

N. S. KHRUSHCHOV



**The GREAT MISSION
of LITERATURE and ART**



N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

**THE
GREAT MISSION
OF LITERATURE
AND ART**



PROGRESS PUBLISHERS

Moscow 1964

PRINTED IN SOVIET UNION

Н. С. ХРУЩЕВ

ВЫСОКОЕ ПРИЗВАНИЕ ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ И ИСКУССТВА

На английском языке

TRANSLATED FROM THE RUSSIAN

Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

CONTENTS

	Page
A Great Poet of the People, <i>From a Speech at the Unveiling of the Taras Shevchenko Monument in Kiev, March 6, 1939</i>	7
The Arts Must Be Imbued with the Spirit of Struggle for Communism, <i>From the Report of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to the Twentieth Party Congress</i>	10
For Close Links Between Literature and Art and the Life of the People, <i>Summary of the Speeches Made at the Writers' Meeting in the C.C. C.P.S.U. on May 13, 1957, at the Reception for Writers, Painters, Sculptors and Composers on May 19, 1957 and at the Party Active in July 1957</i>	12
An Important Contribution to the Great Cause of Communist Construction, <i>Speech at a Reception for Soviet Intellectuals in the Grand Kremlin Palace, February 8, 1958</i>	49
Love and Respect from the People Is the Writer's Greatest Reward, <i>Speech at the Grand Kremlin Palace Reception for Participants in Afro-Asian Writers' Conference in Tashkent, October 22, 1958</i>	58
Portray the Heroic Feats of the People, <i>From the Report on the Control Figures for the Economic Development of the U.S.S.R. for 1959-65, delivered at the Twenty-First Congress of the C.P.S.U.</i>	62
The Great Mission of Soviet Writers Is to Serve the People, <i>Speech at the Third Congress of Writers, May 22, 1959</i>	64
A Talented and Faithful Chronicler of Our Great Era, <i>From a Speech at a Meeting in Vyoshenskaya, Rostov Region, August 30, 1959</i>	97

Soviet Art, the Pride of the Soviet People, <i>From a Speech at a Luncheon Arranged at the Twentieth Century-Fox Studios, September 19, 1959</i>	104
Towards Further Achievements in Literature and Art, <i>Abridged Account of Speeches Made at the Meeting with Soviet Intellectuals on July 17, 1960, and at Receptions for the Writers and Composers of the Russian Federation</i>	109
Soviet Arts Enrich the World's Spiritual Treasures, <i>From the Report of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to the Twenty-Second Party Congress</i>	132
Socialist and Communist Culture Is the Highest Rung in Man's Cultural Development, <i>From the Report on the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Twenty-Second Congress of the C.P.S.U.</i>	134
Satire Does a Useful Job, <i>From a Speech at a Meeting of Workers in Agriculture, Tselinograd, Kazakhstan, November 22, 1961</i>	138
We Shall Always Promote Allegiance to Party and People in All the Arts, <i>From a Speech at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, January 16, 1963</i>	140
Lofty Ideas and Artistic Skill Give Soviet Literature and Art Its Great Strength, <i>Speech at a Meeting of Party and Government Leaders with Writers and Artists, March 8, 1963</i>	142
Marxism-Leninism Is Our Banner and Our Fighting Weapon, <i>From a Speech at the Plenary Meeting of the C.C. C.P.S.U., June 21, 1963</i>	201
Our Literature and Art Are Inseparable from the Life of Socialist Society, <i>From an Interview with Henry Shapiro, UPI Correspondent, November 14, 1957</i>	221
A Good Song Exalts and Ennobles Man, <i>Message of Greeting to the Participants in the International Festival of Children's Choirs, London, December 5, 1959</i>	225
Working for Happiness and Justice on Our Planet, November 19, 1960	227
Powerful Impact on the Hearts and Minds of People, <i>To the Delegates to the Second Moscow International Film Festival, July 9, 1961</i>	228

To the Participants in the Third Moscow International Film Festival, <i>July 7, 1963</i>	230
An Example of Service to the Ideals of Peace and Humanism, <i>June 20, 1962</i>	232
Outstanding U.S. Poet and Citizen, <i>January 29, 1963</i>	234
From an Interview with I. Pietra, Director of <i>Il Giorno</i> , <i>April 20, 1963</i>	235
Speech at the Unveiling of the Shevchenko Monument in Moscow, <i>June 10, 1964</i>	241

A GREAT POET OF THE PEOPLE

*From a Speech at the Unveiling of the Taras
Shevchenko Monument in Kiev
March 6, 1939*

Comrades,

Today we are celebrating a joyful event, the 125th anniversary of the birth of Taras Shevchenko, our great Ukrainian poet and revolutionary democrat.

This anniversary is being celebrated not only by the Ukrainian people, but by all the other peoples of the great Soviet Union.

Shevchenko is near and dear to all the peoples of our great country, because his works expressed the thoughts both of the Ukrainian poor and of the working people of all nations.

Shevchenko's call to battle against age-long oppression by the tsars, landowners and capitalists echoed in the hearts of the poor—the Ukrainians as well as the Russians, Kalmyks, Kirghiz, Georgians and other peoples.

That is why the whole of the Soviet Union, every fraternal republic and every nationality, is celebrating this date, the birthday of the great revolutionary poet. Gratefully, all the peoples are paying homage to the poet and revolutionary democrat.

All the peoples of the Soviet Union lovingly translate the poetry of Shevchenko, a Ukrainian poet, into their own languages.

Only in a country of victorious socialism, in a country where the Leninist nationalities policy has triumphed, can culture develop so rapidly and Shevchenko's writings be read so widely.

Shevchenko was an indefatigable revolutionary, a fighter against the autocracy, against serfdom, against the slave system. He fought all his life, in the teeth of all the adversity and persecution that fell to his lot.

Shevchenko never bowed down before the enemy. He had the great courage to speak the truth to the faces of the hangmen and oppressors of the people. He battled with the enemies of the working people to his dying day.

On this anniversary we, who belong to a great family of peoples, a new family of the free, may well say as we recall Shevchenko that we have carried into effect the ideas which inspired him. . . .

The Ukrainian people are living a happy and joyful life. Their economy has made unprecedented progress and so has their culture, which is national in form and socialist in content.

It is only in our country, the country of victorious socialism, that the peoples of all nationalities make progress.

People advance and so does literature, and we may say that we have translated the dreams and ideas of the great poet into reality in the Soviet Ukrainian Republic and all over the great fraternal Union.

The working class, the peasants and the intellectuals of our country have paid a high price and shed much of their blood to bring about those achievements.

We gained the victory in a hard and stubborn struggle.

We are gratified and happy to be able to enjoy the fruits of our victories.

We must never forget, however, that the country of victorious socialism is still encircled by enemies.

The fascist beasts cannot reconcile themselves to the existence of a country ruled by the working people, a country where the people live without capitalists and landed proprietors and work for their own good. . . .

Shevchenko called on the people to fight. He said:

*Oh bury me, then rise ye up
And break your heavy chains
And water with the tyrants' blood
The freedom you have gained.*

We have broken the chains, defeated our enemies, consolidated Soviet power, the power of the people, and built a socialist state of workers and peasants.

The Ukrainian people have with the help of the great Russian people freed themselves from age-long enemies, and we say with confidence that nothing will check our advance to communism, the peak of human happiness.

We who have gathered here today to unveil a monument to Taras Shevchenko, our great poet, are thereby complying with his request:

*And in the great new family,
The family of the free,
With softly spoken, kindly word
Remember also me.*

We free and happy people have come today to this meeting on the 125th anniversary of the birth of our poet to say a softly spoken, kindly word about a champion of the working people's liberty, the great Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko.

THE ARTS MUST BE IMBUED
WITH THE SPIRIT OF STRUGGLE
FOR COMMUNISM

*From the Report of the Central Committee
of the C.P.S.U. to the Twentieth Party
Congress*

In the battle which our Party is waging for the dissemination and affirmation of communist ideology against the moribund ideas and conceptions of the old world, a major role belongs to the press, literature and art. While noting the considerable achievements registered in this field, it must nevertheless be said that our literature and art still lag behind life, behind Soviet reality, for these are immeasurably richer than their reflection in art and literature. It is legitimate to ask: Have not some of our writers and art workers been losing contact with life?

Art and literature in our country can and should lead the world not only for wealth of content, but also for artistic power and execution. We cannot reconcile ourselves to pallid works bearing the stamp of haste, as some comrades in art organisations, editorial offices and publishing houses are doing. Mediocrity and insincerity are often not given a strong enough rebuff, and this is detrimental to the development of art and the artistic education of the people.

We can note some progress in the cinema. More films are now being produced. Yet, in their drive for quantity, cinema workers often are less exacting in respect of the ideological and artistic quality of pictures and turn out feeble, superficial productions dealing with petty and insignificant happenings. This practice must cease, we must remember that the cinema is a powerful instrument of communist education of the working people.

The Party has combated and will continue to combat the untruthful depiction of Soviet reality, both attempts to varnish it and attempts to scoff at and discredit what has been won by the Soviet people. Creative work in art and literature must be permeated with the spirit of struggle for communism, it must instil courage in people's hearts and firm conviction in their minds, it must cultivate a socialist mentality and a comradely sense of duty.

FOR CLOSE LINKS
BETWEEN LITERATURE AND ART
AND THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

Summary of the Speeches Made at the Writers' Meeting in the C.C. C.P.S.U. on May 13, 1957, at the Reception for Writers, Painters, Sculptors and Composers on May 19, 1957, and at the Party Active in July 1957

Acting in accordance with Lenin's concept that literature and art are a component of the people's struggle for communism, the Communist Party has always attached primary importance to the activities of writers, painters, sculptors and composers, of all cultural workers of the Soviet Union, and to the advancement of our multinational Soviet socialist culture.

Soviet literature and art owe their strength to their links with the life of the people and with the people's struggle for the communist cause. It was pointed out at the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. that our writers and artists are loyal helpers of the Communist Party in the great tasks of building the new society and educating the working people in a communist spirit.

The development of literature and art must not be viewed in isolation from the vital problems which the Communist Party and the Soviet people are now solving to advance the economy and culture of the country as they build a communist society.

I

It will be recalled that the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. set important tasks in the fields of industry, farming, culture, and the people's standard of living. That was not so long ago, yet the progress made in implementing the policy charted by the Congress is truly immense. Our industry is successfully carrying out the assignments of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. Many bourgeois politicians admit frankly that they are alarmed by the rate of Soviet industrial growth and by the strong impression which the Soviet example is making on the working people of the world. We know perfectly well how convincing our example is to the working people of all countries.

The recent session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., which discussed the reorganisation of management in industry and building, pointed out that industrial output in our country had increased more than thirtyfold in Soviet years, with a 180-fold increase in engineering and metal-working and an almost 100-fold increase in power generation.

These figures show clearly that our country, which is following the path indicated by Lenin, has become a mighty socialist power. The reorganisation of management in industry and building, now under way, is tremendously important for the further growth of the Soviet economy.

Shifting the emphasis to local management in industry has enabled us to direct the economy more specifically and efficiently, stimulate the initiative of the people still more, and increase the role and responsibility of the local authorities. From now on, matters bearing on industrial establishments and building projects will be settled on the spot, by the local economic administrations, and not by ministries or head administrations.

I imagine some people may disagree with me on this matter. Some will say so frankly, and others may choose to say nothing. That is their business. May I remind you that when the Communist Party and our Government tackled the plan for the development of virgin lands, some people did not realise the importance of the measure. The same is true of the reorganisation of industrial management. Some opposed the idea. They were too attached to the past. The past was comfortable. They were accustomed to it. But the old and outdated has to be discarded. We cannot stick to the old but must keep advancing.

The development of virgin and disused land has enabled the Soviet people to score major gains, and the steps the Communist Party is taking to improve the functioning of our industry will yield even greater results. The reorganisation of economic management will bring the Soviet people more than just material benefits. It will make for a fresh upswing in culture, because the cultural forces will be distributed more evenly and the capitals of the economic administration areas will grow faster as seats of culture.

When the theses of the report on the reorganisation of management in industry and building were published, some writers were unable to understand the new developments in our life. They were not enlightened enough to make a correct appraisal of the country's economic position at a time when it had become imperative to improve forms of industrial management. This betrayed, among other things, their isolation from reality. We are certain, however, that reality will soon show those comrades how wrong they are.

In recent years the Party has been doing a great deal to advance our agriculture. You know how difficult the position was a few years ago. You will remember the racket our enemies in the capitalist countries raised

when, at the September 1953 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, we publicly and frankly revealed the shortcomings in the handling of agriculture. Our enemies claimed that the collective farms and the whole of our cause were a failure.

During the past few years the Party and the Soviet people as a whole have made a great effort to promote agriculture, and every Soviet citizen is now aware of its fruits. But why did our agriculture lag badly behind for so long? It was because the central authorities did not care to analyse the state of affairs on the farms. As we know, Stalin never went anywhere, never sought the advice of those who worked in agriculture and never lent ear to local functionaries. As to those at the centre whom he instructed to watch over agriculture, they concealed major defects from him and cooked the books. The principle of providing the collective farmers and others engaged in agriculture with material incentives to increase output was grossly violated.

Here are two examples. Shortly after the war I went to my home village and dropped in at my cousin's. She had an orchard.

"You've got fine apple-trees," I told her.

"I'm going to cut them down in autumn," she replied.

"Why?" I asked.

"The taxes are too high," she said. "It doesn't pay to have an orchard."

I told Stalin about it. I told him the collective farmers were destroying their orchards. Afterwards he called me a Narodnik, and said my approach was that of a Narodnik and I was losing my proletarian class intuition.

Here is the other example. There was a time, wasn't there, when we sent thousands of townspeople to the collective farms to dig potatoes while the farmers looked on? Why didn't the collective farmers want to dig the potatoes? Because the state paid exceedingly low prices

for the potatoes it purchased. The delivery of potatoes to the storing place alone cost the collective farm more than it got for the potatoes.

We had to change that situation, determine the right price level and encourage agricultural production by affording material inducements to the collective farmers. You won't get far if the collective farmer has no material incentives. This must be borne in mind, for it affects the production of such staples as grain, meat, butter and potatoes. Unfortunately, we still come across "hard heads" who cannot understand this. People who stand aloof from reality and from the interests of the people cannot understand that anyone who clings stubbornly to old methods is likely to make a mess of things and cause irreparable damage to the interests of the people. We also find there people on the ideological front. They are in thrall to outmoded notions and cut-and-dried patterns, dogmas and formulas.

Admittedly, scholastic book notions are rather tenacious and make themselves felt in our work fairly often. Those who hold such views dread all that is new, they raise a hue and cry over it and shy away in fright. They cannot analyse the situation soberly nor realise the need to carry out the urgent measures necessitated by the development of society. When the Central Committee proposed a new system of planning in agriculture, conservative people opposed the measure. They tried to scare the Central Committee out of it, saying that if the central authorities stopped planning each crop, the collective farmers would stop sowing wheat and leave us without grain. Reality gave the lie to those conservatives. Millions of collective farmers enthusiastically supported the new planning system and pitched in readily, with the result that we have achieved an important gain.

The Twentieth Congress of the Party showed that our country has everything it needs to accomplish in a historically short time the fundamental economic task of the Soviet Union, that is, to overtake and outstrip the most developed capitalist countries in per head of the population output. The fulfilment of this task, which Lenin described on the eve of the October Revolution as one of the paramount tasks of the socialist state, will enable us to add still more to the economic might of the U.S.S.R. and substantially improve the people's standard of living.

In October 1917 the workers and peasants of our country followed the Bolshevik Party and Lenin into the battle to overthrow the system of big capitalists and landowners, win liberty and build a new, better life. What does a better life imply? It implies that man should be a free citizen, master of his own destiny, that he should work for himself and not for the exploiters, and that he should be amply supplied with all that he requires for a cultured and economically secure life. The Communist Party sees it as its prime duty to concern itself with the steady improvement of the living standard of the people. Our task now is to achieve in the next few years an ample supply of such staples as grain, meat, butter and milk, and of other consumer goods. You know of the efforts the Party is now making to expand housing construction in town and country alike, so as to provide the people with modern housing.

Due to the measures taken in recent years, our agriculture has attained a level that will enable it to solve the problem of overtaking the United States in the next few years in output of meat, milk and butter per head of the population. What is the present output of meat, butter and milk in our country and in the United States? In 1956 the Soviet Union was producing 32.3 kilograms of meat per head of the population, while the United

States produced 102.3 kilograms. Our butter output was 2.8 kilograms, while the United States output was 3.8 kilograms. Milk output in the Soviet Union and the United States was 245 and 343 kilograms, respectively. You will see that we are still lagging noticeably behind the United States in the output of butter, milk, and particularly meat per head of the population. The figures I have named show how big a task we have set ourselves. Can we fulfil it? Sceptics are trying to scare us, saying that we are shouldering more than we can carry. They have no faith in the potentialities of socialist economy, they do not know the country, do not understand our people and have no faith in their inexhaustible strength.

We should not be Communists-disciples and followers of Lenin-if we were afraid of the difficulties that crop up in the work of improving the people's standard of living. We realise that the task facing us is vast and complicated, but the Communist Party and the Soviet people will fulfil it. Our firm conviction is based on an accurate estimation of the possibilities of socialist agriculture and on the experience of the foremost collective farms.

The task set by the Party has won the approval and support of the whole people, who are becoming increasingly active. Collective farmers are pledging themselves to raise meat, butter and milk production three, five, ten and more times over. That is their answer to the sceptics.

Collective-farm animal husbandry is now on the rise. In view of this development, the Central Committee of the Party is discussing the question of renouncing obligatory deliveries of farm produce from the collective farmers' household lots as early as 1958. We are now perfectly able to do so. That will greatly benefit millions of working people.

I should also like to tell you about other Party measures to improve the living standard of the peoples of the Soviet Union. The rapid growth of our industry, the steady increase in labour productivity, and the widespread use of the latest scientific and technical achievements for mechanising production are enabling us to cut the working day to seven hours, and to six hours on underground jobs—in the mining industry—in the near future. In the capitalist countries, mechanisation and automation entail a lower standard of living for the working people and mass unemployment for the working class. Not so in our socialist country. The more perfect the production techniques become, the faster productivity of social labour grows, with the working people's living standard improving accordingly. The day is not far distant when we shall reduce the working day to seven hours and following it go over to a six-hour day. Thereby we shall create even more favourable conditions for the all-round development of culture and of the individual in socialist society. The development of spiritual culture hinges on that of material culture. Where material culture is low, the spiritual culture of the whole of society cannot flourish. These two factors are interconnected.

The Soviet Union is a multinational socialist state uniting fifteen equal fraternal Union Republics on a voluntary basis. As they developed along socialist lines, peoples oppressed in the past were, on gaining state sovereignty, afforded unlimited opportunities for economic and cultural progress, and made a huge advance in a short period. We must say plainly that we have yet to show properly the great historic changes that have come about in the lives of the peoples of our republics in Soviet years. Our writers and artists have a big debt to pay to the people in this respect. We suggest that writers and artists look deeper into the life of every

Soviet nationality. Thousands of vivid examples will then show them how the lives of people have changed, and what splendid achievements our people have to their credit on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

In recent years I have made several trips to Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, and have also visited Kirghizia and the Baltic republics—Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. Besides, I have been to Georgia, but that was long ago. Each of our Union Republics has made immense economic and cultural progress and has trained a large body of highly competent specialists.

How amazingly economy and culture have grown in our Soviet republics! What wonderful people have developed in Soviet conditions under the leadership of the Communist Party in the historic struggle for the communist cause! On meeting those people and talking with them, one feels unhappy and sad about the fact that writers and artists so seldom succeed in properly portraying our people in literary and art works, in showing that these are new people born and bred in the socialist period. These new people are champions of the freedom and happiness of mankind. They have excellent qualities, and traits typical of communist morality. Closer links with the everyday life and work of the people will help writers and artists to discard outdated notions about our people, to know their mentality, their characters, thoughts and aspirations, and to give faithful and vivid portrayals of our contemporaries in stories, novels, poems, plays, films, paintings and musical compositions.

The decisions of the Twentieth Party Congress stressed that to further the country's economy and culture it is indispensable to extend the powers and enhance the role of the Union Republics, and consistently implement the Leninist nationalities policy. Since the Con-

gress, the Party and the Government have done an appreciable amount of work in this field, and it is producing a beneficial effect on life in all the republics.

In this connection, I should like to make special mention of the highly important measures taken by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government to extend the powers of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. The Russian Federation is justly respected by the other fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union. People of all the socialist nations of the U.S.S.R. join the Russians in saying affectionately, "Mother Russia". We know that even in the pre-revolutionary period prominent democratic Russian intellectuals maintained close links with the foremost intellectuals of the other peoples of Russia, actively opposed national oppression, and beneficially influenced the cultural progress of various nations and nationalities.

The heroic Russian working class, led by the Bolshevik Party, was in the van of the struggle of the working people of all nationalities against the hated tsarist regime, against the bourgeois and landowner system, and ensured the victory of the socialist revolution. As great socialist changes were carried out in our country, the Russian people did a very great deal to help the once oppressed peoples of the country to eliminate their age-long economic and cultural backwardness, and to raise them to their own level. The great, noble deeds of the Russian people in the years of peaceful development and in the periods of military trials earned them the heartfelt gratitude and esteem of all the peoples of our country. This in no way reflects on the outstanding role of the other members of the fraternal family of Soviet socialist nations. All the peoples of our Soviet Union are making their great contribution to communist construction. The invincible strength of the Soviet

system lies in the indestructible fraternal friendship of all the peoples of our multinational Soviet state.

We must admit, comrades, that until very recently the Russian Federation did not have all the rights that its importance and standing in the state warranted. This abnormal situation was rectified after the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. We now have a Bureau of the C.C. C.P.S.U. for the R.S.F.S.R. It is an operative organ of the Central Committee in charge of all matters pertaining to the R.S.F.S.R. On behalf of the C.C. C.P.S.U., it directs every aspect of Party, economic and cultural activity in the Russian Federation. The Council of Ministers of the R.S.F.S.R. is vested with all the necessary powers to manage industry, agriculture and cultural development. The recent reorganisation of management in industry and building, and the establishment in the Russian Federation of seventy Economic Councils in charge of economic administration areas will make control of the republic's economic development more specific.

The measures extending the powers of the Union Republics are very important, for they provide greater opportunities for their all-round development.

Comrades, we owe our strength to the unity of our Party ranks, to the indestructible unity of all the Soviet peoples, to the fact that they are solidly united around the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. So long as we have this solid, indestructible unity of our ranks, we need not fear the intrigues of the reactionary forces of the world.

II

Certain adherents of "pure theory" represent the activity of our Party and the measures it carries out, as a sort of hidebound practicalism. We find some

advocates of this view among the writers as well. We must react to such misconceptions. Let us see what the link between theory and practice means from the Marxist standpoint. It would never occur to a Marxist-Leninist to make light of revolutionary theory. Lenin said there can be no revolutionary practice without revolutionary theory.

The Marxist-Leninist theory is an expression of the fundamental interests of the working class and all working people. It is not a dogma but a guide to practical revolutionary action. At every new stage of historical development the requirements of society give rise to new tasks. The creative approach to theory, the ability to develop and advance Marxist-Leninist science, consists in grasping the urgent problems of social development by generalising practical experience from the scientific point of view, and then planning the ways of solving them.

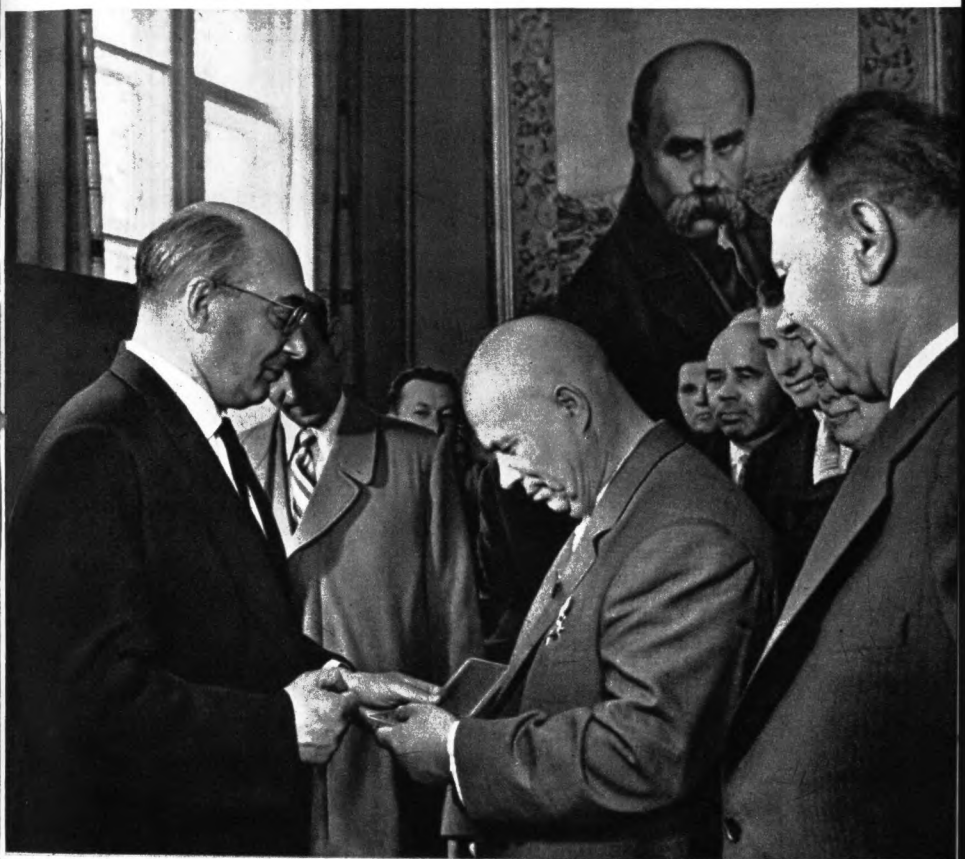
The decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. are an example of creative development of the Marxist-Leninist theory. The political line of our Party set by the Congress expresses the fundamental interests of the Soviet people at the present stage of the struggle for communism. These fundamental interests of the people call for a further powerful growth of socialist industry, primarily heavy industry, and a steep rise in agriculture, so as to achieve the greatest possible improvement in the living standard of the people.

The measures which the Communist Party has been carrying out in recent years to promote Party and government development, to advance the economy and improve the living standard of the people, show that the activity of our Party is based completely on the unbreakable link between theory and practice. This link was disrupted in the closing years of Stalin's life. That is what those who have fenced themselves off from

reality do not see, although they think they are the high priests and interpreters of Marxist-Leninist science. In fact, they have broken with Leninism and slipped into factional, splitting activities against the fundamental interests of the Party and the people. The June Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee exposed and ideologically defeated the anti-Party group of Malenkov, Kaganovich, Molotov, and Shepilov, who sided with them. They came out against the Leninist policy charted by the Twentieth Party Congress. The whole of our Party and the entire Soviet people unanimously approved that decision of the C.C. C.P.S.U. aimed at strengthening the Leninist unity of the Party.

I know people who pass for theoreticians, although their theoretical "wisdom" boils down in effect to juggling with quotations from the classics of Marxism-Leninism whether the occasion calls for it or not. Those sorry scholars posing as theoreticians cannot understand the important Marxist truth that people must have food and drink and a home and clothing before they can engage in politics, science and art. Those dogmatists and pedants forget that the reason why the people took power into their own hands was to develop the productive forces as speedily as possible, increase the public wealth, raise their living standard and create better living conditions.

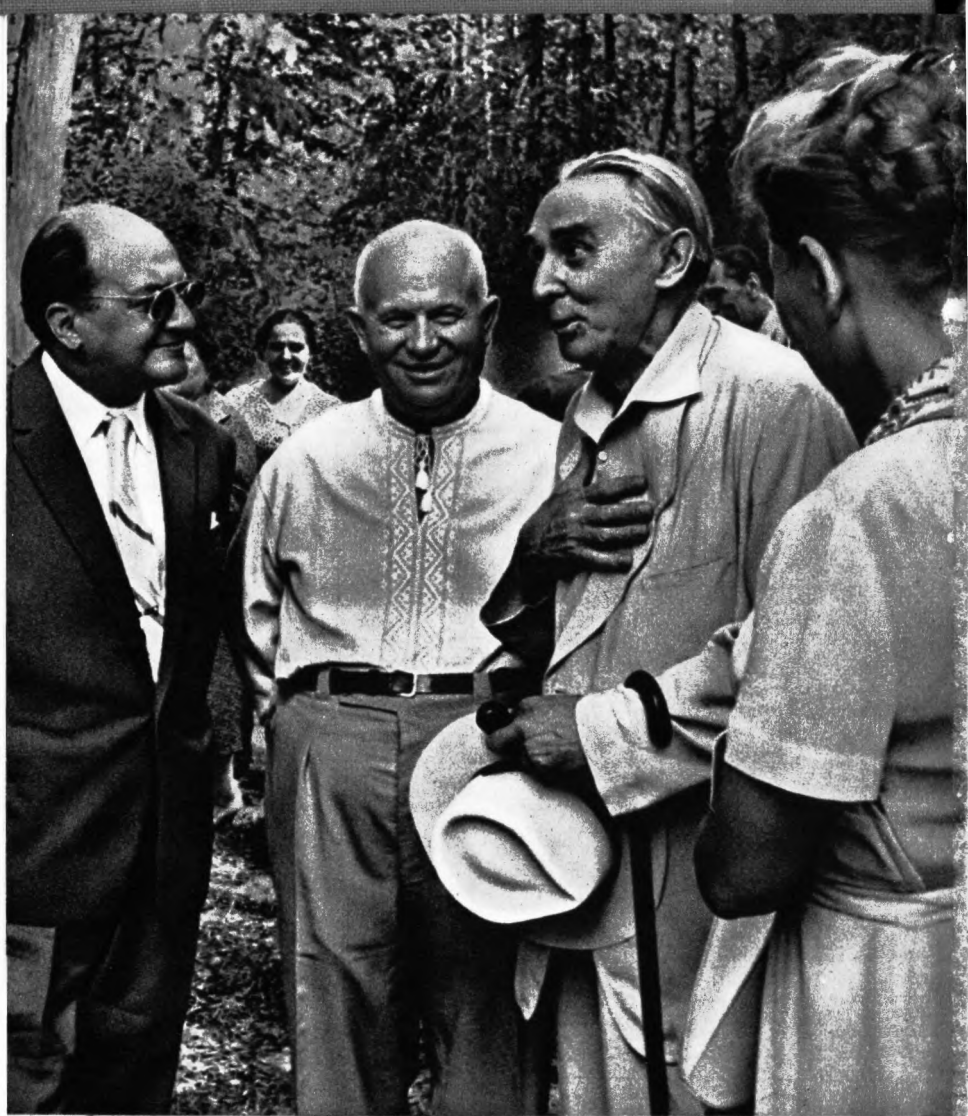
Had Marx, Engels and Lenin been able to rise from their graves, they would laugh at the pedants and quotation-mongers who hunt through the classics for some passage saying what to do to a machine-and-tractor station in such and such a district, instead of studying the life of present-day society and carrying theory forward in a creative spirit. It is ridiculous to search the writings of Marx or Engels for recommendations on what to do about, say, deliveries of farm produce from the household lots of collective farmers.



The poet *Mykola Bazhan* presents an anniversary medal with the image of *Taras Shevchenko*, the great Ukrainian poet, to *N. S. Khrushchov*. *Shevchenko Museum, Kanev*, May 30, 1961



During the *Second Congress of Ukrainian Writers, 1948*,
N. S. Khrushchov meets delegates and guests representing
Soviet multinational literature



N. S. Khrushchov talks with writer K. A. Fedin and conductor A. S. Melik-Pashayev in the course of a meeting of Party and Government leaders with writers and artists at a government country house in the vicinity of Moscow, July 17, 1960

We must admit that among our economists and philosophers there are people isolated from reality, from the practice of communist construction. One may even come across economists who in speaking of wages in modern conditions use examples given by Marx almost a hundred years ago in his famous *Capital*. Such people are few, of course, but they unfortunately do turn up once in a while. Economists like that cannot give any examples from life because they do not really know life. They are not theoreticians, but parrots who have memorised certain phrases and repeat them. Such "theoretical" work is not worth a brass farthing.

We Communists are people of revolutionary action and we see our mission in transforming the world and building a communist society. Our theory is strong, because it is closely linked with life, because it generalises the creative experience of the millions and defends the fundamental interests of the working people, who make up the majority of the world's population. The Marxist-Leninist theory is strong, because it is revolutionary by its very nature and cannot tolerate stagnation, routine and inertia. It lights up the road to the communist future and leads the peoples onwards, helping them to overcome difficulties and obstacles as they advance to that goal.

The Marxists-Leninists are makers of a new life, people with great revolutionary ideas, daring imagination and dreams that lend them wings. At the same time, however, they are earthly people who stand with their feet firmly planted on the soil of reality, sober politicians who in their activities take into consideration all the actual conditions and possibilities, are undaunted by difficulties and do not conceal contradictions. They tell the people the whole truth openly and honestly, no matter how bitter it may be. Being Lenin's disciples and followers, the Communists set themselves

the most daring tasks in the name of the welfare and happiness of the people, and spare no effort to accomplish them.

Let us recall, comrades, the vast importance which Lenin attached to the practical activity of our Party in the economic field. He said that if we could supply 100,000 tractors, the peasants would say they were for "Communia", that is, for communism. When Russia's electrification plan was drawn up, Lenin called it the second programme of our Party.

The great plans for communist construction worked out by the Twentieth Party Congress are our militant programme of action at the present stage of the country's development. These plans envisage a colossal growth of the productive forces through continuous technical progress, a growth aimed at substantially increasing the output of consumer goods and taking a further big stride towards communism.

Fulfilment of the plans adopted by the Twentieth Congress is of vast international significance. It will deal another crushing blow at the ideologists of the capitalist world, who in attacking socialism refer extensively to so temporary and transient a factor as output per head of the population in the most developed capitalist countries.

All fair-minded, unbiassed people see how fast this gap between our country and the most developed capitalist countries is shrinking with every year of our rapid economic development. We have already moved into second place in the world for aggregate industrial output. Even our sworn enemies cannot deny the economic might of the Soviet Union and the high rate of its economic progress.

The outstanding achievements of the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and the other socialist countries stun and bewilder the opponents of socialism.

It is these achievements of the socialist countries that account for the growing appeal of socialist ideas everywhere, ideas to which the opponents of socialism attribute an almost supernatural quality. This is why we are sometimes blamed for events in regions where we have never set foot. A major task facing our ideological workers is to grasp and properly elucidate the nature of great socialist changes.

Speaking of the tasks of the ideological workers, we cannot keep silent about the personality cult and the elimination of its effects. Our Party's condemnation of the Stalin personality cult, which is foreign to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, found widespread response both inside the country and abroad. The Soviet people, the Communist and Workers' Parties and all our friends abroad hailed and unanimously supported the decisions of the Twentieth Congress and the well-known decision of the C.C. C.P.S.U. concerning elimination of the effects of the personality cult. The enemies of socialism tried to use our criticism of the personality cult for their own foul purposes. They organised a clamorous campaign of slander against our country and the socialist community as a whole. They would have been happy to disorganise the fighters for peace, democracy and socialism, reduce the influence of Marxist-Leninist ideas, shake the unity of the socialist countries, slander the Communist Parties and discredit them in the eyes of the peoples. Today everyone is aware of the dismal failure of the evil designs of the enemies of socialism.

The Communist and Workers' Parties saw through the schemes of the imperialists and exposed them in time. They delivered a devastating blow to the inspirers and organisers of ideological sabotage and to all the opportunist elements that tried to revise the principles of Marxism-Leninism. -

In this tense ideological struggle, our Soviet intellec-

tuals proved politically mature, staunch, and devoted to Marxist-Leninist ideas. Together with the whole Soviet people they demonstrated their solid unity in the great struggle for communism. It should be admitted, however, that some of our intellectuals lost their bearings and showed a certain vacillation and indecision in appraising some of the complicated ideological questions that arose in the course of elimination of the effects of the personality cult.

What was the reason for the vacillation and indecision of certain of the writers and artists? I think it was due to some comrades taking a one-sided, incorrect view of the meaning of the Party's criticism of the Stalin personality cult. They interpreted this criticism as a wholesale denial of Stalin's positive role in the life of our Party and country, and conceived the biased and false idea of picking solely on the seamy side and the mistakes in the history of our people's fight for the victory of socialism, while ignoring the epoch-making achievements of the Soviet Union in socialist construction.

When, in an interview with the editor of the *New York Times*, I was asked, "What place will Stalin occupy in history?", I said that Stalin would occupy a proper place in the history of the Soviet Union. Stalin had serious shortcomings but was a devoted Marxist-Leninist, a devoted and staunch revolutionary. He made many mistakes in the closing period of his activity, but he also did much that benefited our country, our Party, and the whole of the international working-class movement. Our Party and the Soviet people will remember Stalin and give him due credit.

Anyone who wants to understand the meaning of the Party's criticism of the personality cult should realize that, as we see it, Comrade Stalin's activity had two aspects: a positive aspect, which we support and greatly

appreciate, and a negative one, which we criticise, condemn and reject.

For a long time Stalin held a leading position on the Central Committee of our Party. His entire activity was associated with the realisation of great socialist changes in our country. During those years, as a result of the fulfilment of Lenin's plans for socialist construction, the character of our country changed radically. Let us recall what Russia was like before the victory of the Great October Revolution. It was an economically and culturally backward country, which tsarist rule had reduced to the state of a semi-colony. But see what the Soviet Union is like today! It is a great, mighty socialist power exerting a decisive influence on world history and deeply respected by the working people of the world.

The great advances registered in our country were made under the leadership of the Communist Party and its Central Committee, on which Stalin played the leading role. Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. proceeded in an atmosphere of bitter struggle against class enemies and their agents within the Party—the Trotskyists, Zinovievites, Bukharinites and bourgeois nationalists. It was a political struggle. The Party was correct in exposing them as enemies of Leninism, of socialist construction in our country. They were condemned politically, and rightly so.

Stalin made a useful contribution to that struggle. It cannot be crossed out of the history of the struggle which the working class, the peasants and the intellectuals of our country waged for socialism, nor out of the history of the Soviet state. We value and respect Stalin for it. We were sincere in our respect for Stalin when we wept beside his coffin. We are also sincere now in assessing his positive role in the history of our Party and the Soviet state. Every one of us trusted Stalin, and

our trust was based on the conviction that the cause we were working for with him was that of the revolution, of the working class, of all working people.

Our Party and all of us emphatically condemn Stalin for the gross errors and distortions which seriously damaged the cause of our Party and our people. We lost many honest and devoted people, Party officials and Soviet statesmen who, though innocent of any crime, were slandered and persecuted. We have already rehabilitated many of them. The Party has condemned the wrong methods of leadership that developed under the personality cult, and it is working steadily and consistently to restore the Leninist standards of Party life and principles of leadership, and to extend Soviet socialist democracy.

How could it happen that Stalin, who took a correct stand on the struggle against the opponents of Leninism, committed such gross and disastrous errors? This is a complicated matter, comrades. It was Stalin's tragedy, due in large measure to the serious faults of his personality and character, which Lenin pointed out in his letter to the Party Congress in December 1922. Those faults became particularly pronounced in the last period of Stalin's life, when he committed gross violations of the Leninist standards of Party life, scorned the principles of collective leadership and decided many highly important Party and state matters by himself, and when his contact with the Party cadre and the mass of the people loosened. The situation was aggravated by the fact that the agent-provocateur Beria, that sworn enemy of the Party and the people, used Stalin's personal faults to injure our cause.

