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Research Note

What Was *Shestidesiatnichestvo* for Soviet Philosophers?

FUJII YOUICHI

INTRODUCTION

In March 2006, a meeting of the so-called *Shestidesiatniki* [people of the 1960s] was organized by the Liberal Mission Foundation, at the Taganka Theater in Moscow in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of Nikita Khrushchev's secret speech at the Twentieth Party Congress. In the auditorium, more than 200 outstanding Russian men and women of various ages gathered and tried to elucidate what for each of them had changed after Joseph Stalin's death and debunking of the cult of personality.¹

Five years later, in March 2011, a conference entitled "Gorbachev's Generation: *Shestidesiatniki* in the Life of the State" was held at the Gorbachev Fund. One of speakers, the Russian philosopher Vadim Mikhailovich Mezhuiev (b. 1933), characterized the people of the sixties as "the most splendid exponents of the spirit that appeared after the Twentieth Party Congress of the CPSU and which should be distinguished from the stagnant spirit of the Brezhnev epoch." Besides, he described the "thaw" in the Khrushchev period as "the period of liberating society from Stalin's dope in life and ideology," but at the same time, acknowledged that "de-Stalinization of the regime and consciousness was not breaking off with socialism and Marxism, but, on the contrary, posing its task to break through to their original sense and content." The speaker named the Soviet philosopher Merab K. Mamardashvili (1930–1990) as among those who went into "internal exile" with the end of the thaw. Next, Mezhuiev insisted that the advent of Gorbachev's rule and commencement of perestroika meant the *Shestidesiatniki*'s victory and the triumph of the *Shestidesiatniki*'s ideas. He said he understood the efforts of those of the sixties to combine somehow left and right political ideas, for example, to reconcile socialism with liberalism.²

Another speaker, a senior research fellow at the Institute of Scientific Information for Social Sciences of the Russian Academy of Sciences (INION RAN)

1 Шестидесятники призывают покончить с культом личности и безличности (фото-репортаж) [www.regnum.ru/news/600597.html], accessed February 12, 2013. Among the significant figures attending this meeting were the writer Vasilii Aksenov, the economist Tat'iana Zaslavskaja, and Gavriil Popov, the former mayor of Moscow.

2 Межуев В.М. Конференция «Поколение Горбачева: шестидесятники в жизни страны» [www.gorby.ru/activity/conference/show_844/view_27384/], accessed February 12, 2013.

Anatol'evich Fedosov (b. 1951) offered the perspective that the *Shestidesiatniki* were people who were sure to have declared the desirability and necessity of changes towards humanism and humanistic changes. Soviet philosophers in the Stalinist period, however, had already used the word "humanism" as one of the components of Soviet ideology, with quotations from Stalin's remarks. The Russian analyst expressed his view that under the conditions of the 1960s, the tendency towards humanism, as well as expansion of spaces of freedom and individuality, naturally and definitely opposed the practices of late Stalinism, in which all these people were molded and grew.³ In fact, the *Shestidesiatniki*, for example, the Committee on Human Rights in the USSR founded by Andrei Sakharov in 1970 and the Moscow Helsinki Group founded in 1976 fought for the protection and expansion of human rights as well as the fulfillment of the provisions declared in the Soviet Constitution.

The Russian economist Victor L. Sheinis (b. 1931) revealed the background of personal molding of the *Shestidesiatniki*, which included the Great Patriotic War (1941–1945), the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, and the thaw; he insisted that *Shestidesiatnichestvo* was a wide social phenomenon. He rejected the view that perestroika was a direct continuation of the thaw, because between them there is a long break lasting for approximately seventeen or eighteen years. However, he admitted that perestroika ideologically began not on virgin soil as had been in the case of the thaw, but on soil prepared earlier.⁴

Based on these remarks by the above-mentioned three speakers, this source study proposes the hypothesis that the "New Thinking" in the Gorbachev era was the embodiment of the principles of the intellectual movement led by the *Shestidesiatniki* who had built up and shared *Shestidesiatnichestvo* as their collective consciousness,⁵ i.e., their shared beliefs and moral attitudes such as humanism that operated as a unifying force within their ranks. While one recent study investigated Soviet post-war youth culture and subculture such as *stiliagi*,⁶ this paper will illustrate who the *Shestidesiatniki* were among intellectuals at first briefly in order to give details of *Shestidesiatnichestvo*.

Specialists in Sovietology have tried to define who a *Shestidesiatnik* was, and what *Shestidesiatnichestvo* was. The *Large Explanatory Dictionary of the*

3 Федосов П.А. Конференция «Поколение Горбачева: шестидесятники в жизни страны» [www.gorby.ru/activity/conference/show_844/view_27393/], accessed February 12, 2013.

4 Шейнис В.Л. Конференция «Поколение Горбачева: шестидесятники в жизни страны» [www.gorby.ru/activity/conference/show_844/view_27386/], accessed February 12, 2013.

