

**ON THE ORGANIZATION OF  
PARTY PROPAGANDA  
IN CONNECTION WITH THE  
PUBLICATION OF THE  
HISTORY OF THE C.P.S.U.(B.)  
SHORT COURSE**



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**PROLETARIANS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE !**





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HISTORY OF THE C.P.S.U.(B.)  
SHORT COURSE**

**DECISION OF THE CENTRAL  
COMMITTEE OF THE C.P.S.U.(B.)**



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## I

The publication of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)—Short Course* is an outstanding event in the ideological life of the Bolshevik Party. With its appearance, the Party has acquired a new and powerful ideological weapon of Bolshevism, an encyclopædia of fundamental knowledge in the realm of Marxism-Leninism. The Short Course is a scientific history of Bolshevism. It sets forth and generalizes the tremendous experience of the Communist Party, an experience unequalled by that of any other party in the world.

The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)—Short Course is a most effective means in the solution of the problem of mastering Bolshevism, in arming the members of the Party with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, that is, with a knowledge of the laws of social development and of the political struggle; it is a means of heightening the political vigilance of Party and non-Party Bolsheviks, and of raising the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism to a proper theoretical level.

In the compilation of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)—Short Course, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) had the following aims in view:

1. It was necessary to provide the Party with a single guide to Party history, one that would give an official interpretation, verified by the Central Committee, of the fundamental questions of the history of the C.P.S.U.(B.) and of Marxism-Leninism and that would preclude all arbitrary interpretation. The publication of the History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)—Short Course, approved by the Central Committee, puts an end to all arbitrariness and confusion in the treatment of the history of the Party, and to the multiplicity of views on, and arbitrary interpretations of highly important questions of Party theory and Party history to be found in a number of earlier textbooks on the history of the Party.

2. In the compilation of the History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)—Short Course, the Central Committee set itself the aim of removing the harmful



gap which in the sphere of propaganda has arisen in recent years between Marxism and Leninism and which has resulted in the teaching of Leninism as an independent doctrine separated from Marxism, from dialectical and historical materialism, and from the history of the Party, the fact being forgotten that Leninism arose and developed on the basis of Marxism, that Marxism is the foundation of Leninism, and that without a knowledge of this foundation, Leninism cannot be understood.

In the compilation of the History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)—Short Course, the Central Committee set itself the aim of providing a guide to the theory and history of the C.P.S.U.(B.) which would reunite into one whole the artificially separated component parts of the integral doctrine of Marxism-Leninism—dialectical and historical materialism and Leninism—and in which historical materialism and the policy of the Party would be connected; a guide which would demonstrate the indissoluble unity, integrity and continuity of the doctrine of Marx and Lenin, the unity of Marxism-Leninism, and which would give an account of the new contributions which Lenin and his disciples made to Marxist theory by generalizing the new experience of the class struggle of the proletariat in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

3. Unlike certain of the old textbooks, whose account of the history of the C.P.S.U.(B.) was primarily centred around historical personages, and the purpose of which was to educate our forces by the example of personages and their biographies, the Short Course bases its account of the history of the Party on an exposition of the fundamental ideas of Marxism-Leninism and seeks to educate Party members primarily *in the ideas* of Marxism-Leninism

In the compilation of the History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)—Short Course, the Central Committee set itself the aim of imparting the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism on the basis of historical facts. The Central Committee considered that such an exposition of Marxist-Leninist theory would best answer the purpose in view, because the fundamental ideas of Marxism-Leninism can be most effectively, naturally and comprehensibly demonstrated with the help of historical facts, because the history of the C.P.S.U.(B.) is itself Marxism-Leninism in action, and because the correctness and vitality of the Marxist-Leninist theory has been tested in practice, by the experience of the class struggle of the proletariat; while Marxist-Leninist theory has itself developed and become enriched by the closest contact with practice, on the basis of generalizing the practical experience of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

4. In the compilation of the History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)—Short Course, the Central Committee set itself the aim of ridding Marxist



literature of over-simplified and vulgarized interpretations of a number of questions relating to the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the history of the Party.

Such vulgarization and over-simplification found expression, for example, in the downright anti-Marxist views regarding the role of the individual in history which were current until latterly and which have long been condemned by the Party: certain pseudo-theoreticians and propagandists treated the role of the individual in history from a semi-Socialist-Revolutionary standpoint.

To this category of vulgarization and over-simplification of Marxism-Leninism belongs the wrong interpretation of the question of the victory of Socialism in our country.