A great deal of the blame falls on Comrade Malenkov, who yielded completely to Beria's influence, and was Beria's shadow and tool. While holding a high position in the Party and the Government, Comrade

Malenkov did not restrain Stalin and, moreover, very skilfully took advantage of Stalin's weaknesses and habits in the closing years of his life. On many occasions he provoked Stalin into committing highly reprehensible actions.

The immensely beneficial effect of the work which the Party has done to eliminate the consequences of the personality cult is now obvious to all.

The criticism levelled at the personality cult, and the elimination of the effects of that cult in the ideological field quite naturally gave rise to profound emotions and serious reflections among the intellectuals, above all writers.

Who took it the hardest? I think, comrades, that it was mostly the writers, painters, sculptors, composers and other artists. Among the writers it was the comrades closest to the Party and the Central Committee, and, consequently, to Stalin, who took it the hardest. It was a closeness to the people, to all that the people did under the leadership of our Party. They wrote truthfully and sincerely about the struggle and the victories of the Party and the people. Comrade Stalin was a recurrent character in their books. The authors of these books were doing a good thing, they wanted to help our Party, and fought for the great communist ideals together with the whole people and under the leadership of the Party. To be sure, the general situation typical of the period of the personality cult gave rise to a number of books and works of art portraying Stalin's personality in a partial and one-sided way, exaggerating his services and belittling the role of the Party and the people.

When the Party criticised the personality cult and the errors committed by Stalin, some writers got the notion that almost all their past work had been wrong. Some of them even wondered whether they should rewrite

all their books. It must be admitted that some of the intellectuals who had never taken an active part in the struggle for our cause began to revile and defame those writers and artists who had extolled the progress made by our people under the leadership of the Party. They coined the derogatory term "varnisher", a label they stuck on anyone who wrote faithfully about our reality, about the creative effort of our people and their great achievements, and who limned positive Soviet characters in literature and art.

Some comrades are asking how they should treat the Stalin prizes awarded to our people. I think they should respect those prizes and should proudly wear the honourable badge of Stalin Prize winner. Had I had a Stalin Prize, I would wear the prize winner's badge. In a number of cases the Stalin Prize was mistakenly conferred on people unworthy of it. But that is beside the point. With rare exceptions, Stalin Prizes went to scientists, writers and artists who deserved them.

We must say plainly and explicitly that the Communist Party has always supported, and will continue to support, writers and artists who serve the people honestly and devotedly, share the people's joy over their country's achievements in communist construction and use vivid colours to depict those achievements in works of literature and art.

III

The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. considers that comradesly meetings and talks with writers and artists on major ideological problems are very useful and should be encouraged. At the recent meetings and talks in the C.C. C.P.S.U., I was very glad to hear writers and artists speak frankly and freely of all they were pre-occupied with. They were among friends and were

correctly understood. This form of contact is very useful for comrades exchanging of opinion that produce mutual understanding and help to formulate common views on the pressing issues of our life and work.

Why does the Party give so much attention to literature and art? Because literature and art hold an exceptionally important place in the ideological work of our Party, in the communist education of the working people. Writers, painters, sculptors, composers, stage and screen people, and all our intellectuals in general play an active part in the constructive effort of Soviet society, and loyally serve the people. The Communist Party sees writers and artists as its true friends and assistants, as its reliable supporters in the ideological struggle. The Party sees to it that literature and art flourish, that they are true to our ideas and have high standards. Our people need books, paintings and music glorifying inspired labour, works that are easy to understand. The method of socialist realism provides unlimited opportunities of creating such works. The Party is fighting unrelentingly to prevent alien ideology from infiltrating our literature and art, and to repel enemy attacks on socialist culture.

One of the reasons for the complicated and peculiar character of the present ideological struggle in literature and art is that we have to defend literature and art not only against attacks from without, but against attempts by individual creative workers to push literature and art on to the wrong track, to divert it from the main line of development.

And the main line of development requires that literature and art should be inseparable from the life of the people, should faithfully depict our rich and multi-form socialist reality and vividly and convincingly portray the great constructive activities of the Soviet people, their noble aspirations and goals, and their high moral

qualities. The supreme social mission of literature and art is to rally the people for further progress in communist construction.

We must admit, comrades, that some of our writers and artists occasionally lose their bearings and go astray. They interpret the tasks of literature and art incorrectly, presenting them in a false light. They pretend that literature and art must deal only with shortcomings, must speak chiefly about the seamy side of life, about the deficiencies, and ignore all the positive. Yet it is the positive, the new and progressive, that is important in the rapidly developing reality of socialist society.

The exponents of erroneous and harmful views and sentiments are up in arms against writers and artists who give a faithful and vivid picture of the development of Soviet society, and who present our contemporaries in a favourable light. Among those whom the hole-pickers have contemptuously classed as "varnishers" is an author like Comrade Gribachov and certain others.

We support writers who take a correct stand and write of the positive in life. This is not to say that every book they write is faultless, and so exempt from criticism. Now and then these comrades may have yielded to misplaced infatuations in their work, but that does not give anyone the reason or the right to run them down, to brush away the useful work they have done.

Some will probably construe this appraisal of the facts and phenomena of literary life as an invitation to portray reality one-sidedly and to say nothing about the shortcomings and difficulties there are. But we firmly reject that sort of unfair interpretation in advance.

No one can accuse us Communists of being afraid to criticise, of striving to gloss over or conceal shortcomings in our work. Historical experience has shown that

fear of criticism and self-criticism is typical of the declining classes and their political parties. The Communist Party, the political leader of the most progressive class, of a people building communism, is carrying on its great revolutionising activity under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the most revolutionary and inherently critical theory. It has never been afraid of difficulties on the road to the great goal, and has always faced up courageously to reality. It serves the interests of the people, openly and ruthlessly lays bare and criticises shortcomings and errors, and, to further our cause, together with the people plans ways of removing shortcomings and rectifying errors.

The entire activity of the Communist Party and its Central Committee sets an example of how to lay bare and remove shortcomings. Think, for instance, of the Party decisions on agriculture, on the reorganisation of management in industry and building, the extension of the powers of local bodies and the encouragement of their initiative, the reduction of government and Party staffs, and the improvement of the style and methods of leadership. Surely it was a supreme example of our Party's Leninist fidelity to principle, of its courage and resolve, to criticise the personality cult and wage a steady, unrelenting struggle to eliminate the effects of that cult. The decisions of the Twentieth Party Congress and Central Committee plenums are imbued with the spirit of Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism, and show an uncompromising attitude to shortcomings and mistakes. Lenin maintained that a principled policy is the only correct policy. The Party expects every Communist, every Party and government official, to be keenly aware of the responsibility he bears for the job entrusted to him, and calls to strict account all who depart in their work from the Party's political line, ignoring the interests of the Party and the people.

Neither the post held by an official, nor his previous services exempt, or can exempt, him from being criticised and held answerable to the Party and the people.

The important thing, however, is the stand taken by the critic and the aim he has in view. We lay bare and criticise shortcomings and mistakes in order to remove them as hurdles in our path, strengthen our Soviet system and the position of the Communist Party, achieve further success and advance faster than before. But what happens when certain writers set out to criticise shortcomings? Having no real knowledge of life and lacking proper political experience and the ability to see the important and decisive things in life, they pick on the shortcomings and mistakes of particular officials, lump everything together without trying to get to the bottom of the matter, and so scare themselves, and try to scare others.

That was the unenviable position in which the author Dudintsev, for one, found himself. His book, *Not By Bread Alone*, which the reactionary forces abroad are now trying to use against us, presents certain negative facts picked with a preconceived idea, and treats them from a biased, unfriendly standpoint. The book also contains pages that are correct and forceful, but its general trend is basically wrong. The reader is left with the impression that the author is not interested in doing away with the shortcomings he has detected in our life, but lays it on thick deliberately, gloating over the shortcomings. In literature or art, such an approach to reality is nothing but an attempt to twist things out of shape, as a distorting mirror does it.

The more is the pity that certain literary magazines and publishing houses did not notice this morbid and harmful tendency, that they did not appraise it properly and failed to condemn it in good time. The editors of *Novy Mir* made its columns available to writings like

Dudintsev's. The editors of a number of literary magazines and the heads of certain publishing houses were not up to the mark, and in some cases strayed from the standpoint of principle. Those comrades had begun to forget that the press is our chief ideological weapon which must strike at the enemies of the working class and of all working people. Just as an army cannot fight without weapons, so the Party cannot conduct its ideological work successfully without so sharp and effective a weapon as the press. We cannot afford to put the press in unreliable hands. It must be in the hands of the most loyal, most reliable and politically staunch people devoted to our cause.

Because they ignored that, certain periodicals of the Writers Union, instead of consistently maintaining a principled line in literature, found themselves strongly influenced by people holding incorrect views, and virtually became vehicles of unsound sentiments and tendencies. This applies in particular to the almanach *Literary Moscow*. It published ideologically harmful works and articles that were severely condemned by our public opinion, primarily the writers themselves. This was rightly pointed out by many writers who spoke at the plenary meeting of the Board of the Writers Union. Yet the editors of the almanach showed their disrespect for the criticism of their mistakes and for the opinions of their fellow writers by evading a straightforward and honest statement on their stand. Special mention should be made of Comrade Aliger, who still holds that the line of *Literary Moscow* was correct and defends those works published in the almanach that smuggle in alien ideas.

There is much talk among writers and artists about partisanship, kinship with the people, freedom of creative endeavour, and the leadership of the Party. These are matters deserving close attention. We must speak

about them all the more because very many things have been said or written that are wrong or obscure, things that mislead and confuse people, preventing them from understanding the Party policy on literature and art and the Leninist principles of Party guidance in these highly important fields of ideological work.

Now for a few comments on the partisanship of literature and art and on their kinship with the people. To begin with, we must not treat these two concepts as opposites. The strength of Soviet socialist society lies in the unity of the Communist Party and the people. The policy of the Communist Party, which expresses the fundamental interests of the people, constitutes the vital basis of the Soviet social and political system. It would be very wrong, therefore, to imagine that in our Soviet environment one can serve the people without taking an active part in implementing the policy of the Communist Party. You cannot wish to go with the people and yet refuse to share the views and policies of the Party. Anyone who wants to be with the people will always be with the Party. Those who firmly adhere to the Party standpoint will always be with the people.

Partisanship in creative work is not determined by the artist's formal membership in the Party, but by his convictions and his ideological position. We have many noted writers who are not members of the Party, but whose works are entirely partisan in message and political trend, and have rightly won the recognition of the people as works expressing the people's interests.

If the struggle for communist ideals and for the happiness of the people is the aim of an artist's life, and if he lives by the interests of the people, by their thoughts and hopes, his works will meet the interests of the people, the Party and the state whatever their theme, whatever the facts they depict.

Such an artist chooses to serve the people of his own free will, without compulsion, in keeping with his convictions and his vocation, at the call of his heart and soul. In socialist society, where the people are genuinely free and are the true masters of their fate and makers of a new life, for an artist loyally serving the people the question whether he is free in his creative work does not arise. As far as he is concerned, the question of how to approach realities is clear, he does not have to adapt or force himself. Faithful portrayal of life from the standpoint of communist partisanship is an inner urge for him. He stands firm on that position, and upholds and defends it in his work.

A faithful description of the life of society, of the people, in literary works and works of art implies both presenting the positive, bright and vivid aspects of socialist reality, which constitute its basis, and criticising shortcomings, revealing and condemning negative facts that hamper our progress.

In life, the positive is always accompanied by the negative, just as flowers are sometimes flanked by weeds. In depicting reality, everything depends on the author. A writer, painter, sculptor or composer who adheres to a partisan position, who serves the people and really wants to help them in building the new society, in paving the way for the building of communism, will find a sufficient number of good examples in the lives of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, of individuals as well as the staffs of factories and collective or state farms. And he will be able, by setting them up against the negative, to support the positive and show it in true and vivid colours. On the other hand, an author who does not rejoice in the achievements of the people will seek for nothing but the bad and negative, will burrow in muck and depict the things he digs up as typical of reality.

We have emphatically and unrelentingly come out, and shall continue to come out, against literature and art presenting our reality in a one-sided, unconscientious and untruthful manner. We are against those who look for nothing but negative facts and gloat over them as they slander and vilify our Soviet order. We are also against those who paint sugary scenes that are an affront to our people because our people will not tolerate, and never fail to reject, all that is untrue. Soviet people reject both such essentially slanderous writings as Dudintsev's book *Not by Bread Alone*, and such sugary, cloying films as *The Unforgettable Year 1919* and *Kuban Cossacks*.

We regret to say that some writers and artists, who champion "freedom to create", want us to ignore and shut our eyes to works of art which depict the life of Soviet society in a distorted way. They do not want us to appraise those works from the standpoint of principle, or to criticise them. It appears that they are inconvenienced by the leadership which the Party and the state give to literature and art. They oppose this leadership, doing it sometimes directly, but more often hiding their sentiments and desires behind talk about excessive tutelage, the shackling of initiative, and so on.

We say openly that such views contradict the Leninist principle of the Party and state approach to literature and art. It is well known that Lenin, who took account of the very special character of literature and art, repeatedly stressed that the Party cannot renounce guiding this important aspect of the spiritual life of society, and in his work as leader of the Party and head of the Soviet Government he consistently put this principle into effect. No one can live in society and yet be free from society, Lenin pointed out. He stressed that the free literature of socialist society would be distinctly associated with the working class and would

be inspired by the interests of the working people, by socialist ideas.

Lenin took an uncompromising stand against those who departed from principle on questions of literature and art and slid to a liberal attitude towards ideological mistakes.

The entire history of Soviet society proves conclusively that guidance from the Party and the state, their attention to the arts, and their concern for writers, painters, sculptors and composers have made for outstanding achievements in literature and art, and have brought about a flowering of the socialist culture of all the Soviet peoples. The Party's decisions on ideological questions formulated the major tasks and main principles of Party policy on literature and art, and those tasks and principles are still valid. One of the paramount principles is the inseparable link between Soviet literature and art, on the one hand, and the policy of the Communist Party, which constitutes the vital foundation of the Soviet system, on the other. The great positive significance of those decisions was pointed out by artists and composers at recent congresses.

There is, of course, no denying that in the closing years of Stalin's life, in the atmosphere of the personality cult, mistakes were made. Here is an example. I had great difficulty in shielding so merited a writer as Maxim Rylsky from devastating criticism for *The Mother*, a poem full of deep patriotic sentiment. The chief pretext for accusing and attacking Rylsky groundlessly was the fact that the poem, which extols Soviet Ukraine, did not mention Stalin. Comrade Kaganovich, who fawned on Stalin and did all he could to boost the Stalin personality cult, described Maxim Rylsky as a Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist. He took advantage of Stalin's weaknesses, and did not stop to think of the

dire consequences which his groundless accusations against Rylsky, an esteemed Ukrainian writer and patriot, might have for Ukrainian literature, and, indeed, for other literatures. I must say that it might have had a disastrous effect, and not on literature alone.

It goes without saying that we are against that kind of approach in estimating literary works.

The Party has emphatically condemned, and is steadily rectifying the errors committed during the personality cult in all walks of life, including ideology. But it opposes just as emphatically those who try to profit by past errors to oppose the leadership of literature and art by the Party and the state. Only those who disagree with the Party's policy in this field are capable of opposing from this standpoint Party guidance of literature and art. Among them we find, to our regret, certain writers who are members of the Party. Some of these comrades refuse to keep their actions in line with the requirements of Party discipline laid down in the Rules. They interpret Party discipline and the duties of Party members in their own, subjectivist way, trying to justify their behaviour, which is unfit for Party members, with talk about a "creative approach" to Party leadership. This false attitude of individuals drifting away from their collectives and falling out of step with the marching column was justly condemned by writers-Communists and non-Communists alike-at a plenary meeting of the Board of the Writers Union, at a meeting of Moscow writers, and in the writers' organisations of all the Union and Autonomous Republics, Territories and Regions. I take pleasure in supporting Comrade Sobolev, a non-Party writer who spoke here and who takes a consistent, principled and uncompromising stand in the struggle against unhealthy sentiments and tendencies. I will not deny that as Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. I like the posi-

tion held by Comrade Sobolev, a non-Party writer, on the issue of partisanship in literature much better than that of Comrade Aliger, a Party member who adheres to a false position and takes a wrong view of the criticism of her mistakes.

Some liberal-minded people may accuse me of calling for a struggle. Indeed, we have never denied that we have called, and call, for a principled ideological struggle. There is a bitter struggle going on in the world today between two ideologies—socialist and bourgeois—and no one must be neutral in this struggle.

Literature and art are developing in the atmosphere of ideological struggle against the influence of bourgeois culture, which is foreign to us, against outmoded notions and views, and for the victory of our communist ideology.

We would not be Marxists-Leninists if we stood aloof and looked indifferently and impassively upon attempts to smuggle into our literature and art bourgeois views alien to the spirit of Soviet people. We must face things soberly, must realise that we have enemies and that they are trying to take advantage of the ideological fight to weaken the forces of socialism. In this situation, our ideological weapon has to be in good repair and operate unfailingly. The lesson of the Hungarian events, during which the counter-revolutionaries used some writers for their foul aims, should remind us of the consequences which political carelessness and lack of principle and character in face of the intrigues of anti-socialist forces can have. It should be clear to everyone that we must keep our powder dry today, when a grim struggle is going on between socialism and imperialist reaction.

During our discussions the issue of combating ideological errors and unhealthy sentiments was dealt with critically. Indeed, it cannot be dealt with in any other

way. Half-measures and reticence could seriously injure our cause.

We want to consolidate all the forces of literature and art on the basis of principle and not at the price of concessions and departures from Marxist-Leninist principles. It is in the interest of this consolidation that principled criticism and self-criticism are conducted. This criticism helps people who make mistakes to see and correct their mistakes, to stand firm on their feet, and encourages their creative effort. In promoting criticism and self-criticism, we must carefully ascertain whether the mistake made by the writer or artist concerned is accidental, or whether it reflects his basic outlook and behaviour, and must take account of his reaction to criticism. Anyone may make a mistake—we must see not only what someone did yesterday but what he can do tomorrow and, more important still, we must help him to see his shortcomings and mistakes and deal with them as early as possible.

It may be recalled, for example, that the public criticised certain shortcomings in the work of Comrade Tvardovsky, our eminent poet, whose contribution to Soviet literature has won widespread recognition. The friendly talks we have had with Comrade Tvardovsky give reason to hope that this man of letters will draw the right conclusions and gladden readers with good works in the future. At one time public opinion also levelled sharp criticism at the shortcomings of so noted an author as Comrade Panfyorov. We think it was the right thing to do. Comrade Panfyorov now admits having benefited from that criticism.

Principled criticism is aimed at helping writers and artists and enabling them to work even more fruitfully for the good of the people, to take an active part in the people's struggle for communism and to enrich Soviet socialist culture with their works.

Our Soviet system and the Communist Party have on more than one occasion brought back to an active life people who were considered hopelessly lost to our cause. Literature and art have seen many cases of creative workers producing notable works after they were criticised. Speaking of Comrade Dudintsev, I think he, too, can take the right path with our help, provided he wants to do so, and will together with the entire body of writers work fruitfully for the good of the people and our socialist country.

The various associations of creative workers must play a most important part in promoting the progress of literature and art, and in the ideological and professional development of every one of their members. They must become active and militant bodies, united by common principles. There should be real friendship in these associations, and constant concern for the professional growth of every writer, painter, sculptor, film-maker, musician and actor. They should promptly support every commendable work and every useful initiative in creative endeavour. It is also essential that they should spot the failings and errors of individual writers or artists before it is too late, and see to it that these individuals do not depart from principle. The associations should afford help and support to all who need it.

The writers and artists are active champions of communism. Their better works educate millions of people. It is therefore up to the associations of writers and artists and to their Party bodies to see to the proper day-to-day ideological education of their membership, and to equip our creative people with a knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory and an understanding of the policy of the Communist Party. It is indispensable for all our writers and artists to be well aware of their big role in the people's struggle for communism and of their great responsibility to the people.

Our writers' and artists' organisations are doing much to fulfil the tasks set before literature and art by the Twentieth Party Congress. The recent plenary meetings of the writers unions and the congresses of artists and composers have increased the activity and promoted the unity of writers and artists. It is gratifying to note the growing activity of writers unions in our Union Republics—the Ukraine and Byelorussia, and the Central Asian, Transcaucasian and Baltic republics.

There are, however, major defects in the work of the writers and artists unions. It must be pointed out that the large Moscow contingent of the Writers Union has lately betrayed a certain weakness in its work. Some of the speakers at the meetings of Moscow writers made erroneous statements contradicting the Party's policy on literature and art. Unfortunately, all those statements were not repelled in proper fashion, and the Party organisation of Moscow writers was not always up to standard. After all, it is well known that the writers unions of the Ukraine, Byelorussia and some other Union Republics called attention to the state of affairs in the Moscow section of the Writers Union and rightly criticised a number of ideologically harmful works and articles published in the almanach *Literary Moscow*.

We cannot reconcile ourselves to such serious defects in the work of the Moscow section of the Writers Union, which should set an example to similar organisations in other cities. We hope the writers themselves will, with help from their Party organisations, analyse the causes of those defects and take steps to remedy the situation.

It has been proposed here that a writers union of the Russian Federation be founded. I think the proposal should be supported by forming that union. It cannot be considered normal that the writers of the Russian Federation still have no union of their own, while the other Union Republics have. The Moscow section of

the Writers Union cannot, of course, represent all the writers of the R.S.F.S.R. We should also bear in mind that the Russian Federation is a voluntary union of many nationalities. In addition to Territories and Regions, it includes fourteen Autonomous Republics, seven Autonomous Regions and ten National Areas.

Establishing a writers union of the Russian Federation will be one of the important steps which the Party's Central Committee and the Soviet Government are taking to extend the powers of the Union Republics and enhance the role of the Russian Federation. Besides the ideological and professional problems on which the Writers Union of the R.S.F.S.R. should concentrate, we must give serious thought to measures that would stimulate the growth of local literary talent. We must see to it that proper conditions are provided for a sustained creative effort by writers in the Autonomous Republics, Territories and Regions. Specifically, we must settle the problem of fees in local publishing houses and that of allocating paper for the publication of fiction.

* * *

Our meetings and interviews are fruitful. During these meetings we have frankly exchanged views on highly important questions of the life and work of writers and artists.

The Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, are successfully carrying out the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U., and the plans for communist construction adopted by it. This year we shall celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Our people will mark that historic date with outstanding achievements in every field of economy and culture and in their living standard. Look at the vast social and political progress the people have made! The epoch-making decisions of the Twen-

tieth Congress of the Party, enthusiastically approved by the people, have given rise to an unprecedented upswing in political activity and in labour. They have encouraged the creative initiative of the people and provided conditions for the further development of the people's talents. As the people carry on their immense constructive effort, their communist consciousness is growing, too, and their excellent spiritual qualities, the finest traits and the moral fibre of the Soviet man—the man of a new era, the builder of communism—are asserting themselves more and more.

The mighty wave of the October Revolution is surging irresistibly forward to communist society, sweeping all obstacles and hurdles out of the way.

Historical experience has shown that we are not advancing to communism along a beaten track or a smooth and straight road. Those marching in the front ranks of the builders of communism must have a clear vision of our great goal and the prospects of our advance to that goal. They must have a thorough understanding of the laws of social development, great energy and an inflexible will. Undaunted by difficulties and stinting no effort, they must blaze the trail and lead the millions of builders of the new society.

The forty years' experience of socialist construction in our country shows that the Soviet people, who stand closely united around the Communist Party, their tried and tested leader, and are equipped with the victorious revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, will honourably acquit themselves of the great historical tasks facing them. There can be no doubt that Soviet writers, poets, painters, sculptors and composers will continue to be worthy sons of their socialist country and will devote all their energy and talent to the glorification of the heroic deeds of our great people, who are building a communist society.

AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION
TO THE GREAT CAUSE
OF COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION

*Speech at a Reception for Soviet Intellectuals
in the Grand Kremlin Palace,
February 8, 1958*

Dear comrades, allow me, on behalf and on the instructions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and of the Soviet Government, to convey a hearty welcome to you, our splendid scientists, higher school workers, writers, painters, composers, and stage and film workers, and to wish you, dear friends, and all Soviet intellectuals further achievements in your important creative work for the good of our country, for the happiness of our great Soviet people.

Last spring we had a meeting with representatives of our writers and artists. On that occasion the wish was expressed that such meetings be held more frequently. Today we are again meeting here in this Kremlin hall with a large contingent of our progressive Soviet intellectuals.

We have here many talented people engaged in various fields of Soviet science and technology. They have brought fame to our socialist country by their outstanding achievements and discoveries.

Last year the first artificial earth satellites were made and put into orbit around our planet. They were made

by Soviet scientists, engineers and workers. They raised the banner of Soviet science high above the globe. I wish to thank them from the bottom of my heart for their great effort and their immortal scientific feat.

The creation of Soviet sputniks clearly showed the high standard of science and technology in our country, and the standard of Soviet industry, culture and education. The enemy myth about the scientific and technical backwardness of the Soviet Union has been exploded. Indeed, who would believe that myth now that everyone, in almost every country of the world, can see those truly fabulous Soviet stars with his own eyes!

That scientific and technological achievement of our people—scientists, engineers, technologists and workers—brought out the advantages of the socialist system most strikingly. Only the socialist system, which has emancipated millions upon millions of people and enabled them to give full play to their creative abilities, has provided conditions for mastering science and art, and all the achievements of human culture.

Today it is evident to all that Soviet socialist society allows the people unlimited scope and opportunity for the development of popular talent and ability in all fields of science, culture and art. This refutes the enemy slander that there are no conditions under socialism for progress in creative fields.

It is due to the conditions obtaining in Soviet society that the vitality of the socialist order, the advantages of our system of education, the organisation of research, and the might of our multinational socialist culture have reached full development. Our achievements are truly immense, comrades, and they will go on growing in number.

How time flies, comrades! It is already nine months since we met in May. Many important events have

occurred in the life of our people, of all mankind, during these months!

The Soviet people and their friends in all countries of the world celebrated the fortieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It was a joyous and rousing holiday, marking the triumph of the great ideas of our age, the ideas of socialism and communism.

Moscow was the scene of meetings of fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties. These meetings were of the utmost importance for the cause of peace, democracy and socialism. The enemies of socialism had been clamouring about a "crisis", or even about the "disintegration" of the socialist camp, and about a "crisis" in the international communist movement. But those meetings clearly showed the exact opposite. They revealed the immeasurably grown unity of the socialist countries, the unity of the world communist movement on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideas. And no power on earth can prevent the further development of this irresistible movement of our times.

From Moscow the call went out again, stronger than ever, for peace among the peoples, among all countries. Delegates from sixty-four Communist and Workers' Parties signed the famous Peace Manifesto. The peoples' peace movement is growing and gaining strength.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government are steadily and firmly pursuing the Leninist peace policy, foiling the plans of the imperialists, who are intent on aggravating the international situation. We note with satisfaction that the international position of our country is good and solid. The prestige of the Soviet Union, the world's first country of victorious socialism, is greater than ever. The imperialist "positions of strength" policy has been delivered a crushing blow. And this is very important for the peace and for the consolidation of the positions of socialism.

The successes of our foreign policy of peace stem from our achievements at home.

The heroic working class and collective-farm peasantry of our country have scored new outstanding successes. The vast plan for industrial production and building in 1957 was exceeded by a considerable margin. During the past four years over three thousand new industrial establishments have been added to those in operation, including such giants as the Kuibyshev Hydroelectric Power Station.

The new system of management in industry and building through Economic Councils, which has fully unfettered local initiative, is already producing useful results.

Our socialist agriculture, which has been gaining strength year after year, is now growing fast.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government have adopted a vast economic development plan for the next fifteen years, whose fulfilment will mark a decisive step in our country's gradual transition to communism.

I think Soviet achievement during the past years and the important tasks facing us have been dealt with properly in the Appeal of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to the electorate, to be published in the press tomorrow.

As we look back on the path travelled by our country during these years, we feel more proud than ever of our socialist system, established by the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party. This system has borne abundant fruit, but it will not be long before the fruit it bears the Soviet people will be still more abundant.

Comrades, the Soviet intellectuals are working together with the whole people to build a communist society.

The whole of Soviet science as represented by physicists, mathematicians, mechanicians, chemists, technologists, doctors, teachers, economists, agronomists, livestock experts and all those who work in other fields is making a worthy contribution to the great cause of communist construction. The revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism, which lights up the road of our victorious advance, is playing a special role in our great cause.

However great our achievements may be, we must never rest on our oars. Further progress in socialism's peaceful competition with capitalism, and the rate of our country's advance to communism depend in appreciable measure on you scientists and technologists, on all who are engaged in creative effort.

Speaking of the achievements of Soviet science, we must never forget the secondary and higher schools, which train people for every branch of the economy. The scientists, writers and artists present here owe much of their achievement in creative work to the teaching staffs of the higher educational institutions from which they have graduated.

I should like to thank those hard-working people for their valuable contribution to the training of gifted scientists, writers and composers.

Soviet writers, painters, composers and stage and film workers have won the praise of the people by new major achievements. They are taking an active part in the struggle for the triumph of the great ideals of communism and in the education of the new man, and they enjoy great affection and respect in Soviet society. The Party has always done much to ensure the continuous growth of our literature and art.

The facts show that our writers and artists give evidence of a high degree of ideological maturity and have taken a correct view of the complicated problems aris-

ing from the Party's struggle to eliminate the effects of the personality cult. True, some writers showed a certain vacillation. During the frank talk we had at the previous reception we advised them to discard their false notions, look critically into the revisionists' falsehoods and make a more thorough analysis of life in order to understand Soviet reality and its objective laws. For life in continuous development is the best school and the best confirmation of the absolute correctness of the policy of the Communist Party.

It is gratifying to note that our writers appreciated the content of that discussion and took an active part in the Party's struggle against all signs of revisionism. They rallied even more closely around the Communist Party. The splendid unity of writers and artists with the Party and the people has become stronger and more solid than ever. This unity has made for further successes in the arts of the Soviet Union.

I have said that the past year has been a year of further progress in literature and the arts. Many good books have appeared. I shall not list them, because if I mention Mikhail Stelmakh's novel and say nothing about Vadim Kozhevnikov's story, Kozhevnikov will be hurt, and if I mention Galina Nikolayeva's novel and say nothing about Pyatrus Browka's new book, Browka will be hurt.

If I did that, many would ask why they had not been mentioned. Yet it is simply impossible to list all the good books.

It is essential to stress the important thing, namely, that our writers have set their minds on producing a truthful picture of Soviet reality.

I liked Mikhail Sholokhov's *The Fate of a Man*, an excellent short story about a staunch Soviet man whom no trials could break, and the chapters published in *Pravda* from Alexander Tvardovsky's new poem. In

describing the assault on the Angara and the Padun Rapids, Tvardovsky conveys with consummate skill the atmosphere in which the builders of the power station accomplished their feat. He puts into an excellent poetic language the aspirations, thoughts and emotions of the building workers. I also liked Nikolai Gribachov's articles. But again, if I begin to list all the things I liked, I may inadvertently leave out a noteworthy work and hurt the author's feelings. I therefore prefer not to list them.

Recently we visited the All-Union Art Exhibition. It was a most gratifying experience. There are numerous fine paintings at the Exhibition, in particular, paintings devoted to Lenin and the Communist Party. The artists are very keen on representing the ordinary working man—his inner world, his life and work.

The next All-Union Art Exhibition is to be held in 1960. We hope it will still more vividly, deeply and fully portray the life of the people who are building communism.

The theatres have lately produced a fair number of successful plays depicting Soviet society. The survey of theatres on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the October Revolution revealed the great amount of creative work done by them. In recent months the people of Moscow have seen some fine plays by Moscow companies and some of the visiting theatres of Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Vilnius, Odessa, Saratov, Kazan, Yakutsk and other cities.

Soviet film-makers, too, have accomplished a great deal. About a hundred new feature films have been shown during the year. There is no denying that some of them were not as good as others, and that some were mediocre and downright weak. But all in all the film-makers did well. Soviet cinema-goers saw a number of successful films about the historical progress of Soviet

society and about its life today, and, as you know, they appreciated both the films about the heroic deeds of our contemporaries and the gay comedies.

In the work of our composers and of the musical theatre there is much that is attractive and valuable and gives evidence of versatile talent and extensive artistic search. It is highly gratifying to note that music in our country is developing on a sound national foundation and that our composers are making progress by creating music that is understood and appreciated by the people.

Needless to say the arts do not develop evenly. Some of them are more advanced than others. But all in all there is a general upswing in all the arts, and it is a pleasure to point this out.

The more substantial our economic achievements are and the higher the living standard of the people, which will rise year by year, the greater will be the demand of the people for literature and works of art, for good films, high-standard musical compositions and new interesting stage productions.

What I wish our writers, our stage and screen people, musicians and artists is greater daring in their search, and greater concentration on life and people. Draw more on the present day for your material.

Some of you give too much attention to past centuries, which is particularly noticeable in the repertoires of certain theatres. An artist who tries to get away from his time, from important themes, is inevitably isolating himself from life, and from art that is worthy of the name.

Our opponents do not like the optimism and vitality of Soviet art. They would like our writers, painters, composers and other artists to take a sceptical and gloomy view of life. But we shall not yield an inch to our ideological opponents. We are certain that the talent



N. S. Khrushchov talks with sculptor *S. T. Konyonkov*, Lenin Prize winner, during a meeting of Party and Government leaders with writers and artists, December 17, 1962



N. S. Khrushchov at a reception in the Kremlin for the delegates to the Tashkent Conference of Afro-Asian Writers, October 23, 1958

of our writers and artists and their creative energy will bring them further outstanding success.

I should like to say a word apart about our young people. It is gratifying to note that in addition to the veterans of Soviet science and art many remarkable young scientists and engineers have lately come to the fore, that many books by gifted young authors have been published, and that many young composers, painters, stage directors, film-makers and actors have won the hearts of theatre- and cinema-goers.

We must give more attention to our young people, who are destined to succeed the older generation, so that it will honourably carry forward Soviet science, literature and art, and so that the younger generation of Soviet intellectuals makes an increasing contribution to the treasury of Soviet science and culture.

Lenin taught us to give solicitous support to every gifted person. We rejoice in every new success in science, literature, painting, music, stage and cinema. Why not rejoice in that which is good?

Comrades, a majestic vista is opening before our country and the Soviet people. Every one of you has vast, truly unlimited opportunities of using his abilities and talents, of boldly applying his creative thought, of working with inspiration and accomplishing great deeds.

It is wonderful, comrades, to live and work in a country which is developing on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the most progressive theory, and is marching in the van of the social progress of our great era.

I should like to propose a toast to our intellectuals, who are making an important contribution to the great cause of communist construction. To your health, comrades! To your success, dear friends!

LOVE AND RESPECT
FROM THE PEOPLE
IS THE WRITER'S GREATEST REWARD

*Speech
at the Grand Kremlin Palace Reception
for Participants in Afro-Asian Writers'
Conference in Tashkent
October 22, 1958*

Dear comrades and friends, I am very pleased, on behalf of the Soviet Government, to welcome you, the leading representatives of literature in the Asian and African countries, to the capital of our country, Moscow.

All of us have followed the work of your conference with great interest. This interest is fully understandable, for all progressive people in the world know and highly appreciate the active role played by writers in developing the national awareness of the peoples of Asia and Africa, who are fighting for liberation from the shameful chains of colonialism and imperialist oppression. But the role of the writers is even greater in those countries which have won their freedom and independence. There, literature becomes a mighty force in building a new life.

All those who sincerely sympathise with the fate of your peoples could not but rejoice that the meeting of Asian and African writers in Tashkent was so large and so representative.

The Tashkent Conference was attended by many well-known writers and poets of whom the peoples are proud. A writer is a mighty force, because his words carry great weight. It is not for nothing that the people say: A word is not an arrow but it strikes home.

Asia and Africa are continents of ancient cultures, but they have never witnessed so impressive an assembly of men of letters as the one you have attended. This is the first time that a meeting has been held of writers and poets of so many countries and nationalities, both big and small: People's China, India, the United Arab Republic, our own Central Asian republics, Ghana, the Ivory Coast and other countries. In addition to delegates from countries which have already won their freedom and independence, it was attended by writers from countries which are still languishing under colonial oppression, from countries fighting for their liberation.

Comrades and friends, you are people of various political convictions, you profess different religions. But you are all made kith and kin by a great love for your peoples, a respect for their original national traditions and their literary treasures, and by common hatred of imperialism, colonialism and racial discrimination. And the mighty voice of your conference has been heard all over the five continents.

It can safely be said that your unanimity of views on the paramount questions of developing literatures and friendly exchanges between them will be another thorn in the flesh of the imperialists and the colonialists.

It is probable that in some places the imperialists and colonialists will unleash their hounds against you and order them to vilify the unity which you have demonstrated so forcefully and which is so hateful to them. But, as an Eastern saying goes, an enemy's anger is the highest approbation.

Men of good will, all those who believe that reason will prevail over obscurantism, all those who are open to understanding, who want peace on earth, will approve your declaration as a document of good will. The Soviet people wholeheartedly welcome the decision of your conference.

Your fine aspirations are especially understandable to us Soviet people. The Soviet people have erected on the ruins of tsarist Russia—which was a prison-house of nations—a mighty multinational socialist state, a union of equal socialist republics in each of which new, impressive cultures, national in form and socialist in content, have developed and flourished in the years of Soviet power.

In travelling through our country, all of you have had every opportunity to become acquainted with the cultures of the Soviet republics. Our achievements cannot help bringing satisfaction to all fair-minded people. But we ourselves regard them as only the beginning of a great advance and flowering of the national cultures of our peoples. The Soviet people understand full well your keen desire for cultural progress in all Asian and African countries, and share and welcome it with all their hearts.

I was told that a new expression—the spirit of Tashkent—was born in the course of your conference, in the speeches made there. You imply by this the friendly mutual understanding and co-operation between creative workers of different peoples in the struggle for the great objectives of mankind, strong ties between writers and the life of their peoples, and active participation of literature in the fight for the freedom and independence of your countries and in building a new life where freedom and independence have already been won.

All my colleagues and I want the spirit of friendship and understanding which united you at the conference to mature and develop. In our time, a writer—provided, of course, he is a good one—a writer linked with the people, breathing their thoughts and aspirations, is not merely a chronicler of life but a fighter and a standard-bearer of progress.

Is there any doubt that what united you at the conference will not only promote the development of fruitful contacts between the literatures of Asia and Africa, these two great continents, but will also contribute to the successful development of world culture and to the strengthening of ties between the progressive culture of the East and the progressive culture of the West?

In cordially greeting you on behalf of the Soviet Government, I would also like to thank you for the kind words to the Soviet people in appreciation of their hospitality and cordiality, to thank you for what you have said with such warmth and enthusiasm about the achievements of our country.

In conclusion, I would like to wish each one of you success in your work and your art which helps the peoples of your countries to achieve vital aims and assists them in the struggle for the happy future of mankind. Love and respect from the people is the writer's greatest reward.

I wish that you may, by your fruitful work, add to the treasury of world culture, and make a worthy contribution to the common efforts of the peoples fighting for peace on earth.

Allow me to propose a toast to your health, and to your creative achievements for the good of the peoples.

To happiness and peace among the peoples, to peace throughout the world.

PORTRAY THE HEROIC FEATS OF THE PEOPLE

From the Report on the Control Figures for the Economic Development of the U.S.S.R. for 1959-65, delivered at the Twenty-First Congress of the C.P.S.U.

The purpose of all the ideological activities of our Party and state is to develop the new traits of the Soviet people, to educate them in the spirit of collectivism and industry, socialist internationalism and patriotism, the lofty ethical principles of the new society, in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. To achieve communism, the most just and perfect human society, in which all the finest moral traits of the free man will unfold to the full, we must educate the man of the future today. Communist ethics should be developed among Soviet people, ethics founded on devotion to communism and intolerance of its enemies, on a sense of social duty, active participation in work for the good of society, voluntary observance of the basic norms of behaviour, comradesly mutual assistance, honesty and truthfulness, and intolerance of those who violate public order. . . .

