executive committees of city soviets of large cities; editors and deputy editors of republic, kray, and oblast newspapers; editors of city newspapers; secretaries of oblast committees, kray committees, and the Central Committee of the Komsomol of the union republics. Members of the party not included in the above list of party and soviet workers, may also be accepted for

the Higher Party School by personal selection if they have the necessary training for entrance in the school and have proved themselves in party and social work.

Admittance to the Higher Party School is accomplished in the manner of selection of candidates for the school by oblast and kray committees, central committees of the communist parties of the union republics and directly by the TsK VKP(b) as well as by application of those wishing to enter the school.

Those entering the Higher Party School must take entrance examinations in the history of the USSR, the Russian language, and geography in accordance with the secondary school curriculum and the principles of Marxism-Leninism in accordance with the curriculum of VUEs. Personnel admitted to the entrance examinations are granted a two months leave for preparation for the examinations; during this time their pay and all types of material security at their place of work will be preserved.

Personnel having higher education can be admitted to the second course of the school provided they pass examinations for the first course of the Higher Party School.

Enrollment in the Higher Party School is carried out by decision of the TsK VKP(b).

The following subjects have been introduced into the curriculum of the Higher Party School: the history of the VKP(b), the history of the USSR, general history, political economy, dialectical and historical materialism, logic, history of the international relations and the foreign policy of the USSR, economic and political geography (including a course of lectures on the distribution of the productive forces of the USSR), Russian language and literature, a foreign language, the principles of soviet economics and the practice of management of branches of the national

economy, party organization (in the party faculty), the principles of state law of the USSR (in the party faculty), state law and soviet organization (in the soviet faculty), journalism (in the newspaper editors department).

It has been established that the academic year in the school begins on 1 September and ends on 15 July. Four to five subjects [distsipliny] of the curriculum are studied in the school at the same time. Special subjects [predmety] are given beginning with the second half year in the second course.

Lectures and independent work of students on the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and text books are the principal methods of study at the Higher Party School. Seminars are organized on the history of the VKP(b), political economy, dialectical and historical materialism, the principles of soviet economics, and party and soviet organization. The method of comradesly discussion of the most important problems in the subject being studied must take place at the seminar studies.

In the second course students of the school undergo practice work in party and soviet organizations lasting 1 1/2 months.

At the termination of their education, students of the Higher Party School take government examinations on the history of the VKP(b), political economy, the principles of Soviet economics, and on a special subject.

Personnel completing the Higher Party School attached to the TsK VKP(b) receive a diploma for the completion of a higher party educational institution.

The following chairs are being established at the Higher Party School: history of the VKP(b), history of the USSR, general history, political economy, economic and political geography, dialectical and

historical materialism, international relations, Russian language and literature, Soviet economics, party organization, state law and Soviet organization, journalism, and foreign languages.

The TsK VKP(b) required the chairs of the Higher Party School to publish, by 1 Jan 1947, student aids for the students of the School, on the history of the USSR, general history, political economy, and dialectical and historical materialism, using verbatim reports of the lectures delivered in the Higher Party School as a basis.

It has been proposed that the chairs of the Higher Party School during 1946-1947, prepare textbooks on all subjects provided for by the curriculum of the school.

The academic council of the Higher Party School has been granted the right to accept applications for defence of thesis for the academic degree of candidate of science and to confer the degree of candidate of science.

II. Concerning republic, kray and oblast party schools.

The TsK VKP(b) decreed that there be, under the oblast and kray committees VKP(b) and the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics oblast, kray and republic party schools with a two year period of study in order to train leading party and soviet workers for the rayon and village. The school is to have a party and a soviet faculty. The following departments are to be created on the party faculty: organization - party workers, propaganda workers, leading Komsomol workers.

Republic, kray and oblast two-year party schools will be organized in the following cities first: Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Baku, Tbilisi, Yerevan, Ashkhabad, Tashkent, Stalinabad, Alma-Ata, Frunze,

Petrozavodsk, Kishinev, Vil'nyus, Riga, Tallin, Gor'kiy, Saratov, Rostov, Voronezh, Kazan', Sverdlovsk, Molotov, Irkutsk, Tomsk, Odessa, Dnepropetrovsk, L'vov, Khar'kov, Stalino, Chelyabinsk, Ivanovo, Kalinin, Yaroslavl', Kuybyshev, Krasnodar, Chkalov, Arkhangel'sk, Ul'yanovsk, Ufa, Penza, Kursk, Izhevsk, Kemerovo, Novosibirsk, Barnaul, Krasnoyarsk, Vladivostok, and Khabarovsk.

The TsK VKP(b) established that the organization of new party schools in the remaining oblast and kray centers is to be effected by decision of the TsK VKP(b) upon application from the corresponding oblast party committees and kray party committees using the available educational facilities and qualified cadres of teachers.

Six-month additional training courses are being created at oblast, kray, and republic party schools for the additional training of the following party and soviet workers: a) leading rayon party and soviet workers -- secretaries; heads of sections; instructors and propagandists of rayon, city, uyezd, and okrug party committees; chairmen, deputy chairmen, and heads of sections of executive committees of rayon, city, uyezd, and okrug soviets of workers; deputies; secretaries of rayon committees and city committees of the Komsomol; editors of rayon and city newspapers; b) local party and soviet workers -- secretaries of local party organizations and chairmen of village soviets, of volost party organizations and chairmen of volost executive committees (in the Baltic Soviet Republics).

Departments of newspaper workers for the training of editors of rayon and city newspapers will be organized in the party schools of Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Khar'kov, Minsk, Tashkent, Alma-Ata, Tbilisi, Yerevan, Baku, Riga, Saratov, Gor'kiy, Sverdlovsk, and Novosibirsk.

Members of the VKP(b) are accepted in party schools up to the age of 40, who have, as a rule, a secondary education and who are working as

secretaries; heads of sections; instructors and propagandists of rayon party committees, city party committees, uyezd party committees, and okrug party committees; secretaries of rayon, city, uyezd, and okrug committees of the VLKSM; chairmen, deputy chairmen and heads of sections of executive committees of rayon, city, okrug, and uyezd soviets of workers' deputies; editors of rayon newspapers; secretaries of large local party organizations. Members of the party not appearing on the above nomenclature of party and soviet workers, but who have the necessary training for entrance in the school and who have proved themselves in party and social work, may also be accepted in the school by personal selection.

Admittance to party schools is carried out by assignments of rayon and city committees VKP(b) and by means of direct selection of workers by oblast committees, kray committees, central committees of communist parties of union republics, and also by application of those wishing to enter.

Those entering party schools [must] take examinations on the constitution of the USSR, the Russian language and geography according to the secondary school and on the history of the VKP(b) (according to A Short Course in the History of the VKP(b)).

Workers selected for study are granted a month's leave, with the preservation of pay at their place of work, in order to prepare for and take the entrance examinations.

Students of republic, kray and oblast party schools are confirmed by decisions of the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics, kray committees and oblast committees VKP(b).

The following subjects are introduced in the curriculum of the two-year party schools: history of the VKP(b), history of the USSR, general history, political economy, dialectical and historical materialism, logic, international relations and the foreign policy of the USSR, economic and political geography of the USSR and foreign states, Russian language and literature, the principles of Soviet economics and the practice of the management of branches of the national economy, party organization in the party faculty), state law and Soviet organization (in the soviet faculty), journalism (in the departments of newspaper workers).

It has been established, that the academic year at all schools will begin on 1 September and end on 1 August. No more than 5-6 subjects are to be studied at the same time in the two-year party schools.

Lectures and independent work of students on textbooks and original sources are the principal methods of study in party schools; in the study of the history of the VKP(b), political economy, the principles of Soviet economics, dialectical and historical materialism, party and soviet organization, seminars are organized, and for the remaining subjects of the curriculum -- classroom studies are organized.

At the end of the second year of study, the students of the school take a government examination on the history of the VKP(b), political economy, the principles of Soviet economics and on a special subject.

Those who pass the government examinations receive a diploma for completion of the school.

The following chairs will be created in republic, kray and oblast party schools: the principles of Marxism-Leninism, history, economic sciences, Russian language and literature.

The TsK VKP(b) commissioned the Administration of Personnel and the Administration of Propaganda of the Central Committee within a two month period:

a) jointly with the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics, kray party committees and oblast party committees of the VKP(b) to submit to the TsK VKP(b) for confirmation, the directors, deputy directors of the teaching department and directors of the chairs of republic, kray, and oblast party schools;

b) jointly with the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics, and the kray and oblast committees VKP(b), to select lecturers and teachers of republic, kray, and oblast party schools from among the teachers of VUZes and first from among those persons holding academic degrees and ranks. In order to become familiar with their level of training as a rule, a personal interview is to be considered necessary for teachers of party schools at the Central Committee VKP(b);

c) to develop and distribute to republic, kray, and oblast party schools programs on all subjects provided for by the curriculum of the school.

III. On the Academy of Social Sciences

In order to train theoretical workers of the party, an Academy of Social Sciences is being created under the TsK VKP(b) under the jurisdiction of the Administration of Propaganda and Agitation.

The Academy of Social Sciences under the TsK VKP(b) is an educational institution which prepares cadres of theoretical workers for central party institutions, for central committees of communist parties of the union republics, and for kray and oblast committees VKP(b); it also prepares qualified teachers of VUZes and theoretical workers of scientific-research institutions and scientific periodicals. The Academy of Social Sciences must train theoretical workers in the following specialities: political economy, the economics and politics of foreign states, the theory of government and law, international law, the history of the USSR, general history, international relations, the history of the VKP(b), dialectical

and historical materialism, the history of Russian and Western European philosophy, logic and psychology, literary criticism, and art criticism.

The term of study for aspirants at the Academy is three years.

The following chairs are being created at the Academy of Social Sciences: Political economy, the economics and politics of foreign states, theory of government and law, international law, the history of the USSR, general history, international relations, the history of the VKP(b), dialectical and historical materialism, the history of philosophy, logic, and psychology, the theory and history of literature, the theory and history of art, foreign languages.

The quota of aspirants confirmed for the Academy of Social Sciences has been confirmed at 300 persons (in all three courses).

Members of the party are accepted as aspirants of the Academy of Social Sciences up to the age of 40 years if they have completed higher education, have experience in party-propaganda or teaching or literary work and have shown aptitude for scientific work.

Those entering as aspirant of the Academy of Social Sciences undergo competitive examinations on the subject selected as a speciality, on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, a foreign language and present, for entrance, a written work on their speciality.

Persons registered as aspirants of the Academy of Social Sciences must during the course of their second year of study take the post-graduate examination [kandidatskiy minimum] for aspirant and, at the end of the third year of study, prepare and defend a dissertation for the academic degree of candidate of science.

The following are the principal methods of training of aspirants at the Academy: the individual scientific-research work of aspirants on

the study of sciences related to the speciality selected by the aspirant, under the direction of professors; the study of a foreign language; the composition of written reports by aspirants concerning problems of social science in connection with the subject selected for the dissertation and a subsequent discussion of these reports in the chairs and in seminars under the direction of professors.

The chairs of the Academy of Social Sciences are granted the right to accept [applications] for defence of dissertation for the academic degree of candidate of science from aspirants and scientific associates of the Academy and award academic degrees of candidate of science with subsequent confirmation by the academic council of the Academy.

The academic council of the Academy is granted the right to accept [persons] for defence of dissertation for the academic degree of doctor of social sciences.

The Academy of Social Sciences is authorized to publish "Student Notes" and to publish in individual editions the most valuable of the dissertations of aspirants and the works of its scientific workers.

Nine-month courses for additional training of teachers of social sciences with a quota of 150 men are being created for improving the qualifications of teachers of social sciences in VUZes under the Academy of Social Sciences. Persons are accepted for the courses, who have passed the post graduate examination and who are working on dissertations.

The TsK VKP(b) commissioned the Administration of Personnel and the Administration of Propaganda to carry out by 1 September 1946 the selection of 600 students for the first and second courses of the Higher Party School and 200 aspirants for the Academy of Social Sciences and to submit them for confirmation to the TsK VKP(b).

The TsK VKP(b) decreed that studies in the Higher Party School and in the Academy of Social Sciences in 1946 will begin on 1 October.

The TsK VKP(b) forbade oblast and kray committees VKP(b), the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics to recall students of republic, kray, and oblast party schools for practical work until the completion of their studies in schools and to take them away from their studies for the fulfillment of a different type of assignment.

From -- Partivnaya Zhizn',

1946, No 1,

Pgs, 53-58

ON THE PERIODICALS ZVEZDA AND LENINGRAD

From the Decree of the Central Committee VKP(b) of 14 August 1946

The TsK VKP(b) notes that the operation of the literary and belles lettres periodicals Zvezda and Leningrad is entirely unsatisfactory.

Recently many works, ideologically harmful and devoid of principle and ideals, have appeared in the periodical Zvezda side by side with important and well-written works of Soviet writers. A grave error of Zvezda was to give Zoshchenko, whose works are alien to Soviet literature, ^{space} in the newspaper. The editorial staff of Zvezda knows that for a long time Zoshchenko has specialized in writing shallow, empty, trite works, rotten preachings with an absence of ideals and principle, trite, and apolitical, which were calculated to disorientate our youth and poison their minds. The latest of Zoshchenko's published stories, Prikl'yucheniya Obez'yany [The Adventures of the Monkey], is a banal libel against the Soviet way of life and the Soviet people. (Zvezda No 5-6 1946). Zoshchenko depicts Soviet customs and the Soviet people in an abnormally grotesque manner, slanderously representing the Soviet people as primitive, lacking in culture, stupid, with uncultured tastes and manners. Zoshchenko's maliciously rowdyish descriptions of our actions are accompanied by anti-Soviet attacks.

