

TRANSFORMATIONS IN MARXISM-LENINISM IN EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE

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Whoever observes from the West the intellectual development in the countries of East-Central Europe is often inclined to regard the scientific and literary movements grouped together under the name of „revisionism“ as anti-Communist. He expects from them a kind of restoration of the pro-Communist, bourgeois-liberal Western thought and of a corresponding social order. The author examines these processes by means of several examples and comes to the conclusion that they are to be interpreted as intellectual developments within Communism. They differentiate the picture of the forms of Communism in East-Central Europe. But they represent rather a process of adaptation of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions obtaining in East-Central Europe, originating in its Western traditions, rather than a struggle against Communism.

One of these examples is the role of Marxist-Leninist philosophy in Poland. Though at first not taken seriously, it has in the meantime brought forth a younger generation of well-trained philosophers, which has developed an internal Marxist criticism. Characteristic of this are the arguments of Leszek Kolakowski on the ideological character of Marxism-Leninism. Kolakowski rejects Marxism's claim to be a demonstrable science, even though he assigns a necessary and positive function to Marxist ideology. The discussion on the relationship between ideology and science has in the meantime become in all of East-Central Europe a central intellectual issue within Marxism. Taking part in it, next to Ernst Bloch and George Lukács, are also Yugoslavs and Czechs. Although they are to some extent accused of revisionism, they nevertheless stand on the ground of Marxism. This discussion thus seems to be opening a new epoch in the self-comprehension of Marxism.

With regard to the national historical image of the East-Central European countries, Communism avoided a break in its penetration into East-Central Europe. It reverted to the national myths of the Risorgimento, merely incorporating them into the Marxist schema of history. Now, however, as the

author shows, using the example of Czech historiography, historians are rising who do not regard the religious ideologies of the late Middle Ages, which were so especially important for the Czechs, merely as the superstructure or camouflage for social revolutionary processes, but seriously consider them as an intellectual development and primary historical factors. This can be seen, for example, in the treatment of the Hussite ideology by Robert Kalivoda.

With regard to pedagogy, East-Central Europe shows revealing differences from Soviet thought. The identification of the educational and production process which was carried very far in the Soviet educational reform of 1958 is corrected by the Pole Ignacy Szaniawski, who, though firmly on Marxist ground, has made clear the difference in the nature of the two processes.

Finally, the author examines Czech literature to show its revolutionary, anti-bourgeois character; it is now turning, just as it once did against the bourgeois victors of 1918, against the rigid dogmatic leadership and social order of Communism, without, however, leaving the ground of a Communist socialism. Here there are clear parallels not only in East-Central Europe, especially in Poland, but also in the Soviet Union.