The sentiments of most Soviet people are subordinated to the great ideal of being useful to society, of producing more and more material and cultural wealth for it. It is this and not the thirst for profit, as is the case under capitalism, that is the principal motive force behind the actions of Soviet people. The American writer Jack London gave a vivid portrayal of people of the

bourgeois world who, swept up by the "gold rush", were ready to crawl for gold to the end of the world if necessary. Foremost Soviet men and women go to distant parts not because they are lured by the "golden calf", not for the sake of personal enrichment. They go to build new factories and plants, plough fields, erect new towns for all society, for our children, for our future, for the sake of the triumph of communism. People of an individualistic bent who have a bourgeois notion of the interests of the individual cannot understand the new moral traits of Soviet people and that is why they try to explain the patriotic deeds of Soviet people in their own way, saying that they are performed under compulsion.

Soviet people are amused by these explanations and by their authors, who cannot grasp the higher ethics of the socialist man who performs valorous deeds for the good of society, of mankind. . . .

The building of communism implies unprecedented progress in economy, science and culture; moreover, it provides endless opportunities for man to reveal to the full all his creative abilities and talents.

Literature and art, which actively help to mould the man of communist society, play an important part in the progress and enrichment of the spiritual culture of socialist society. There is no task nobler or greater than that confronting our art, which must portray the heroic effort of the people, the builder of communism. It is the duty of writers, of those engaged in the theatre, cinema and music, of sculptors and painters, to raise still higher the ideological and artistic standards of their works, to continue as active assistants of the Party and the state in the communist education of the working people, in the propaganda of the principles of communist ethics, in the promotion of a multinational socialist culture, in developing good aesthetic taste.

THE GREAT MISSION OF SOVIET WRITERS IS TO SERVE THE PEOPLE

*Speech at the Third Congress of Writers,
May 22, 1959*

Dear comrades, the Third Congress of our country's writers has met at an unusually joyous time when the whole of the Soviet Union is experiencing a great up-trend, having started on the full-scale construction of communist society.

The message of greeting from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Third Congress of Writers, which has just been read here, expresses most sincere good wishes to one of the foremost contingents of the Soviet intellectuals, our writers, those moulders of human souls.

The Party and the Soviet people have a high opinion of the important work which writers, composers, painters, film-makers and other equally fine contingents of intellectuals are doing for the good of the country. Our writers are living one life with the people. They have done and are doing much, and have the friendliest and most affectionate readers of all, Soviet people. But the deeds of the Soviet people are so great and so wonderful, dear friends, that had you done many times more than you actually have, it would still be too little to

show the vast scope, creative spirit and great variety of the life of the Soviet people. This is only natural, for life is always richer, fuller and deeper by far than the very best literary production or work of art.

The world is amazed and overwhelmed by what our people have accomplished in Soviet years. Ever since the Twenty-First Party Congress the Soviet Union has been advancing so fast and so well that one is at a loss for words to express the greatness of the times we are passing through. You writers have a knack of finding forceful words, and you criticise yourselves when you cannot find them. You will hardly spare me, either. But I admit that it is hard to find words expressive enough to describe the excellent headway our Soviet country is making just now.

What our country plans to achieve before long is staggering in scope. Our achievements give joy to our friends, and rouse fear and confusion in the camp of the enemies of communism. These achievements speak convincingly of the triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideas, which are guiding us, and of the great cause we serve. I trust this powerful upswing will not go to our heads.

Victory or success does not come by itself, but has to be won through stubborn, strenuous effort, through struggle. We have all we need to carry out the Seven-Year Plan successfully and our people are confident that they will attain their great goal.

The greatest mission of writers is to serve the people. There is no happiness greater than to belong to a collective and work together with it, knowing that you are working for the good of society, of the people.

I should like to read from a poem by Pantelei Makhinya, who was one of my closest friends when I was young. He wrote it some fifty years ago. The reason why I wish to read these verses is not at all to demonstrate a specimen of good poetry. I hope you think

better of me than to expect that I would try to teach you to write poetry. My friend's poem expresses the ideas of an intelligent and thoughtful worker of those days about man's purpose in life. Evidently, numerous workingmen were and still are motivated by the same desires and aspirations.

Listen, comrades, to what Makhinya, a worker poet, wrote in one of his poems, published in *Prikubanskiye Step'i*, a progressive magazine.

*No flame's so precious as the fire
That truthful books in hearts inspire
That makes them burn throughout this life
So vain, so full of petty strife,
A fire which they will share with others
To struggle side by side like brothers
With darkness till their dying day;
Not just to idle life away,
But leave the coming generations
A record of untiring toil
And rest with an unsullied conscience
In the beloved native soil. . . .*

I am fond of these lines, which come straight from the poet's heart.

I shall not try to judge this poem on its poetic merits, and I believe you, too, will not judge it too severely. The poet was a beginner, a miner, whose talent would have shown itself more fully had his life not been tragically broken off. He was killed by the Petlyura gang during the Civil War.

That is how a worker poet saw the purpose of his life and the aim of his labour. This was in old Russia, where the people had no rights and were tyrannised by the tsarist regime. But what wonderful opportunities to create for the people each of you has today!

Soviet writers have produced many good books, which faithfully depict life and call for struggle. I think you will agree that even when he has written what he thinks to be a good book, an author does not necessarily feel satisfied. Far from all works of literature or art win the reader's or spectator's unqualified approval. I have read some of the books published recently, but I am sorry to say I have read little. Not that I have no need or desire for it. I probably read as much as you do, but what I read is reports from ambassadors, notes from Foreign Ministers, and statements by the U.S. President or the Prime Minister of this or that country. I read much more literature of this kind than books written by you. Not, of course, that I prefer this literature to your books, but it is my duty to read it. I hope you will not hold it against me if I do not read some of your books. If, however, I omit to read some document, the result may be detrimental to our country. That is why I am compelled to read many volumes of such literature.

When you read, one book stirs and gratifies you, another rouses your anger or indignation at some fact it describes, while a third makes you doze. You try to finish it, because you have been told about it by comrades who have read the book and because you want to form your own opinion of it. But it makes hard reading, and your eyes close again. You rub them and try again, and again your eyes close. To finish the book, you take a pin and give yourself pin-pricks to keep awake and read the book to the end.

Who is to blame? The author will say it's the reader, and the reader will say the opposite. Who is to judge? The people. It is not half so bad if I or someone else didn't like a book, because tastes and characters vary. But when most of the readers form an opinion of the book, it amounts to an appraisal.

Once I read Rubakin's book, *Amid Books*. As a matter of fact, I read many of his books and I had a high opinion of him. Analysing the reader's psychology, Rubakin affirms that some readers are disheartened by the very size of a book. A book, however well written, may frighten the reader away—he may give it up the moment he sees how bulky it is. Some may class me as a reader of the type mentioned by Rubakin. Be that as it may, I am sorry to say there are authors whose books I had to force myself to read.

Different attitudes to one and the same book are evidently natural. After all, if everyone wrote in the same way there would be no such thing as good and bad books. That is something of a law. Not all writers produce good books—far from it. We get quite a few books that are mediocre, so to speak. There are also poor books, and these are not all written by beginners. However, I wish to make a reservation at this point. One can understand it when a budding writer produces a poor, uninspiring book. But in many cases a writer who is anything but a beginner tortures himself in writing a book and then tortures the reader with it, and that is unfortunate.

Comrades, the catchword "varnisher" has been current in certain literary quarters in recent years. They want to stick this label on authors who depict the optimism and vitality of the new, communist element in our life. Need I remind you how boldly we disclose our shortcomings? Today, several years after we have severely and ruthlessly criticised the negative practices of the past, only few people do not realise the necessity for sharply and ruthlessly criticising all that was associated with the personality cult. The Party and the people have emphatically condemned the intolerable practices and shortcomings of the past in order to put paid, so to say, to the wrong practices of yesterday and

say that such methods and deeds would never recur either in the Party or in the country as a whole.

However, when the Party and its Central Committee began to re-establish Leninist principles and standards in the Party and in the country, some misinterpreted the decisions of the Twentieth Congress. There were people even on the Party's Central Committee who disagreed with the line of our Party. You know that. Afterwards the disagreement of certain members of the Central Committee with the general line of the Party ended in the forming of an anti-Party group, of which I shall not speak. You all know of the struggle which the Communist Party had to wage in order to restore Leninist principles throughout the Party and the country. The roots and origins lay in that—in the struggle between the new and the old, the struggle which the forces championing the triumph of communist principles waged against those who would distort these principles.

Now we have people in the literary world who are trying to defame writers that show our life from a communist standpoint, that is, show the triumph of that which is new, communist. I shall not here name the so-called varnishers or analyse their work. Indeed, there is no need for it, and still less is it a task for me who am not a literary critic.

A competent literary critic can do a good deal even for the most prominent writer. An intelligent critical article is like a bunch of birch twigs for anyone who enjoys a steam bath—he lashes himself with the twigs as he takes the bath, or if he doesn't want to do it himself, someone else does it for him. A steam bath complete with birch twigs is not a bad thing, because it opens your pores and makes breathing freer and life easier.

Let there be no mistake, comrades. I have no intention at all of standing up for people who describe reali-

ties in a way far removed from actual life. Take the books which presented life in such rosy colours that they did not ring true. That sort of books can hardly do any good. But I wish to side with those authors who are called "varnishers" just because they base their books on the portrayal of positive characters. Is not a book that faithfully portrays positive characters a good and useful one? Authors who write such books do not approve of every trait of their positive characters—they see people as they really are, working and fighting to assert the new. This is logical and right. People should be taught to follow good examples. The trail to the future should be blazed by showing the positive in life.

The force of example is a great force, comrades.

To be sure, you may ask: What about satire? Satire, too, has never been outside politics in our country. It is one of the sharpest weapons. By ridiculing particular evils, survivals and shortcomings, satire prevents ills and helps people get rid of shortcomings. It follows that our Party and people should continue to use the weapon of satire to devastate all that hampers our advance to communism.

That is why I range myself squarely with the writers who depict the vitality of the new and its triumph over the old. Writers who stand foursquare on the facts, on concrete realities and developments, want to serve their people and strive to produce books that our Party can use as weapons. Why should they be called "varnishers"? They are not "varnishers", but champions of the new, of the cause of our Party and our people, who are advancing to communism with firm step.

If, however, there are "varnishers", there must obviously be non-varnishers as well. Who are the non-varnishers? Some of them allege that the chief task of literature is to detect all sorts of evils and shortcom-

ings, while ignoring the great achievements of Soviet society. But let me tell you, dear friends, that if anyone does lay bare shortcomings and evils, and does it with an intrepid hand, it is the Party and its Central Committee.

Let us look at the facts. Did anyone force us to make the report to the Twentieth Party Congress on the personality cult and its consequences, and to reveal the defects that had arisen from that practice? Did anyone make us hold the series of plenary meetings of the Party's Central Committee at which we ruthlessly disclosed shortcomings and emphatically condemned them, and planned and approved measures for the elimination of those shortcomings, and paved the way for the new? No one did. Had we not been Leninists and Bolsheviks, we could easily have varnished everything, could have represented everything old as something new and fresh, and could have said nothing about the mistakes of the past or about the harm they had done. But what we did was speak of past shortcomings and lay bare the old mistakes, so as to rivet people's attention on the new. To prevent a recurrence of the grave errors of the past, it was necessary completely to lay bare the shortcomings that had existed, so that people would be repelled by the musty smell of that which had been. The Party did it all to give free rein to the creative energy of the people, pave the way for the new, accomplish what the great Lenin had recommended and lead the country onwards, to communism, the Leninist way.

I have said that I was not going to name either the varnishers or the non-varnishers, that is, those who wish to depict nothing but the negative. But the negative is a nag that won't take anyone far, let alone pull you out of a bog.

You will pardon me if I use certain rather unusual comparisons. You writers do not hesitate to use certain

expressions when they are called for. And you are right, of course.

Now, in portraying a character, it is the writer's standpoint that matters above all else. In the case of the individual or society, the important thing is the angle from which you consider them. You may have before you an excellent person but may portray him in different ways, stressing this or that aspect or quality of his. Let us say a writer sets out to portray someone who has excellent qualities both as a public figure and a private person. If the writer approaches him from the back door or backyard instead of through the main entrance of the house, nothing good will come of it. How can you depict a person properly if you approach him that way? Surely a writer such as that is bound to have a very peculiar viewpoint, or rather "skewpoint", as Gorky put it.

The same applies to depicting the life of Soviet society, which consists of millions of people. In it you will find people with a crystal-clear conscience, but you may also come across depraved individuals—common murderers and charlatans. Unfortunately, such individuals still occur in our society, because we are living in the period of transition from socialism to communism and are still affected with many of the defects inherited from the accursed past.

For no one is born a communist. No one has ever heard of such a person or seen one, either. No one can invent such a person, who can only be formed in the course of communist construction, in the closing stage of the transition from socialism to communism. What do we mean by "closing stage"? There is no plough-made furrow that would allow us to say, here is where socialism ends and communism begins. We cannot say so. The transition from socialism to communism is a long and very complicated process.



N. S. Khrushchov receives delegates to the Third Congress of Soviet Writers, the Kremlin, May 23, 1959



In the St. George's Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace on April 6, 1960, N. S. Khrushchov addresses a message of good wishes to the delegates to the Inaugural Congress of Union of Composers of the R.S.F.S.R.



N. S. Khrushchov talks with the composers Y. A. Shaporin, T. N. Khrennikov and V. P. Solovyov-Sedoi, April 6, 1960

Some writers imagined that the struggle against shortcomings implied that they must attack so-called varnishers and thereby help—or so they believed—the Party, which had laid bare those shortcomings. But what are the characters they extol? What is their idea of our society?

I have had occasion to speak of Dudintsev and his notorious novel *Not by Bread Alone*, which some of our ill-wishers abroad described as almost the best book in Russian literature. But three years have passed. Who reads that book today? Who wants it? Yet it is just the kind of book that presents a malodorous bouquet. Of course not all that it says is bad. I read the book and I must say I didn't have to give myself pin-pricks while reading it. Some of its pages are worth reading.

Anastas Ivanovich Mikoyan, who read the book earlier than I, said I should read it because certain of its arguments sounded as if the author had overheard them from me.

Yes, Dudintsev saw certain negative facts with a keen eye, but he exaggerated them, and presented them in a deliberately generalised way. I have said before and still consider that Dudintsev has never been our enemy, nor an opponent of the Soviet system.

True, I have never seen the man. I wanted to talk with him, but had no time. Just as I was going to receive him, an ambassador or a delegation would arrive. So I had no chance to talk with him.

What is the trouble with such literature? I do not refer to Dudintsev alone, but to all other writers who approached the life of our socialist society from their "skewpoint". Apparently they, too, wanted to help the Party and the people to eliminate negative practices, but when they gave a hyperbolised and distorted picture, it immediately drew the attention of our enemies rather than that of our friends. The stink was so over-

powering that no normal person could bear it without smelling salts. The writers who upheld the justice of the new society, and all who were convinced that this distorted, false portrayal, alleged to be true to life, was unfair, were outraged and rightly rose in arms against it. A struggle ensued.

And so, on whose side are we in this struggle? Obviously, on the side of the writers and the trend that proceed from positive facts and through them show the inspiring power of labour, fire people with enthusiasm, call on them to march on, and show them the way to the new world. They may be said to generalise the finest human traits and qualities in their positive characters, which they contrast with negative characters, and to show the struggle between the new and the old, and the inevitable victory of the new. In depicting the positive, they also condemn what should be rejected. I think this approach in portraying the realities of life is sound. At any rate, I hold this opinion and take this view of the problem. This is my attitude to the so-called varnishers. While I am not a writer myself, I class myself in that group to some extent.

I should also like, comrades, to make a few comments bearing on the not so distant past. The aftermath of what was recently rather a sharp struggle still makes itself felt in your midst. It was an ideological struggle of principle against revisionists who attacked the Party line. The whole body of writers rose to repel those attacks. The overwhelming majority of the writers resolutely opposed the exponents of revisionist views. That ideological fight, it is fair to say, involved all writers to some extent or other. True, different people fought with a different degree of intensity and by different methods.

Some of the writers made an impetuous thrust at the "enemy" pill-boxes. Using a military term, we may call

them submachine-gunners. They operated actively and courageously, undeterred by the difficulties of the battle and, indeed, going out to meet them. Those are good qualities. People who took an active part in that battle did an important thing. That fight is a thing of the past now. Ideologically, the exponents of revisionist views and sentiments have been completely defeated. The battle is over and the "angels of conciliation", as the phrase goes, are already hovering in the air. What we see now are healing wounds, so to speak. And the writers who at that time tried to survey our Soviet society from their "skewpoint" are now anxious to forget the fact that they made serious mistakes.

I think we ought to make it easier for them to shift from erroneous views to correct, principled positions. We should not speak unkindly of them, should not emphasise their past mistakes nor point at them continuously. That is the way to serve our common cause. We should not remind them of it, but neither should we forget. We should make notes, so to speak, just in case, so that we can look and recall, if necessary, how many notes there are and whom they refer to.

Among the writers there are still some people spoiling for an attack on the "submachine-gunners", who were particularly active against the revisionists at the height of the ideological battle and defended the right positions—those of the Party. Some would apparently like to pretend that those comrades are the only ones to blame for everything. But that, of course, is absolutely wrong.

Positions of principle should be held and a resolute ideological struggle should be waged against those who attack the Party line. Naturally, in the heat of a struggle it often happens that anyone who joins in it gets his share of the blows.

You must have watched boys fighting, and even been

in such fights, more than once in your lives. I have even seen grown-ups fighting, at the pithead. Occasionally men from the Kursk and Orel gubernias fought each other. Some people came out well before those fights started, and stood aside, watching them gather momentum. Of course that was in the old, pre-revolutionary days. It was a tribute to barbarity and ignorance, so to say. But there it was.

You will excuse my oversimplifying it, but something like that happens in ideological struggles as well. For when the battle starts, both sides have sympathisers who would like to put in their bit. What does that bit sometimes amount to? Sympathisers often want to part the fighters. They grab one of the fighters and pull him one way, and the other they pull the other way. Then the fighters try to break free and may hit the appeasers with an elbow or something. When the scuffle is over, the appeaser complains of having been hit. "Were you in the fight?" he is asked. "No, I just tried to part the fighters," he replies. "But you held on to one of them and tried to pull him away. You held his arms while he was being attacked, and in defending himself he gave you a good one."

Much the same thing happens in an ideological fight, in a political battle. Ideological struggles are inevitable so long as capitalism exists. In a manner of speaking, we have always given our blessing to fighters going into that holy action and have ourselves joined in it, and shall always join in such "battles". Such "fighting" is inevitable, because an ideological, a political struggle is going on. Nobody must be neutral in this struggle, and anyone who wants to be neutral should stand aside when the active are fighting, or he will be hit by both sides.

With the struggle over, some of those who started the "fight"—who began the struggle against the Party's

general line—are in a hurry to forget who actually started the whole thing. They try to clasp their hands and hold their heads as saints are generally shown doing in icons. And in that humble posture they declare that they were offended gratuitously. But we answer such complaints by asking, “What were you hit for?” and adding, “Serves you right. You must have got too little of it, though, or you wouldn’t behave as you do.”

You may ask whether I am calling on you to work yourselves up in the struggle, or to make peace. I answer you that I call for unity on the basis of principle. I think this unity is there already, and is becoming more and more solid.

Maxim Gorky put it very well when he said, “An enemy who doesn’t surrender is destroyed.” That is perfectly correct. It is the class point of view and we have supported it, as we support it now, in assessing political, class struggles. When it is a question of the interests of the working class and working people in general, of their struggle against the exploiters, we must not call for reconciliation. In a situation of this kind, an appeal for reconciliation would be nothing but surrender. It would be contrary to our line, to the Communist, Bolshevik line.

There is, however, a correct maxim—never hit a man when he’s down. If, in an ideological battle, the enemy surrenders, if he admits his defeat and is willing to take the right position, you shouldn’t shrug him off but should understand him, should give him your hand and help him join the ranks and co-operate with you.

I should like to say that in our socialist society, in which there are no hostile classes or groups and everything is based on the principles of comradeship and friendship, we must be particularly tactful with regard to people who were unfortunate enough to “let the devil lead them astray”.

We trust that no one is incorrigible. You know of Felix Dzerzhinsky's noble character and his method of educating even common criminals, to say nothing of his political opponents. You know of the fruits that method of education bore.

In present-day conditions we must approach people tactfully, trust them, and keep our eyes on our ultimate goal, communism. We must educate and re-educate people. By means of principled criticism and ideological struggle we must strive to rally the communist forces and the forces following our Party in the struggle to build communism. This is the important thing.

I should like, comrades, to tell you about a fact that I think is interesting. A very short time ago, when I was in Sochi, I received a letter from a citizen. I shall not name its writer because there is no need for that. It will be some time before he gets back firmly on his feet, and then, perhaps, it will be worth giving his name. I wish to read you a letter from a man sentenced for theft. Here it is:

"Comrade N. S. KHRUSHCHOV,
Chairman, Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.

"I've been a thief ever since I was 12 years old, and was convicted four times. The last time, in 1954, I was sentenced to a term of six years. I served the term. On being released, I returned to my family and took a carpenter's job. I earned from 500 to 600 rubles (in old currency—*Ed.*) a month. I had to pay 200 rubles in rent and was unable to keep my family. I contracted a debt of 400 rubles in rent and owed another 600 rubles to the office. So, on March 25th last, I left my family—my daughter of four, my mother and my wife (my wife is in a lying-in home with a new-born child)—and went away, longing for an easy life. But I can't start my former

criminal's life all over again and can't go back to my family either, because I left it penniless and in debt. I've committed no crime in the five days since I left.

"I'm not afraid of having to answer for what I've done and I'm asking your advice. I shall wait daily for as long as I have the will-power to wait, and shall look forward to an interview with you. If you think it necessary to have me arrested, I'll accept that too.

"Yours,-"

That was in Sochi. I asked the writer of the letter to come and see me. We met. On hearing his name I told him I had known a general by that name.

He was a young man of about thirty. During the interview he proved to be a sensible and agreeable person. He told me about himself and his life, how he had lost his father, and about his adverse environment.

"Try to understand my position," he said. "I could work as a loader—you can see that I'm strong enough. But they won't give me the job because they look on me as a thief. Loaders are paid decently and I could earn enough, but they won't trust me. I've been working in a team lately. The other men on the team make more money than I. They look on me as a thief and give me jobs that take little skill. What am I to do now? What shall I do about my family? They won't give me a place to live. I rent a room in a private house. If I lived in a state-owned house I'd be paying less. Help me. I promise that I'll be an honest man—I'll prove it to you."

I listened to the man and talked with him, and believed him. He made a favourable impression. Perhaps I was too lenient, but it was a pleasure to talk with him. I believed him and I hope he won't disappoint me.

"What do you want me to do?" I asked him. "How can I help you?"

"I want to be able to provide for my family," he said. "That's the important thing. I want to go back to my wife, my children and my mother."

"All right," I replied, "I'll try to help you. I'll ring up the Secretary of the Town Party Committee and ask him to take care of you, give you a job and help you learn a trade, so that you can earn more. But do your work honestly. I'll also ask them to give you a loan. (Think of giving a loan to a former thief! That is something you can do only in our Soviet conditions.)"

"You'll be given a loan to build a house, or I'll have them give you a flat, if possible, and then you'll have to pay less." (Rent in the Soviet Union, as we know, is the lowest in the world. I would say it is nominal, because the sum total is probably not enough to pay the yardkeeper.)

My interlocutor said, "That would be fine. I'd be grateful to you."

As he saw in the course of the conversation that he was trusted and was getting proper treatment, the writer of the letter said, "You know, Comrade Khrushchov, I'd like very much to be photographed with you for a souvenir."

"That can be done," I replied. "Sit nearer to me to make it easier for the photographer."

We were photographed. I promised to send him a print. It was done.

At the close of the conversation I discovered that my interlocutor had not a kopek.

So I said to him, "I'll help you to go back home, and also to take your wife and children some presents."

He returned to his home, and they helped him get a job. I asked to be informed how he worked and behaved. I was told that he worked as a loader and earned a decent living. He wanted me to know that he was doing well. He thanked me for helping him.

There, comrades, is a fact from our reality. The man who wrote the letter is a real person.

The letter and the man who wrote it could have been treated in different ways. The letter came from someone who had been convicted for theft four times. He had been allowed to work but had given up his job and run away to steal again, and now he wanted to see me. You could have had him arrested and called to account. That would have been one way of treating him.

What would such an approach have led to? It would have led to a man who had gone astray improving on his thieving proficiency in prison, while we need people who will serve *our* cause. A different approach was required to get the man back on the right path. It was necessary to show faith in him, in his better qualities. Can he be active in communist construction? Yes, comrades, he can.

In describing such incidents, I find it hard to compete with Anton Makarenko, the well-known and universally respected author of *The Road to Life*. He revealed the noble qualities inherent in man, and the great power of faith in man. And we all know that his faith in man was amply repaid by those in whom he showed an interest and put his trust, that is, by one-time criminals and murderers.

Some may think my comparison crude. But I believe you will not misunderstand me. The incident of the letter does not apply to what I said earlier. I told you about it to show that the problem of educating and re-educating people is a highly important one. In our country, I regret to say, we still have criminals and murderers.

A foreigner visiting the Soviet Union may say on hearing of such facts that although we are building communism he has discovered that there are murderers in our country. But then we have not the slightest in-

tention of affirming that we have put an end to all survivals of the past and succeeded in re-educating everyone. Nevertheless, anyone who takes a close look at the life of Soviet society is bound to discover that it is not the existence of criminals that is typical of our society, but the rapid growth of people's social consciousness. Some may ask: Will there be any criminals in communist society? I personally, who am a Communist, cannot guarantee that there will be none. A crime is a deviation from generally accepted standards of social behaviour, one that in many cases stems from a deranged mentality. Can members of communist society be affected with some illness or mental disease? They evidently can. If so, there can also be offences typical of people with an abnormal mentality. But surely communist society will not be judged by the existence of mentally unbalanced people. Anyone who advocated combating communism on these "grounds" should be told that there are people even now who are fighting against communism and its great ideas, but that their mentality is obviously unbalanced.

Dear comrades, many writers have spoken here. Unfortunately, we were unable to hear all your speeches, but some of them we heard or read. We consider that we have a debt to pay you on certain points and we shall do our best to read the other speeches and familiarise ourselves with your comments and suggestions.

I don't suppose I need to analyse your books in this speech. I am not a literary critic, as you know, and so do not feel obliged to analyse your literary productions.

Certain facts indicate that you yourselves are not very eager to criticise one another. I don't think you want me to shoulder that unpleasant duty. You are the ones who write, and you should also be the first to criticise what is written. You know well that in analysing

literary works one has to praise some, criticise others and put still others somewhere in between. It is not as if someone brought two bags, with sweets in one and bitter pills in the other, and handed them out, giving a sweet to one, two to another and a bitter pill to a third. It would be fairer if you yourselves shared out the sweets and took the pills, deciding who should get what, and when.

It should be said, however, that literary criticism, everyday deep analysis of literary works, is a prime condition for the successful development of our literature. That is why you have no right to evade criticising your fellow writers or analysing their writings. What does literary criticism mean? It means sharpening the writer's weapon, deeply analysing literary works, and improving penmanship. I need not speak of this at any length, because you know well how important such matters are. We want and the people are looking forward to well-written new literary works calling for action and for the victory of communism.

You probably know that I am a restless man and that I dislike chewing the cud. Everyone should be active on his job and literature should be inspired by deep feeling. Vigorous activity and the struggle for great ideals, for a new life, are all things that appeal to people. We could make no headway if we were passive. It is only the struggle of millions upon millions of people to build a new life—an active, inspired and passionate struggle—that enables us to make rapid progress and win. Those who are passive, indifferent and listless will hardly produce works breathing passion and inspiring heroic deeds. Or can they? I have no specific evidence on this matter, but still I think it is hardly possible.

Comrades, we are proud of the splendid writers of the older generation, and are also proud of the young

people just beginning to write. We must treat the young thoughtfully and lovingly. I should like to make a few remarks on how to deal with beginners. Literature as a whole cannot grow unless there is an inflow of young writers. We shall be succeeded by young people. Everyone begins with something small, and then gathers strength and produces fine and important works, winning recognition for his talent. Talent does not come out overnight, but improves gradually.

There is a serious shortcoming in the way we train our young writers. As I see it, we often put our budding writers in hothouse conditions.

Think of the severe conditions in which people lived in tsarist Russia, to say nothing of writers, of thinking people, who could not reconcile themselves to the evils of the old society. They were indignant and by expressing their indignation in the books they wrote, they made millions of people indignant too, and roused them to the fight for a better life. We know how hard it was at the time for writers and artists to gain recognition.

The conditions changed radically after the October Revolution. In our socialist society, people have every opportunity to develop harmoniously and to show their ability and gifts. We want the creative work of our young people to become still more active and fruitful. Many gifted people emerge in our Soviet environment. We must do everything to help them grow. But we must not cut them off artificially from the earth, from the environment in which they live.

I am considered an advocate of maize. So I want to show you the difference between growing maize in normal conditions and in a hothouse, and to draw a certain parallel with the training of young writers.

Many people are fond of maize. The Georgians like it, and so do the Armenians, Ukrainians, and Russians

in the southern regions. Maize tastes best at the milk-wax stage. You have to eat it to know what a tasty dish it makes. Now, some people who had no experience in growing maize but longed to grow it fast began to raise maize sprouts in hothouses. I recall one agronomist who knew how earnestly I advocated maize-growing and apparently wanted to do something agreeable to me. He raised some maize sprouts in a hothouse and then transplanted them into the field. When I came to that field I saw that the sown maize had not yet sprouted, while the maize transplanted from the hothouse stood twenty to thirty centimetres high. I looked at the field and said to the agronomist, "Do you realise what a foolish thing you've done?"

"Have I?" he said. "Why?"

"The sown maize," I replied, "will rise, even though it hasn't sprouted as yet. It will grow and will yield a good crop, while the maize you've transplanted from the hothouse will wither and will not yield a good crop because it was reared in a hothouse. Look at the transplanted maize. It is sickly and yellow and isn't green enough, just as a person who uses a parasol doesn't have a good tan. These plants will not withstand all the trials they'll be put to as they grow."

Some of our budding writers are to a certain extent like maize reared in a hothouse before being transplanted into a field. It sometimes happens that people start at once to make a fuss about someone who has written his first short story or poem, saying that a new star, a new talent has been born. The comrade who has produced his first work does not call himself a writer or poet, he has just tried his hand, but people start trumpeting about it, saying that he is a model, the gem mankind has been waiting for, and hustle him into the Writers Union. If the beginner lives in the provinces, he is said to need a flat in Moscow or the capital of the

republic concerned. Since he is a new star, they say, he cannot possibly stay in the provinces.

But is that right? After all, Mikhail Sholokhov lives in his own capital, the village of Vyoshenskaya. Yet try measuring up to him in the literary field, you who live in the capitals.

It is not where a person lives that matters, but what he can do, how able he is.

I think hothouse conditions may have an adverse effect on the training of young writers. Indeed, see what happens sometimes to a person who is overpraised and taken out of the environment where he worked. He is recognised to be a writer, and gets a membership card of the Writers Union and a flat in a capital city. Until then he may have worked as a tractor driver, combine operator, turner, fitter, designer, engineer or agronomist. For he was not born a writer and had to grow up first, had to work somewhere. But after his first literary success it turns out that he cannot produce anything better. So what is he to do? He tells himself that it is not fit for a writer to get behind the steering-wheel of a combine any more than it is to work at a factory. So where does he go? He goes to the Writers Union to draw some money from the Literary Fund. They subsidise him. He considers that since he has been recognised a man of talent and has been issued a membership card in token of his ability, they must give him money. And since they are willing to give, he wants them to give as much as possible.

Perhaps I am exaggerating somewhat. I have no intention of dramatising the situation. I merely wish to show that it is a departure from the standards we should keep to.

We must help young comrades to develop their gifts, must support youth, just as many veteran writers did in the past and as Gorky did. I have read the letters

of Mikhail Kotsyubinsky, his correspondence with Gorky, who had a tremendous influence on Kotsyubinsky's work, just as he did on the work of many other writers and artists. Let the Ukrainian writers Nikolai Bazhan, Alexander Korneichuk and Maxim Rylsky correct me if I am wrong in saying that for many years Kotsyubinsky was on a commission for the control of agricultural pests, a Zemstvo statistician, and a writer. And he wrote well, as you know.

Why should a writer who wants to portray a worker not go where workers live and work, and observe them? Why should he not live with them? What is wrong with that? If he did, he wouldn't have to waste time on trips.

Comrades, it is farthest from my thoughts to suggest that writers should be removed from capitals to all parts of the Soviet Union—to mines, factories and farms. That would certainly be unwise. I merely want to say that writers should dig deeper into life, should study it and present in artistic forms all that is new in the life of the Soviet Union, and depict people—the makers of all the material and spiritual values of our society—with deep insight.

Surely it is no good taking people out of the specific environment—a collective farm, factory or office—which gives them spiritual food, and transplant them into artificial, hothouse conditions. A person who is treated that way may lose his footing; he will stop receiving the life-giving juices he needs and will come to feel like a plant torn out of the soil. When you transplant a fruit-tree, removing its main roots, it takes the tree two or three years to grow new ramified roots and blossom again. The same happens to a person pulled out of his habitual environment. He may in time take root and gain a firm footing, but he may also wither.

Allow me to quote a conversation I had with some Ukrainian writers a long time ago. When I was assigned

to the Ukraine—that was before the war—a group of Ukrainian writers, fine people whose names I shall not mention, came to see me. We discussed certain matters and then they said, "Comrade Khrushchov, we want to ask you for something."

"What is it?"

"We have a remarkable folk poet, a peasant woman."

"That's fine," I said. "We have many gifted people nowadays. Anything we can do for her?"

"She lives in the country," they told me.

"Yes?"

"We ought to give her a flat in Kiev."

I told the comrades the following: "That woman writes poetry about life on the collective farm and while she isn't an educated person she seems to be gifted. She writes about people she sees and events she takes part in. Now what could she write about if you took her away from the farm and installed her in Kreshchatik Street? She would pine away and would be unable to write anything, or if she wanted to write she would have to go to the farm."

My writer friends heard me out, but afterwards admitted the collective-farm woman to the Writers Union all the same. Nothing came of it, because she had too little background and was still immature as a writer. All she could do was make rhymes, but we know that rhymes alone do not make poetry.

I think, comrades, you will understand me and will agree that we must support beginners irrespective of age, but must not artificially put them in hothouse conditions. One who is always supported when in water will never learn to swim. If you want to learn swimming you must get into the water, try swimming, and train. If you see someone drowning, lend him a hand, but afterwards teach him to swim. Give a budding writer a chance to develop his talent by his own effort.

Comrades, is it right to speak of "the writer's right to make mistakes" or "the writer's right to fail"? I think the very standing and role of the writer in society deprive him of that right. Leonid Sobolev spoke well at the First Congress of Writers, in 1934, when he said that the Party and the Government had given the Soviet writer absolutely everything and had only taken from him one thing—the right to write poorly.

To my mind, the people have taken away from the writer not only the right to write poorly, but, above all, the right to write wrongly. A book may be of a rather low standard of writing, so to speak. So the reader will know it as a bad book. But it is different with a book written the wrong way, that is, if its point of departure is wrong. That is something we must by no means allow, for it is literary spoilage.

It may be argued that every industry has its spoilage. True, but there is spoilage and spoilage, and mistakes vary too. You will agree that spoilage through the fault of a fitter or turner is one thing, and literary spoilage an entirely different thing. In the former case the spoiled part is simply rejected and a new one ordered, except that the time spent on making the part and the material used are wasted. In the latter case, however, literary spoilage is given a lease of life—the book containing errors has appeared!—and reaches the reading public, including readers who are still shaky on their feet and cannot properly analyse the merits and demerits of a work of fiction. The reader trusts a book which he knows to have been written by a professional author. You know of the respect for writers, for fiction, for the printed word which the Party has inculcated upon our people. This is why a literary production, even one containing serious ideological errors, may be mistaken by a section of the readers for the real thing, something to be trusted and used as a guide in

life and in struggle. Judge for yourselves how harmful this literary spoilage may be to Soviet people and communist construction.

You may ask what guarantees there can be against mistakes. I agree that it is hard to give guarantees, because a truly Soviet writer does not make mistakes deliberately. There may be various reasons—an inadequate knowledge of life, an incorrect point of departure, and so on. To prevent this, one should remember that writers live in society and depict the life of society, that their work should be guided by public criticism and that they should heed it and take it into consideration, should hold comradely discussions and forums, and submit their writings to public opinion for appraisal.

Again, you may say: Criticise us, exercise control, and refuse to publish erroneous works. But you know that it is not easy to see at once whether a book should or should not be published. The easiest way is not to publish anything, for then there will be no mistakes and the man who banned the printing of this or that work will look like an intelligent person. But that would in fact be a foolish thing to do.

Therefore, comrades, don't try to shift these matters on to the shoulders of the government, but settle them by yourselves, in a comradely manner. We think that will be criticism, and real criticism, too. In the case of real literary criticism, no considerations of kinship or friendship should deter the critic, whose chief concern should be the message and the artistic merits of the work he criticises. That is the way to organise this business.

I think Alexander Tvardovsky was right when he said in his speech at this Congress that quality should come first in literary work. It is true that in the case of spiritual activity "more" is the enemy of "better". Let there be one book, but let it be well written. Nikolai

Ostrovsky did not write many books, but his *How the Steel Was Tempered* is a real book. He is dead, but his book will probably live on for centuries. I shall name no other authors or books—we have many of them. We should strive to produce good books that will live long and bring joy to people.

Ever since my childhood I have had the following lines from Nekrasov's *Grandfather* impressed upon my heart, and I remember them word for word.

Here they are, those words:

*I witnessed a miracle, Sasha;
A band of dissenters were banned
To the furthestmost limits of Russia
And given freedom and land.
A year passed in harvest and tillage,
Till the commissars* paid them a call;
And lo! they had built a whole village
With granaries, cowsheds and all. . . .
And even a regular smithy—
A sizable township was founded
In far under five dozen years.
Man's labour and will-power work wonders.*

See how well Nekrasov spoke of man, of what he can do if he has freedom and land! But at that time things were not done on the scale they are today. What would Nekrasov say now, had he been alive, and had he heard that in three or four years Soviet people had developed 36 million hectares of virgin land! If what he wrote about was a miracle, then it would be an under-estimate to call the Soviet people's exploits a super-miracle.

Such are the times we are living in, comrades. But

* Gendarme officials.—Tr.

still we admire the genius of Nekrasov because he saw, in manifestations that are modest by our standards, and appreciated that "man's labour and will-power work wonders." In our day the immense creative energy of the people has come into play and the people have transformed their country into a mighty socialist power. Our enemy now sees and realises this.

I should like to tell you a true story. During a recent reception I talked with some foreign diplomats. The most burning issue now is the meeting of Foreign Ministers.

"How will the matter be settled at Geneva?" the West German Ambassador asked me.

"That is for you to tell me—you are the Ambassador of your government, so tell us what it thinks. But whatever you may think, I can say one thing, that a peace treaty with the two Germanys has to be signed."

"That's impossible."

"No, it isn't. If you think it is impossible today, we shall sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic and wait until you say it is possible, until you sign a peace treaty."

The Ambassador said no, that would not be. I replied that he should not be hasty in saying "No", and should wait.