The allocation of pages in Zvezda to such vulgar persons and riff-raff of literature as Zoshchenko is all the more intolerable since the editorial staff of Zvezda knew only too well the character of Zoshchenko and his unworthy conduct during wartime when he, far from helping the Soviet people in their struggle against the German invaders, wrote such a loathsome work as Pered Voskhodom Solntsa [Under the Rising Sun]; an evaluation of this as well as an evaluation of all the literary "creations" of Zoshchenko has been given in the pages of the periodical Bol'shevik.

The periodical Zvezda in every way possible also popularizes the works of the writer Akhmatova, whose literary and social-political character has been known to the Soviet public for a very long time. Akhmatova is a typical representative of that empty poetry without principle or ideals which is alien to our people. Her poems, saturated with the spirit of pessimism and despondency and expressing tastes of the old society's poetry, which hardened in the positions of bourgeois-aristocratic aesthetics and decadence -- "art for art's sake", refusing to keep pace with its people, harms the cause of the education of our youth and cannot be tolerated in Soviet literature.

The assignment to Zoshchenko and Akhmatova of an active role in the periodical undoubtedly fostered ideological disorder and disorganization among the Leningrad writers. Works began to appear in the magazine cultivating a spirit of servility before the contemporary bourgeois culture of the West, an attitude that is alien to Soviet people. It published works full of depression, pessimism, and disappointment in life (the poetry of Sadof'yev and Komissarova in issue No. 1, 1946 etc). In inserting these works, the editorial staff aggravated its errors and lowered still more the ideological level of the magazine.

By permitting the penetration of the magazine by ideologically alien works, the editorial staff also reduced its exactingness toward the artistic qualities of printed literary material. The magazine began to be filled with plays and stories of little artistic value (Dорога Времени [The Road of Time], by Yagdfel'd; Lebedinoe Ozero [Swan Lake] by Shteyn; etc.). Such unscrupulousness in the selection of materials for publication has resulted in a lowering of the artistic level of the magazine.

The TsK notes that the magazine Leningrad is being operated especially poorly; it has constantly allocated its pages to the common and slanderous speeches of Zoshchenko and to the poems of Akhmatova which are shallow and

apolitical. Like the editorial staff of Zvezda, the editorial staff of the magazine Leningrad has permitted the great error of having published a number of works filled with a spirit of obsequiousness toward everything foreign. The magazine has printed a number of works with erroneous views (Sluchay Nad Berlinom [Incident Over Berlin] by Varshavskiy and Rest, and Na Zastave [Within the Gates] by Slonimskiy). The poem of Khazin, Vozvrashcheniye Onegina [The Return of Onegin], in the guise of a literary parody, is a slander upon contemporary Leningrad. Articles appearing in the magazine Leningrad are mainly dull, base, literary materials.

How could it happen that the magazines Zvezda and Leningrad, which are published in Leningrad, the hero-city, known for its advanced revolutionary traditions, a city which has always been a hotbed of advanced ideas and advanced culture, would have allowed in its magazines material alien to Soviet literature, lacking in principles and ideals, and apolitical?

What is the significance of the mistakes made by the editorial staffs of Zvezda and Leningrad?

The leading workers of the magazines, and primarily their editors Sayanov and Likharev, have forgotten the Leninist proposition that our magazines, whether scientific or artistic, cannot be apolitical. They have forgotten that our magazines are a powerful means of the Soviet people and particularly of the young people, and therefore should be guided by what forms the vital foundation of the Soviet system - its policy. The Soviet system cannot tolerate the education of youth in the spirit of indifference toward Soviet policy and in the spirit of indifference and absence of ideals and principles.

The power of Soviet literature, the most progressive literature in the world, consists in the fact that it is literature which does not have, and cannot have, interests other than those of the people and the state. The task of Soviet literature is to help the government in correctly educating youth, to answer its inquiries, to educate the new generation to be cheerful, believing in its cause, not fearing difficulties, and prepared to surmount any obstacles.

Therefore any preaching which is lacking in principles and ideals and is apolitical, "art for art's sake," is alien to Soviet literature and harmful to the interests of the Soviet people and State and should not have a place in our magazines.

The ideological shortcomings which the leading workers of Zvezda and Leningrad have displayed have also led them to establish as the basis of their relations with writers, not the interest of correct education of the Soviet people and the political guidance of writers, but personal interests. Criticism has become dulled because of unwillingness to spoil friendly relations. Clearly inferior works have been published through fear of offending a friend. Such liberalism, under which the interests of the people and the state and the interests of the correct education of our youth are sacrificed for friendly relations, and under which criticism is suppressed, results in a situation whereby writers are ceasing to improve themselves, are losing their sense of responsibility to the people, to the state, and to the party, and are ceasing to progress.

All this testifies to the fact that the editorial staffs of the magazines Zvezda and Leningrad have not been able to cope with the duties entrusted them and have committed serious political errors in the management of the magazines.

The TsK notes that the board of the Union of Soviet Writers, and in particular its chairman Tikhonov, has not taken any measures to improve the magazines Zvezda and Leningrad, and it not only has not carried on a struggle against the harmful influences of Zoshchenko, Akhmatova, and similar un-Soviet writers in Soviet literature, but they have even shut their eyes to the penetration of tendencies and customs alien to Soviet literature.

The Leningrad City Committee of the VKP(b) has overlooked the very great mistakes of the magazines; it has not led the magazines, and has given an opportunity to people alien to Soviet literature, such as Zoshchenko and Akhmatova, to occupy a leading position in the magazines. Moreover, knowing the attitude of the party toward Zoshchenko and his "creative work", the Leningrad City Committee (Kapustin and Shirokov), though it did not have the right, approved the decision of the city committee of 26 June 1946 for the new staff of the editorial board of the magazine Zvezda, which included Zoshchenko. Thus the Leningrad City Committee committed a gross political error. Leningradskaya Pravda committed an error in publishing a dubious eulogistic review by Yuriy German on the creative work of Zoshchenko in the July 1946 issue.

The Administration of Propaganda of the TsK VKP(b) has not ensured proper control over the work of the Leningrad magazines.

The TsK VKP(b) decrees as follows.

1. Require the editorial staff of the magazine Zvezda, the board of the Union of Soviet Writers, and the Administration of Propaganda of the TsK VKP(b) to take measures for the absolute elimination of the mistakes and shortcomings of the magazine as pointed out in the decree, improve its policy so as to ensure a high ideological and artistic level.

of the magazine, and make the magazine inaccessible to the works of Zoshchenko, Akhmatova, and others like them.

2. In view of the absence of proper conditions for the publication of two literary magazines in Leningrad at the present time, stop the publication of the magazine Leningrad, and concentrate the literary forces of Leningrad around the magazine Zvezda.

3. For the purpose of putting in proper order the work of the Zvezda editorial staff and for the serious improvement of the content of the magazine, the magazine is to have a chief editor and an editorial board under him. The chief editor of the magazine shall bear full responsibility for the ideological and political line of the magazine and for the quality of the works published in it.

4. Approve as chief editor of the magazine Zvezda A. M. Yegolin, reserving for him the position of deputy head of the Administration of Propaganda of the TsK VKP(b).

From -- Pravda, No 198, 21 August 1946

ON THE REPERTOIRE OF DRAMA THEATERS AND MEASURES FOR ITS IMPROVEMENT

From a 26 August 1946 Decree of the Central Committee of the VKP(b)

Discussing the question of the repertoire of the drama theaters and measures for its improvement, the TsK VKP(b) considers the repertoire of theaters as unsatisfactory.

The chief shortcoming of the present repertoire of drama theater; is the fact that the plays of Soviet authors on contemporary subjects have been practically eliminated from the repertoires of the nation's largest drama theaters. Out of 20 plays presented at the Moscow Art Theater, only three dealt with modern Soviet life; in the Malyy Theater, three out of twenty; in the Theater imeni Mossovet, two out of nine; in the Theater imeni Vakhtangov, two out of ten; in Kamernyy, three out of eleven; in Leningrad Theater imeni Pushkin, two out of ten; in Kiev Drama Theater imeni Franko, three out of eleven; in Khar'kov Theater imeni Shevchenko, two out of eleven; in Sverdlovsk Drama Theater, five out of seventeen.

The clearly abnormal situation of the drama repertoire is aggravated still further by the fact that among even the few plays being shown which deal with contemporary themes, there are some weak ones, without principle and ideals (Vynuzhennaya Posadka [Forced Landing], by Vodop'yanov and Laptev; Den' Rozhdeniya [Birthday], by the Brothers Tur; Samolet Opazdyvayet [The Plane Was a Day Late], by Rybak and Savchenko; Novogodnyaya Noch' [New Year's Eve], by A. Gladkov; Chrezvychaynyy Zakon [Emergency Law], by the Brothers Tur; Okno V Lesu [Window in the Forest] by Rakhmanov and Ryss; Lodochitsa [Boatwoman], by Pogodin; etc.). As a rule, Soviet people in these plays are depicted in an abnormally grotesque manner, as primitive and uncultured, with narrow tastes and manners, while negative characters are

given brilliantly outlined characters and are shown as forceful, determined and clever. Plots of similar plays are frequently far-fetched and false, and as a result, the plays create an untrue, distorted picture of Soviet life. A considerable portion of the plays presented in theaters on contemporary subjects are un-artistic and primitive, are written sloppily, ungrammatically, without sufficient knowledge of Russian literature and the language of the people on the part of the author. In addition, many theaters are irresponsible in the production of plays on Soviet life. Frequently theater directors commission second-rate directors to stage these plays, enlist weak and inexperienced actors, and do not give the necessary attention to the artistic presentation of theatrical productions. Consequently, those plays on modern themes are dull and unartistic. As a result of all this, many drama theaters are not effective centers of culture and propagandists of advanced Soviet ideology and morals. Such a state of affairs with respect to the repertoire of dramatic theaters does not conform to the need for educating the masses and cannot be tolerated in the Soviet theater.

An important shortcoming in the activities of the Committee on Arts Affairs and the drama theaters is an excessive interest in the production of plays on historical subjects. A number of plays currently in the theaters, have no historic or educational significance, idolize the life of czars, khans and courtiers (Margaret of Navarre, by Skrib; Khorezm, by Khadzhi Shukurov; Takhmus Khodzentskiy by Kasymov; We Kazakhs by Tazhibayev; Idukay and Muradym by Burungulov).

The TsK VKP(b) thinks that the Committee on Arts Affairs is making a mistake by including plays of bourgeois, foreign dramatists in the repertoire of theaters. "The Arts" Publishing House under commission

of the Committee on Arts Affairs has published a collection of one-act plays by contemporary British and American dramatists. These plays are models of low-standard, commonplace foreign dramaturgy, which openly propogate bourgeois views and morals. Recently the Committee on Arts Affairs distributed to the dramatic theaters of the country the following plays: Ubiystvo Mistera Parkera [The Murder of Mr. Parker] by Morrison; Opasnyy Vozrast [Dangerous Age by Pinerof Krug. The Circle] and Penelope [Penelopa] by Maugham; Moye Kafe Le Petite Cafe by Bernard [Bernar]; Pyl' V Glaza [Four Flushers] by Labiche and Delacour [Labish and Delakur]; Gost' K Obedu [The Man Who Came to Dinner] by Kaufman and Hart [Kaufman and Khart] Znamenitaya Meri [Famous Mary] by Durand [Dyuran]; Korsikanskaya Mest' ili Prichudy Dyadyushki [Corsican Feud or Eccentric Uncle] by Augier and Sandeau [Ozh'ye i Sandro]; and others. Some of these plays were produced in the drama theaters.

Production of the plays of foreign bourgeois authors were, essentially, the allocation of the Soviet stage for propogandizing reactionary bourgeois ideologies and morals, an attempt to poison the minds of the Soviet people with a world outlook hostile to Soviet society, to revive the remnants of capitalism in mind and actuality. The broad dissemination of just such plays by the Committee on Arts Affairs among theatrical workers and the production of these plays on the stage, are the most serious political errors made by the Committee on Arts Affairs.

The TsK VKP(b) notes that the Committee on Arts Affairs has come under the control of a backward segment of theatrical workers, has lost control over the selection of the repertoire for central and local theaters, and has allowed free reign to the selection of a repertoire.

The TsK VKP(b) considers one of the most important causes of the great shortcomings in the repertoire of drama theaters to be the unsatisfactory

work of dramatists. Many dramatists avoid taking a stand on the vital questions of modern times, do not know the life and problems of the people, are not able to depict the finest traits and qualities of Soviet individuals. These dramatists forget that the Soviet theater can fulfill its important role in the education of the workers only if it becomes an active propagandist of the policy of the Soviet state, which is the vital foundation of the Soviet system.

The work of the dramatists is lacking the necessary contact and creative collaboration with theaters. The board of the Union of Soviet Writers, whose function it is to direct the creative work of dramatists in the interests of further developing art and literature, has virtually ceased to direct the activities of dramatists, does nothing to raise the ideological-artistic level of their work, and does not struggle against the commonplace and hackneyed in dramaturgy.

The unsatisfactory state of the repertoire of drama theaters is explained also by the absence of principled, Bolshevist theatrical criticism. A very small number of specialists are emerging as theatrical critics in the Soviet press. Newspapers, literary-artistic and theatrical magazines are putting out few new critics capable of discussing plays and theatrical productions objectively and impartially. Some critics are guided in their evaluation of plays and performances, not by interest in the ideological and artistic development of the Soviet drama and theatrical art, i.e., not by the interests of the government and the people, but by interests of groups, friends, individuals. Articles on performances are often written by persons with little knowledge of the arts, who give subjective and arbitrary appraisals instead of business-like evaluations of new performances, which do not correspond to the actual significance and quality of the performance. Reviews of plays and performances are often written in abstruse language,

practically unintelligible to the reader. The newspapers Pravda, Izvestiya, Komsomol'skaya Pravda, and Trud, greatly underestimate the great educational significance of theatrical productions and assign too little space to questions of art.

