

The Diary of Anatoly S. Chernyaev

1972

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K. Marx: “The label of a system differs from labels of other goods in that, among other things, it fools not only the buyer, but often the seller as well.”

March 5, 1972 (Sunday)

[Georgiy Emmanuilovich] Tsukanov (Brezhnev’s top adviser) called yesterday and notified me that I am included in a group that will prepare the General Secretary’s speech for the XV Congress of Trade Unions (March 20). Naturally, Kulakov is out of the picture. Moreover, [Georgiy Arkadieovich] Arbatov conveyed to me the conversation between Tsukanov and Brezhnev: Tsukanov told Brezhnev that “the main group is being pulled apart.” To which the latter apparently replied, “Why don’t you figure this one out yourself.”

March 9, 1972

In the morning I was summoned to Brezhnev’s. Tsukanov, Arbatov, and I. He already read the text yesterday and was thinking out loud, which meant he was “making comments”... He read out the beginning...

“My main idea is to rise above the trade union themes. I am not supposed to stoop down to their problems on behalf of the Party, but to get them to adjust to the policies of the Party”...

The selector buzzed, we recognized [Aleksey Nikolaevich] Kosygin’s voice. Brezhnev responded without turning around to face the device; it was like two people having a conversation in the same room.

Tsukanov made a sign for the three of us to leave (including him). But Brezhnev stopped us. So we heard [the following]:

K[osygin]: “How did you spend the holiday?”¹

B[rezhnev]: “So-so. We were at the dacha with Viktoriya Petrovna (wife). Nobody visited us. During the day she went to the hospital, our daughter (20 years old) got a duodenal ulcer. Who would have thought... But it looks like she is going to be ok.”

K: “I also visited my daughter at the hospital in Barvikha. We went for a walk. In the evening I saw a movie, don’t remember what it was called. Made by the Odessa motion pictures, about our intelligence men. It was alright. Of course, there were all kinds of heroic deeds which are only ever so easy in a movie studio.”

B: “I saw a movie last night with V.P... what was it called... Maybe “Shield and Sword”? It’s old, but I haven’t seen it before. It was good. During the day I called Stavropol. The Obkom [oblast committee] secretary² told me they have a scientist (don’t recall his last

¹ March 8 - International Women’s Day – ed.

² Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev at the time – ed.

name) who completed an experiment. He sustained wheat sprouts at -20 degrees [Celsius]. It is a great achievement!

“I worked a little bit. I’m preparing for the XV Congress of Trade Unions. Some comrades are helping me right now...”

K: “Oh yes... here is what I wanted to tell you. Remember we sent [Vladimir Vladimirovich] Matskevich to accompany [Sheikh Mujibur] Rahman to Tashkent. He said that on the plane, the ministers came down on him, Rahman, for giving us too many promises. He was very agitated. Later, in private he swore to Matskevich that he will fulfill everything he promised to Brezhnev and that he liked the Soviet Union so much that he did not want to leave.

“Next week we are receiving [Zulfikar Ali] Bhutto and the Prime Minister of Afghanistan. With the Afghan it is simple: they want to pick at Pakistan from their side and to take away the Pashtuns. We will tell him that they shouldn’t (do this).

“It is more serious with Bhutto. After all he... those generals, who executed the Bengalis, he took them into his government. Maybe we should not receive him right now?”

B: “Actually, we are pretty busy right now, what do you think?”

K: “We could write him a letter or convey a verbal message through the ambassador, saying that he should put his generals behind bars, otherwise we will not receive him.”

B: “Oh, he is not going to agree to that...”

K: “Yes, you are right... And if we do not receive him, he will run over to the Americans or the Chinese.”

B: “He is already with them... Maybe we should write him a polite letter that we are not prepared right now to discuss the complex issues that have arisen from the armed conflict. Let them, say, discuss it among themselves (with India and Bangladesh) and try to settle it, it is not our job to be the middlemen. For how long should we postpone it? Until May? No... Nixon is coming in May, damn it. Then let’s do June.”

K: “All right. I will talk with Gromyko.”

B: “No, I’ll talk with him myself.”

K: “Look at how insolent Nixon has gotten. He keeps bombing Vietnam, more and more. Bastard. Listen, Len’,³ maybe we should postpone his visit as well?”

B: “Are you kidding?”

³Shortened familiar version of the name Leonid – translator.

K: “Why not? What a bombshell that would be! That’s not like postponing Bhutto’s visit for you!”

B: “It would be a bombshell alright, but who is it going to affect more!?”

K: “Yes, you are probably right. But we should write to him, at least...”

B: “Yes. I think I have a letter from Nixon somewhere. I haven’t replied to it. I should use this opportunity. I want to spend this Saturday and Sunday to work on it. I’ll go through all the correspondence again, read up on some materials.”

K: “Sounds good. I am going to receive the Yugoslav ambassador right now. He’s been asking for a long time. He needs to convey something from their Premier (or what do they call him there).”

The selector turns off. Brezhnev switches it to Gromyko.

B[rezhnev]: “Hello.”

G[romyko]: “Hello. How are you (!)⁴ feeling?”

B: “Alright. You know, Aleksey Nikolaevich [Kosygin] just called me and suggested to postpone Bhutto’s visit. I thought – I am very busy right now, and I’m tired, plus the situation there is very uncertain, their problems aren’t settled. It is too early for us to come in as intermediaries.”

G: “Nobody is asking us to be the intermediary. And we don’t need that right now.”

B: “OK, I was speaking hypothetically. But you know what I mean. Plus, you know how Aleksey Nikolaevich is – he considers both options possible.”

G: “Are you alone right now?”

B: “I’m alone.” (He gave each one of us a look.)

G: “This Kosygin changes his mind twenty times a day. My opinion is this: we should not postpone Bhutto’s visit for any reason. If he is turning to us in such a desperate situation, it means he realized that had Yahya Khan listened to us before the start of the armed conflict, he would not have lost such an important piece as Bangladesh. It means he understood that it is better to listen to us.

“Right now we have very strong positions in that whole region. If we push away Bhutto, we will lose an opportunity to quickly expand and enhance them.

⁴ Gromyko uses the familiar form of address when speaking to Brezhnev, which Chernyaev notes with (!) – translator.

“To demand that he jail the generals is just dumb. He will have enough time to do that. There is no need to exaggerate their role. It is not true that he is no longer in control of the situation and that everything is in the hands of the military junta.

“We should strike while the iron is hot.”

B: “Alright. I will raise this question at the Politburo today. You are probably right. I wavered for a minute because there is absolutely no time. Among foreign affairs, there are two things on my mind: Germany and Nixon. We need to help Brandt. I’m thinking to include a couple paragraphs in support of him and against the opposition’s arguments in my speech at the Congress of Trade Unions.”

G: “That would be very important. We presented our suggestions per your request. By the way, we should mention the Common Market. It is time to decide on this issue. The opposition is pushing the idea that the USSR wants to normalize relations with the FRG in order to separate it from the Common Market. And, they say, it is impossible to deal with the Soviet Union because it set a goal of waging an irreconcilable struggle against the Common Market.”

B: “Yes, I am planning to say something about this. You know, Kosygin suggested to postpone Nixon’s visit, too. He said it would be a bombshell.”

There was an extended silence over the selector. It seems it took Gromyko several seconds to get over the shock.

G: “What’s wrong with him...”

B: “Yeah, well... This Bhutto and the Afghan will probably ask to meet with me.”

G: “Of course. You don’t have to give them a lot of time, but you should see them. This is important.”

B: “I am tired. We will discuss everything today at the Politburo.”

He turned off the selector.

For about 15 minutes we continued to discuss the text. Then a call came in on the government communications line.

Brezhnev, picking up the receiver: “Ah, Nikolai (it was [Nikolai Viktorovich] Podgorny calling from Gagra, where he is on vacation).” This time we could only hear Brezhnev’s side of the conversation. He briefly talked about his daughter’s illness and about some routine affairs. Then he said:

“You know, Kolya,⁵ my nerves are on the edge. Yesterday I had some harsh talk with [Dmitriy Fedorovich] Ustinov. He was saying how he was resolute and would insist on his point.

⁵ Familiar version of the name Nikolai – translator.

You know this habit of his. I got wound up. Only later I came to my senses. All day I couldn't get over it. At night, around 2 a.m., I called him. It seems we made up. In the morning he called me at work. I guess these things happen. But he and I were always so friendly. It's my nerves...⁶

"You run around doing this and that. I tell you, Kolya, unlike my predecessors, I am not just lord over others here. I'm knee-deep in work."

In the evening Tsukanov told us that at the PB everything went "well" and quickly. What "well" means he did not have the time or the inclination to explain.

One thing is clear – if matters were in Kosygin's hands, everything would go to hell. And this easily could have happened, had Brezhnev indeed only reigned in his post, instead of working.

In the beginning, when we just came into his office, he complained about the disorder and the vastness of the information. He was sifting through a folder with ciphered telegrams, articles from American newspapers, and TASS reports. He seemed to be asking: "Could I just read the headlines? Look here – the leadership in Poland is in discord, trade unions are scheming against the Party... Can I just fix it in my memory, without looking into the heart of the matter?" Etc.

March 10, 1972

Yesterday at the Politburo Bhutto's visit was approved for March 16-18; i.e. Kosygin was swiped.

The "arguments" have been approved for Brandt's struggle with the opposition to the agreement. The ambassador is supposed to give them for "the chancellor's consideration."

March 18, 1972 (Saturday)

I haven't written in a while. On Wednesday evening I visited B.N. at the hospital. He's old and sickly. He told me at length about his illness and treatment.

On Wednesday evening we "considered" Politburo members' and Secretaries' comments on L[eonid] I[lyich Brezhnev]'s text. It's funny: we mostly corrected for "style" and smoothed out the edges, verbally concealing the deficiencies that were marked by "folksy" sayings like "if we dig deeper..."

There was probably just one substantive change: [Mikhail Andreyevich] Suslov crossed out everything about the Common Market. It is a sensational part, where in order to support

⁶ As we later learned from Tsukanov, Ustinov demanded from Brezhnev greater influence over the military-industrial complex. Brezhnev hesitated, since he took a course for détente and was forced to consider other aspects of the economy and "the people's needs." But pressure from his friend – who admonished, as always, about the priority of defense – took the upper hand.

Brandt, we say for the first time that we will not be mortal enemies to the Common Market forever... Brezhnev rejected Suslov's fears.

B.N. is concerned about the position of Academician-Secretary of the History Department that opened up after [Vladimir Mikhailovich] Khvostov's death. He is afraid that [Pyotr Nikolaevich] Pospelov⁷ will show up again. Asked me to think about it. The next day I sent him a note suggesting [Vladimir Grigoryevich] Trukhanovsky (Editor in chief of the *Voprosy Istorii* [Questions of History] journal) for the position.

I told B.N. about the conversation with Kosygin and Gromyko I heard in L.I.'s office. He was surprised at Kosygin. But he also called Gromyko impudent for speaking informally to Brezhnev while kissing up to [Dzhermen Mikhailovich] Gvishiani's. He recalled that Gromyko was till the last moment against the India-Pakistan war, he thought they were one and the same thing for us. "And why shouldn't they have a war? Results have shown that it was quite alright," commented Ponomarev.

March 19, 1972 (Sunday, 23:00)

[Enrico] Berlinguer was elected Secretary General of the Italian Communist Party [PCI]. (Brezhnev's greetings in *Pravda* were more reserved than even the greetings printed right above it on the occasion of [Luigi] Longo's appointment as Chairman of the PCI.)

I remembered B.N.'s poisonous remarks in the hospital about the "government of the democratic shift": "They don't know what else to think up!"

Well, what would he, B.N., advise them to think up?!

March 20, 1972 (Monday)

Brezhnev's speech at the XV Congress [of Trade Unions]. Tsukanov later told me that Brezhnev was editing the speech on Saturday night. (It was noticeable when I listened to the speech on the radio). Some international aspects, like the phrase that negotiations in Peking took place under the thunder of bombs in Vietnam, were the result of Arbatov's intervention.