Then another Ambassador joined in the conversation. The Ambassador I am speaking of lived in our country at one time, and he and his father had a factory in Moscow. Afterwards they left the country and he is now an ambassador of his country and speaks Russian very well, so that we talked without an interpreter. He turned to the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany and said, "You know, Mr. Ambassador, I would not advise you to be in a hurry to say 'No'. Thirty years ago I said Soviet rule wouldn't last long, but I was wrong, as you see."

This is evidence that even those who were and are our opponents by virtue of their class position have begun to see clearly and to correct their colleagues, whom they advise against haste in saying "No".

As for us, comrades, we are Communists. You may reply we are not all Communists. To that I say that when someone speaks in public in our country—a writer, factory worker or, say, office employee—it is impossible to tell by his speech whether he is a Communist or not, and to find that out you must ask the speaker himself. Is that not a striking demonstration of the fusion of the thoughts of our Party and of the peoples of our great Soviet Union? It is the greatest reward for our Party, a great triumph for Lenin's teachings. The doctrine of our Party and our Party Programme are no longer merely scientific documents—they have become live documents, they are the views, concepts, and programme of action for our great people. This is a reward because the international prestige of our country and of Soviet foreign policy has never been so high, and the policy of our government follows from the policy and doctrine of our Communist Party. Consequently, this is a recognition of the fact that the doctrine of the Communist Party is a victorious doctrine. We must do everything to exalt our country still more by our deeds.

Comrades, allow me to quote yet another poem. I like what Ivan Nikitin said about his native land:

*There is cause enough,
Rus, my native land,
To adore your soil,
And mother call you;
To oppose the foe
Who insults your name,
To give blood and life
For your victory.*

These are wonderful words. The poet said that Russia could be called a mother, but we know that Russia at that time was not a mother to all and that to many she was a stepmother. I mean not only the national but the class composition of the population of one-time Russia. Nevertheless, the poet called her a mother. So what should we call our great Soviet Union, which has indeed become a mother to all peoples, with all the peoples in our country becoming brothers!

Comrades, we owe all that to the great Lenin, to our glorious Communist Party, to the Soviet system, to the devoted labour of our peoples.

Let us maintain all the gains of socialism, let us multiply them and advance to our cherished goal, communist society.

Alexander Tvardovsky uses apt words in his poem, *Almost Half a Century*, about the Soviet people—apt in a new way because the times are new. The poem was published in *Pravda* last December. I shall not read it to you because you must all have read it and remember it. The poem expresses the emotions of everyone who loves his socialist country, loves the Soviet state and is proud of its achievements.

Comrades, we are pressing communist construction forward on a wide front. Speaking in military terms, our society has formed contingents that are advancing on a wide front.

Many of you have taken part in battles and know that unless supported by artillery the infantry can hardly break through the enemy defences without heavy casualties, and that an offensive is always preceded by an artillery bombardment, which requires a large quantity of shells, depending on the extent to which the enemy positions are fortified. Marshal Malinovsky is present here and he can bear me out.

I think, comrades, that in our general offensive the activity of Soviet writers is comparable to long-range artillery fire which must clear the way for infantry. Writers are something like artillerymen. They pave the way for our advance, helping our Party in the communist education of the working people.

Three days ago I received a group of Americans. Among them was an elderly man, a judge. At the end of the interview he said: Thank you for the interview, Mr. Khrushchov, I'm very pleased and we are all pleased with our stay in the Soviet Union. We have seen a great deal and I personally wish to give you my special thanks. I'm afraid that when I go back and tell my friends about my impressions, some of them will say the Russians must have given the old judge a "brainwashing".

That is what he said. And it was well said. It is essential, comrades, that your books should clear people's brains instead of clogging them. Today you writers have a special responsibility.

You know, comrades, that when the artillery is preparing an offensive and when it is accompanying the advancing infantry, it has to fire over the heads of its own troops. That is why you must know how to fire accurately, so as to hit the enemy and not your own troops.

We are passing through a period of rapid scientific and technological progress. Both technology and artillery are changing in our country, just as it says in the song: The cudgel and plough are resting, having given place to King Machine. Artillery and aviation have given place to the rocket, which has already been launched into space and is now a satellite of the Sun.

As in the case of technical progress, you, too, must improve your weapon, so it shoots farther and more accurately.

Dear comrades, I am closing my speech. Thank you for listening carefully to what I had to say. If there is anything I did not say well, I hope you will forgive me. I admit that I was very excited and uneasy. First I was going to read a prepared text. But you know my temper—I prefer to talk to people, not to read to them.

You know, comrades, how difficult it is to speak in public. When you have your speech written and ready, you can sleep quietly. But when you have to speak without a written text, you sleep poorly. You wake up and think of how to formulate this or that point best, and begin to argue with yourself. Speaking without a prepared text is hard work for a speaker.

Of course, I have no safeguards against slips of the tongue. I therefore ask you not to judge me severely and if you have noticed any slips you mustn't be over-critical of them.

Comrades, reflect in your works the great deeds accomplished by the people, by ordinary men and women. Everyone should know about those men and women and should see them better, so that they can set an example to all who are working under the leadership of the Communist Party to build a communist society.

Long live the glorious peoples of the Soviet Union, who are building communism!

Long live our great Communist Party!

Long live the Soviet writers, loyal assistants of our Party in communist construction!

A TALENTED AND FAITHFUL CHRONICLER OF OUR GREAT ERA

From a Speech at a Meeting in Vyoshenskaya, Rostow Region, August 30, 1959

Dear Comrades, Friends,

We meet today in the village of Vyoshenskaya, where I have arrived at the invitation of your countryman, my good friend Mikhail Sholokhov, the eminent Soviet writer. I took advantage of his invitation to drop into your village on my way from the Crimea, where I spent my holidays. I wish to give Mikhail Alexandrovich my heartfelt thanks for his invitation and to thank you for the cordial welcome you have accorded me. I am very glad to have come here and to have this opportunity of seeing how you live and of talking with you.

First of all, I should like to convey to you greetings from the Presidium of the Party Central Committee and from the Council of Ministers, and to wish you further success in labour, and prosperity and happiness in your lives. . . .

The Soviet intellectuals, and more particularly such a contingent of them as the writers, are playing an important part in the people's struggle to build communism. The better works of our writers contribute to

the unity of the people and help to educate Soviet people in a communist spirit. A vivid example of this is the work of Mikhail Sholokhov, the great Soviet writer.

Mikhail Alexandrovich is widely known both in our country and abroad. His talented writings are known throughout the world, and are published and read in every part of the globe. In the Soviet Union alone, Sholokhov's books have been printed in almost thirty million copies in sixty languages. It is hard to find a Soviet home that has no books by Sholokhov. They are reread and discussed with love and emotion, and bring people joy.

Our Party and the Soviet people as a whole hold Sholokhov in high esteem. He is an outstanding man of letters who has devoted his powerful talent to the great cause of building communism.

Sholokhov's writings deal with highly important, decisive stages in the history of Soviet society. They revive the Civil War period, the revolutionary transformation of life in the countryside in the years of collectivisation, and the epic deeds of the people during the Great Patriotic War. They help people to understand the historic significance of great exploits accomplished by our people under the leadership of their beloved Communist Party.

Sholokhov's work, which is entirely inspired by the Party and the people, shows with irresistible force that the path travelled by our country, while rugged and arduous, was the only path truly leading to a happy life for the whole people.

It is along this Leninist path that the Communist Party has been leading our people. And in Sholokhov's works we meet with fine Communists, leaders and organisers whose lives are part and parcel of the life of the people. Sholokhov is unexcelled in showing the role of the Communist Party which roused the people to

fight for a new life and the education of the new man. He deeply analyses the formation and growth of people who overcome the survivals of a private-ownership mentality. Sholokhov's work is thoroughly humane and permeated with true love of the workingman. It is a revolutionary, socialist humanism, which maintains that to win their happiness, the people must fight their enemies. During the war Sholokhov wrote *The Science of Hatred*, a story vividly revealing this idea of socialist humanism, showing that you cannot defeat your enemy unless you learn to hate him deeply.

Sholokhov's entire work expresses the interests of the working people, who create material and spiritual benefits and values on earth. His excellent books are inspired by deep respect and sincere love for the man of labour. They are directed against those who try to hinder the peaceful, creative labour of the peoples and push them into the abyss of new calamities.

Take the story *The Fate of a Man*. This story of the fate of Andrei Sokolov is not only a stern exposure of those who brought on the horrors of the Second World War, but an impassioned protest against those who today are trying to unleash a new war, a war threatening the peoples with even greater horrors and suffering.

The vast significance of Sholokhov's work lies in the fact that he has created vivid characters representing men of labour and has done it with great force and psychological discernment, showing the rich and complex inner world of ordinary people.

Not long ago all of us here had the opportunity to see on the screen our favourite characters from *And Quiet Flows the Don* and from that excellent story, *The Fate of a Man*.

Sholokhov's heroes appeared before us as living people near and dear to us. We watched them, and knowing their tempers and habits, we rejoiced in their suc-

cesses and grieved over their errors. The writer shows great penetration in depicting the motives of his heroes and rendering their inner world.

Our Party has always devoted considerable attention to the development of literature and art. It regards writers and artists as its active and loyal assistants in the communist education of the people. Now that we have started on full-scale communist construction, this role of literature and art is particularly important. We are building communism in the name of man and his happiness. People who enter communist society must be free from the habits of the private proprietor, from selfishness and greed, from all that prevents people from living the communist way. It is important that Soviet literature should not only depict the effort and achievement of people but the moral sources of heroism which is born in the struggle for the victory of communism.

The press has lately been giving much space to the patriotic example set by Valentina Gaganova, who took over a lagging team to raise it to the level of advanced teams. What prompted her? What were the motives of her selfless deed? They cannot be understood from the standpoint of the old, private-ownership mentality, for the young worker took a more difficult job, knowing very well that at first she would earn less than before. It was a splendid example of a keen awareness of one's public duty. Selfless deeds such as that bring out in sharp outline the spiritual cast of the Soviet man. Our arts should give deep and faithful portrayals of great deeds in the making and reveal the inner world of our contemporary—his sentiments, thoughts and aspirations.

Sholokhov's writing sets a magnificent example in this respect.

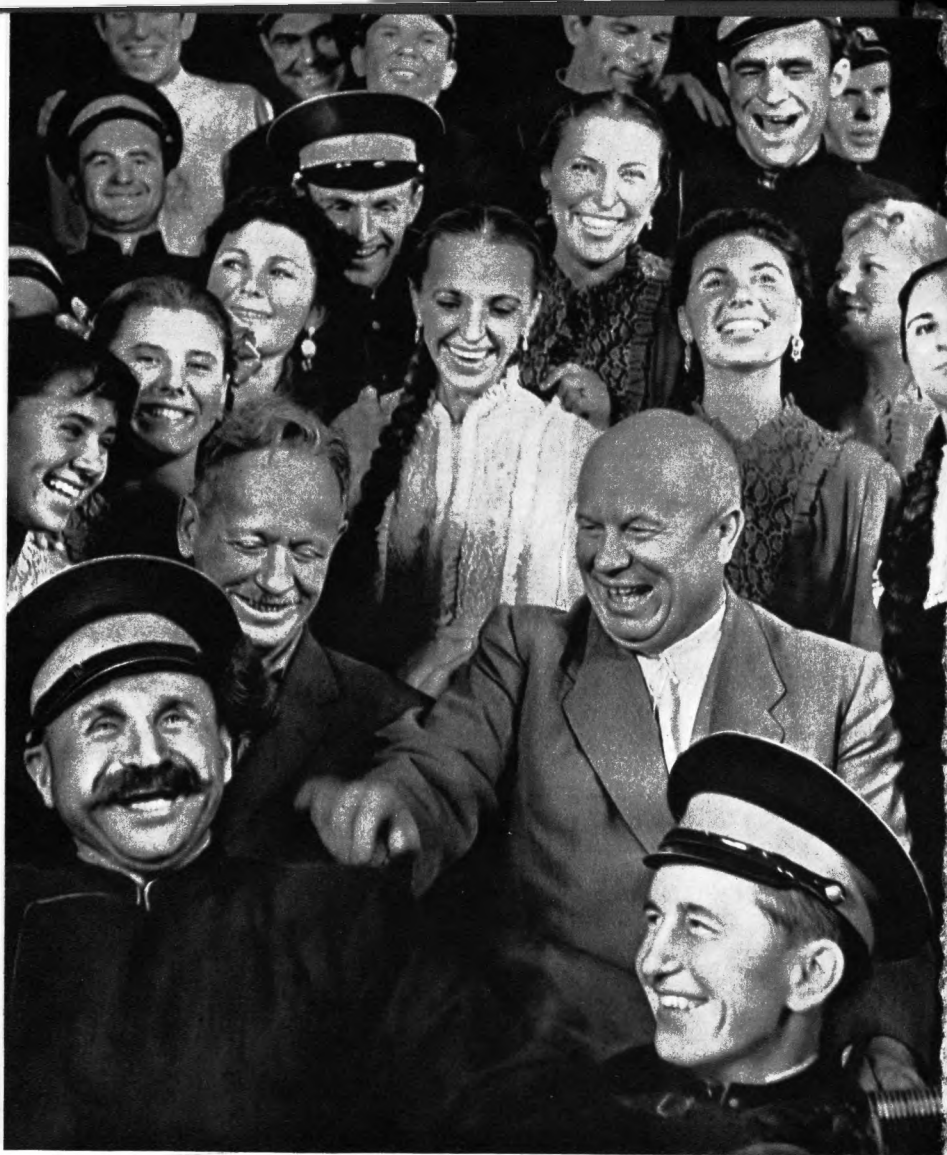
At the Second Congress of Writers, Sholokhov said that for Soviet writers partisanship meant their being



M. A. Sholokhov plays host to *N. S. Khrushchov* in *Vyoshenskaya*, August 1959



Party and Government leaders view projects by Soviet architects, February 9, 1963. Y. V. Vuchetich tells them about the design for the Victory Monument near Poklonnaya Gora



N. S. Khrushchov and M. A. Sholokhov with a group of members of the Don Cossacks Song and Dance Ensemble following a performance at the House of Culture in Vyoshenskaya, August 30, 1959

thoroughly convinced of the justice of our cause. "Every one of us," he said, "writes at the call of his heart and our hearts belong to the Party and the people, whom our art serves." It is the inherent partisanship of Sholokhov's work and its constant link with the life of the people that make his writings so powerful.

With a writer who takes a partisan stand, partisanship is a natural product of his convictions and sentiments. His ideas and the interests of the Party coincide. A writer whose work and thinking are prompted by the interests of the people, among whom he lives, is bound to reflect the life of society correctly.

Some say that writing from a partisan standpoint deprives the writer of individuality and standardises his work. This can really come about if the writer concerned is not deeply convinced that he must depict the life of the people faithfully, and merely adapts himself to circumstances. With a writer who lives with the people and portrays their life and their struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party, partisanship is the essence and meaning of his life and work.

What does the Party call on the writers to do? It calls on them to study and depict more profoundly and fully the life and struggles of the Soviet people, their titanic effort in building communism. In our socialist conditions, the people and the Party are a single and indivisible whole.

Sholokhov's entire work sets an example of how exacting towards himself and how keenly aware of his responsibility everyone should be. He cannot tolerate an indifferent effort and a superficial approach. In this respect, he is loyal to the excellent traditions of great Russian writers of the past.

Mikhail Alexandrovich is at the height of his powerful talent. This is suggested by the first part of his book, *They Fought for Their Country*, the story *The*

Fate of a Man and the new chapters from *Virgin Soil Upturned* recently published in *Pravda*.

Sholokhov has written excellent fiction. He made a good beginning and is doing well, and we feel certain that he will yet present the people with noteworthy new works. The proverb says, "Once you pledge, don't hedge". Of course there should be no hurry, but neither should it take too long. Soviet people, who have an excellent appetite for spiritual food, expect you, dear Mikhail Alexandrovich, as well as other writers, to produce new vivid books of great artistic merit about our times.

How is one to decide whether an author has written a great deal or too little? This, of course, is not a question of the number of pages or volumes brought out, but of how profoundly and vividly the writer portrays the manifold aspects of the life and work of the people, and their epic struggle for communism.

It is gratifying, comrades, to live and work in our great era, when breath-taking changes are taking place, and when people are reorganising their life on socialist lines over vast expanses of the globe. Already more than one-third of mankind is living in a world where there is no exploitation of man by man, where people have abolished the bestial "man eat man" law of capitalism, and are living according to the principle of "man is to man a friend and brother", and where everything is subordinate to the idea of improving life on earth. Writers are playing an important role in these great changes. Our people and our Party greatly appreciate the fact that in this remarkable period of great achievement Mikhail Sholokhov ably represents Soviet literature, skilfully depicting the epic deeds of the Soviet people, the heroic effort of Soviet men and women, and their unqualified devotion to the cause of the Leninist Party

which is rebuilding life on the basis of the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

Sholokhov is an outstanding artist, a talented and faithful chronicler of our great era. Let us wish him great success in his future work!

Sholokhov's work arouses keen interest in millions of foreign readers, who want to know the truth about the Soviet Union and its people, of how the socialist system, the most humane of all social systems, was brought into being and firmly established through heroic struggles.

In recent years Mikhail Alexandrovich has made repeated and very useful trips abroad. Wherever he went, he was welcomed as an eminent Soviet writer and an ambassador of Soviet culture.

You know that I am going to the United States shortly at the invitation of President Eisenhower. I take pleasure in asking Mikhail Sholokhov to join me in the trip. I think he, too, will benefit from a more intimate knowledge of life in present-day America.

SOVIET ART, THE PRIDE OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE

*From a Speech at a Luncheon Arranged at
the Twentieth Century-Fox Studios,
September 19, 1959*

There are still some in your country who keep harping that people in the Soviet Union are little short of slaves. But what sort of slave system is that? How could a slave system have assured such unprecedented progress in science and art as we have made in our country?

The reason why Roman civilisation, as well as Greek civilisation, declined, esteemed Mr. Skouras, was that it was a civilisation built on slave labour, which shackled man's energy, will and freedom. Science and the arts can attain full bloom only if there is the fullest freedom of the individual and of society.

You and we have different ideas of this matter. You say that profit, or business as you call it, is the prime mover of people's energy, of their intellect and initiative. We say a different thing: the prime mover is man's consciousness, his awareness of the fact that he is free and working for himself, for his kin, for the society in which he lives, that the means of production belong to society and not to some individual who grows rich by exploiting other people's labour. . . .

In the Soviet Union, you know, we have the deepest respect and affection for intellectuals. And you are not only intellectuals, but workers in the most refined art, the one that I might call the jewellery work of the arts, the one that requires subtle artistry, and you therefore demand special attention, loving care and warmth, like orchids, which need the right humidity, light and warmth. In our country, we cannot conceive of making any progress without producing an intelligentsia of our own, without developing our culture in every way. There would be no point in building a new society without it.

I recall certain incidents of our Civil War, my meetings and conversations with intellectuals of the former, tsarist Russia. I was in the Red Army when we beat the whiteguards and drove them into the Black Sea. My unit was stationed in the Kuban region, and I was quartered in the house of an educated family. The landlady was a graduate of the St. Petersburg Institute for the Daughters of Gentlemen. As for me, I suppose I still smelled of coal when I was living in her house. There were other educated people in that house—a lawyer, engineer, teacher and musician. We Red Army men mixed with them. When they met me, a Communist, they saw that, far from eating human flesh, I was starving, to put it plainly. Sometimes I even had no bread, but I never tried to take any away from them or, indeed, ask for anything. They came to respect me. The mistress of the house saw that we Bolsheviki were not at all the sort of people our enemies made us out to be. Members of the old intelligentsia convinced themselves more and more that Communists were honest people who sought no personal gain and dedicated themselves to the common weal. We were still unpolished, uneducated workers at that time, but we wanted to receive an education, to learn to govern the state, to build a new society, and we devoted all our energy to it. I remember the land-

lady asking me, "Tell me, what do you know about the ballet? You're a simple miner, aren't you?" To tell the truth, I didn't really know anything about ballet at that time, because I had never seen one, and, moreover, had never seen a ballerina. I had no idea what it was all about, so to speak. But I said to her, just wait, we're going to have everything, and ballet too. Frankly speaking, if I had been asked at that time just what we were going to have, I might not quite have known what to say, but I was certain that there was a better life ahead. It was Lenin's Party that had instilled this certainty in our hearts.

And now I wish to ask you: in what country is the art of the ballet most highly developed? Would it be your country? No. Why, you don't even have a state opera and ballet theatre. Your theatres subsist solely on the handouts of wealthy people. But in our country it is the state that appropriates funds for the development of art. The whole world recognises that Soviet ballet is the most extensively developed. We can be proud of it. When our ballet company toured the United States, you rewarded it with well-deserved applause and praise. And what about our dramatic theatre, what about our stage craft? I won't brag but will merely ask you to consult your conscience and tell me whether our theatre is on the decline or on the rise. And what about our cinema? You and we have different tastes. But it is a fact, isn't it, that our films win prizes at international festivals. They are awarded to our films by impartial people who know their business. One of the prizes at a recent world festival went to the screen version of *The Fate of a Man*, a story by Mikhail Sholokhov, the outstanding writer who is here with us. The film is a masterpiece.

We also give our intelligentsia substantial material support. At any rate, they don't have to go to the doctor

to be treated for undernourishment; in fact, they often seek medical advice against excessive weight. That isn't a bad indication. Professor Markov here, who is a prominent doctor, will bear me out.

Our art workers receive not only the remuneration that they earn. The best of them are also decorated or awarded Lenin Prizes. That is a token of the deep respect in which they are held by our people and government. Come and see our country, and speak to our art workers! And what about literature? We are proud of it. Meet Mikhail Alexandrovich Sholokhov, a Don Cossack. He has brought fame to our country by writing *And Quiet Flows the Don*, *Virgin Soil Upturned* and other excellent works.

* * *

*From a Speech at a Reception Given by the
Civic Authorities and World Affairs Council
of Los Angeles, September 19, 1959*

Los Angeles is the heart of the American cinema. The cinema is the most popular of arts and exerts a tremendous influence on the life of society. If it takes the right direction, it can serve as an important medium for the promotion of peace and friendship among peoples, for dissemination of humane ideas and good will. But if it takes the wrong direction, it will become a medium for whipping up hatred and may seriously prejudice the cause of friendship, peace and progress. What ends this powerful art will serve, depends on the film workers. We attach great importance to the development of the cinema in our country, to the making of films that educate people in the lofty ideals of international friendship, humanism, peace and progress.

* * *

*From a Speech at a Meeting with U.S. Trade
Union Leaders, September 20, 1959*

When we were in Hollywood they danced the can-can for us. The girls who dance it have to pull up their skirts and show their backsides. They are good and honest actresses but have to perform that dance. They are compelled to adapt themselves to the tastes of depraved people. People in your country will go to see it, but Soviet people would scorn such a spectacle. It is pornographic. It is the culture of surfeited and depraved people. Showing that sort of film is called freedom in this country. Such "freedom" doesn't suit us. You seem to like "freedom" to look at backsides. But we prefer the freedom to think, to exercise our mental faculties, the freedom of creative progress.

"Do you want such films to be banned?" Phillips asked.

"I think there should be such a law," Khrushchov replied, "a moral law."

"I'm free to see or not to see such films," Carey said.

"But your children see things like that!"

"I have no children."

"But other people have. Good children, who live in this world," Khrushchov remarked. "And you and we should protect them from bad influences spread under the guise of 'free cultural exchange'."

TOWARDS FURTHER ACHIEVEMENTS IN LITERATURE AND ART

*Abridged Account of Speeches Made at the
Meeting with Soviet Intellectuals
on July 17, 1960, and at Receptions
for the Writers and Composers
of the Russian Federation*

Dear Friends,

Our meetings are becoming a fine tradition. I am glad to see that this meeting of ours is representative of the peoples of all the Union and Autonomous Republics, of the flower of the Soviet intelligentsia.

Today we have heard numerous speeches, toasts and good wishes. The keynote of all of them was that we must all work in a way as to achieve even greater results. That is the important thing. Some of the speakers mentioned our meeting here three years ago.

You remember what the weather was like that day—it flashed and thundered and there was a pouring rain. In speaking about it, the comrades probably meant that it did not flash and thunder in the sky alone. That is true, too. On that occasion we had a big, frank and—why not say it?—sharp talk on all the urgent problems of the development of literature and art.

It was well that the lightning flashed. Those flashes threw a bright light into every nook and cranny of which timid people were afraid. The peals of thunder

helped some of those who were hard of hearing to awaken, and to see and understand the remarkable new changes that had occurred in our country since the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. The downpour washed away all the extraneous matter that prevented certain ideologically immature people from seeing reality in its true light. The result was that people felt freshened up, and found that it had become easier to breathe, fight and create.

Speaking generally, man's life is a struggle and there can be no life without struggle. The moment he appeared on earth man had to struggle for existence. Biblical legend affirms that Adam and Eve were the first man and woman, and that God doomed them to earning their daily bread in the sweat of their brow. I would say that, in this respect, we are carrying on what Adam and Eve began. (*Animation. Applause.*)

As far as our tasks today, at the present stage of history, are concerned, they consist in fighting for the happiness of people, for improving their material and spiritual standard of living, and for fostering all the abilities and gifts of people.

I wonder whether it is the right way to put it, but I think we are now on the move, on a big march towards communism. This great march began in Lenin's time. It was he, our great teacher, who launched the struggle for a new society and called on the people to accomplish a socialist revolution. For this purpose he founded and educated the Communist Party, which organised the people to ensure that the new society triumphed. Communist society, as we see it, and as the whole people sees it, is a better life for all. For everyone wants better things. Even a bird looks for titbits for its fledgelings. It is prompted by the instinct of self-preservation and by care for its offspring. People differ from birds and animals in that they create better living con-

ditions for themselves by intelligent effort. They are capable of cognising the laws of social development and of forecasting the future on their basis, and making and carrying out plans to transform society. This is what we describe as the struggle for the future.

Communism is a society in which all men will be free and equal. To achieve that equality, we must create definite prerequisites. What is equality? Once the bourgeoisie put forward the slogan of liberty, equality and fraternity as it fought against feudalism. But what did that amount to in reality? It was a struggle for equal rights between commoners and nobles—between merchants and industrialists, on the one hand, and barons, princes and counts, on the other. But it was not a struggle for the rights of the working people. We Communists want genuine equality for the working people, for all men and women. There can be no genuine equality or real freedom in a society in which the means of production are private property and there exist rich and poor people, masters and labourers, exploiters and exploited. This is why we are fighting for communism, a society in which all the means of production will be public property and people will work according to their ability and be supplied according to their needs. That is the only society where genuine equality and a happy life for all are possible. Communism is the best and noblest of all societies that man can bring into being. The struggle to establish this society on earth constitutes the great goal of our Communist Party, the whole purpose of our lives. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, we consider our internal situation and international position to be satisfactory. To use a figure of speech, our country has in the course of its development crossed steep mountains and scaled great heights. But I would say it is not the last elevation in our path, for we shall have to climb higher still. Nevertheless,

the greatness of what the Soviet people have gained or created so far has won the hearts of fair-minded people throughout the world.

My official position often brings me into contact with foreigners. Recently I had an interview with a delegation from the National Maritime Union of America. It was led by Mr. Joseph Curran, whom I had met in San Francisco. During the interview I told the delegation about the rate of our economic progress. Specifically, I said that we shall smelt 65 million tons of steel this year and about 71 million tons next year. The United States this year will smelt roughly 85 to 90 million tons of steel. In other words, we shall soon draw level with the Americans in steel output, or possibly outstrip them. (*Stormy applause.*) In the U.S.A., the available steel-smelting capacities make it possible to produce 120 million tons of steel annually, but the actual output is considerably less. There you have a typical sign of capitalism—it cannot use for the good of society the productive forces brought into being by the working class. The situation is different in the socialist economy, which develops according to plan and for the good of the working people.

Curran asked me why we needed so much steel. I replied that we really did need large quantities of steel. We needed it to make more machines to lighten labour and enable us to cut working hours, with the result that people would have more time for recreation and cultural development. We are not afraid of increasing the efficiency of machinery, for in our socialist society machines never threaten the workingman with unemployment.

You probably know, comrades, that the C.C. C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government are now busy drawing up a programme for the development of socialist economy and culture during the next twenty years. We are going

to submit that programme to the Twenty-Second Congress of the C.P.S.U. for discussion. It will be a vast programme for communist construction in our country. Its underlying idea will be to fulfil Lenin's recommendation to make the whole country run on electricity. Lenin said that communism is Soviet power plus electrification of the whole country. (*Stormy applause.*) Soviet power is a mighty and invincible force that has successfully withstood great historical trials. In Soviet years our country has made outstanding progress in every economic field. Today we have all we need to complete the electrification of the whole country and provide the material and technical basis for communism. Electrification of the whole country will make for the all-round development of powerful productive forces, that will enable us to provide an abundant supply of all that people need for a happy life. That will be what we call communism. (*Stormy applause.*)

What a wonderful, fascinating programme! We know for certain that it will be fulfilled. Thereby the cherished dream of the Soviet people will come true.

Comrades, all of us present here may be regarded as participants in the great march begun by Lenin. We are advancing to communism at what I think is a good rate. I wonder whether you like it. I like it very much. (*Animation. Applause.*) It is a good rate. But we cannot be content with what we have achieved so far. We must steadily increase the rate and scope of communist construction.

As with an army, all the services are important and necessary in our march. You cannot advance, let alone win a war, without field engineers, artillerymen, infantrymen or any other service. There is no point, therefore, in arguing which of us is more important and which should come first. It would be a useless and absurd argument. Everyone is important on his job, provided he

does it well. It is essential that everybody should always have his weapon in good repair and aim it properly.

It is dangerous to give a sharp weapon to a child, it may injure itself and others because it does not know it is sharp. But we are not children and we can and must have sharp weapons. We must, however, know how to use them properly, must organise the forces of each collective and apply them at a single point, as physicists phrase it, that is, mass them in one sector.

Comrades, I shall not deny that I like this meeting better than the previous one. (*Animation. Applause.*) I see my audience agrees. What is the reason for this, what has happened? Why is it that this time we are talking like this, without thunderbolts and flashes of lightning, and feeling all right? Surely we don't owe it to some artificial device. In our historical advance to communism there occur periods when we must look around, assess the results achieved and review our forces, all the arms, preparatory to a further advance, so as to discard all that is old and rusty, equip ourselves with new and better weapons, and clear the road from all obstructions, all that is dead and useless. In the life of our Soviet state, the period after Stalin's death was just such a period of clearing.

You remember how excited the enemies of the Soviet state became and how they rejoiced when our Party, proceeding from principle, ruthlessly revealed major defects and mistakes in its work. You recall the howl that bourgeois propaganda raised against us through the press, radio, cinema and literature. The Party did not hesitate to disclose to the world the defects, mistakes and downright abuses that had occurred at the time of the personality cult. We did so to get rid of unhealthy and dangerous practices of the past, of all that shackled the creative energy of the Party and the people and hampered progress.

Our Party was looking ahead as it made its sharp criticism and self-criticism. It knew that the more consistently and frankly shortcomings were laid bare, the more successfully our country could advance towards communism.

We squarely look the people in the eyes. We did not confine ourselves to criticising past shortcomings, but carried out a reorganisation—one that it would be no exaggeration to call revolutionary—in the management and direction of every field of economic and cultural development.

Today everyone sees and admits the excellent results this produced in every walk of life. (*Applause.*)

As matters stood at that time, we needed ideological staunchness, unshakable communist conviction, a sober and lucid mind, and great Party firmness to make a proper analysis of the situation, see through the tactics of forces hostile to us, expose lies and slanders, and cast them aside in indignation.

In those days there were people who did not understand the significance of the measures the Party was adopting. Some of them even took the bait of bourgeois propaganda. They fell out of step as they tripped over the wreckage of the past, lost their bearings and got in other people's way. There were such people among scientists, writers and artists as well. We had to point out, openly and in sharp terms, the mistakes those people had made. It is better to give someone a timely, even if sharp, warning rather than condone his erroneous views and wrong behaviour, which, if winked at, might have serious consequences. What I am going to say may sound a bit rough, but I think it is better to pull someone off the brink of a precipice by the ear than to let him drop into it. (*Applause.*)

I remember a conversation I had with a well-known academician. The Party organisation of a research in-

stitution expelled three young members of the staff for their anti-Party behaviour. The academician in question stood up for them. He rang me up and said that although he was not a Party member, he thought it wrong to expel from the Party three gifted "boys" who were on the staff of the institution in his charge, and asked me to intervene.

I had to tell the academician that the "boys" were guilty of actions that were not at all boyish and were incompatible with Party membership, which we could not allow. If they did not draw the right conclusion from the earnest warning we had given them, I said, we should take even more drastic measures against them. I must say that the need for drastic measures never arose. In our conditions, it is perfectly possible to correct the mistakes of people without resorting to extreme measures. (*Applause.*)

People who make mistakes should not be listed as hopelessly incorrigible. After all, good people make mistakes too. But when the interests of our cause require it, we must be firm.

Anyone can see now how right the Central Committee was in sharply criticising those who did not understand the Leninist line of our Party and had begun to depart from principles. Some people did not like it when we showed firmness in respect of those who wavered and erred. Some may ask by what right we raise and settle questions in this way? Our answer to that is: By the right of leadership. If the Party and the people have placed you at the helm, you have to be equal to your position and do everything to ensure that the policies of the Party are implemented; you have to live up to the trust the Party and the people have put in you. (*Stormy applause.*)

Dear friends, meetings like this are necessary and useful both for us members of the Presidium of the

C.C. C.P.S.U. and, I hope, for you scientists, writers and artists. All people should keep in touch with one another, and we in this hall are no exception. (*Animation. Stormy applause.*) When we were conferring in the C.C. Presidium on this meeting, there was general agreement that such a meeting was really called for. It is called for because we must exchange views on the major problems of our life, of progress in science, culture and art, because we all must have the opportunity to state our considerations on this score, and, more important still, because we wanted to hear what you had to say. In human relations, it is not words and speeches alone that matter. When you come face to face, there are many other ways of understanding one another. Sometimes you have only to look a person in the eyes to know what sort of a man he is and whether he is of one mind with you or far from it. (*Stormy applause.*)

I have said that we members of the C.C. Presidium are quite satisfied with the situation in the Party and the country. The situation is excellent. Like all our people, we are proud of the great achievements of the titanic Soviet people. I think it is fair to say that the solid unity of our people, of all the socialist nations of the Soviet Union, around the Communist Party is stronger today than at any other time in the history of the Soviet state. (*Stormy applause.*)

The C.C. C.P.S.U. notes with satisfaction that a good deal of credit for these achievements goes to our Soviet intellectuals, our scientists, writers and artists. We are satisfied with your activities, comrades. I think we members of the Central Committee and the Government are right in considering that we and you are completely at one now in the conception of our common aims and tasks. (*Stormy applause.*)

We all earnestly desire to advance towards our great goal, communism, in close unity, as a single body of

men, under the victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism. (*Stormy applause.*)

For centuries mankind cherished the dream of a just social system, communism. But it was we, the Soviet people, who had the good fortune of being the first in the world to begin translating that dream into reality. In the course of communist construction, as we develop the productive forces, which will provide us with an abundant supply of material benefits, we also solve such highly important problems as those of developing communist social relations and moulding the new man. I take great satisfaction in stating that generations of Soviet people have been trained under the leadership of the Communist Party, people who are selflessly devoted to the communist cause and whose high morale and heroic deeds command the admiration and respect of the working people of the world.

Even today the foremost people of our country show traits of the man of the communist future. These traits are manifest and reveal themselves more and more in their world outlook, daily work, public activity and way of life. Labour for the good of society is becoming a vital requirement of theirs, and they put the interests of society before everything else.

The ideological work of the Communist Party today is aimed at imparting new, communist traits and moral qualities to all Soviet people and completely freeing their minds from survivals of the old system, a system of exploitation. I suppose I do not have to tell you that this task, while difficult and complicated, is a most thankful one.

Writers and artists have always been, and remain, loyal assistants of the Communist Party in all its undertakings. Their work is particularly important now that the communist education of the people and the moulding of the new man are among the Party's most press-

ing tasks. Of the numerous media of ideological activity which the Party has at its disposal, I should like to stress here the importance of literature and art, whose artistic and emotional impact on people's sentiments and consciousness is immense. I wish to commend your work, dear comrades. (*Prolonged applause.*)

As a matter of fact, good books and prominent works of art help people to understand and transform life, to assimilate progressive ideas, and to mould their characters and form their convictions as naturally and imperceptibly as a child learns to speak.

We need books, films, plays, music, paintings and sculpture that will inspire people with communist ideals, win their admiration for all the remarkable and wonderful aspects of our socialist reality, and prompt them to give their energy, knowledge and ability to selfless public service, to emulate positive literary characters and take an uncompromising stand against that which is anti-social and negative in life. We need vividly written books of great talent that people will read avidly, films that people will see with pleasure, and music that people will enjoy hearing. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, no task can be more honourable and absorbing than contributing by one's work to the great cause of educating inspired and steadfast builders of communist society, people whom no hostile forces can ever, under any circumstances, lead astray from their chosen path, the path of struggle for mankind's radiant future, the happiness of all men on earth! (*Applause.*)

At our previous meetings I spoke of the partisanship of literature, Party guidance, and freedom to create. But as I am told that some of you are not quite clear about these points, I should also like to comment on them. First of all, to be partisan in artistic work means devoting oneself, one's energy and talent, to the great

struggle for communism, for the policy of the Communist Party, and, consequently, to the people's cause. This is the point at issue, and not whether a writer or artist is a Party member.

The policy of the Communist Party embodies the noblest ideals of mankind. It may be described as the most humane policy. Our Party's greatest concern is to care constantly for Soviet people, their well-being, their happiness, their physical and spiritual development. Only an artist who is ideologically inseparable from the Party and its struggle to achieve these magnificent ideals and objectives of mankind can attain a high standard of creative achievement and win the recognition of the people.

Our opponents in bourgeois countries allege that partisanship fetters writers and artists, restricts freedom of creative effort, and free expression of views and convictions. We should say about these people that they simply cannot understand either the nature of our social system or the new relations born of socialism and based on the solid unity of the Communist Party, the Soviet Government, the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the intellectuals. They cannot understand the indisputable fact that the Communist Party is the leading force of our society, the embodiment of the will and aspirations of the people, and that it enjoys the unbounded confidence and gratitude of the fraternal community of the socialist nations of our country. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The policy and ideology of the Party is an inexhaustible source of inspiration to Soviet writers, composers, painters, and stage and screen people. They feel the Party's ideas to be their own. In everything they do, they defend Marxist-Leninist ideas and fight to put them into effect—not on orders from anyone, but in keeping with their own convictions. This they consider to be

their true mission and a completely unfettered manifestation of freedom to create. They create works of great artistic merit, inspired by socialist realism. Freedom of creative endeavour in its Leninist sense means marching in step with the people and creating spiritual values for and in the interests of the people.

As we carry on our great, historic advance to communism we must use all levers and driving belts, all spiritual media and weapons, so that they operate reliably and with precision, as a smoothly running single mechanism. This is a law of development of the Soviet state. In socialist society, art and literature do not develop spontaneously or anarchically, but are methodically guided by the Party, and are regarded as an important part of the cause of the whole people.

The history of the arts and literatures of all the fraternal peoples of our country confirms the beneficial influence which Party leadership has on artistic effort. (*Applause.*)

We still encounter—why not admit it?—people who do not like it when the manuscripts offered for publication, staging or filming are rightly criticised by publishing houses or magazines, theatres or film studios. They are inclined to regard the fair advice and comment of their colleagues as a restriction. But how can anyone think of an organised human society without standards and rules of behaviour binding on all members! Life in a society where everyone imposed his subjective notions and his personal tastes and habits upon everyone else would be simply unbearable, and that society would be like Babel. (*Animation. Applause.*) To live in Soviet socialist society means accepting and sharing its communist ideas, fighting actively to assert them and bring about their triumph. It means conscientiously observing the rules established by society and taking the public interest into account—considering how your behaviour may

affect your fellow men, among whom you live, and how they may react to it.