The magazine Sovetskoye Iskusstvo and the newspaper Teatr are being managed completely unsatisfactorily. These publications, which are supposed to aid dramatists and theatrical workers to create plays of high ideological and artistic value, support good plays half-heartedly and unskillfully; at present they unrestrainedly overload mediocre plays with praise, ignore the errors of theaters and the Committee on Arts Affairs, and thus encourage tendencies and customs alien to the Soviet press. Theatrical criticisms from Sovetskoye Iskusstvo have a departmental character, and set friendly relations between critics and theatrical workers and private interests above the interests of the state. Sovetskoye Iskusstvo does not concern itself with a correct and principled position in the evaluation of dramatic productions and the work of the theater, and far from promoting Bolshevik theatrical criticism, has actually hampered its development. Such theatrical "criticism" results in a situation whereby certain critics, dramatists and theatrical workers lose their sense of responsibility to the people, cease to advance and do not aid further the development of Soviet art.

The Central Committee decrees as follows.

1. Commission the chairman of the Committee on Arts Affairs, Comrade Khrapchenko, to eliminate as soon as possible the serious shortcomings and errors indicated in the decree.
2. Considering the great significance of the theater as a means of communist education of the people, the TsK VKP(b) instructs the Committee

on Arts Affairs and the board of the Union of Soviet Writers to concentrate their attention on creating a contemporary Soviet repertoire.

The TsK VKP(b) sets before the dramatists and workers of the theater the task of creating plays of high artistic value which portray the life of Soviet society and Soviet man. Playwrights and theaters should depict in plays and performances the life of Soviet society in its incessant movement forward, and in every way possible should promote the further development of the finest side of the character of Soviet man, which manifested itself with special force at the time of the Great Patriotic War. Our dramatists and producers are called to take active part in the work of educating the Soviet people, to answer their elevated cultural inquiries, to educate Soviet youth to be cheerful, stimulating, devoted to its motherland and confident in the victory of our cause, not fearing obstacles, and capable of overcoming any difficulties. Together with this the Soviet theater must show that these qualities are not peculiar to select individuals or heroes, but to many millions of Soviet people.

All Soviet writers capable of writing plays should be actively and creatively included in the vital matter of creating a theater repertoire of a sufficiently high quality for a contemporary audience.

3. Place before the Committee on Arts Affairs the basic practical task of organizing in every theater not less than two or three productions annually on contemporary soviet themes, which are of a high quality ideologically and artistically.

2 Oblige theaters to radically improve the quality of the production of contemporary Soviet plays, to choose better directors and actors for production of these plays, and to achieve high artistic quality in the presentation of plays.

4. Instruct the Committee on Arts Affairs to exclude from the repertoire, plays which are of little ideological and artistic value,

to keep a constant watch on them so that mistaken, trivial, non-ideological, and valueless works shall not appear in the theaters.

5. Recognizing the important role of criticism in the development of the theatrical arts, the editors of Pravda, Izvestiya, Komsomol'skaya Pravda, Trud, Sovetskoye Iskusstvo and Literaturnaya Gazeta are instructed to enlist politically mature and competent theatrical and literary critics in the newspapers, to publish regularly reviews of new plays and performances, to undertake resolutely the struggle against apolitical theatrical criticism, having no principles or ideals.

Instruct editors of republic, kray and oblast newspapers to publish regularly, articles and reviews about the new productions of local theaters.

6. The TsK VKP(b) finds that the Arts Council under the Committee on Arts Affairs is not fulfilling its role in improving the quality of repertoires or raising its ideological and artistic level; it is working in seclusion; the results of its activities remain unknown to the masses of the theater-going public and they do not appear in the press.

Commission the Committee on Arts Affairs to seriously improve the work of the Arts Council. The meetings of this council should include critical analysis of new plays and theatrical productions. Materials concerning the work of the Arts Council should be published in Sovetskoye Iskusstvo.

From -- Kul'tura i Zhizn', No. 7
30 August 1946

ON THE FILM "BOL'SHAYA ZHIZN'" ["GREAT LIFE"]

Decree of the TsK VKP(b) of 4 September 1946

The TsK VKP(b) notes that the film produced by the Ministry of Cinematography of the USSR "Bol'shaya Zhizn'" (second series, director L. Lukov, scenario by P. Nilin)¹⁵ /ideologically and politically faulty and is extremely weak in the artistic sense.

What are the defects and shortcomings of the film "Bol'shaya Zhizn'"?

The film depicts only one insignificant episode in the first attempt to restore the Donbas, does not give a true picture of the actual scope and significance of the Soviet State's restoration operations in the Donets Basin. Moreover, the restoration of the Donbas occupies an unimportant place in the film, while principal attention is allotted to the primitive portrayal of all kinds of personal experiences and everyday scenes. As a result, the content of the film does not conform to its title. More than that, the title of the film "Bol'shaya Zhizn'" sounds like a gibe at Soviet reality.

Two distinct stages in the development of our industry are clearly confused in the film. The level of technology and production efficiency depicted in "Bol'shaya Zhizn'", is more typical of the restoration of the Donbas following the Civil War, than of the modern Donbas with its advanced technology and culture, created during the Stalin five-year plans. The authors of the film leave the false impression on the audience -- that the restoration of the Donbas mines after their liberation from the German invaders and the extraction of coal, are being carried out in the Donbas, not on the basis of modern, advanced technology and the mechanization of work processes, but through the use of crude physical force, long outdated techniques, and conservative work methods. The prospect

of the post-war restoration of our industry, based upon advanced techniques and a high level of production, is distorted by the film in the same way.

In the film, the restoration of the Donbas is depicted as if the initiative of the workers in the restoration of the mines not only did not have the support of the government, but was carried on by the miners with opposition from state organizations. Such a portrayal of relations between state organizations and the workers is completely false and erroneous, since it is well known that in our country all initiative of workers meets with wide support from the government.

In this respect, party workers were falsely portrayed in the film. The secretary of the party organization in the restored mine is shown in a deliberately absurd position, inasmuch as his support of the workers' initiative in the restoration of the mine allegedly led to his expulsion from the ranks of the party. The producers of the film depict the affair as if to imply that the party can exclude persons from its own ranks, who show concern for the restoration of the economy.

The situation surrounding the restoration of the Donbas is erroneously depicted in the film, leaving the impression that the Patriotic War ended with the liberation of the Donbas from the German invaders, that at the beginning of the restoration of the Donbas, the army was being demobilized and all soldiers and guerrillas were returning to peaceful occupations. The film speaks of the war, which was in full swing in this period, as though it were in the remote past.

"Bol'shaya Zhizn'" propagates backwardness, lack of culture, and ignorance. The mass promotion to leading posts of technically unskilled workers with backward views and sentiments, shown by the producers of the

film is completely unjust and incorrect. The director and scenarist of the film fail to understand that in our country people who are cultured, up-to-date, and who know their business well are highly valued and boldly, promoted, not people who are backward and uncultured, and that now, when the Soviet regime has created its own intelligentsia, it is absurd and preposterous to depict as a positive feature the promotion of backward and uneducated people to leading positions.

"Bol'shaya Zhizn'" gives a false, distorted picture of the Soviet people. Workers and engineers restoring the Donbas are shown as backward people, lacking culture and with very low moral qualities. The main characters of the film loaf a great part of the time and indulge in empty chatter and heavy drinking. According to the film, even the best characters are confirmed drunkards. People who served in the German police figure as the principal characters of the film. A type clearly alien to the Soviet system, is depicted in the film -- Usynin, who remained with the Germans in the Donbas and whose harmful and provocative activity remains unpunished. The film endows Soviet people with habits that are absolutely not peculiar to our society. Thus, Red Army men, who were wounded in the battle for the liberation of the mine, were left on the battlefield without any aid and the wife of a miner (Sonya), walking past the wounded soldiers, shows complete indifference and disinterest toward them. There is a heartless and mocking attitude in the film toward the young women workers who came to the Donbas. The woman workers were moved into dirty, tumble-down barracks and the inveterate bureaucrat and scoundrel (Usynin) was put in charge of them. The mine management does not show elementary concern for the woman workers. Moreover, instead of putting into order the damp leaking quarters where the young girls are housed, they send them, as if in scorn, a group of entertainers with accordion and guitar.

The film bears witness to the fact that some art workers, though they live among the Soviet people, do not notice their high ideological and moral qualities and are not able at present to reflect these qualities in their media.

The artistic level of the film is also beneath criticism. The individual sequences of the film are disconnected and not united by a general idea. Repeated drinking-bouts, cheap songs, amorous adventures, and bedroom chatter serve as the connection for separate episodes. The songs which were introduced in the film (music by N. Bogoslovskiy, lyrics by A. Pat'yanov and V. Agatov) are filled with a beer-hall melancholy and are alien to the Soviet people. All these base methods used by the producers are intended to appeal to indiscriminate tastes, especially to the tastes of backward people, and to push to the background the main theme of the film, the restoration of the Donbas. The group of talented Soviet actors was incorrectly utilized by the producers of the film. Absurd roles were thrust upon the actors and their talent (used to) portray crude characters and everyday scenes of doubtful nature.

The TsK VKP(b) has established that the Ministry of Cinematography (Bol'shakov) has recently produced, besides the faulty picture "Bol'shaya Zhizn'", a number of other substandard and erroneous films - the second series of the film "Ivan Groznyy" ["Ivan the Terrible"] (director S. Eyzenshteyn), "Admiral Nakhimov" (Director V. Pudovkin), and "Prostye Lyudi" ["Ordinary Folk"] (directors G. Kozintsev and L. Trauberg).

What is the explanation for the frequency of such false and erroneous films? Why have such well-known Soviet directors as Lukov, Eyzenshteyn, Pudovkin, Kozintsev, and Trauberg, who have in the past created highly artistic pictures, failed?

The point is that many masters of cinematography -- producers, directors, and scenario writers take a thoughtless and irresponsible attitude toward their duties, and work carelessly on the creation of movies. The main shortcoming in their work is failure to study the subject they are dealing with. Thus, V. Pudovkin, the director undertook to produce the film about Nekhimov, but without a detailed study of the subject; he distorted the historical truth, and produced a film not about Nekhimov, but about balls and dances, with episodes from the life of Nekhimov. As a result, important historical events were left out of the film such as the fact that the Russians were in Sinop where the Turkish Commander-in-Chief and a whole group of Turkish admirals were taken prisoner by them. Director S. S. Eyzenshteyn, in the second series of the film "Ivan Groznyy", displayed ignorance in his representation of historical facts, having represented the progressive army of oprichniki of Ivan Groznyy as a gang of degenerates, like the American Ku-Klux-Klan, and Ivan Groznyy, a man of strong will and character, as a weakling somewhat like Hamlet. The writers of "Bol'shaya Zhizn'" have shown their ignorance of the modern Donbas and its people.

One of the principal causes of the production of worthless films is ignorance of the subject and the flippant attitude of scenario writers and directors toward their work.

The TsK VKP(b) has established that the Ministry of Cinematography, and above all its head, Bol'shakov, gives poor leadership to the work of film studios, directors, and scenario writers, cares little about improving the quality of films, and uselessly spends a great deal of money. Officials of the Ministry of Cinematography irresponsibly treat the work entrusted to them and show unconcern and carelessness toward the ideological and political content and artistic quality²¹⁵ of the films.

The TsK VKP(b) considers that the work of the Art Council under the Ministry of Cinematography has been incorrectly organized and that the Council does not provide impartial and business-like criticism of films which have been made ready for production. In its opinions on pictures, the Art Council frequently shows indifference to politics and it pays little attention to their ideological content. Many members of the Art Council are not principled in their evaluation of films, and they express opinions on pictures originating from personal, friendly relations with the producers of films. Only this can explain why the Art Council, in its discussion of the film "Bol'shaya Zhizn'", did not gain an understanding of its ideological content and displayed harmful liberalism in having given a completely unjustified high evaluation of the film. The lack of criticism in the field of cinematography and the atmosphere of nepotism among creative workers of the movies is one of the main causes for the production of poor films.

Workers of the arts should realize that if henceforth they regard their work irresponsibly and carelessly, they can easily find themselves overboard with respect to advanced Soviet art and will become superannuated, for the Soviet audience has grown, its cultural inquiries and requirements have increased, and the party and state in the future will cultivate in the people good tastes and a high degree of exactingness toward works of art.

The TsK VKP(b) decrees:

1. in view of what has been stated, the production on the screen of the second series of the film "Bol'shaya Zhizn'" is to be prohibited;
2. it is proposed that the Ministry of Cinematography of the USSR and the Art Council under the ministry learn the necessary lessons and

conclusions from the decision of the TsK VKP(b) on the movie "Bol'shaya Zhizn'" and organize the work of artistic cinematography so that henceforth all possibility of the production of such films will be eliminated.

From -- Kul'tura i Zhizn'
No 8, 10 September 1946

ON SHORTCOMINGS IN AND MEASURES FOR IMPROVING THE WORK WITH AGITATORS IN
THE STALINGRAD PARTY ORGANIZATION

In The Central Committee VKP(b) 1947

The TsK VKP(b) adopted a decree "On Shortcomings in and Measures for Improving the Work with Agitators in the Stalingrad Party Organization". The TsK VKP(b) noted that the Stalingradskaya Oblast Committee VKP(b) underestimates the significance of political agitation among the population; it gives unsatisfactory direction to the selection and education of cadres of agitators and as a result of this, there are serious shortcomings in the organization and content of mass-agitation work of party organizations; in a number of rayons of the oblast, mass-political work is actually being neglected.

The general scope and ideological-political level of agitation do not meet the tasks which confront the oblast party organization; mass agitation among workers, kolkhozniks, and the intelligentsia does not have a militant nature and is entirely inadequate for elevating the political consciousness of the workers and for rousing them to an acceleration of pace in rehabilitating and further developing the national economy of the oblast.