5 The French sociologist Émile Durkheim used the term in his book *The Division of Labor in Society* (1893) (in French). In this book, he defines it as follows: "The totality of beliefs and sentiments common to the average citizens of the same society forms a determinate system that has its own life; one may call it the *collective or creative consciousness*." See Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, trans. George Simpson (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1949), p. 79.

6 Juliane Fürst, *Stalin's Last Generation: Soviet Post-War Youth and the Emergence of Mature Socialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Russian Language defines the former term as representative of the intelligentsia of the 1960s.⁷ This definition mentions their social layer in the country; however, it does not specify when they formed their worldviews and which thoughts they conceived. Another explanatory dictionary defines the term as a person whose worldview was formed during the thaw period from the end of the 1950s until the beginning of the 1960s, and being characterized by free-thinking, creative boldness, commitment to protection of human rights, etc.⁸ The latter gives the term a more concrete definition although it does not comprehend those of the sixties as a generation. The British Sovietologist, Archie Brown, introduces this term comprehensively as “the better-educated younger people—those between their late teens and early thirties in 1956—this was an important turning-point; the phrase ‘children of the Twentieth Congress’ was often used in the later years of the Soviet Union to describe this political generation whose anti-Stalinist outlook took shape between 1956 and the early 1960s, for in 1961—at the Twenty-Second Party Congress—Khrushchev returned to the attack on Stalin and this time in open session.”⁹ This paper will first examine the correctness of these explanations of the term *Shestidesiatnichestvo*.

Recently, Russian *Shestidesiatniki* philosophers have begun to review the trajectory of their own generation’s lives and works in various forms, for example, in a Russian TV cultural program on Soviet philosophers (2010).¹⁰ Additionally, in the 2000s, the Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences began publishing the series *Philosophy of Russia in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century*. It is high time to launch researches on the process of how Soviet *Shestidesiatniki* philosophers founded their new ideology in the thaw period, which would become the base of the future Gorbachev government’s “New Thinking.” At the same time, it is necessary to focus not only on the Moscow group of philosophers but also the Leningrad group, unlike preceding studies done in the Soviet times because, for example, the Soviet axiology developed at Leningrad State University owes much to Vasilii P. Tugarinov’s contributions in the 1960s.

The Russian ethicist Abduslam A. Guseinov (b. 1939) made the following remarks about the “Sixtiers”: “*Shestidesiatnichestvo*, which emerged at the boundary of the 1950s and the 1960s, was decisive in determining the intellectual and spiritual atmosphere of the country up until the beginning of the 1990s, and it differed in its position and self-awareness from the official stratum of society represented by party members and party associates in the humanities, and from the social opposition represented by dissidents. That is to say, their

7 Шестидесятник // Большой толковый словарь русского языка. СПб.: Норинт, 1998.

8 Шестидесятник // Толковый словарь русского языка начала XXI века. М.: Эксмо, 2007.

9 Archie Brown, *The Gorbachev Factor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 39–40.

10 The documentary project of Aleksandr Arkhangel’skii. Телеканал «Россия — Культура».

bodies sided with the former group; their hearts, with the latter.”¹¹ Guseinov’s standpoint on the *Shestidesiatniki* and *Shestidesiatnichestvo* is similar to that of the Russian politician and diplomat Evgenii M. Primakov (b. 1929)’s advocacy of “dissidents within the system.” The ex-prime minister of the Russian Federation insisted that activities of such “intra-system” force rather enabled qualitative and consistent changes in the Gorbachev era.¹²

The German sociologist and philosopher, Wilhelm Dilthey, showed the advantage of the theory of generations in that the use of generations as units makes it possible to appraise intellectual movements by an intuitive process of re-enactment.¹³ Through the prism of the sociology of knowledge (mainly by the Hungarian sociologist Karl Mannheim), this paper aims to examine the hypothesis that *Shestidesiatnichestvo* was created by and shared among the philosophers of the *Shestidesiatniki* as a collective consciousness, as well as was their intellectual movement; at the same time, this paper attempts to outline the reason that philosophers in the 1960s were able to form the fairly newly labelled ideology “humanism” since the 1950s, by elucidating the social and intellectual environments where they were placed. This paper will attempt to manifest what *Shestidesiatnichestvo* meant for Soviet philosophers in the 1960s by focusing largely on the transformation of Soviet philosophy in the 1950s–60s. But, because of space constraints, this paper examines only the general “new trend” of Soviet philosophy in the epoch.

WHO WERE THE SHESTIDESIATNIKI?

Before examining the intellectual enterprises of Soviet philosophers belonging to the *Shestidesiatniki* cohort, it is necessary to elucidate their generational components and characters in general. This section describes intellectual movements not only of philosophers but also of all Sixtiers in the 1950s and 1960s, by adopting a generation as a temporal unit of the history of intellectual evolution.

The label *Shestidesiatniki* as such was originally used as a collective noun for the group of Russian critical thinkers on social issues who gained prominence in the 1860s, or to be more exact, the decade since the year 1856, when the Crimean War ended, until the year of Dmitrii V. Karakozov’s terrorism in 1866. A century later, this term was used to describe the critics and would-be reformists who blossomed in the 1960s.

11 Guseinov’s introduction to the book of the collected works by Nelly V. Motroshirova (b. 1934). *Мотрошилова Н.В. Работы разных лет*. М., 2005. Гусейнов А.А. Н.В. Мотрошилова и философы-шестидесятники [guseinov.ru/publ/motrosh.html], accessed February 12, 2013.

12 Примаков Е.М. Годы в большой политике. М.: Совершенно секретно, 1999. С. 11.

13 Wilhelm Dilthey, *Über das Studium der Geschichte der Wissenschaften vom Menschen, der Gesellschaft und dem Staat*, in: GS, Bd. 5, 1875, p. 36.

Stanislav Rassadin (1935–2012) was the first journalist to apply the term to his generation in his article entitled “Shestidesiatni” for the magazine *Yunost’* [Youth] in 1960. In 1958, he graduated from the Philological Faculty of Moscow State University and then worked in the corresponding section of the publishing house Molodaia Gvardiia [Young Guard], from where he moved to *Literaturnaia gazeta* together with Bulat Okudzhava in 1959. Later, in 1961, Rassadin became head of the criticism section in *Yunost’*. In his article “Shestidesiatniki: Books about contemporary adolescents,” he introduced some books in which Soviet youth was described by authors of the same generation. The critic quoted an excerpt from the story “Colleagues” by Vasilii Aksenov. One of the “Three Musketeers” characters asks himself: “How about our generation? The question is whether we can pass a loyalty and courage test of such kind? We, the urban lads, who somewhat ironically treat the whole world, who do not dodge, do not worm our way into others’ confidence, do not act meanly, do not parasitize ... are we capable of doing something?”¹⁴ The appearance of the article can be said to mark the time when individual members of this generation of Sixtiers became conscious of their common situation and made this consciousness the basis of their group solidarity.

Rassadin recalled this article in an interview with the newspaper *Novaya Gazeta* in 2000: “When did the 1960s begin? Of course, in the ‘50s with the emergence of the ‘Children of the Twentieth Party Congress.’ Incidentally, my article ‘Shestidesiatniki,’ whence unpredictably this witticism started off, appeared at the very end of the ‘50s.”¹⁵ The term “Children of the Twentieth Party Congress” was often used in later years in the Soviet Union to describe this political generation whose anti-Stalinist outlook took shape between 1956 and the early 1960s.¹⁶

A significant event in the 1950s that left Soviet youth wide-eyed was the Sixth World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow in 1957. This festival took place under the slogan “For Peace and Friendship” and comprised a vast number of organized events—concerts, demonstrations, discussions, sports tournaments; the visiting delegations were kept busy with meetings and speeches. The Soviet song “Midnight in Moscow” (*Podmoskovnye vechera*) won both the international song contest and first prize at the festival.¹⁷ The Soviet Preparatory Committee and the International Preparatory Committee established for

14 Рассадин С. Шестидесятники: книги о молодом современнике // Юность. 1960. № 12. С. 59.

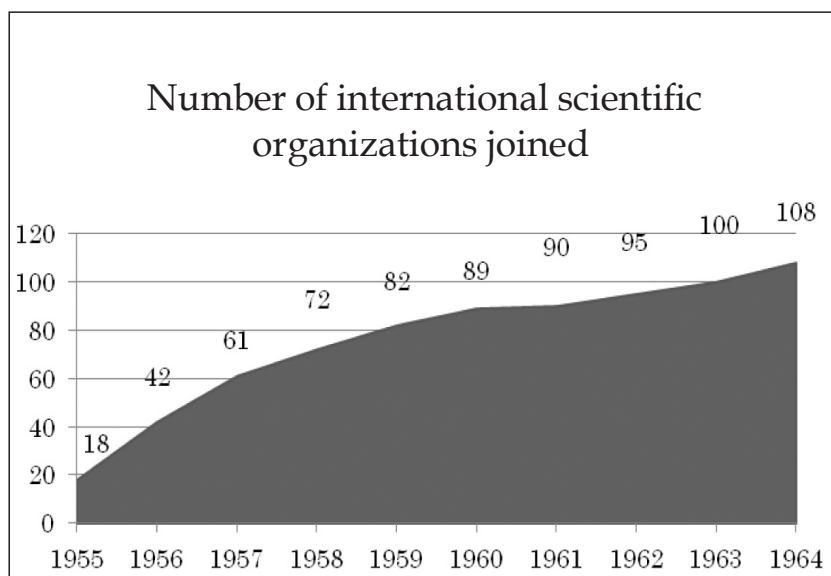
15 Рассадин С. Мы, я и Евтушенко // Новая Газета. 2000. № 78 [old.novayagazeta.ru/data/2000/78/29.html], accessed February 12, 2013.

16 In 1961—at the Twenty-Second Party Congress—Khrushchev resumed his attacks on Stalin, this time in open session.

17 The episode when Mikhail (b. 1931) and Raisa (1932–1999) Gorbachev visited the US and were profoundly moved when this song was played for them in the White House is a good example of generational unity (*Generations-einheit*).

organizing the festival, in accordance with the decision by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSU, had been planning to publish the IPC's organ newspaper *Festival'* in multiple languages (Russian, English, French, German, and Spanish). Six hundred people, including about 100 foreigners, were supposed to work at the editorial desk of both committees, but this project was never implemented.¹⁸ Nonetheless, the birth of that spirit of "the people of the sixties" began with the breath of freedom inhaled at this festival.

This partial opening-up of the USSR to the outside world brought intellectual reinvigoration to the learned community in the Soviet Union. Soviet scholars benefited from significant opportunities to acquaint themselves with Western thought. Soviet institutions started to exchange books and journals with similar institutions abroad, and had modest funds for purchasing literature. Moreover, through new cultural exchanges with Western states, some social scientists got an opportunity to spend extended periods in Western institutions, working alongside Western scholars, purchasing materials, and using foreign libraries; some established personal contacts that led to further exchange of ideas and scholarly materials.¹⁹ The dynamics of growth in the number of international scientific organizations that the Academy of Sciences of the USSR joined in 1955–64 is shown in the following table.²⁰



Source: Российский государственный архив новейшей истории (РГАНИ).
ф. 5. оп. 35. ед. хр. 208.

18 Призрачная газета «Фестиваль» при VI всемирном фестивале молодежи и студентов в 1957 г

19 Ronald J. Hill, *Soviet Politics, Political Science and Reform* (Oxford: M. E. Sharpe, 1980), pp. 161–162.

20 Иванов К.В. Наука после Сталина: Реформа академии 1954–1961 гг. [vivovoco.rsl.ru/VV/PAPERS/HISTORY/POST.HTM], accessed February 12, 2013.

Some Western Sovietologists have pointed out the influence of Western thought on Soviet scholars since the latter half of the 1950s and quoted Soviet intellectuals' remarks in their works. For example, the American Sovietologist Robert D. English refers to the words of the Soviet journalist and diplomat Gennadii I. Gerasimov (1930–2010): “The Prague journal *Problemy Mira i Sotsializma* (Problems of Peace and Socialism, alias *World Marxist Review*—Y. F.)²¹ became a center of new ideas and free discussion on all socio-political issues ... for many of us, it was where new thinking began.”²² A number of so-called Soviet Praguers²³ who went on to become aides and advisors to Gorbachev, had worked for this journal under the leadership of editor-in-chief Aleksei M. Rumiantsev.²⁴ Within the editorial board of the journal, Soviet staff members exchanged opinions with Marxists or socialists from other countries in the late 1950s through the 1960s. The British researcher of Soviet history Archie Brown in his book *The Gorbachev Factor* described “the Praguers” as an important group who had spent time in Prague—on the *World Marxist Review*—which served as an introduction to revisionist Communist and socialist thought. In particular, Brown rightly singles out three Soviet members of the journal's staff, G. Shakhnazarov, A. Cherniaev, and I. Frolov.²⁵

As for the field of social science, the Australian historian Roger D. Markwick goes as far as to name Rumiantsev as the person who led the new generation of intellectuals, especially those engaged in the fields of economics and

21 According to R. English, the Prague journal and its multinational editorial staff—including West European and Asian Marxists—was intended to reflect the now-permitted diversity of the socialist camp and advance Moscow's interests through persuasion instead of diktat. Contrary to the expectations of the Kremlin, however, the journal's greatest impact was on its Soviet staffers. Mamardashvili recalled that Boris A. Grushin organized the club “Prague Meeting” wherein Soviet personnel cultivated cultural exchanges with Czech producers by seeing their films, which were unknown and not permitted to be screened in Russia at that time.

Мамардашвили М.К. Мой опыт нетипичен // Сознание и цивилизация. Тексты и беседы. М.: Изд-во Логос, 2004. С. 209.

English, Introduction to the book by Anatoly Cherniaev, *My Six Years with Gorbachev* (Pennsylvania, 2000), p. xiv.

22 Robert D. English, *Russia and the Idea of the West* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), p. 71.

23 Among the “Praguers” were the following outstanding figures: Evgenii A. Ambartsumov (1929–2010), Georgii A. Edward A. Arab-Ogly (1925–2001), Georgii A. Arbatov (1923–2010), Oleg T. Bogomolov (1927–), Gennadii I. Gerasimov (1930–2010), Boris A. Grushin (1929–2007), Vadim V. Zagladin (1927–2006), Yurii F. Kariakin (1930–), Vladimir P. Lukin (1937–), Merab K. Mamardashvili (1930–1990), Ivan V. Frolov (1929–1999), Anatolii S. Cherniaev (1921–), and Georgii Kh. Shakhnazarov (1924–2001).

24 Aleksei Matveevich Rumiantsev (1905–1993), who was educated and made a career in Ukraine, successively edited the theoretical journal of the CPSU *Communist* (1955–1958), the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism* (1958–1964), and the newspaper *Pravda* (1964–1965).

25 Brown, *The Gorbachev Factor*, pp. 98–100.

sociology. Acknowledging Rumiantsev's role, Markwick writes: "There was an initial attempt to woo them (the liberal intelligentsia) by the liberal wing of the party leadership. In February 1965, an article entitled 'The Party and the Intelligentsia' appeared in *Pravda*, written by its editor-in-chief and Central Committee member A. M. Rumiantsev. Around Rumiantsev there clustered a small group of 'party democrats,' including Aleksandr N. Yakovlev (1923–2005; later famous as the principal advisor to Gorbachev). ... Rumiantsev was intent not only on preserving the legacy of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Party Congress but also on pursuing 'the causes and conditions of the emergence of the cult of Stalin and Stalinism'."²⁶

Around the same time, Yuri V. Andropov (1914–1984) was the head of the Department for Liaison with Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries (1957–1967). He, too, recruited his consultants from among such Praguer, including the political scientist Georgii A. Arbatov, the diplomat Gennadii I. Gerasimov, Anatolii S. Cherniaev, the economist and expert in international relations Oleg T. Bogomolov, Georgii Kh. Shakhnazarov, and the political analyst Vadim V. Saladin. These Praguer worked with other talented people, such as the Russian journalist Alexander E. Bovine (1930–2004) and the Russian political scientist Fyodor M. Burlatskii (b. 1927).

Considering these interdisciplinary connections, R. English described those of the sixties as follows: "The reformist intellectuals examined here are often referred to as the 'Children of the Twentieth Party Congress,' but rarely is it understood how the logic of their inquiries, not just their shared anti-Stalinism, indeed made them members of a similar intellectual fraternity. Moreover, they were also joined by personal and professional bonds; the educational and career links among reformist historians and economists, philosophers and physicists, policy analysts and Party apparatchiks, were strong. And it was these personal professional ties, together with their shared beliefs, that fostered a distinct social identity and fortified the 'neo-Westernizers' in the difficult years after 1968."²⁷ English gives an example of such bonds: when Lukin, the young Praguer, openly criticized the invasion and was promptly sent home to Moscow in 1968, Arbatov, a senior Praguer and the founding director of the Institute of USA and Canada (ISKAN) since the year before, gave Lukin a job at his new institute.²⁸

Thus, the *Shestidesiatniki* built extensive intellectual connections and came to absorb interpretive, formative principles that enable the individual to deal with new impressions and events in a fashion broadly predetermined by the group. To sum up the various attitudes to this term and views on it, the

26 Roger D. Markwick, *Rewriting History in Soviet Russia: The Politics of Revisionist Historiography, 1956–1974* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), p. 200.

27 English, *Russia and the Idea of the West*, p. 83.

28 *Ibid.*, pp. 112–113.

first section in this paper defines *Shestidesiatniki* as those members of the Soviet intelligentsia born between the mid-1920s and the mid-1930s who formed their anti-Stalinist worldview from the mid-1950s through the 1960s, and who shared a belief in socialist democracy and the possibility of improving it.

NEW MOVEMENTS IN SOVIET PHILOSOPHY IN THE 1950s–60s

Now, what was *Shestidesiatnichestvo* for Soviet philosophers? According to the Russian ethicist A. A. Guseinov, substantial analysis of the values of the *Shestidesiatniki* shows strong links with the concepts of humanism, personality (*lichnost'*), and anti-Stalinism in the field of ideas and values, with the Twentieth Party Congress of the CPSU, Khrushchev's thaw, and the Prague Spring in the political area.²⁹ He characterizes Sixtiers philosophers as those who were oriented toward the West, wanted to meet to Western standards, and enter its thematic and problem field. Moreover, they turned their interest from Lenin and Engels to Marx, as well as from a mature Marx to a younger Marx.³⁰ On that basis, Guseinov defines *Shestidesiatnichestvo* as an ensemble of people and values, and at the same time, as a movement of doubtless historical scale. In his opinion, they did not have sociologically fixed forms common to phenomena of such a scale; this phenomenon was embodied in individuals, personal relations, and acts. The *Shestidesiatnik's* view shows the aspect of *Shestidesiatniki* philosophers being *neo-zapadniki* like in the nineteenth century to some extent. On the other hand, his view lacks the prospect of succession of knowledge from the old to the new generations in the 1950s through the 1960s. Besides, without any collective consciousness espoused in the community of younger philosophers at that time, they could not have set off the movement. It is natural to make the assumption that Sixtiers philosophers formed and shared some form of social or group mindset, which propelled the movement and which eventuated in the "New Thinking" in the Gorbachev epoch.

The current section examines what *Shestidesiatnichestvo* was for philosophers of the 1960s, and the reason that *Shestidesiatnichestvo* was able to form among Sixtiers philosophers during the process of partial and gradual debunking of Stalin's philosophical heritage through the prism of generation theory, taking into consideration their research environment at that time.

The Hungarian sociologist Karl Mannheim depicted succession and development of culture by saying that "our society is principally characterized by the fact that cultural creation and cultural accumulation are accomplished by the continuous emergence of new age groups";³¹ he also stressed the role of

²⁹ Гусейнов. Н.В. Мотрошилова

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Karl Mannheim, "The Problem of Generations," in *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge & Kegan-Paul, 1952), p. 293.

“intermediary” generations in smoothing the continuous interactions between the oldest and youngest generations in this transmission of cultural heritage.³²

If Mannheim’s term “intermediary” generation is applied to the Soviet experience of the 1950s, to which age group can it most appropriately be applied? A Soviet philosopher belonging to the *Shestidesiatniki* classified philosophers who were active in the 1950s and 1960s into three generations: 1) the small group of philosophers of the senior generation who survived, almost by a miracle, and whose activities began as early as the 1920s and 1930s; 2) the generation born in the 1920s who served during the Great Patriotic War and completed university degrees just before or soon after the War; and lastly, 3) the generation consisting of students, graduate students, and lecturers of philosophy faculties from the end of the 1940s throughout the 1950s.³³ Based on this classification, it can be said that the second group is “intermediary” in Mannheim’s sense. For example, it includes the outstanding philosophers Evald V. Il’enkov (1924–1979) and Alexander A. Zinov’ev (1922–2006). They created their own school of historical materialism at Moscow State University, the leading university in the country. Members of the school included the famous *Shestidesiatniki* Boris A. Grushin (1929–2007), M. K. Mamardashvili, and others.

A Russian philosopher, Vadim Nikolaevich Sadovskii (b. 1934), reminisced that in the atmosphere from the second half of the 1940s throughout the first half of the 1950s, classic authors of Marxism-Leninism—Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Vladimir Lenin, and Joseph Stalin—absolutely dominated, and scarcely anything could be spoken against official propaganda, and this period was the peak of Communist ideological obscurantism.³⁴ In fact, B. Grushin, who was a student in the Department of Philosophy, Moscow State University (MSU), recollected that four classmates were arrested during his first three years of college.³⁵ Besides, Sadovskii deposes the idea that even after Stalin’s death, reprisals against philosophical “revisionists” in the Faculty of Philosophy, MSU, were taken in accordance with the classical Stalinist canon.³⁶ On the other hand, R. English noted the fact that even before the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, the post-war generation was inspired by the first generation, such

32 *Ibid.*, p. 301.

33 *Садовский В.Н.* Философия в Москве в 50-е и 60-е годы // *Философия не кончается... Из истории отечественной философии XX век: В 2-х кн. Кн. II. Из 60–80-е годы.* М.: РОССПЭН, 1999. С. 15–16.

34 *Ibid.* С. 16.

35 *Белянчикова Л.А.* Мы все время вели войны за свой предмет // *Ростовская электронная газета.* 2012. № 14 [www.relga.ru/Environ/WebObjects/tgu-www.woa/wa/Main?textid=97&level1=main&level2=articles], accessed March 5, 2013.

36 *Садовский.* Философия в Москве. С. 28.

as Valentin Asmus,³⁷ Bonifatsy Kedrov,³⁸ and Konstantin Bakradze,³⁹ those who were not only schooled in a rich, prerevolutionary tradition, but were also non-dogmatic thinkers who rejected the crude schemas of the *Short Course of the History of the CPSU*.⁴⁰ Summing up, despite the fact that the new way of thinking could invoke risks of being arrested or punished, young philosophers vigorously discussed mainly dialectics and logic (see below for details) receiving encouragement from those few non-dogmatic philosophers of the older generation, who happened to survive the purges.

Soon after Stalin's death, under these circumstances, the person who laid the ground for future arguments on humanism, without any references to Stalin's remarks,⁴¹ was the philosopher and precursor to the Shestidesiatnik Mariia I. Petrosian.⁴² She contributed an article entitled "Marxism and Humanism" to the journal *Voprosy filosofii* [Problems of Philosophy] in 1955. In this work, she first discussed the historic role of humanism since the Renaissance, next, she analyzed the harmful effects of capitalist society, and lastly, based on Marx's works written in his younger days, she insisted that Marxism-Leninism, as the theoretical base of socialist humanism, is the sole true humanism that brings about the all-around and balanced development of the human personality.⁴³ In the post-Stalin era, the new tendency in philosophy understood humanism in the Kantian sense, i.e., to respect human dignity, and not to treat

37 АСМУС Валентин Фердинадович (1894–1975): Asmus was born in Kiev. In 1919, he graduated from the Faculty of History and Philology, National University of Kyiv. In 1927, he started to give lectures on the history of philosophy in Moscow. His specialty was the history of philosophy (especially F. Bacon, R. Descartes, B. De Spinoza, and I. Kant), logic, aesthetics, and the theory of culture.

38 КЕДРОВ Бонифатий Михайлович (1903–1985): Kedrov was born in Yaroslavl. He worked mainly as a director in the fields of not only philosophy but also chemistry and the history of science.

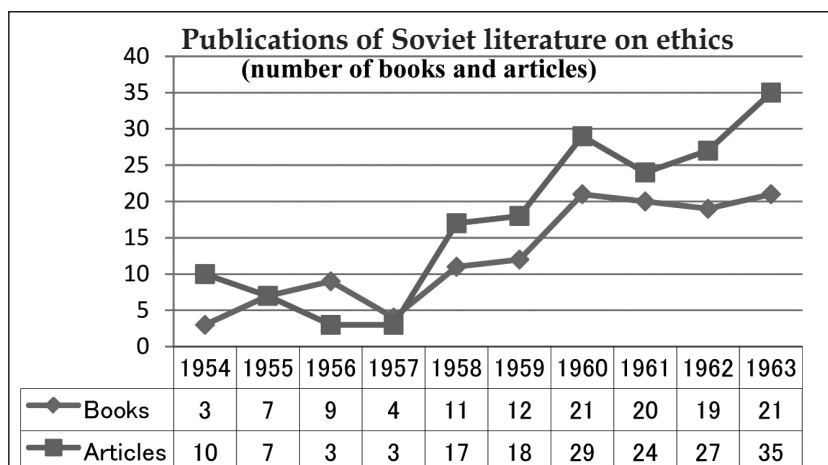
39 БАКРАДЗЕ Константин Спиридонович (1898–1970): Bakradze was born in Georgia. In 1922, he graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy, Tbilisi State University. His specialty was the history of philosophy (especially I. Kant, J. G. Fichte, and F. W. J. von Schelling) and logic.

40 English, *Russia and the Idea of the West*, p. 87.

41 The term "humanism" had been used by Soviet philosophers in Stalin's era. When philosophers emphasized the importance of "socialist humanism" as a part of the Soviet ideology, they principally carried a quotation from Stalin's address to the graduates of the Red Army Academies delivered in the Kremlin on May 4, 1935. He said that "we must first of all learn to value people, to value cadres, to value every worker capable of benefiting our common cause. It is time to realize that of all the valuable capital the world possesses, the most valuable and most decisive is people, cadres." See J. S. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism* (Moscow: Foreign Language Publishing House, 1958), p. 662.

42 Mariia Isakovna Petrosian was born in 1911 in Nagorno Karabakh, receiving her higher education in Baku. In 1937, she defended her dissertation on Feuerbach's philosophy. In 1964, she published a book entitled *Humanism*.

43 Петросян М.И. Марксизм и гуманизм // Вопросы философии. 1955. № 3. С. 45–58.



This table is based on the figures that the Sovietologist Richard T. De George obtained for his articles "Bibliography of Soviet Ethics," *Studies in Soviet Thought* III:1 (March 1963), pp. 83–84; "Soviet Ethics and Soviet Society," *Studies in Soviet Thought* IV:3 (September 1964), pp. 206, 215.

people as mere means to and end like Stalin did. The concept of humanism as an essential part of ideology was incorporated into the platform adopted at the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU held in 1961.

The Soviet philosopher Vladislav A. Lektorskii (b. 1932) recollected that at the beginning of the 1960s there appeared a whole generation of philosophers who seriously related to the idea of scientific and humanistic interpretations of K. Marx's thought. In addition, according to the Soviet philosopher, the Soviet psychologist Sergei Leonidovich Rubinshtein (1889–1960) developed original philosophical anthropological concepts, especially the concept of the ontology of human consciousness, in his works.⁴⁴ The theme of personality consolidated itself in a roundabout way, i.e., by studying and preparing a concurrent foreign philosophy.⁴⁵

As for ethics, on the other hand, as the above table shows, the amount of Soviet ethical literature rapidly increased after 1958. The major factor that enabled the rise of ethics in Soviet philosophy in the 1950s, was, paradoxi-

44 Лекторский В.А. Предисловие // *Философия не кончается...* С. 3–5.

The psychologist K. S. Abul'khanova-Slavskaja gives the names of his three influential works on psychology—*Existence and Consciousness* (1957), *About Thinking and Ways of Studying It* (1958), and *Principles and Ways of the Development of Psychology* (1959)—as well as a fundamental philosophical writing *Person and the World* (1973). See Абульханова-Славская К.С. Проблемы методологии науки и философской антропологии в контексте парадигмы субъекта С.Л. Рубинштейна // *Философия не кончается...* С. 329.

45 Соловьев Э.Ю. Философский журнализм 60-х // *Философия не кончается...* С. 114.

cally, Stalin's 1950 paper "Marxism and Problems of Linguistics."⁴⁶ In an article in *Pravda*, he advanced the new doctrine that under certain conditions, the political superstructure had a dominant influence on the economic basis of society.⁴⁷ This new thesis led to the idea that morals as one of the forms of social consciousness can also become an active force, actively assisting its base as a part of the superstructure, and to the presumption that the value of ethics was acknowledged by Stalin unintentionally. After the publication of Stalin's contention, more than a few works on morals appeared in Soviet literature one after another.

Along with the factor of knowledge transmitted from earlier generations to younger generations, it is worthwhile pointing out the factor of horizontal relations of younger Soviet philosophers with their domestic and foreign contemporaries. In the 1950s, students and graduate students of the Faculty of Philosophy, Moscow State University, had a study circle: the Moscow Logic Circle (later, the Moscow Methodological Circle). This circle was formed by Grushin, Zinov'ev, Mamardashvili, and Georgii P. Shchedrovitskii (1929–1994) in 1952. The Soviet philosopher of religion (particularly the study of Baptists) Lev N. Mitrokhin (1930–2005) recollected that they suggested and developed particular conceptions of dialectics and logic, referring to Lenin's famous remark: "If Marx did not leave behind him a 'Logic' (with a capital letter), he did leave the logic of Capital, and this ought to be utilized to the full in this question."⁴⁸ In this way, the Sixtiers stimulated each other through inner group activities.

As to connections with foreign philosophers, during the Sixth World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow, the philosophical seminar "About the possibility of scientific prediction of the phenomenon of social life" was held in one of the lecture halls of MSU on August 6–7. The participants were representatives of nineteen delegations and thirty-two other people. Teodor Oizerman (b. 1914), a professor at MSU, made a presentation in which he stated the Marxist point of view on the objective laws of social development and the

46 Stalin intervened in the discussion on linguistics led by Nicholas Marr, who insisted that languages belong to the superstructure, in order to support the antithesis, i.e., that languages do NOT belong to the superstructure. R. Zapata speculates that Stalin regarded Marrist linguistics as an obstacle to the development of cybernetics and information science whose importance came to be recognized by the top leaders of economic and defense affairs in the Soviet Union.

René Zapata, *La philosophie russe et soviétique* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1988), p. 111.

47 "Further, the superstructure is a product of the base, but this by no means implies that it merely reflects the base, that it is passive, neutral, indifferent to the fate of its base, to the fate of the classes, to the character of the system. On the contrary, having come into being, it becomes an exceedingly active force, actively assisting its base to take shape and consolidate itself, and doing its utmost to help the new system to finish off and eliminate the old base and the old classes."

48 Митрохин Л.Н. Докладная записка 74 // Философия не кончается... С. 123.

possibility of scientific prediction. The question about the concrete content of scientific foresight became the central topic of debates. The social philosopher Yurii A. Zamoshkin (1927–1993),⁴⁹ the philosopher and sociologist Eduard A. Arab-Ogly (1925–2001),⁵⁰ and the sociologist Nina F. Naumova (1930–2002) were the Soviet delegates to the seminar.⁵¹ These Soviet attendants learned the various opinions of foreign youths not only from socialist countries but also from Western nations such as France, Italy, and West Germany.

Thus, the oncoming new generation of Soviet philosophers as a single generational unit inherited a worldview, value system, and principles from the older philosophers who first evolved and practiced them, and are isolated in their own generation as forerunners, as K. Mannheim indicated in his generation theory.⁵² At the same time, Soviet philosophers of the younger generation created new collective impulses and formative principles original to the generation. Mutual intellectual stimulation made it possible, and the Sixtiers philosophers were fortunate to come in contact with foreign thought thanks to the thaw. *Shestidesiatnichestvo* for *Shestidesiatniki* philosophers was not an ensemble of people and values, but a shared collective consciousness that drove their intellectual movement since the latter half of the 1950s, as well as the phenomenon of generation as an actuality where concrete personal and professional bonds were created between members of the generation.

49 His publications using American social critics on individuals and conformism played an important role in developing the Soviet theory of personality. See Соловьев, *Философский журнализм 60-х*. С. 114–115.

50 From the following year until 1965, Arab-Ogly worked for the journal *World Marxist Review* with his colleagues, such as Grushin, Mamardashvili, Georgii Shakhnazarov, etc., in Prague. In the European capital, he engaged in the study of demography and social geography. In 1961, when he was the team leader of the journal, he organized the “round table” of Marxist sociologists. See Грушин Б.А. Горький вкус не востребоважности // Демоскоп Weekly. 17–30 сентября 2007, № 301–302 [demoscope.ru/weekly/2007/0301/nauka04.php], accessed February 12, 2013.

51 Игитханян М.Х., Новиков Н.В. На философском семинаре VI Всемирного фестиваля молодежи и студентов // Вопросы философии. 1957. № 6. С. 198–202.

52 Mannheim, “The Problem of Generations,” pp. 303, 308.