In the bourgeois world, the intellectuals generally serve individuals or groups of individuals representing the ruling class and fully depend on them, financially as well as morally. In socialist society, however, every person, whatever his standing and occupation, gives his energy and knowledge to the service of society as a whole, and hence to his own private interests as a member of society. This is why, in our country, the interests of the community and those of the individual coincide and there are no fundamental contradictions between them. The individual has no difficulty in finding a place for himself in the collective and taking part in the common creative effort of the people. He does not feel inconvenienced by any social rules or standards, any more than a true Communist is inconvenienced by the exactions of Party discipline, of the Party Rules, which he readily complies with, being a member of the voluntary union of like-minded Communists. It is natural for us that society should expect each to observe established rules and call to account those who violate the standards of the community.

Comrades, I am neither a writer nor a literary critic, as you certainly know, and so I will not make an analysis of your works. It is a pleasure and an enjoyment to read your books. Unfortunately, however, it is a pleasure I can seldom indulge in. Not that I do not like reading. Things were different in the "good" old, pre-revolutionary days. (*Animation. Laughter.*) At that time I used to read more, because I worked twelve hours a day and the rest of the time was mine to spend as I pleased. But now I never know how many hours a day I have to work. (*Animation. Applause.*)

I am sorry to say I have little opportunity of reading the fiction you write, although it would be both

useful and restful. But speaking generally, I apparently read far more than those who write books. Unfortunately, I do not always read things of my own choice, things I should like to read. More often than not I read what I have to read by virtue of the position I hold in the Party and the state.

Many books are written in our country. And that is good. Naturally, there are both good and bad books. I hope my friends, the writers, will not be offended by my reference to bad books as well. Usually, I read after the day's work, when I am tired. That is when I decide what sort of book I ought to read. If the next day is to be a very busy one and I must hurry up and get some sleep, I pick up a book which I have only to open to fall asleep there and then. (*Animation.*) When, however, I am looking forward to a less busy day, I choose a book that is so gripping I feel like reading it to the end without breaking off. Guess who writes such books, because I am not going to point. (*Animation. Applause.*) I wish we could have more books like that, books that you find it so hard to put aside before you are through. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Dear friends, we should like to hold meetings with intellectuals like this one as frequently as possible. Perhaps we ought to get together by groups rather than all at once. Unfortunately, it is so hard to find the time for it. Time is so scarce that I cannot even see my grandchildren. (*Animation.*)

Still, I think we shall be able to find the time and meet. We all need to air our views. It is important for progress in art and literature to support that which is good and criticise shortcomings in good time, helping those who are wrong to get their bearings. (*Applause.*)

During the previous meeting we needed a sorting out from the standpoint of our fundamental ideas. Perhaps that was the reason for the thunder and lightning and

the purifying downpour. The frank discussion we had cleared up the outlook for artistic effort and helped to rally all writers and artists on the basis of principle.

Let us not now name the comrades we criticised. It is getting late, night-time is near, and besides, there is no need for recollections of that sort. (*Animation.*)

The earnest criticism levelled at them has done them good, which is just what we wanted.

This is not to say that the Central Committee wants to provide a quiet life in which there will be no criticism. Far from it. Our Party has repeatedly set examples of principled criticism of shortcomings in its own work. An outstanding example of such ruthless criticism and self-criticism was shown by the Party at its Twentieth Congress.

In combating shortcomings in the life and work of people, the Communist Party uses the tested weapons of principled Party criticism and self-criticism. Building a new, communist society is a many-sided and complicated historical process. It is unthinkable without the new fighting the old, without the advanced and progressive grappling with the backward and conservative in every sphere of social affairs, in human relations, in ideology, culture, and life in general. To direct this process of revolutionary transformation of society means influencing the course of its development, always siding with and supporting the progressive, helping it to defeat the old, and taking an uncompromising stand against all the obsolescent and stagnant.

Principled criticism invigorates, it adds energy and makes the constructive effort of the people more effective. We welcome such purifying criticism. (*Stormy applause.*)

The more criticism of this kind we have, the better for our cause. The more often a person rubs himself down with a rough cloth, or perhaps even a brush, the

more invigorated he feels afterwards. To put it plainly, criticism is a sort of bath. It is not for nothing that speaking of someone who has just been criticised, Russians sometimes say he was given a hot bath. We are for the refreshing "bath" which helps people to keep clean. (*Animation. Applause.*)

We have here with us Comrade Leonov, the bard of the Russian forest. He knows that even a forest must not be sung about the way it is. There are many wind-fallen trees in a forest, and some trees are useless, such as the alder. In my view, the alder-trees should be cut down in many places, because they are no use at all while they take up a lot of space, drawing sap from the soil and choking useful plants. After all, a forest should be cleared once in a while. Shouldn't it, Comrade Leonov? (*Animation. Applause.*)

There is clearing and clearing, however, and all clearing should be done judiciously. Imagine a man who picks up an axe, goes to a forest or even to a garden and is foolish enough to start cutting down useful, fruit-bearing trees indiscriminately, instead of lopping off the dry and useless twigs or cutting down trees that are a hindrance in the forest or the garden. You don't call that clearing, but destroying a forest or garden. Yet there are wiseacres who take an axe and cut down an apple-tree. We will have nothing to do with that kind of "silviculturists" or "gardeners". We can expect nothing good of them. We want gardens to be laid out, not destroyed. (*Stormy applause.*) This also applies to criticism. We favour criticism which invigorates people and gives them added strength.

Literary and art criticism should, as I see it, strive to help writers and artists create vivid works of talent about our socialist reality. It should fully support their efforts to portray the great deeds of Soviet people, who are building communism, their heroism and courage,

and their excellent moral qualities. We all know very well that it is no easy matter to create such works. An artist who wants to give a faithful picture of our great times must be in the thick of life. He must perceive with a sensitive heart and correctly interpret the new and decisive element of our reality. He must have a thorough knowledge of the Soviet man, of his thoughts and hopes, his sentiments and aspirations. In other words, artists must share actively in communist construction.

Critics can fulfil their public duty provided they encourage writers and artists to solve the major professional problems facing them and to create works of great artistic merit conveying an important message and needed by the people. This should by no means be taken as a call for a lenient approach to appraisal of the artistic quality of books or works of art on the part of critics. On the contrary, real criticism should be exacting. I wish to suggest, however, that critics should completely renounce preconceived, biased appraisals of books, plays, films, musical compositions, paintings and sculpture-appraisals which still occur.

We cannot consider it normal that the literary and art press still publishes many articles that condemn this or that book, film or play out of hand, without showing the merits and demerits of the works in question. Of course the truth about failures in literature or art has to be told, but I mean the truth, without exaggeration or ill will.

The Communist Party maintains that criticism should be ruthless and uncompromising when upholding our ideological and political principles against attempts to smuggle in alien, bourgeois views and notions. It should be borne in mind, however, that setbacks, particularly in creative work, may occur even with those who serve the people with devotion. Critics should be sparing and

benevolent with regard to them. In appraising a book or a work of art, it is unfair to stress the weak points only and on this ground to reject the work concerned.

Preconceived, biassed estimation of the work of writers, painters, composers and stage and screen people is bound to discourage them, dampen their enthusiasm and slacken their creative activity. Criticism should strive to help authors understand the true significance of realities and see the reasons for their own reverses. The Party's experience in work with writers and artists shows that comradely criticism and real support helped authors who had made mistakes to correct themselves and produce works that won widespread recognition.

Artists who fail and are criticised for it should not lose heart, but should work hard to succeed, remembering that although they have failed today, they can succeed tomorrow. (*Animation. Applause.*)

Dear friends, we are approaching the Twenty-Second Congress of the C.P.S.U., which is to meet next year. The coming Congress will sum up the work done by our Party and the Soviet people as a whole during the first two Seven-Year Plan years in fulfilling the programme for full-scale communist construction. Already we note with great satisfaction that we are making excellent progress and that we have every reason to believe we shall fulfil the Seven-Year Plan ahead of time. (*Applause.*) The Communist Party is leading the country onwards along the only correct path, the Leninist path. The task facing all of us—Party members as well as non-Party people—is to devote ourselves entirely to the country-wide effort to achieve communism.

I have repeatedly had occasion to point out that nowadays it is hard in our country to distinguish between a Party member and a person who is not. Sometimes you cannot really tell as you listen to a speaker at a meeting whether he is a member of the Party or not, be-

cause he defends the Party's cause with so much conviction and vigour. This is a significant development, comrades. It shows that the Soviet people are unanimous in their resolve to champion the cause and ideas of the Communist Party.

We have a great many people who are not Party members yet whose whole character and devoted labour for the good of society speak of Bolshevik partisanship. Unfortunately, we also come across people who have a Party card, but should not really have it. We must say plainly here that although such people are few, they unfortunately do exist.

We owe all our country has achieved to the heroic multinational Soviet people. It is particularly gratifying that the peoples of the great Soviet Union live in an exceptionally close-knit, fraternal family. This is one of the major gains of the socialist system. (*Applause.*)

Foreigners who visit our country speak well of the friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and of their achievements. This is gratifying. Not so long ago Soviet Uzbekistan played host to M. Chaban-Delmas, Mayor of the French city of Bordeaux. I had met him before, during my stay in France. He said he had come to our country to study the Soviet Constitution and the people's living conditions in the Union Republics. Asked what he thought of life in Uzbekistan, M. Chaban-Delmas answered that he liked everything there and would be glad to see the same in France. Perhaps he really wants things in France to be as in socialist Uzbekistan. But to bring that about, it would be necessary to abolish the bourgeois system first, while the Mayor of Bordeaux is a firm supporter of capitalism. (*Animation.*)

Comrades, our achievements and the very fact of the existence and development of socialist society are daily strengthening the faith which the peoples of the world have in the triumph of communism on earth, and win-

ning the support of added millions for communist ideas. The steadily improving standard of living of the Soviet people, scientific discoveries of epoch-making significance, the rapid growth of socialist culture, and the peace policy of the Soviet state are winning sympathy and respect for us even with those who do not support communist ideals. Sometimes these people say that they do not recognise communism but that the Soviet Union is making good headway. Thereby they virtually recognise the triumph of communist ideas, even though they do not say so in plain terms. That is how matters stand today. As we advance and as the wealth and might of our socialist country increase, the appeal of communist ideas will grow. We are absolutely certain that the time is not far off when Marxist-Leninist ideas will triumph all over the world. (*Stormy applause.*)

Today the consolidation of the world socialist system, and its achievements in all public spheres are paving the way for the victory of Marxist-Leninist ideas throughout the world.

The great dispute between the new and the old is being settled not in abstract armchair arguments, but in factories and fields, by the work of scientists and cultural workers, and the labour of the millions who are creating communism, the best society on earth.

In the early months of the Soviet socialist state the great Lenin said that "the days are gone when socialist programmes were debated on the basis of book learning. Nowadays one can speak of socialism only on the basis of experience" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 27, "Report to the 5th All-Russian Congress of Soviets").

This profound statement was made in the days when the Soviet people were taking the first steps towards socialist construction. Times have changed completely since then. Our country has become a mighty socialist power. Marching together with us under the Marxist-

Leninist banner are the peoples of the other countries of the socialist community, which comprises one-third of the world's population. The example and experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries show the peoples of the globe the tremendous advantages of socialism over capitalism and the benefits which the triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideas brings to the working people. The achievements of the socialist countries, their economic and cultural progress, and the steadily improving standard of living of their working people are irrefutable proof of the vitality of Marxist-Leninist ideas. And this is what certain dogmatists who have a weakness for abstract theoretical arguments should always bear in mind. Those arguments are often not worth a brass farthing.

This reminds me of an incident. The Ukrainians of the old generation present here are familiar with it. The incident occurred at a district Party conference, either in Poltava or in Priluki. You know that it is customary to adopt a resolution on the report submitted by a Party committee, and that the committee's work must be estimated before the resolution is drafted. A standard motion was tabled: to approve the political line and recognise the work done as satisfactory. A debate ensued. Some affirmed that the District Committee had had no political line and had done no real work. Others maintained the opposite. No agreed decision seemed possible. One of the delegates decided to help the conference out of the difficulty. He took the floor and said: "What's there to argue about? The District Committee did have a line, but it's just as true that the Committee did no work." (*Animation.*)

The masses judge political parties not only by the ideas those parties proclaim, but above all by the way in which they put those ideas into practice. If our Party had done nothing but argue that the ideas it upheld were

excellent, without taking steps, in accordance with those ideas, to change the people's life for the better, the people would not have followed its lead.

What makes our Communist Party strong is that its activity is devoted entirely to realising the great revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism. These inspiring ideas permeate all of the Party's work and that vast programme for communist construction—the Seven-Year Economic Development Plan. Our most pressing task now is to direct the energy of the Soviet people towards fulfilling the Seven-Year Plan ahead of time and providing abundant material and spiritual benefits for the people. This is the important thing now. (*Stormy applause.*)

I wish to toast our glorious Soviet people and their solid unity. Here is to the Communist Party, the pivot and leading force of Soviet society! To our Komsomol, the youthful reserve of our Party! To our victory! To communism! To those fighting on the front of socialist culture! To your health, comrades! (*Stormy applause.*)

SOVIET ARTS ENRICH THE WORLD'S SPIRITUAL TREASURES

*From the Report of the Central Committee
of the C.P.S.U. to the Twenty-Second Party
Congress*

Comrades, the lofty message borne by Soviet literature and art has won them immense prestige throughout the world. The art of the Soviet writer, composer and artist, of the cinema and theatre worker, has won high recognition. In the past few years new works of literature and art have been produced which give a faithful and vivid picture of socialist reality.

The achievements of our art and its traditions are of tremendous significance; they mark an important stage in the aesthetic development of mankind. The experience of our country has proved that socialism alone offers the broadest scope for free creative endeavour in art, for the active participation of the masses in the creation of cultural values. Soviet art is enriching the spiritual treasure-house of mankind, is blazing the trail to the triumph of communist culture.

Lenin said that the road to a common culture in a communist society lies through the thriving of the national culture of every people that has liberated itself from capitalist oppression. Through intercourse within

the community of socialist nations new features common to Soviet culture as a whole emerge, develop and enrich one another. Our task is to give thoughtful support and encouragement to the internationalist unity of the socialist cultures. The people expect and are confident that our writers and art workers will produce works in which they will fittingly portray the present heroic era of the revolutionary transformation of society. The Party maintains that the purpose of art is to educate people above all by depicting positive examples from life, to educate them in the spirit of communism. The power of Soviet literature and art, of the method of socialist realism, lies in their faithful depiction of what is most important and decisive in life. Serious attention should be paid to the aesthetic education of Soviet people, to the moulding of their artistic tastes. Lack of taste should be resolutely combated, no matter what form it takes, whether it is a fad for formalism or a vulgar concept of "beauty" in art, in life, and in the home.

The most beautiful thing in life is the labour of man, and what more noble task can there be than to portray faithfully the new man, the man of labour, the richness of his spiritual interests, his fight against all that is obsolescent. We must give Soviet people interesting works which reveal the romance of communist labour, which spur their initiative and perseverance in achieving their aims.

Our Party is confident that Soviet literature and art will continue to be a reliable weapon of the Soviet people, a good and intelligent counsellor in their life. (*Applause.*)

SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST
CULTURE IS THE HIGHEST RUNG
IN MAN'S CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

*From the Report on the Programme of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union,
Twenty-Second Congress of the C.P.S.U.*

Full-scale communist construction is a new stage in the development of national relations in the Soviet Union. Closer co-operation among nations depends, above all, on correct economic policy. The draft Programme envisages a comprehensive development and specialisation of economy in the Union Republics. The economy of each will continue to develop as an integral part of a single Soviet economy. The greater the contribution which each republic makes to the common cause of communist construction, the broader and the more comprehensive become the interrelations between the Soviet nations.

The economic development of each Soviet republic is the result of fraternal co-operation and mutual assistance among all the Soviet peoples. Take the development of the virgin land in Kazakhstan. The republic would never have coped with so formidable an undertaking on its own. Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, and people of many other nationalities gave it a help-

ing hand. Or take our factories and building projects. They are close-knit, multinational collectives, where workers are esteemed not for the colour of their skin or for the tongue they speak, but for their attitude towards their work, their contribution to the communist cause. The population in the various republics is becoming more and more mixed in national composition. They exchange qualified personnel. All this strengthens internationalist bonds between the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

Improvements in the forms of national state organisation of the peoples of the Soviet Union are another expression of the development of the socialist nations. The Party will continue to meet all the urgent requirements in this sphere. Full use must be made of all the possibilities provided by the Soviet principles of federation and autonomy. Even today the realities prompt the setting up of some inter-republican zonal bodies for a better co-ordination of the efforts of the various republics in implementing the plans of communist construction.

The growing closeness among the nations and nationalities of our country is also promoted by cultural development and ideological work. The exchange of spiritual values among them is growing. The cultural achievements of one nation are made available to others. This leads to a mutual cultural enrichment of the peoples of the Soviet Union, to a strengthening of their internationalist foundations, to the formation of the future single, universal culture of communist society.

The forms of national culture do not ossify; on the contrary, they develop continuously. Outmoded forms inconsistent with the tasks of communist construction drop away, and new forms emerge. National flavour is quite natural in literature and art. But all too often we have encountered archaisms in this respect. In architecture, for example, obviously outmoded forms are some-

times extracted from the dim past, though they are absolutely inconsistent with present living conditions and people's requirements. And we know that only forms that are in keeping with our epoch have a future.

The Party will continue to ensure the free development of the languages of the peoples of the Soviet Union, ruling out all restrictions, privileges and coercion in the use of the various languages. Every citizen enjoys, and will continue to enjoy, complete freedom in the choice of the language of instruction for his or her children. There are no hindrances whatsoever to the development of national languages in our country. But their development must not lead to any accentuation of national barriers; on the contrary, it should lead to a coming together of nations.

It is to be noted that the non-Russian peoples show a growing inclination to learn the Russian language, which has in effect become the second native language of the peoples of the Soviet Union, a medium of communication, an avenue whereby each nation and each nationality achieves access to the cultural wealth of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and of the world. (*Applause.*) The voluntary study of the Russian language, now under way, is a positive factor in the development of co-operation among the nations. (*Applause.*)

A rapprochement of nations is proceeding in our country, and their social homogeneity is growing. Complete unity of nations will be achieved as the full-scale building of communism proceeds. But even when communism has been built in the main, it will be premature to proclaim a fusion of nations. Lenin, it may be recalled, pointed out that state and national distinctions would exist long after socialism had triumphed in all countries.

We come across people, of course, who deplore the gradual obliteration of national distinctions. We reply

to them: Communists will not conserve and perpetuate national distinctions. We shall support the objective process of the increasingly closer rapprochement of nations and nationalities proceeding under the conditions of communist construction on a voluntary and democratic basis. It is essential that we lay greater stress on the education of the masses in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and Soviet patriotism. Even the slightest vestiges of nationalism should be eradicated with uncompromising, Bolshevik determination.

The friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union is one of our greatest gains. Let us guard it like the apple of our eye! (*Stormy applause.*)

* * *

Art and literature play a big part in moulding the new man. By upholding communist ideas and genuine humanism, literature and art instil in the Soviet man the qualities of a builder of the new world, and serve the aesthetic and moral development of people. The Party calls on all who are engaged in art and literature for a bold and resourceful approach to contemporary topics.

Amateur art, which is spreading widely, offers a great medium for the emergence and development of popular talents and gifts. However, this does not eliminate the need for developing the professional arts. It will be the artistic activities of professional companies and distinguished men of the arts that will, in the future as well, serve as a model for amateur art. In its turn, amateur art will serve as an inexhaustible source for the enrichment and advancement of professional literature and art.

Socialist and communist culture is a new, and the highest, stage in man's cultural development. We have all the necessary conditions to scale successfully the summits of communist culture. (*Prolonged applause.*)

SATIRE DOES A USEFUL JOB

*From a Speech at a Meeting of Workers in
Agriculture, Tselinograd, Kazakhstan
November 22, 1961*

We must use various forms and all available methods to publicise the experience of efficient workers. I think we should promote highly productive crops by means of colourful posters with pithy captions done by professional writers. Mayakovsky wrote verse for posters and Demyan Bedny wrote fables. During the Civil War he wrote an excellent soldier's song *My Mother Saw Me off to War*. The lyric went straight to the hearts of Red Army men, and made them more keenly aware of their duty to fight against the whites if they did not want the old regime to come back.

You probably remember the wonderful words of the song:

*Then I made a low bow
to my mother,
To my father, my sister,
my brother;
Stop bewailing me,
for the love of God!*

*Where would Russia be
if all were so odd?
Why, we'd soon be back
in the bad old days;
Wretched slaves again
as we were always.*

Many years have passed since those days. We are building communism now and our cultural standard is different. But, comrades, we, too, need inspiration, apt words and rousing appeals. We must support those who work conscientiously and efficiently, and must expose idlers and parasites, all who get in our way. Poems, fables and short stories should help people in the great and noble cause of communist construction.

When I worked in the Ukraine I often turned to Comrade Oleinik. I remember that several regions were late in harvesting maize. I asked him to write a satirical article about it.

He wrote a fine satire about Odessa Region. An artist supplied it with a cartoon. It had a powerful impact on the laggards.

Satire, comrades, is an effective weapon. It is useful to ridicule those who put no real effort into their work and goad them a little. It freshens the skin, clears the pores and makes breathing easier. I think Comrade Mikhalkov, for one, and many other satirists would be glad to take up their sharp pens and boldly expose shortcomings in the countryside.

We ought to produce satirical newsreels as well. Once we made several newsreels in Moscow Region. We had Sasha Bezymensky help us. I call him "Sasha" because he was known by that name when he was a Komsomol member. The satire was scathing. It is an excellent thing and could be resumed now. (*Animation. Applause.*)

WE SHALL ALWAYS PROMOTE
ALLEGIANCE TO PARTY AND PEOPLE
IN ALL THE ARTS

*From a Speech at the Sixth Congress of the
Socialist Unity Party of Germany,
January 16, 1963*

Dear friends, you who are building socialism on German soil can well understand the joy of the Soviet people's creative labour. The working people of a socialist society always feel a natural pride in the fruits both of their own labour and of that of their friends, their class brothers. We are happy to see that in the German Democratic Republic things are also going well. . . .

I would like to join you today in recalling the lines your wonderful poet Becher wrote about the German Democratic Republic:

*A land like ours can never die.
No dream is it, no fruit of fantasy:
Its strength lies in the force of great ideas,
A strength which in its people's deeds appears.
Stronghold of justice, which all poets glorify,
Live on, our fatherland, in peace and liberty!*

(Stormy, prolonged applause.)

These lines show clearly that not only the workers and peasants of your Republic but also prominent intellectuals wholeheartedly support the social changes taking place in your land. Possibly this honest and courageous voice of intellectuals in the G.D.R. is particularly displeasing to bourgeois ideologists, who would like to see G.D.R. men of letters and art taking their cue from petty-bourgeois time-servers, and who would like to see the works of your writers, artists, composers and film-makers less pointed, less purposeful and clear-cut. What they would like, of course, is for the endeavours of your intellectuals working in the field of art to be governed, not by the great laws of socialist realism, but by all sorts of abstractionist rubbish.

In that sense your writers and artists have to be especially vigilant, never forgetting that the world of oppression, speculation and profiteering lies right next door, and that through television and radio it reaches out to you and tries to do its dirty work.

As you know, the Central Committee of our Party has recently had a meeting with Soviet art workers. I will not be telling you any great secret if I say that soon after your congress we shall probably have another meeting with our wonderful writers, artists, composers and film and theatre people. The Communist Parties will never agree to peaceful coexistence in the ideological field. (*Prolonged applause.*) As enjoined by Lenin, we have always been and always will be active protagonists of the Party approach and allegiance to the people in questions of art and literature; it is only under the guidance of the Communist and Workers' Parties that a literature and art truly of the people can develop and flourish. We shall work for an art and a literature that will instil into people a sense of beauty, and help to build communism.

LOFTY IDEAS AND ARTISTIC SKILL
GIVE SOVIET LITERATURE AND ART
ITS GREAT STRENGTH

*Speech at a Meeting of Party and Govern-
ment Leaders with Writers and Artists,
March 8, 1963*

Dear comrades, this is our second meeting in the past few months, and the third if we count the meeting arranged with young writers and artists by the Ideological Commission of the Party Central Committee.

The materials of these meetings have been published in the press and have aroused wide interest. We can record with satisfaction that the position of the Party Central Committee on problems of art has the warm support of art workers, the Party, the people and our friends abroad.

Comrade Ilyichov has told you in his speech of the lively response the Central Committee's pronouncements on literature and the arts have evoked among the public in our country and abroad. He pointed out, rightly, that our art workers have become more active in the struggle against unhealthy trends in literature and art.

Interesting contributions and a number of valuable proposals have been made by many of the speakers at this meeting. All this is convincing proof that the ques-

tions we are discussing here today are of fundamental importance for the development of socialist culture, Soviet literature and art, in the direction charted by the Communist Party Programme.

THE BUILDING OF COMMUNISM AND THE TASKS OF CREATIVE ART

The work of the writer, painter, composer, sculptor, the cinema and theatre worker—of all our intellectuals—is constantly within the purview of the Party and people. And that is fully understandable. We are living at a time when art and literature, as Lenin foresaw, have become an integral part of the people's life.

Led by their Leninist Party, the Soviet people are building a communist society. The chief aim in building communism—and this I emphasise—is to create all the conditions for a better life for the working people. And communist society will be precisely a society of working people.

Work is a natural and organic requirement of man. And only capitalism, by placing the men of labour in inhuman conditions, corrupts them and has an adverse influence on the attitude of many people towards their work. Those who are not prepared to reconcile themselves to the oppression of man by man develop their class consciousness in the process of labour and become active fighters for the working people's interests and against the exploiters. Others, animated solely by personal, property interests, are passive in public life, take no part in the class struggles to overthrow the bourgeoisie and build a new society. Still others live at the expense of the labour of their fellow beings. They are the exploiters, the oppressors of the working people.

Communism is built by the labour, and only by the labour, of millions. That is why our Party is exerting every effort to bring the entire Soviet people—workers, collective farmers, engineers, designers, technicians, schoolteachers, doctors, agronomists, scientists, workers in every realm of culture, literature and the arts—actively to participate in the building of communism in a cohesive, united collective.

Everyone can now see that the Party's efforts are producing remarkable results, that our people have scored great successes in their advance to communism. But we cannot shut our eyes to the difficulties that have to be overcome in building the new society. And among these difficulties are the survivals of the past in the minds of certain people in all sections of society. These survivals are manifested primarily in a negligent attitude towards one's job, towards the fulfilment of one's duty and obligations to the community.

Education of all the people in the spirit of the communist ideals is of the utmost importance in the battle for communism we are now waging. And this is now the chief task in our Party's ideological activities. We must put all the Party's ideological weapons in proper combat condition. Among these weapons is such a powerful medium of communist education as literature and the arts. (*Applause.*)

Our meetings with you, which have become a good rule, are, in essence, a review of our literary and artistic forces, their creative activity and revolutionary militancy.

The Party and its Central Committee believe that Soviet literature and art are developing successfully and, in the main, are satisfactorily coping with their tasks.

But it would be harmful indeed to exaggerate our successes in literature and the arts, and not to see the serious shortcomings in the work of our writers, artists,



N. S. Khrushchov talks with *L. Y. Kerbel*, Lenin Prize winner, author of the Karl Marx monument in Moscow



Party and Government leaders meet writers and artists in the Kremlin, March 8, 1963. N. S. Khrushchov delivers his speech

composers, cinema and theatre people. There have been no ideological or artistic failures of an extreme nature. Nonetheless, there are substantial defects, and in a number of cases mistakes, to which we cannot be reconciled.

Experience has shown—and this has been confirmed in the speeches of some comrades at this and the last meeting—that not all writers and artists correctly understand the tasks the Party Programme sets in the realm of literature and the arts. Consequently, there is need once again to explain the Party's viewpoint on the underlying problems of artistic creation in the period of full-scale building of communism.

What kind of works of art do the Soviet people expect? What kind do they value and accept, and what kind do they reject?

The literature and art of socialist realism have achieved high standards of artistry, have rich revolutionary traditions and enjoy world renown. Splendid works of art, high spiritual values, in which our people take legitimate pride have been created in every Soviet republic.

Outstanding exponents of Soviet literature and art are rendering a great service to the people and are setting an inspiring example of the artist's service to his country.

What can bring greater satisfaction to the artist than the knowledge that his talent is entirely dedicated to the people's effort in building communism, and that the people accept and highly appreciate his work?

You will remember how, years ago, our people used Demyan Bedny's poetry in their struggle. In the Civil War years, when the Soviet people were defending the world's first workers' and peasants' socialist state in hard-fought battle with world imperialism, Demyan Bedny's songs became battle hymns of the Red Guards, Red Army men and partisans. They stirred everyone,

were understood by everyone, even by the illiterate peasant in the Red Army ranks.

One of the most popular songs of that time was Demyan Bedny's *My Mother Saw Me Off to War*. It was expressive of the people's thoughts and sentiments. For the poet himself was a fighter for the revolution and devoted his inordinate talent to serving the great cause of liberating the working people from exploiter oppression.

Demyan Bedny possessed the amazing gift of penetrating into the soul of the toiling peasant. With keen understanding and consummate skill he disclosed its duality. In his Civil War poetry he convincingly laid bare the psychology of the peasant, with all the traits peculiar to it in those years. On the one hand, the peasant rejoiced in the fact that the new, Bolshevik government had given him the land he had longed for for so many years, and for which the country was now waging an armed struggle. On the other hand, some peasants, having received land from the Soviet government, did not appreciate the fact that government by the people, and all the gains of the revolution had to be defended with arms in hand.

The tremendous educational value of Demyan Bedny's poetry lies in the fact that, from revolutionary positions, he wrathfully condemned the peasant's indecision and vacillation. But at the same time, he showed the peasant how fatal this indecision and vacillation were to his own interests. The poet helped the peasant realise that it was in his interests to work in inseparable alliance with the working class under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party.

And today, too, people of my generation, when they get together on some holiday occasion, recall with pleasure their part in the Civil War and sing the songs of Demyan Bedny because they have retained all their

freshness and topicality. (*Applause.*) Their charm lies in the way they bring back the flavour of those days which, though difficult and trying, were good and beautiful. These songs fill our hearts with pride in the men who in those dire times fought so heroically for Soviet government, for liberation of the men of labour, for the people, for socialism, and emerged victorious.

Let us take another example, one that convincingly shows the powerful and noble feelings a genuine work of art inspires. Most of you presumably know the monument to the Soviet warriors erected in Berlin. It was designed by our well-known sculptor Y. V. Vuchetich. Recently the fraternal party delegations attending the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany laid wreaths at the graves of Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and other fighters who gave their lives for the working-class cause.

That was followed by the laying of wreaths at the monument to the Soviet warriors in Berlin. These were unforgettable minutes—hundreds of people approaching the monument to the tune of solemn music; they did not speak, the atmosphere affected all of them. The majestic sculpture inspired a feeling of deep respect, of deep gratitude to the heroic Soviet fighting men, of reverence of the memory of those who fell in battle against the dark forces of fascism.

Central Committee Presidium Members and Secretaries recently examined plans for the monument to commemorate our victory over fascism, which is to be erected in Moscow to designs by Comrade Vuchetich. The plans give us grounds to anticipate that it will be a powerful work of realistic art, one that will glorify our victorious people and summon them to further effort in strengthening the might and invincibility of our great socialist country.

The Karl Marx monument in Moscow, designed by

Comrade Kerbel, is a splendid work of art. The sculptor was able to depict in artistic form the greatness of the founder of scientific communism. One cannot pass this monument without stopping to admire it.

Only outstanding works of great revolutionary, creative tenor appeal to the heart and mind, inspire a feeling of civic pride and determination to devote one's energies to the struggle for the people's happiness. The authors of such works deservedly enjoy public gratitude. The Communist Party calls upon writers, artists, composers, cinema and theatre workers to create such works of ideological and artistic richness, works that appeal to the mind and heart. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Our people need a militant revolutionary art. And it is the mission of Soviet art and literature to recreate, in vivid artistic imagery, this great and heroic age of the building of communism, correctly to reflect the assertion and triumph of the new, communist relationships in our life. The artist should be able to see, and rejoice in, positive developments which represent the very substance of our reality, to support them without at the same time by-passing negative phenomena, all the things that are hindering the rise of the new.

Even the best of things have their shady sides. Even the most beautiful person is not without blemishes. Everything depends on how you approach realities, from what positions you appraise them. There is a saying that what you look for, you find. The unbiased person, one who actively participates in the people's creative endeavour, will objectively see both the good and the bad and will correctly understand and accurately assess both, will work actively to promote all that is progressive, all that is dominant and decisive in our social development.

But the man who regards our reality as an impassive onlooker cannot see it nor reproduce it faithfully.

Unfortunately, it sometimes happens that art workers judge reality only from the smell of outhouses, depict people in a deliberately ugly way, use the darkest colours. This can only foster dejection, gloom and frustration. These artists depict reality to suit their own biased, perverted and subjective conceptions, the anaemic stereotypes of their own invention.

Last time we were shown the revolting concoctions of Ernst Neizvestny and we were indignant that this man, who evidently is not without talent, a man who went to a Soviet higher educational institution, is repaying the people with such black ingratitude. It is a good thing that there are not many such artists. But, unfortunately, Neizvestny is not alone among our art workers. You have also seen some other products of abstract art. Such deformities we condemn, and shall continue to condemn openly and uncompromisingly.

Comrades, our Party considers the cinema one of the most important vehicles of communist education of the people. Nothing can compare with the cinema in emotional impact and size of audience. It appeals to people of all sections of society and, I might add, to all ages, from schoolboys to old men. It penetrates to the most remote districts and hamlets.

That is why the Party Central Committee has been so attentive and exacting in its approach to the problems involved in the development of the Soviet cinema.

We know and highly appreciate the achievements in this field. But at the same time we believe that they are not commensurate either with our aims or with the vast potentialities of our screen people. We cannot be indifferent to the ideological tendency and artistic standard of the films shown on our screens. And in this respect the position is by no means as satisfactory as many cinema workers imagine.

We are gravely concerned over the fact that a multitude of very mediocre pictures are being shown, pictures that are poor in content and helpless in artistic form and exasperate the viewer, or bore him and make him sleepy.

We attended a preview of parts of a new film, *Zastava Ilyicha*,* a name that has to be lived up to. The film is being produced by Marlen Khutsiev at the Gorky Studios under the artistic direction of one of our well-known producers, Sergei Gerasimov. We must frankly say that the parts we were shown contain some moving sequences. But actually they serve to conceal the picture's real purpose, which is to instil ideas and norms of public and private life that are alien and unacceptable to the Soviet people. That is why we are resolutely opposed to this interpretation of a great and important theme.

One need not have spoken of this, since work on the film is not yet completed. But inasmuch as it has been praised to the skies for its "outstanding qualities" in our press and in public statements by some writers and cinema workers, we feel we must express our views too.

The name of the film, *Zastava Ilyicha*, is allegoric. The very word "Zastava" once meant an outpost. And today, too, it is the designation used for our frontier posts. Apparently we are to assume that the main characters represent the forward-looking section of the Soviet youth who stand guard over the gains of the socialist revolution and the behests of Ilyich.

But anyone who has seen the picture will say this is not true. Even its most positive characters—three young workers—do not epitomise our splendid youth. They are shown in a way that suggests they do not know how to live and what to strive for. And this at a time when we are engaged in the full-scale construction of commu-

* A district named after Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.—Tr.

nism, a time illumined by the ideas of the Communist Party Programme!

Are these the young people who today, together with their fathers, are building communism under the Party's leadership? Are these the kind of young men in whom our people can repose their hopes of the future, in the belief that they will take over and cherish the great gains of the older generations who performed the socialist revolution, built socialism and upheld it in hard-fought battle against the fascist hordes, and created the material and spiritual prerequisites for the full-scale construction of communist society?

No, our society cannot rely on these men—they are not fighters, not the kind of men who will remake the world. They are morally weak, young men grown old and bereft of noble aims and a noble calling in life.

The intention was to expose and criticise idlers and half-depraved types that are still to be met with among our youth, individuals who have no love and no respect for anyone, who not only do not trust their elders, but actually despise them. They are dissatisfied with everything, are always grumbling, mock and ridicule everything, spend their days in idleness and their evenings and nights at parties of a very dubious nature. These types regard work with arrogant, snobbish contempt. But you will find these good-for-nothings eating their fill of the people's bread and jeering at those who produce it in the sweat of their brow.

The authors of the film have failed in their purpose of condemning these idlers and parasites. They lacked the civic courage and wrath to stigmatise and pillory such degenerates and outcasts; they confined themselves to a slight slap in the face. But you cannot reform this scum with a slap in the face.

The picture brings the wrong kind of youth into the limelight. In their everyday life, work and struggle,

our Soviet youth continue and multiply the heroic traditions of the older generations who demonstrated their supreme devotion to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in the years of peaceful construction and at the battlefronts during the Patriotic War. We have an excellent portrait of that youth in Alexander Fadeyev's *The Young Guards*. And it is a great pity that Sergei Gerasimov, who filmed the novel, did not advise his pupil Marlen Khutsiev, to show how our youth are continuing and developing the splendid traditions of the Young Guards.

Yesterday I had occasion to refer to the serious principled objections to the episode in *Zastava Ilyicha* where the chief character meets the shade of his father, killed in the war. The son asks his father for guidance, and his father in turn asks: How old are you? Twenty-three, the son replies, to which his father retorts: And I am only twenty-one . . . and disappears. Do you really want us to believe such a thing could be true? No one is going to believe you! For everyone knows that even animals do not abandon their offspring. If you throw a pup into the water, its mother will immediately dive in to save it at the risk of her life.

Can anyone imagine a father refusing to answer his son, refusing to help him find the right road in life?

But there is a definite purpose, a very definite meaning, behind all this. Sons are being told that their fathers cannot teach them how to live and that there is no point seeking their advice. According to the authors of the film, the youth can very well decide how to live without the advice or assistance of older people.

Well, that is a pretty clear expression of the authors' attitude. But haven't you gone too far? What do you want to do—incite the youth against the older generation, set them at loggerheads, sow discord in the friendly Soviet family, which unites both young and old in the common effort to build communism? To such people

we can say with full responsibility: You will never succeed! (*Stormy applause.*)

In our time there is no fathers-and-sons problem in the form in which it existed in the days of Turgenev. For we live in an entirely different period of history, a period that has its own pattern of human relationships. There is no contradiction between the generations in Soviet socialist society, and there is no problem of "fathers and sons" in its old implications. It has been invented by the producers of this film and is being artificially inflated, and not with the best of intentions.

That is how we understand human relations in our society. And we want these relations to find a faithful reflection in literature, dramaturgy, the cinema, music, painting—in all art media. Anyone who hasn't realised that should stop to think, and we will help him take a correct attitude.

It is legitimate to ask Khutsiev, the director of the film, and his superior, Gerasimov: How could the idea of such a film have occurred to you?

Its grave errors are obvious. One would have thought that cinema workers who had seen the picture would frankly tell the director about them. But something quite incredible has been going on in connection with the film. No one has yet seen it, but there is already a wide publicity campaign, conducted on an international scale, boosting the film as "an outstanding development in our art". What do we need this for? That's not the way to do things, comrades, not at all!

ALLEGIANCE TO PARTY AND PEOPLE IS THE KEY PRINCIPLE OF OUR ART

In recent years writers and artists have devoted much attention in their creative work to the period of Soviet society connected with the Stalin personality cult. That

is fully understandable and logical. Works of art have appeared in which Soviet reality of those years is faithfully depicted from Party positions. Mention could be made, for instance, of Alexander Tvardovsky's *Space Beyond Space*, Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, some of Yevtushenko's poetry, Chukhrai's film *Clear Skies*.