Many party organizations belittle the role of political agitation and confine it to talks on industrial and technical subjects. The most important problems of the policies of the party and Soviet State are explained only superficially. Village and city workers are not systematically acquainted with the problems and the progress of fulfilling the Five-Year Plan for the rehabilitation and development of the national economy, nor with the realization of the decisions of the February Plenum of the TsK VKP(b). Workers and kolkhozniks are rarely informed of current political events in the country or questions of the international position of the Soviet Union. A significant portion of the population is not included in mass-

explanatory work at all. In the majority of party organizations, the agitation work among the workers has been trusted to persons who are poorly prepared politically, while many leading party and soviet workers, primarily secretaries of oblast, city and rayon committees of the VKP(b), very rarely give political reports at meetings of workers and kolkhozniks. Such a situation is alien to the traditions of the Bolshevik Party and contradictory to the vital interests of socialist construction.

The TsK VKP(b) proposed that the oblast, city and rayon committees of the VKP(b) eliminate the serious shortcomings as noted in the decree, in the content of mass-agitation work and in the selection and education of cadres of agitators; that they direct political agitation among workers in the struggle for an acceleration of pace in the restoration of industry, agriculture, cultural establishments and housing construction in Stalingrad and Stalingradskaya Oblast and in the struggle for the development of socialist competition, in every way possible, for the pre-schedule fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan by each enterprise and rayon, by each worker and kolkhoznik. The party organizations should daily explain to workers, kolkhozniks and the intelligentsia the decisions of the party and the government, the international situation and the foreign policy of the Soviet State; they should raise the political consciousness of the toilers of city and village and educate all workers in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and national pride as the most important conditions for the quickest possible movement of the Soviet people forward to communism.

It has been proposed that oblast, city, and rayon committees of the VKP(b) make certain that mass meetings are conducted in enterprises, in sovkhozes, kolkhozes, MFS, and among the intelligentsia, not less than

once every one to one and one half months, with reports and discussions on current economic-political questions. The TsK VKP(b) believes that the most important condition for raising the ideological level of political agitation is the personal participation of leading party and soviet workers in mass-political work; it commissions the secretaries of oblast, city, and rayon committees of the VKP(b), the chairmen of executive committees of oblast, city, and rayon soviets of workers' deputies, to give political reports at mass meetings of workers, kolkhozniks, and the intelligentsia. The oblast committee of the VKP(b), in order to aid lecturers from city and rayon committees, is to give monthly instruction lectures on the most important questions of the domestic and foreign policy of the party and government.

The TsK VKP(b) abrogated as incorrect and politically unsound, the decision of the Stalingradskaya Oblast Committee of the VKP(b) of 13 May 1947, which kept the village intelligentsia from agitation work in the kolkhoz brigades; it proposed that the Stalingradskaya Oblast Committee of the VKP(b) draw extensively upon the intelligentsia for mass-political work among the rural population.

The TsK VKP(b) proposed that the Stalingradskaya Oblast Committee of the VKP(b) discontinue the practice of indiscriminately and mechanically enrolling agitators without taking into account their political literacy and ability to conduct agitation work. Instead, it suggested that agitators be carefully recruited from the better politically trained communists and from the leading workers, kolkhozniks and intelligentsia outside the party, and that [their selection] be confirmed at meetings of the party organizations. At the same time, the TsK VKP(b) reminded the party organizations of the by-law of the VKP(b) obliging each communist to explain the meaning of the policy and decisions of the party to the workers and to daily strengthen the party's ties with the masses.

The TsK VKP(b) proposed that the Stalingradskaya Oblast Committee of the VKP(b) carry out the following:

for generalizing the experience of agitation and differentiation of the leadership of agitation work, regularly conduct separate meetings of the best agitators of construction organizations, industrial enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhoses and MTS, of soviet institutions and trade organizations, and of agitators working with the population in their places of residence;

regularly publish material for the aid of agitators in oblast and rayon newspapers, along with articles on the experience of party organizations in agitation work and speeches of the best agitators;

supply each agitator with an oblast newspaper and be constantly concerned with supplying agitators with central newspapers and Bloknot

Agitators;

publish popular brochures on problems in the development of industry, agriculture and culture in the Stalingradskaya Oblast;

One to two times a week, conduct oblast radio broadcasts for agitators on important decisions of the party and the government, on the internal political and international position of the Soviet Union, on specific economic-political tasks, as well as questions on the experience of political work among the masses;

publish articles in Bloknot Agitators concerning the most important decisions of the party and the government, selections of factual and statistical data on the immediate tasks of the Five-Year Plan for the restoration and development of the national economy of Stalingradskaya Oblast; regularly give an account of the progress in fulfilling the post-war Five-Year Plan by the individual branches of industry, agriculture, culture and housing construction; popularize widely the experience of the

best enterprises, kolkhozes and MTS, as well as the leaders of production in the socialist competition for the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan in four years; regularly print discussions for agitators on questions of labor discipline and the communist attitude toward labor and social property; include advice on methods and experience in agitation work, exemplary topics for the next talks of agitators on general political questions and plans for these talks; publish indices of required literature, lists of new books, and answers to the questions of agitators.

In order to increase the responsibility of rayon and city party committees for work with agitators and in order to render them more skillful help, the TsK VKP(b) has obliged the rayon and city committees of the VKP(b) to carry out the following:

conduct regular meetings of rayon and city agitators not less than once every two months including reports from leading workers on the most important decisions of the party and the government, on international and internal positions of the Soviet Union, on the tasks confronting the workers of the oblast, city and rayon, and on the best experience in organizing political agitation;

organize constantly operating seminars for agitators under the city committees, city rayon party committees, and party committees of large enterprises; city and rayon committees of the VKP(b) are to make out the program for these constantly operating seminars for agitators, taking into account the peculiarities of each rayon and enterprise;

in rural areas, rayon committees of the VKP(b) should give instruction lectures and give advice to agitators of the kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and MTS not less than twice a month, grouping the agitators in the seminars for rural soviets or zones of the MTS;

convene regular meetings and seminars of secretaries of local party organizations; conduct an exchange of experience in the work of the best agitational collectives; discuss methods of agitation work, topics for the next lectures and discussions among the workers; under the party study rooms, organize constant instruction and consultation of the leaders of agitational collectives on questions of the method and content of mass-political work.

The TsK VKP(b) has obliged the secretaries of party organizations to personally direct the work of agitational collectives, conduct weekly meetings of agitators in order to inform them of the current economic-political tasks, of the progress in the fulfillment of production plans, instruct agitators on the topics of the coming discussions, utilizing for these purposes qualified propagandists, teachers, specialists in agriculture and engineering-technical workers.

In order to generalize the experience of agitation work and give information on methodology to agitators, the TsK VKP(b) has commissioned Gospolitizdat to publish in 1948 the Bibliotekha Agitatora [The Little Library of the Agitator] of 14 brochures, two to three printed pages each and with a circulation of 500,000 copies each. There must be brochures in the Bibliotekha Agitatora on the following topics: the basic lines of Bolshevik agitation; M.I. Kalinin on political agitation (collected articles); how to prepare and conduct a discussion; the work of the agitator with newspapers; how to prepare for a lecture; the language of the agitator; how to use artistic literature in agitation work; the agitator and the wall newspaper; agitation visual aids in enterprises and kolkhozes; the experience of political agitation in the kolkhoz; experience of political agitation in enterprises; experience of political agitation with the population in the place of residence; the agitator - organizer of socialistic competition; reference book for the agitator.

The Main Administration of Geodesy and Cartography under the Council of Ministers USSR has been commissioned to print, before 1 February 1958, 500,000 copies of a political-administrative map of the USSR (the size of one printed page) and to print, before 1 March 1948, 500,000 copies of a political map of the world (also the size of one printed page).

From -- the periodical Partiynaya

Zhizn', 1947, No 22, pgs 35, 36-38. The decision of the TsK VKP(b) is printed in an abridged form.

ON THE OPERA VELIKAYA DRUZHBA [THE GREAT FRIENDSHIP] BY V. MURADELI

Decree of the TsK VKP(b) of 10 February 1948

The TsK VKP(b) considers the opera Velikaya Druzhba (music by V. Muradeli, libretto by G. Mdivani), presented by the Bol'shoy Theater of the USSR on the 30th anniversary of the October Revolution, an inartistic work, which is vicious with respect to both music and subject matter.

The basic shortcomings of the opera are found first of all in the music which is toneless and barren; there is not one memorable melody or aria. It is confused and discordant, formed completely on dissonance, and on sharp-sounding tone combinations. Separate lines and scenes which were supposed to be melodious were suddenly interrupted by dissonances totally alien to normal human ears and which actually grated on the audience. There was no organized connection between the musical accompaniment and the action unfolding on the stage. The choral portions of the opera - the choruses, solos and ensemble singing - made a poor impression. By virtue of all this, orchestral and vocal potentials were never fully realized.

The composer did not take advantage of the wealth of familiar songs, folk tunes, and melodies, ball-room and folk dance motifs, through which the rich creative art of the people of the USSR is shown, and particularly the creative art of the people of the North Caucasus where the action depicted in the opera takes place.

In pursuit of pseudo-originality in the music, Composer Muradeli disregarded the best traditions and experience in classical opera in general, Russian classical opera in particular, which are distinguished by a great inner substance, by a richness of melody and wide range, nationalism, refinement, beauty, and clear musical form, which have made Russian opera the best opera in the world, and the kind of music beloved by, and comprehensible to, a wide range of people.

The story of the opera is historically false and artificial, pretending to depict the struggle for the establishment of the Soviet regime, and the friendship of the people in the North Caucasus in 1918-1920. The incorrect notion is created by the opera that such Caucasian peoples as the Georgians and the Osetians at that time were inimical to the Russian people; this is historically false, since the impediment in that period to the establishment of friendship of the peoples in the North Caucasus were the Ingushi and Chechens ethnic groups.

The TsK VKP(b) believes the failure of Muradeli's opera is the result of the formalistic path followed by Comrade Muradeli - a path false and ruinous for the creative work of Soviet composers.

As was pointed out at the meeting of men of Soviet music, conducted in the TsK VKP(b), the failure of Muradeli's opera is not an isolated case, but is closely connected with the unfortunate state of contemporary Soviet music, with the spread of the formalistic trend among Soviet composers.

Even in 1936, when the opera of D. Shostakovich, *Ledi Makbet Mtsenskogo Uyezd* [*Lady MacBeth of Mtsenskiy Uyezd*], appeared, Pravda, the organ of the TsK VKP(b), sharply criticised the anti-national, formalistic distortion in the artistic work of D. Shostakovich and pointed out the harm and danger of this trend for the future of the development of Soviet music. Pravda, having written in accordance with the instructions of the TsK VKP(b), clearly formulated the requirements it is setting before Soviet composers.

In spite of these warnings, and contrary to the instructions of the TsK VKP(b) as given in its decisions concerning the newspapers Zvezda and Leningrad, concerning the movie "*Bolshaya Zhizn*", on the repertoire of the drama theaters and measures for their improvement, not one reform was introduced in Soviet music. The individual successes of a few Soviet composers in writing new songs which became popular and were widely circulated

among the people, in composing music for films, etc., did not change the overall situation. The situation is particularly poor in the fields of symphonic and operatic creation. The question concerns composers who adhere to the formalistic, anti-national trend. This trend found fullest expression in the works of such composers as Comrades D. Shostakovich, S. Prokof'yev, A. Khachaturian, V. Shebalin, G. Popov, N. Myaskovskiy and others; in their works in particular, the formalistic perversions, the anti-democratic tendencies in music, alien to the Soviet people and to their artistic tastes were clearly portrayed. The denial of the basic principles of classical music, the statement of atony, dissonance and disharmony which are allegedly the expression of "progress" and "innovation" in the development of musical form, the repudiation of such important bases for musical production as melody, the passion for confused and neuropathic combinations and for that which converts music into cacophonies, into chaotic conglomerates of sound -- all these are the characteristic features of such music. This music strongly exudes the spirit of the contemporary modern bourgeois music of Europe and America, and reflects the decay of bourgeois culture, the full denial of the musical art, its impasse.

The repudiation of polyphonic music and songs is the essential sign of the formalistic trend, which is founded upon simultaneous combination and development of a series of independent melodic lines, and a passion for monotonous, unison music and song, frequently without words, which violate the polyphonic song form peculiar to our people, and lead to the impoverishment and decay of music.

Scorning the best traditions of Russian and Western classical music, repudiating these traditions as allegedly "old-fashioned", "obsolete", "conservative", arrogantly typing composers who have tried conscientiously to assimilate and develop treatments of classical music, as supporters of "primitive traditionalism" and "Epigonists", many Soviet composers, in

the pursuit of falsely understood innovations, lost touch in their own music with the inquiries and artistic taste of the Soviet people, became shut in a narrow circle of specialists and musical epicures, lowered the high social role of music and narrowed its significance, thus limiting it to the satisfying of the perverted tastes of aesthetic individualists.

The Formalistic trend in Soviet music gave rise among portions of Soviet composers to a one-sided passion for complex forms of instrumental, symphonic, textless music and a scornful attitude toward such musical genres as opera, choral music, popular music for small orchestras, for popular instruments, vocal ensembles, etc.

All this inevitably leads to the loss of the fundamentals of vocal culture and dramatic skill, and as a result, composers forget to write for the people, as evidenced by the fact that lately, not one opera has been created which is on a level with Russian operatic classics.

