

International the notion that western societies were the only model for the building of socialist society. Lenin wished to adopt the large scale industry of Western countries, to catch up and surpass them. He argued (as did Trotsky) that there was no need to invent some original way of organizing labour as capitalism had created and perfected one that was immediately usable. Lenin introduced the scientific management of industry (the system devised by F.W. Taylor and used by Ford), without examining its inherently alienating character. Just as the proletariat cannot acquire class consciousness by its own efforts, nor, it seems, can it acquire competence in 'management'. The proletariat was therefore expected to delegate its powers to the Party. This process of 'substitution' whereby the Party tended to substitute itself for the class, led to the proletariat being excluded

from power. Lenin did not realize that the stress on absolute subordination in production, and to the Party, contained the danger of influencing the general character of the new society at every level. It is argued that Lenin's view, to a certain extent, provided the legitimation for the subsequent development of 'Stalinism'. Lenin's assumptions contributed to a process the consequences of which were alien to the aims of the Russian Revolution, and which he would have been the first to denounce. He would certainly not have approved of the fate of his own ideas. I hope I have said enough to make you want to read this book. It is very short, clear and forceful. I think it is an important book; it directly relates and clarifies many of the issues with which we are concerned.

Madan Sarup

# NEWS

## News from Dubrovnik

In August 1963, almost exactly fifteen years ago, the Korcula Summer School was founded by philosophers and sociologists from the universities of Zagreb and Belgrade, in Yugoslavia, for international discussion of social issues. In 1964 the journal Praxis was founded by the same group, in order to publish material arising from this discussion. As a result of a political crisis generated by problems surrounding the economic reorganisation of 1965-7, the Party organisation of the Department of Sociology and Philosophy at Belgrade University was dissolved. This was an indication of official displeasure with the department, and marked the beginning of a series of threats to the autonomy of the faculty councils (see RP8, 9 and 10), which were at the time, in accordance with Yugoslav principles, self-managed bodies. In 1973, ten years after the founding of the Korcula Summer School, the committee of the League of Communists finally demanded the dismissal of eight Belgrade philosophers, all of whom were connected with the journal, Praxis, and the summer school. As a result of local resistance, and international support, the dismissal was not easily achieved and the faculty councils had to be 'reformed' so that half the members of the relevant faculty council were appointed from outside the University, by the Party. A letter from the Belgrade eight, dated 28 January 1975, to the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, giving an account of this dismissal, appeared in RP11. For a time, some of the eight were in prison, and had their passports withdrawn. They were suspended from the University, forbidden to teach, publish or address public meetings, and the propaganda campaign organised against them was intensified. The Korcula Summer School was closed down, and instead philosophy courses are held at Easter at the International University Centre, in Dubrovnik, under the administration of Zagreb, and not Belgrade, University. As a result of the international status of the Dubrovnik centre, it is possible to invite members of the Belgrade eight to speak, although they are still forbidden to

teach and address public meetings in Yugoslav institutions. Two of them, Mihailo Markovic, and Svetocar Stojanovic, were scheduled for the opening session of the philosophy course this Easter, on Rationality in the Natural and Social Sciences. In contrast to the Korcula summer school of 1974, as reported in RP9, there were unfortunately very few Yugoslav participants.

The course directors were Richard Bernstein, of Haverford College, USA; Jürgen Habermas of the Starnberg Institute, West Germany; and Ivan Kuvacic, of Zagreb University, Yugoslavia. Other participants were Robert Cohen, of Boston University, USA, who opposed, and was a victim of McCarthyism, and is a long-standing supporter of the Belgrade eight; and Stephen Lukes, of Balliol College, Oxford, who was on his way to attend the Russell Tribunal in Berlin, on professional repression (Berufsverbot) in West Germany (see RP19). None of the participants are paid, since neither Zagreb University, nor the IUC have funds, and thus the discussions are predicated on a commitment to free enquiry, since the principle motive for attending is to support the Belgrade eight. This commitment to free enquiry had one unfortunate aspect, which was the freedom with which the participants interpreted the theme of rationality. Furthermore it is impossible to make demands on participants to commit themselves in advance to specific lines of enquiry, and thus the order of presentations cannot be satisfactory except by accident. Thus after the Marxist humanism of Stojanovic and Markovic, there came an elementary discussion of dialectics, followed by reflections on economic rationality in Smith and Marx, followed by a brilliant paper from Robert Cohen on Marx's and Engels' concepts of nature and science which, although containing the only substantial reference to natural science, among all the main presentations, had no direct connection with the theme. Nor was there a complementary paper, developing the argument for which this paper opened the way concerning the need to supplement the technical rationality embodied in capitalistic practice with a rationality not based on the exploitation and objectification of nature. Stephen Lukes presented his reflections on Ideology and Relativism, more about relativism than ideology, which were concerned with the problem of the underdetermination of theory by data and

the problem of the determination of terms by theory, with particular reference to theories of power. In one of the many unscheduled evening sessions, he and Bill Newton-Smith, also of Balliol College, presented a joint discussion of problems of theory construction and testing, in the natural and social sciences, emphasising the problem of constructing the relevant counterfactuals. These problems pose difficulties for the construction of a concept of rationality in the context of highly technical and sophisticated theory construction, and their significance is not easily grasped.

When the theme of rationality in the natural and social sciences was more directly addressed, the mode was very much that of G. H. von Wright's book Explanation and Understanding, in which the distinctions made by German theorists in the course of the Methodenstreit at the beginning of this century are reformulated in terms of an analytical philosophy distinction between reasons and causes. Von Wright, of the Academy of Finland and Cornell University, USA, presented a paper on three different kinds of reasons for action, as opposed to causal accounts of action. Professor Charles Taylor of All Souls College Oxford addressed himself to the specificity of the mode of reasoning of the social sciences, reaffirming the opposition between the causal explanation of the natural sciences, and the interpretative understanding of the social sciences. Even at the beginning of this century it was already recognised that this parallelism is more helpfully construed not as an opposition, but as a complementarity. In the writing of history, causal explanation has a place; and similarly in the reading of research reports, there is some interpretative understanding, even if it is reduced to a minimum in the natural sciences as a result of a greater formalisation of modes of presenting research. Such interpretative understanding has been called hermeneutics. However, the epistemological hermeneutics was transformed by Heidegger into an ontology of understanding, investigating the conditions for the possibility of existence. This kind of hermeneutics is not to be understood as being on the same level as causal explanation, and opposed or complementary to it. Rather it is an investigation of the conditions of possibility of both social and natural scientific investigation, in the broadest sense, and is thus epistemologically prior to both, and has been conceived of as a transcendental enquiry. This ontological turn is interestingly reflected in the attempts of Gajo Petrovic, among others, to combine Heidegger and Marx, and in the pleas of Milton Fisk, of Indiana University, USA, for a Marxist ontology. Richard Bernstein talked about hermeneutics, in this ontological form, as developed from Heidegger's work by Professor Hans-Georg Gadamer, who was also briefly in Dubrovnik. Bernstein suggested that through the development of a theory and practice of political judgment, it might be possible to secure practical discourse from its deformation as instrumental reason, concerned with the achievement of ends (Zweckrationalität) rather than with the evaluation of those ends (Wertrationalität). The key words are hermeneutics, political judgement, phronesis, and rational community, but in the absence of a theoretical structure articulating the one to the other, it is impossible to judge this latest mode of bridging the gap between theory and practice.

In West Germany, much work has been done on the conditions for rational discourse, in rational communities, with much talk of ideal speech situa-

tions and ideal speech communities, or communication communities, and of linguistic turns in general. Albrecht Wellmer, of Konstanz University West Germany, and Jürgen Habermas presented parts of their work in this area. Wellmer presented a theory of the practical limits of rationality, building out of Weber's rationalisation theory, Kuhn's theory of paradigm shifts, and the difference between paradigm shifts and changes in forms of life. Habermas discussed the two concepts of rationality in Weber's work, and the concept of rationalisation, and moved on to present his own schematism of types of action, and types of social action, with the forms of rationality which they embody. His present concern with rationality emerges out of the project of restoring the reflexive element to theories of knowledge, lost in the transition from Kant's enquiry into the conditions of possibility of knowledge, to present day philosophy of science. His theory of communicative competence, or universal pragmatics, and the consensus theory of truth are parts of the anticipation of free symbolic interaction and unconstrained communication, which is required in order to guide action towards the realisation of such interaction and communication. His presentation was tantalising in that it gave a glimpse of the investigations being undertaken at Starnberg, under his direction, into theories of individual and social development, and into the general reconstruction of historical materialism. As a small sample of so much activity, the presentation could not but be unsatisfactory.

At other sessions, participants exchanged information about the present problems in West German universities precipitated by the Berufsverbot, and a letter of support signed by seventy people was sent to the Russell Tribunal. People with particular knowledge of the social and political organisation of Yugoslavia also gave presentations about workers' self-management, local political organisation, the structure of nationalities, and the role of the Party. These sessions, and the more informal contacts, were in fact quite as valuable as the large formal sessions, where it proved difficult to develop lines of argument across presentations. Each session constituted its own terms of reference, which in many cases merely reproduced the terms of reference of the presentation. This was partly the result of there being a very large number of people attending the major sessions, for example, those at which Habermas spoke. There was therefore some dissatisfaction with the organisation of the course, and a series of meetings was held to discuss the problems and make suggestions for next year. Here there were two major difficulties: there were very divergent interests, and perhaps an over-ambitious assessment of the extent to which voluntary participation can be organised into a systematic investigation of the contexts of academic research and intellectual reflection. This is of course a problem which has arisen for Radical Philosophy conferences, and there is no obvious solution. However, while it is possible to support the Belgrade eight, and meet people with such varied backgrounds and interests, it is evident that the Dubrovnik IUC courses in philosophy will be well worth attending. I particularly enjoyed talking with two Yugoslav philosophers of the importance of P. F. Strawson's Individuals, and of Michael Dummett's Elements of Intuitionism.

## Two notes from the U.S.

A current focus of activity for the women's movement in the US is the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. This, if passed, would make it unconstitutional to deny equal protection to any US citizen on grounds of sex. The Amendment has to be ratified by three-fourths of the states, and has for some time been stalled at just short of that number. A campaign is now being mounted to persuade organisations not to hold conventions in states which have not ratified the ERA. The idea is that the loss of revenue to those states would be a powerful financial inducement.

The American Philosophical Association had been planning to hold its December 1978 meeting in Atlanta, Georgia. Georgia has not yet ratified the ERA. At the December 1977 APA convention, individuals and groups including the Society for Women in Philosophy persuaded the APA Executive to try to cancel its agreement with the Atlanta Hilton, where the 1978 meeting would have been held. (The political situation was complicated by the fact that Atlanta has recently elected a black mayor and is anxious not to lose conference trade for racist reasons; there is thus something of a conflict here between anti-racist and anti-sexist politics.)

The Atlanta Hilton has refused to cancel the arrangements. To get it to change its mind, SWIP is now urging American philosophers to write to the Hilton saying that they will not attend the APA convention if it is held there, or, if they do, will not stay at the Hilton or eat or drink there. The aim is to make the Hilton realise that if it refuses to agree to the cancellation, it will nevertheless lose its profit.

There are currently at least three groups in the US with aims and interests similar to Radical Philosophy. The Radical Caucus is an ad hoc grouping which gets together at APA conventions; its meetings are billed as part of the official programme. At the convention this December they had discussions on 'Alienation and Class', 'The Professional-Managerial Class', and 'Rights in Capitalism and Communism' (and one on the activities of Radical Philosophy). A more organised group is the Marxist Activist Philosophers (MAP), the majority of whose members seem to come from the east coast area, and which meets regularly for conferences with papers and workshops. There is, third, the Radical Philosophers' Newsjournal, a magazine which is produced at semi-regular intervals, mainly by radical philosophers in the Boston area, and which ought to get our fraternal support. The most recent issue (Fall 1977) had articles on 'Individualism and Class Consciousness', 'Marx's Theory of Ideology', and 'The Material Basis for Progress in Science'. Their current inland subscription rates are \$4.00 for individuals, \$8.00 for institutions, and \$15.00 for sustaining sub. (free subscriptions for unemployed and prisoners). They don't have fixed overseas rates, but no doubt people can work out the appropriate adjustments. Write to: Radical Philosophers' Newsjournal, 12 Dartmouth Street, Somerville, Ma. 02145, USA.

RJN

Praxis, No. 3

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- J. Blondel, Thinking Politically, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1978, 80p ppr.
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- S. Buck-Morse, Origin of Negative Dialectics, Hassocks, Harvester, 1978, £9.95 hc.
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- F. A. Hayek, New Studies, London, RKP, 1978, £7.25 hc.
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- S. Lipshitz (ed.), Tearing the Veil, London, RKP, 1978, £2.95 ppr.
- G. Lukacs, The Ontology of Social Being: 1. Hegel, London, Merlin, 1978, £1.80 ppr.
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- H. Putnam, Meaning and the Moral Sciences, London, RKP, 1978, £4.95 hc.
- F. P. Ramsey, Foundations, London, RKP, 1978, £9.50 hc.
- L. Seve, Man in Marxist Theory, Hassocks, Harvester, 1978, £16.50 hc.
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