The Party supports genuinely truthful artistic productions, regardless of what negative aspects of life they deal with, if they help the people's effort in building the new society and help to unite and strengthen the forces of the people.

We all know what an important part satire, notably fables, plays. Sergei Mikhalkov, for instance, often writes in that genre. Satire is like a sharp knife. It opens and removes tumors with the skill of a surgeon. But satire is a weapon one must know how to use, just as the surgeon knows how to use his scalpel to remove a festering ulcer without endangering the organism, without damaging it. This requires mastery. And if you do not possess it, then don't take the job, because you will do harm to others and might cut your own fingers into the bargain. Mothers are right in not giving children sharp things before they have learned how to use them. (*Animation. Applause.*)

It is necessary to draw attention of all literary and art workers to some erroneous notes and tendencies in the work of certain authors. These erroneous tendencies consist chiefly in the fact that attention is one-sidedly concentrated on instances of lawlessness, arbitrariness and abuse of power.

True enough, the personality cult years have left a grievous heritage. Our Party told the people the whole truth about this. But we must also bear in mind that those years were not years of stagnation in the development of Soviet society, as our enemies would make

out. Led by the Communist Party and inspired by the ideas and behests of the great Lenin, our people were successfully building socialism, and completed its construction. Thanks to the efforts of the Party and people, the Soviet Union was transformed into a mighty socialist state which successfully coped with the greatest trials of war, routed the fascist hordes and emerged victorious from the greatest war known to history. (*Stormy applause.*)

That is why we say it is wrong to appraise this period in our life too one-sidedly, to present practically everything in a sombre light, to paint everything in black, as some writers do. There are still some writers who prefer to draw their subject matter from the refuse heap and claim that their works present a truthful picture of reality. They maintain that any book describing our people's achievements, the positive in our life, is sheer "varnishing". We cannot accept that view. We know there was embellishment in certain works of literature, and the Party stated its negative attitude to that. But not everything was bad in those years. In that period of socialist construction, too, the people displayed heroism. We cannot therefore paint everything black.

We must rebuff those who like to clap the "varnish" label on writers and artists who describe the positive in our life. But how are we to designate those who dig up everything bad, portray everything in black? Apparently they should be designated as the blackeners. The good in life must be fittingly reflected in literature and art.

Writers and artists should probe deeper into reality and portray it more correctly. Everyone must serve the people, our common cause, with his own particular weapon. I have in mind every writer, sculptor, composer, every cinema and theatre worker. And every weapon of art must be used for the benefit of our people, in

order to strike at the enemy and pave the way to the brighter future, communist society.

That should always be borne in mind. There is no need for verbal fireworks. The people judge every artist on the merit of his work. Some condemn every writer who in that period saw also the positive aspect of our life. We should not indiscriminately censure everything written in those days. It might be objected that this is a retreat from the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses. No, it is an affirmation of the policy of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses! (*Stormy applause.*)

When you read Ilya Ehrenburg's memoirs, you cannot fail to notice that he depicts everything in sombre hues. Comrade Ehrenburg himself was not subjected to repression or restrictions in the personality cult period. The fate of such a writer as Galina Serebryakova was quite different—she spent many years in prison. But she did not lose heart, remained loyal to the cause of our Party, and immediately after rehabilitation resumed her creative work, took up her pen and has been producing works needed by the people and Party. (*Stormy applause.*)

Powerful productive forces were built up and a cultural revolution carried out in those years. The world now sees the splendid fruit of these outstanding victories of the Soviet people in our mighty advance to communism, in the great discoveries of science and technology, in the conquest of outer space. Our present victories cannot be regarded out of the context of the economic and cultural achievements of those years.

It is often asked: Why were not the violations of law and abuse of power disclosed and cut short in Stalin's lifetime, and was this possible then? Our point of view on this question has been repeatedly, fully and clearly set out in Party documents. Unfortunately, there are still

some people, including art workers, who seek to present these events in a distorted light. That is why we find ourselves obliged to revert to the question of the Stalin personality cult.

Did the leading Party cadres know about the arrests? Yes, they did. But did they know that innocent people were being arrested? No, this they did not know. They believed Stalin and could not imagine that honest men devoted to our cause could be subjected to repression.

From the first days of the October Revolution and up to the final elimination of the exploiting classes within the country, Soviet society was living in an atmosphere of extremely sharp class struggle. Our class enemies had been defeated in open combat during the Civil War, but they had not been eliminated physically, nor had they abandoned their insidious designs against the Soviet system. They changed their methods of struggle, resorting to sabotage, wrecking, assassination, terrorist acts, revolts.

Was it necessary for the revolution to defend its gains? Yes, and it did so from the very first days, and with the utmost determination. We know that in the early months of Soviet power Lenin signed a decree establishing the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counter-Revolution, the organ of proletarian dictatorship that served as a sharp weapon against the enemies of the revolution. When counter-revolutionary conspiracies were disclosed, Stalin, as Secretary of the Party's Central Committee, worked to purge the country of plotters, and he waged that struggle under the slogan of combating the enemies of the people. There was confidence in Stalin in this matter, and he was supported. It could not have been otherwise. For in the history of the Party there had been instances of treason and betrayal of the revolution. There was, for example,

the agent-provocateur Malinovsky, a member of the Bolshevik group in the State Duma.

Stalin was then at the head of the Party's struggle against the enemies of the revolution and socialist construction. This strengthened his prestige. His contribution to the revolutionary struggle prior to the October Revolution, during it and in the subsequent years of socialist construction, was likewise widely known. Stalin's prestige grew especially during the fight against anti-Leninist trends and opposition groups within the Party, in the fight to strengthen the Party's ranks and Soviet government against such anti-Leninist trends and opposition groups in the Party as the Trotskyists, Zinovievites, Right-wing opportunists and bourgeois nationalists.

After Lenin's death there was the controversy with the Trotskyists and Zinovievites on fundamental issues of socialist construction and inner-Party life. The controversy disclosed and exposed the anti-Leninist and anti-socialist views and actions of Trotsky, Zinoviev and their underlings, aimed at disrupting the Leninist policy of building socialism in our country in conditions of capitalist encirclement.

After the Trotskyists, the Right-wing opportunists headed by Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky, came out against the Party's Leninist policy of industrialisation and agricultural collectivisation. If their views had prevailed, the Soviet economy would inevitably have been made dependent on capitalist countries, and this could have led to the restoration of capitalism. The Right-wing opportunist policy would have led to a situation in which our country would have been disarmed against a hostile and aggressive capitalist encirclement.

Our Party's policy of industrialisation and agricultural collectivisation was a Leninist policy and was supported by the entire Party, by all our working people.

We had to cover in ten years of economic development a path which took Western Europe a hundred years. In the early years after Lenin's death, Stalin played a considerable part in upholding Lenin's policy in the battle against the Trotskyists, Zinovievites, Bukharinites and bourgeois nationalists. That is why the Party and the masses had faith in him and supported him.

But characteristic of Stalin were grave faults and errors, to which Lenin in his time drew the Party's attention.

Lenin pointed to the danger that Stalin, having concentrated great power in his hands, would not be able to use it correctly, because of his major personal shortcomings. In advising the Party to replace him as General Secretary of the Central Committee, Lenin said the post should go to some other leader, "differing in all other respects from Comrade Stalin solely in the degree of being more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and more considerate to the comrades, less capricious, etc."

Lenin considered Stalin a Marxist, a prominent figure in our Party, a man devoted to the revolution. Lenin formulated his considerations in a letter to the coming Party congress, and it was examined by the delegations to the Thirteenth Party Congress. In solving this question, the Party proceeded from the existing relation of forces within the Central Committee. It took into account Stalin's positive qualities as a leader and accepted his assurances that he would overcome the shortcomings indicated by Lenin. In later years Stalin violated his pledge and abused the confidence the Party placed in him; this led to the painful developments of the personality cult period.

The Party has uncompromisingly condemned Stalin's gross violations of the Leninist norms of Party life, his arbitrariness and abuse of power, which did serious damage to the communist cause. But for all that, the

Party gives Stalin credit for the services he rendered the Party and the communist movement. Today, too, we regard Stalin as having been devoted to communism, as a Marxist. That cannot and should not be denied. His guilt lay in the gross errors of a theoretical and political nature he committed, in his violation of the Leninist principles of government and Party leadership, in his abuse of the power vested in him by the Party and people.

Many, myself included, were in tears at Stalin's funeral. These were sincere tears. Though we knew of some of Stalin's personal shortcomings, we had faith in him.

For a clearer picture of how great was this faith in Stalin and his prestige, I will cite this example. Many remember Comrade Yakir, an outstanding military leader and a Bolshevik of crystal purity. He perished tragically, and guiltlessly, in those years. Sentenced to death, he felt sure that Stalin had had no share in this and his last words were "Long live Stalin!" Yakir told his interrogators that his arrest and the charges levelled against him were a frame-up, that the Party and Stalin had been misled, that they would set things right, and that men like him perished as a result of frame-ups. Yakir was not the only one who felt that way. That feeling was shared by many other outstanding Party and government leaders who were wrongly persecuted.

In the last years of his life Stalin was a very sick man—he suffered from a persecution complex and was a prey to suspicion. The Party widely informed the people about how Stalin thought up such "cases" as the "Leningrad case", the "doctors' case" and others. But, comrades, there would have been many more of these "cases" if all who worked side by side with Stalin in that period had backed him in everything. In one of my speeches I described how Stalin wanted to engineer the so-called "Moscow counter-revolutionary centre" case. But, as is generally known, he was not supported and

the Moscow Party cadres were not subjected to more wholesale repressions.

We also know that Stalin intended to wipe out a substantial part of creative intellectuals in post-war Soviet Ukraine. Apparently at the instigation of Beria and Kaganovich, he suspected that nationalist tendencies were maturing there and began to push things towards a situation where he could make short shrift of prominent Ukrainian writers and artists. If the Ukrainian Bolsheviks had fallen in with that then, evidently, the Ukrainian intelligentsia would have suffered great losses, for a "case" of Ukrainian nationalists would probably have been concocted.

Aware of Stalin's morbid distrust and suspicion, imperialist intelligence agencies planted "evidence" and "documents" that looked very plausible and "proved" beyond doubt that groups of military specialists in the Soviet Union and diverse criminal bands were conspiring against the Soviet state.

Lovers of memoir literature frequently describe the events of that time as if they were looking at them from afar, from some other country. What is more, they describe events which were really far removed from them, both in essence and in the consequences they entailed.

But there are some comrades, some well-known artists and writers, who themselves felt the consequences of Stalin's arbitrariness and who even in those exceptionally difficult times did not reconcile themselves to these events, protested and addressed frank statements to Stalin.

In the spring of 1933 our esteemed Mikhail Sholokhov raised his voice against the violation of law in the Don country. Two of his letters to Stalin and Stalin's replies have recently been discovered in the archives. Sholokhov's truthful words, written with an aching heart, cannot be read without emotion. They speak of

the revolting misdeeds of men who were perpetrating criminal acts in Vyoshenskaya and other Don districts.

Sholokhov wrote to Stalin on April 16, 1933: "These examples could be multiplied without end. *They are not isolated excesses; they are legalised 'methods' of grain procurement applied throughout the district.* They are facts communicated to me by Communists or by collective farmers upon whom these 'methods' have been practised, and who came to me with the request to 'publish this in the press'.

"Do you remember, Joseph Vissarionovich, Korolenko's story, *The Pacified Village*? Well, the 'vanishing' technique was being used not against three peasants suspected of stealing from a kulak, but against tens of thousands of collective farmers. And, as you see, with wider employment of technical means and more refined methods."

Sholokhov then asked Stalin to take a closer look at what was going on in rural areas. "We should investigate not only those guilty of outrages against collective farmers and Soviet power, but also those who directed these activities."

"If everything I have described here deserves the attention of the Central Committee, then send to Vyoshenskaya District genuine Communists who would muster the courage to expose everyone, no matter who he is, guilty of fatally undermining collective farming in the district; send men who will conduct a thorough investigation and expose not only those who applied these heinous 'methods' of torture, physical violence and humiliation against the collective farmers, but also their instigators."

I could cite other passages from Sholokhov's letter, from this outspoken, courageous letter which, incidentally, has not been published either in Sholokhov's works or his memoirs.

But I would like to deal with another point—what did Stalin reply to Sholokhov? He wrote that “your letters create a somewhat one-sided impression”. This is what Stalin said:

“I have thanked you for your letters because they lay bare a deplorable aspect of our Party and administrative activities, show that in some cases our officials, in their anxiety to bridle the enemy, accidentally hit our friends and stoop to sadism. But that does not mean that I agree with *everything* you say. You see only *one* side, and you see it pretty clearly. But that is only *one* side. In order not to err in politics (and your letters are not belles-lettres, but sheer politics), one must be able to see and encompass the *other* side too. And the other side is that these respected farmers of your district (and not only of your district) were waging an ‘Italian strike’ (sabotage!) and were not averse to leaving the workers and the Red Army without bread. That the sabotage has been on the quiet and looked unoffensive (no blood) does not alter the fact that, to all practical purposes, these respected farmers were waging a ‘quiet’ war against Soviet power. A war of attrition, dear Comrade Sholokhov. . . .

“Of course, that does not in any way justify the outrages committed, as you maintain, by our officials,” Stalin continued. “Those responsible for the outrages must be properly punished. Yet it should be as clear as daylight that the respected farmers are not such innocent men as might appear from afar.”

So it turns out that the writer Mikhail Sholokhov, who warned Stalin of these outrageous violations of law, saw events as they “might appear from afar”. And that was said to a writer who lived in the very midst of the people and wrote the best, truthful, Party-principled book about collectivisation—*Virgin Soil Upturned*. (*Prolonged applause.*)

As a real Bolshevik writer, Mikhail Sholokhov did not resign himself to this crying injustice. He revolted against the lawlessness then being committed. But Stalin remained deaf to Sholokhov's warnings, just as he remained deaf to numerous other signals from courageous Communists.

We learned about Stalin's abuse of power, and all the facts about the lawlessness of which he was guilty, only after his death, when Beria, that sworn enemy of the Party and the people, that spy and vile provocateur, was exposed.

It should be borne in mind that the scoundrel Beria, who did not even think it necessary to conceal his joy at the death of Stalin, was making a desperate bid for power and leadership of the Party. That presented a very real danger, one that imperilled the gains of the October Revolution, communist construction in our country and the successes of the international communist movement.

From the very first days following Stalin's death, Beria began to take steps to disorganise the work of the Party and undermine our friendly relations with the fraternal countries of the socialist camp. For instance, together with Malenkov he came out with the subversive proposal to liquidate the German Democratic Republic as a socialist country and recommend the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to abandon its policy of building socialism. The Party Central Committee angrily rejected these treacherous proposals and administered a devastating rebuff to the provocateurs.

The measures taken by the Central Committee safeguarded the Party and country against the foul designs of Beria, that sworn agent of the imperialists.

Comrades, all that has to be remembered. Anyone who sets out to describe the life of Soviet society, its present and past, must be able profoundly to analyse historical

events. The Soviet people have travelled a long and glorious road, from the destruction of the old, bourgeois world to the construction of the new, socialist society, which has triumphed finally in our country. (*Prolonged applause.*)

It was not an easy path. Our people heroically surmounted every difficulty and hardship in the battle for the victory of socialism. And in overcoming these difficulties there was formed the character of Soviet man, the man of the new society, the fighter for the revolutionary transformation of the world. Leninist fidelity to principle, unbreakable will, self-sacrificing devotion to the communist ideals—such are the splendid traits of the generations of Soviet people reared by the Communist Party. Scepticism, lack of will, flabbiness, pessimism and a nihilistic attitude to reality, are wholly alien to Soviet people.

One is surprised to find in some works of literature, films and plays minute descriptions of the gloom and despondency aroused in certain individuals by the difficulties they had to contend with. Such pictures of reality can be produced only by those who have no part in the people's constructive activity, are unmoved by the poetry of labour, and are no more than onlookers. As one who participated in the events of those years, which now are sometimes depicted in drab and sombre tones, I can say from my own experience that they were happy, joyous years, years of struggle and victory, of the triumph of communist ideas. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrade Walter Ulbricht recently invited us to see a documentary film, *The Russian Miracle*, produced by two German film workers, Annelie and Andrew Thorn-dike. It is a remarkable film. When we saw it, there passed before our eyes truthful scenes of our country's life. I thought I saw myself among these Civil War fighters, for this was a truthful representation of the Red

Army of those days. The film uses our documentary material, and God grant, as the saying goes, that our own cinema workers create many such good and truthful films. *The Russian Miracle* shows us yesterday in comparison with today. And as you watch its sequences, you cannot help thinking what giant strides our country has made! (*Applause.*)

And we would like to advise our young people: learn from the history of the revolution, from the history of the struggle in which your fathers and mothers shared, and revere the memory of those who are no longer with us, and look up to those who are. Take over from them everything that will make you worthy citizens and worthy continuers of the cause of your fathers. (*Stormy applause.*) If you do not live up to that, your lot will be disgrace.

We have profound confidence in our people, their strength, their creative revolutionary spirit. We have faith in our young writers and artists; we believe that they will continue the work of their fathers and will always march in step with the people.

The fighter who is inspired by the noble urge for victory does not notice the difficulties of march and battle, great as they may be. He dedicates his life to an idea, because for him, at the height of battle, the idea matters more than the difficulties, more than anything else.

A man's assessment of the realities and of historical events depends on his ideological attitude, on his attitude towards these realities and these events. There are books about our revolution and socialist construction written by men who regard the revolution and the transforming effort of the people as if "from an attic window".

Some books about the revolution, about the life and work of the Soviet people, have come from the pens

of men whom the revolution dislodged from their comfortable and cosy homes, men who did not understand, let alone accept, the revolution. The events tossed them from place to place—from Moscow to the Crimea, from the Crimea to Tbilisi, and from there to every part of the world. In their stories, novels and memoirs they rummage about in their emotions, evoked by the difficulties they and others of the same kidney experienced. They write about having had to live on rotten fish, and so on. In those days, our Soviet people were vanquishing their enemies, and were poorly clad, semi-starved, and at times did not even have rotten fish to eat. But they did not whine and groan; they fought perseveringly and selflessly to uphold the gains of the revolution. (*Stormy applause.*)

Our Party has always stood for partisanship in literature and art. It welcomes everyone, old and young writers and artists, Party and non-Party, who firmly stand for communist ideology in artistic creation. They are the Party's support base, its faithful soldiers. (*Applause.*)

We support them and will continue to do so. We shall continue to show every solicitude for our forces in creative art, so that they might grow, become stronger and unite in a single, militant family of revolutionary artists consistently upholding the victorious ideas of Marxism-Leninism and irreconcilable to everything decadent, alien, hostile, no matter from what quarter it penetrates. (*Applause.*)

The poet Robert Rozhdestvensky spoke here. He polemised with Nikolai Gribachov's poem *No, Boys!* In Comrade Rozhdestvensky's speech one could detect the contention that only the group of young writers and poets express the sentiments of all our youth, that they are the mentors of our youth. That is not true at all. Our Soviet youth has been reared by the Party, it

follows the Party's lead, seeing in it its teacher and leader. (*Stormy applause.*)

I would like to hold up as a model for the young poet Robert Rozhdestvensky a soldier-poet who has a true eye and who effectively, with unerring aim, strikes at our ideological enemy. I refer to the Communist poet Nikolai Gribachov. (*Applause.*) We are living in a period of sharp ideological struggle, a period of struggle for men's minds, for re-education. This is a complex process, a much more difficult one than remodelling machines and factories. You, writers and artists, are, figuratively speaking, the smiths who refashion human psychology. You have a potent weapon and it must always be employed in the interest of the people. (*Applause.*)

Strictly speaking, there is no non-partisanship in society. He who advertises his non-partisanship does so in order to conceal his disagreement with the Party's views and ideas, in order to recruit supporters. There have been many cases in history of arrant reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries adopting the non-partisanship slogan. And it was only later that their bourgeois partisanship was revealed.

Many such examples could be cited from the history of the struggle the working class and toiling peasantry of our country waged to consolidate Soviet power. At different stages, in different periods, the enemies of the workers and peasants resorted to different means of fighting the Communists and socialist construction, using non-partisanship as camouflage.

In the early years of Soviet power, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, anarchists, Mensheviks, Constitutional-Democrats and all the other scum that expressed the will of the exploiters and interventionists, whose agents and servants they were, came out openly and directly



At the Soviet Russia Art Exhibition in Moscow's Central Exhibition Hall. N. S. Khrushchov gives artists his impressions. June 1, 1960



Party and Government leaders view the designs for a space monument to be erected in Moscow, May 17, 1963



In the studio of the sculptor *N. V. Tomsky*, *N. S. Khrushchov* talks with the sculptor about the latter's new works, July 7, 1962

against the revolution, against Lenin, against the workers' and peasants' government.

The enemies of the working class and peasantry in the Civil War years were the capitalists and landowners, who were in alliance with the foreign interventionists. The Menshevik, Socialist-Revolutionary and anarchist riff-raff entered the service of the counter-revolutionaries, became their retainers.

In the crucible of bitter struggle against counter-revolution and intervention, the working people of our country went through a school of political education. They learned the ABC of politics from their own experience and decided whom to follow, whose side to take, and became Bolsheviks.

That has been grippingly and convincingly described in Dmitry Furmanov's novel *Chapayev* and in the film of the same name, Alexander Serafimovich's *Iron Flood*, Alexander Fadeyev's *The Rout*, Nikolai Ostrovsky's *How the Steel Was Tempered* and in other works of our Soviet revolutionary writers. Imbued with Party ideas, their novels continue to play a big part and are a weapon of our Party in its ideological activity. It is no accident that *How the Steel Was Tempered* enjoys such wide popularity in Cuba and a number of other countries fighting for freedom and independence.

As Lenin's ideas gripped the minds of the workers and peasants, as Communist influence among the people grew stronger, as the prestige and authority of the Soviet government increased—the enemies of the revolution tried to oust the Bolsheviks and capture the Soviets. Their slogan was "Soviets without Communists".

But what are Soviets without Communists? A shell devoid of revolutionary content. The counter-revolutionaries were fully aware of that, and in advancing their "Soviets without Communists" slogan they hoped to turn the Soviets from organs of revolutionary rule into

vehicles of their influence on the masses and utilise the prestige and popularity of the Soviets to achieve their own aims, which were hostile to the people.

It is not the name of an organisation that matters, but the policy it pursues, the class interests it promotes.

In France, for instance, communes have been in existence for a long time. You will notice that these local government bodies have been given a revolutionary name, but the capitalists, the monopolists use this form of government to stay in power. The revolutionary word "commune" does not frighten the French bourgeoisie.

There are a number of bourgeois personalities in different countries who use socialist phraseology to cover up their bourgeois policies. They talk of building socialism, but at the same time imprison and execute Communists, drive the Communist Parties underground. Yet they maintain that they are fighting for socialism. They do so because in all countries the socialist ideas are becoming more and more popular and have an increasing appeal for the masses.

The example of the peoples of the Soviet Union is a revolutionary beacon for the people everywhere. That is why bourgeois leaders, notably spokesmen of the Left bourgeoisie, make wide use of the slogan of building socialism to deceive the working people.

AGAINST PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IN THE IDEOLOGICAL SPHERE

The experience of history teaches us that in political and ideological battle you cannot put faith in words and declarations, that you must be able to tell who advances them and why. And for that you must be, above all else, a Marxist-Leninist, a convinced Com-

munist whose life and talent are dedicated to the struggle for the happiness of men of labour on earth.

You cannot, if you consider yourself a fighter for the interests of the working people, sit on the fence between the opposing sides, "indifferent to both good and evil".

All sections of society are drawn into the class struggle; it even splits families. Sometimes the members of a single family stand opposed to each other on different sides of the barricades.

There is a category of people who plead so-called "humane" reasons for their non-participation in revolution: they cannot, don't you see, lift their hand against their own kind. Well, by whom do people get killed if not by their own kind?

Revolutions are wrought by social classes. Revolution wrought by the workers and peasants to overthrow the capitalist class is the most humane action there can be. Participation in such a revolution on the side of the workers and peasants is the supreme manifestation of humanism. Unless the system of exploitation is overthrown there can be no liberating the working people and no building a happy life for them. Is it so hard to understand that those who do not join in the struggle on the side of the working people are in effect helping the bourgeoisie? Who is not with the workers and peasants is inevitably against them. That has to be clearly understood, comrades! (*Applause.*)

There also have been and still are people who say they accept the idea of communism and even declare themselves in its favour sometimes but take no active part in the struggle; they only get in the way of the fighters, being confused themselves and confusing others.

Revolution is not gentle wishes; it is a stern and sharp struggle. Revolution has to be fought for not only in the course of its making but also in the period

of consolidation of its conquests, right up to the building of communism. Papers, lectures, reports are not enough; you have to take part in the shooting when circumstances require.

People who vacillate in the intricate conditions of the class struggle sometimes unwittingly land themselves in an awkward position. Let me remind you of something that happened with A. V. Lunacharsky. Fearing that in the shooting between the armed workers and the enemy historical monuments might be damaged, he went to Lenin with a protest and even threatened to resign from the Soviet Government. Lenin laughed at this philistine conception of revolution. Lunacharsky later saw the point himself.

In relation to this I should like to say a few words about Comrade Ehrenburg. There was a time when Comrade Ehrenburg visited Lenin in Paris and was kindly received by him, as he himself writes. Comrade Ehrenburg even joined the Party but later dropped out of it. He took no direct part in the socialist revolution, apparently adopting the position of an outside observer. I think it will not be stretching the truth to say that this is the position from which Comrade Ehrenburg appraises our revolution and the entire subsequent period of socialist construction in his memoirs *People, Years, Life*.

The supreme duty of the Soviet writer, artist, composer, of every creative worker, is to be in the ranks of the builders of communism, to let his talent serve the great cause of our Party, to work for the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. It is to be remembered that a sharp struggle is going on in the world between two irreconcilable ideologies—the socialist and the bourgeois.

It is the task of the artist to help by his works to affirm the communist ideas, to deal crushing blows to

the enemies of socialism and communism, to fight the imperialists and colonialists.

A fine example of patriotic, Party understanding of the artist's tasks is offered by the work of our outstanding writer Mikhail Alexandrovich Sholokhov. Consider his novels *And Quiet Flows the Don* and *Virgin Soil Uplifted*, his story *The Fate of a Man*, the published chapters from his novel *They Fought for Their Country*. These are works of the highest literary merit, works of tremendous power and revolutionary impact, pervaded by the Communist Party spirit and the spirit of the class struggle of the workers and peasants of our country for the victory of revolution and socialism. Comrade Sholokhov personally took an active part in the struggle during the Civil War, the period of the abolition of the kulaks as the last exploiting class, and during the Patriotic War against the fascist invaders. He participated in these battles not as an observer but as a fighter, and in peacetime he remains the same fighter for the happiness of the working people. (*Stormy applause.*)

Mikhail Sholokhov is gifted with a profound understanding of the inner substance of social phenomena and events, with a good eye for distinguishing friends from enemies, with the talent to depict impressive pictures of real life from Party positions. In his works he portrays Communists, men of labour, with deep love.

And he exposes and flays the enemies of our social system with burning class hatred. How vivid and convincing his battle scenes are! When his cavalymen cross swords, the sparks fly. They fight for the truth of the people, and that truth triumphs.

The example offered by Sholokhov's work makes it clear to everyone that far from shackling a writer's creative individuality, Communist partisanship effec-

tively helps his talent to unfold and imparts the strongest social significance to his work.

We take class positions in art and emphatically oppose the peaceful coexistence of socialist and bourgeois ideology. Art enters into the sphere of ideology. Those who think that socialist realism and formalistic, abstract trends can live peacefully side by side in Soviet art inevitably sink to the position of peaceful coexistence in the field of ideology, a position alien to us. We have of late encountered this tendency. It is a trap that, unfortunately, some Communists—writers and artists and even some of the leaders of our creative organisations—have fallen into. On the other hand, it must be noted that non-Party people like Comrade L. Sobolev, for one, firmly defend the Party line in literature and art.

Last time Comrade Ehrenburg said that the coexistence idea expressed in the letter was a joke. Let us suppose so; in which case it was a bad joke. Jokes like that are misplaced in the ideological sphere. Let us see what would happen in Soviet art if the supporters of the peaceful coexistence of different ideological trends in literature and art gained the upper hand. To begin with, it would deal a blow to our revolutionary achievements in the field of socialist art. But the logic of struggle would hardly leave it at that. It might well be that these people, once they had gained strength, would attempt to come out against our revolutionary achievements.

I have already had occasion to say that peaceful coexistence in the ideological sphere means betrayal of Marxism-Leninism treachery to the cause of the workers and peasants. Soviet society is now at a stage when there has been achieved complete unity of all the socialist nations of our country, of all sections of the people—workers, collective farmers and intellectuals

who are successfully building communism under the guidance of our Leninist Party.

Our people and Party will not suffer any encroachments on this solid unity. And the attempt to force peaceful coexistence of ideologies upon us is such an encroachment. That is why we direct our fire against both these corrupt ideas and their bearers. In this, I trust, we are all united. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We call upon those who are still confused to stop and think, to analyse their mistakes, dig down to their nature and sources, to overcome their misconceptions and, with the Party, with the entire people, under the red banner of Marxism-Leninism, to take an active part in the building of communism, to multiply the successes of socialist culture, literature and art.

Abstract art, formalism, whose right to existence in socialist art is argued by some of its adherents, are forms of bourgeois ideology. It is to be regretted that some creative workers, among them men whose age should have made them wiser, fail to understand this.

In Comrade Ehrenburg's memoirs there is this passage: "There were numerous literary schools: communist futurists, imaginists, proletcultists, expressionists, fouillists, non-subjectists, presentists, accidentists and even nothingists. Of course, some theoreticians talked a lot of nonsense. . . . But I want to defend those remote times."

Evidently the author has deep sympathy for the representatives of so-called "Left" art and makes it his purpose to defend that art. The question arises: Defend it against whom? Apparently, against our Marxist-Leninist criticism. Why? Apparently in order to defend the possibility of these or similar trends existing in our modern art. That would mean accepting the coexistence of socialist realism and formalism. Comrade

Ehrenburg is making a grievous ideological error, and it is our duty to help him to understand this.

When we met last time Comrade Yevtushenko spoke in defence of abstract art. The argument he gave to justify his position was that you can find good people among both the realists and the formalists, and he cited by way of example the story of two Cuban artists who held sharply different views on art but who both later died in the same trench, fighting for the revolution. A thing like that could happen, but only by way of exception.

An example of the contrary might be cited. After the Civil War an ugly formalistic statue was erected in the town of Artyomovsk, in the Ukraine. Its author was the cubist sculptor Kavaleridze. It was a terrible sight, but the cubists were delighted (the statue was destroyed during the war). Well, the sculptor remained on fascist-occupied territory and acted unseemingly. So that Comrade Yevtushenko's example cannot be accepted as a serious argument.

Comrade Yevtushenko's position on abstract art coincides in substance with the views Comrade Ehrenburg defends. Evidently there is much that the poet, who is still a young man, does not understand about the policy of our Party; he wavers, his views on art problems are shaky. But his speech at the meeting of the Ideological Commission gives assurance that he will succeed in overcoming his vacillations. I should like to advise Comrade Yevtushenko and other young writers to cherish the confidence of the masses, not to go in for cheap sensations, not to cater to the moods and tastes of the philistines. (*Prolonged applause.*) Don't be ashamed to admit your mistakes, Comrade Yevtushenko. Don't worry about what ill-wishers will say about you. You must realise clearly that when we criticise you for departing from positions of principle, our

enemies begin to praise you. And if the enemies of our cause praise you for works that please them, the people will justly criticise you. So, choose which you prefer. (*Applause.*)

The Communist Party fights and will continue to fight against abstract art and all other formalist aberrations in art. We cannot be neutral towards formalism. When I was in America some artists—I do not know if they are well-known or not—made me a present of their paintings. I showed you those daubs yesterday. Apparently these men are not my enemies or they would not have presented me with the fruits of their labour. But even in this case I cannot recognise their gift as a supreme achievement or in any way a masterpiece of fine art.

Tell me, what does this show? It is said to be the view of a city from a bridge. However you look at it you can see nothing but stripes of different colours. And this daub is called a painting!

Here is another such "masterpiece". You can see four eyes, or maybe there are more. This is said to depict horror, fear. To what ugliness do the abstract artists reduce art! These are samples of American painting.

And here are a few instances from the field of our architecture. In Sokolniki District in Moscow there is a club, the Rusakov Club, designed by Comrade Melnikov. It is a repulsive-looking inconvenient structure, as ugly as sin. (*Animation.*) But in its time it was represented as a progressive innovation.

An example of inordinate absorption in form in architecture is the Soviet Army Theatre in Moscow, designed by architects Alabyan and Simbirtsev. Kaganovich enjoined on them the foolish idea of building the theatre in the form of a five-pointed star. Now, a five-pointed star as a symbol, an emblem, is one thing, a functional building in the form of a star is another.

How many useless corners it has, how much wasted space!

The Soviet Army Theatre must be the most irrational building there is. What happened was this: Kaganovich told Stalin of his idea, Stalin liked it, and it was decided to build the theatre in the shape of a five-pointed star. Nobody sees or can see this star: you have to look at it from the sky. (*Laughter.*) A foolish idea, a tribute to immature ideas of beauty and reason in art and life.

It is beyond understanding why rational, educated people should take to clowning and grimacing and represent all manner of hackwork as works of art. And this when life is so full of natural, stirring beauty.

On New Year's Eve I returned to Moscow from out of town. I had spent all of December 31, from early morning on, in the woods. It was a poetic day, a beautiful day of our Russian winter, yes, Russian winter, because not everywhere do they have such winters as we here have. This, of course, is a matter of climate, a natural phenomenon, not a national one, so please don't misunderstand me. (*Laughter. Applause.*)

The woods were very beautiful that day. The delicate hoar-frost covering the trees gave them particular beauty. I remember reading a story in the magazine *Ogonyok* in my young days. I can't remember who the author was, but in his story he spoke of "lovely silver shadows". He was describing a garden in its winter apparel. The story must have been well written, or perhaps my tastes in literature were less exacting then. In any case, I was struck by it and still remember the impression it made. I liked particularly the description of the trees in their winter garb.

I was strongly impressed by the wintry forest on New Year's Eve. It was so beautiful. Maybe the shadows weren't silvery; I haven't the words to convey

the deep impression the woods made on me. I watched the sunrise, admired the rime-covered woods. Only those who have been in the woods and seen such living pictures for themselves know this beauty. The advantage the artist has is that he can create such stirring pictures himself, but not everyone has that gift.

I told my companions: Look at these firs, at their array, at these snowflakes dancing and sparkling in the sun. How wonderfully beautiful it is. And the modernists and abstract artists want to draw these firs upside down and say that is the new and progressive in art.

It cannot be that such art will ever have the recognition of normal human beings, that people should be deprived of the possibility of enjoying colourful scenes of nature as reproduced in the work of artists adorning the halls of our clubs, houses of culture and our homes.

Some may say that Khrushchov is calling for photographic art, for naturalism in art. No, comrades. We call for a vivid art faithfully reflecting the real world in all the multiformity of its colours. Only such an art can bring people joy and pleasure. Man will never lose his artistic perception and will not allow dirty daubs that any donkey could draw with its tail to be palmed off on him as works of art. (*Applause.*)

There is no doubt that the people will find the strength to repulse such "innovators". And those of them who have not lost their reason will think better of it and take the path of serving the people, will paint canvases full of joy and inspiring our work.

It is hard to understand why the supporters of formalism and abstract art call art workers who take the stand of socialist realism conservatives, and regard abstract artists as representing the progressive trend in art. Are there any grounds for this? I think there are no grounds for it and cannot be, for formalism and

abstractionist tricks are alien and incomprehensible to the people. And, of course, nothing that is alien to the people, that does not have their support can be progressive.

Recently the artist A. I. Laktionov contributed an article to *Pravda* expressing his irreconcilable opposition to abstract art. The abstractionists and their patrons decried this article for supposedly upholding the conservative trend in art. Comrade Laktionov's own work is looked down upon by these people as naturalistic.

Let us compare two works of art—A. Laktionov's self-portrait and B. Zhutovsky's. Whatever some may think and say about it, it is clear to every sensible person of unspoiled tastes that Laktionov's painting has appeal because of its humanity, it inspires respect for man. You look at it, admire it and rejoice for man.

But whom does B. Zhutovsky portray? A freak! His self-portrait can frighten the viewer. A man should be ashamed to waste his energies on such rot. How is it—a man finishes a Soviet secondary school and institute, public money has been spent on him, he eats the bread of the people, and how does he repay the people, the workers and peasants, for the money they spent on his education, for the good things they give him now? Why, with a self-portrait like this, with this horrible rot! It is sickening to look at such dirty daubs and sickening to listen to those who defend them.

However the work of the artists who take the stand of socialist realism may be abused and however the abstract artists and all other formalists may be lauded, all sensible people know very well that in the first case we have to do with real artists and real art, and in the second with perverted people who, as the phrase goes, have a screw loose, and with their shameful hackwork, that is insulting to the feelings of human beings. (*Applause.*)

Soviet society sloughs off all that is stillborn in art as every living organism sloughs off dead cells.

A big and important place in the intellectual life of our people, in ideological work, is held by music. In this connection it appears necessary to present a few considerations about the line of development in music. We do not want to set ourselves up as judges or to stand on the conductor's podium and direct composers.

In music as in other forms of art there are many different genres, styles, forms. No one is laying a ban on any one of these styles and genres. But we do want to explain our attitude towards music, its tasks and its line of development.

To put it briefly, we are all for melodious meaningful music that moves people's hearts and inspires strong emotions, and we oppose all cacophony.

Who does not know the songs about Budyonny's Army. Many good songs have been composed by the brothers Pokrass. I am very fond of their song about Moscow, written, I admit, at our request when I was Secretary of the Moscow Party Committee. I remember how we gathered at the offices of the Moscow Committee and one of them played us the song for the first time. He isn't much of a singer, but the music the Pokrass brothers wrote was good.

And how stirring are the old revolutionary songs, songs like *A Victim of Dire Bondage* and *Whirlwinds of Danger*. Who does not know the *Internationale*? How many years we've been singing this song. It has become the international anthem of the working class. What revolutionary ideas and feelings it inspires, how it raises a man's spirits and mobilises him against the enemies of the working people!

Whenever I listen to Glinka's music it brings tears of joy to my eyes.

Perhaps it's out of fashion now, old-hat-after all,

I am getting on in years—but I like to hear David Oistrakh playing the violin. I also enjoy hearing the Bolshoi Theatre's violin group—I don't know what the professional name for it is. I've heard it many times and always derived great pleasure from it.

I do not, of course, think that my reactions to music should become a sort of standard for all. But we cannot encourage those who represent a cacophony of sounds as real music and look down on the music loved by the people as out of date.

Every nation has its own traditions in music and loves its national folk melodies and songs. I was born in a Russian village, brought up on Russian and Ukrainian folk music, on its melodies and folk songs. It gives me great pleasure to hear the songs of Solovyov-Sedoy, and the song *Do the Russians Want War?* which Kolmanovsky wrote to the words of Yevtushenko. I also like Ukrainian songs very much, am fond of *Rushnichok* composed by P. Maiboroda to the words of Andrei Malyshko. You hear it once and you want to hear it again. We have many good composers and they have written many good songs. As you realise, I cannot list them all here.