[Andrey Mikhailovich] Aleksandrov-Agentov found out about the changes at the last minute, half an hour before the speech. He was fuming at Tsukanov, yelling that he recognizes Arbatov's work by the handwriting.

March 22, 1972

In the morning Tsukanov again: the speech at the presentation of the order to the Trade Unions. Present: Arbatov, [Georgy Lukich] Smirnov, and I, in Tskukanov's office. Went over it. Snot.

⁷ Pyotr Nikolaevich Pospelov – a long-time party apparatus worker from the Stalin era, a historian of the Party; he participated in the compilation of *A Brief History of the CPSU(b)*; during the war he was an editor of *Pravda*. An inveterate dogmatist and political chameleon, an academician.

In the evening Tsukanov told me that he will try to convince L.I. not to diminish his position by presenting this award. It is not his job. Truly, this is ridiculous.

I read the transcript of the conversation between Brezhnev and Bhutto. Brezhnev handled the matter brilliantly. He brainwashed Bhutto, who walked away as our true friend. Brezhnev almost persuaded him to work with India toward an agreement on non-aggression, non-use of force, and non-interference. If that were to happen, he said, then all the remaining problems will resolve themselves, like the issue with prisoners of war Kashmir, etc. If you agree, he said, then we will “work with India” toward this. It was difficult for him [Bhutto] to take this step. But personally, he already agreed. “I will do everything I can. If I fail, at least send a wreath for my grave.”

March 23, 1972 (Thursday).

All day I can't shake the feeling of self-satisfaction at how cleverly I reworked the note to the CC about responding to the Communist Party of Australia [CPA].

The gist of the matter: the Aaronses⁸ (“revisionists and anti-Soviets”) are proposing a meeting of CPSU and CPA delegations, and they are asking us to send greetings for their Congress (March 31st).

The note: We'll respond after your congress, depending on its results. [If we don't like it], we will formally sever our connections with the CPA.

Vadim Zagladin returned from Italy, and it seems he secured a breakthrough in our relations with the ICP.

Our ambassador in Paris met with [André] Malraux (in connection with the latter's visit to Nixon). He assures us that all of Nixon's actions are dominated by the upcoming meeting with Brezhnev. He does not think that anything significant has happened.

Unlike the rest of the world, he has a low opinion of Zhou,⁹ says he is primitive and knows a couple words in French.

It turns out Zhou went to Hanoi at Nixon's request. The latter promised to withdraw all troops and to cease hostilities as soon as the Vietnamese release the pilots. The Chinese want the role of peacemakers and are in a hurry, they are afraid that Nixon will turn to Moscow with the same request for mediation. The prisoners of war are his main trump card in the presidential elections.

[Stanislav Mikhailovich] Menshikov (consultant of the International Department) spent a month in the United States. He was surprised that in comparison to 1970, when he was there last, the most urgent issue on college campuses was “freedom for homosexuals!” Whereas in 1970 students were jumping on guns because of Vietnam. Total political apathy among the youth.

⁸ Laurence and Eric Aarons – leaders of the Communist Party of Australia, brothers.

⁹ Zhou Enlai – one of the main “historical leaders” of China.

March 25, 1972 (Saturday, morning, at home).

I'm reading the TASS reports. [Carlos] Altamirano (General Secretary of the Socialist Party of Chile, whom I met when he was in Moscow a year ago, and then saw again when I was in Chile in October of 1971) went to the PRC.

He spent five hours with Zhou. Enthusiasm – “unfinished revolution,” “great nation,” “the fate of mankind” (in the spirit of Nixon), “750 million Chinese + 600 million Latin Americans,” “a recognized leader of the Third World”...

Either they have despaired of the reality of Soviet aid, or it is the effect of the “revolutionary” nature of being anti-Communist and anti-Soviet, since the USSR is now a completed society, similar to a Western consumer society, and an ordinary superpower...

April 1, 1972 Saturday, at home.

Saw “Brother Alyosha” in the theater on Malaya Bronnaya, directed by Efros. Vomit-inducing slush. Sentimental wimpishness. I am furious about the wasted evening. Our intelligentsia (who applauded and called the author on stage) has completely lost its bearings. They are so consumed by their escapism from reality, that in their “protest” they turn to whatever may come their way. Disgusting!

Two dreams of Lyudka Malova: to give herself to a man she loves on a carpet of Parma violets (from Anatole France's “Sylvestre Bonnard”), and to walk into the Milan Opera in a gorgeous long dress, in diamonds, and with the best hairstyle in the world – so the whole evening all eyes would be only on her (even if the diamonds are only leased!). Only one evening, and a whole life!¹⁰

Saw Stalin's grandson in the “Feeder” [cafeteria] of the “Udarnik” theater.

I'm reading Alvin Toffler's “Facing the Future: the 800-th Generation” in *Inostrannaya Literatura* No. 3: the end of constancy, the escalation of acceleration, rhythm of life, a society of “discarders,” a new tribe of nomads, easily replaceable people, the overabundance of choice... etc.¹¹

¹⁰ Who is Lyudmila Malova? She is one of four 19-20 year-old girls who were sent by the CC to Prague in 1959 to work for the *Problems of Peace and Socialism* journal as stenographers and typists; each of them spoke some foreign language. One of them – Valya – married a famous leader of the French Communist Party, Jean Kanapa. Another – Olya – married a consultant of the International Department [Yuriy] Zhilin. The third – Nadya – later worked for a long time in the CC International Department. The fourth is that very “Lyudka” – when she returned to Moscow she got lost in the various Ministries. In their personal lives, all these four girls ended up unhappy. In Prague they were at the center of merry companies, which transgressed all norms of CC-morality. They were smart, educated girls. I decided to include them in this political text as examples of political characters that destroyed the notions about “apparatchiks of that time.”

¹¹ Now we know that this is a modern Nostradamus. Back then it was perceived as something foreign to us, in the sense of “we wish we had those kinds of problems.”

April 3, 1972 (Monday)

Yesterday I was at an exhibition called “Artists of Moscow. Spring 1972” on Kuznetskiy Most. The same social impression as from “Brother Alyosha.” But this case is more complex. As the result of an easing up of restrictions, artistic development has turned back [to the period] 40-50 years ago, to a time when its “natural course was interrupted by force.” Artists are repeating Steinberg, Altman, Larionov, Petrov-Vodkin, even Chagall and Tischler. But all of this looks like feeble imitation, especially after my visit to the vaults of the Russian Museum in Leningrad, where I was in December on vacation.

There are also some cheap modernist show-offs. A bunch of natural landscapes, which seem to be 100 years old, a huge number of churches (in village and city settings), Russian huts, palisades and porches, chamber portraits, etc.

It is the element of political indifference and thoughtlessness. It seems people are sick of the official theme of “Social Heroism” and the like. But there is no new idea, no new form that would inspire people to look for new content. Terrifying escapism from reality. And the technique is very weak, too.

Today I learned that on March 15th and 21st in several cities in Hungary there were student disturbances “with nationalist and anti-Soviet slogans.” It is not the first time that I read in TASS and the cables that economic reform led to a major shift of income to the “private-cooperative” sector. There are high incomes for academics, professors, doctors, and other intelligentsia. There are murmurs from the working class. The student groups were broken up with batons. Sixteen arrests. The “instigators” have not been found yet.

Meanwhile, in recent years Hungary seemed to be the most prosperous country from “our camp.” Everybody expected an explosion in Bulgaria (after Poland in 1970). But here you go!

Shumeiko’s materials for Brezhnev’s meeting with the World Council of the Peace Movement, which is on its last dying breath.

April 6, 1972 (Thursday)

Today I attended the Politburo [session] for the first time in my life. There was a discussion of materials for Nixon’s visit.

It meets in the Kremlin, not far from Lenin’s cabinet. The windows overlook the Hall of Facets, where Sverdlovsky Hall is located. The guards took a long look at me, and compared my face to the photo on my ID. The small room is the lobby. Gromyko, [Andrey Antonovich] Grechko (and two colonel-generals and a vice admiral with him, later it turned out they were summoned to confirm their promotions to higher posts), [Nikolai Konstantinovich] Baibakov and other ministers, and some deputy department heads – a total of 10-12 people – gathered in this lobby 15-20 minutes before the start of the Politburo session.

Some CC Secretaries stopped by, too. On the spot, [Konstantin Fyodorovich] Katushev assigned me [to write] an article for *Pravda*: he said he read a ciphered telegram that Brandt is

asking for support from the Socialist International, which we are ready to give him... So we should praise the Social Democrats. (He doesn't understand that this kind of praise from us is like a sickle to the balls for Brandt!)

We were invited into the main hall for the "first question [on the agenda]."

Brezhnev approved the submitted materials (praised the MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs], and "our Department," as he said, i.e. precisely our Department, and... someone reminded him – [Yuri Vladimirovich] Andropov).

He said that right now it is important to note only the fundamentals: the materials lay the foundation, but you can't use them to talk to Nixon. They need to be converted into "working material." Let every PB member provide in writing comments and suggestions on the materials. We will form a commission, which will work on this day and night.

The order of last names in the committee is indicative: Suslov (member of the PB), Andropov (candidate member of the PB), Ponomarev (just a Secretary), Ustinov (candidate member of the PB), [Pyotr Nilovich] Demichev (candidate member of the PB), Gromyko, Grechko (Minister of Defense).

[Brezhnev] asked to pay attention to some unacceptable approaches in the materials, including in the draft communiqué. For example, there is mention of the struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism. "How is this possible? We are teaming up with them on an issue in which we can have nothing in common?! At the Conference in 1969 we pledged to fight against the United States precisely on this issue. Nobody will understand us, first and foremost the ICM [International Communist Movement]. Or – about upholding sovereignty. Why would we write this when Nixon is fighting in Vietnam. He may agree to all of this and put it in writing. But he will not and cannot carry it out. So the communists will say to us: 'It is all nonsense, you are naïve people.'

"We have to note down all our fundamental disagreements. But we should not use the Chinese method: our positions on one side, theirs on the other.

"Of course, on many issues I will be speaking with Nixon without notes. But on paper every phrase has to be carefully weighed."¹²

April 8, 1972

There was an interesting discussion at the Politburo regarding the protocol for Nixon's visit.

Brezhnev: "In China, Nixon walked on the Wall (Great Wall of China) with his Madam. Here, she is going to be going everywhere alone. He is only going to 'Swan Lake.' Is this appropriate?"

¹² As we can see, at the time Brezhnev's mental capacity was still quite normal for his position.

“We do not have speeches prepared for the luncheon, or toasts for the reception (from our side). What if he wants to make them (and he will probably want to, he needs it)?...

“We should not put the accompanying party at the hotel. Andropov won’t be able to keep an eye on them there. We should put all of them at the Lenin Hills (government mansions built under Khrushchev). They will have fewer contacts that way, too.

“The crowd at the airport. Usually we have them waving flags and shouting ‘Friendship!’ It won’t do this time. But they shouldn’t be completely silent, either. We should prepare 5-6 guys to say something to the President, maybe to wish him success in the negotiations or something...”

Podgorny started to insist on showing Nixon the Osipov and Aleksandrov ensembles (Soviet Army).

Brezhnev: “This is not what we should show off.”

Brezhnev then separately raised the question presented by Baibakov and [Nikolai Semenovich] Patolichev¹³--a draft trade and economic agreement with the USA.

Pogorny took the floor first: “It is inappropriate for us to get involved in these deals, with gas and oil pipelines. As if we are planning to sell off the whole of Siberia; plus, it makes us look technologically helpless. Can’t we do the same things ourselves, without foreign capital?!”

Brezhnev invited Baibakov to explain. The latter calmly approached the microphone, barely suppressing an ironic smile. And he began to speak, providing from memory dozens of numbers, calculations, and comparisons. Clearly and professionally.

1. We have nothing to sell for hard currency. Only timber and pulp. This is not enough, plus we are selling it at a large loss for us. We also cannot ride forward only on the sale of gold. And it would be dangerous in the current world monetary situation, there is little prospect for success this way.
2. The Americans, the Japanese, and others are interested in our oil, or even better – gas. The fuel balance in the U.S. will become increasingly strained. Their imports will grow, and they prefer to receive liquefied natural gas. They are offering:
 - a. To build a gas pipeline from Tyumen to Murmansk, and there a gas liquefying plant, and from there – on the ships;
 - b. Construct a pipeline from Vilyuysk through Yakutsk to Magadan.

The latter option is better for us. It will pay off in seven years. All equipment for construction and operation will be theirs.

¹³ Nikolai Semenovich Patolichev – USSR Minister of Foreign Trade.

If we refuse, we will not be able to even approach the Vilyuysk reserves for at least 30 years. Technologically we could lay down the pipeline ourselves. But we have no metal for pipes, nor for machines or other equipment.

3. Sakhalin. The Japanese are offering to set up oil extraction from the bottom of the ocean. But we do not have the equipment for this. There is one machine, a Dutch one, that is operating in the Caspian Sea.

Podgorny: "There are strong winds in Sakhalin, they will topple all the constructions."

Baibakov barely suppresses a smirk: "Nikolai Viktorovich, Sakhalin is big, these are strong winds in the north, and no strong winds in the south. And then, let the Japanese worry about these winds, but for some reason they don't seem to mind."

In the evening I visited B.N. at the hospital. We again were talking about his report in Sofia for Dimitrov's 90th anniversary. He started to push the idea of a direct connection between the Popular Front and people's democracies. It's a stupid idea. He keeps wanting to teach [foreign] communist parties, which reject this connection as such, and in essence condemn "people's democracy" as a form of government. Sometimes I am amazed by the bureaucratic limitations of B.N.'s thinking. He is ignorant about issues that he deals with every day, but he possesses precise knowledge of the kitchen gossip of communist fraternal parties and their "scandalous" statements about us. It is mainly based on these statements that he formulated his policies.

He again scolded the Italians. It is as if there was no XIII Congress of the ICP, no Grishin-Zagladin reports from Rome, no Politburo session discussing the results of [our delegation's] visit to the Congress of the CPI, which gave a lot of support to the Italians. They are the only real force in the communist movement of the capitalist world! He even said, "If a war started now, I am not sure that they wouldn't take a position of neutrality against us." I protested. He pretended that he was joking.

In the morning we were meeting Gus Hall¹⁴ at Sheremetyevo airport. The Vietnamese ambassador was there. Demichev's talk about, "Vietnam has already secured the election of the American president." This is in connection to their powerful offensive, which after a long period of inactivity has now lasted for nine days and is upsetting the "Vietnamization" of the U.S. presidential campaign.

April 16, 1972 (Sunday)

Yesterday we had a subbotnik.¹⁵ We were again working in Kuntsevo on the construction of some beautiful houses of the Central Committee complex, which the people have already dubbed "Ilyich's Testaments."

¹⁴ General Secretary of the Communist Party of the U.S.

¹⁵ Saturday volunteer work day – translator.

We worked cheerfully. Our construction worker Yura was very proud of us. He repeatedly said to the foreman: “you write it down – [my team] finished first and was the first one to be transferred to another section!. During the break, our team drank three bottles of vodka and Teosyan brought good Armenian cognac from home (he lives nearby). We felt really good after that and people decided to walk home. I tried to walk with Nadya (one of the girls who was in Prague) but she told me, “Everybody is at home.” It is 21 degrees Celsius in Moscow, it hasn’t been so warm at this time of the year in a 100 years.

On Wednesday I was at Boris Slutsky’s. He recently came back from Hungary. He and his sweet wife, Tanya. We drank wine. He told curious stories (he is a wonderful storyteller) about [Anna] Akhmatova (her feelings about Pushkin, Tolstoy, Blok and Bryusov – with the latter two she slept on occasion – and Esenin, who happened upon her in 1921 as she was washing the floors and was unable to hide a mocking grin on his “Ryazan mug.” From that moment he ceased to be a poet in Akhmatova’s eyes. She crossed him out of literature, as she later did with Zabolotsky, when he refused to drink vodka in toast to her, since he never took the stuff in his mouth and did not make an exception for Akhmatova.

She called the last session of the Presidium of the Congress of the RSFSR Writers Union before her death – “a challenge to the king!” In the end, she won!

Boris also told us about Konenkov and Shostakovich, who in the last fifteen years not only did not write their articles, but also did not read them.

On Thursday I made an impromptu speech at the Party meeting of our Department. And once again I felt that people perceive me as a deputy department head differently from the others. Some with more sympathy, others with contempt, and probably all with some surprise and lack of understanding. They are trying to find some kind of pattern that would allow such a deputy department head to appear in the CC apparatus. They are waiting for me to fail, so the familiar situation could be restored.

April 21, 1972 (Friday)

The director of “Renault” said during his conversation with Kosygin: “Excuse me, but the cars manufactured by “Moskvich” and in Izhevsk are at the level of cars that we produced 15 years ago.”

Brezhnev asked [Earl L.] Butz (U.S. Secretary of Agriculture) to tell Nixon that he should stop the bombing in Vietnam. Our people, Brezhnev said, will never understand or accept it. They remember the war, and you, Americans, never had such a war.

[John] Gollan’s words to [Ivan Vasilievich] Kapitonov (CPSU delegation in Great Britain). “I will never agree with your ideological policies,” Gollan said, “nobody knew Daniel and Sinyavsky. You jailed them and turned their books into bestsellers. A whole ‘industry’ has been created around their names in the West. And for what? They served their terms, and the first thing they did when they got out of prison was write books about their experience in the

camps and the like. Are you going to imprison them again? But what is the point of imprisoning people who are not afraid of it?

“Or, take Solzhenitsyn. You made him into a Nobel laureate. By your policies you turned him into a modern Tolstoy or Dostoyevsky. If you imprison him, you’ll make him the second Christ!” And so on in this vein.

In Czechoslovakia the trials of 46 former opposition activists will begin soon. These activists led some underground work. [Gustav] Husak ordered the process to be closed, as he said, “So as not to breed new Dimitrovs.”

April 22, 1972

When I was visiting B.N. at the hospital last time, he told me some things about the famous Politburo that was in session from morning till night on the nationalities question.

They were discussing Andropov’s report about the document discovered in Ukraine. It was written in 1966 by a group of nationalists. The gist of it is anti-“russification” and pro-separation.

In the meantime, as Ponomarev reported at the PB, never in the history of Soviet power was there such an “Ukrainization” of Ukraine. “I,” he said, “provided this fact – from the days of [Dmitriy Zakharovich] Manuilsky and [Georgiy Leonidovich] Pyatakov before him, the First Secretaries of Ukraine were not Ukrainians: [Lazar Moiseyevich] Kaganovich served several times, [Pavel Petrovich] Postyshev, [Nikita Sergeyevich] Khrushchev, and others. This lasted until Podgorny.”

And now, the only “practical” and “political” quality considered when picking candidates is whether he is Ukrainian. If yes, then he is automatically a good candidate. [Vladimir Vasilievich] Shcherbitsky said this, and his speech at the PB was much sharper and more self-critical than [Pyotr Yefimovich] Shelest’s.

Brezhnev: “I am in touch with Pyotr Yefimovich (Shelest) on the phone every day. We talk about sausage, wheat, land reclamation, and the like. All the while, he and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine knew about this document since 1966, they knew about the activity of the nationalists, and never said a word about it to me. He did not see a problem here. Or another example: when it became known, I called Pyotr Nilych (Demichev) and asked what he thinks of this. He started assuring me that it is not a big deal, that they took care of it, and so on. This is the position of our chief ideologist.”

There is it. But really, we must look at the root of the problem. Some Armenian and Azerbaijani threads are connected to [Karen Nersesovich] Brutents. They tell him that the dislike and even hatred of Russians is growing on the basis of a spreading belief (which is, by the way, widely introduced by the local Party and government apparatus – as an alibi for themselves) that everything is going badly because the Russians are holding everything at the top, and they are incompetent and stupid.

The difference of today's nationalism is that its main repository is the local political apparatus. And it stems from the fact that the "former colonial outposts" now live much better than the Russian "mother country." They are wealthier and they feel their "capabilities." Gratitude, on the other hand, is not a political concept.

April 23, 1972

When the week starts, I wait for Saturday and Sunday as a promise of freedom and rest. This happens every time. But they are always the days of uneasiness. You read something that you left unfinished, you look through something, sort something. And you always want to go somewhere, meet with someone, see something – a museum, an exhibition (for a while now, [Boris Abramovich] Slutskyi has been calling me to go see the underground artists), visit Dez'ka (the famous poet David Samoilov), go to Opalikha, visit Karyakin, Vad'ka...

These are all attempts to run away from myself, to hide behind the appearance of activity. It is because I do not have my own work in life, something outside of my job. And my job, most of the time, is a profanation of real aspirations. I write articles and reports for Ponomarev, texts for Brezhnev and others. Though sometimes it is possible to play an advisory role in the determination of real political positions (in respect to this or that party, communist movement, some matters of foreign policy, some actions in the sphere of political propaganda).

I will be 51 soon. What have I done in my life? Nothing really that would be worthwhile for my successors. But I lived an honest life: I did not hide from responsibility, did not trample on anyone, I defended convictions when it wasn't hopeless, I did not dance to the tune of any authorities, I certainly did not aid dishonesty and social stupidity, I held ideological scoundrels in contempt and did everything in my power to trip them up.

And still, I do not have my own work, my master work. I do not even have a course for a dissertation. This is not so much because I lack confidence in my abilities, but mostly because my own experience (and that of everyone around me) shows the pointlessness of this so-called social science, the futility of its existence and the wasted paper. This is why life in research institutes is either full of vanity and sexual exchanges, or vulgar fussing of ambitions and careers under the pretense of ideological struggle. It's sickening.

I don't want to write anything (for publication), not just my dissertation. I know too much, therefore any composition (and it can only be on the subject of science or politics) seems to be lying to myself and others.

Of course, the habit of a graphomaniac to always be writing something must produce a sense of being a craftsman (no matter what you do, just as long as you have something to do – fill pages and be satisfied with your words and paragraphs). But I don't have this journalistic habit. Although indirectly, it is there somewhere: I notice that at work, a well-written paper gives me a feeling of satisfaction regardless of its actual significance.

Oh yes, by the way, Brezhnev met with the Vietnamese ambassador last week. The press afterwards was full of expressions of solidarity and the like. But in the conversation there was a

counterpoint of demanding and emphatic concerns (and requests to convey it to Hanoi) about the fact that “we did not know anything about the plans for the offensive, nor its goals, not its real progress.” We find out about it only through the published reports of “our common enemy.”

April 25, 1972

Yesterday in the evening Shaposhnikov and I visited B.N. in the hospital. We talked about the upcoming trip to Sweden, about [Aleksandr Yevgenievich] Bovin.

I received Frida Brown (wife of one of the leaders of the “healthy forces” in Australia, a member of the CC of the new Socialist Party). She declared that this is an “historical meeting” because for the first time a representative of the Socialist Party of Australia [SPA] is received in the CC CPSU. I expressed support and approval for the SPA rather bravely (without having the proper authority for it) and encouraged her to keep it up against the Aarons brothers & Co.

It was announced that Kissinger was in Moscow from April 20-24th, and Brezhnev and Gromyko received him.

In the meantime, our Department is receiving letters from everywhere (including the scientists of Byelorussia) with demands to reject Nixon’s visit because he is bombing Vietnam. We are reaping the fruits of our own propaganda during Nixon’s visit to Peking!

April 27, 1972

All day today we were in suspense: the Bundestag was deciding the fate of Brandt’s government. [Rainer] Barzel moved for a “constructive vote of no confidence.” Everything depended on two-three votes. And before that, a couple of Social Democrats and “Free Democrats” were bought up by the CDU. Fortunately, Brandt “won,” even by two votes!

May 1, 1972

I was on Red Square. I walked there slowly. All kinds of thoughts. The main one: “order!” The central streets are cleared of people. There was a cordon of police and people’s guards at Kropotinskie Vorota, and at every turn after that. My god, how much police we have! And hoards of people’s guards, too. This is also “order.” The cordons making way for cars with special passes on the windshields is also “order.” The fact that the passengers in these cars ride to work despite the fact that they live a 15-20 minute walk away, this is “order” too. And the chains of soldiers and “volunteers” that make up the columns that are already on Manezhnaya Ploshchad’... These are all elements of “order.”

Podgorny’s speech, which consisted of the necessary phrases, old tired formulas and banalities – this is also a symbol of “order,” of stability, of the “establishment”! Moreover, when the speech ended and the “Internationale” thundered (through loudspeakers, of course) over the Square – with its archaic text and almost incongruously moving rhythm and music – this was also a component of “order,” because there exists a decision to play the “Internationale” because we need official revolutionary enthusiasm for our “order.” Try to express that!

What took place on Red Square is a grand abstraction, of course (this became especially evident when I walked down Kremlyovsky Proezd half an hour before the parade ended and saw up close the remains of columns walking toward me...).

But even knowing that it is an abstraction, you still get emotional. Very. For many reasons. First of all – the “physical parade.” Girls – healthy, beautiful in their colorful pantsuits, all pretty, showing off their tits, their gait, their hair. Of course they have nothing of the ideology and romanticism of the 1930s. But they exude health, the strength of the people... and prosperity. Yes, there are very many nicely and fashionably dressed young women at this demonstration (it’s stunning how many beautiful women can be gathered in one place) – which shows that there is a considerable level of prosperity already. And this makes one emotional. The melodies are pleasant too, the old ones and the new ones.

May 7, 1972

After the reception at the GDR Embassy [Yuri Aleksandrovich] Zhilin and I went for a walk. He was philosophizing about our work at the International Department, saying that we’re not doing what we should be. He said that if we weren’t so busy servicing B.N. with reports, articles, etc. – on which we spend our best creative powers, our time, and our energy – we could be producing analytical materials about the Communist Movement, preparing initiatives, considering the strategy of our policies in the International Communist Movement. I objected: if it wasn’t for B.N. and his aspirations to be a theorist, what would we be doing at all? We would be working on routine stuff, like our sister department (socialist countries). I reminded Zhilin that since 1966 there have been numerous attempts to seriously analyze the state of the International Communist Movement and our strategy as a whole. Once there were even plans for a special CC Plenum on the subject. Where did all of this work go? It is in my safe, a dead weight, work for the wastebasket.

Our “bosses” don’t need this. The Communist Movement right now is nothing more than an ideological addendum to our foreign policy, and archaic “argument” that we are still an “ideological authority,” and not just a superpower. The Communist Movement as an independent force with its own laws and objectives is nothing but a disadvantage to us right now. It is best to ignore it as such, although some parties, as sovereign authorities, sometimes cannot be ignored. That is why it is totally idealistic to offer objective analyses of the movement and to attempt to develop a strategy for the International Communist Movement.

I told Zhilin: if B.N. leaves, they will give us the Candidate of Science [Stepan Vasilievich] Chervonenko (former ambassador to Czechoslovakia), then are you going to spend much time working on “problems”?! It was enough to put the question that way, and all arguments disappeared.

I’m reading Zbigniew Brzezinski’s “Between Two Ages”!

May 8, 1972

Yesterday Ella and I stopped by a movie theater that plays reruns, the Nikitsky one. We saw *Bumbarash* with Zolotukhin. It's based on the story by [Arkady] Gaidar. The same spirit as in *Vogne broad net* [No Path through Fire], *Beloye solntse pustyni* [White Sun of the Desert], and some others. Though done in a conventional manner and with some exaggeration, this film expresses with great skill our original revolutionary idealism. It is clearly the reaction of the young generation to the conformism of our establishment, our stable and orderly life. It is also a reaction to the cynicism of the people who officially profess Leninism, but in regular life have long been guided by quite different motives. Here you see the "generation gap," in which you can clearly discern the social and ideological tensions of our society.

It is no wonder that all such pictures come out with difficulty, bowdlerized, and have limited runs mainly in peripheral theaters. Lapin, Romanov, Kat'ka,¹⁶ and others are too smart to not figure out what's going on.

This echoes what Gen'ka told me yesterday. She was giving a tour to a class of fifth graders from some Moscow school. One boy, very intelligent, serious, and meticulous, told her, "We have two buildings near my school, they are from the XVII century. There's a sign on them that they are historical monuments and are maintained by the State. What kind of maintenance is it, if they are completely run down, debilitated, and neglected?" Later, when they were walking from one exhibit to another, she asked him, "Do you study antiquities?" "No," he said, "I study the year 1937!"

Gen'ka was shocked, and at first pretended that she did not understand. He asked her, "Don't you know what 1937 is?" "How do you study it, where do you get materials and so on?" "Yes, it's hard to get any materials. But I will not give up. I have to find out how it became possible for so many innocent people, revolutionaries, and Leninists to be killed!" This is a fifth grader.

May 9, 1972

Victory Day. A terrible day. It seems to contain all your youth, all the most important things in life, all your real importance and self-respect. And you want to escape somewhere, do something, to be with people... With which people? With whom?

Yesterday I spent the whole day with Kol'ka Varlamov.¹⁷ We walked around the streets together. I told him about all my goings-on. Then we started drinking, and when we were drunk I walked him to his house. Today we did not meet up or even call each other: either he is busy, or maybe it's me – there is a sense that we should not spoil the effect of our meeting yesterday, because we have nothing left to do together.

I'm in a state of complete despair – from the relentless loneliness, from which it is impossible to escape. An'ka (my daughter) did not even congratulate me on the holiday. Gen'ka too. I destroy in the most vulgar way all of my so-called "free time" out of pity for her, out of my

¹⁶ Sergey Georgievich Lapin – Chairman of State Radio and Television; Grigoriy Vasilievich Romanov – Head of the CC CPSU Department of Culture; Yekaterina Alekseyevna ("Kat'ka") Furtseva – USSR Minister of Culture.

¹⁷ My friend from the front. An employee of the General Department of the CC CPSU.

innate sense of duty, out of my attachment to her helplessness. I have so many opportunities to meet with interesting people, to be in very meaningful society... And in recent years I've felt a sharp increase in my yearning for intellectual stimulation (particularly through paintings – when I was in Leningrad last December, I got the greatest pleasure and the strongest impressions from the Russian Museum, where I've been about a dozen times. The vault left me completely stunned). And despite all this, I spend my Saturdays and Sundays (when they are free) in my room (while she lays in hers) only in order not to hurt her feelings, so she can be calm, and... so I don't feel guilty. Idiotic.

Today – on such a day – [Yuri Petrovich] Lyubimov invited me to a commemorative screening of *A zori zdes' tikhie* [At Dawn it's Quiet Here] and then to a party at Taganka. Oh, how I wanted to be among those people, who for some reason like me, or at least they are always happy to see me. And they themselves are talented and cheerful.

But I stayed home and read Brzezinski, and from time to time walked over to the TV, where Gen'ka was watching a banal concert broadcast from the theater of the Soviet Army.

Two-hour walk around Moscow with Brutents. This time the city is quite empty. He told me about his trip to Hungary with Kuskov (for the anti-imperialist Congress).

Impressions: vigorous economic activity, the store shelves are full of goods, the prosperity is evident and obvious. But the “middle class” and intelligentsia profit from it mostly, the workers much less so. The gap is growing, as are internal tensions. Ideological “debauchery,” though they clamped down on the striptease joints. The apparatus and in the higher echelons of the party are already dividing into “we” (the healthy forces) and “they,” for whom “Moskvich” and “Volga” cars are no longer enough, they want Mercedeses. There are forecasts that “quite something” will happen if this continues for another year-year and a half.

After you have your fill of Brzezinski's “Between Two Ages” (he sees everything, understands everything, and is very deep and merciless) it becomes impossible to write anything serious for publication. Everything will be unbelievably hackneyed, with demagoguery and lies. The only way to refute him is through logic, i.e. to try to show the shortfalls of his analysis and method. But to refute him factually... There are no such facts, only the passionate desire to disagree with his conclusions and predictions.

May 21, 1972

Last night I returned from Sweden. Official delegation of the Central Committee ([Mikhail Vasilievich] Zimyanin, [Aleksandr Arvidovich] Drizulis from Latvia, and I). There hasn't been anything like it since 1964. When [Carl-Hendrik] Hermansson became chairman of LPC (Left Party-Communists of Sweden), without a backward glance they harshly criticized us for “Stalinism;” went between us and the Chinese, with more sympathy toward the Chinese; and refused to have relations with other parties, first and foremost with us. Then there was Czechoslovakia and Hermansson's public demand to break all ties with the USSR. This was followed by TV personality [Viktor Osipovich] Shragin “unmasking” Hermansson as the husband of a Jewish millionaire wife (by the way, I saw her there, a beautiful woman; and

[Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich] Vorozheikin¹⁸ says that if it wasn't for her, Hermansson would have never become a communist. She always treated us with sincere affection). They say that when journalists asked Hermansson what he thought about this attack by Shragin, he said, "I knew that they will condemn me over there, but I never imagined that they would stoop so low."

So, now that there has been a mutual change in sentiments, they invited us. From May 14-20th. I would need a whole notebook to describe everything.

Point by point.

The Arlanda airport: the embassy staff, the last time we saw the handsome and all knowing M.N. Streltsov (embassy adviser, he is being transferred to Finland), Vice Chairman of the LPC [Lars] Werner, Urban Carlson (Secretary of the CC), Marklund with two young girls (possibly Werner's daughters).

Then the hosts left us to rest for that day – Sunday. A tour of the city with the ambassador: villas, park, riding, television tower. In the evening in "Lido" (Zimyanin, Vorozheikin, me, Yakhontov (*Pravda* correspondent)): porno films alternating with live performances.

Monday the 15th. First meeting with leadership of the LPC: Hermansson, Werner, Forsberg, Carlson, Johansson. To Zimyanin's surprise (he prepared "the history of the CPSU's work after the XXIV Congress"), Hermansson simply started asking questions, the first one being: "Nixon is going to Moscow, and at the same time he lays minefields in Haiphong; the Vietnam War is growing... We are pressured from all sides for explanations." (The Vietnam War movement in Sweden is one of the strongest in the world. This reflects both the level of real democracy and democratic awareness in the country, as well as the skillfulness of the politicians who managed to mobilize and use this factor.)

Zimyanin started saying something incoherent, and he got louder and louder, too. Ironic smiles soon gave way to outright boredom. Since I had the opportunity to think a bit while Zimyanin was talking, I asked for a turn to speak. Zimyanin was completely confused and rushed after his speech, so he agreed, and in 5-7 minutes I tried to ease the situation a little.

Breakfast. Vorozheikin-[Olof] Palme (Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Sweden, Prime Minister).

In the evening at the Carlton Hotel – a meeting with the Stockholm Party organization: Johansson with the face of a turtle, the "organized opposition" to smoking and wine, he refused to serve in the army 10 years ago and was sentenced to a month in jail. Now he is choosing which jail to serve his sentence in, and when to do it: during vacation or while working. All of this is allowed, together with two "holidays" per month for all prisoners.

His deputy is a doctor with long hair and unkempt looks. They say he is a great orator, but his appearance is of a slobbering, mumbling amateur – it does not inspire confidence. Levan

¹⁸ Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich Vorozheikin – Assistant of the CC International Department, specialist on Sweden.

(member of the Secretariat). Both of them are “academics,” i.e. intellectuals. The other 10 are workers, including members of the Riksdag. One of them is a young man of about 27, an “ideologist” of proletarian beginnings, who hates the “academics.” He couldn’t care less about all of their ideas. He is a construction worker and earns on par with a doctor, that very one. He has a house, a car; he is “at home” in the trade union, which is a real force. He is a deputy and has a strong voice in the municipality. He believes that everyone should be like him.

There was also a former member of the Spanish International Brigades (62, retired) in the group. For a while he was serving time supposedly for spying for us. In recent years he was the loudest anti-Soviet. Now he warmed up.

Zimyanin was more confident in this conversation than in the morning. However, another tendency of his came through: the patronizing tone, familiarity, authoritative (stupid) jokes.

The topics: again Nixon and Vietnam, then – youth. Zimyanin and then Drizul went on at length about how tough it is for young people in the U.S., and how drugs are the bane of their existence.

Tuesday the 16th. Prepared the communiqué with Carlson.

A meeting with the Communist faction in the Riksdag. Zimyanin laid out the framework of the CPSU pretty coherently.

His manner of speaking ruins his own speeches and statements: once he says something, often effectively and on-point, he gets carried away with his success and starts to comment on his own words. It turns ridiculous and boring, and then quite uncomfortable, especially when a didactic note seeps in (which happens almost without exception), and he starts explaining platitudes from the top down. In a word, he starts on a “campaign against illiteracy.”

After breakfast – the Social Democrats: Secretary General Anderson, Secretaries Carlson and Tunnel. The atmosphere was completely different than with the Communists. With them, there was strained seriousness, which concealed a feeling of inferiority, differences among themselves that they wanted to hide, mistrust and wariness towards us. With the Social Democrats, there was confidence in their strength, and not the slightest fear that interacting with us would harm the “independence” of their party, which resulted in an open and friendly tone, jokes, irony, and plenty of “laughing at ourselves.” (After running three times in the course of our conversation to the hall where parliamentary voting was taking place, Stan Anderson said “severely” – he is sick of this button war, he is now against the parliamentary democracy, which prevents him from having a peaceful conversation with his friends). They willingly told us about their affairs and inter-party struggles, and gave characteristics of various figures and so on.

I think Zimyanin was a little overwhelmed. It’s not the first time for Vorozheikin and me, we really are already “friends” and that’s why our hosts took that tone. But for Zimyanin, it seems, it was the first time seeing firsthand Social Democrats of that rank in such a good mood. Even in Moscow he was anxiously asking me what we will tell them if they ask why we consider them “betrayers of the working class.”

In the evening we flew to Gothenburg. It was cold, but I didn't bring my raincoat.

May 22, 1972

Nixon arrived today. But I'll finish describing Sweden.

At the hotel we had some beers and our first "discussion." Hagel is the chairman of the district party organization. I discharged a long tirade about the Soviet people's sacrifices at the altar of internationalism.

Morning of May 17th – a drive through the city, blocks that are going to be demolished; view of the city from the hill with the stylized Viking church (built in 1912), which is beautiful. The flying bridge across the Göta Elve River; port, shipyards, new city blocks, a satellite town with a shopping center in the middle. Too bad there is no theater, cinema, etc. The communists criticized the municipality for this, though they noted that everybody has a car and it's a 10-minute drive to the city center.

The public library is a wonder of modern culture, and, as we would say, "cultural services." It was created with electronic technology, the great imagination and ingenuity of the staff, and their sincere and, I would add, ideological commitment to public education. All of this was funded by the municipality. The state – not a single krona.

Breakfast at a restaurant with Mayor Hansen (former sailor). A big and merry man from a large bourgeois party, friend of the USSR. He told a story of how some students, imitating the Parisians, seized a brewery in 1968 and demanded that "beer pipe" be extended into the workers' quarters and student dormitories. The director of the brewery gave an interview during the period of "ferment."

The Volvo factory! Sixty percent of the workers are foreigners.

Lunch at the "red restaurant" with Hagel and others. An interesting conversation – the beginning of a discussion.

An official meeting with the board of the district communist organization. Zimyanin was very loud, impulsive, verbose. My interventions on Nixon and Vietnam, on Solzhenitsyn, Chile and "revolutionary expediency," and on "freedom of expression."

It was already late when we met with the local dock workers' organization. Proletarians, fighters for communism at a time when everyone has a decent living. Dedicated ordinary people. They are the descendants of "Party Cell No. 1," the Communist Party of Sweden, which emerged in 1917 – the oldest one after Bolsheviks.

Zimyanin's speech was long and cocky. I made comments on the crisis of capitalism, economic relations between the USSR and capitalist countries, which supposedly hinders the revolutionary process in those countries; on Nixon and Vietnam.

A tall and skinny girl looked at me with big, wondering eyes. There were around 150 people total.

In the morning of May 18th we flew to Stockholm. Work on a ciphered telegram to Moscow. Meeting with Palme at the Riskdag: we entered the building and nobody even asked who we were and where we were going.

The embassy staff tells amazing (to us, not to Swedes) stories about Palme. About how he and his daughters were pushed into the crowd at a stadium; how he was dragged through the courts because he ran a red light, and was given a large fine at the commissariat; how he drives himself every week to meet the voters, etc.

He is a smart, sharp, competent man of 42.

Zimyanin handled all the conversations well. Only one time he could not resist and schooled Palme in internationalism.

Then we had the final meeting with the party leadership. Though before that we sat at the hotel with Carlson (the Social-Democrat one, they have so many Carlsons!) working on the communiqué; he asked us to take out the part about the “joint struggle against anti-Sovietism.” We finished everything up quite amicably. Had breakfast together in the Riksdag’s self-serve cafeteria.

Zimyanin went home.

Evening reception at the embassy. A stupid event.

At the Town Hall. Breakfast. Conversation with the head of the municipality – a communist (forgot his name). Sincerely and about everything. Then a sex shop, bought some dildos. Very expensive – half of my cash is gone.

At [Krister] Wickman’s (Minister of Foreign Affairs). Mostly I spoke. Very interesting conversation: about ecology, the fate of Europe, social-democracy, uniting with Communists, Brandt, relations between the Swedish Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, about the fact that Wickman and Palme are very pleased that we explained everything to “their communists.” About the danger of fascism and who was responsible for letting it happen.

Wickman’s secretary took notes in a big notebook.

Trip to a big shopping center outside the city with Yakhontov (Yuliy Alekseyevich) and his Irina. Very nice.

Morning of the 20th – shopping.

The plane was late (broke down in Oslo), so I had an extra three hours. A sincere conversation with U. Carlson, accompanied by some cognac and nuts. About the Centre Party

and the danger of fascism, about the sharp disagreements in the Party, about the danger of a conspiracy by Werner-Frosberg against Hermansson, etc. He turned out to be much smarter, better educated, and a deeper thinker than I initially thought.

Departure.

June 3, 1972

For two weeks I didn't have time to even open this notebook.

The Nixon visit. It is inconceivable to convey even in the most suppressed form the flow of ideas that emerged in the world press about this event. I will quote here the concluding paragraph from the speech Nixon's gave before Congress an hour after he came back to the U.S.

An unparalleled opportunity has been placed in America's hands. Never has there been a time when hope was more justified or when complacency was more dangerous. We have made a good beginning. And because we have begun, history now lays upon us a special obligation to see it through. We can seize this moment or we can lose it; we can make good this opportunity to build a new structure of peace in the world or we can let it slip away. Together, therefore, let us seize the moment so that our children and the world's children can live free of the fears and free of the hatreds that have been the lot of mankind through the centuries.

Then the historians of some future age will write of the year 1972, not that this was the year America went up to the summit and then down to the depths of the valley again, but that this was the year when America helped to lead the world up out of the lowlands of constant war, and onto the high plateau of lasting peace.

Needless to say, this was not published here. But I think the essence of our assessments of the events boil down to ultimately the same thing. Except we express ourselves in ideological language.

However, this language is not accidental. Firstly, because our view of ourselves as an ideological power (=part of the International Communist Movement) still remains a part of our real force (after all, mythology was also a force in its time). Secondly, because a huge, multi-million army of people feeds off this ideology. These people comprise a very influential part of our social and Party mechanism and have to be taken into consideration. The same as the Church was back in the day. Thirdly, over the years and decades we learned to see and present political phenomena only through the familiar ideological terminology.

In this regard – a characteristic episode. On May 28th [Felix Yurievich] Ziegel invited me and Gen'ka to his celebration (!) of the 300th anniversary of the birth of Peter I. The event itself was great; Felix thought up this whole creative and witty affair, he spoke only Old Slavonic for the entire evening, etc. But that is not the point.

There were two couples among the guests: a geologist with his wife, and a fairly well known science fiction writer Kazantsev. Both of them are bearded men. Nixon's speech came on the TV just as we were all having a great time at the party. Everybody listened to it, and... The reaction of these two beards: Nixon is a hypocrite, listen to him talk, he is talking about peace while killing Vietnamese children, a politician has a tongue just so he can conceal what he really thinks," etc. These are typical conclusions of a regular guy on the street. And, I must say, this was the mass perception of Nixon.

Be that as it may, still, we've crossed the Rubicon. The great Rubicon of world history. These weeks of May 1972 will go down in history as the beginning of an era of convergence – not in the trite sense of this word as it is presented by our ideologues like Fedoseyev, but in its revolutionary sense that will be the salvation of humanity.

Our press stopped making noise about the struggle against imperialism and such. Right now it is a diplomatic situation, but one day it will become reality. Yes! Thanks to our present strength.

Here are some confidential illustrations for this conclusion. On May 29th I was summoned (together with [Nikolai Vladimirovich] Shishlin from our sister department) to the Secretariat (Ponomarev, Demichev, Kapitonov, Katushev) and received an assignment to prepare Brezhnev's May 31st speech for the Politburo on the results of Soviet-American relations. In addition, I'd already read some Brezhnev-Nixon conversation transcripts. I will mention only the most important things I learned during these two days of working "at the top" and "for the top."

So, about Nixon, what I remember. One on one, Nixon told Brezhnev (in relation to the People's Republic of China): "Believe me and remember that I will never do anything that would hurt the Soviet Union."

Already on the airplane (on the way to Kiev), Kissinger told [Anatoly Fyodorovich] Dobrynin (to be passed on, of course): "The President is disappointed by the outcome of the economic negotiations. As you understand, our options are limited if the companies are not interested, it is not profitable for them. But we will do everything to conclude a trade agreement this year. And it will be very favorable for you. I assure you."

Perhaps Kissinger and Nixon really adhere to the concept so widely promoted by the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, who believe that the best way to establish universal peace on earth, or at least prevent nuclear war, is to raise the Soviet people's standard of living to American levels, with all the ensuing consequences.

Kissinger also told Dobrynin that in the fall, the President will make an offer (in the sphere of disarmament) that "you will like very much."

In the meantime, in the CC letter to the Party members on the outcomes of the Nixon visit, alongside the relevant information and the "balanced," perhaps objective assessments (taken from the CC letter to fraternal parties) there is an overview of "letters from the workers"

about Nixon's televised appearance. He's a hypocrite, we can't trust him, he talks about peace while at the same time killing women and children in Vietnam.

Perhaps this is partially an element of our semiconscious desire to preserve the status of ideological superpower (our distinction and for now a real factor of our strength). However, it is being done "Demichev-style," so to speak, i.e. stupidly and crudely, with no thought for the future, calculating not two, but barely half a step ahead.

[Josip Broz] Tito. He was in Moscow with his Jovanka (who's gotten somewhat heavy, but still quite appetizing at her 60-something, and dressed in diamonds and furs, to boot).

The German ratification and Tito's arrival took place in the Nixon context. Demonstrative geniality, friendship, respect, even some kind of reverence towards him – it is a notable event. Some newspaper, I think the *Observer*, wrote that the visit signifies that in the new context, when the "greats" agreed on a status quo, Tito will no longer be able to balance so cleverly between the "two," as he did for 20-plus years. So he made a choice (taking into account his internal difficulties). Perhaps, perhaps...

However, I see another aspect of it. From now on, "Yugoslavian revisionism" ceases to be a factor in our internal ideological politics. If someone wants to threaten with it, it'll have to be done quietly! And Tito did not go to Canossa. In his public speech at "Ballbearings," which was published in *Pravda*, he mentioned self-governance three times and talked a great deal about noninterference and everyone's sovereign rights. He mentioned only once, but authoritatively, the various forms of socialism, and said that socialism is a global phenomenon that transcends boundaries and not just a system of government. He did not say a word about the Soviet Union's achievements in world affairs, or the shift in Soviet-American relations.

June 11, 1972

It sounds like Bulat Okudzhava was expelled from the Party because the emigrant journal *Grani* published something by him, and he refused to condemn them for it in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*. Moreover, people say he sent a Thank You letter to *Grani*. It is strange. Hard to believe.

June 19, 1972

On Monday I saw the play "Under the Skin of the Statue of Liberty," based on [Yevgeny Aleksandrovich] Yevtushenko's poems, at the Taganka Theater (the play isn't permitted yet, this was a review performance). Lyubimov was dazzling in the full originality of his talent. After the play I kissed him in front of Yevtushenko, [Sergey Sergeyevich] Narovchatov and someone else. It was truly talented, unlike anything else. The whole play is permeated with a clever message to circumvent the censors: America is being exposed, but almost every line is full of "associativity," sometimes almost to the point of hooliganism (Lyubimov-style). I said some things to him afterwards (about Kennedy, about "I ain't no anti,"¹⁹ about Christ, etc.). In the evening I portrayed for Ella a moron Doctor of Philosophy from the cultural administration – how he would report to his superiors about this thoroughly anti-Soviet piece. Even with my

¹⁹ Quote from Yevtushenko's poem "Under the Skin of the Statue of Liberty" – translator.

“gift” for mimicry, it was easy to depict. She couldn’t stop laughing. And there was nothing she could say to argue with me. I got more and more wound up. Finally I told her: I am very afraid for your show and for you all... I am afraid because this kind of moron, or not even necessarily a moron, but someone like Aleksandrov-Agentov, for example (with all his culture and intelligence) – a super principled supporter of “order” – could see the play and say, “It is astonishing that in 1972, in the center of Moscow, this anti-Soviet thing is being openly shown, and everyone acts as if nothing is happening.” And it would be game over for you!

But nobody at the cultural administration or the Ministry of Culture is saying anything of the sort. The people who allowed this play to be shown to the public (but have not yet given an official permission for the première) are vacillating and hinting, but they do not dare to openly say what they think. So we are left with a vicious circle of self-deception:

- Lyubimov (together with Yevtushenko) portrays America, but consciously wants to tell the audience and the public what he thinks about our order, our moral system, and our authorities. When someone tries to delicately correct him, he goes on the attack: “How could you think this! We state very clearly exactly what we mean!”

- The authorities (“cultural representatives”) are deliberately pretending that they don’t notice the essence of Lyubimov’s plan. They do not dare to say it and sack the play, because it really does sound wild to publicly announce that they saw themselves and their environment in a play that attacks America!

- But at the same time, they understand that someone like Aleksandrov could cynically expose it on his level. And they’re going to get hell for it. So they are afraid to fully allow the play.

This hypocrisy is the sad result when society is not allowed to look at itself in the mirror, even though everyone knows what it really looks like.

The Taganka Theater went to Leningrad (where the play was not allowed).

July 15, 1972

Last Sunday, Anwar Sadat demanded immediate withdrawal of Soviet specialists and all Soviet military from Egypt—to protest the fact that he wasn’t given what was promised to him during his last meeting with Brezhnev in Moscow. Namely, offensive weapons, and Su-17 fighter-bombers. There was a commotion. We persuaded [Aziz] Sedki, the Prime Minister of Egypt, to come to Moscow. I think we settled it, in the sense that we gave them quite a bit of what they were asking. A week ago [Hafez] al-Assad, the President of Syria, was here. This guy is moderate and still he was able to get our guys to practically approve a “military solution” and got a great deal.

Sedki, 200 people from the regional committee to show enthusiasm during his departure. [Leonid Ivanovich] Grekov (Secretary of the Moscow City Committee), [Boris Leonidovich]

Kolokolov (MFA Chief of Protocol). The negotiations ran behind schedule and the guest was delayed for his flight.

I allowed the people to go, because it was hot, they were sitting for four hours without lunch, and it was Friday... As a result, “the people” were not there to see Sedqi off. There could be some “serious consequences” for me.

July 22, 1972

It is hot all the time, near 30 degrees. The weather forecasters on TV are reporting that this is unprecedented in the whole history of the weather service in Russia.

The crops perished in Astrakhan, Saratov, Volgograd, and Stavropol regions. The world press has been buzzing about this week’s two sensational events: 1) The Soviet Union purchased feed grain from the Union States for \$750 million (“to fulfill its promise to feed the Soviet people meat”). Naturally, there is no mention of it in our press, even though this deal, which is comparable in scope to Lend-Lease, is unprecedented in the history of the Soviet Union. 2) Sadat ordered our military personnel out of Egypt after all. It may be for the best – we will not be liable when he tries to wage war against Israel and gets smacked once again. As for our “superpower prestige”... in our time, it is not so precious in that sense. Quite the contrary. After all, the Swede Palme keeps saying, “If the U.S. wins the Vietnam War, it will be the greatest disgrace for America!”

I am covering Latin America for Kuskov (he is on vacation). Arrival and departure of the Secretary of the Communist Party of Argentina [Alvarez Geronimo] Alvedo, as well as [Americo] Ghioldi, who was here to receive a decoration. The farewell reception was on Plotnikov Street. Speeches, toasts. They are both 74 years old. One has a wife named Carmen, the other – Lida.

Today I was at Ernst Neizvestny’s studio on Gilyarovsky Street. Again I am stunned – he is amazingly talented. But also resourceful... otherwise he could not survive. We went to the “Electro-72” exhibition in Sokolniki, where his 13-meter sculpture stands in the main hall. He told me how [Vladimir Nikolaevich] Yagodkin threw a fit about it – why was it installed without his knowledge. They almost had to remove the sculpture on the eve of the exhibition’s opening. Luckily, the supervisor from the regional committee turned out to be an experienced and decent woman, she had all the paperwork prepared to prove that everything was done “by the books” – had gone through the right number of inspections and commissions, etc. But still... there are no signs anywhere about the sculpture, not in any of the brochures or the program, not by the entrance. Nowhere does it say that the central artistic symbol of the exhibition is a work by Neizvestny. But almost all of the mediocre stuff is presented as signature pieces.

So this truly great sculptor and artist of our time has to find all kinds of “influential acquaintances” like me, has to run around, be clever, “get around” the people who cannot be overcome – all of this only so he can have an opportunity to show his art to the people. He asked me to get Zimyanin (*Pravda*) to print a photo of his sculpture in the paper on the occasion of the exhibition’s closing.

Yesterday I read George Kennan's essay on the 25th anniversary of his own "X Article" about the fate of the world after the war. A lot of important stuff about us. I should write out some excerpts...

July 29, 1972

It's hot. Something in me is starting to break. Sometimes you get home at night and don't want to and can't do anything, not even watch TV. You stretch out on your bed, and lie there thoughtlessly. I don't even want to sleep.

The soul is getting worn out and the body is giving out – it hasn't been getting its normal exercise: I haven't been swimming, running, or even playing tennis. And I haven't been to the dacha.

Tuesday (the 25th) – trip to the airborne division near Tula. Performances of "combat operations." The commander – and Army General – is a beggar. The division commander is a young Ossetian type. The soldiers are wonderful material. They train them like "James Bonds" – unarmed combat, summersaults, centrifuges, swings... they are tried under fire, under tanks...

When I got home in the evening and told Anya (daughter) where I was and what I saw, she innocently remarked, "Is that how well they train them to kill?!"

Saw Ponomarev off to Paris.

Met [Luigi] Longo and [Agostino] Novella (leaders of the Italian Communist Party) in Sheremetyevo airport. They came for vacation.

Met [Jacques] Duclos.

Bianca is in Moscow. We met Wednesday evening (she came with an Italian company to take the "Electro-72" exhibits back to Italy).

I am almost the only deputy left in the Department right now, so all work is on me – papers, meetings, talks.

On Thursday I had an interesting 3-hour conversation with Germans from the FRG (mid-level party workers). Could I imagine 30 years ago at the Rede (North-Western Front) that I would be sitting at the CC like this, and talking with Germans about internationalism! It's amazing. A different life. A different person.

Conversation with the CC Secretary [Jakob] Lechleiter of the Communist Party of Switzerland. I first met him in 1964, when Shelepin and I were in Switzerland with a delegation.

For my birthday I got the first 9 volumes of Lenin's collected works. It is a new edition, and I didn't have them before. I am going through the volumes, leafing through them again. I see things I remember and things I've forgotten, and I feel excited. Partially it is because almost all of my conscious existence is connected with reading Lenin, and partially because I never cease

to be amazed at his genius and the power of expression of this genius (55 volumes with practically nothing that is hackneyed or routine, as almost any political writer has in abundance, even Marx and Engels!). There is also the fact that Lenin has that magical power of “the gospel” for our society. He brings together people who’ve never read him before; people who read something from him a long time ago and maybe even studied him, but forgot completely; people who don’t know Lenin but consider themselves his representatives and faithful disciples; people who know him dogmatically and every time pick passages that are advantageous to them or fit their intellectual or career schemes; and finally, people who truly know and understand Lenin deeply.

However, here, as always, there is the problem of Dostoyevsky’s “Grand Inquisitor.” Perhaps it is necessary for the basic viability of society. Still, it’s too bad that only a few intellectuals (and some diligent students) study Lenin, while politicians haven’t read or studied him in a long time, and Demichev might even think it harmful to delve too deeply into Lenin: “all kinds” of thoughts might come to mind.

August 8, 1972

Again we have 35-36 degree weather day after day. Plus, peat is burning somewhere near Shatura and all of Moscow (and Podmoskovye) is covered in a blue veil of smoke. The sun cannot get through the smoke... though this may be for the best.

Yesterday Shishlin told Bovin and me about a letter from the Secretary of the Astrakhan regional committee to the CC CPSU: 100% of the winter crops in the area are burned out and reseeded cost this much; 100% of the spring crops are burned out; this much cattle died of starvation in the spring, and this much dies per day currently; meadows and pastures are all burned, there will be nothing to feed the cattle in the fall. There is practically no drinking water (that meets sanitary-hygenic standards) in Astrakhan. The sewage system is breaking down. Cholera is spreading. And so on.

Shishlin was in the Crimea and attended Brezhnev’s meeting with leaders of socialist countries. He heard some things there, too: Brezhnev ordered 50,000 military vehicles to be sent to help with agricultural needs, as well as 25,000 vehicles to be taken from industries (no matter what) and also sent to help with the harvest, so in the areas where the harvest survived, every last bit would be collected. (By the way, the street cleaning machines vanished from Moscow – they were sent there as well).

At the same time, at Brezhnev’s dacha in the Crimea (Shishlin told us) there is a pool with sliding walls and a transparent dome that can protect from the wind or turn into a full ceiling. Other dachas were recently built in the vicinity of this “dacha No. 1,” for big-shot ministers and individual deputies and heads of the CC – four-storey mansions with Japanese wallpaper, bars, conditioners, special Hungarian furniture, and balconies overlooking the sea. Each one cost this much.

Before that Shishlin was in Zvyozdnyi Gorodok [Star City] when Castro was there. Beregovoi, their senior general, told him privately, “You see that fresh asphalt? They put it down

yesterday. I asked my soldiers to walk on it so it doesn't seem to new. And still... We, astronauts, are costing the people so much..."

Bovin came back from Baikal yesterday and gave me a dressing down for "trampling on him" by re-writing his article about the Socialist International Congress in Vienna. He was seriously upset. I had to get the page proofs and point to the complete bullshit (and dangerous for him, too) that he wrote there. I think he calmed down.

In the evening we were drinking whiskey at his place (on B. Pirogovskaya) together with Shishlin. That's when he described all those things about the Crimea.

By the way, I read the transcript of the Crimean meeting almost in full. It is much duller than last year. The reasons? I think there are two: a) [Nicolae] Ceausescu's presence, b) written texts instead of free conversations.

August 11, 1972

I'm sick. Haven't been to work in three days. I'm spending my time meaninglessly. The heat is not subsiding. It is over 30 degrees all the time. Moscow is covered in smoke. The forests are burning. Firefighters, the army, the locals and Muscovites are all there... but they say there are no results yet (and you can tell as much by how dense the smoke is). Potatoes are burning up. People are trying to rescue their fields by the "local watering" method. The newspapers are promoting this technique, but it's akin to throwing a bottle with lighter fluid at a tank in 1941. Really, it is devastating.

All of this contrasts greatly with the "step" of our Peace program. Complainers even contrast the two events; but then again, in such cases as these, the so-called "people" are always looking for a scapegoat.

But be that as it may, the coming year will be a very difficult one in terms of supplies, which in turn means it will be politically difficult. (By the way, it's a good thing that we freed ourselves politically from the Middle East, which was dangerous for us!) God forbid, though, that Demichev should use the drought to make conclusions in terms of further tightening the ideological grip!

I'm in a strange state of meaninglessness, lack of specific desires, a general "inexpediency" of existence. That's why I want to get back to work as soon as possible, where you get caught up in the rhythm of the bustle, in which the important things are intertwined with trifles and pointless stress, and you forget that the general meaning of life was lost long ago.

In issue No. 7 of "Novyi Mir" [New World] – second article by Al. Yanov about the literary hero of the 1960s. First of all, he restores the "Novomirsky" method of sociological literary criticism, strengthening the Belinsky - Dobrolyubov - Pisarev bridge built under Tvardovsky. Secondly, he solidly follows Tvardovsky's line of looking at society realistically and writing about it without demagoguery.

He talks about, as do all the serious articles in the journal, the rational development of society in accordance with its historical and “national” (in the broad sense) possibilities and conditions, not about building communism. The way he references Party document corresponds to this: he takes only the practical and realistic ideas and recommendations, even if they are critical. These documents are considered as a manifestation of our public life, not as decrees on how it should develop.

October 17, 1972

Pushkin is like longing for your irretrievable youth.

[Vasiliy Ivanovich] Belov’s novel *Kanuny* [Eves] in the journal *Sever* [North], about collectivization. Smacks of literature from the 20s-30s.

Last night I was at the premier of “Under the Skin of the Statue of Liberty.” Beau Monde: Arbatovs, Samoteikins, Efremov with his wife – a famous actress of the Sovremennik Theater. Yevtushenko with a bandaged-up hand (he cut it while whittling a frame for a picture he got as a gift). He either honestly did not notice me, or he despises me as an official who did not help him go to America. (He succeeded without me, but God knows, I tried.) I wonder at what letter will he stand in Soviet literature according to Mayakovsky’s “Yubileinoe” [Jubilee] poem – at “Nadson” or at “Lermontov”?

I was not impressed by the play. Of course, it is a slap in the face of authorities. It seems that associativity multiplied by Lyubimov’s signature style (technical and directorial inventiveness) is already nothing new. If the cultural authorities from the various ministries could think even a little beyond keeping their positions and gave some thought at least to “local politics,” the best thing they could have done was not to notice it, to adapt it and present the play’s hidden protest against the Soviet system as tangential antics.

On Sunday – exhibition at the Museum of Fine Arts, “Portraits from the XVI-XX centuries.” The faces looking back at you are the same as today. “Lady with an Ermine” by Leonardo, Van Dyke’s “Self-Portrait,” a young man in a colorful shirt by [Ilya] Mashkov, [Ivan] Kramskoy’s “Tolstoy” (at 45 years old), boy in the arms of Princess Muravyova, etc.

The lines to the museum (same as to Manege for the “Faces of France – 100 years in photographs”) are miles-long every day – weekdays, Saturdays, Sundays, and under pouring rain. I wonder, does Demichev approve of this, or does he see some danger here?

I remembered the Biennale retrospective at the Piazza San Marco in Venice. Empty rooms.

On October 1st, an Il-18 airplane fell into the Black Sea a few minutes after taking off from Adler airport. One hundred and two people suffocated in the depressurized cabin. On the 13th, an Il-62 crashed while approaching Sheremetyevo airport (flying from Paris through Leningrad). One hundred seventy three people. The latter was reported in “Pravda,” there were 38 Chileans, 5 Algerians, 6 Peruvians, and Frenchman, a German, and an Englishman among the

victims. Our ambassadors in Chile and Algeria were instructed to express their condolences (since these are friendly governments).

There was nothing about the Adler crash in the newspapers, only “Moskovskaya Pravda” and “Vechyorka” for a week printed little notices of mourning about the tragic death (where and how?) of this or that person, sometimes married couples.

I am getting ready for a trip to Belgium. The PB released a new resolution on China. Again, we will have to write letters with explanations to our party and the fraternal parties. Again we have to unmask them. What, how?

Until we renounce the self-imposed mindset that “we are a socialist country and they are a socialist country, so how is it possible that they criticize the CPSU-Lenin’s Party,” we will close the way to understanding what is happening and following a consistent policy that is realistic and clear to all. Nobody believes us anymore, no matter how we portray the Chinese and try to explain our Marxist-Leninist purity.

[Georges] Marchais is asking to talk to Brezhnev “as equals.” But Brezhnev prefers [Georges] Pompidou, to whom we’ve already given consent for his visit to Moscow in January. Even on his return from Paris, Brezhnev said in his circle, (about Marchais) “He talks about democracy, but I’d like to see what he will do if he comes to power;” (about Pompidou) “He thinks like a statesman, he is the boss and sees all the problems, he perceives the bigger picture.”

Pompidou, in turn (like Nixon and Brandt) understood perfectly well that our ideology is for internal consumption only, i.e. where it can be practically applied by the government. And we are not such fools as to engage in ideological exercises in serious relations with people who can easily tell us to go to hell.

December 7, 1972

All of Western thought goes back to Tocqueville. So do I. I remembered that in 1947-48 I wrote down excerpts of his most important ideas from *The Old Regime and Revolution*, the same ideas that are now popular with Raymond Aron and others. Also on Tocqueville: “The revolution broke the historical reality for the sake of abstract theories, but the power of abstract theories (others?) formed long before the revolution, in an era when society for forgetting any participation in political activity.”

December 9, 1972

Yesterday in Sovremennik Theater – Ins Raid in a production by the Pole [Andzej] Wajda of “Kak brat bratu” [Brother to Brother].²⁰ The situation in American with regard to Vietnam. [The actors] Gaft, E. Vasilieva, Kvasha, Tabakov were spectacular.

The essence: the meaninglessness of life has become its content, and because life is good – the attachment to its inanimate, non-human content is so strong, that even shock (a blind son

²⁰ David Rabe’s play *Sticks and Bones* – translator.

returning from Vietnam and distressing everyone with stories of the horrors he experienced) stirs only the very depths of consciousness and longing for meaningful life. In the end, this shock only increases (to the point of a hysterical frenzy) the desire to keep things as they are (Gaft, lying on the floor and clutching his head, endlessly repeats “I want to watch TV!”). The family – father, mother, and brother – resolves the situation by suggesting that the blind brother slit his wrists. Blood pours into two buckets, forms puddles, which the mother immediately cleans up, while the brother asks the victim how he is feeling, etc.

They say that Furtseva really did not like it (especially since she had attempted the same after the XXII Congress, when she was expelled from the Presidium of the CC).

The public, which is always ready to approve and support Sovremennik Theater, was confused and applauded timidly.

Galya Volchek after the show (as always wearing an extravagant outfit that accentuates her already enormous tits). [Yuri Fyodorovich] Karyakin and I said a bunch of unpleasant things to her about the play and Tabakov: “why waste your time and talent on something that has no social relevance for us?”... “Mediocre play... why did you pick it?” “It does not grab you, it does not leave you with anything, it is too rooted in American specifics to allow the viewer to see the universal human value of the play and the production.”

Galya pretended to be grateful for our frankness, but in her heart she got very offended. Naturally. Then she portrayed a couple scenes from her work with [Chingiz] Aitmatov and another Kazakh (she did it in the “Russian” language that this Kazakh screenwriter speaks). We were laughing. This luxurious busty woman is damned smart and talented!

From the events that were not mentioned because I’ve neglected my diary.

- Trip to Belgium (October 21-31) with a stopover Holland (Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam) on the 29th, a Sunday. Someday I might describe this trip.²¹

- Elections to the Academy of Sciences: how with the help of Karyakin and [Boris Mikhailovich] Pyshkov we found the academicians [Georgy Nikolaevich] Flerov, [Pyotr Lenidovich] Kapitsa, and [Mikhail Aleksandrovich] Leontovich, and flunked [Mikhail Trifonovich] Yovchuk.

- B.N.’s report at the general meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences – his fears of getting reprimanded for butting in with the “50th anniversary of the USSR” right before the General Secretary’s report on December 21st! “You keep trying to work for the cause...” he told me grievously and pathetically. Then he waved his hand hopelessly, though recalling that in Stalin’s days, Kalinin, Kuibyshev, Ordzhonikidze, and others “from the leadership” made speeches and were recognized by the people.

December 16, 1972

²¹ On this trip I met Gorbachev, who headed the delegation. Now I am astonished that I did not record this in the diary at the time.

Every day we make multiple trips to Sheremetyevo airport: guests are arriving for the 50th anniversary of the USSR. Then there are “conversations” at dinners or lunches, at Plotnikov Street or on “Sovetskaya.”

The day before yesterday I had a good conversation with Kusselman (member of the Belgian Communist Party). He is intelligent and sincere. He told me how [Marc] Drumaux died. They were surprised at the funeral; they saw that in his four years as chairman of the CP, Drumaux had become a national figure. I knew him well.

Yesterday Graham from Ireland. He is primitive and doltish, though maybe he does this on purpose. I asked him how his trade unionists (he is a union boss) will vote in the referendum to unite the two Irelands. He tells me that they want to unite the economic demands of the workers with the struggle for “socialism in the future.”

Eddisford from Manchester was interesting. He is an intellectual, the head of a regional committee in Central England. Either people like him want to deceive us (so we don't communicate with their government too much), or they are deceived themselves. He told me that British capitalism was completely gutted and had no potential left, and it is no longer a real power. But if that is the case, why are its partners in the Common Market so afraid of it, and why don't the communists (or even the Labour Party) take it with their “bare hands”?

[Yakov Semyonovich] Khavinson asked me to write an article on the 125th anniversary of the Communist Manifesto (in common parlance – the “ghost”). I almost agreed. But first of all, I have absolutely no free time. Secondly, and most importantly, I re-read the Manifesto. I got a strange feeling. Marx and Engels were claiming things about capitalism of their day that it hasn't completely reached even now. As for the development of the forces opposing it, it seems the Western interpreters of Marxism are right when they say it is an outdated gospel. I need to do some brainstorming. After all, it was a brilliant insight and working hypothesis, which was correct even for the sole reason that its development (in theory and practice) had such a powerful impact on the course of history. But I could not write this publicly about the “Communist Manifesto”...

December 30, 1972

This day has been declared a holiday instead of December 5th, which was the day of the “Stalin Constitution.” This initiative had a curious origin. Ponomarev gave me the text of Brezhnev's report that was sent around the Politburo a couple days before the USSR's 50th anniversary celebrations. (By the way, I offered him a good number of comments, but he either did not accept them himself, or Aleksandrov-Agentov cut them, I'm not sure. But in the final text I did not see a lot of my revisions.)

“Here,” B.N. said, giving me the text, “this is a proposal for a new holiday. And you know who wrote it? [Viktor Andreyevich] Golikov (Brezhnev's adviser on ideology, [Sergey Pavlovich] Trapeznikov's best friend, Black Hundredist and Stalinist). Amazing. So much for the Stalinist... And we had no clue.”

These two weeks were busy with “parades” for the USSR’s 50th anniversary. In the International Department, we were busy meeting foreign guests and having discussions with them. The main work for my group of consultants was fixing up their speeches at the various workers’ meetings. At times this was something quite inconceivable that could not easily be transferred on paper. The authors themselves told our assistants, “Could you finish this up... I agree in advance to any changes you make”... And we did it, even managed to adapt the texts to the specific situation in the speaker’s country.

In general, the squalor of “our” communist movement struck me particularly strongly this time. On the one hand there is O’Riordan, who was put in the Presidium here, and in Lithuania, where he spoke at the celebrations, they practically worshipped the ground he walked on. [Antanas] Sniečkus²² quoted him extensively from the podium of the Kremlin Palace. But in Ireland, nobody knows him – not the left, nor the right, nor the people who are throwing bombs, nor the English. Nobody takes him seriously, if they know anything of his party that consists of several dozen people. And next to him is his friend Graham, a member of the party’s executive committee and a union boss in Belfast. I tried to have a political conversation with him and was shocked by his primeval, philistine “tradeunionism.” He couldn’t care less about the explosions and the fighting. All he cares about and is interested in is that the members of his union get a raise and don’t lose their jobs.

Or – [John] Sendy, the chairman of the CP of Australia, which has been sticking its nose in the air at the CPSU for many years. They can’t adapt to what is going on in the world, where three cumbersome and powerful wheels (U.S., USSR, PRC) are turning, and which are so connected to each other in their momentum that no grains of sand like the Communist Party of Australia can stop them. One wouldn’t even hear a squeak if it carelessly got caught between these wheels. The best thing to do for such CPs as the Australian one is to quietly cling to the safe side of the Soviet (or the Chinese, if they like) wheel.

On the other hand we have Georges Marchais, who is now the General Secretary of the French CP. He knows the rules of the game very well. But he still wants to become one of the gears in the system by taking Pompidou’s place. He is trying to use us to topple Pompidou in his favor. We are slapping him for it. But since he still represents a certain power (and you never know), we play his game too. Pompidou asked for an “informal” meeting with Brezhnev somewhere in the Soviet Union, and Marchais wants the same. As [Jean] Kanapa (his grey majesty) said to our guys: “Why can’t Marchais and Leonid (!) meet somewhere near Moscow in an informal setting, take a stroll in the park, and have a talk? Then we could publish a (‘casual’) photograph of them in the papers...”

Everyone understands that we are engaging with Georges not because he is a communist, but because he can (?) become a national figure.

In the meantime, the French CP is quickly “progressing,” and turning into what the big social-democratic parties in other countries have become a long time ago. Otherwise it would not have a chance to turn into a “state power.”

²² First Secretary of the Communist Party of Lithuania.

So the historical communist movement as it was envisioned 30 years ago is being eliminated from both ends (not to mention the China phenomenon in all of this). Moreover, the communist parties themselves are disappearing as an independent ideological-political category. Although, there is still the Italian Communist Party. An original phenomenon. Perhaps it will be able to revive the communist movement on some new basis.

December 31, 1972

There was a CC Plenum before the 50th anniversary. Baibakov (Gosplan [State Planning Committee]) reported that we are seriously behind the projected plan for 1972, the plan for 1973 will also not be met, and it is unclear how to get out of this situation at all. After this, Brezhnev made a big speech. Here is a short summary:

“We are not meeting the Five Year Plan in almost every aspect, with some exceptions.

“People refer to last year’s weather as the reason why this is so. But this is applicable only for agriculture. Even there, we mostly overcame the difficulties. And we shouldn’t have raised panic with buying grain abroad. We would have made it. For example, there was an article in *Pravda* where a kolkhoz chairman in Kirovogradsk region was able to collect 2.5 tons even though his harvest burned out, while his neighbors ‘across the street’ collected only around 1 ton each.

“As for excuses about the weather in the industries... Shame on you, Comrade [Ivan Pavlovich] Kazanets, for boasting that you smelt more metal than the U.S. What about the quality of the metal? Or the fact that only 40% of every ton goes to production, compared to the American standard, and the rest is slag and chips?!

“Capital construction. Unfinished projects. An old problem. We calculated that for each one of the 270,000 projects there are about... 12 workers. So if there are 70,000 workers at the Kamaz project, it means that hundreds, if not thousands, of projects have no workers at all! I propose that we freeze all projects except for the ones that were supposed to be completed in 1972-73. But we finish those!

“We still get about 90 kopeks per every ruble of investment, while the Americans get the reverse (90 dollars for every dollar of investment).

“They blame the suppliers. But look at the facts. Comrade [Nikolai Nikiforovich] Tarasov (Light Industry), you have a million pairs of shoes in your warehouses. Nobody will ever buy them because they are styled like galoshes. But it took raw materials to make them, which you say are in short supply. This way you could buy all the raw materials abroad and put them under the knife!

“Baibakov’s group decides the plan. Because people don’t need money, they need goods. Only if we have goods, saleable (!) goods, can we get the money from the people to build blast furnaces, etc.

“How do we work? In August I was at a new tire factory in Barnaul. I asked the workers, ‘You have all the new equipment, both domestic and foreign, and you have the capacity to produce 9,000 tires per day, yet you produce 5,000. Why is that?’ They replied that Minister [Viktor Stepanovich] Fedorov gave them 30 months to reach full capacity. Alright. Recently I got a note that the Barnaul factory produced 9,000 tires per day already in November – the projected capacity. In other words, they took some measures after my talk. So: 30 months and 3 months! What is going on? Laziness, irresponsibility, stupidity, or a crime?!”

“We are not fulfilling the main resolution of the XXIV Congress – to raise productivity and efficiency. The entire Congress and the people present here today were applauding when we spoke about the new goal of simultaneous movement along the main directions of economic development (to raise the quality of life, productivity, and defense). What do we have instead? We have not made this shift and two years have passed since the Congress, that’s half the Five Year Plan! Now Comrade Baibakov reports to us that the plan for 1972 was not met, and we won’t meet the 1973 plan either, and after that who knows what will happen.

“Gosplan is being liberal, while the organizations behind it are being irresponsible. We no longer have a Gosplan in the sense of an organization that would define our strategic perspective and tightly control the course of our economy!”

The reaction to this speech was telling. Brutents told me about it, he heard it from Arbatov, one of the authors of the speech. “Our group was exiting the Sverdlovsk hall,” he said, “and we happened to be next to [Pavel Dmitrievich] Borodin (director of ZIL), one of the bosses of our industry. I ask him, ‘So, what did you think?’ ‘It was a beautiful speech. You were probably the ones who made it pretty and convincing, you are good writers. Except we’ve heard it all before more than once. The speeches get nicer and nicer, while things get worse and worse.’”

He said all of this out loud, in the crowd of CC members, but it didn’t turn a single head. The others must have been occupied with similar thoughts.

Also, Arbatov said that they (i.e. Tsukanov, Aleksandrov-Agentov, Zagladin – all of them participated in the creation of the speech) did their best to soften the sharp tone that the speaker insisted on. Most of the sharpness was clearly directed at Kosygin.

Why should they need to soften it? Of course, Kosygin can’t really do anything anymore. But “we really don’t need confusion at the top right now,” especially since there is a whole company waiting in the wings: [Aleksandr Nikolaevich] Shura Shelepin, [Dmitriy Stepanovich] Polyansky, Demichev, [Gennadiy Ivanovich] Voronov, and now they are joined by disgruntled Shelest, who was removed from his post. Plus, removing Kosygin would mean getting rid of his entire team. What would be the point? Apparently Baibakov does not “provide” the proper role for Gosplan. But he is intelligent, brave, and knowledgeable. At least he is not afraid to speak the truth. You couldn’t find a better man right now. Especially considering that no matter whom you put in that seat right now, it won’t fix the problem, since the root of it is elsewhere.

There are already legends about this: people say Kosygin stayed at the reception (USSR 50th anniversary) until the very end, always alone and he drank and drank. Shelepin left the half-empty hall in the company of his “clique.” The forces against Kosygin are focusing. Of course, he doesn’t know anymore what to do or how to do it. But he “himself” does not understand economics. He got skilled in international affairs and now that’s his favorite thing. In economics he “cannot imagine how to secure the shift that was announced at the Congress.”

And one more “musical moment,” as Bovin likes to say. Arbatov said, “We keep advising Brezhnev to stop making all these TV appearances. And he’s not the only one who should restrain himself. His decrepitude is really becoming quite noticeable.”

Afterword to 1972

What is the outcome of 1972?

What did we have thirteen years before *perestroika*?

The absolute authority (and power) of the General Secretary of the CC CPSU was restored after being shaken under Khrushchev, although it was not formalized in the party until the next year. The first signs of the “cult” appeared, even if it was a secondary, farcical one.

The same intellectual and cultural mediocrity remained in the highest echelons of power – the Politburo and the Secretariat: Podgorny, Polyansky, Kirilenko, Voronov, Shelest (then Shcherbitsky), Shelepin, Kunaev, Demichev, Kapitonov.

Suslov, Ponomarev, and Kosygin were people of a somewhat different order. The latter was a professional, but precisely during this year he started to be pushed to the sidelines. The first two remained as carriers of the Bolshevik tradition, which was still characterized by a certain level of education.

The economy, after an unexpected rise during the 8th Five Year Plan, again began to deteriorate. The smart and cynical executives like Baibakov already understood that no resolutions, appeals, or penalties for unfulfilled plans could change anything at the core. The “roots” where elsewhere, they were deeper.

The standard of living for the majority of city dwellers was still acceptable, though people remembered that this was the year when Nikita [Khrushchev] promised we would complete the “first phase of communism.”

Brezhnev slightly recovered after the intervention in Czechoslovakia, solidified his power, and found his common sense. On Andropov and Tsukanov’s advice, he surrounded himself with intellectuals of the “highest Soviet standard” – Inozemtsev, Bovin, Arbatov, Zagladin, Shishlin. These highly educated people gained access to the most sensitive information, and being realists and having mastery of the pen, they were able to use the “reasonable and good” in the General Secretary’s nature to correct our policies where it was possible within the system.

Their regular informal communication with Brezhnev, their advice, personal opinions and objections (which they did not hesitate to share with him), and most importantly the “style” in which policies were presented (they had 90% control over this factor) had an impact first and foremost on international relations. Namely – the turn toward reduced tensions, the dialogue with America, with West Germany, the change of attitude towards the “third world” – a departure from the reckless support of the “national liberation movements,” a dangerous and in principle short-sighted and harmful policy for the interests of the USSR.

The “form” of announcing policies, which became entrusted to Brezhnev’s close advisers, took the ideological edge off international relations, which inevitably reflected on the content of our foreign policy in the nuclear age. It became more “civilized.”

Ideology had long ago and irreversibly lost its revolutionary, inspirational, and mobilizing potential, and completely merged with the false “propaganda of success.” It was so removed from internal and external realities that it lost any effectiveness and had long ceased to be used in practical politics. But it was still necessary to maintain the image of an alternative to the “imperialist West.” And, of course, it served as a demagogic cover for the party-state control over the spiritual life of society.

In this spiritual life there was a clear turn from the apologetics of the Soviet system – a prerequisite of “socialist realism” – to the original purpose of literature, theater, cinema, and art. The topics of man-woman, happiness-grief, human relations, the vicissitudes of everyday life, the meaning of life, etc. – these subjects now determined the interest of both the consumers and producers of spiritual products. At the same time, people began to break the restrictions on the Silver Age and the Avant-garde of the 1920s. Both of these actions were essentially acts of protest because people were sick of the “official” culture. There was also active protest in the form of juxtaposing the existing order to the idealized norms and principles of Lenin’s time though Aesopian satire.

All of this testified to growing confusion in society, and people’s dissatisfaction with the familiar imposed way of life.

In reaction to this, officials in the ideological and cultural spheres became harsher, including the conformists of official science. It was no longer a struggle for ideas, but for the preservation of social privileges and ideological power. The “quality” of the means used corresponded with this goal – blatant demagoguery, intimidation, chauvinism, Black Hundredism, anti-Semitism. This was not an official policy that was “approved by the rules.” But it reflected the mood and level of “culture” of many Politburo members, CC Secretaries, apparatus bosses, regional committee and ministerial heads. They supported it.

The International Communist Movement was disappearing right before our eyes, until it finally lost its political and ideological potential. The Moscow celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the USSR, three years after the World Meeting of Communist Parties, showed the collapse of the ICM, the pettiness of its component parts that were dependent on the CPSU. The exceptions to this rule did not change the overall picture. Some communist parties tried to build political capital in their countries by criticizing the Soviet antidemocratic order, which completely undermined the very basis of the Communist Movement’s existence as a world-wide phenomenon.

These are the “starting” positions of the period to which this project is dedicated.