Wide currency has been acquired by perversions of the Marxist-Leninist view on the character of wars in the present epoch, the failure to understand the difference between just and unjust wars, and by the false idea that the Bolsheviks are a kind of "pacifists."

In historical science, anti-Marxist perversions and vulgarizations were until quite latterly connected with the so-called Pokrovsky "school," which interpreted historical facts in a perverted way, treated them, in defiance of historical materialism, from the standpoint of the present day, and not from the standpoint of the conditions in which the historical events took place, and thus distorted historical truth.

Anti-historical falsifications of historical truth, anti-historical attempts to adorn history instead of setting it forth truthfully have led, for example, to the history of the Party being depicted at times in our propaganda as one unbroken succession of victories, unmarred by any temporary defeats and retreats, which is obviously contrary to historical truth and therefore hinders the proper education of our forces.

The muddled ideas resulting from anti-Marxist vulgarization have also been manifested in the circulation of false views regarding the Soviet state, in a disparagement of the role and significance of the Socialist state as the chief weapon of the workers and peasants in the fight for the victory of Socialism and for the protection of the Socialist gains of the working people from the encroachments of the surrounding capitalist world.

The History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)—Short Course puts an end to these and similar vulgarizations and debasement of Marxism-Leninism and restores the Marxist-Leninist views.

5. In the compilation of the History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)—Short Course, the Central Committee set itself the aim of graphically demonstrating the power and significance of Marxist-Leninist theory, a theory which scientifically discloses the laws of development of society, which



teaches how to apply these laws in guiding the revolutionary activities of the proletariat, and which, like every science, continuously develops and perfects itself and does not fear to replace individual antiquated propositions and conclusions by new propositions and conclusions corresponding to the new historical conditions.

The C.C. of the C.P.S.U.(B.) proceeded from the premise that unless our Party members have a knowledge of the theory of Marxism-Leninism, unless they master Bolshevism and make good their deficiencies in the realm of theory, they will be severely handicapped, for in order that they may properly guide all branches of Socialist construction, those practically engaged in the work must master the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist theory and be able to guide themselves by theory in the solution of practical problems.

It is a mistake to think that only a narrow circle of people can master theory. Marxist-Leninist theory can be mastered by anybody. Today, with a Soviet system and with the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., unlimited opportunities have been created enabling our leading cadres to successfully master Marxist-Leninist theory and to study the history of the Party and the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. To master the theory of Marxism-Leninism one has only to desire to do so, and to display persistence and firmness of will in the achievement of this aim. If such sciences as physics, chemistry and biology can be successfully mastered, there is not the slightest ground to doubt that the science of Marxism-Leninism can be fully mastered.

6. In the compilation of the History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)—Short Course, the Central Committee set itself the aim of helping those working in the field of theory and propaganda to change their methods, to improve the quality of their work, to begin to make good their deficiencies in theoretical knowledge, to eliminate the defects and shortcomings in their ideological training, and to raise propaganda work to its proper level.

All these aims which the Central Committee set itself have found their fruition in the History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)—Short Course.

## II

What are the chief defects in our propaganda work?

In what way must the Party's work in the field of propaganda and theory be reconstructed?

1. The chief defect in the present organization of Party propaganda is the absence of the necessary centralized direction and the consequent amateurishness and lack of organization of propaganda work.



This amateurishness and lack of organization in the matter of Party propaganda have been manifested primarily in the fact that Party organizations have selected verbal propaganda, through study circles, as the chief form of propaganda. They forgot that the study circle method of propaganda was chiefly characteristic of the period when the Party was illegal and that the circle method was necessitated by the conditions under which the Party had to carry on its work at that time; they forgot that under the Soviet Government, when the Bolshevik Party possesses such a powerful instrument of propaganda as the press, entirely new conditions and opportunities have been created for conducting propaganda on an unlimited scale and for centralizing its direction.

Instead of making use of these opportunities, Party organizations continue to cling to the old forms of propaganda, not realizing that under present conditions the study circles can no longer serve as the chief method of educating our forces in Bolshevism; that the principal method of teaching them Marxism-Leninism should be the independent study of the history and theory of the Bolshevik Party—a method which has been tried and tested by the experience of the older generation of Bolsheviks—the Party assisting them in this through the press and by means of centralized and highly competent consultation on problems arising in the course of study, by means of lectures, addresses, etc.