But there are serious shortcomings in music too. The growing craze for jazz music and jazz bands cannot be considered normal. Let it not be thought that we oppose all jazz music: there are different jazz bands and different kinds of music for them. Dunayevsky wrote good music for jazz bands too. I like some of the songs performed by Leonid Utyosov's band. But there's some music that makes you feel sick and gives you a pain in the tummy.

After the plenum of the R.S.F.S.R. Composers Union, Comrade Shostakovich invited us to a concert at the Kremlin Theatre. Although we were very busy we went to hear this music—we were told it would be an interest-

ing concert. And, as we found, there really were interesting numbers in the programme. But then for some reason they put on one jazz band, a second, a third and then all three together. You can have too much of a good thing. To stand such a blast of jazz was beyond our strength. I would have fled it, but there was no escaping it.

Music that has no melody inspires nothing but irritation. That, it is said, is because we don't understand it. True, there is some jazz music that is beyond understanding and painful to hear.

Some of the so-called modern dances brought into our country from the West also evoke a feeling of protest. I have done a lot of travelling around the country. I have seen Russian, Ukrainian, Kazakh, Uzbek, Armenian, Georgian and other dances. They are beautiful dances pleasant to watch. But the dances styled modern and fashionable are simply indecent, a sort of frenzy, the devil knows what. It is said that you can see the same kind of indecency only among the holy rollers sect. I can't confirm this, I've never attended a gathering of holy rollers. (*Laughter.*)

It seems that you can find among creative workers young people who seek to prove that melody has lost the right to existence in music and is being replaced by "new" music, by "dodecaphony", the music of noises. It is hard for a normal person to understand what is meant by the word "dodecaphony", in all probability it stands for the same thing as cacophony. Well, we flatly reject this cacophony in music. Our people cannot accept this rubbish in their ideological arsenal.

Voices: Hear, hear! (*Applause.*)

We are for music that inspires us to deeds of heroism on the battlefield and in labour. When a soldier goes into battle he takes with him what he needs. The orchestra is one thing he never leaves behind. On the

march the orchestra inspires him. Music for such orchestras can be and is written by composers who take the stand of socialist realism, who do not divorce themselves from life and the people's struggle and are supported by the people.

Our policy in art, a policy of irreconcilable opposition to abstract art, formalism and every other bourgeois aberration in art, is the Leninist policy we have ever unwaveringly followed and will continue to follow. (*Applause.*)

Lenin maintained that literature and art must serve the interests of the workers and peasants, the interests of the people.

He termed the so-called Left art, which some eulogise, absurd clowning and described it as unnatural and preposterous. Now the myth is being spread that Lenin was tolerant of, and well-nigh sympathetic towards, formalistic exercises in art. It is to be regretted that one of those who has had a hand in circulating this untruth about Lenin's views on art is Comrade Ehrenburg. He writes in his memoirs: "A. V. Lunacharsky told me that when he asked Lenin if the 'Left' artists could be permitted to decorate the Red Square for May Day, Lenin answered: 'I'm no specialist in this, I don't want to force my tastes on others.'"

Comrade Ehrenburg thereby suggests to the reader that Lenin allowed for the possibility of the coexistence of various ideological trends in Soviet art.

That is not true, Comrade Ehrenburg! You know very well that it was Lenin who put forward the principle of partisanship and allegiance to Communist ideas in art and literature. This was later ardently upheld by Gorky and other writers who firmly supported Soviet power, who took the position of struggle for the cause of the working class, the position of struggle for the victory of communism.

It was for its partisanship, its message and artistic merits that Lenin prized Maxim Gorky's novel *Mother*.

The strength of a work of art lies in its artistry, in the clarity and distinctness of its ideological positions. But this, it appears, is not to everyone's liking. Sometimes the ideological clarity of a work of literature or art is attacked under the guise of struggle against rhetoric and didacticism. This tendency may be seen in its most naked form in Nekrasov's travel notes "On Either Side of the Ocean", published in the magazine *Novy Mir*. Speaking of a film not yet released on the screen, *Zastava Ilyicha*, he writes: "I am endlessly grateful to Khutsiev and Shpalikov for not having dragged on to the screen by his greying moustache the all-understanding old worker who always knows all the answers. Were he to appear with his didactic words, the picture would be ruined."

Voices: For shame!

And that was written by a Soviet writer in a Soviet magazine! One cannot read without indignation things like this written about an old worker in a supercilious, scornful tone. That kind of tone, I think, is wholly impermissible to a Soviet writer.

What is more, the above-mentioned notes voice not only an attitude to a particular instance in art, but also a principle wholly unacceptable to our art. And that cannot but meet with our strongest objections.

THE LENINIST PARTY'S LEADERSHIP IS THE EARNEST OF ALL OUR SUCCESSES

There are people who talk about some sort of absolute freedom of the individual. I don't know just what they mean by it, but I consider that there will never be absolute freedom of the individual, not even under full communism. "We don't believe in 'absolutes',"

Lenin replied to the champions of "absolute freedom". (*Collected Works*, Vol. 32, "A Letter to G. Myasnikov".) Under communism, too, the will of the individual must be subordinated to the will of the community as a whole. Otherwise anarchic self-will will disrupt and disorganise the life of society. Without an organising, directing principle, not only socialist society, but any society, any social system, even the smallest community of people, cannot exist.

There is no need to prove that at all stages of social development, from primitive society onwards, people have joined together to procure the means of subsistence. And in our time, the time of the atom, electronics, cybernetics and automation, it is all the more necessary to have ideal harmony, organisation and interaction of all elements of the social system, both in the sphere of material production and in the sphere of spiritual life. Only under such conditions can all the scientific achievements man has produced be harnessed and turned to advantage.

Can transgressions against public order, deviations from the will of the community, occur under communism? Yes, they can. But they will evidently be isolated instances. One cannot suppose that cases of psychic derangement will be ruled out and that there may not be transgressions against the rules of the community on the part of mentally sick people. And presumably there will be some sort of means, though I do not know just what, for controlling the crazy antics of lunatics. Just as now there are strait-jackets to prevent lunatics of the violent kind from hurting themselves and others.

We are having today to persistently combat survivals of the past within the country and to repel the attacks of the organised class enemy on the international scene. That is something we have no right to forget

for a single moment. Yet some people would steer us into the path of peaceful ideological coexistence, would smuggle in the rotten idea of "absolute freedom". If everyone is going to thrust his own subjective views upon society as a rule for all and insist that they shall be followed contrary to the generally accepted norms of socialist society, that will inevitably lead to disorganisation of people's normal life and the functioning of society. Society cannot allow anarchy and self-will on the part of anyone whatever.

The directing force of our socialist society is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It expresses the will of the entire Soviet people, and the purpose of its activity is to further the vital interests of the people. The Party enjoys the people's confidence, which it has earned and is earning daily by its struggle, its blood. And the Party will remove from the path of communist construction everything that interferes with the people's interests. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We must bring clarity into the question of humanism, of what is good and what is bad, and for whom. We approach this matter, as all others, from the class standpoint, from the standpoint of defending the working people's interests. So long as classes exist in the world, there is no such thing as absolute good. What is good for the bourgeoisie, for the imperialists, is bad for the working class, and, vice versa, what is good for the working people is not accepted by the imperialists, the bourgeoisie.

We should like our principles to be understood well by all, and especially by those who would foist on us peaceful coexistence in the sphere of ideology. There can be no joking in politics. He who preaches peaceful coexistence in ideology is objectively slithering into the positions of anti-communism. The enemies of com-

munism would like to see us ideologically disarmed. And they are trying to achieve this insidious purpose of theirs through propaganda of the peaceful coexistence of ideologies, that "Trojan horse" which they would be happy to sneak in to us.

We are confident that all designs of the enemies of socialism and communism against our Marxist-Leninist ideology will be shattered against the solid ideological and political unity of the working class, collective-farm peasantry and intellectuals of our country. (*Stormy applause.*)

The press and radio, literature, art, music, the cinema and theatre are a sharp ideological weapon of our Party. And the Party sees to it that that weapon should be kept ready for action at all times and strike telling blows at our enemies. It will allow no one to blunt this weapon, to weaken the force of its impact.

Soviet literature and art are developing under the immediate guidance of the Communist Party and its Central Committee. The Party has reared wonderful, talented writers, artists, composers, film and theatre workers, who have inseparably bound up their life and work with the Leninist Party and the people.

The Party, the people, Lenin, are inseparable. The cause of Lenin is the cause of the Party and the people. Our splendid poet Vladimir Mayakovsky put that well when he said:

*The Party and Lenin
are brother-twins.
In History
they will never be parted.
When we say Party
we mean Lenin,
When we say Lenin,
we mean the Party.*

Our Leninist Party is the forward contingent, the tried and tested militant vanguard of the people.

Every citizen of our country, whoever he may be—worker or collective farmer, scientist or writer, artist or composer—all are sons and daughters of their people and cannot imagine themselves apart from the people's life, the people's creative endeavours. Allegiance to the Party and allegiance to the people do not conflict in art, they form an integral whole.

Those among the artistic intelligentsia who do not yet have such an understanding of their place in society must be helped to attain it.

Just as a conductor sees to it that all the instruments in his orchestra shall sound in harmonious accord, so in socio-political life the Party directs the efforts of all Soviet men and women towards the attainment of a single goal.

Through the Party as the leading force, socialist society removes the hindrances that interfere with the people's normal life, and creates the necessary material, cultural and ideological prerequisites for the building of communism.

Formalistic distortions are criticised by the Party in the interests of the development of literature and art, which play an important role in the spiritual life of our society.

The Party supports only such works of literature and art as serve to inspire the people and cement their unity. Society has a right to censure works which run counter to its interests.

All of us live on things the people produce, and it is our duty to repay the people with our work. Everyone must contribute to society's material and spiritual riches, as the bee contributes to the hive. Some persons may say they do not agree with this, that it is coercion of the individual and a reversion to bygone

times. To that I will say: We live in an organised socialist society, where the interests of the individual are in accord with the interests of society and there is no conflict between the two.

The policy of the Party expresses the interests of society as a whole, and hence of each separate individual also; and it is carried out by the Central Committee, which was elected by the Party congress on behalf of the Party, and is invested with the Party's confidence. (*Stormy applause.*)

In the field of creative art the Party Central Committee will work to have everyone—both the most distinguished and celebrated writers and artists and young people who are only beginning—consistently pursue the Party line.

Of late our literary magazines and publishing houses have printed a good many works about the life of Soviet society in the days of the personality cult and today. The desire of writers to probe into the trying and complex happenings of the past is quite natural. You all know that the Party Central Committee has given its support to a number of sharply critical works.

But it has to be said that books are also appearing which in our view give what is, to say the least, an inaccurate, and to put it more truly, an incorrect, one-sided picture of the things that happened during the personality cult, and of the fundamental, radical changes that have been taking place in the people's social, political and spiritual life since the Twentieth Party Congress. Among such books I would class Comrade Ehrenburg's novel *The Thaw*.

Associated with the concept of "thaw" is the notion of instability, impermanence, incompleteness, of temperature fluctuations in nature, when it is hard to foresee what turn the weather will take. Such a literary image cannot convey a correct impression of the fun-

damental changes that have taken place since Stalin's death in the social, political, economic and spiritual life of Soviet society.

Clear, bright vistas of the communist morrow have unfolded before our people. The knowledge that the present generation will already live under communism fills the hearts of Soviet men and women with pride in their country and inspires them to deeds of labour heroism in the name of communism. Today everyone in our country breathes freely, people trust each other, there is no suspicion, everyone feels confident of his present and future, which is guaranteed to him by the whole pattern of our life.

By eliminating the consequences of the Stalin personality cult, the Communist Party has removed all the things that shackled the people's initiative and activity and has provided the most favourable conditions for the unfolding of their creative energies.

A new period in the life of the Party and the people has set in. Overcoming the pernicious consequences of the personality cult, the Party has been vigorously restoring Leninist standards in the Party and the state, further developing socialist democracy and rallying all efforts and energies for the full-scale building of communism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

But that is not to say that now that the personality cult has been condemned things are just left to take their own course, that guidance has been slackened, the ship of society drifts at the will of the waves, and everyone can behave arbitrarily in any way he pleases. No, the Party has steered and will firmly and consistently continue to steer its Leninist course, uncompromisingly opposing all ideological vacillation and all attempts to infringe our society's norms of life.

I should like to touch on another question connected with the portrayal of the personality cult period in

literature. I understand the magazines and publishing houses are being flooded with manuscripts about people's life in exile, in prisons, in camps.

Let me repeat again that this is very dangerous subject-matter and difficult material to tackle. The less responsibility a person feels for the present and future of our country and Party, the more readily does he seize on this material out of a love of sensations, of "spicy stuff".

Voices: Hear, hear! (Applause.)

You concoct a sensation, produce this "spicy stuff", and who will seize upon it? This "spicy stuff" will, like carrion, draw swarms of flies, great fat flies, all sorts of foreign bourgeois vermin.

He who wants to gratify our enemies can easily do them a service. He who wants to serve the cause of our people, the cause of our Party—he will take a subject of this sort, consider, weigh it, and if he feels it in him to cope with this material, will write a work of the kind the people need, will so present the material that it will serve to strengthen the people's forces, will help our Party to cement the people's unity and speed their advance to our great goal. But that is a task not everyone can cope with, though it seems many are itching to take up this material.

A sense of proportion is needed here. If all writers were to start writing only on this type of subject, what sort of a literature would that be?

The Party Central Committee has been getting letters in which people express concern over the fact that some literary works misrepresent the position of Jews in our country. As you know from the exchange of letters between the British philosopher Bertrand Russell and myself, the capitalist press is actually carrying on a smear campaign against us.

We already touched upon this question at our meeting in December in connection with Yevtushenko's poem *Babi Yar*. Circumstances make it necessary to revert to it.

Why has this poem drawn criticism? Because its author has failed to depict truthfully and condemn the fascist, precisely the fascist, criminals for the massacres they perpetrated at Babi Yar. The way the poem represents it, only the Jewish population were the victims of the fascist crimes, whereas actually many Russians, Ukrainians and Soviet people of other nationalities perished there by the nazi butchers' hand. In writing this poem the author showed a lack of political maturity and ignorance of the historical facts.

Who needed, and for what purpose, to make out as if somebody discriminates against Jews in our country? That is not true. Since the day of the October Revolution, Jews in the Soviet Union have enjoyed equality in every respect with all its other peoples. We have no Jewish question, and those who invent it are taking the cue from an alien source.

The Russian working class, for its part, was implacably opposed to all national oppression, anti-Semitism included, even before the Revolution.

I lived among miners in pre-revolutionary days. The workers despised people who took part in pogroms. Behind the pogroms were the tsarist government, the capitalists and landowners. They needed them as a means of diverting the working people from the revolutionary struggle. The pogroms were organised by the police, the gendarmerie, the Black Hundreds, who recruited toughs among the dregs of society, the declassed elements. In the cities many janitors were their agents.

The well-known Bolshevik revolutionary Comrade Baumann, for example, who was not a Jew, was mur-

dered by a janitor in Moscow at the instigation of the gendarmerie.

Gorky's fine novel *Mother* gives an excellent picture of the internationalism of Russia's working class. Among the revolutionaries in it are workers of different nationalities. Recall, for instance, the Russian worker Pavel Vlasov and the Ukrainian Andrei Nakhodka.

My childhood and youth were spent in Yuzovka, where many Jews lived at the time. At the plant where I worked I was helper at one time to fitter Yakov Isaakovich Kutikov. He was a very skilled mechanic. There were other Jews among the workers there too. A caster in the copper foundry was a Jew, I remember, and that was considered a very highly skilled job in those days. I often saw this foundryman. He was evidently a religious man and did not work on Saturdays, but since all the Ukrainians, Russians and others did work, he used to come to the foundry too and spend all day there, even though he did not do any work.

Working at the plant were Russians, Ukrainians, Jews, Poles, Letts, Estonians and others—often one did not even know what a man's nationality was. And the relations between the workers of all nationalities were comradely.

That is class unity, proletarian internationalism for you.

When I was in the United States and driving to Los Angeles, we were joined in the car by the city's deputy mayor, as he introduced himself. He spoke Russian, not perfectly, but pretty fluently all the same. I looked at him and asked:

"How do you happen to know Russian?"

"Why, I used to live in Rostov, my father was a merchant of the second guild."

People of that social position lived in St. Petersburg too, and anywhere they chose.

So you see, the Jew Kutikov with whom I worked at the plant could not live where he wanted in the tsarist days, but a Jew like the father of the Los Angeles deputy mayor could live wherever he pleased.

That was how the tsarist government treated the national question; it too approached it from the class standpoint. And so Jews who were big merchants and capitalists had the right to live everywhere, while the poor Jews shared the lot of the Russian, Ukrainian, and other workers; they had to slave for others and live in hovels like all the peoples of tsarist Russia.

During the Patriotic War against the fascist invader, different people behaved differently too. A great deal of heroism was displayed in those days, by Jews as well as others. Those among them who distinguished themselves most were honoured with the Hero of the Soviet Union title; many were awarded orders and medals. By way of example let me name Hero of the Soviet Union General Kreiser. He was second-in-command of the 2nd Guards Army during the great battle on the Volga and afterwards fought in the battles for the liberation of the Donbas and the Crimea. At the present time General Kreiser is in command of the forces in the Far East.

There were traitors of different nationalities too. I can cite a fact like the following. When Paulus's group was surrounded and then wiped out, among the troops that captured Paulus's staff were elements of the 64th Army, which was commanded by General Shumilov, with General Serdyuk as Member of the Military Council. Comrade Serdyuk called me up and said that among the prisoners taken with Paulus's staff was a former instructor of the Kiev City Komsomol Committee, a man named Kogan.

"How could he have been there?" I asked. "Are you sure you're not mistaken?"

"No, I'm not mistaken," Comrade Serdyuk replied. "That Kogan was an interpreter at Paulus's headquarters."

Among the units that captured Paulus was the mechanised brigade of Colonel Burmakov, and the commissar of this brigade was Comrade Vinokur, a Jew by nationality. I had known Vinokur ever since 1931, when I was Secretary of the Baumann District Party Committee in Moscow and he was Party secretary at the creamery there.

And so, one Jew was an interpreter at Paulus's headquarters and another Jew shared as a member of our forces in capturing Paulus and his interpreter.

It is from the class, not the nationality angle that people's actions are judged.

It is not in the interest of our cause to root in the rubbish heaps of the past for instances of contention between working people of different nationalities. They were not responsible for the fomenting of national animosity and for national oppression. That was the handiwork of the exploiter classes. And as for traitors to the interests of the revolution, the hirelings of tsarism and of the landowners and bourgeoisie recruited them everywhere and found venal individuals among people of different nationalities.

It would be preposterous to blame the Russian people for the shameful outrages of the Black Hundreds, but it would be equally preposterous to pin on the entire Jewish people the responsibility for the nationalism and Zionism of the Bund, for the police spying of Azef and Zhitomirsky ("Otsov"), for the various Jewish organisations connected in their day with the Zubatovists and the tsarist secret police.

Our Leninist Party consistently pursues a policy of friendship among the peoples and educates the

Soviet citizens in a spirit of internationalism and uncompromising opposition to any and all racial discrimination and national animosity. And our art upholds the noble and lofty ideals of internationalism and brotherhood among the peoples.

An important question is that of visits by our intellectuals to foreign countries. The Party Central Committee attaches much importance to such visits. Soviet writers should have a chance to see the life of different nations with their own eyes and produce works about the life and struggle of their working people against imperialism and colonialism, for peace, freedom and happiness. Works of Soviet literature and art, imbued with the spirit of internationalism, faithfully portray the life and endeavours of the peoples of the socialist countries.

However, cases occur when writers' foreign travels, far from being useful, turn against our country's interests.

Reading the statements made by some Soviet writers abroad, one is led to wonder what they were concerned about: to give a truthful picture of the Soviet people's achievements, or to please the foreign bourgeois public at all costs. Such "tourists" hand out interviews right and left to various capitalist papers, magazines and news agencies, including the most reactionary, in which they, with amazing irresponsibility, tell absurd stories about life in their own country.

A disagreeable impression was left in one's mind by the French visit of the writers Victor Nekrasov, Konstantin Paustovsky and Andrei Voznesensky. Valentin Katayev was somewhat rash in the statements he made during his tour of America.

An unsteady individual has only to be flattered a bit abroad and called a "symbol of the new epoch" or something else of that sort, and he forgets where he

has come from, where to, and what for, and starts talking nonsense.

The poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko made a trip recently to West Germany and France. He is just back from Paris, where he addressed audiences of many thousands of workers, students, friends of the Soviet Union. Comrade Yevtushenko, too, if the magazine *Lettres Françaises* is to be trusted, could not resist the temptation of earning the praise of the bourgeois public.

He gave his audience a very strange account of the reaction in our country to his poem *Babi Yar*, telling them that the people had accepted the poem and that the criticism had come from dogmatists. But it is widely known, after all, that it was Communists who criticised Comrade Yevtushenko's poem. How can he forget that and fail to draw the proper conclusions?

The capitalist press not infrequently praises some of our art workers for not trying, as it claims, to "retreat under cover of dialectical tricks" when their observations do not conform to "Party doctrine".

Such praise is anything but flattering to a Soviet person. Lenin was fond of quoting the poet Nekrasov's apt lines:

*He hears the voice of approbation
Not in the dulcet sounds of praise
But in his foes' vituperation.*

That was written by Comrade Nekrasov, only not this Nekrasov, but the Nekrasov everyone knows. (*Laughter. Applause.*)

Everyone must understand the time we live in. Socialism has triumphed completely and finally in our country. Now the frontiers of socialism run much farther out. The army of builders of socialism and communism numbers over a thousand million people, out

of a world population of something over three thousand million.

But while our forces are growing, the enemy is not idle either. Fearing the growing strength of socialism, he is savagely sharpening his weapons against the socialist countries for the war that he is preparing. The enemies of communism pin considerable hopes on ideological subversion in the socialist countries. Always remember that, comrades, and keep your arms in perfect working order, ready for battle. (*Prolonged applause.*)

* * *

Comrades, we have discussed here a wide range of questions of importance to our state, to the ideological work of the Party. The fact that we meet together in a comradely way to discuss the problems that trouble us all is an expression of the new atmosphere that has arisen in our country in these past years.

The people and the Party are profoundly interested in having our creative art develop in the right direction. The line of development of our art and literature is set out in the Party Programme, which was discussed by the people at large and received the universal approval and support of the workers, collective farmers and intelligentsia.

And how best and most effectively to carry out that line in the actual work of artistic creation is something each of you decides in accordance with his understanding of his duty to the people and with the particular nature of his talent, of his artistic individuality.

The meetings Party and government leaders have had with writers and artists, the criticism of shortcomings, the joint definition of the new tasks projected by life, the frank discussions that have taken place at these meetings—all this has shown that we are unani-

mous in our evaluation of the achievements and shortcomings of our literature and art. I believe that today's exchange of opinion will also have an important influence on the further development of literature and art. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We call on all workers in Soviet literature and art, faithful helpers of the Party, to rally in still closer unity and, guided by the Leninist Central Committee, direct their efforts to the attainment of fresh victories in the building of communism. (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise.*)

MARXISM-LENINISM IS OUR BANNER AND OUR FIGHTING WEAPON

*From a Speech at the Plenary Meeting
of the C.C. C.P.S.U., June 21, 1963*

There have been many different parties in the world and still are. But the Communist and Workers' Marxist-Leninist Parties, such as ours, hold a special place among them. Our Party owes its strength to the Communists' unshakable faith in the triumph of the great communist cause and to the fact that always and in everything it is guided by Marxist-Leninist theory. It looks into the future with a keen eye and, proceeding from a scientific analysis, shows the people the road forward, rousing tremendous energy in them and leading them on towards the accomplishment of immense tasks. Frustration is all that the enemies of socialism have known in their struggle against our country. And they have long since realised that the Communist Party with its scientifically substantiated policy, revolutionary ideology and revolutionary philosophy, Marxism-Leninism, is the chief factor in the proper guidance of socialist and communist construction, which it plans, organises and gives revolutionary scope to, thus ensuring its progress. (*Stormy applause.*)

Konstantin Fedin, a veteran Soviet writer, has spoken very well at this Plenary Meeting about the Party and its role in the life of our society and in the development of literature and art. The comrades present here heard his vivid speech with rapt attention, for he used apt words and figures of speech, and spoke with deep conviction, sincerity and force about our Party and the unbreakable links between Soviet writers and artists, on the one hand, and the Party and people, on the other, of the great strength of socialist realism, and of the unity of the older and younger generations of Soviet people. He took to task those who are trying to disseminate among our intellectuals false ideas opposed to the principle of the partisanship of Soviet literature and art and their kinship with the people, and are spreading the lies of bourgeois propaganda about the "dissociation" of intellectuals from the Party and the people.

Comrades, the Communist Party is the recognised and tested leader of the people. It is the organiser of the people—the designer, I would say, of the new society, the leading and guiding force of the Soviet system. It devises the most effective forms of organising the development of state and society. It consists of the foremost members of the working class and working people in general, and is inseparably connected with the people. It always heeds the voice of the people and consults them on major problems of home and foreign policy. At each new stage it reforms its ranks and also those elements of its organisational structure that have become outdated, replacing them by new ones to improve all our work and enable the Party and the people to make fuller use of their forces and possibilities in the great cause of communist construction. The Party exists for the people, and the sole purpose of its activities is to serve the people. . . .

Marxism-Leninism teaches the working people to understand the developments taking place in modern society. The peoples are awakening more and more to the fact that the long path drenched with the blood of fighters for the people's happiness, the long path of glorious victories and temporary reverses has not been travelled in vain, for communism, once no more than a dream has become the most important factor of our time, a society that is being built over vast expanses of the globe.

Not only has the new world come into existence, but it is growing and gaining strength. It has already rallied over one-third of the population of the planet to its cause. Surely, comrades, we have reason to be proud of this. (*Stormy applause.*)

Yet even in this situation there are still people who swallow the bait of bourgeois propaganda and seek to malign the theory and practice of our communist construction. We cannot and must not reconcile ourselves to such facts, and must resolutely repel the attacks and slanders of those who would like to undermine the people's confidence in the Party.

Often they do it indirectly, by launching seemingly harmless appeals, such as that for peaceful coexistence in the ideological sphere.

We have never agreed with such views, because we have always approached ideological issues from the class standpoint. We fight against anything that injures our cause. Every peasant knows that sonchus, couch-grass and other weeds are the worst enemies of his field. He does his best to protect his crops from weeds. He tends and nurses his crops, and destroys the weeds mercilessly. The same is true of society, where we must tend and protect all that is new and revolutionary, all that unites the people, and resolutely combat all that handicaps our advance, hampers the unity of our people

and is directed against our Party and its inspiring ideology. (*Prolonged applause.*)

I have said that Marxist-Leninist ideology and the organisational unity of the Party are, to use a figure of speech, the cement that binds the Party into a solid whole. Salt is the opposite of cement. If you add a handful of salt to concrete, it will not bind and will be useless. The peaceful coexistence of ideologies is a sort of salt.

Our enemies want to add this salt to our ideology by calling for peaceful coexistence in the ideological sphere. Why? Because it is their cherished dream to subvert and weaken the Party's influence on the people, that is, to deprive the people of their organiser and leader. They are unable to subvert the Party from within—all such enemy attempts have failed. So they are now trying hard to rob the Party of its revolutionary spirit, defame Marxist-Leninist ideology, weaken its influence on the intellectuals, on the people as a whole, and in that way dismember the living and close-knit body of the Party.

To accept peaceful coexistence of the communist and bourgeois ideologies means to let the enemy vilify all that is most precious to us, to encourage slander and to help corrupt the minds of the people, destroy our organisation and hamper our advance. We have fought in the past, and shall continue to fight unrelentingly, not only against the depraved ideology of the bourgeoisie, but also against its agents, the agents of our class enemy in our midst.

I believe everyone realises that we must always be on the look-out and must repel those who cling to the idea of peaceful coexistence in the ideological field, an idea which is alien to us. (*Prolonged applause.*)

I hope you will excuse me for not naming the comrades who signed the letter containing the harmful

thesis of peaceful ideological coexistence. I know some of them well. They could hardly have been in their right minds when they put their names to that letter. We do not question their good faith. Having apparently given the matter due thought, they subsequently withdrew their letter, and when asked by friends what had made them write it, they replied, "It was the devil's handiwork." (*Laughter.*)

We do not want the devil to lead astray either Communists or non-Communists. We want the Party members' political awareness and sense of duty to be stronger than any devil. Only a Party member like that can be a really militant Communist. (*Applause.*)

The enemies of communism were unable to crush us in open warfare. Think back to the Civil War and the foreign intervention, and to the grim time of the Great Patriotic War. Think back to the time when the United States held a monopoly on nuclear arms, Those, comrades, were all stages in our life and struggle.

Many of you must have seen that excellent film, *The Russian Miracle*. Here's what we were like at one time, you think as you watch it, and we survived! Not only did we survive, but we were the first to establish a workers' and peasants' state, to build a socialist society and to soar into outer space. (*Stormy applause.*)

The view we people of the older generation take of the things shown in that film is different from that of the young people, who know of that period from books only. Some of them are probably terrified by those times. The Thorndike couple, the German directors of the film, made it exclusively of documentary reels, and did not use any actors. We who have gone through those times watch the film with reverence and pride, recalling the wonderful people of that period, who were heroes in labour and battle alike. Yes, those were

difficult times, but the difficulties we experienced did not dishearten us. On the contrary, we were elated and proud to overcome those difficulties, and, indeed, even today the fact that we overcame them raises the morale and the fighting spirit of the people. (*Stormy applause.*)

As we watched the film we could not help thinking of those who describe as "varnishers" the writers and artists who faithfully depict the positive developments in the life of our country. Some sequences of the film give a good idea of the difficulties and hardships the people went through in those years. Next to them are sequences showing goosestepping Hitler troops, sequences showing Soviet people working hard with spades and wheelbarrows, and sequences of America and her technical equipment. No one asks why the enemy is varnished while we are presented so unprepossessingly. *The Russian Miracle* is true to life. Yes, that was what we were really like, and we bore up under all those hardships and privations and travelled a long way from backwardness to progress. The film shows certain gloomy and distressing things, but it does so from a truthful and correct standpoint. What I mean is that we do not expect writers and artists, specifically film-makers, to portray events untruthfully and prettified. We merely tell them that they should show reality as it is but should do so from a constructive standpoint. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Remember Anton Makarenko's *The Road to Life* and the people and things he wrote about. The people he depicted struck terror into the hearts of philistines, the bourgeoisie and the intellectuals in the West. But see how he portrayed them, how he showed those ruffians and thieves, some of whom may have been murderers. Reading Makarenko, you get to trust his characters, and get to believe that they, led astray by survivals of

the old system, will in the end reveal excellent qualities. And that is what they did. (*Applause.*)

Some writers ask: Does that mean we are being told to "varnish" and prettify the realities of life? No, there is no question of varnishing. What we call on you to do is to write truthfully—of the gloomiest and most negative things if you must—but to do it truthfully and from a constructive standpoint. For there are some who prefer to take their subjects from the dust-bin, so to speak, and to sling mud at all the Soviet people have gone through, all they have achieved, and all they have suffered. What is more, they expect to be applauded for it. But that will never be! (*Applause.*)

The point is this: we have reached a certain point and are continuing our advance. The ideologues of imperialism and all anti-Communists are doing their utmost to check our progress. They seek support among various unstable individuals. So we say to these persons: Don't break away from the people and the Party but join the ranks of those marching under the Marxist-Leninist banner, the banner of our Communist Party! Range yourselves behind the great banner of Marxism-Leninism if you are inspired by revolutionary ideas and the consuming desire to fight for the happiness of the people, if you hate the enemy and have faith in the people and in their strength! (*Stormy applause.*) As regards hatred for the class enemy, it is necessary because no one can become a real champion of the people's cause, communism, if he has not learned to hate the enemy.

To those comrades who refuse to range themselves behind this banner, and who, in fact, try to hold us back and get in our way at this time of grim struggle, we say: "Stop it, for you are joining in the fight on the side of our class enemies. And if you persist, remem-

ber that you will be given no quarter in the fight, and will get hurt."

Yes, comrades, a grim class battle is going on in the world. Our enemies are attacking Marxist-Leninist ideology, trying to corrupt the souls and minds of people. And the various ideological yes-men of our enemies who grab us by the elbows or feet in this struggle will have only themselves to blame if they get hurt along with the enemies. (*Laughter.*) After all, a fight is a fight. Sometimes you are hit hard by mistake and sometimes you get what is coming to you. No harm in that—it helps you keep to the trail and prevents you from hitting your own people, from helping the class enemy and serving the ideologues of imperialism. (*Stormy applause.*)

Anyone who deserts from our camp, the camp of the builders of communism, to the other camp will have to answer before the people sooner or later. Nikolai Gogol described so well how Taras Bulba killed his son Andrei for deserting to the enemy. That is the logic of struggle.

Today, there is an even fiercer struggle going on, one between the forces of imperialism, which will stop at nothing to preserve its rule, and the forces of socialism and communism. Taras Bulba waged a national struggle, while we are waging a class struggle, and the class struggle is grimmer and fiercer. Class struggle does not recognise national boundaries, because oppressors and oppressed are not a feature of some specific nationality. It scorns family ties and bonds of kinship. This is shown extremely well by Mikhail Sholokhov in *And Quiet Flows the Don* and by other writers.

True, some comrades have their own, particular opinion on this point as well. They often substitute the national or racial approach for the class approach in appraising social developments. We, however, speak

the language of our Party and express the conceptions of our Party; we speak of what is laid down in our Party decisions. . . .

The outstanding achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in socialist and communist construction show clearly that the imperialist plan to undermine our economic strength has failed.

Today our enemies are concentrating on the ideological struggle against the socialist countries. The ideologues of imperialism hope to disrupt our country from within by means of a hostile ideology. They believe that the more educated people there are in the Soviet Union, the more ideologically vulnerable Soviet society will become. That is what they write frankly in their press. Imperialist propaganda asserts that progress in the standard of living and in culture will prompt Soviet people to oppose the Party leadership.

We must remember that the enemy is now sharpening his venomous ideological weapon for even fiercer battles against us. The situation is similar to that described by the Red Army men during the Civil War: "There's just one quarrel with the whites on which we can't come to terms with them, the simplest of all—the land question. The whites want to put us under six feet of earth, and we want to do the same to them. It's a question of who does it first. That's our little quarrel." (*Laughter.*)

We have the same thing to settle with the capitalists. They want to bury the socialist system, and we want to bury the capitalist system, a system of exploitation, war and plunder, for all time. Indeed, we have dug a fairly deep pit and shall go on deepening it. There is no doubt that capitalism will fall. (*Stormy applause.*) But it won't fall of itself.

Our achievements will inspire the working class in all capitalist countries to wage a more and more de-

terminated and active revolutionary class struggle. We have helped it and shall help it by our example, by building communism. The peoples of different countries that are fighting for their freedom and independence are receiving help from us today, and tomorrow there will be still greater opportunities of rendering assistance of yet another nature.

Unquestionably, the hopes which the imperialists pin on ideological subversion will fail too. Their attempts to undermine socialism and stop the development of revolutionary struggles will fall through as did the military campaigns waged earlier against socialist countries, and the insidious plans to strangle socialism by an economic blockade. (*Applause.*)

We are making rapid scientific and cultural progress. The higher educational institutions of the Soviet Union graduate 120,000 engineers annually, or three times as many as those of the United States. The number of qualified engineers employed in our national economy is more than double that in the United States.

Last year S. Udall, the U.S. Secretary of the Interior, visited the Soviet Union and went to see our power projects. He spoke very highly of our achievements, and we must give him credit for making his impressions public in America. Of course, it is not easy for an influential statesman of so powerful an imperialist country as the United States to tell the truth about our country, which is building communism. It is a very bitter pill for them all, and it is not easy for them to say that their opponent, a mighty socialist country, is outpacing them. It is not easy for them to admit it. It is only some politically immature people of ours that say of their own country things they really know nothing about. Udall knew what he was saying.

Our achievements in science and space exploration are immense. When the first sputnik had been put into

orbit by the Soviet Union, an overzealous American general said it was nothing to marvel at—just a chunk of iron pitched into space. His own countrymen had a good laugh at his expense, and called the dull-witted man by the name he deserved. Today no one ventures any longer to deny the indisputable fact that the Soviet Union firmly holds first place in peaceful space exploration.

Tomorrow we are going to welcome our fifth and sixth cosmonauts, Valentina Tereshkova—our space Yaroslavna—and Valery Bykovsky. (*Stormy applause.*) That is what our wonderful young people are like! These days they fly so high and so fast in wingless spaceships.

Our Soviet people have always done well with wings, but now they have begun to fly without wings; they loop the globe dozens of times in non-stop flights, and their ships land where we want them to land.

That, comrades, is an outstanding triumph of the genius of our people. It is a victory for socialism, for our great Leninist Party, which has made possible the development of the talent and creative energy of the people. (*Stormy applause.*)

Our vast achievements are evident not only from facts and figures. We have forced our enemies to publicly admit the great strength of socialism, to acknowledge the achievements of the Soviet Union.

I should like to read you some excerpts from an article by a "varnisher". I wonder why anti-varnishers have not yet taken him to task for it. I shall give his name this minute.

Harry Schwartz, a hate-mongering representative of the American bourgeois press, who is considered the leading *New York Times* expert on "Soviet affairs", had to admit the outstanding successes of the Soviet Union.

When I was in America I had occasion to meet Harry Schwartz. I remember an unusual press conference held in a railway carriage. Harry Schwartz said: "Would you give me your autograph for my boy, Mr. Khru-shchov?" I replied: "No, not to you." Afterwards, I said to myself that probably I should have controlled myself and given him my autograph for the boy, because there was no telling what that boy would become when he grew up. Perhaps he won't be so rabid an anti-Communist as his father. (*Laughter.*)

Now listen to what Harry Schwartz wrote:

"The image of that mythical bird the phoenix leaps naturally to mind when one contemplates the astonishing history of the Soviet Union over the past two decades. Consumed in the funeral pyre, the phoenix was said to emerge from the ashes after the fire had died, reborn with new strength and new energy. So it has been with that 'red phoenix' the Soviet Union. . . . The speed and magnitude of this vast nation's recovery from the terrible losses of World War II have confounded all earlier expectations in the West. . . ."

Why, comrades, that's varnishing Soviet reality if you ask our mud-slingers. How dare he? (*Laughter.*)

That is a forced admission of reality by an ideological opponent of ours. Our enemies disgorge so much hatred and venom in their false stories about the Soviet Union. But when brought to bay by reality, they twist and turn, and speak of fabulous development.

In antiquity people created the beautiful myth about a bird rising from its own ashes. It is a fine, interesting myth, but still no more than a myth. What has occurred in the Soviet Union is not a myth, but a great reality brought into being by the effort of the Soviet people under the leadership of our Leninist Party. (*Stormy applause.*)

Speaking of the future, Harry Schwartz says:

"In the years ahead the Soviet Union is likely to assume some of the aspects of an affluent Communist society. . . .

"And by 1970 or shortly thereafter the red Soviet flag may wave in solitary grandeur over a manned Soviet base on the moon. . . ."

Well spoken! (*Applause.*)

Then Harry Schwartz goes on to say:

"Such is the magic of steady, rapid growth year after year without recessions, depressions, or similar setbacks." These lines were written by Harry Schwartz, an American bourgeois journalist!

Varnishing again! Where are our anti-varnishers and mud-slingers? How do they suffer a bourgeois journalist who varnishes our Soviet system? (*Laughter.*)

A noteworthy admission was made by Howard Morgan, member of the U.S. Federal Power Commission.

Having made a careful study of data on economic progress in the Soviet Union and in the United States during the past fifteen years, he came to the conclusion that while America was still ahead, "the Russians are gaining on us at an alarming rate". Why, that is varnishing! I am trying to spite the anti-varnishers. (*Laughter.*)

Morgan continues:

"We all know the old American saying, 'Don't look back; they might be gaining on us.' We don't need to look back. They are gaining on us."