Isolation of a few men of Soviet music from the people leads to their acceptance of the rotten "theory" that the misunderstanding of the music of many contemporary Soviet composers by the people stems from the fact that the people allegedly "have yet not grown up" to an understanding of complex music, that they will catch up to it through the centuries and that it is not worth being disturbed if a few musical works do not find an audience. This theory which is individualistic throughout and fundamentally anti-nationalistic, was promoted in a still greater degree by a few composers and musicologists who shut themselves off from the people, from the criticism of Soviet society and shrink into their own shells.

The cultivation of all these and similar opinions inflicts the greatest harm on Soviet musical art. A tolerant attitude toward these

opinions means the circulation of alien tendencies among men of Soviet musical culture, which in turn lead to a deadlock in the development of music, to the liquidation of the musical art.

The degraded, anti-nationalist, formalistic trend in Soviet music also exerts a fatal influence on the training and education of the young composers in our conservatories, especially in the Moscow conservatory (director, Comrade Shebalin), where the formalistic trend prevails. The students are not imbued with respect for the best traditions of Russian and Western classical music, are not trained in the love for nationalist creative works, for the democratic musical forms. The works of many students of the conservatories are blind imitations of the music of D. Shostakovich, S. Prokof'yev, etc.

The TsK VKP(b) ascertained the absolutely intolerable condition of criticism of Soviet music. The enemies of Russian realistic music, supporters of the decadent formalistic music occupy ^{the} leading position among the critics. As each work of Prokofieff, Shostakovich, Myaskovskiy, Shebalin, comes out, these critics declare it a "new victory for Soviet music" and glorify in this music the subjectivism, constructivism, extreme individualism, complexity of the language - precisely these ought to be subject to criticism. Instead of routing opinions and theories which are harmful and alien to the principles of socialist realism, music criticism itself promotes their circulation, eulogizing and declaring as "foremost" those composers who portion out pseudo-artistic arrangements in their creative works.

Music criticism ceased to express the opinion of Soviet society, the opinion of the people and has been transformed into the mouthpiece of individual composers. A few music critics, instead of principled objective criticism, because of friendly relations, began to play up to and become servile to other musical leaders, extolling their creative works in every way possible.

All this signifies that the remnants of bourgeois ideology, which are nourished by the influence of the modern decadent West European and American music, have not yet been overcome among a portion of Soviet composers.

The TsK VKP(b) feels that this unfortunate situation on the Soviet music front was a result of this improper line in the field of Soviet music, which was conducted by the Committee for Arts Affairs under the Council of Ministers USSR and the Organization Committee of the Union of Soviet Composers.

The Committee for Arts Affairs under the Council of Ministers USSR (Comrade Khrapchenko) and the Organization Committee of the Union of Soviet Composers (Comrade Khachatryan) instead of developing the realistic trend in Soviet music, based on the recognition of the great progressive role of classical legacies, particularly the traditions of the Russian musical school, based on utilization of this legacy and its further development, on a combination of greater sapidity and artistic perfection of musical form, truthfulness and realism in music, its deep organic ties with the people and their music and song art forms, high professional skill for simultaneous simplicity and accessibility of musical works; instead of this, they have actually encouraged the formalistic trend, alien to the Soviet people.

The Organization Committee of the Union of Soviet Composers which has turned into a tool for the group of formalists-composers, became the prime exponent of the formalistic perversions. A musty atmosphere was created in the Organization Committee; it holds no creative discussions. The leaders of the Organization Committee and the musicologists which surround them, lavished praises on the anti-realistic, modernistic works which did not deserve their support; on the other hand, works which were distinguished by their realistic character, by their aspiration to continue and to develop

the classic legacies, were declared secondary works and were left unnoticed and slighted. Composers, inflated by their "innovations" and "arch-revolutionism" in the field of music, in their activities in the Organization Committee, step forward as champions of the most backward and misty conservatism, showing haughty intolerance to the slightest indication of criticism.

The TsK VKP(b) considers that such a situation and such an attitude toward the tasks of Soviet music as were created in the Committee for Arts Affairs under the Council of Ministers USSR and in the Organization Committee of the Union of Soviet Composers, can no longer be tolerated, for they are extremely harmful to the development of Soviet music. During the past few years the cultural inquiries and level of artistic tastes of the Soviet people have experienced exceptional growth. The Soviet people expect from the composers high quality and lofty works in all genres - in the fields of opera, symphonic music, song forms, choral and dance music. In our country, composers are granted unlimited creative opportunities and all the necessary conditions for the genuine flowering of musical culture have been created. Soviet composers have greater audiences than composers of the past even dreamed of. It is unforgivable for them not to utilize the wealth of possibilities and not to direct their creative efforts on the correct realistic path.

The TsK VKP(b) decrees/²⁵follows:

1. judge the formalistic trend in Soviet music as anti-nationalistic and the chief matter to be liquidated in music;
2. propose that the Administration of Propaganda and Agitation of the Central Committee and the Committee for Arts Affairs strive to correct the situation in Soviet music, eliminate the shortcomings indicated in the present decree and ensure the development of Soviet music in the realistic trend;

3. call upon Soviet composers to be imbued with a sense of inquiry which will introduce the Soviet people to the creative works in music, rejecting anything in their path which weakens our music and hampers its development; to guarantee an elevation of creative works which will hasten the forward movement of Soviet musical culture and lead to the creation of valuable, high-quality works, worthy of the Soviet people, in all fields of musical art.
4. to approve organizational measures of corresponding party and soviet organs, directed toward the improvement of music.

From -- Kul'tura i Zhizn',
No. 4, 11 February 1948

ON THE MAGAZINE KROKODIL

On the Decree of the TsK VKP(b) 1948

The TsK VKP(b) passed^{8.} decree "On the Magazine Krokodil."

It noted that this magazine is being managed completely satisfactorily and is not a fighting organ of Soviet satire and humor.

The editorial staff of Krokodil is out of touch with life, works without a plan, does not show the necessary exactness toward the ideological and artistic level of feuilletons, stories, poems, drawings; vapid in-artistic material prevails in the magazine. The magazine has an unattractive, outward appearance, is printed on poor-grade paper with inks of poor quality, and the makeup is commonplace, without taste or artistic touch.

The magazine is run by a narrow circle of staff workers and for years the pages of the magazine have been filled with the work of these same authors. Outstanding Soviet writers and poets, as well as workers of the central and local press, have not been enlisted for participation in Krokodil. The editorial board of the magazine does not operate as a collective organ.

The TsK VKP(b) released Comrade G. Ye. Ryklin from his duties as editor of the magazine and approved Comrade D. G. Belyayev as editor-in-chief.

The TsK VKP(b) approved the following persons for the editorial board of Krokodil: D. G. Belyayev, (editor-in-chief); S. A. Shvetsov, (deputy editor-in-chief); S. A. Vasil'yev, A. N. Vasil'yev, D. I. Zaslavskiy, V. P. Katayev, Kukryniksy (M. Kupriyanov, P. Krylov, N. Sokolov), S. D. Narin' yani, B. I. Prorokov, I. A. Ryabov, G. Ye. Ryklin. The following editors of divisions were also approved: I. A. Ryabov, Internal Life; G. Ye. Ryklin, Foreign Life; B. I. Prorokov, Arts Division and A. N. Vasil'yev, letters from readers.

The TsK VKP(b) ordered the editorial board of Krokodil to eliminate the shortcomings in the work of the magazine which have been noted in the decree.

In its decree the TsK VKP(b) pointed out that the basic task of the magazine is the struggle against the remnants of capitalism existing in the minds of the people. The magazine armed ^{with} satire, should expose the plunderers of public property, the self-seekers and bureaucrats, the manifestations of boasting, obsequiousness, and triteness; should respond opportunely to burning international events; should undertake criticism of the bourgeois culture of the west, showing up its ideological nihilism and degeneration.

The TsK VKP(b) has obliged the editorial board of Krokodil to more extensively utilize the different genre of material in its magazine, (political pamphlets in prose and verse, feuilletons, humorous stories, fables, cartoons, photos, etc.); to acquaint readers with the best material printed in local humorous magazines and in magazines of countries of the people's democracies and with satirical works of progressive foreign writers; to publish documentary photographs from foreign newspapers and magazines supplying them with politically pointed captions.

It has been proposed that the editorial board attract a wide circle of writers, poets, artists, workers of the local and central press into participation in the magazine; discuss with author activists thematic plans for the magazine and the content of issues coming out; hold regular readers conferences of Krokodil in enterprises, kolkhozes, educational institutions, military units.

In order to attract new cadres of Soviet satirists into work on the magazine, the editorial board of Krokodil jointly with the Union of Soviet Writers USSR, has been authorized to conduct a meeting of writers -- satirists and feuilleton writers -- in Moscow in November 1948. The editorial staff of

Krokodil has also been authorized to conduct a competition for the best humorous stories, feuilletons, and cartoons in December 1948.

The TsK VKP(b) has increased the size of the magazine from one and one half printed pages to two printed pages.

The editorial board of the magazine Krokodil and the publishing house of the newspaper Pravda are to cut down the production time of the magazine from 20 to 14 days, guaranteeing the publication of the magazine on the 10th, 20th, and 30th of every month, and are to improve the artistic and polygraphic format of the magazine, focussing particular attention on the quality of the reproduction of pictures.

From -- Kul'tura i Zhizn',
No. 26, 11 September 1948

ON THE CREATION OF EDITORIAL BOARDS IN REPUBLIC
KRAY, AND OBLAST NEWSPAPERS

The TsK VKP(b) passed a decree "On the Creation of Editorial Boards in Republic, Kray, and Oblast Newspapers".

Taking into account the fact that the experience of the operation of the editorial boards of the oblast newspapers Molot (Rostov-na-donu), Volzhskaya Kommuna (Kuybyshev), and Kurskaya Pravda, which were created in accordance with the decree of the TsK VKP(b) of 30 July 1946, has proved its value, and that editorial boards are an important factor in the organizational strengthening of editorial staffs, the TsK VKP(b) decreed as follows:

Order the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics, and the kray and oblast committees of the VKP(b) to create in the republic, kray, and oblast newspapers, editorial boards consisting of five to six persons selected from among the most skilled journalists and leading workers of editorial staffs. The oblast, kray, and republic newspapers will be published as before under the signatures of the editors of the newspapers.

The TsK VKP(b) established that the members of the editorial boards of the republic, kray and oblast newspapers are confirmed by the corresponding central committees of the communist parties of the union republics, and the kray and oblast party committees.

Editorial boards are being created in all republic and kray newspapers and in 25 of the largest oblast newspapers of the RSFSR and the Ukraine.

From -- Kul'tura i Zhizn'
No. 30, 21 October 1948

ON THE SHORTCOMINGS IN AND MEASURES FOR IMPROVING THE PUBLICATION OF POLITICAL POSTERS

Decree of the TsK VKP(b), 1948

The TsK VKP(b) has passed a decree "On the Shortcomings in and Measures for Improving the Publication of Political Posters".

The TsK VKP(b) noted the great significance of posters as one of the most penetrating forms of political agitation and a singular form of mass production of Soviet graphic arts. In the years of the Great Patriotic War, political posters served as a means for mobilizing the Soviet people to the struggle against the enemy. During the past years, the ideological-political content and the artistic quality of many posters have been improved and their themes have been expanded.

At the same time, however, there are serious shortcomings in the publication of political posters. The achievements of the Soviet people in the struggle for the pre-schedule fulfillment of the post-war Five-Year Plan, the experience of leading workers in industry and agriculture, are being poorly publicized. In a series of posters, dedicated to the development of agriculture, the tasks of further improving and strengthening the kolkhoz system were reflected inadequately and unskillfully. Few posters are released showing the struggle of the Soviet Union for the lasting peace and security of peoples, as well as posters exposing the instigators of a new war. Many of the posters are inepressive and the life and work of the Soviet people are depicted in a primitive and trite manner. The printing of posters is on a low level.

The dissemination and popularization of political posters has been poorly set up; a significant part of them accumulate in the cities and never reach many rural areas.

The TsK VKP(b) has noted that great shortcomings in the publication of political posters have resulted because many oblast committees, kray committees

of the VKP(b) and central committees of the communist parties of union republics do not exercise the necessary control over the work of poster publishing houses, over their ideological-political content, over the printing and the dissemination of poster products.

The Committee for Arts Affairs under the Council of Ministers USSR, republic committees and administrations for arts affairs, the Organization Committee of the Union of Soviet Artists USSR, all have given unsatisfactory leadership to the publication of political posters.

The TsK VKP(b) has called upon the Propaganda and Agitation Section of the TsK VKP(b), the Committee for Arts Affairs under the Council of Ministers USSR, and the Organization Committee of the Union of Soviet Artists USSR to eliminate the shortcomings cited, to exercise daily leadership over the publication of political posters and to ensure the enhancement of the ideological level and artistic quality of posters.

It has been proposed that the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics, the kray and oblast committees of the VKP(b) examine and approve the topics for publication in political posters, to establish control over their ideological content, the artistic formulation, the timeliness of issue, and the dissemination of poster products.

The TsK VKP(b) has established a definite order of approval of posters for publication.

Kogiz [the Bookselling Association of State Publishing Houses], the Central Administration for Press Dissemination and Distribution under the Ministry of Communications USSR, Tsentrosoyuz [Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives] and Committees for cultural educational institutions under the councils of ministers of the union republics, have been called upon to take measures for the timely dissemination of posters, particularly in rural populated points located far from railroad lines, and to organize the

posting of posters in public buildings (clubs, libraries, houses of culture, reading rooms, village soviets, kolkhoz headquarters), in streets and squares.

It has been proposed that the Committee for Arts Affairs under the Council of Ministers USSR, the Organization Committee of the Union of Soviet Artists USSR, and the Union of Soviet Writers, enroll better artists, writers and art critics for the creation of political posters.

The TsK VKP(b) has called upon the editorial staffs of the newspapers Pravda, Izvestiya, Krasnaya Zvezda, Trud, Komsomol'skaya Pravda, Sotsialisticheskoye Zemel'deliye, Sovietskoye Iskusstvo, Literaturnaya Gazeta, the editorial staffs of the magazines Iskusstvo and Ogonek, the editorial staffs of republic, kray and oblast newspapers to regularly publish criticisms and reviews of the posters issued.

From -- Kul'tura i Zhizn',
No. 34, 30 November 1948

CONCERNING THE MAGAZINE ZNAMYA

A Check-up on the Fulfillment in 1948 by the Editorial Staff of Znamya of the 1946 Decree of the TsK VKP(b) Concerning the Magazines Zvezda and Leningrad

The TsK VKP(b), as a check on the fulfillment of the decree of the TsK VKP(b) on the magazines Zvezda and Leningrad, heard the report of the editorial board of the magazine Znamya and in connection with this, passed a decree in which it is noted that the editorial staff of the magazine Znamya has not learned the proper lessons from the decree on the magazines Zvezda and Leningrad. The editorial staff of Znamya is not coping with the tasks entrusted to it, and in its own work, has permitted a number of serious mistakes. In the course of 1948, the magazine Znamya lowered the ideological and artistic quality of published materials. The magazine printed a number of works which are ideologically shameful and artistically inferior.

A great mistake of the magazine is its publication of a story by N. Mel'nikov (Mel'man), entitled Redaktsiya [Editorial Staff], in which workers of our front press have been depicted either as dunces and boastful, petty tyrants or as dull, plain people, completely indifferent to their work. In addition to this, the story extolled the ways of a war prisoner. Having depicted the just punishment given to him as an undeserved penalty, the author surrounds him with a halo of heroism.

In a story by E. Kazakevich, Dvoe v Stepi [Two in the Steppes], the experiences of a cowardly man who has been sentenced to execution by a military tribunal for the violation of a military duty are depicted. The author morally excuses the very serious crime of this coward, which resulted in the destruction of a military unit. The stories of Yu. Yanovskiy,

Serdtshe Vrach [The Heart of a Doctor] and Slepoye Schast'ye [Blind Luck], have been deprived of vital plausibility, built upon forced psychological fantasies and adopted from patterns of decadent bourgeois literature.

The editorial staff has not directed the attention of poets to military themes of the present. By granting a tribune to verses filled with feelings of melancholy and sorrow, the editorial staff thereby promoted the withdrawal of some poets into the narrow little world of their own individualistic experiences.

The publication of the indicated works testifies to the incorrect policy which has been conducted recently by the editorial board of Znan'ya. The editorial staff has deviated from the principle of Bolshevist party literature, has forgotten that literature is a powerful means for the ideological education of the Soviet people, has disregarded the vital truth, and has devoted its pages to works of authors who, depicting backward and inferior people, exalted and turned them into heroes.

The TsK VKP(b) especially noted the unsatisfactory condition of the magazine's literary and critical section. The critical articles published in the magazine are distinguished by their low level and frequently by their erroneous evaluations of literary works, which disorientate writers and push them onto the wrong track. In an article by B. Kostelyanets concerning the novel by V. Panova entitled Kruzhilikha, the right and natural desire of Soviet readers to see superior, spiritually strong people as heroes of our literature is ridiculed; literary heroes devoid of any characteristics of ideological decline, are scornfully termed by the author as "smoothly ironed out." In an article by B. Runin on the novel of G. Kononov, Universitet [University], the ideological steadfastness of the heroes of the novel, the representatives of progressive Soviet science, is condemned as an indication of their intellectual narrow-mindedness.

The editorial staff depends upon a narrow group of critics and does not publish the urgent problems in the social and literary life of the country. The magazine only feebly promoted the exposure of bourgeois cosmopolitanism, and it has not conducted an active struggle against formalism and naturalism in literature.

Recently the magazine's work with authors has deteriorated. The manuscripts which come in are edited carelessly and are published in a raw incomplete form. Thus, the editorial staff engrafts in young writers sentiments of complacency and does not promote their ideological and creative growth.

The TsK VKP(b) ruled the following practices of the magazine as erroneous: the editorial board did not meet for a long period; it did not discuss the works which were accepted for the press; it essentially shunned all responsibility for the direction of the magazine and transferred the leadership of the magazine to the editorial apparatus.

The editorial board has not given proper attention to the selection and utilization of editorial workers; it has not concerned itself with their ideological and political education; it has shut its eyes to manifestations of nepotism and clannishness in the work of the editorial apparatus. In the editorial staff friendly relations have replaced business-like relations, criticism and self-criticism are lacking, and an atmosphere of complacency and placidity has been created. Signs of serious ideological mistakes in the works published by the magazine have been ignored.

The mistakes of the magazine Znan'ya are also a result of the weak leadership given the editorial staff by the secretariat of the Union of Soviet Writers USSR.

The TsK VKP(b) ruled the work of the editorial board of the magazine in 1948 as unsatisfactory and passed a decree on strengthening the editorial board.

It has been proposed that the editorial board of Znamya and the secretariat of the Union of Soviet Writers USSR eliminate the shortcomings and mistakes of the magazine Znamya as noted in the decree.

The TsK VKP(b) considers the most important task of the editorial board of Znamya to be the assimilation into the magazine of eminent Soviet writers, literary critics and publicists, who are capable of correcting the policy of the magazine, of raising its ideological and artistic level, and actively defending in creative work the principles of the Bolshevik Party.

The magazine should publish works which are truthful, which clearly represent life in its revolutionary development, and which reveal new high qualities of the Soviet people -- the builders of communism. Being guided by the method of socialistic realism, Soviet writers should boldly invade life, ardently support everything new and communist, and bravely scourge those remnants which are preventing the Soviet people from advancing.

The editorial staff of Znamya has been ordered to take measures for the improvement of the sections of criticism and publicism. The literary-critical and publicistic articles should elucidate urgent problems of public and literary life and give timely and correct evaluation of literary artistic works.

The publication of the magazine Znamya has been entrusted to the publishing house of Pravda.

From -- Kul'tura i Zhizn', No 1

11 January 1949

ON THE STATE OF AND MEASURES FOR IMPROVING PARTY EDUCATION
IN THE YAROSLAVKAYA OBLAST PARTY ORGANIZATION

From a Decree of the TsK VKP(b) 1949

The TsK VKP(b) heard the report of the Yaroslavl^{=aya} Oblast~~ya~~ Committee of the VKP(b) concerning the state of party education and passed a decree "On the State of ^{and} Measures for Improving Party Education in the Yaroslavskaia Oblast Party Organization."

The TsK VKP(b) noted that as a result of measures taken by the oblast committee of VKP(b), the organization of party education in the Yaroslavskaia party organization in the current school year has improved as follows: the basic mass of communists has been included in different forms of party education; the school year in political schools and circles began on time and in an organized manner; the interest of communists in Marxist-Leninist studies has increased.

At the same time, the TsK VKP(b) noted that in the work of the network of party education in the Yaroslavskaia Oblast party organization, the main problem is yet unsolved -- the provision of all schools and circles with qualified propaganda cadres, thus ensuring the high ideological and political level of studies. The oblast committee has given insufficient guidance and especially insufficient method^{logical} help to propagandists. In seminars of propagandists, theoretical and method^{logical} help to propagandists is often replaced by the reading of poorly qualified lectures, superficially prepared. As a result of this, the quality of the work of many propagandists does not fulfill the growing requirements for party education, and propagandists often go astray on the road of formal education in schools and circles. Instead of vital talks and discussions of the problems being

studied, the question-and-answer method prevails in many schools and circles, drying up studies and hindering the deep mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory by students.

In the Yaroslavskaia party organization, work on rendering regular assistance to communists doing independent study of Marxist-Leninist theory is only feebly carried out. Consultations are rarely conducted with consultants assigned to aid those engaged in political self-education; their work has not been organized. The party study rooms give insufficient help to those doing independent study on theory. Lecture propaganda, as an aid to political self-education, especially in rural regions, has been weakly developed. Party organizations often lose sight of the fact that the high quality of independent study can be achieved only with an individual approach to communism, taking into account the level of training and the ideological needs of each of them.

The TsK VKP(b) noted that the local and central press give very little help to propagandists and those who are studying Marxist-Leninist theory independently. The newspaper Severnny Rabochiy rarely publishes articles and consultations on method^{logical} problems to aid propagandists. The editorial staffs of the oblast, city, and rayon newspapers weakly generalize and popularize the experience of studies within the network of party education. The central party press -- the newspapers Pravda and Kul'tura i Zhizn' -- print few articles and consultations on theoretical questions and insufficiently generalize the experience of propaganda work in local areas.

The TsK VKP(b) has ordered the Yaroslavskaia oblast, city, and rayon committees of the VKP(b) to eliminate the shortcomings noted in the decree and to take measures for the further improvement of the organization of

party education. Raising the quality of political studies and the ideological and theoretical level of party education, is to be considered the most important task of the oblast party ^{organization} education in party education.

It has been proposed that the oblast committee of the VKP(b) pay particular attention to immediately and successfully resolving the tasks involved in further improving the quality of propagandists, and that they entrust the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism to those members of the party who are the best trained with respect to theory; ensure the systematic improvement in the qualifications of propagandists; render them regular ^{logical} methodo help in the correct organization of educational processes in schools and circles, in the compilation of curricula, in the selection of literature and illustrations, in the compilation of summaries, etc.

Organize reports for propagandists concerning the most important decisions of the party and government, on the domestic and international position of the USSR, the immediate economic and political tasks of local party organizations, and also lectures on urgent problems in science, technology, literature, and art.

The TsK VKP(b) has ordered the oblast committee of the VKP(b), for the purpose of training supernumerary propagandists, to conduct the following courses in the current year and to select for these courses the best teachers: three to four month courses, under the Yaroslavskiy and Shcherbakovskiy city committees of the party, for city propagandists to be conducted without disrupting their basic work; monthly courses, under the oblast committee of the VKP(b), for village propagandists from the most remote regions of the oblast -- these propagandists may be freed from their basic work during this time.

Considering that the most important tasks of party study rooms are the rendering of systematic assistance to propagandists in their preparation for their studies and to communists who are studying Marxist-Leninist theory, the TsK VKP(b) proposed that oblast, city, and rayon committees of VKP(b) organize consultations on theoretical and method^{ological} questions, in party study rooms along with exhibitions of literature and text-books on [different] subjects; organize the drawing up of diagrams and bibliographical surveys of literature, etc.

The TsK VKP(b) ordered the editorial staffs of the newspapers Pravda and Kul'tura i Zhizn' to regularly publish theoretical articles and consultations as an aid to propagandists and to the political self-education of cadres, and also to increase the dissemination of positive experience [acquired] in the organization of party education in local party organizations.

Noting that the Press Bureau of the newspaper Pravda responds poorly to the needs of propagandists, the TsK VKP(b) ordered the Agitprop Section of the TsK VKP(b) to strengthen the machinery of the Press-Bureau of Pravda and through the Press Bureau, to adjust the distribution to republic, kray, and oblast newspapers of qualified lectures, consultations, and articles to help propagandists to not less than once a week.

It has been proposed that the oblast committee of the VKP(b) develop more extensively the study by communists and non-party workers of the life and activity of the leaders and organizers of the Bolshevik Party, the founders of the Soviet Government, V. I. Lenin and I. V. Stalin.

The TsK VKP(b) ordered the oblast committee of the party to organize broad assistance to comrades who are engaged in self-education. For this purpose, it has been proposed that they provide for a series of lectures in city and rayon centers on the history of the VKP(b), dialectical and

historical materialism, political economy, and problems of the foreign and domestic policies of the party and the Soviet Government. It is necessary to enlist party and soviet aktiv more extensively for lecturing, along with teachers of VUZes, scientific and engineering-technical workers.

It was suggested that the oblast committee of the VKP(b) strengthen its control over the independent study by communists of the Marxist-Leninist theory, provide for an examination of their studies in essence, avoiding formal accounts in this matter and utilizing such proven forms of assistance and control over the political self-education of communists as consultations, especially individual ones, theoretical conversations, and the reading and discussion of papers.

The TsK VKP(b) proposed that the oblast, city, and rayon party committees systematically examine and control the work of the network of party education, bring up for discussion by party committees and primary party organizations, problems of Marxist-Leninist study by communists, and hear the reports of propagandists on the progress of political studies, taking concrete measures for improving the party education of members and candidates of the VKP(b).

Kul'tura i Zhizn'

No 3, 30 January 1949

ON THE WORK OF THE GOSPLANIZDAT [PUBLISHING HOUSE OF GOSPLAN]
AND THE MAGAZINE PLANOVOYE KHOZYAYSTVO [PLANNED ECONOMY]

Decree of the TsK VKP(b) of January 1950

On 3 January 1950, the TsK VKP(b) passed a decree "On the Work of the Gosplanizdat and the magazine Planovoye Khozyaystvo."

The TsK VKP(b) notes that Gosplanizdat (director, Comrade Fedorov) and the editorial staff of the magazine Planovoye Khozyaystvo (editor-in-chief, Comrade Kosyachenko) are working unsatisfactorily.

Gosplanizdat has not ensured the publication of works on actual problems of Soviet economics, on the theory and practice of socialist planning, and it has not published works at all with criticism of the economics and politics of imperialist countries. Gosplanizdat has not ensured the publication of text-books on the planning of the national economy and on other economic principles. Gosplanizdat is not publishing text-books for workers in the planning organs of local areas. Some books which it published were written on a low theoretical level and, in a number of publications, political mistakes were permitted on problems of the socialist planning of the national economy, Soviet economics, and the economics of foreign countries. The editorial machinery has not been staffed with qualified cadres.

There are great shortcomings and mistakes in the work of the editorial staff of the magazine Planovoye Khozyaystvo. Many articles published in the magazine, are written on a low level, do not generalize the practices of socialist planning, and do not raise new questions. The magazine does not criticize mistakes in the work of planning organs, and it does not conduct a struggle against manifestations of the antistate practice of the lowering the goals of plans and against the harmful "theories" of the winter abatement of production. There is no criticism of the reactionary economic theories of bourgeois economists in the magazine.

Gosplanizdat and the editorial staff of the magazine Planovoye Khoz-
yaystvo are relying in their work upon a small group of authors.

The Gosplan of the USSR is giving unsatisfactory guidance to Gosplan-
izdat and the magazine Planovoye Khozyaystvo.

The TsK VKP(b) ordered Gosplan of the USSR and Gosplanizdat to elimi-
nate the shortcomings noted in this decree; to revise the publishing plan;
to ensure a high ideological and political level in the literature published;
to strengthen the editorial machinery of the publishing house by staffing
it with qualified cadres, capable of reorganizing the work of the publish-
ing house in conformance with the tasks in the development of the national
economy and socialist planning.

The TsK VKP(b) pointed out to G. P. Kosyachenko the serious short-
comings and errors which have been permitted in the work of the editorial
staff of the magazine Planovoye Khozyaystvo, and it ordered the editorial
board of the magazine to improve the operation of the magazine in the very
near future, to reorganize its work in accordance with the practical prob-
lems of socialist construction and the requirements of the scientific ex-
ploitation of economic theory.

ON THE SERIOUS SHORTCOMINGS IN THE SELECTION OF AUTHORS FOR
ARTICLES IN THE LARGE SOVIET ENCYCLOPEDIA

Decree of the TsK VKP(b) of September 1951

On 21 September 1951, the TsK VKP(b) passed a decree "On the Serious Shortcomings in the Selection of authors for Articles in the Large Soviet Encyclopedia."

The TsK VKP(b) noted that the main editorial staff of the Large Soviet Encyclopedia permits serious shortcomings and mistakes in the selection of authors for articles, and it does not take the necessary measures for attracting the learned men of the country and eminent specialists into collaboration on the Encyclopedia. The main editorial staff, to a considerable degree, has transferred the very important matter of selecting authors for the Encyclopedia, to branch editorial staffs; the latter, enjoying an absence of control, frequently enlist poor workers who are unknown in the broad circles of the Soviet scientific community, for the preparation of many articles, especially on general history, political economy, and geography. The intolerable practice of enlisting persons for collaboration on the Encyclopedia on the basis of family connections and friendly relations takes place in the selection of authors of articles.

The TsK VKP(b) ordered the main editorial staff of the Large Soviet Encyclopedia to eliminate the shortcomings and mistakes, indicated in this decree, in the selection of authors of articles for the Encyclopedia, to enlist the great learned and eminent public men and highly qualified specialists extensively for collaboration on the Encyclopedia.

It has also been proposed that the main editorial staff of the Encyclopedia increase the responsibility of members of the main editorial staff for the work of the branch editorial staffs, for the selection of authors

and quality of articles; approve, in accordance with the presentation of members of the main editorial staff, the personal staff of authors of the outstanding articles of each volume of the Encyclopedia, not permitting absence of control in this connection in the work of branch editorial staffs; establish an order of preparation of the most important articles for the Encyclopedia under which all the main articles would be discussed extensively in the editorial staffs with the enlistment of authors and reviewers.

ON THE SHORTCOMINGS IN THE MAGAZINE KROKODIL
AND MEASURES FOR ITS IMPROVEMENT

Decree of the TsK VKP(b) of September 1951

On 28 September 1951, the TsK VKP(b) passed a decree "On the Shortcomings in the Magazine Krokodil and Measures for its Improvement."

The TsK VKP(b) noted that the magazine Krokodil contains little of interest, that its ideological and artistic standards are too low. Krokodil publishes many far-fetched, insipid stories and verses, poor drawings and cartoons which do not have serious social significance; it permits errors in its accounts of questions of the internal life of the country and international events. Frequently, solitary negative facts appearing in the magazine pass for general shortcomings in the work of government, trade-union, and other organizations, which create a false impression among readers of the work of these organizations. The magazine publishes the pictures and cartoons of a narrow circle of artists which are primitive, with monotonous themes and stereotyped presentation. The magazine only feebly fulfills its tasks in the struggle against the remnants of capitalism in the minds of the Soviet people.

The editorial board has not enlisted the services of a broad circle of artists and journalists in the magazine. There is insufficient organization in the work of the editorial staff, which results in factual errors and omissions in the materials published.

The TsK VKP(b) has asked the editorial board of Krokodil to eliminate the shortcomings noted in this decree, and as soon as possible, to raise the ideological and artistic level of the magazine.

ON THE SERIOUS SHORTCOMINGS AND ERRORS IN THE WORK OF GOSYURIZDAT

[STATE PUBLISHING HOUSE OF JURIDICAL LITERATURE]

Decree of the TsK VKP(b) of April 1952

On 19 April 1952, the TsK VKP(b) passed a decree "On the Serious Shortcomings and Errors in the Work of Gosyurizdat."

The TsK VKP(b) noted that the operation of the Gosyurizdat is unsatisfactory. The majority of the literature which it has published does not meet the requirements of Soviet legal science and lags behind the requests of practical workers of the Soviet court and prosecutor's office. Many books published by Gosyurizdat contain serious ideological errors and some of them are politically harmful.

The Publishing House is unscrupulous in its selection of authors; it frequently enlists poorly skilled and sometimes even politically questionable persons for the creation of books, especially on problems of the state structure of countries of the people's democracy and international law. As a result of the complacency and carelessness in the leadership of the Publishing House, the preparation of books concerning the state structure of countries of the people's democracy has been monopolized by a small group of persons, who have put through incorrect ideas on the nature and means of the development of the people's democratic system in these countries; the books of this group of authors have not been subjected to broad discussion and have been undeservedly overloaded with praise.

The management of Gosyurizdat has treated the selection of editorial workers carelessly. The preparation for the press of its main publications has often been entrusted to editors who do not have the knowledge necessary for such work.

Comrad Pronin, the editor-in-chief of the Publishing House is unconscientious in the fulfillment of his duties, does not organize the editorial work, and in many cases does not even read the books which are being prepared for the press. The editorial council of the publishing house is essentially inactive.

Comrade Tatarin, the director of Gosyurizdat, has replaced operative concrete management of the work of the Publishing House, with useless assessor bustle and fuss. Educational work among the workers has been neglected. Instead of extensive criticism and self-criticism of the shortcomings in the work of the Publishing House, an atmosphere of complacency and self-satisfaction has been created.

Glavpoligrafizdat [Main Administration of the Printing Industry, Publishing Houses, and Book Trade] under the Council of Ministers of the USSR, superficially directs Gosyurizdat and misses the great shortcomings in the content of the literature it publishes. Unjustifiably extolling the imaginary successes in the work of the Publishing House, Glavpoligrafizdat has thereby dulled the workers' feeling of Bolshevik responsibility for the tasks entrusted to them.

The TsK VKP(b) has dismissed D. F. Tatarin, the director of Gosyurizdat and P. P. Pronin, the editor-in-chief of the Publishing House from the positions which they occupied, because they had not been coping with their duties.

The TsK VKP(b) ordered Glavpoligrafizdat and Gosyurizdat to eliminate the shortcomings in the work of the Publishing House as noted in this decree and to take the measures necessary to ensure the publication of juridical literature on a high ideological level.

The TsK VKP(b) has defined as the most important task of Gosyurizdat, the publication of high-quality scientific literature, text-books, and popular literature on the pressing problems in jurisprudence, primarily on the theory and history of the State and law, Soviet State law and international law, and also literature which generalizes the experience of the work of Soviet State organs, particularly organs of the court and the prosecutor's office.

The TsK VKP(b) ordered Glavpoligrafizdat and Gosyurizdat to strengthen the Publishing House by staffing it with skilled cadres of editorial and publishing workers who have been examined; to put the work with authors in proper order; to enlist qualified specialists of Soviet law for the creation of books; to ensure high quality in the editing of manuscripts and to strengthen the staff and improve the work of the editorial and publishing council.

The TsK VKP(b) ordered the Ministry of Justice of the USSR and the office of the Prosecutor USSR to help Gosyurizdat in raising the quality of juridical literature, in the selection of cadres of writers, and to examine the subject plans of Gosyurizdat.

ON THE FACTS OF THE FLAGRANT POLITICAL DISTORTIONS
OF THE TEXTS OF DEM'YAN BEDNYI'S WORKS

Decree of the TsK VKP(b) of April 1952

On 24 April 1952, the TsK VKP(b) passed a decree "On the Facts of the Flagrant Political Distortions of the Texts of Dem'yan Bednyy's Works."

The decree indicated that upon checking on the materials coming in to the TsK VKP(b), it was determined that Goslitizdat (Izbrannoye [Selected Works], 1950) and Voenizdat [Military Publishing House] (Rodnaya Armiya [Native Army], 1951) have permitted arbitrariness in the compilation and editing of the texts of the poet; as a result of this, many of his verses have been printed with flagrant political distortions, in many cases amounting to the liberal-bourgeois falsification of Bednyy's texts.

V. Reginin, the compiler of the indicated collections, was unscrupulous in the discharge of his duties; he included in the collections, not the latest versions of the works, but earlier versions which have been rejected by the poet himself; he did not take into consideration the fact that D. Bednyy has improved his works and, in a number of cases, has introduced corrections under the influence of party criticism.

L. Belov, editor of Goslitizdat, was not conscientious in preparing D. Bednyy's Izbrannoye for the press, for he didn't check the material submitted by Reginin with the corrections introduced by the poet, and as a result, the collection was published with distortions.

A. Kolesen^o, editor of Voenizdat, in editing the collection of Bednyy's works entitled Rodnaya Armiya, not only did not eliminate the distortions which Reginin permitted, but arbitrarily abridged some works himself; he removed epigraphs which were important for their political significance and this resulted in a number of works which were inferior in political content and sometimes even politically distorted.

T. Kotov, director of Goslitizdat, in publishing the collection entitled Izbrannoye and T. Kopylov, chief of the administration of Voenizdat, in publishing the collection entitled Rodnaya Armiya, were both irresponsible in the preparation of D. Bednyy's texts for the press, having completely entrusted this work to compilers and editors, ignorant of texts and politically careless and unscrupulous.

Those specifically responsible for the errors noted have been punished.

The TsK VKP(b) has ordered Glavpoligrafizdat (Comrade Grachev) to introduce the necessary order into the publishing houses, thus eliminating all possibility of repeating arbitrariness in preparing the texts of artistic works for the press.

The TsK VKP(b) has commissioned Goslitizdat (Comrade Kotov) to issue a collection of D. Bednyy's works in 1952-1953 and to ensure high quality in the preparation of the texts of the poet's works.

ON MEASURES FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF CITY NEWSPAPERS

Decree of the TsK VKP(b) of July 1952

On 19 July 1952, the TsK VKP(b) passed a decree "On Measures for the Improvement of City Newspapers".

The TsK VKP(b) noted that many city newspapers are coping poorly with the tasks which have been set for them. City newspapers give an unsatisfactory account of the work of industrial enterprises, cultural institutions, and the city economy. The activity of party organizations and local soviets does not find proper reflection in newspapers; criticism of shortcomings is weakly developed; proper attention is not given to socialist competition and the propaganda of progressive experience in production; problems of political and cultural work among the population are poorly elucidated; there is very little material on the work of schools, VUZes, palaces of culture, clubs, and local radio broadcasting. In many city newspapers, information on the life of the Soviet Union and TASS reviews on international events are not published regularly.

The editorial staffs of the city newspapers have weak ties with the author aktiv; they rarely print the articles of the foremost people of industry, of engineers, technicians, party and soviet workers, and men of science, literature, and art; they do not use to a proper degree the letters sent to the newspapers. Vivid essays, feuilletons, and poems are almost never published in city newspapers. The pages of the newspapers are often filled with the official documents of local organizations.

The majority of the city newspapers are published on a low cultural level, they are poorly drawn up, and they publish carelessly finished photographs and drawings.

Many city committees of the VKP(b) unsatisfactorily direct their own newspapers, do not thoroughly investigate their work, do not take the necessary measures for strengthening the editorial staffs by staffing them

with skilled journalists, and they rarely hear the accounts of the editorial staffs or discuss plans for their work. The oblast and kray committees and the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics give little practical help to the city newspapers, and they do not take measures for improving the qualifications of editorial workers of these newspapers. Oblast newspapers do not regularly publish reviews of city newspapers.

The TsK VKP(b) ordered the editorial staffs of city newspapers, the city, oblast, and kray committees of the VKP(b), and the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics to eliminate the shortcomings which have been noted and to take measures for the improvement of the content of city newspapers and for the enhancement of their role in the political, economic, and cultural work of city party organizations.

The editorial staffs of city newspapers have been ordered to give a thorough account of the affairs of industrial enterprises, cultural institutions, and the municipal economy; to popularize the experience of the socialist competition of workers and engineering-technical workers for the fulfillment and over-fulfillment of government plans, for increased quality and reduction of the costs of production, in every way possible, for economy of raw materials, for correct utilization of the internal reserves of industry, for the establishment of new techniques and advanced technology, and the further increase of the productivity of labor; to give broad coverage to the work of party, trade-union, and Komsomol organizations and to the work of local soviets; to criticize shortcomings in the work of enterprises of industry and transport, of municipal economy, trade organizations, public health services, popular education, cultural institutions, and public organizations. Newspapers should allot particular attention to questions in educating the workers in the spirit of a communist attitude toward labor and public property.

3 . It has been proposed that editorial staffs of city newspapers strive to make each issue of the newspaper purposeful, pithy, and interesting. As a rule, editorial staffs should publish the following in each issue of the newspaper: the most important information on the affairs of the city, oblast, and country, and international events; correspondence and notes on the work of industrial enterprises, cultural and educational institutions, the city economy, local soviets and public organizations; material showing positive experience and methods of labor of the foremost people in industry; correspondence and articles elucidating the work of the local party organizations of enterprises and soviet institutions. It has been proposed that they regularly publish essays, feuilletons, poems, reviews, comments of readers on theatrical productions, movies, and works of artistic literature, as well as letters from workers. Once a week city newspapers should publish TASS reviews on international topics.

The editorial staffs of city newspapers have been ordered to discontinue the incorrect practice of filling newspapers with the material of a narrow circle of authors and staff workers; to enlist the services of ^a broad aktiv selected from among the leaders of production, of party, Komsomol, soviet, engineering-technical and scientific workers and from other strata of the intelligentsia; to conduct systematic work with authors, regularly calling conferences and meetings of readers and rabkors; to utilize letters coming into the newspapers for formulating the burning questions of the day.

City, oblast, and kray committees of the VKP(b) and the central committees of the communist party of the union republics were ordered

to draw up and carry out measures for strengthening editorial staffs of the city newspapers by staffing them with skilled and politically literate workers; to organize, under the editorial staffs of oblast, kray, and republic newspapers, monthly practice [work] for the editors and secretaries of editorial staffs of the city newspapers, so that all the editors and secretaries of the editorial staffs might have such practice in the very near future.

The city committees of the party should give daily direction to the work of the editorial staffs of the city newspapers, give them assistance in every way possible, hear reports of the editors of the newspapers, regularly examine the plans for work of the editorial staffs and check on their fulfillment, and in every way possible further^{the}/development of criticism in the press.

Oblast committees, kray committees, and central committees of the communist parties of the union republics, with an examination of the work of the city committees of the party, have been ordered to thoroughly investigate the work of the editorial staffs of the city newspapers, to take the measures necessary for improving these newspapers, and to ensure the publication of reviews of city newspapers in oblast, kray, and republic newspapers.

By decree of the TsK VKP(b), as of 1 October 1952, the size of the city newspapers issued in two pages half the size of Pravda was increased to four pages half the size of Pravda.

The editors of city newspapers have been given the same status as third secretaries of corresponding city party committees, with respect to wages, and also to the guarantee of medical benefits and passes for sanatorium and health resort treatment and other types of material guarantees.

For the city newspapers issued in four pages half the size of Pravda, the [total] fee [permitted] for contributions [gonorar] was set at 300 rubles per issue.

The price for city newspapers published in four pages half the size of Pravda was fixed at 15 kopecks a copy.

The TsK VKP(b) ordered TASS to improve the service to city newspapers, to give Soviet Union and international information for each issue of the newspaper and weekly reviews on international events, and to improve the quality of the reproduced materials and the engraving plates.

It has been proposed that the editorial staff of the newspaper Pravda improve the work of the Press Bureau of Pravda with respect to service for city newspapers, and monthly to send them not less than 10 to 12 articles on the most important general political and economic topics, as well as on the ^{natural}sciences, so that the editorial staffs of the city newspapers might select those articles which they need for publication.

ON THE SHORTCOMINGS IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

Decree of the TsK KPSS of June 1953

On 18 June 1953, the TsK KPSS passed a decree "On the Shortcomings in the Distribution of Newspapers and Magazines".

It noted that some of the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics, the kray and oblast committees of the KPSS, especially ^{of the communist party} the TsK ~~A~~ of Belorussia and Kirgizia, and the Tatarskaya, Orlovskaya, Kuybyshevskaya and Sverdlovskaya oblast party committees, have farmed out the job of distributing periodical publications (newspapers and magazines, especially rayon newspapers) to local departments of Soyuzpechat' [Central Administration for the Distribution of Printed matter] of the Ministry of Communications USSR; they let slip from their hands control over the distribution of newspapers and magazines by subscription and through retail sale.

Many party committees have lost sight of the fact that the press is the sharpest weapon of the party, while operative and timely distribution of newspapers and magazines among the population is a vital matter and the direct responsibility of the party organizations, primarily of agitprop sections.

The agitprop sections of oblast, kray, and rayon committees of the party do not give the necessary assistance to the local organs of Soyuzpechat' in the selection of cadres, in advertising the periodical press, in putting the proper order into the work of distributing the press among the population, and in the organization of subscriptions for newspapers and magazines.

As a result of underestimating the political significance of distributing the press, many newspapers and magazines are poorly utilized as a means of educating the masses. In the Belorussian SSR, as a result of the poor organization of subscriptions and retail sale, only eight thousand copies

are distributed of the 50 thousand copies of the circulation of the republic newspaper Kalgasnyaya Pravda and only 15 per cent of the circulation of the Baranovichskaya and Molodechnenskaya oblast newspapers is distributed among the readers.

The rayon newspapers are distributed especially poorly. In Kuybyshevskaya Oblast, because of the low quality and the tardiness of publication, only about 40 to 60 per cent of the newspapers are distributed. The Kuybyshevskaya and also the Sverdlovskaya, Orlovskaya and Tatarskaya oblast committees of the party do not show the necessary concern for the timely publication of the newspapers or for the improvement of the contents and the polygraphic formation of the local press. The unsatisfactory quality of the newspapers and their tardy publication displeases the readers and reduces the demand for the newspaper.

The TsK KPSS also noted that the Ministry of Communications of the USSR and organs of Soyuzpechat' in local areas are unsatisfactorily fulfilling the decree of the Central Committee of 10 November 1950, "On the Shortcomings in the Work of Soyuzpechat' of the Ministry of Communications of the USSR", and they have not yet eliminated the substantial shortcomings in the distribution of the periodical press, especially in rural areas. The organs of Soyuzpechat' poorly organize subscriptions to the newspapers and magazines and are late in their delivery to the readers. In Orlovskaya Oblast, the Novosel'skiy Rayon Office of Communications receives newspapers daily, while they are sent to the rural departments and agencies only three times a month with batches for seven to nine days.

Many newspapers and magazines remain undistributed; they get stuck in the commercial net and are thus unused.

Because of the unsatisfactory work of Soyuzpechat' and the Main Administration of Agricultural Propaganda of the Ministry of Agriculture

and Agricultural Procurement of the USSR, and also of the agitprop sections of the oblast and kray committees of the KPSS, and the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics, some industrial-technical and agricultural magazines are not fully distributed, and they are not printed up in considerable quantities. Out of 100,000 copies of the circulation of the magazine, Dostizheniya Nauki i Peredovogo Opyta v Sel'skom Khozyaystve [Achievements of Science and Progressive Experience in Agriculture], 89,500 copies are distributed; out of 200,000 copies of the circulation of the magazine Kolkhoznoye Proizvodstvo [Kolkhoz Production], 181,600 copies are distributed. The poor distribution of agricultural newspapers and magazines causes serious damage to the introduction into kolkhoz production of the achievements of Soviet agricultural science and the experience of leading kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and MTS.

The TsK KPSS ordered the oblast and kray committees of the KPSS and the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics to eliminate the shortcomings which were noted in the distribution of the press; at the bureau to regularly discuss problems in the distribution of newspapers and magazines among the population; to keep a regular watch on the circulation of each newspaper and magazine, and, if the prescribed circulation exceeds the demand, to reduce the circulation to the actual requirement; to entrust the agitprop sections with constant control over the work of Soyuzpechat' organs and with giving them the help they need in carrying out subscriptions for the newspapers and magazines and in distributing the press.

It has been proposed that the central committees of the communist parties of Belorussia, Kirgizia, and Kazakhstan take the necessary measures for the complete distribution of oblast, city, and rayon newspapers which are issued in the national languages.

The Ministry of Communications of the USSR and the Main Administration for the Dissemination and Distribution of the Press were ordered to eliminate the shortcomings which were noted in the dissemination and distribution of the press.

It has been proposed that the publishing houses and the editorial staffs ensure the publication of the newspapers and magazines on time and help Soyuzpechat' organs in the distribution of newspapers and magazines through the publication of articles and advertisements, bearing in mind that the editorial staffs and publishing houses have direct responsibility for the distribution of their own publications. It has been established that the transportation costs suffered by the organs of communication because of tardiness in the publication of the newspapers and magazines, are to be paid by the publishing houses and editorial staffs of the newspapers.

It has been proposed that the Ministry of Agriculture and Agricultural Procurement of the USSR charge the Main Administration for Agricultural Propaganda and Scientific Research Institutions with the duty of helping Soyuzpechat' organs in the distribution of agricultural newspapers and magazines.

The TsK KPSS ordered the Ministry of Communications of the USSR to ensure the apportionment of magazines and newspapers by retail to the extent prescribed by the TsK KPSS.

ON THE SERIOUS SHORTCOMINGS IN THE WORK OF GOSPOLITIZDAT [THE
STATE PUBLISHING HOUSE OF POLITICAL LITERATURE]

Decree of the TsK KPSS of December 1953

In its decree "On the Serious Shortcomings in the Work of Gospolitizdat," adopted 24 December 1953, TsK KPSS noted serious shortcomings in the work of Gospolitizdat. The Publishing House is behind in the tasks set by the party in the field of ideological work and of the communist education of workers; it does not satisfy the increasing demands of the party cadres, the Soviet intelligentsia, and the broad popular masses for present-day political literature; it allows great errors, both in subject matter and in ideological content of books.

Gospolitizdat publishes little mass-political literature, especially books and pamphlets explaining the decisions of the 19th Party Congress, the Five-Year Plan for the development of the USSR, and the by-laws of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; it shows delay in the propaganda of the decisions of the September Plenum of the TsK KPSS and the decrees of the TsK KPSS and the Soviet Government, which were directed toward a further increase in the material prosperity of the Soviet people. The most important problems of international life, the struggle of the Soviet Union for peace among nations, and the peaceful settlement of international problems are inadequately explained in the literature on problems in international policy.

The Gospolitizdat does not publish books generalizing the experience of work of the party organizations and it does not popularize the experience of the best propagandists. The Publishing House has been

isolated from the party organizations; it does not enlist the services of workers for writing books on problems of party construction.

Few serious monographs are published on economics, philosophy, and history, especially on the economics and history of the Soviet society. The decision of the TsK KPSS concerning the publication of a series of popular pamphlets on Marxism-Leninism in 1953 is not being carried out.

The Gospolitizdat conducts a poor struggle for a rise in the ideological and theoretical level of published literature. In many books the deep Marxist-Leninist analysis of very important political problems is replaced by dogmatism and the citing of quotations; the leading role of the Communist Party is weakly revealed and the role of the popular masses in history is not pointed out. These errors were most clearly shown in Kratkiy Politicheskiy Slovar' ["A Short Political Dictionary"], published in 1953, and in a series of popular pamphlets, S'yезdy i Konferentsii VKP(b) [Congresses and Conferences of the VKP(b)].

The serious shortcomings and errors in the work of Gospolitizdat are due primarily to the fact that the Publishing House only weakly takes the needs of the readers into consideration when planning the publication of literature; it waits until manuscripts just drift in. For the creation of a political book, they insufficiently enlist the aid of the best theoretical workers in our party, of the party aktiv, and of eminent publicists and workers of scientific establishments. Persons with little skill often appear in the capacity of authors of books.

Comrade Kovalev, the director of the Publishing House does not give the proper leadership to the editorial workers; he is not very familiar with the affairs of the editorial staffs and until recently he was uncritical in his evaluation of the activity of the Gospolitizdat. A negligent attitude toward the publication of books exists in the Publishing House, for part of the manuscripts are not read either by the editor-in-chief and his assistants, or by the heads of editorial staffs. Collective discussions of the most crucial publications are not conducted. The Ministry of Culture of the USSR exercises only weak control over the work of Gospolitizdat; it has no influence upon the nature and the content of the literature which it publishes, and it does not give the necessary aid to the Publishing House.

The TsK KPSS ordered Gospolitizdat (Comrade Kovalev) and the Ministry of Culture of the USSR (Comrade Stoletov) to eliminate the serious shortcomings and errors in the work of the Gospolitizdat noted in the decree and to take measures for the radical improvement of its activity.

Gospolitizdat is to consider as its most important task the publication of literature, creatively treating the theory and history of the Communist Party, illuminating the regularity of development of the Soviet society, propagandizing the policy of the party and the Soviet Government, and literature directed at a further increase in the prosperity of the Soviet people. In books and pamphlets on questions of Marxist-Leninist theory, develop the decisive role of the popular masses in history and the role of the Communist Party as a guiding and directing force in the building-up of communism; propagandize the ideas of Soviet patriotism, proletarian internationalism, and the friendship of the peoples of the USSR.

On the basis of the development of the basic ideas of Marxism-Leninism, it is necessary to explain extensively in political literature the domestic and foreign policies of our party, which were formulated through the years.

The TsK KPSS ordered the Gospolitizdat to radically improve the publication of mass-political literature, to ensure an increase in the quantity and quality of popular political books for the people, to quickly and opportunely reflect in literature the most important problems of the building-up of communism and the policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government in the field of international relations.

For the purpose of raising the quality of mass-political literature and of attracting highly-skilled writers and reviewers into creating this literature, Gospolitizdat has been authorized to pay higher fees for political pamphlets and also for reviews for this literature.

The TsK KPSS proposed that Gospolitizdat put an end to underestimating literature on the building-up of the party. In 1954, it was suggested that a series of pamphlets be published generalizing the experience of the work of party organization and also the work of the best propagandists and agitators; that an editorial staff for literature on the building-up of the party be created in Gospolitizdat.

The TsK KPSS has ordered that the main editorial staff of the publishing house be strengthened and that the number of assistants to the editor-in-chief be increased to four persons. The main editorial staff must read over the manuscripts of all books before signing them for printing and also must collectively discuss the most important manuscripts and hear reports of the editorial staffs of the Publishing House concerning work on the selection of authors and the editing and reviewing of books.