Having selected verbal propaganda through study circles as the chief method of propaganda, Party organizations were carried away by the mistaken idea of enrolling all Communists in the study circles, making it their principal aim to create as large a number of Party study circles as possible and to achieve a one-hundred per cent "enrolment," to enrol indiscriminately all Communists without exception in the Party study circles, and, what is more, on an obligatory basis.

In striving to form as many study circles as possible, the Party organizations lost sight of the principal thing—quality of propaganda.

The multiplicity of study circles deprived the Party organizations of the possibility of keeping control over the substance of propaganda work, with the result that they allowed the direction of propaganda work to slip from their hands and confined their efforts chiefly to the collection of bureaucratic statistical information regarding the "percentage enrolment" of Communists in the study circles, and the number and attendance of study circles. The effect was to turn the study circles into autonomous and uncontrolled organizations carrying on their work at their own discretion.

Another result of the multiplicity of study circles was that the ranks of the propagandists have become filled by persons with inadequate



theoretical training, and often even politically illiterate and untested; persons who, far from being able to help Party members and non-Party people in mastering Bolshevism, are only capable of substituting harmful over-simplification for the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory, and of confusing their students.

In striving to have the largest possible number of propagandists, Party organizations neglected the theoretical guidance of the training and perfection of propagandists and control over their work in the study circles. Instead of centralizing the guidance of propagandists and thereby ensuring improvement in the methods of instructing them, the Party organizations here, too, took the wrong course of striving for numbers, diluting the work of assisting propagandists by creating a large number of Party reference and consultation centres in factories, propagandist seminars, short courses for propagandists, etc. The striving to set up the largest possible number of such institutions, to the detriment of their quality, resulted in the Party reference and consultation centres and propagandist seminars being deprived of the necessary Party guidance, while the lack of competent instructors for the propagandist seminars and Party reference and consultation centres resulted in the deterioration of their work, causing the propagandists to be dissatisfied with the way in which they were run, and converting the attendance of seminars and visits to Party reference and consultation centres into a formal duty.

Making it obligatory for Party members to attend study circles, and looking upon Party members as eternal elementary school students incapable of studying Marxism-Leninism independently, Party organizations resorted to a number of arbitrary devices to draw Party members into and retain them in the study circles, and adopted the course of petty tutelage over, and regulation of the work of Communists in the study circles.

Elementary school methods have become an established practice in Party study circles—incorrect methods which hinder the ideological and political development of Party members. This is manifested in the establishment of “uniform days” of study for all circles, uniform rules governing their activities, and the exclusion of the method of conversation and lively comradely discussion from the circles.

Not confining themselves to this, the Party organizations conceived the bureaucratic and pernicious idea of “controlling” every reader of a Marxist-Leninist book and obliging him to undergo an examination in what he has read.

The result of these incorrect methods of propaganda work is that Communists, being obliged year after year to study in one and the same



circle, and not getting proper assistance in the home study of Marxist-Leninist literature, lose interest in theoretical education and often come to look upon attendance of study circles as an irksome burden.

The violation of the principle that the joining of study circles is voluntary, the bureaucratic practice of automatically and obligatorily enrolling Party members in the study circles, the incorrect view that study circles constitute the only form of Party education, have undermined the confidence of Party members in their ability to study Marxism-Leninism successfully by independent reading. This has caused injury by discouraging Communists from undertaking a profound study of the principles of Marxism-Leninism independently, and by hampering the ideological development of Party members.

The confidence of Communists in their power and ability to master Marxist-Leninist theory must be restored.

The harmful and false belief that Marxism-Leninism can be learned only in study circles must be destroyed, since, as a matter of fact, the chief and principal means of studying Marxism-Leninism is by independent reading.

2. One of the chief reasons for the inordinate emphasis laid on study circles and verbal propaganda generally, to the detriment of propaganda through the press, was the harmful separation of the organization of printed propaganda from the organization of verbal propaganda, as manifested in the existence of separate propaganda departments and press departments of regional committees, territorial committees and Central Committees of national Communist Parties, as well as of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.).

The chief and decisive instrument in the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism should be the press—magazines, newspapers, pamphlets—while verbal propaganda should perform a subsidiary and auxiliary function. The press makes it possible to bring any particular truth simultaneously to the knowledge of all, and it is therefore more effective than verbal propaganda. But the fact that the direction of propaganda was divided between two departments has resulted in lowering the importance of the press in the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism, which narrowed the scope of Bolshevik propaganda and led to amateurishness and lack of organization.

The departments of Party propaganda and agitation, confining their activities to verbal propaganda, and striving to form the greatest possible number of study circles, did not utilize the Party press for propaganda purposes, thus depriving themselves of the opportunity of guiding the substance of propaganda.



For their part, the press departments, not possessing the necessary forces of competent propagandists, who devoted themselves almost exclusively to verbal propaganda, proved unable to carry on the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism through the press.

3. A very serious defect in Party propaganda is the neglect by Party organizations of the political education, the Marxist-Leninist training of our cadres, our Soviet intellectuals—our Party, Young Communist League, Soviet, industrial, co-operative, trade, trade union, agricultural, educational and military cadres, in other words, the personnel of our Party, state and collective farm apparatus, with whose help the working class and peasantry administer the affairs of the Soviet country. Our Party propaganda has been concentrated chiefly on the factory workers, losing sight of the key cadres—our Soviet, Party and non-Party, intelligentsia, which consists of people who but recently were workers and peasants.

One of the purposes of the History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)—Short Course is to put an end to this monstrous, anti-Leninist disparagement of our intelligentsia, the Soviet intelligentsia, and of their requirements in respect to political, Leninist education.

The History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)—Short Course is primarily designed for the leading cadres of Party, Young Communist League, industrial and other personnel, for all our Party and non-Party intellectuals, both in town and country.

Our Party, Soviet, industrial and other leading Leninist cadres engaged in practical work are seriously deficient in knowledge of theory. In the compilation of the course on the history of the Party, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) set itself the aim of initiating the work of eliminating the deficiencies of our cadres in theoretical and political knowledge.

The Central Committee proceeded from the premise that "...if we were able, if we succeeded in giving our Party cadres, from top to bottom, an ideological training and in steeling them politically, so that they could easily find their bearings in the internal and international situation, if we succeeded in making them fully mature Leninists, Marxists, capable of solving, without serious error, the problems involved in guiding the country we would solve nine-tenths of our problems." (*Stalin.*)

The Central Committee proceeded from the premise that the art of Bolshevik leadership requires a knowledge of theory, that is, of the laws of development of society, the laws of development of the working-class movement, the laws of development of the proletarian revolution and of Socialist construction, and the ability to apply these laws in the practical work of guiding Socialist construction.



Our cadres, in their sum total, constitute the huge army of the Soviet intelligentsia. The Soviet intelligentsia is firmly rooted in the working class and the peasantry. It is an entirely new intelligentsia, the like of which is unknown to any other country of the world.

No state ever could or can get along without its own intelligentsia, and still less can the Socialist state of the workers and peasants get along without its own intelligentsia. Our intelligentsia, which has grown up during the years of Soviet power, comprises the personnel of our state apparatus, through whom the working class conducts its home and foreign policy. It consists of recent workers and peasants, and of the sons of workers and peasants, who have been promoted to key posts. The intelligentsia is of particular importance in a country like ours, where the state directs all branches of economic and cultural life, including agriculture, and where every state employee, if he is to perform his duties conscientiously and successfully, must understand the policy of the state, its tasks, both home and foreign.

Consequently, the education of the Soviet intelligentsia in Marxism-Leninism is one of the primary and most important tasks of the Bolshevik Party.

The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.) draws attention to the fact that although the intelligentsia performs so important a function in the Soviet state, there still prevails to this day a disparaging attitude towards our intelligentsia, an attitude which represents a pernicious application to our Soviet intelligentsia of the opinion about and attitude towards the intelligentsia which were current in pre-revolutionary days, when the intelligentsia was in the service of the landlords and capitalists.

This disparaging attitude towards the intelligentsia is manifested in the neglected state of the work of ideologically educating our cadres, in the lack of attention to political work among the intelligentsia—office personnel, teachers, doctors, students, collective farm intellectuals, etc.—and in a haughty and disdainful treatment of the Party or non-Party intellectual as a second-rate individual, even though he may be a former Stakhanovite who, because of his services, has been promoted to a leading post in the Soviet state.

This anti-Bolshevik attitude towards this Soviet intelligentsia is barbarous and outrageous, and dangerous to the Soviet state. It must be realized that it was precisely the neglect of political work among the intelligentsia, among our cadres, that brought about a state of affairs in which a section of our cadres, standing outside the orbit of the political influence of the Party, and lacking ideological training, went astray politically,



became enmeshed, and fell prey to foreign espionage services and to their Trotskyite-Bukharinite and bourgeois-nationalist agents.

The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.) considers it time to put a stop to this "Makhayev," anti-Leninist attitude towards the intelligentsia.

The Soviet intelligentsia must be educated in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

Without an intelligentsia so educated, the Soviet state cannot guide the affairs of the country successfully.

The History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)—Short Course is a means of educating the Soviet intelligentsia in this way.

### III

The C.C. of the C.P.S.U. (B.) resolves:

1. That the practice of striving to enrol the greatest possible number of Communists in the Party study circles, to the detriment of the quality of propaganda, which has led to a diffusion of forces and the lowering of the level of propaganda work, be considered wrong.

2. That it be made incumbent on Party organizations to put an end to amateurish methods of organization of Party propaganda, to establish the necessary centralization of the direction of propaganda, and to re-organize Party propaganda in such a way as will ensure an improvement in its quality and the raising of its ideological level.

3. That the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)—Short Course be made the basis of the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism.

That the study of the history of the C.P.S.U. (B.) be differentiated as follows:

It is advisable for the *minor* cadres, who include a large number of inadequately trained comrades, to study the course according to an abridged program embracing the three main stages in the history of the Party: 1) the struggle for the creation of the Bolshevik Party (Chapters I-IV); 2) the Bolshevik Party in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat (Chapters V-VII); 3) the Bolshevik Party in power (Chapters VIII-XII).

The Central Committee recommends that the *middle* cadres, who consist of comrades who are relatively better trained and who comprise the most numerous section of our cadres, study the History of the C.P.S.U. (B.)—Short Course in full, the program to embrace all the twelve chapters of the *History*.



It is advisable for the *higher* cadres, that is, the most thoroughly trained comrades, to study the History of the C.P.S.U. (B.)—Short Course by chapter sections, combining this with a study of the appropriate original works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

4. That, proceeding from the premise that the chief method of studying Marxism-Leninism should be independent study, the regional committees, the territorial committees, and the Central Committees of the national Communist Parties be instructed to reduce the number of Party study circles.

If the matter is properly approached, it will be found advisable, in place of the scores and sometimes hundreds of study circles at present existing in each large factory, office and university, to have in a large factory or office two or three circles for the lower grade, two or three for the middle grade, and one higher grade circle for the best developed and trained people, and in a university a few study circles of the middle and higher grades.

In rural districts, if there are sufficient numbers desirous of studying the History of the C.P.S.U. (B.)—Short Course in circles, and if skilled propagandists are available, several study circles may be formed for the rural intelligentsia: Party and Soviet workers, teachers, trade and co-operative employees, leading people on the collective farms, etc.

In reducing the number of study circles, the consideration should be to ensure competent propagandists for the remaining circles.

5. That a stop be put to the bureaucratic practice of compulsorily enrolling Communists in the Party study circles.

It should be explained to every Communist that study in the circles is a strictly voluntary affair.

6. That the work of the circles be based on the method of lively talks and comradely discussion. Officious, elementary school methods, stereotyped and hard and fast methods should be most vigorously eradicated from the circles as harmful and as a hindrance to the ideological education of Party and non-Party Bolsheviks. Propagandists should explain in a comradely spirit the subjects that interest the members of the study circles.

A stop must be put to the formal, bureaucratic regulation of the work of the circles (uniform Party study days, two-hour lessons immediately following work, refusal to discuss current questions of interest to the members of the circles, etc.). The time-table of study should be drawn up by the members of each circle together with the propagandist, in conformity with local conditions. Lessons should last just as long as the members of the circle consider necessary for a thorough discussion of the questions raised.



The work of the circles should be arranged so that studies are not dragged out too long. One of the radical defects of the present circles must be avoided, namely, the devoting of unlimited time to the earlier periods, while the post-October period, which is of extreme importance in the history of the Party, remains unstudied.

The members of circles for the study of Party history should be grouped in such a way as to ensure that they are of a more or less uniform level of general education and political training. It is advisable to have three types of circles, graded according to level of training, corresponding to the differentiated character of study of the History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)—Short Course, viz.:

a) Circles for the lower grade, studying the History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)—Short Course in accordance with the abridged program, theoretical questions being treated in a more popular form;

b) Circles for the middle grade, studying the History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)—Short Course in full, by chapters;

c) Circles for the more highly trained comrades, studying the History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)—Short Course by chapter sections with the simultaneous study of original sources.

7. That the practice of *lectures*, which constitute a valuable method of propaganda of Marxism-Leninism, be introduced. A carefully prepared and pithy lecture should be of great aid to comrades engaged in the independent study of the History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)—Short Course and the classical works of Marxism-Leninism. Lectures should also be arranged on international questions and on various questions of theory and politics. It is advisable that lectures be followed by questions. Public lectures with a small admission fee shall be made a practice.

8. That an end be put to amateurish methods and absence of control in the training of propagandists as manifested in a striving to organize as large a number of Party reference and consultation centres and seminars as possible. Party organizations are charged within the next two months to examine and revise the system of Party reference and consultation centres, to reduce their number, and, as a rule, to retain Party reference and consultation centres only under the auspices of the city committees and district committees of the Party for the purpose of assisting propagandists and advising persons engaged in independent political study. Party reference and consultation centres in factories and offices which are not provided with competent instructors should be closed down or used as reading rooms and libraries for persons engaged in independent study. The Party organizations shall reduce the number of seminars for propagandists, the work of these seminars to be placed in charge of the large



city district committees, city committees, regional committees and territorial committees of the C.P.S.U. (B.).

When arranging seminars for propagandists, Party organizations must provide them with politically tested instructors possessing an adequate Marxist education. City committees, regional committees and territorial committees of the C.P.S.U. (B.) must exercise constant control over the substance of the work of the seminars for propagandists.

The work of the seminars for propagandists on the history of the C.P.S.U. (B.) should be adapted to the three main forms of study of the history of the C.P.S.U. (B.), and so arranged that the seminars for propagandists in the History of the C.P.S.U. (B.)—Short Course be held well in advance of the study circles.

It should not be the purpose of the seminars to "prime" propagandists. Study in the seminars should be so arranged as to promote creative initiative in every student; theoretical questions should be discussed in a lively manner, and opportunity given for the comradely discussion of questions of theory and method.

9. That the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.) be instructed to enlist the services of the most competent propagandists in our Party, lecturers, speakers and consultants, who should contribute to the theoretical magazines and the central newspapers, deliver lectures and addresses, and render effective assistance to the Party organizations in the localities in the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism.

Information should be collected and regularly published in the press concerning the experience of the best propagandists, their methods of teaching, consultation and lecturing.

City committees, regional committees, territorial committees and Central Committees of the national Communist Parties are recommended to adopt the practice of summoning regular conferences of propagandists and writers to discuss the more important problems of propaganda.

10. That a stop be put to the tendency to underestimate the importance of the press as a highly important instrument of Marxism-Leninism and as a countrywide medium of propaganda.

The press must be made to play a greater part in the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism. With this object in view, *Pravda*, *Krasnaya Zvezda*, *Komsomolskaya Pravda* and the republican, territorial and regional Party and Young Communist League newspapers shall regularly give space to articles dealing with the theoretical questions of Marxism-Leninism, advice to readers, the lectures of the best propagandists and "questions and answers." *Pravda*, *Krasnaya Zvezda*, *Komsomolskaya Pravda* and the



republican, territorial and regional newspapers shall set up propaganda departments which shall be placed in charge of theoretically trained comrades and for which the services of the best propagandists shall be secured.

The magazine *Bolshevik* shall be reorganized as a theoretical organ of the Party and as a countrywide advisory medium on questions of Marxism-Leninism, printing in its columns answers to and explanations of theoretical and political questions raised by Party members and non-Party people.

The Party Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.) and the State Political Publishing House shall arrange for the publication of popular pamphlets for the assistance of propagandists and particularly of the Party members studying the history of the Party, and shall draw up a plan of publication of aids to the study of Party history.

11. That the disparaging attitude towards the Soviet intelligentsia and towards the work of training them ideologically and politically in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism be condemned as barbarous and outrageous. It shall be made incumbent upon the Party organizations to restore a proper Bolshevik attitude towards the Soviet intelligentsia and to develop the work of ideological-political education among the intelligentsia, office workers, students and the collective farm intelligentsia. It shall be the prime and chief task of Party organizations in the sphere of propaganda to make good the deficiencies in theoretical and political knowledge on the part of the Party and non-Party intelligentsia and to provide all possible assistance to the Soviet intelligentsia in mastering Bolshevism, in studying the history of the C.P.S.U. (B.) and the classical works of Marxism-Leninism.

12. That note be taken of the grave deficiencies of the workers on the theoretical front, as shown in their weakness in matters of theory, their fear to boldly raise theoretical questions of timely importance, in the prevalence of pedantry and dogmatism, in the vulgarization and hackneyed treatment of individual principles of Marxism-Leninism, in the lagging of theoretical thought, in the inadequate theoretical generalization of the vast practical experience accumulated by the Party on all sectors of Socialist construction. All workers on the theoretical front are called upon to take rapid and determined measures to rectify the intolerable lagging of the theoretical front, to discard the fear of boldly raising theoretical questions that advance Marxist-Leninist theory, to put an end to pedantry, dogmatism, scholasticism, and the vulgarization and hackneyed treatment of individual principles of Marxist-Leninist theory.

13. That measures be taken to eliminate the shortcomings and deficiencies in ideological literature, as manifested, in particular, in the un-



satisfactory work of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, which has committed a number of distortions and inaccuracies in translations into Russian of the works of Marx and Engels, as well as gross political mistakes of a wrecking character in the appendices, notes and commentaries to certain volumes of the works of Lenin.

14. That the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute be charged in the very near future to correct the distortions committed in translations of the works of Marx and Engels into Russian, as well as the gross political mistakes contained in the appendices and notes to the works of Lenin, as, for instance, in Volume XIII.

The Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute shall expedite the new edition of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

15. That note be taken of the aloofness of our theoretical magazines from vital questions in the life and struggle of our Party, their segregation and their tendency to academism.

The editorial boards of theoretical magazines are charged to reorganize their work so as to give space in their columns to theoretical questions of timely importance, to generalizations drawn from the experience of Socialist construction, to serving the requirements of our cadres in matters of theory, to the examination of new theoretical problems and to creative discussion of questions of theory.

16. That, in addition to the system of political instruction courses for leading Party cadres established by the February-March Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.), the following measures for the training and perfection of skilled Party propagandists be adopted:

a) One-year courses of instruction for propagandists and journalists shall be organized in the following centres: 1) Moscow; 2) Leningrad; 3) Kiev; 4) Minsk; 5) Rostov; 6) Tbilisi; 7) Baku; 8) Tashkent; 9) Alma-Ata; 10) Novosibirsk. The one-year courses of instruction for propagandists organized in these centres shall serve not only the requirements of their own region or territory, but also of adjacent regions, territories and republics. The program of the one-year courses for propagandists should be on the lines of the program of the "Lenin Courses," and the studies should be so arranged as to develop skill in propaganda work and in the thorough independent study of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

The aggregate number of students of the one-year instruction courses for propagandists is fixed at 1,500-2,000, about one-half of this number to consist of journalists.

b) A Higher School of Marxism-Leninism shall be set up under the



auspices of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) with a three-year course for the training of highly-qualified Party theoreticians.

17) That the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory in the higher educational establishments be based on a thorough study of the History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)—Short Course. In this connection:

a) In place of the separate courses in Leninism and dialectical and historical materialism, a single course in the "principles of Marxism" shall be introduced in the higher educational establishments, the total number of hours formerly devoted to social and economic subjects being preserved. The teaching of the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the higher educational establishments shall begin with the study of the History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)—Short Course, with the simultaneous study of original Marxist-Leninist works. The teaching of political economy shall follow the study of the History of the C.P.S.U.(B.).

b) In place of the present separate chairs in dialectical and historical materialism, Leninism and the history of the C.P.S.U.(B.), a single chair in Marxism-Leninism shall be instituted in the higher educational establishments.

c) In universities and institutes where there are faculties of philosophy, history and literature, the courses in dialectical and historical materialism in these faculties shall be preserved.

d) The Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) and the All-Union Committee on Higher Education are instructed by the beginning of the 1939-40 educational year to select the professors for the chairs in Marxism-Leninism and to submit their names to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) for approval. The Central Committees of the national Communist Parties, the territorial committees, regional committees and city committees of the C.P.S.U.(B.) are instructed to select theoretically trained and politically tested teachers of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

e) Six-month courses for teachers of Marxism-Leninism in higher educational establishments shall be organized in connection with the Higher School of Marxism-Leninism.

#### IV

With the object of radically improving the Party direction of the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) resolves:

18. That the Party propaganda and agitation departments of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.); the Central Committees of



the national Communist Parties, the territorial committees and the regional committees of the C.P.S.U.(B.) be merged with their respective press and publishing house departments to form single propaganda and agitation departments.

19. That all affairs connected with the printed and verbal propaganda of Marxism-Leninism and mass political agitation (the Party press; publication of propaganda and agitational literature; organization of the printed and verbal propaganda of Marxism-Leninism; control over the ideological content of propaganda work; selection and distribution of propagandists and the political training and perfection of Party members; organization of mass political agitation) be entrusted to the propaganda and agitation departments.

The practical realization of the present decision of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) shall form the basis of the work of the propaganda and agitation departments.

20. That in order to improve the quality of the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism, Party organizations shall in future make it a rule to entrust matters of propaganda to comrades relieved of all other work, those able to devote themselves entirely to this work and constantly to raise their theoretical and propagandist qualifications.

The regional and territorial committees of the C.P.S.U.(B.) are accordingly instructed to select the best propagandists for permanent propaganda work.

21. That the personnel of the propaganda and agitation departments shall be selected by the Party bodies from among the most competent professional propagandists and Party writers.

Groups of lecturers shall be organized as part of the propaganda and agitation departments of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.), the Central Committees of the national Communist Parties, the regional committees, territorial committees and city committees of the C.P.S.U.(B.).

22. That in view of the fact that the reduction of the number of study circles and of Party reference and consultation centres in factories and offices will release a part of the propagandists in the cities, the regional committees, territorial committees and Central Committees of the national Communist Parties be instructed to appoint the best trained among them to reinforce propaganda work in rural areas.

23. That the existing cultural and propaganda sections of the city committees and district committees of the Party be reorganized into propaganda and agitation departments. It is also deemed necessary to form propaganda and agitation departments of district committees which



at present have no cultural and propaganda sections. It is laid down that the formation of propaganda and agitation departments of district committees of the Party shall be sanctioned by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) for each district separately at the request of the regional committees, territorial committees and Central Committees of the national Communist Parties as and when the competent personnel for the departments becomes available.

City and district Party reference and consultation centres shall be placed under the charge of the propaganda and agitation departments of the city committees and district committees of the Party, the directors of the Party reference and consultation centres concurrently acting as assistant directors of the propaganda and agitation departments.

24. That it be laid down that directors of propaganda and agitation departments of regional committees, territorial committees, Central Committees of the national Communist Parties, area committees, city committees and district committees of the Party shall be endorsed by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.), and that all other responsible workers in the propaganda and agitation departments of these committees shall be endorsed by the regional committees, territorial committees or Central Committees of national Communist Parties.

Regional committees, territorial committees and Central Committees of the national Communist Parties are instructed to select the personnel of the propaganda and agitation departments and have them endorsed within two months.

25. That it is deemed necessary in view of the close connection between the work of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute and the propaganda of ~~Marxism~~-Leninism, that the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute be placed under the charge of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.).

26. The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) charges all Party committees to pay serious attention to the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism as a vital function of the Bolshevik Party. It is the duty of the Party committees to direct propaganda in substance and to thoroughly interest themselves in its content. The regional committees, territorial committees and the Central Committees of the national Communist Parties must take into their hands the guidance of the reconstruction of the whole organization of the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism in accordance with the present decision.

The Central Committee calls upon the Party organizations to note that the reconstruction of the whole work of Party propaganda in conformity with the present decision will demand utmost attention and care



on their part, but at the same time warns the Party organizations against the danger of approaching the reconstruction of propaganda in a mechanical and formal way, and against all attempts at the wholesale disparagement of propaganda work in the past.

With the purpose of improving the guidance of Party propaganda it is laid down that each city committee, regional committee, territorial committee and Central Committee of a national Communist Party shall have a special secretary to be occupied exclusively with the organization and substance of propaganda and agitation.

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The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) instructs district committees, city committees, regional committees, territorial committees and Central Committees of national Communist Parties to explain the present decision to the Party active and to all Party members.

The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) lays stress on the fact that the appearance of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) must inaugurate a change in attitude on the part of our cadres—Party, Young Communist League, Soviet, trade union, business and cultural workers and all our Soviet intelligentsia—stimulating them to make good their deficiencies in theoretical knowledge.

The History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)—Short Course will inaugurate a new and powerful ideological-political movement in the life of our Party and of the Soviet people.

By mastering the theory of Marxism-Leninism, which arms us with a knowledge of the laws of social development, our cadres will become really invincible, and will, under the banner of this theory and the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, with even greater success lead the whole Soviet people to the victory of Communism.

November 14, 1938