That was written by a prominent U.S. Government official. You see what our reality makes spokesmen of the capitalist world say. Not bad "varnishing", comrades, is it? We have compelled our opponents to speak like that about our system and its superiority. Only the socialist system enables our country to overtake and outstrip so highly developed a capitalist country as the United States in the economic field. (*Stormy applause.*)

This is a source of pride to every citizen of our multinational Soviet state. It makes us proud of our communist ideology and our Soviet system. The enemies of Soviet rule used to say that Russia would not withstand the onslaught of imperialism because it was a multinational and multilingual country. Well, here is that multinational and multilingual country with a population of more than 220 million, united and mighty!

All the peoples of our country have one common programme, the Programme of our Party. They are united by a common ideology, Marxism-Leninism. All our nations have one goal and are advancing in one direction, the direction indicated by Lenin, on and on, to the establishment of a communist society in the U.S.S.R. (*Stormy applause.*)

I could cite other admissions by still more influential people.

In his recent address at the American University in Washington, John Kennedy, the U.S. President, said: "We can still hail the Russian people for their many achievements—in science and space, in economic and industrial growth, in culture, in acts of courage."

Well spoken! One more varnisher! The U.S. President turns out to be a varnisher. (*Laughter.*)

Yet we have some writers and artists who prefer to smear their own people, their people's labour. They prefer raking in the dust-bin and portraying our people in the blackest of colours. For shame.

The Party condemns those who put the tag of "varnisher" on our writers and artists. Is it right to call someone a varnisher for writing about the good deeds accomplished by our people and our Party? Of course not! A writer or artist adhering to a partisan standpoint faithfully depicts both the positive and the negative in the life of society, but he does so from a constructive standpoint. Of course we have shortcomings

in our country, but the new and revolutionary is asserting itself and growing as it fights the old and rejects survivals of the past. Surely we cannot tolerate the calls some people make to write of negative things only, to dig up all sorts of nasty things about our country, our people and our reality. Those who take this stand are agents of bourgeois ideology in Soviet society.

We are most emphatically opposed to all deception. The Party has always stressed, and will continue to stress, the necessity for exposing deception; it has been, and will continue to be, against prettifying reality. Our Soviet reality tolerates no falsehoods....

In keeping with Lenin's recommendations, the Party takes care to organise ideological work properly and to implement Lenin's ideas of the partisanship of literature and art and of their kinship with the people. It is entirely wrong to assert that the principle of partisanship in literature and art fetters initiative. The fable is being spread that there is freedom of art and of the press in capitalist society. Only those who are unfamiliar with the mores of the bourgeois world are likely to believe that fable.

Literature, art and the press in the capitalist world are subsidised by the monopolies. I told you not long ago about the interesting talk I had with Roy Thomson, a prominent British publisher. Recently he visited Moscow as a tourist.

Publisher Thomson is not likely to have studied Marxism-Leninism, but he has a strong class instinct and a firm grip. He asked me whether I would allow his newspapers to be sold in Moscow.

"You have raised a very complicated question," I replied. "I must think it over."

"Suppose I appoint Ajubei, the editor of *Izvestia*, as editor of one of the papers?" the publisher asked.

"That's different," I told him. "You can take my

word for it that if you appoint Ajubei or some other Soviet newspaper editor to be editor of your paper, that paper will be sold all over the Soviet Union."

To that he said, "No, that wouldn't suit me."

You see how a capitalist goes about it. In this particular case, the thing uppermost in his mind was not profit but the purely ideological, class aspect of the matter.

Or take Hollywood, that great centre of the American film industry. Does freedom of creative endeavour exist there? Not by a long shot. Hollywood expelled Charles Chaplin, a film-maker of world renown. Chaplin is not a Communist, but he is a progressive and that means there is no room for him in Hollywood. That is what "freedom" of creative endeavour for the "free" people of the United States is like.

The Hearst newspaper corporation is widely known to be reactionary. It publishes over a hundred papers. It would be naïve to imagine that Hearst does not care about the ideological and political slant of his papers and will allow them to publish reports running counter to the interests of his class and opposed to imperialism. Let him get hold of a journalist who does that and he will tell the man a thing or two. Really, only naïve people and incorrigible simpletons are likely to believe all that nonsense about "freedom" of creative endeavour in the capitalist countries.

In our country, only some simpletons who think they are very clever cannot or will not understand the class nature of ideological questions. Thomson, who is an old capitalist wolf, understands it very well. Nevertheless, some say there is freedom of the press in Britain and America.

Let them go to Hearst or Thomson and ask him to publish an article of theirs. From what angle would those publishers consider the article? Perhaps from the



*Party and Government leaders view the design of a monument to Lenin to be erected in Moscow.
May 17, 1963*



N. S. Khrushchov meets delegates to a meeting of the Council of the European Writers Community, August 1963

standpoint of literary form? A fat lot they care about form! They would consider it from the standpoint of politics, of the interests of their class, and their judgement would depend on whom it served and what it advocated. As far as they are concerned, the important thing is ideology.

In the capitalist countries the ruling classes skilfully disguise their interests with talk about freedom of creative endeavour, of speech and the press, and even lay that down in their constitutions. On the face of it, "freedom of art" and "freedom of the press" would seem to exist in some bourgeois countries. Everyone there is free to write anything he pleases, but it is a different matter whether the publishers and those who own the press will agree to publish anything that goes against their class interests. If a publisher finds that the work offered for publication is not likely to strengthen the capitalist system, he rejects it, with the result that it turns out to have been written for mice rather than for men.

How is it that some of our writers and publishers refuse to understand that? What do they want? They apparently want ideological work to be something of a Noah's ark with all the scents of all the ideological trends and shades. But that will never happen! Our Party heads the people and leads them, it has directed ideological work, and will continue to direct it. It has fought against all signs of bourgeois ideology and will continue to do so. (*Stormy applause.*)

We are doing everything to ensure that ideological work as a whole proceeds in the right direction, in the spirit of communist ideas.

Every Soviet writer or artist would do well to realise that his activity should strengthen the position of communism and not weaken it. If he realises that he will be more exacting towards his own work, will exercise

stricter control over his own activity, and then public opinion will not need to criticise ideologically immature works. The question may be asked: "But who is to judge? Who is to decide whether ideological work is on the right track?" It is the Party—the Party and the people—who will judge. All ideological work, and every book or work of art, should serve *their* interests, and the communist cause as a whole. (*Stormy applause.*)

Those who want to keep out of the Party's policy and who deny the principle of partisanship in ideology form what may be called a party of non-Party people, and, whether they like it or not, they are opposing our Party, our ideology and our reality.

The policies and activities of the Communist Party are determined and directed by Party congresses, and by the Central Committee in the intervals between congresses. Our Party exercises collective leadership and collective guidance of all work. The Party congress and the Central Committee elected by it decide whether something is useful or harmful to the Party and the people. As for those who deny partisanship and the principle of collective leadership, they want to decide everything by themselves. They would like a writer or artist to produce a work and say, "So be it! No one may contradict me, for I am my own judge." Who is to assess the artistic merits of such a work or the message it conveys? The authors believe it is for them to do that. They want their works to be published and demand printing presses, printer's ink and paper. They want everything. But the Party will never agree to that.

Should we dramatise the situation? I do not think so. We members of the Central Committee consider that we have very few intellectuals who have fallen for the bourgeois idea of non-partisan ideology. The absolute majority of Soviet intellectuals in general, and of writers and artists in particular, are inspired by Marxist-

Leninist ideas and are fighting for the triumph of these ideas shoulder to shoulder with the Party and under its leadership. (*Stormy applause.*)

The cinema is a very important and interesting field of the Party's ideological work. Films are an effective ideological weapon and a mass medium of education. When a book appears not everybody reads it. Some books are within reach of only the advanced reader, and besides, it takes a good deal of time to read them and to grasp their meaning. Films are easier to understand. That is why the cinema is the most popular of the arts.

I understand there are certain twisted and wrong views on the role of the cinema among screen people. This applies, in particular, to so well-known and experienced a film-maker as Mikhail Romm. It is to be hoped that he will reconsider his attitude and firmly adopt the right position.

The C.C. C.P.S.U. met film-makers and actors half-way by agreeing that they should have their own association. We favour autonomy in art and professional associations, provided they help to develop art in the right direction. But if anyone expects to use those associations to combat the Party line in art, he is sorely mistaken. To those who count on that we say: We concede no association a leading role in society except the association known as the Communist Party (*Stormy applause.*) All other associations would inevitably clash with the Party and the people should they try to direct their activities against the policy of the Party. I am saying this by way of a warning. It is better to serve a timely warning than to wait until matters go too far for a warning to be effective. We had better agree on that.

We must give more attention to our intellectuals—writers, composers, painters, stage and screen people.

Speaking of music, we think it is now developing in

the right direction. True, some composers, too, made false steps in the past. We pointed that out at the time, and things seem to be going well now. I must confess to a weakness for music. Every time I want to relax I turn on the radio to listen to music. Some of the musical broadcasts are fine. We now get less of the noisy, crashing kind of music.

Some of the literary broadcasts are quite interesting. Some time ago I heard on the radio a brief extract from Sholokhov's *Virgin Soil Upturned*. When the reading was over I felt disappointed, because I should have liked to hear more of it. One might ask what was so very interesting about it. The extract was about Davydov ploughing with oxen. A simple, workaday fact, isn't it? But how well it is described! You cannot help being stirred. Davydov finishes ploughing and stretches himself out on the grass. You feel as if you yourself were agreeably tired and lay down after a bit of hard work. That is what Sholokhov's skill does to you. He knows how to depict simple things truthfully and expressively, and to make the reader believe them.

We have numerous fine literary works. *Vasily Tyorkin* and *Space Beyond Space* by Alexander Tvardovsky are worthy of praise. It is impossible to list all the fine works we have and all the writers and poets who deserve praise, for we have hundreds of them.

In no other country of the world are literature and art so mighty and so optimistic as in the Soviet Union. This is why the ideologues of imperialism are trying so hard to influence our writers and artists and lead them astray. They resort to various stratagems to make our writers, composers, painters, stage and screen people doubtful of the great impact of their work.

The Party is proud of Soviet writers and artists. It is prepared to stand up for them and will never let anyone harm them. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

OUR LITERATURE AND ART
ARE INSEPARABLE FROM THE LIFE
OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY

*From an Interview with Henry Shapiro,
UPI Correspondent, November 14, 1957*

Henry Shapiro, United Press International correspondent in Moscow, asked N. S. Khrushchov, First Secretary of the C.C. C.P.S.U., for an interview. The interview was granted on November 14.

The following are some of Henry Shapiro's questions, and N. S. Khrushchov's answers to them.

Shapiro: With reference to your statements on questions of literature and art, I would like to ask you whether different literary and art schools could be expanded in the Soviet Union.

Khrushchov: We should first of all clear up what you mean by the term "schools". Evidently, what you call a "school" is a definite trend in literature or art. But what is a trend? It is a reflection of the interests of definite sections of the population. Bourgeois journalists usually say that in their countries—the United States, Britain, France, etc.—there are the most different schools and trends among writers and artists. In your country, the United States, you have a bourgeoisie, but even the bourgeoisie is not homogeneous, because there

is a monopoly bourgeoisie and a petty bourgeoisie. Or take the intellectuals. One section of them is close to the working class, the working people in general, while another caters to the big monopolies. Every class and its sections represent a particular trend. To be sure, there exists, for all that, the chief division of bourgeois society, that is, the division into exploiters and exploited.

Our Soviet state has been in existence for forty years. A young Soviet citizen today can see only in a play what a capitalist looks like. It is necessary to impersonate him to give our young people an idea of the capitalist as he is in reality, because Soviet people have no contact with capitalists—they work in their own factories and everything belongs to them, the people. The changes occurring in our country leave their stamp on the mentality of Soviet people, on their conception of life and events, and on their own mutual relations.

That is why in our literature and art there is not, and cannot be, any trend other than the Soviet trend. What we mean by trend is expression of the interests of definite classes and social strata. Such a trend has a material basis and, therefore, something like a *raison d'être*. In the Soviet Union there are no antagonistic classes or class strata. What we have in our country is a solidly united socialist society, and none but working people. Consequently, Soviet men and women, including writers and artists, have no need to form various warring trends, our art and literature being inseparable from the life of the people and sharing in the people's life and interests.

You may ask who, then, are those we are fighting against on the ideological front. The communist education of people does not occur by magic. It is a struggle to advance the culture of the Soviet man and mould his world outlook. A sound trend battles against neg-

ative developments, against survivals and the influence of the bourgeois system. This influence is not only possible but inevitable, because capitalist states still exist on a substantial part of the globe.

Take, for example, the American radio stations surrounding us. Think of the spate of foul gossip and vicious fabrications they let loose against us! Or take the leaflets that the imperialists smuggle into the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Do you really expect us to "recognise" those "trends" and allow a handful of embittered individuals who have sold themselves to the imperialists to spread their foul, infamous lies from abroad? Or would you perhaps like us to let such characters, who have no roots and no loyalties, organise their filthy "trend" in our country? But Soviet people would never stand for it. They would allow no one to defame their people's state, to slander our people and country.

Some bourgeois journalists occasionally say that advocating partisanship in art and literature amounts to "coercion". But with a Soviet writer or artist who loves the people, it is a natural requirement to be partisan in his work and to strive to be as useful to the people as possible. Our writers and artists themselves speak about it very aptly. Partisanship is no burden to anyone if it is prompted by his convictions. I have been a Party member for almost forty years and have never incurred any penalty, nor have I ever felt it a burden to perform the duties which the Party Programme and Rules impose upon me as a member. Why? Because it is my own ideology and my conception of Party duties and obligations. This is why fulfilling Party duties does not in any way fetter my initiative or will, or restrict my conception of developments and of the tasks they suggest to me in serving the Party and the people. This is also true of any other member of the Party.

What is culture? What are newspapers and periodicals, and the press in general? They reflect the life of the people. In the work of a writer who serves the people, lives with the people and is their servant, the interests of the people and the Communist Party and his own interests merge. The Communist Party is the vanguard of the people, their advanced section, and it has no interests other than those of the people. The Party regards it as its paramount task to promote the interests of the people, improve the people's living standard and ensure that our socialist society advances to communism. This is why we have unity of purpose between the people and the Party, which is the leading, advanced section of society. In our country, literature plays a notable role by helping the Party to educate people and impart the advanced, progressive ideas guiding the Party. And it is not mere chance that we call the writers moulders of the human soul.

Shapiro: Does that apply to art as well?

Khrushchov: It applies to all creative work. We shall encourage and support all that is sound in our literature and art. Not long ago a biased book, written by Dudintsev, was published in our country. The author was criticised for the book, although it contains some interesting and forceful pages. We think it necessary to correct him and warn others against eventual mistakes. I am certain that Dudintsev will yet write books that will earn him the abuse of the capitalist world rather than its praise. . . .

*Translated from the
Russian record*

A GOOD SONG EXALTS AND ENNOBLES MAN

*Message of Greeting to the Participants in
the International Festival of Children's
Choirs, London*

My dear youthful friends, I admit that when I was told that an international festival of children's choirs was to take place in London, the British capital, and was asked to send a message of greeting to the youthful participants, I was rather perplexed at first. You probably know that I am not a teacher. Then I decided to write to you all the same, because I am very fond of children, whom I see as our worthy successors, and also because I am fond of singing and music.

My youthful friends, I should like, first of all, to send you from Moscow, the Soviet capital, the warmest and heartiest greetings, and to wish you every success in the festival you are preparing for with the enthusiasm typical of your age.

A popular saying has long called the song the soul of the people. This is a very apt definition, because good songs, like good music, have at all times and among all peoples vividly expressed the most cherished dreams and expectations, and have spoken of people's longing for a better life. Songs have always given colourful

expression to the desire of all peoples for lasting peace and friendship with all other peoples, far and near. A really good song exalts and ennobles its singers, and therefore your participation in such festivals deserves the highest praise.

From the bottom of my heart I wish you all success in life and at school, and further progress for your gifts and abilities. I hope you will grow up to be good citizens of your countries, and firm supporters of the idea of promoting peace and friendship among the nations.

N. KHRUSHCHOV

The Kremlin, Moscow,
December 5, 1959

WORKING FOR HAPPINESS AND JUSTICE ON OUR PLANET

MR. ROCKWELL KENT

Dear Mr. Kent,

It was with a sense of warm affection that I heard of your noble decision to make a gift to the Soviet people of a collection of works produced over long years of creative endeavour. The considerations that prompted you rouse deep and sincere respect; they are appreciated by the Soviet people, who have a high opinion of every step forward in the struggle for world peace.

It is my firm conviction that those considerations will also be appreciated by the American people, for your gift is a step towards promoting friendship and mutual understanding between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States.

With all my heart I wish you many years of good health and further success in your noble work for happiness and justice on our planet.

N. KHRUSHCHOV

November 19, 1960

POWERFUL IMPACT ON THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF PEOPLE

*To the Delegates to the Second Moscow
International Film Festival*

On behalf of the Soviet Government and on my own behalf, I bid a heartfelt welcome to the delegates and guests at the Second Moscow International Film Festival.

The international film festival opening in Moscow, the Soviet capital, is a notable event in the cultural life of nations.

The cinema has a powerful impact on the hearts and minds of people. Every good film gives satisfaction and joy to millions of cinema-goers; it finds a ready response among them and helps them in their struggle for the finest ideals of mankind.

That is particularly important in this age, when all fair-minded and thoughtful people are joining forces to ensure that neither our own nor any future generation experiences the horrors of a new war.

The cinema can do a great deal to promote friendship and mutual understanding between nations and establish high moral principles. That is why the motto of the Moscow Film Festival—"For humanism in cinema art,

for peace and friendship among nations!"—is a noble motto.

It is to be hoped that the Moscow Film Festival will play an important part in promoting international cultural relations, expanding artistic exchanges between countries and co-ordinating the efforts of all engaged in making films in the great struggle for peace and progress.

I sincerely wish the film workers success in creating new stirring and truthful films inspired by the desire for peace and the happiness of all mankind.

N. KHRUSHCHOV

July 9, 1961

TO THE PARTICIPANTS
IN THE THIRD MOSCOW
INTERNATIONAL FILM FESTIVAL

The Third Moscow International Film Festival, like the previous festivals held in Moscow, is taking place under the motto "For humanism in cinema art, for peace and friendship among nations!", a motto which accords with the most vital interests and the aspirations of mankind.

The Moscow Festival is the most representative and democratic forum of world cinematography. Fifty-five countries are participating, some of which have recently shaken off colonial oppression and are successfully developing their own national cinema. The Moscow Festival has aroused tremendous interest among the public abroad, for its ideas are appreciated by the mass of the people in all countries.

Soviet cinema-goers will gratefully acclaim films profoundly and faithfully rendering the progressive ideas of our times, films inspired by great humanism and a keen sense of one's responsibility to society, asserting the moral beauty of people and responding to the most

burning issues of our time with the invincible truth of artistic images.

On behalf of the Soviet Government and on my own behalf, I am glad to welcome participants and guests to the capital of our socialist country for the Third Moscow International Film Festival.

I sincerely wish the cinema of the countries represented at the Festival, and all participants and guests, every success in the service of the great ideals of peace and friendship among the nations.

N. KHRUSHCHOV

July 7, 1963

AN EXAMPLE OF SERVICE
TO THE IDEALS OF PEACE
AND HUMANISM

MR. ROCKWELL KENT

Dear Mr. Kent,

I send you hearty congratulations on your eightieth birthday.

Your vivid art is treasured by all who are concerned with safeguarding peace and tranquillity on our planet. It has also evoked a sincere response among Soviet people, among whom you are celebrating your eightieth birthday.

Genuine art is always addressed to man, whom it helps to live and work, strengthening his faith in common sense and justice. Your work is an excellent example of how an artist can serve the ideals of peace and humanism. Your paintings assert the inexhaustible strength of realistic art, and people are grateful to you for it.

Today, when mankind's chief task is to prevent thermonuclear disaster, the progressive artists of all countries are united by an earnest desire to safeguard peace on earth. And we are glad to see you in the front ranks of these noble and courageous fighters.

From the bottom of my heart I wish you, dear Mr. Kent, long years of life, good health and further creative achievement.

I share the Soviet artists' deep satisfaction over your election to honorary membership of the Academy of Arts of the U.S.S.R.

N. KHRUSHCHOV

June 20, 1962

OUTSTANDING U.S. POET AND CITIZEN

THE FAMILY OF ROBERT L. FROST
35 Brewster Street Cambridge, Mass. U.S.A.

I am deeply afflicted by the death of your father, Robert Frost, an outstanding poet and citizen of the United States of America.

Frost's name and his poetry, inspired by love for the ordinary man, are widely known in our country, where we were glad to welcome him last year as a messenger of good will and a firm supporter of friendship between our peoples.

Please accept my sincere condolences on the occasion of your bereavement.

Yours respectfully,

N. KHRUSHCHOV

January 29, 1963

FROM AN INTERVIEW WITH I. PIETRA,
DIRECTOR OF *IL GIORNO*

April 20, 1963

On April 20, 1963, N. S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., granted an interview to I. Pietra, Director of the Italian newspaper *Il Giorno*. The following is an extract from the interview.

Question: In view of the recent debate on art in Russia and certain new official statements about Stalin's role, there has been talk in the West of a downright step backwards in the so-called de-Stalinisation. What do you think of these new, recent facts, which can easily be interpreted in so alarming a sense, and how do you explain them?

Answer: The very manner in which you are putting the question suggests that you have fallen for the deliberately distorted accounts which Western bourgeois propaganda gives of our life. Let us be frank—you are alarmed by our Party's principled and uncompromising stand in the struggle against bourgeois ideology. People in the West refuse to understand, or pretend they cannot understand, that the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems does not imply peaceful coexistence in the ideological sphere. We have always advocated, and continue to advocate the banishing of wars from the life of human society for ever, so that all coun-

tries, irrespective of their socio-economic systems, can promote trade and exchange achievements in science and culture, enabling the peoples to know each other better.

On the other hand, we Communists have never accepted, and shall never accept, the idea of the peaceful coexistence of ideologies. There can be no compromise on this point. As a matter of fact, the bourgeoisie is anxious that in the ideological battle now going on we should cease fire from the barricades, because that would enable it to smuggle its spiritual poverty, decadence and corruption into our new world. Art and literature belong to the ideological sphere. That is why the bourgeoisie has included in its arsenal such weapons of decadence and spiritual decay as formalism, abstractionism and other trends. And now that we have declared that our Party is fighting and will continue to fight against those distortions in art and literature, the West is clamouring against what it alleges to be a "step back", a restriction of the "freedom of art", and so on. For Western bourgeois circles would very much like us to sit still and let ideological weeds, whose seeds have been evolved by the ideological plant-breeders of capitalism, grow in our society. But we want our field to be clean and it shall be clean. In the bitter struggle between the two irreconcilable ideologies—socialist and bourgeois—which, you will admit, is going on in the world—we have been pressing forward our offensive, and shall continue to do so, asserting communist ideas.

Our Party has faith in young Soviet writers and artists, just as it has faith in the writers and artists of the older generation. I have no doubt that in the West as well, millions of people will acclaim again and again the achievements of our socialist culture, which reflects the truth of life and is inspired by revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist ideas. When certain members of the young post-war generation of our writers and artists began

to make certain mistakes, we got together with them and had a heart-to-heart talk. We did so to help those writers and artists, and to enable them to put their talent fully to the service of the people. The Party supports a truly creative search on the part of Soviet artists, wishing the arts to be multiform and varied in theme, style, genre and individual approach. We are against abstractionism and naturalism, against dull, primitive, sugary works.

The fact that bourgeois circles in the West are uneasy now and are talking noisily about a non-existent "crisis of the fourth generation of Russians" is added evidence that some people there do not understand Soviet reality, or else have come to realise that their hopes of fishing in troubled waters are in vain. Therefore, if I were you, I should do my best to learn more about Soviet art and literature instead of going in for "alarming interpretations".

Question: What do you think of the state of mind of Left-wing intellectuals in the West and the third world following the recent debate on the arts in the U.S.S.R.?

Answer: I do not quite see what you mean by the "third world". I can say, however, that we have a high regard for the spirit of progressive intellectuals who are linked with the people, in the West and elsewhere, on any continent. Those intellectuals have won the deep respect of our people, primarily because they honestly and courageously oppose reaction and champion freedom, democracy and peace. We shall never forget the heroic deeds of those intellectuals who in the years of anti-fascist struggles fought in the Resistance along with workers and peasants. We have always been aware and are today aware of the support of progressive intellectuals in foreign countries. During my visits abroad I talked with many of the foremost scientists and

cultural workers, and saw for myself the respect and appreciation they had for communist construction in our country and for the Soviet Union's effort to bring about a relaxation of international tension and promote peace. Speaking of the "state of mind" of intellectuals abroad who are friendly to us, I must say that it is a pleasure to us. Theirs is an excellent, militant spirit, uncompromising towards the warmongers.

We realise, of course, that Western intellectuals have to live and work in an atmosphere vastly different from that of the socialist countries. There are differences in conditions, cultural tradition, opportunities for education, and the material aspects of life, and we should be no Marxists-Leninists if we did not take these factors into consideration. Naturally, the distinguishing features of our life, including the recent discussion of problems of Soviet art and literature from the standpoint of partisanship, could not be readily understood by all intellectuals in the West. In fact, it would have been naïve to expect it. For the West's powerful propaganda machinery is controlled by the bourgeoisie, which is intent on furthering its own interests and has no intention whatever of helping Western intellectuals to understand ideological life in our country. I suppose I shall not give away a secret if I say that the ruling classes in the West are trying to mislead the intellectuals. Moreover, they are trying to set the intellectuals against socialist and communist ideas. "If you flog a hare enough, it will learn to strike a match," says a Russian proverb. The bourgeoisie has for many decades been flogging the intellectuals to make them strike matches for their masters. It is all the more fortunate, therefore, that despite the tremendous pressure exerted by the bourgeoisie, more and more intellectuals in the West are resisting that pressure and, indeed, fighting courageously for the ideals of progress.

This, of course, is not to say that they are immune to vacillation, error or misconception as regards our Party's policy on art and literature. Nor is this surprising. In one of your questions you mentioned H. G. Wells, the British author. He was progressive by the standards of his day. Nevertheless, you know that he did not understand the October Revolution and described Lenin as "the dreamer in the Kremlin" and saw the Russia of the future "in the shadows". I do not mean to say anything bad about Wells. But the whole world has seen now that he was a poor prophet. The banner raised by Lenin is flying today over countries inhabited by more than one-third of mankind. Russia is lighted up by some of the world's greatest hydropower stations, and excels in scientific, technical and cultural achievement. Yet it is only four decades since Wells visited Moscow.

I see, of course, what you mean when you speak of the effect which our recent debate on art and literature has produced upon intellectuals in the West. The bourgeois press there has been dinning the "drastic Party line" and that sort of thing into everyone's ears. Not a single Western newspaper has told its readers that it was a heart-to-heart discussion among friends. It was an important discussion of the tasks of artists and writers in the light of the historic plan for building communism in our country drawn up by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Our people are making a further advance in communist construction, and want no one among the writers and artists to fall out of step or trail behind. That is why the Party saw it as its duty to say plainly and frankly that it supports artists and writers who uphold fidelity and socialist humanism in the arts, and fight for a great art of and for the people, against decadent, formalistic and abstractionist elements. Durable links with the people, with the

tremendous historical developments taking place in our country and with the problems that agitate all Soviet people—these, and not withdrawal from those problems into the dark recesses of decadence constitute the high road to creative work in building a new life.

You may argue, as many bourgeois ideologues have done, that we Communists are "against the new" in the arts. But that is a deliberate misrepresentation of the facts. The Communists support the new in art and literature, because they are for socialist realism, which means a rich and versatile art close to the people. Whatever the situation in other countries, people in Italy should know well—from our films, guest performances by Soviet actors, and translations of Soviet fiction—of the immense variety of our art and literature, of our music, stage, poetry and prose. That is what *we* call genuine innovation. Some people abroad regard as "innovation" what is in fact flight from reality, an attempt to hide from it behind worthless and barren hocus-pocus. It may well be that this hocus-pocus helps bourgeois ideologues to lure some individuals into a dream world and thereby paralyse their will to fight against the injustice of the old society. But why, I ask, follow such an example? We are creating a new society, we are earthly people who do not want to hide from reality but want to reshape it, so that the workingman can live better tomorrow than he does today, and even better the day after tomorrow.

I have said that there can be no peace in the battle of ideas. Our ideas, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, are winning the minds of more and more millions of people. They have truly captivated the minds of all progressive men and women. I am certain that even in the West this is realised by progressive intellectuals, and if there is anyone among them who is in error on this score today, he is bound to see the light tomorrow.

SPEECH AT THE UNVEILING OF THE SHEVCHENKO MONUMENT IN MOSCOW

June 10, 1964

Dear comrades, in unveiling this monument to Taras Shevchenko today the people of Moscow, and all Soviet men and women with them, pay a tribute of love and respect to a great son of the Ukrainian people, a revolutionary democratic poet and outstanding artist, who devoted the whole of his extraordinary talent to our people's cause. (*Prolonged applause.*)

I say "our people's" because Shevchenko is near and dear not only to the Ukrainians, Russians, Byelorussians or Kazakhs, but to the men and women of every nationality united in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. (*Applause.*) That is why we are happy to see this monument here in the capital city of our country.

In the early years of Soviet rule, Lenin signed a government decision to erect monuments to prominent socialist leaders and revolutionaries in Moscow. The list included the great bard of the Ukraine. Today we are carrying out that behest of Lenin's. (*Stormy applause.*)

The 150th anniversary of the poet's birth has been celebrated as a great and joyous cultural event. The anniversary festivities have developed into a stirring demonstration of the people's love for the poet, and have shown how our contemporaries revere him and treasure his memory.

Shevchenko is known as a great bard throughout the world. His immortal writings have been translated into the languages of all the peoples of the Soviet Union and into many foreign languages. All over the world, Shevchenko's militant poetry calls on men to fight for Peace, Labour, Freedom, Equality, Fraternity and Happiness for all the nations of the globe. (*Applause.*)

Shevchenko was the son of a serf peasant, and was a serf himself. Even as a child he came to know the hardships and sorrows that fell to the people's lot in those days. This shaped his outlook and made for the development of his striking talent. With the help of Russian democrats, he gained freedom and received an education, which enabled him to use his gifts to the full.

The whole of Shevchenko's work called on the working people to fight with determination against the serf-owners, against tsarism and oppression, for the people's freedom. He was unafraid of enemies and challenged them courageously. He did not bow down before tsarism when he was convicted and sent to the Orsk fortress as an ordinary soldier, even though he was not allowed to do what he loved doing best of all—drawing and writing—that is, he was virtually sentenced to penal servitude. What could have been more outrageous and tormenting for a poet and artist, a man with a lucid and incisive mind, than to rob him of the opportunity for creative endeavour?

But even in exile he never stopped fighting the autocracy. His heart and his work were filled with love for the common people, for those he associated with—

Kazakh shepherds and his fellow soldiers, whose lot was as hard as his own.

An uncompromising attitude to the people's enemies and boundless love of his people, of the Ukraine, of all of Russia's working people, run through the work of this bard of genius.

Shevchenko's poetry is poetry that expresses great wrath and great love, a poetry calling for battle. It is a poetry of militant humanism, for freedom and happiness can only be won by waging a just if grim struggle. Like Nekrasov's poetry and the works of Chernyshevsky, Shevchenko's poetry, which reflected the aspirations of the enslaved peasants, was a revolutionary manifesto of Russia's foremost democrats, with whose finest spokesmen the Ukrainian poet was linked by close bonds of friendship.

Shevchenko's voice merged with that of the Russian revolutionary democrats when he wrote in one of his poems:

*Await no good,
Expected freedom don't await—
It is asleep: Tsar Nicholas
Lulled it to sleep. But if you'd wake
This sickly freedom, all the folk
Must in their hands sledge-hammers take
And axes sharp—and then all go
That sleeping freedom to awake.*

What could be more forceful and rousing than these words of the poet, which so clearly express the spirit of his work and his revolutionary struggle?

The Ukrainian nationalists tried to use Shevchenko's works as a weapon of their own. But the Ukrainian people have always understood the internationalist message of the poetry of their finest son. He was always true to friendship between the Ukrainian people, on the one

hand, and the Russian and other peoples of our country, on the other. (*Applause.*)

Think how full of bitterness, anger, and condemnation of the autocracy, how full of love and sympathy for the peoples of our multinational country, are the poet's following words:

*Just look at all our vast domains—
Boundless Siberia alone!
And prisons—myriads! Peoples—throngs!
From the Moldavian to the Finn
All silent are in all their tongues
Because such great contentment reigns!*

These words, which indignantly condemn autocratic despotism, do not refer to the sorrow and misfortune of the Ukrainian serfs alone. Shevchenko was well aware that all the oppressed nationalities of tsarist Russia had to rise against autocracy and serfdom. And it was no accident that in writing "from the Moldavian to the Finn all silent are in all their tongues", he did not specifically name the Ukrainians, did not single them out. He saw that all over Russia, from south to north, the peoples lived in terrible conditions, and he expressed the thoughts of every people suffering from tsarist tyranny.

What Shevchenko's poetry teaches is not resignation to one's hard lot. It calls on the people to smash their chains and cast off the yoke of slave labour. Shevchenko did not advocate unity of the oppressors and oppressed of one nation, which is what bourgeois nationalists uphold. He appealed to the enslaved to fight their enslavers. To him, national liberation was inseparable from the struggle against all tyrants. (*Applause.*)

He was a people's poet in the truest and loftiest sense of the term. Both the content and form of his poetry

have the same popular quality—they are simple and easy to understand, for they stem from folk songs and legends, and they have been accepted by the people and become the people's own.

Shevchenko was a great Ukrainian national poet. His poems were inspired by a son's ardent love of his native Ukraine. His work reproduced the best traits of the Ukrainian people's national character, and portrayed the people's very soul. But precisely because Shevchenko was a national poet, a poet of the people, there is not a hint of national exclusiveness or aloofness, national egoism or swagger, in his poetry. The "soul" of his poetry is open to the working men and women of every nation or nationality. (*Applause.*)

Like every truly great national poet—like Pushkin, Mickiewicz, Lermontov, Heine, Byron or Mayakovsky—Shevchenko was a poet of international fraternity and friendship among the nations. He made no distinctions between working people—his heart went out in love to all men of labour and to the oppressed people of every nationality—just as his hatred made no distinctions between oppressors. That is why the insurgent bard himself was hated by the tsar and his entourage as much as by the Ukrainian landowners.

Shevchenko's poetry did not gratify those who read pretty verses once in a while to pass the time. It did not please the ear and the soul of the surfeited. It was spearheaded against the oppressors. The poet addressed himself to the oppressed and downtrodden, calling on them to fight, and fought with them, against the oppressors.

Shevchenko repeatedly said with deep conviction that all that is great and significant is created by man's intellect and labour, and that if man were freed from the shackles of slavery and bondage, he could work miracles. He earnestly called on the mass of the people to

get rid of "all reptiles on earth; to seize and crush them, and throw them into the fire of hell". He fought with might and main for the emancipation and glory of the working man, for his happiness. He wrote: "Divine, immortal nature is rich, infinitely rich, in beauty; but man's face animated by happiness is the triumph and summit of undying beauty. I know of nothing loftier and more beautiful in nature."

The great Ukrainian bard's dreams have come true. The peoples of our country, led by the Communist Party, have smashed the chains of slavery and oppression. All the peoples, big and small alike, have won equal rights. Soviet man, a man of free labour, has become the master and maker of his own happiness. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The greatness of the peoples of former tsarist Russia lies in their living as one fraternal family. This vast Soviet family unites over a hundred nations and nationalities. (*Applause.*)

Our enemies imagined that a socialist state composed of so many nations was doomed to disintegration. It was on this notion that they based their infamous plans for restoring the capitalist system in our country.

Shevchenko's works are an object of acute ideological and class struggles abroad even today. The enemies of communism, including bourgeois nationalists, who run errands for their imperialist masters, try, as they did in the past, to use the great bard's works for their treacherous ends, and they distort and falsify them in every possible way. But nothing will come of their efforts.

The Leninist national policy, a wise policy of friendship and fraternity of the peoples, has triumphed in our country. (*Applause.*) The great spirit of our peoples, and their keen political awareness expressed themselves in their overcoming national narrow-mindedness and putting social and political emancipation before narrowly conceived national interests. In their multinational

fraternal family, the Soviet people have by their own labour and intellect created a mighty socialist state with which spokesmen of the old, declining world, who mocked at tsarist Russia's backwardness, are compelled to reckon.

Shevchenko was no Marxist because Marxism was only just in the making. But even so, in the conditions of mid-nineteenth-century Russia, he correctly sensed the spirit of his time, the rise of the working class, and its great future.

Take, for example, the following entry in Shevchenko's diary. Returning from exile on the Volga steamboat, he wrote that the boat "seems to me like a huge, hollowly roaring monster with a huge mouth opened wide and about to swallow the landed inquisitors. O great Fulton! And O great Watt! Your young creation, which is growing daily and hourly, will soon devour all knouts, thrones and crowns, and as for the diplomats and landowners, it will take them merely as a titbit, will eat them as playfully as a schoolboy eats a lollipop. What the Encyclopædists started in France, your colossal child of genius will complete throughout our planet. My prophecy will come true undoubtedly." (*Applause.*)

This statement shows Shevchenko as a thinker who foresaw the importance of technical progress for society's future development.

Comrades, engraved on the pedestal of this monument to Shevchenko are the following inspired words from the poet's famous testament:

*And in the great new family,
The family of the free,
With softly spoken, kindly words
Remember also me.*

We cherish the eminent poet's memory in the new family of the free and remember him not merely with

kindly words, but with the best and loftiest words there are. (*Prolonged applause.*) We remember him with kindly words. But not with softly spoken words—we remember him with resounding words, for we acknowledge his greatness and the services he rendered to the peoples of our multinational socialist country and to mankind as a whole. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We are in front of a monument to Shevchenko. I wish, however, to say to the great bard as if he had been living:

“Look at our homeland, Taras Grigoryevich! Our multinational socialist country, the Soviet Union, has become a new family of the free. We have not forgotten, nor shall we ever forget, that you were among the glorious fighters for the people’s happiness who undermined the pillars of the autocracy and spared no effort, nor their very lives, to bring about the working people’s victory in their emancipation struggle against the oppressors, for freedom and happiness.” (*Stormy applause.*)

The free and industrious Soviet people have built a socialist society in our country. Today our people are building communism under the banner of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and under the leadership of the Communist Party. The peoples of many countries are now following the road of socialist and communist construction. We are confident that this road will be taken by the whole of mankind. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Socialism is the real successor of the cultural wealth created by the people’s genius. Shevchenko’s poetry is a brilliant and unfading part of this wealth. In paying homage to Shevchenko, we reaffirm the tremendous importance of his legacy for the present and future. (*Applause.*)

Shevchenko’s name, inscribed in letters of gold, has gone down in the history of progressive culture. The

unveiling of this monument to the great bard here in Moscow, where it will stand along with the monuments of such geniuses of Russian culture as Pushkin, Gogol, Gorky and Mayakovsky, is a vivid expression of the indestructible friendship and fraternity of our peoples. (*Applause.*)

We people of the new, free socialist world turn with deep gratitude to the memory of the Ukraine's illustrious son, that great singer of international unity and friendship among the nations.

May the memory of Shevchenko live for ever in the hearts of posterity! (*Stormy applause.*)

May friendship among free nations grow stronger! May the international fraternity of the working people of the world go from strength to strength! (*Stormy applause.*)

Glory to Taras Shevchenko! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics