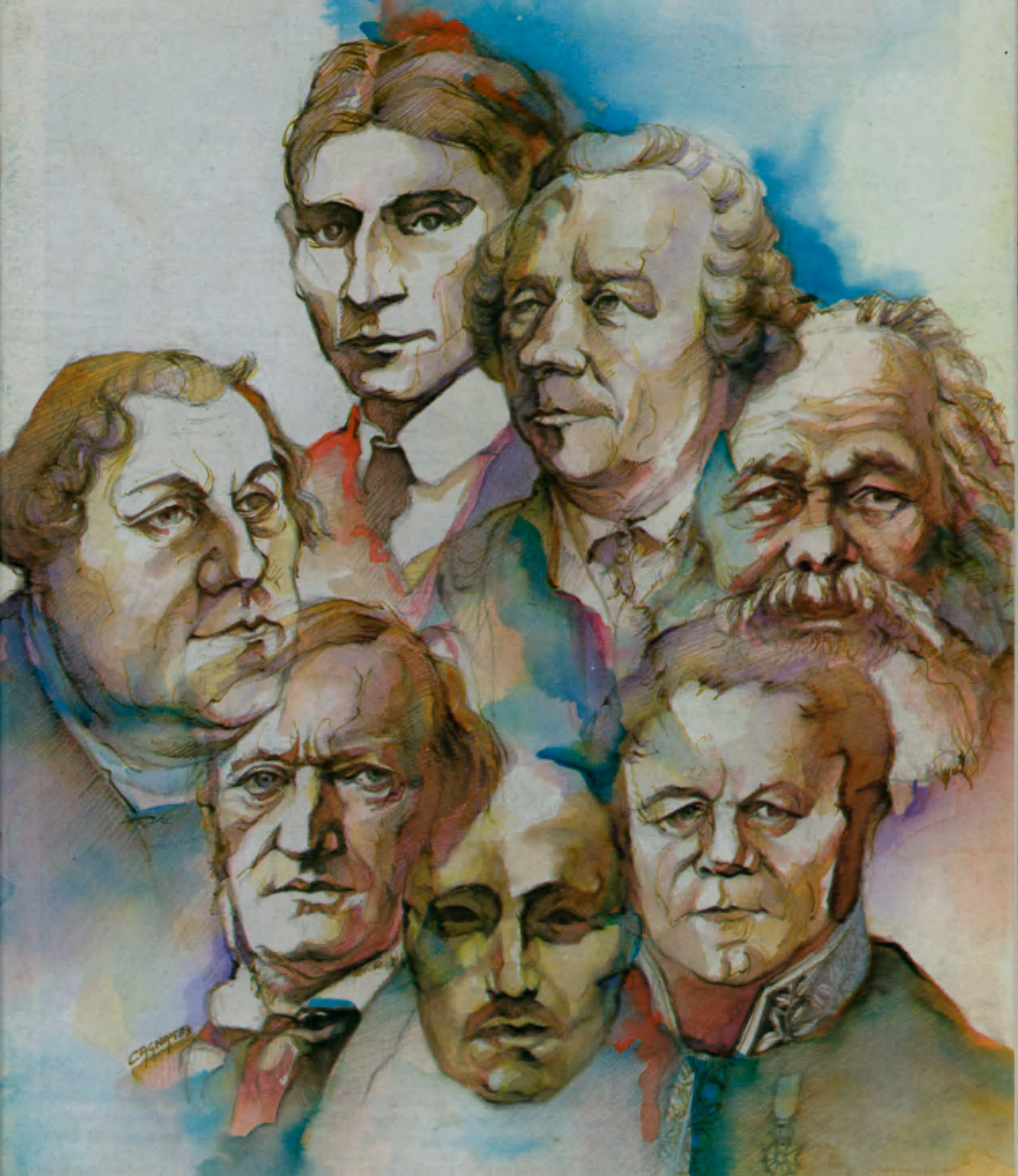


The
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Courier



Luther Kafka Euler Marx Stendhal Gibran Wagner

A time to live...



Photo © André Martin, Paris

18 Tunisia

The warp of time

Founded in 670 AD, the town of Al-Qayrawan (Kairouan), in north-central Tunisia, is famed for its walled medina and its Great Mosque which dates from the period of the 9th-century Aghlabid dynasty. One of the holy places of Islam, Al-Qayrawan has become a craft centre noted for its carpets.

A window open on the world

OCTOBER 1983

36th YEAR

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Editorial

CAN it be that there is a cyclical element in the appearance and disappearance of great men? Over the centuries the year '83 has been marked by the birth or the death of an unusually large number of outstanding figures whose lives and works have enriched the cultural heritage of mankind.

In this issue of the Unesco Courier we evoke the memory of the prestigious representatives of the "class of '83" who figure on our front cover: Luther, Kafka, Euler, Marx, Stendhal, Gibran and Wagner. All of them have in their different ways helped to form the cultural identity of the peoples from whom they sprang; but they are also figures of universal importance and for this reason we have, in most cases, selected authors to write about them from countries or geocultural areas other than their own. Thus Luther and Kafka are portrayed by two

Frenchmen, Jacques-Noël Pérès and Maurice Nadeau, Stendhal by an Englishman, F.W.J. Hemmings, and Wagner by a Japanese, Mamoru Watanabe.

We have made two exceptions to this line of approach: no one is better qualified to assess the scientific achievements of Euler than his fellow-countryman Emile A. Fellmann, Secretary of the Euler Committee of the Swiss Society for the Natural Sciences, and only a writer of Arab culture, like Ghali Shukri, could accurately place the Lebanese poet Gibran Khalil Gibran within the context of his time.

The works of Karl Marx, "a body of thought become a world" as they have been aptly described, seemed to demand a two-pronged approach: an examination of the complex and eventful history of the works themselves, presented by Georges Labica, and an assessment, by

Nikolai Ivanovich Lapin, of the ideas that have become a powerful socio-economic force that has helped to shape the political landscape of the world today.

Finally, we take a look at the aims, objectives and achievements of the Tokyo-based United Nations University (UNU) after its first decade of existence. One of the youngest of the United Nations institutions, the UNU is sponsored by the United Nations Organization and Unesco, with whose aims and preoccupations it has much in common since its task is to organize scholarly collaboration to identify and alleviate "pressing global problems of human survival, development and welfare".

Cover: Water-colour by Jean-Pierre Cagnat © Unesco Courier, 1983. Clockwise from extreme left: Luther, Kafka, Euler, Marx, Stendhal, Gibran, Wagner.

The School of Life

by Jacques-Noël Pères

ALTHOUGH Protestant churches far and wide are this year celebrating the 500th anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther, the great reformer, they are not so much commemorating their founder (for they clearly look upon the Gospel of Jesus Christ as being their founding doctrine), or any particular saint, as paying authentic tribute to the genius of the man as he really was, with his acute intuitive sense yet with his shortcomings, a man intent on dedicating his whole life to the Gospel. And when we speak of his whole life, we are thinking not only of matters pertaining to the religious sphere, to faith and the aspirations of the spirit, but also of the everyday aspects of existence.

Although the Lutheran reform was primarily aimed at ensuring observance of the faith by deliberately ridding it of everything that was regarded as extraneous, it also addressed itself to making Christians responsible-minded citizens in the world of creation in which God placed them, in other words citizens also imbued with a sense of responsibility towards the community and society in which they are called upon to live.

The age in which Luther lived was indeed remarkable. Perhaps we do not attach as much importance as we ought to the fact that it was also the age of Erasmus and Rabelais, of Albrecht Dürer and Michelangelo, of Copernicus and Paracelsus, of Machiavelli, Ignatius Loyola, Magellan and a host of other figures who gave added lustre to science, literature and the arts and embodied all the intellectual qualities, so much so that the age rightly came to be known as the "Renaissance".

It was also the age of Faust, or, again, of the Fugger banking dynasty, a time when it was thought that money could buy everything. As trade and finance expanded, the men of the sixteenth century and the centuries that followed were drawn towards a new path. Henceforward, they were to see the world in a different light and, naturally enough, a new quest for learning likewise made its impact felt. We attempt, in the few lines below, to highlight some of the aspects of Luther's thinking on education which we regard as very relevant to the culture of his time and perhaps even of our own time, for that matter!

Martin Luther was born in Eisleben, in

Saxony, on 10 November 1483, the son of Hans Luther and Margretha Ziegler, his wife. As he himself wrote: "I am a peasant's son and my father, grandfather and forefathers were all real peasants". It is true that he was of peasant stock but his parents went to seek their fortune in the copper and silver mines of the Mansfeld region and his father became a member of the Common Council of the town, where he had settled with his family in 1484.

The young Luther had a strict upbringing, as he recalled in his *Table Talk*: "My parents were very harsh with me and, as a result, I grew up to be a shy child. On one

occasion, for some petty reason, my mother whipped me so hard that the blood flowed. My parents had only my welfare at heart, but they were not good judges of character and their chastisement knew no bounds". He was to remember this lesson later in life, when he came to think about teaching and about education in general.

However that may be, the young Martin attended the Latin school at Mansfeld and was then sent to the school of the Brothers of the Common Life at Magdeburg, and later to the parish school of Eisenach. He then went on to become a student at the University of Erfurt, from which he



Photo © Edimedia, Paris. Private Collection

JACQUES-NOËL PÈRÈS, French theologian, is a pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of France. President of the Lutheran Cultural Centre in Paris and of the "Eglise et Monde Juif" (Church and Jewish World) movement, he teaches at the department of ecumenical studies of the Catholic Institute, Paris.

Leader of the 16th-century Reformation movement that led to the birth of Protestantism, the German monk Martin Luther (1483-1546) is depicted with members of his family in this engraving after Holbein. Clockwise from top left: Luther, his wife, mother, and father. In centre, his daughter Magdalena.

graduated as bachelor of arts before taking his master's degree. He was set for a legal career but, against his father's wishes, he chose instead to enter the monastery of the Augustinian Eremites at Erfurt. He was ordained in the priesthood in 1507 and thereafter devoted himself to the study of theology. He was awarded a doctorate in theology in 1512 and, from 1513 onwards, taught Holy Scripture at the University of Wittenberg.

Henceforward, all his energies were to be directed towards the Holy Writ, which he expounded with passion and which prompted him to embark on the task of reforming the Church, for which he is known. It was in the name of the principles which Luther discerned in the Bible that, on 31 October 1517, he publicly posted his ninety-five theses against indulgences. It is

No tree bears fruit for itself; it gives its fruit for others.

Luther

this act which is conventionally regarded as being the starting-point of the reformist movement, although it had, in fact, already been taking shape for a long time.

In 1520 came the publication of the "great reformist writings", the term designating the *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* and the treatises on the *Babylonian Captivity of the Church* and the *Freedom of a Christian Man*. The Papal Bull "Exsurge Domine", by which the Pope excommunicated Luther, also dates from that year.

From then onwards, events were to move quickly. In 1521, Luther was placed under the ban of the Empire by the Diet of Worms; in 1521-1522, the Elector of Saxony had him confined to the Wartburg fortress, where he translated the New Testament into German and thereby began to mould what was to become the modern German language (he completed the translation of the entire Bible in 1534); in 1524-1525, the sorry Peasants' Revolt broke out; in 1525, Luther became embroil-

All creation is the most beautiful of books.

Luther

ed in controversy with the humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam over the question of free will and "unfree" will and, in the same year, he married Katharina von Bora; while, in 1529, he published the *Short and Long Catechisms*, the remarkable guides to Christian doctrine in which Luther revealed his gifts as a teacher.

In 1530, the Protestant theologians presented their confession of faith to the Imperial Diet at Augsburg. This accordingly came to be known as the *Augsburg Confession* and can be said to have formed the charter of Lutheranism. Up to 1546, the year of his death, Luther went on writing and preaching in his bid to exhort and con-



Photo © Edimedia, Paris. Private Collection

On 31 October 1517 Luther nailed on the door of the castle church at Wittenberg his famous "95 Theses" attacking various ecclesiastical abuses. His act is usually considered to have precipitated the Reformation, the religious movement which would soon spread over northern Europe, have a far-reaching influence on Western Christianity and civilization, and also act as a seedbed of social, economic and political thought. Engraving shows Luther preaching in the church at Wittenberg.

sole the faithful and impart his teaching to them. To date, the standard Weimar edition of Luther's written works, known as the *Weimarer Ausgabe*, consists of a hundred-odd volumes and is still not complete!

Education in the Middle Ages was completely permeated by the "fear of God" and it would not be altogether wrong to argue that its chief purpose was to teach people how to die well, in other words how to appear before a God who was primarily looked upon as an implacable judge. Luther's great discovery that God is not so much a sovereign Lord as a loving Father offering salvation through grace in an act of faith,

prompted him to visualize a new system of education.

It is significant that, from as early as 1520, in the *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*, one of the three great reformist writings already mentioned, Luther had already devoted several pages to the problem of education and had even sketched out a complete programme for university reform. He was forthright in voicing his opposition to scholasticism, in rejecting knowledge culled at second hand as a basis of instruction, and in advocating a return to primary sources.

He urged the study of languages not for their own sake but as a means, as he saw it, ►

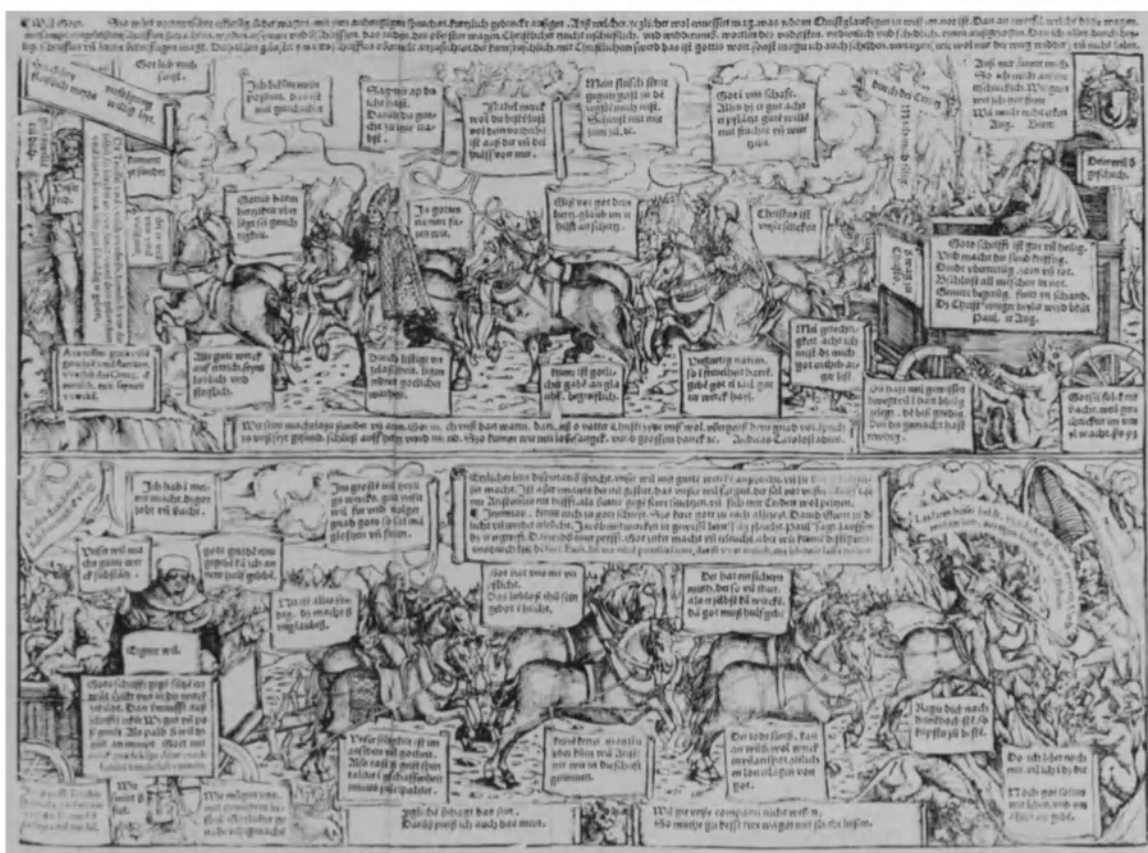
► of being able to gain a better understanding of the Bible. As he himself put it: “I would willingly agree that we could keep Logic, Rhetoric and Aristotle’s Poetics and that, if they were put in a new and abridged form, they could be read with profit and could be used to give young people practice in the art of discourse and preaching, but the commentaries and glosses should be deleted, in the same way as Cicero’s Rhetoric can be read without commentaries or glosses. Aristotle’s Logic should be read as it stands, stripped of all its long commentaries. Nowadays, orators or preachers can learn nothing useful from them, and they are no longer matter for disputation or quibbling. Along with these subjects, we would still have the Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages, the mathematical sciences and history, concerning all of which I defer to people who are more competent to judge. The results would certainly be excellent if a serious endeavour were made to embark on reform. The fact of the

developed an argument which still seems strangely modern to us even today: “Sirs”, he wrote, “If such large sums have to be spent every year on firearms, roads, bridges, dykes and innumerable things of the same nature, so that towns can enjoy temporal peace and security, why should not the same sums be spent on poor young people in need by maintaining one or two qualified men as schoolteachers?”

Indeed, the teaching profession was highly esteemed by Luther, to the extent that, in his *Discourse on the Duty of Sending Children to School* (1530), he claimed that, had he not been a preacher, the calling he would have most liked to follow was that of schoolmaster. And he went on to explain how interesting and agreeable it was to “train and raise young saplings” even if, alas, some of them were to snap in the process. Thus Luther showed that he was acutely conscious of the nobility of the task facing educators and, while he singled out

a specific aspect of Luther’s thinking about education. Although, in some instances, he claims that it is essential to set up schools because the parents’ own lack of education prevents them from catering for the educational needs of their children, it will be noted that each of the fundamental points in his *Short Catechism*, which dates from 1529, is prefaced by the phrase “as the head of the family should present it and teach it simply to his children and servants”. This calls for two comments: in the first place, instruction (although, in the case in point, it is true that he is speaking of religious instruction) should not be confined to the children of the family, but should also be imparted to servants and to everybody living under the same roof—in other words, in modern parlance, there should be no “streaming”. Secondly, Luther calls for the participation of the head of the family. Parents should not stand aloof from the education of their children and, what is more, should play an active part in it.

A close friend of Luther, the German artist Lucas Cranach (1472-1553) vigorously defended the Protestant cause in paintings, engravings and woodcuts. Pre-figuring the modern comic strip, this engraving contrasts Luther leading a wagon to heaven (above) and his enemies riding to perdition (below). It was used to prepare the ground for a notable debate in Leipzig in 1519 at which Luther was pitted against Johann Eck, a Roman Catholic theologian.



matter is that the issue is a most important one!”

However, Luther was not only interested in university education, and he made a number of suggestions concerning elementary schooling; among other things, he proposed that every town and village should open a school not only for boys but for girls as well. In his own words: “Would to Heaven that each town had a girls’ school, where they could hear the Gospel in Latin or in German for an hour every day!” It is quite plain from this short passage that Luther’s main aim was to enable everybody to read and understand the Bible.

Several years later, in 1524, in his *Letter to the Mayors and Aldermen of All the Cities in Behalf of Christian Schools*—the title is a whole programme in itself—Luther

that aspect of the profession that was most exhilarating, he did not gloss over the possible failures they might encounter.

On this issue, Luther was neither naive nor idealistic and he clearly realized that what might be called theoretical education was not an end in itself and that it was not an adequate preparation for everyday life. This is why he urged that, in addition to being given a formal education, young people should be taught a trade: “Boys should be sent to such schools for an hour or two a day but, even so, they should be made to work in the home for the rest of the time and to learn the trade or occupation for which they are intended, so that the two go hand-in-hand for as long as they are young and are able to apply themselves”.

Here again, emphasis has to be placed on

In the *Short Catechism*, Luther visualizes the method of instruction as taking the form of a dialogue, a sequence of questions and answers which, little by little, enable the pupil to grasp what the teacher wishes to convey, whether this be the father, as Luther advocated in his day, or the pastor nowadays, for what is quite remarkable is that the *Short Catechism* has dated so little that it is still being used in a large number of Lutheran parishes all over the world. Knowledge is communicated, but there is absolutely no question of cramming willy-nilly abstruse notions into young people’s brains. It is much more in the nature of a tradition, a living thing, an experience which each generation hands down to that succeeding it.

After Luther, the Reformers such as

Melanchthon—who was known as the “schoolmaster” of Germany—Calvin and others followed the same path. The approach they took may have differed, but their goals were the same. What we are trying to say is that they all conceived of a genuine “cultural design” embracing all the facets of life, whether it be the life of faith or life in society. Their main concern was not to produce scholars but rather men and women capable of living their lives in accordance with moral tenets bearing witness to the immense upheaval in which they had been caught up through grace. In other words, the “fear of God” of medieval education, which we have already mentioned and which taught people to prepare for death, was replaced by Luther and his disciples by the passionate love of the God of salvation which carries people along the path of life.

In this sense, Luther’s ideas on education could still be said to represent a challenge. In the wake of Luther the Reformer, the present-day world, like that of the sixteenth century, is constantly on the move and we see the far-reaching changes taking place as every day goes by. Should we not continue to hold to the view, therefore, that a good



The Wartburg castle, above, stands on a steep hill overlooking the town of Eisenach in the German Democratic Republic. While confined in this romantic setting, Luther began to translate the New Testament from Greek into German. The result, published in 1522, combined with his translation of the Old Testament which followed later, was a literary masterpiece which did much to shape the development of the modern German language. Left, the room in the Wartburg where Luther translated the New Testament is today preserved as a memorial to his historic achievement.

Photos Hellmut Opitz © Panorama, German Democratic Republic



Detail of a group portrait of Luther (left) and his friends including Frederick, the Elector of Saxony. The portrait was painted around 1530 by Lucas Cranach.

Photo © Edimedia, Paris



education, in fact, is an education that is resolutely optimistic in outlook and evolves through constant dialogue, with the aim of teaching us to live with a sense of dignity and an eye to the future?

It is true that Luther laid stress on what might be called the Christian dimension of education, in which the Gospel was expected to occupy an overwhelming place. This is how he set out to instil the idea that discipline, culture and even morality are all subordinated to the awareness which Christians are expected to have of being invested, through grace, with a new life that ultimately enables them to assert their freedom from what would otherwise be a form of constraint. Yet Luther seems to be telling us that this is the only means by which education can escape from the narrow confines dictated by so-called philosophies or passing fashions that go all too often by the name of culture, so that it can ultimately become the *School of Life*—and we have used capitals deliberately.

■ Jacques-Noël Pères

A child of the sun

by *Emile A. Fellmann*

THE exact sciences have been so misused in their technological and ecological applications that they have fallen into considerable disrepute in recent years. But that should not prevent us from paying tribute, on the second centenary of his death, to one who, in the general history of civilization and scientific humanism, ranks as one of science's most eminent representatives.

Leonhard Euler was not only by far the most productive mathematician in history, but also one of the greatest savants of all time. A cosmopolitan in the truest sense, he spent his early years in Basel (Switzerland), worked for a total of more than thirty years in St. Petersburg (now Leningrad), and spent a quarter of a century in Berlin, then the capital of Prussia. In terms of popularity and fame, he ranks with Galileo, Newton and Albert Einstein.

Euler's contemporaries and biographers all agree that, as the astrologers say, he was "a child of the sun", of a gay and open nature, sociable and full of humour. Sometimes he would lose his temper, but never for long and he would always end by laughing at his own outbursts. There was, however, one subject about which he would tolerate no levity, and that was religion and the Christian faith. His strictness in matters of religious belief explains many facts of his life such as, for instance, his relentless assaults on the Leibniz theory of monads (taken over by Wolff), or his violent attacks on some of the encyclopedists and other free-thinkers (in his theological work *Sauvegarder la Révélation Divine*, 1747). Nevertheless, Euler's practical tolerance was much greater and more sincere than that of his royal master, who used the word because it was fashionable, but readily forgot it if its practical application embarrassed him in the least.

Euler was also extremely modest in regard to scientific copyright. Unlike most scientists of all time, he never claimed any prior rights over his own discoveries. Indeed in his generosity he sometimes went so far as to make a gift of new discoveries and ideas. He never concealed anything in his works,



Leonhard Euler (1707-1783) was the most prolific mathematician in history and ranks with such figures as Galileo, Newton and Einstein as one of the great scientists of all time. Above, portrait of Euler executed in 1753 by Emanuel Handmann.

always put his cards on the table, and gave the reader a fair chance of discovering something new. What is more, in many instances he would lead him to the threshold of a new discovery and, like a true teacher, let him have the pleasure of achieving it. This is why the study of Euler's works is a unique experience, both entertaining and fascinating.

However skilled a man may be in making abstractions and in obtaining general ideas, he could make no progress without the aid of languages, which is twofold, first in the form of speech and second in the form of writing.

Euler

For instance, it is said that when he was quite old he would still delight his family and friends by faithfully reciting in Latin any of the verses of Virgil's *Aeneid*. Years after they were held, he still knew by heart the reports of academic meetings. And this is not to speak of his memory for everything concerning mathematics. Secondly, this prodigious memory was combined with rare powers of concentration. Surrounding noise and bustle scarcely disturbed the workings of his mind. To quote his friend and colleague Thiébauld, "with a child on his knee and a cat on his shoulder—that is how he wrote his immortal works". The third key to the Euler mystery was simply calm, untiring effort.

Euler is a unique phenomenon because of his output alone. The list prepared by Gustave Eneström and published in 1910-1913 of works printed up to that time comprises 866 items, and the great Swiss edition of Euler's works, on which many experts of various nationalities have been working since the beginning of the present century, so far contains 70 quarto volumes, to be followed by 14 volumes of "letters and manuscript".

In the volume of his output, Euler is in no way inferior to such prolific creators as Voltaire, Goethe, Leibniz or Telemann. The following table, divided into ten-year periods, gives an idea of the number of works written by Euler and ready for printing (not counting some dozens of still undated items):

Period	Works	Period	Works
1725-1734	35	1755-1764	110
1735-1744	50	1765-1774	145
1745-1754	150	1775-1785	270

Classified by subject, this represents the following percentages:

Algebra, the theory of numbers, analysis	40 per cent
Mechanics, physics	28 per cent
Geometry and trigonometry	18 per cent
Astronomy	11 per cent
Shipbuilding science, architecture, artillery science	2 per cent
Philosophy, musical theory, theology, etc.	1 per cent

This list does not include some 3,000 letters known to date, nor still unpublished manuscripts.

The first formal conception of differential and integral calculus by Leibniz and Newton made it possible to explain and predict the course of natural

EMILE A. FELLMANN, of Switzerland, is a specialist in the work of Leonhard Euler. He is secretary of the Euler Commission of the Society of Natural Sciences of the Swiss Academy of Sciences and a member of the International Academy of the History of Sciences, Paris.

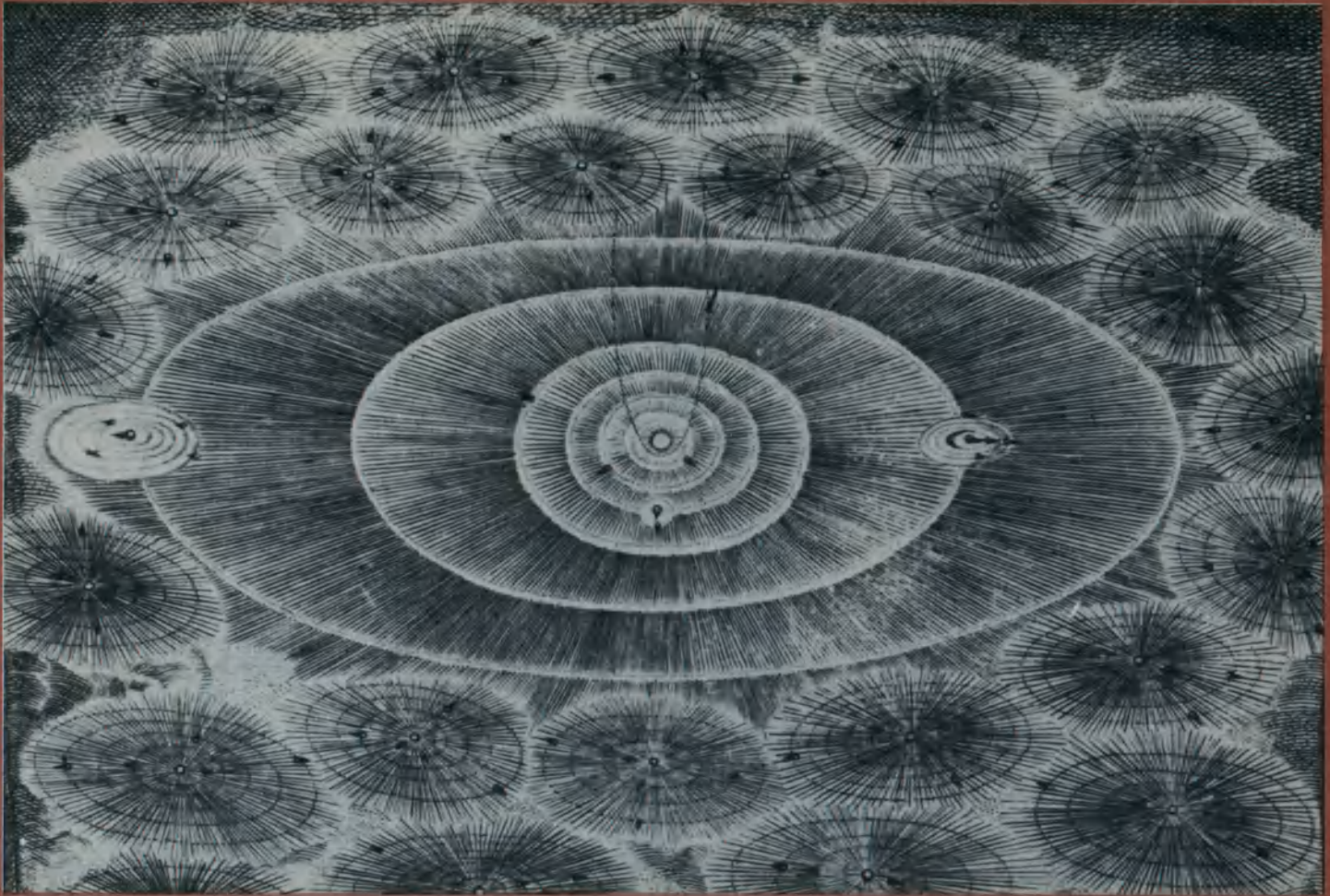
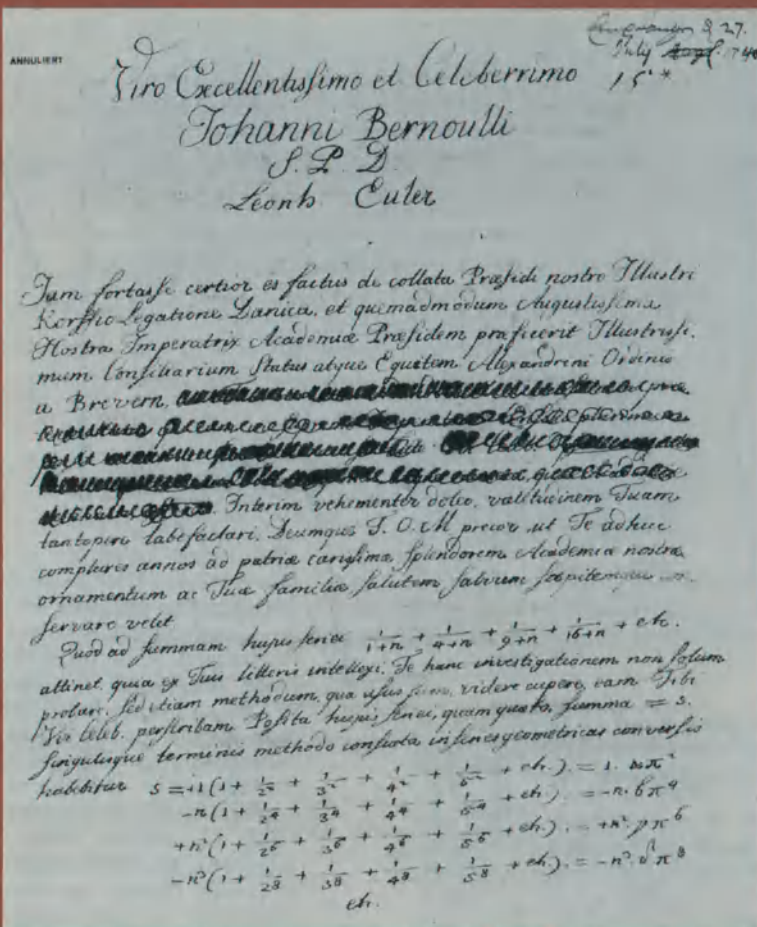


Photo © Library of the Confederal Technical High School, Zurich, Switzerland



Above, the first page of a letter Euler wrote on 20 June 1740 to his former teacher in Basel, Johann Bernoulli who duly noted in top right hand corner "Received 27 July 1740". Lines 5 to 8, which deal with money matters, were tactfully crossed out by Bernoulli or his son.

Above, schematic depiction of the cosmos as Euler saw it, from his work *Theoria Motuum Planetarum et Cometarum* (1744). Applying his great mathematical talents to the movements of the heavenly bodies, Euler conceived of the solar system as one system among many others which all obey the same laws of gravity.

phenomena. For a number of researchers, foremost among whom were the brothers James and John Bernoulli of Basel, this opened up a vast, new domain for conquest by the human mind in the Age of Enlightenment. The first to embark on this voyage of scientific discovery was Leonhard Euler.

In the domain of pure mathematics, he established at once a number of new subjects for research, and developed them methodically—the theory of numbers, the theory of functions, the theory of infinite series, higher algebra, and the calculus of variations. The textbooks he wrote on these subjects are still as up-to-date as ever. Thanks to his lively style and exemplary didactic powers, they can still be read with profit and pleasure. Many of the mathematical symbols used today were invented by Euler. Those used in trigonometry have been kept unaltered.

In the introduction to his *Mechanics* in 1736, Euler outlined a vast programme for this branch of science. The chief feature of this work, then very

Photo © Library of the University of Basel, Switzerland

► modern, was the consistent application of differential and integral calculus to contemporary problems in mechanics. Application of the calculus of variations to the theory of girder stress led Euler to the formula of stress, which we now know thanks to him and without which modern engineering would be inconceivable. In a special application of a general theory, he also discovered the optimum form of profile for the rim of cogwheels (development pitches). This was not applied in practice until the 19th century, since when it has become indispensable in the construction of machinery.

Euler's first major study in the field of fluid mechanics was a comprehensive treatise on ships. Here he deals with the general theory of the equilibrium of floating bodies and—an innovation at that time—studies the problems of stability as well as the effect of minor oscillations near the state of equilibrium. Applying the general theory to the particular case of a ship, Euler founded a new science and had a lasting influence on the development

Euler's work in astronomy covers a wide spectrum. It includes determining the trajectories of comets and planets from only a small number of observations, the solar parallax, and the theory of refraction of atmospheric rays. His most important treatises deal directly or indirectly with celestial mechanics, a branch of research founded by Newton which engaged the greatest attention of the leading mathematicians of that time. His theory concerning the moon, on which the astronomer Tobie Mayer of Göttingen based his famous "Lunar Tables" in 1755, enabled the longitude of a ship at sea to be determined with a previously unequalled precision. For a century, these "Lunar Tables" of Euler and Mayer were used in navigation at sea.

theology and ethics, and end with the famous attempt to refute Berkeley's absolute idealism and the ideas of Hume. Euler's place in the history of philosophy is still disputed, but his more or less direct influence on Kant cannot be denied.

Many treasures still remain to be discovered in the works of Euler, but it will be a long time before this prodigious body of work is fully in print and available to all. An adequate biography of this, the most eminent of Switzerland's expatriate sons, has still to be written. Indeed such an enterprise would be almost equivalent to writing the entire history of mathematical science in the eighteenth century.

■ Emile A. Fellman



of maritime navigation and naval engineering. In the history of technics, Euler's experiments with Segner's hydraulic engine and his resultant theory of water turbines are well known. About forty years ago, Jakob Ackeret built a turbine exactly in accordance with Euler's directions and formulae, and found that it was more than 71 per cent efficient—a remarkable result considering that today, with the most modern means and comparable dimensions, turbines of this type are scarcely more than 80 per cent efficient.

Throughout his life, Euler was also interested in optics. In this field too, he is the author of the first textbooks in the modern sense, and formulated a general theory of the refracting lens telescope. He played a considerable rôle in the discovery of achromatic lens systems (which do not distort colours). Seven volumes of his *Opera Omnia* are devoted to optics.

Euler's philosophical testament is contained in his *Lettres à une Princesse d'Allemagne* (Letters to a German Princess) which, at her father's request, he wrote between 1760 and 1762 to the Margrave Sophie Charlotte of Brandenburg. They were published in three volumes from 1768 onwards and became a bestseller. They were even translated into many foreign languages and for long constituted the most widely circulated synopsis of popular scientific and philosophical culture. They embrace musical theory, philosophy, physics, cosmology,

Title pages of some of Euler's many works. Clockwise from far left: *Algebra*, published in 1770 by the Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg and translated into many languages; the *Mechanica* (1736) in which Euler laid down new criteria for the mathematical treatment of physical phenomena; the *Dioptrica* (1769), the first modern textbook on optics; it contains a complete theory of the telescope; the *Methodus Inveniendi Lineas Curvas*, in which Euler developed a new science, the calculation of variations, which still plays a major role in mathematics, physics and engineering.

Photos © Library of the University of Basel, Switzerland

To the happy few



Portrait of Stendhal (1783-1842) by Henri Lehmann (1841).

Photo © Bibliothèque Municipale, Grenoble

by F. W. J. Hemmings

F.W.J. HEMMINGS, of the United Kingdom, is Professor of French Literature in the University of Leicester, England. His *Stendhal: a study of his novels* (Oxford, 1964) is one of several books of his on nineteenth-century French authors which include Zola, Dumas, and Baudelaire.

MOST people who have read any Stendhal at all will have read *Le Rouge et le Noir*. This novel was published as long ago as 1830, but there are still arguments about what Stendhal may have intended by his colourful title. Most probably, Red is meant to stand for blood and cannon-fire, the “red badge of courage”, to borrow Stephen Crane’s phrase, in other words the military life, and Black for the clerical cloth, the Church.

The hero, Julien Sorel, is a young man with ambitions who has to decide, at the outset of his life, what career will be most profitable for him to follow. He belongs to a post-war generation; it is only from old men, like the retired army surgeon who is one of the few real friends of his boyhood, that he learns of the Napoleonic epic, when the French flag was carried in triumph all over Europe; but at the time the story opens the country is at peace, Napoleon is in exile, and ▶

► France is ruled by a reactionary government that favours the Church. So Julien decides to conceal his admiration for Napoleon, to enter the Church and to use it as a ladder to make his way to the top.

In fact, Julien is never even ordained. He begins as a private tutor to the sons of a businessman in the town in south-east France where he was born. Then he enters the seminary at Besançon; but he leaves this to become the confidential secretary of a powerful nobleman in Paris, though he continues to wear the black suit which is "the uniform of my century", as he says.

But before the end comes his employer, the Marquis de la Mole, has agreed to accept him as his son-in-law and secures him a commission in the

Words are always a force which one seeks outside oneself.

Stendhal

army. So there is a symbolic return of the "red" before, in a rash and one might think uncharacteristic act, Julien casts away all he has achieved, is arrested for attempted murder, tried and executed.

Julien Sorel conforms in many ways to the stereotype of the romantic hero: he is intelligent, brave, and handsome; but he is different in his duplicity and hypocrisy, necessary in order to keep secret his ambitious dreams and pass himself off as a humble servant of the Church. Only women seem to sense in him the potential greatness that he hides beneath a cloak of mystery. Stendhal departed from the normal practice among novelists of his time by introducing two heroines, each of whom in turn falls in love with the hero, though they are as unlike one another as they possibly could be; Madame de Rênal, the wife of his first employer, is a gentle, maternal figure, whereas Mathilde de la Mole, the Marquis's daughter, is a haughty, unconventional girl who admires Julien because he is so different from the buzzing swarm of empty-headed young aristocrats who are suitors to her hand.

Photo © Bibliothèque Municipale, Grenoble



Stendhal carried on a long and tender correspondence with his sister Pauline. In this fragment of a letter to Pauline he sketched himself galloping to a burning house near Brunswick.

Le Rouge et le Noir was the first masterpiece of the French novel to appear in the nineteenth century, that century which saw the appearance of so many masterpieces by such novelists as Balzac, Flaubert, and Zola. Yet at first it shocked most of its readers. They did not know what to make of Julien, so admirable in many ways, yet so ruthless and unscrupulous in others. He was the first incarnation ever of a new phenomenon—the individual at war with society, bent on dominating it by his own strength of character. He desires neither money nor, really, social position, but the simple satisfaction of attaining each of his successive goals, quite regardless of the moral implications of his methods.

His creator, the man called Henri Beyle who adopted, no one knows why, this Germanic pseudonym Stendhal for his books, was quite unlike Julien in these respects and indeed it is often thought that Julien and the heroes of his later novels were the creations of wish-fulfilment, since they all possess the advantages he knew himself to lack: good looks, personal magnetism, will-power, riches or rank, as the case might be.

Stendhal was already a man in his late forties when he published *Le Rouge et le Noir*, having been born in 1783—exactly two hundred years ago—though not into a working-class family, as Julien was,

but as the only son of a fairly well-to-do landowner in Grenoble. He had an unhappy childhood, losing his mother, whom he adored, at an early age, but in 1799, at the age of sixteen, he came to Paris to enrol as a student in the Ecole Polytechnique, for the subject he had been best at in school was, oddly, mathematics. Now 1799 was the year of the *coup d'état* by which Napoleon established himself as ruler of France. Shortly afterwards, Beyle joined the army and crossed the Alps to northern Italy, recently conquered by Napoleon after a brilliant campaign. Italy had an immediate and electrifying effect on Beyle: he fell in love with the country and everything about it—its art, its architecture, its music, and the countryside itself, not to mention the women. This passion for Italy lasted the rest of his life.

For the next fifteen years, as was the case with so many young men in France at the time, Beyle's career was bound up with Napoleon's fortunes. He served for a while in Brunswick, in the military administration of occupied Germany; he undertook missions to Berlin and Moscow, and he participated in the ill-fated retreat of the Grande Armée in 1812. Whenever he could, he returned to his beloved Italy and when, in 1814, Napoleon was compelled to abdicate, he decided to settle in Milan for the rest of

Photo © Bibliothèque Municipale, Grenoble



"I got on badly with my fellow pupils, I realize today that I was then an extremely ridiculous mixture of arrogance and of need for love", Stendhal noted in his autobiographical novel *Vie de Henry Brulard* (*The Life of Henry Brulard*). Above, a sketch by Louis-Joseph Jay (1755-1836) of a group of students at the Ecole Centrale of the Isère département. Stendhal is 7th from the right.

his life. He did not even return to France during Napoleon's brief attempt, in 1815, to regain his throne, and so he was never actually present at the battle of Waterloo which is so vividly described in his other great novel, *La Chartreuse de Parme*.

Lombardy at this time was a client state of Austria, and Beyle, who had close friends among the Italian patriots who were plotting for national independence and unification, was eventually declared *persona non grata* and had to return to Paris. It was only then,

This book appeared at the end of the year, after the revolution of July 1830 brought about a change of government. Beyle, or Stendhal as we can now call him, had friends in the new administration, who found him a job as French consul in the little Italian seaport of Civitavecchia, then in the Papal States. He kept this situation, which at least gave him enough to live on, for the rest of his life, though he was dreadfully bored with the dull, lonely existence he led in this out-of-the-way port, and sorely missed the lively café society of Milan and his

Henry Brulard, an autobiography which takes the story of his life down to his first visit to Italy. Almost everything we know about Stendhal's childhood and adolescence derives from this book. We learn among other things that his favourite reading as a boy was *Don Quixote*, and that he imbibed from his great-aunt Elisabeth the principles of what he called *espagnolisme*, or Spanish honour, which was the direct opposite of bourgeois calculations of profit and loss. It implied a sense of what was truly noble and a corresponding horror of low-mindedness, and kept a man from ever committing a base or shabby act. Stendhal maintained that *espagnolisme* had been a lodestar in his life ever since.

At the end of his leave-period in France

Watch out; if you continue to be sincere we are going to agree.

Stendhal

Stendhal wrote, or rather dictated, his second masterpiece, *La Chartreuse de Parme*. Many readers prefer this book to *Le Rouge et le Noir*, for it is less urgent and less bitter, full of gaiety and yet steeped in regretful melancholy. All the characters are Italian which, considering that the book is written, of course, in French makes it almost unique, a kind of Franco-Italian novel; just as Joseph Conrad regarded England as his adopted country, so for Stendhal Italy, the Italy of the Po valley and the mountain lakes, was the land he had given his heart to. The scene switches between Milan, Parma, and Bologna, though towards the beginning of the book there is a long sequence set in France which culminates in the description of the battle of Waterloo already mentioned.

Fabrice, the young hero of Stendhal's story, is a fanatic admirer of Napoleon, and when he hears that the great man has left the little island of Elba to which he had been banished and is engaged on one last gamble to recover his lost empire, he decides, though only sixteen, to make his way to Paris and offer his services to Napoleon.

Fabrice is full of generous illusions, and the first thing that happens to him is that he is locked up on suspicion of being a spy. But he succeeds in making his way to the front, and what he then witnesses puzzles him as being totally unlike what he had imagined a battle would be. The confusion and the general unreality of the scene is what Stendhal—who had been present at other battlefields, though not at this one—conveys above all else in these marvellous pages; and the question Fabrice is always asking: "Is this a real battle?" has ironic implications when one remembers that it was Waterloo, more than any other clash of arms in the last century, that decided the subsequent course of history. Tolstoy in particular admired this brilliant presentation of the chaos of modern warfare and ▶



Photo © Edimedia, Paris

While travelling in Italy with George Sand in 1833, Alfred de Musset met Stendhal who was then French consul at Civitavecchia. Above, one of several sketches of Stendhal by Musset.

in the 1820s, that he turned to writing, to supplement his tiny income as a half-pay officer. He lent his weight to the efforts of the young Romantics in France to found a new, revolutionary style of writing for the stage; he published a defence of the Italian operatic composer Rossini, two quite successful travel books about Italy, a totally unsuccessful maiden novel, *Armanche*, and finally *Le Rouge et le Noir*.

numerous friends in Paris. Only in 1836 was he able to return to France, having been granted a short leave which he managed to spin out for three years.

To while away the dreary hours of idleness in Civitavecchia, he had started on another novel, *Lucien Leuwen*, about the adventures of a wealthy banker's son in the army and the civil service. It was never completed, as Stendhal apparently lost interest and began writing *La Vie de*

►remembered it when describing the battle of Borodino in *War and Peace*.

Apart from Fabrice, there are three other main characters in the book, who form a sort of loose association living their lives according to different principles from the rest of humanity. They see the power-struggle, in which everyone else is engaged, as a game of chess or whist, not to be taken too seriously; one has to learn the rules of the game, but a sensible person would never dream of

passing moral judgement on the rules. This observation is made by Count Mosca, the middle-aged prime minister at Parma and an adept at court intrigue; but political power and influence mean nothing in themselves to Mosca, for whom the only serious thing in life is his love-affair with Gina Sanseverina. She is undoubtedly Stendhal's outstanding feminine creation: a woman of sudden impulses, infinite charm, and complete amorality. She is secretly in love with

Fabrice, but, as her nephew, he regards her with affection but without ardour. In the second part of the book the cheerful recklessness of Gina leads her to offend the Prince; to revenge himself, he has Fabrice imprisoned in the Farnese tower, the State prison of Parma. This period of captivity and danger turns out paradoxically to be the happiest in Fabrice's life, for it is then that he falls in love for the first time; and the girl is none other than the daughter of the prison governor, Clélia Conti, who is persuaded by Gina to smuggle in the rope ladder by which he climbs down from his cell at the top of the tower.

There is, however, no happy end to the story. Fabrice escapes with Gina to Switzerland, but she is driven to fury and despair when she realizes that he loves not her but Clélia. There is little happiness either for the two lovers, for Clélia has to accept a man she does not love for husband, and dies a few years later. Fabrice, broken-hearted, follows her into the grave, and only Mosca, the oldest of them all, survives to preside nonchalantly over the fortunes of Parma, preferring to remain in power rather than that some scoundrel should take his place. All in all, it is a melancholy evocation of the fine, careless rapture of youth, doomed to be submerged in the rising tide of maturity, with all its deceptions, dissensions, and disappointments.

Stendhal lived only three years after the appearance of *La Chartreuse de Parme*, long enough at least to read with intense pleasure the magnificent review that Balzac gave it. Few of his contemporaries, however, shared Balzac's enthusiasm, a circumstance which hardly surprised Stendhal, who used to say he would not be properly appreciated until a century after his death. But he knew—and he was right in this—that he would always have a small number of devotees, the minority he must have been thinking of when he dedicated *La Chartreuse de Parme* “to the happy few”. Today, throughout the world, the “happy few” have become a great army for whom nothing that Stendhal wrote is indifferent, for in everything we can hear the echoes of that impertinent, ironical, and yet enthusiastic voice which reaches us unimpaired across the gulf of time.

■ F.W.J. Hemmings

*With you this evening, I sing in Stendhal
the dazzling adversary of all dogmas
the enemy of thrones and altars
raised far from the burning feasts of the flesh.
I sing the secret Stendhal-land of each life
the musician of all our travels in Italy
in the age of the nuclear danger
and the endless dramas of the Third World
and of the whole world which beats with
the star of our childhood.*

René Depestre



Stendhal's prophecy that his works would not be properly appreciated until a century after his death has proved justified. Left, frontispiece of an early edition of *Le Rouge et le Noir*.

Photo © Edimedia, Paris

A dilettante genius

by Mamoru Watanabe

RICHARD Wagner belongs to that select group of world personalities—Napoleon and Goethe are also of their number—to whom biographers seem irresistibly drawn.

Some, drawn to his glorious music, feel the urge to study his life; others, maybe puzzled by the controversy surrounding his life and character, decide to seek the truth through the story of his life. Others, again, feel such antipathy for the man that they embark on his portrait much like a painter who, because he does not wish simply to depict beauty, is attracted to ugliness and uses it in an attempt to arrive at the truth. Such was my motive when I set out to write Wagner's biography.

I believe that no other musician lived his life on such a vast and varied scale. Perhaps no artist has ever been so human, superhuman and sometimes inhuman as Wagner. His life, like his musical *œuvre*, was titanic.

Yet as I advanced in my research, I realised that the most extraordinary thing about Wagner was not the variety of his life, nor the breadth of its range. Those qualities masked something else—a single, soaring truth: to create great art, the artist must be totally uncompromising.

Wagner was certainly that. Why did he not try to change his life-style instead of running up debts? Why did he betray the man who was his generous benefactor by having an affair with his wife? Why did he take unfair advantage of the unconditional affection shown towards him by

MAMORU WATANABE, Japanese musicologist, was director of the Japanese Cultural Institute in Cologne, Federal Republic of Germany from 1976 until 1982. He has published widely on music and has translated many works on music and other subjects from German into Japanese and vice versa.

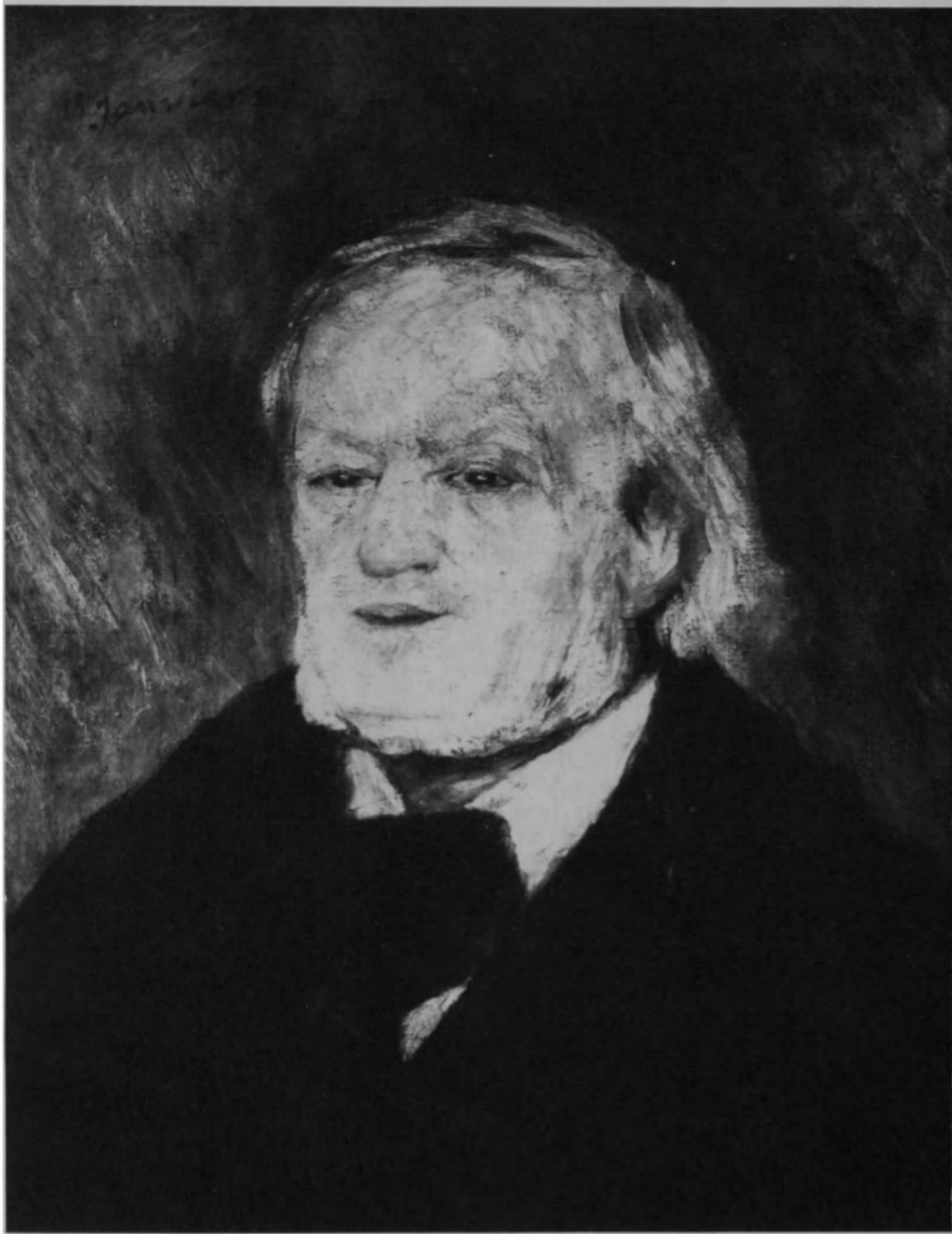


Photo © Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Paris

This portrait of Richard Wagner (1813-1883) by the French Impressionist painter Auguste Renoir was painted in Palermo on 15 January 1882. It is now in the Louvre.

the young king Ludwig II of Bavaria? There is only one answer: the act of artistic creation was the be-all and end-all of Wagner's life; it guided his every decision. All else, including bourgeois morality, was relegated to second place.

There can be no doubt that he believed in the worth of his music. That self-assurance led him to publish private edi-

tions of his works—and get into debt as a result—after music publishers had turned them down, and to throw his considerable energies into getting his operas put on at various opera houses.

But when, on occasion, he acted in such a way as to offend bourgeois standards of morality, he was motivated not by self-assurance, but by his irrepressible ▶



Caricature of Wagner by J. Blass

Photo © Edimedia, Paris

► creative urge. Fanned by the confidence he had in his music, that urge became increasingly violent. He thought it quite normal for millionaires to give him financial support so he could continue creating. If he sank deeper and deeper into debt, it was not because he was sure that his operas would be successful, when staged, and thus enable him to repay what he owed, but because without financial assistance he could not have created at all.

He believed that society alone, not himself, bore responsibility for the debts.

It was an attitude that was no doubt justifiable in part, for if the present-day system of royalties had been in force at the time, he would probably have been spared his financial problems, at least during the second half of his life. Creation also lay at the origin of his love for another man's wife, and that love became indissociable for him from his creative work. Wagner suffered from the

The goal of my work is the eternal human delivered from every conventional element.

Richard Wagner

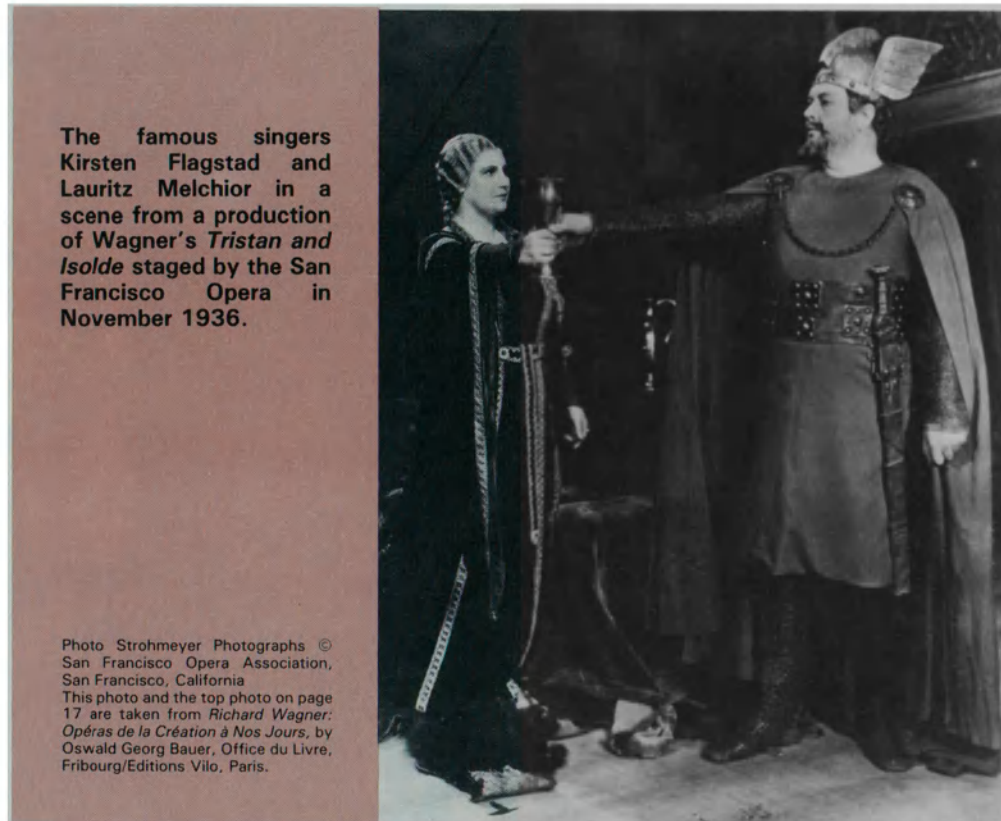
fact that his marriage with Minna had failed, but he could not bring himself to conform to the ordered bourgeois existence she wanted him to lead. The act of creation forbade him to do so.

Moreover, Wagner's view of creation was such that he did not regard an opera as completed when he had finished writing it: it had to be staged as well. But staging often posed almost insuperable difficulties, and caused Wagner to act in a way which, according to bourgeois standards, could only be described as grossly selfish. Wagner was willing to stop at nothing in order to get his operas performed.

The philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche was right when he detected a certain dilettantism in Wagner. Thomas Mann was of the same opinion. Recently, some Japanese writers have argued that it is a great mistake to regard Wagner as a dilettante. In my view, however, it is by recognizing his dilettantism that we can properly appreciate his art. I do not propose to discuss at length those characteristics of Wagner that marked him out as a non-specialist *par excellence*—the grounding in dilettantism he received when still an adolescent, the awkward poetic conception of his inordinately long libretti, his lack of discrimination

the German Romantic composers and to have taken it to extremes. But in later composers such as Brahms or Richard Strauss, all traces of this approach have disappeared.

It needs to be stressed that Wagner became a successful artist precisely because he succeeded, in many respects, in overcoming his dilettantism. As regards the technique of musical composition, in particular, he achieved an almost unparalleled virtuosity. The brio and originality he showed in his modulations, instrumental technique, and use of harmony are still extremely influential. In the art of dramatic composition, too,



The famous singers Kirsten Flagstad and Lauritz Melchior in a scene from a production of Wagner's *Tristan and Isolde* staged by the San Francisco Opera in November 1936.

Photo Strohmeyer Photographs © San Francisco Opera Association, San Francisco, California
This photo and the top photo on page 17 are taken from Richard Wagner: *Opéras de la Création à Nos Jours*, by Oswald Georg Bauer, Office du Livre, Fribourg/Éditions Vilo, Paris.

when it came to the visual arts, the amateurish way he took up the ideas of Schopenhauer, and his fondness for circumlocution in both the expression and the theoretical articulation of his essays.

It is more instructive to explore the positive side of the relationship between Wagner's art and dilettantism. We should remember, to start with, that his dilettantism formed part of, and helped to accentuate, a trend among nineteenth-century musicians. Many of them had an unorthodox or insufficient musical education, were also interested in other arts than music (especially literature and the theatre), and picked up the technique of musical composition relatively late in life. Weber, Schumann and Lortzing, for example, differed in this respect from earlier classical composers. Wagner's own artistic approach could be said to have followed the musical approach of

he displayed expert technical skill, and *Götterdämmerung*, the opera he wrote towards the end of his life, is one of the great works in the world history of stage performance. There remains the question of Wagner's use of language, but as a non-German speaker I do not feel qualified to pass judgment on that point. However, as Thomas Mann pointed out, there are many passages which undeniably reveal great talent. It would also be a mistake, particularly in the case of Wagner, to remove the poetry from its musical context and evaluate it separately. Wagner's achievements as a technician are poles apart from dilettantism.

Dilettantism had another implication for Wagner, for it enabled him to carry through such a vast and original enterprise. The proverb which says "the blind man fears not the snake" is relevant to the audacity of Wagner's genius. Similar-

ly, if he succeeded in breaking away from the rules laid down by professional musicians and playwrights, it was entirely due to his dilettantism. How else could he have conceived his extraordinary theory of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, or total work of art? How else could he have dared to draw on German legends that even Goethe had ignored? How else could he have aspired to build a theatre where his works, and his works alone, would be performed?

Yet, in giving life to his audacious visions, Wagner was driven by a creative genius allied to extraordinary powers of execution.

The fact that Wagner was such an extreme dilettante brings a note of burlesque to his biography. His life was a human comedy, not a drama. Was destiny astonished by the force of his creativity, for fortune smiled on him many times? He had a narrow escape not only when he fled the revolt of Dresden but on many other occasions. Whenever he found himself at bay, assailed by his creditors, a generous benefactor would inevitably appear on the scene. His extraordinary idea for building a theatre where nothing but his own works would be staged eventually came to fruition. And if his operas continue to exert such a wide appeal today, and to attract so many directors, is it not because they are in a way tragi-comedies?

Wagner wrote an impressive number

Where to find the human energy to resist the paralysing pressure of a civilization which denies man utterly, to resist the presumptuousness of a culture which uses the human mind only as the motive force of the machine?

Richard Wagner

of ideological essays and treatises on art which once again display a combination of dilettantism and its diametrical opposite, specialization. Acute insights rub shoulders with faulty judgments. But the ultimate purpose of these essays was to act as a spur to their author's creativity.

Among the many problems posed by Wagner's philosophy, his anti-semitism is justifiably condemned. Setting aside the context of their time, Wagner's feelings appear as an emotional reaction based on a crude generalization. Wagner himself wondered whether he did not have Jewish blood in his veins. The suffering that wracked his subconscious mind was a reflection of the dark forces of anti-semitism in nineteenth-century Europe.

The number of Wagner operas performed in Japan is very low compared with those by Mozart, Verdi or Puccini.



Choral scene from Act 3 of Wagner's *The Flying Dutchman* as performed at the Metropolitan Opera, New York, in March 1979. The structure of the ship is the only scenery. In foreground the helmsman lies asleep before the ship's wheel. In a spectral atmosphere created by the hanging skeletons, the choir interprets his nightmare.

Photo © Press Department, Metropolitan Opera, New York



The most recent production of Wagner's famous tetralogy *The Ring of the Nibelung*, by Sir Peter Hall, director, and Sir Georg Solti, conductor, was performed in July at the annual Richard Wagner opera festival at Bayreuth. Above, a scene from *The Twilight of the Gods*, the fourth part of the cycle, with Hildegard Behrens as Brunnhilde, Aage Haugland as Hagen, and Manfred Jung as Siegfried.

Photo Wilhelm Rauf © Festspielleitung Bayreuth

This is not because Wagner is not liked in Japan but because the staging of his works confronts the Japanese with major difficulties. When, however, a German opera company on tour presents a Wagner opera, all the tickets are snapped up immediately. More copies of the complete recording of *The Ring* have been sold in Japan than in any other country.

Why does Wagner's music appeal so strongly to the Japanese, when it is almost diametrically opposite in character to traditional Japanese art? An explanation is not easy to find, but since Bruckner's music has won a following in

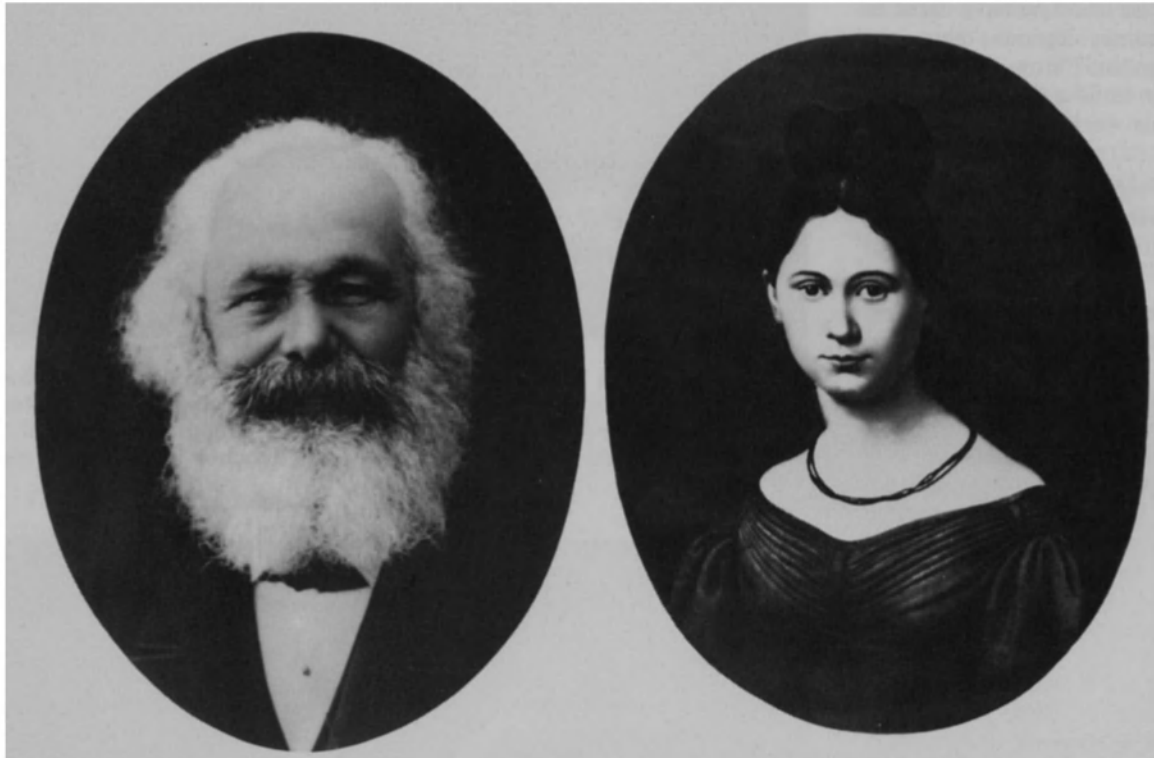
Japan in the last few years perhaps the Japanese today are attracted by art which is totally different from their own.

Much has been made of the extremely Germanic nature of Wagner's music. I cannot fully appreciate this point of view. Myself I would tend rather to stress the extremely human nature of his music, its power to transcend frontiers and speak to mankind as a whole.

Like the French, who have always loved Wagner—and towards whom Wagner felt such hostility—the Japanese cannot resist the enchantment of his music.

■ Mamoru Watanabe

KARL MARX (1818-1883)



Photos © Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels Museum, Moscow

Above left, the last photo of Karl Marx (1818-1883). It was taken in Algeria which he visited in 1882. His health was broken by the recent death of his wife Jenny von Westphalen, above right, whom he had married in 1843.

Time is the field of human development.

Karl Marx

Many mansions

by Georges Labica

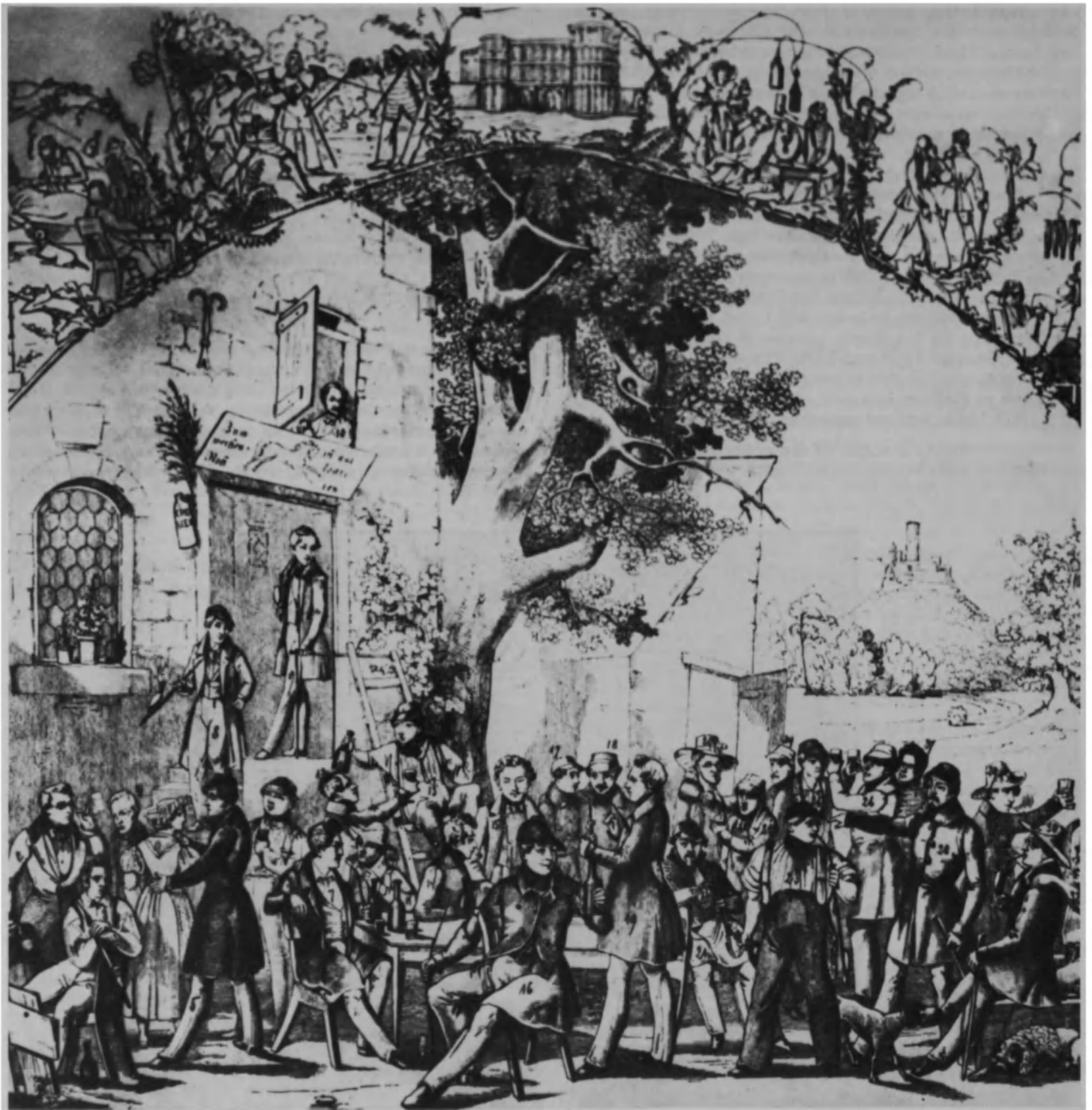
THE centenary of the death of Karl Marx, in London on March 14, 1883, is being commemorated by an unprecedented number of ceremonies in almost every country in the world. And at a time when, amid unabated sound and fury people everywhere are making assessments of what Henri Lefebvre called "a body of thought become a world", it is perhaps opportune to point out that the works of this man,

who wished to claim no country as his own, have not yet revealed all their mysteries nor spoken their last word.

It is true that his was a singular destiny, a true adventure story whose climactic moments punctuated the history of his time, itself full of contradictions.

First of all, Marx published comparatively little during his lifetime. After submitting his doctoral thesis in philosophy on *The Difference Between the Natural Philosophies of Democritus and Epicurus*, in 1840, at the age of twenty-two, he devoted himself to journalism, but his activities were cut short by the Prussian censors. In 1844, his two studies *On the Jewish Question* and *Toward a Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* appeared in the first and only edition of the *German-French Yearbooks*. In 1847, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, a riposte to the French socialist thinker Pierre-Joseph Proudhon's *The Philosophy of Poverty*, was published, and between 1848

GEORGES LABICA, French university teacher, is professor of philosophy at the University of Paris X Nanterre. He has published some 20 studies on Marx and Marxism, notably *Le Marxisme d'Aujourd'hui* (P.U.F., Paris, 1973) and *Sur le Statut Marxiste de la Philosophie (Complexe/P.U.F., Brussels/Paris, 1976)*. He organized an international symposium on "The work of Marx, a century later" which was held, under the auspices of the French National Centre of Scientific Research, in Paris in March 1983.



Photos © Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels Museum, Moscow

and 1863, interspersed in a mass of articles, appeared *Wage, Labour and Capital* (1849), *The Class Struggles in France* (1850), *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852), *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859) and *Herr Vogt* (1860). For the International Working Men's Association (The First International) Marx prepared the *Address and the Provisional Rules of the International Working Men's Association* (1864) and the *Programme for the First Congress* (1866), as well as *The French Civil War* (1871) in which he made an analysis of the Paris Commune. The first volume of *Das Kapital* appeared in 1867 and was followed by the preparation of various prefaces to the second edition of *The Communist Manifesto* (1872) and to the second German edition of *Das Kapital* (1873), of the French translation of *Das Kapital* (1875), of the theoretical introduction to the programme of the French Workers' Party (1880) and, finally, of the preface to the second Russian edition of *The Communist Manifesto* (1882). ▶



This lithograph dating from 1836 shows students from Trier, Karl Marx's birthplace, at the University of Bonn. Marx, fourth from the right, had been elected president of the Trier students' association. Drawing of Marx by H. Bach, left, was inspired by the lithograph.

► In collaboration, primarily with Friedrich Engels, whose writings are indissociably linked with his, Marx published *The Holy Family* (1844), the *Circular Against War* (1855), *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) and a chapter of *Anti-Dühring* (1877). To these should be added a vast *Correspondence* (13 volumes in the German edition, 15 in the French edition now being published), little of which was made public at the time.

In fact, many of Marx's writings were not known until after, in some cases long after, his death. The full story of the upheavals, both theoretical and practical, these unknown writings were to cause has yet to be written. To cite just a few examples, the second and third volumes of *Das Kapital* were published in 1885 and 1894 respectively, thanks to a mammoth effort of editing by Engels; the *Theories of Surplus Value*, three volumes written between 1861 and 1863 and which together make up the fourth volume of *Das Kapital*, were published between 1905 and 1910 after editing by Karl Kautsky who succeeded Engels as Marx's literary executor; the *Fundamentals of Political Economy*, the vast manuscript dating from 1857-1858, was not published until 1939-1941.

Moreover, hitherto unpublished texts continue to appear; the mathematical manuscripts of *Das Kapital* still await scientific

capitalist production system and social, political and ideological relationships as being some kind of natural fatality.

The third is Leninism, whose definition gave rise, quite independently of the will of its eponym, to heated debates which foreshadowed the revolution that came in the era of imperialism in the "weak link" of Tsarist Russia. Stalinism was another, the most widespread and the most enduring.

This is to say nothing of the other Marxisms, official, semi official or underground that, with little reference to the opinions of those concerned, have adopted the names of Rosa Luxemburg, Leon Trotsky, Nikolai Bukharin or Antonio Gramsci, and to evoke only the leading voices of a choir whose ever increasing numbers, before our very eyes, are even now ceaselessly producing and thus reproducing the fecundity of the works of Marx.

Furthermore, Marxism, whether that of its originator or that of his interpreters—and it is exceedingly difficult to make the distinction—is also, indeed perhaps mainly, the record of its grafts, or of its "fusion" as Lenin used to call it, with the workers' movement within the context of each nation. Thus there is, as it were, a problem of translation, in every sense of the word. What is received? When? How? And from whom?

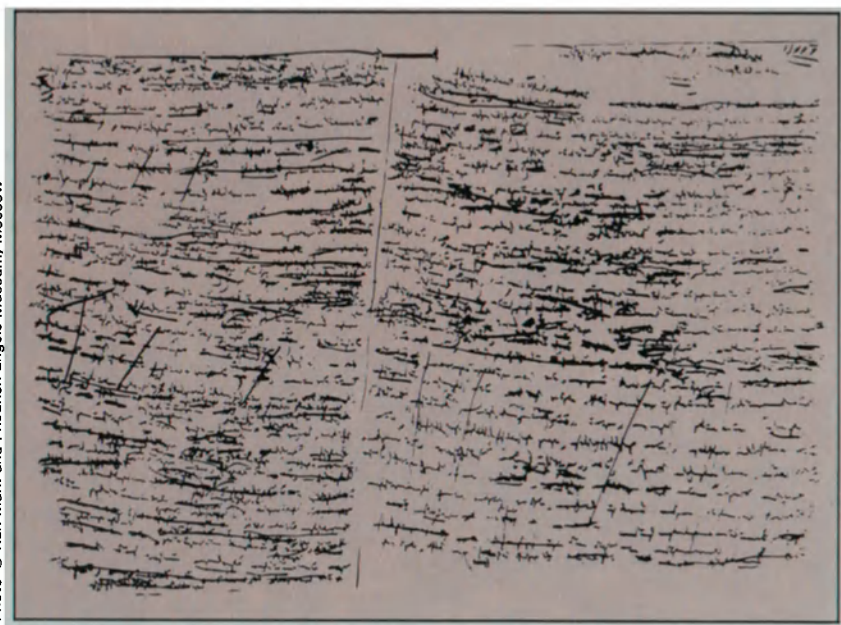


Photo © Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels Museum, Moscow

The outlines of Marx's new vision of the world and the theories and programmes which he would spend the rest of his life elaborating begin to appear in the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* which he wrote in Paris. Left, a page from the *Manuscripts*.

editing and publication and the complete works, the new *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe*, will not be published in full until about the year 2000.

What conclusion can be drawn from this? This stirring body of writings, still vital, like so many revolutionary rockets—to use the words Marx himself employed in *Das Kapital*—has disturbed and will continue to disturb our century, despite the derisory litanies of those who continually declare that "Marx is dead".

But more than this, the singular destiny of this body of writings was made even more remarkable by being inextricably linked with the history of the international workers' movement; it is to this history that it owes its constitution as a "corpus", a language claiming universality, in a word, as Marxism(s). New, criss-crossing roads to Compostella, whose story is slowly being pieced together again, found here their beginnings. "In my Father's house are many mansions..."

Let us identify some of them, using the names that they have given themselves, sometimes unwillingly, for fear of being relegated to minor status. The first is the word "Marxism" itself, which Marx and Engels, who found himself reluctantly obliged to employ it, both mistrusted, sensing in it the odour of dogma and of *magister dixit*. The second is the so-called (and well-called) "Marxism of the Second International" which owes so much to Karl Kautsky, an economism which saw the

And in what political, economic, cultural and ideological circumstances? Under what weight of tradition, thought and practice? In the heat of revolution or in the cold, calm setting of established institutions? Some simple examples—Guesde and Thorez "Frenchified" Marxism, Labriola and Togliatti "Italianized" it and Mao Ze-Dong gave it a "Chinese accent", just as Lenin and Stalin "Russianized" it. What does this mean if not that the universal everywhere encounters indefeasible specificities to which it must adjust?

But how? In dogmas, formulae, models, or in the handling of concrete situations? And by means of what adaptations? Is it not important in this regard to know how *Das Kapital* was comprehended in Egypt or in Greece, or how *The Communist Manifesto* penetrated Turkey or Colombia? How was "socialism" translated into Arabic or the dialectic adapted in China? Although we are aware of how Marx came to be known in Russia, from populism to the founding of social-democracy, can we claim to be equally knowledgeable about events in Belgium or Australia? Was the date of the invention of the term Marxism-Leninism entirely fortuitous? And what about the inception of the principle of *juche* [autonomy or identity] in Pyongyang—is it not just as interesting as the coming of Austro-Marxism or Eurocommunism? Why did the French and Spanish communist parties give up the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat?

Do they not all claim to be Marxist?

The task of finding the answers to these questions, minor and academic though they may appear, is nevertheless necessary to a proper assessment of our era. This work is already in hand and a great deal is at stake, dealing as it does with a century of class struggle in which Marx, in reading Hegel, saw the beginnings of a new life for humanity, and, more precisely, the advance from pre-history to history, to the consciously-decided ordering of social relationships.

But this is by no means all, since the chronological disarray in which Marx's works became known raises other questions. The first concerns the way in which they are read and the reconstitution of a chain whose links have been scattered. In other words, if we want to be able to understand the evolution of Marx's thought, it is essential to place in the order in which they were written works such as *On the Jewish Question*, *Toward a Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, *The Holy Family*, the *Theses on Feuerbach*, the *Circular Against War*, *The Poverty of Philosophy* and *The Communist Manifesto*. It is also important to put back in their proper place in this progression, as Marx himself suggested in one of the rare texts in which he speaks of his own evolution, not only the important letters he wrote to his father (1837), to Arnold Ruge (1842-1843), to Feuerbach (1843) and to Pavel Annenkov

The philosophers have only interpreted the world; the point is to change it.

Karl Marx

(1846), and articles such as those on *Communism and the Rheinische Zeitung* (1842), on the winegrowers of the Moselle (1843), against Heinzen and Lamartine (1847), and the so-called Notebooks of Bonn (1842), of Paris (1844), of Brussels and Manchester (1845), but also the writings of Friedrich Engels which Marx himself declared to be indissociable from his own: first of all their *Correspondence*, the letters of Engels to the Gräber brothers (1839), *Frederick William IV* (1842), the *Progress of Reform on the Continent* (1843), the *Letters from London* (1843), *Outline of a Critique of Political Economy* (1844) and *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1845), the two latter being works to which Marx constantly stressed his indebtedness. As for *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, how can it be excluded from any study of the research carried out by Marx starting from the period 1857-1858 and continuing up to the unfinished chapter on *Classes* with which the third volume of *Das Kapital* concludes? In recent years we have seen what animated discussions, not only academic but also political, could arise from comparisons between the *Fundamentals of the Critique of Political Economy* and *Das Kapital*, and the polemics concerning *Theories of Surplus Value* and the *Unpublished Chapter*.

And here we must ask another blunt question: have Marx's writings really been read?

A further question also arises, to which reference has been made above, concerning the widely differing ways in which the works of Marx have been received. In the historical fate of his works, that is to say, in the successive or even rival ways in which they have been appropriated, there is a precise reflection of their chronological avatars. Is it not possible to climb into any carriage of this moving train and observe, jostling, confronting, even excommunicating each other, so many different forms of Marxism that they end by mixing up the labels with which we try to distinguish them—"University", "militant", "national" of "X" and "Y"? Each one is a revision, but of what dogma, of what law, of what doctrine?

From all this there is something new to learn. May not Marx be unknown? And is it not precisely the function of the various Marxisms, if only in self-defence, to maintain indefinitely this ignorance of Marx by a continual process of covering up? Does not the response to the cry of "betrayal", heard from every quarter, demand a "return to Marx", just as there have been demands for a "return to Kant", or, with Nietzsche, a call to go "back to the Greeks"? But the quest for a return to a lost purity, apart from the fact that it is always illusory or naive, can be seen in this case to be an anachronism in direct contradiction with its purpose, that is to say, with Marxism as a theory of history, since the theory in question strictly forbids the leaving aside of *this* history, of *its* history.

The last century provided a resounding proof of this: Marxism, the thinking or type of thinking originating with Marx, has entered the public domain. This means, above all, that it has no proprietor or authorized interpreter. Its terrain is our era in which all languages are spoken. Marxism has become public property—was not that its vocation? And, in the end, is not this the mark of its success? Is not the life of a work indissociable from its effects, even those it did not seek?

Some decades ago Ernst Bloch suggested that in Marxism could be distinguished, as it were, two mixed streams of water, one "cold" and the other "hot". The "cold" stream corresponds to the diagnosis of capitalist production relationships, a task it is more than ever necessary to pursue. To the "hot" stream belongs "the powerful recourse to man humiliated, enslaved, neglected, vilified, and thus the recourse to the proletariat, seen as the setting of the upheaval that will lead to emancipation". On the one hand well-founded knowledge and its essential concepts, and on the other the "New", the "Hope", the "Utopia" so dear to Bloch. The guerillas of central America have certainly not read *Das Kapital*. Nonetheless they bear witness to that fire that is always in movement and which catches hold where least expected, to these uncoded Marxisms that are erecting the Tower of Babel of our times, rejecting our semantics, in Africa, in Asia, in Latin America, everywhere, even among the well fed, everywhere that men and women continue to suffer whether in their bellies, their heads or their hearts. Did not the young Marx believe that philosophies, like mushrooms, were the fruit of their time? Did he not affirm that ideas, taken up by the masses, could become a material force?

A hundred years later, this final lesson remains with us.

■ Georges Labica

Photo courtesy of the delegation of the German Democratic Republic to Unesco

Marx 14 1883
 Marx died today
 Engels London

Telegram announcing the news of Marx's death was sent by Engels to F.A. Sorge, a German worker who had emigrated to the USA.

A driving force of human evolution

by Nikolai Ivanovich Lapin

THE chief guide which must direct us in the choice of a profession is the welfare of mankind and our own perfection.

"... If we have chosen the position in life in which we can most of all work for mankind, no burdens can bow us down, because they are sacrifices for the benefit of all; then we shall experience no petty, limited, selfish joy, but our happiness will belong to millions..."

These were the words of Karl Marx, then a seventeen-year-old schoolboy whose graduation essay on a subject of his own choice already displayed an independence of thought and purposefulness of feeling. He would be true to this lofty humanistic ideal as long as he lived.

Karl Heinrich Marx was born on May 5, 1818 in the old Prussian town of Trier, now in the Federal Republic of Germany. His father Heinrich Marx, a lawyer and a man of the Enlightenment, guided his son towards a career in law and, in October 1835, the young Karl Marx entered the University of Bonn. His interest in philosophy was growing, and, in October 1836, with his father's understanding acquiescence, he transferred to the University of Berlin where he could study both philosophy and law.

Another mentor from whose advice the student Marx was to benefit was his father's friend Baron von Westphalen, to whose daughter Jenny he was engaged and was to marry seven years later, in 1843. The Baron, a lover of the Greek classics and of Shakespeare and a follower of the French social reformer Saint-Simon, took a liking to the gifted young student who in turn expressed his gratitude and affection by dedicating to him his doctoral thesis on *The Difference Between the Natural Philosophies of Democritus and Epicurus*.

This early study by Marx, written from an idealistic, Young Hegelian standpoint, examined the duality of the interrelationship between philosophy and reality: philosophy actively influences the real world and transforms it according to its principles; but philosophy itself is subject to a reciprocal influence and itself becomes worldly.

In April 1841, Marx received his diploma of Doctor of Philosophy and planned to give a series of lectures on logic at the University of Bonn. At this time, however, the Prussian Government, considering the Young Hegelians to be a subversive element, began to drive them from the universities and Marx turned towards active political engagement. He began contributing to the newly-founded newspaper the *Rheinische Zeitung* which he succeeded in turning into an all-German rostrum of freedom and humanism.

When, in October 1842 Marx became the editor of the newspaper, he was faced with writing articles on a number of complex practical questions that were quite new to him. His analysis of the debates in the *Rheinlandtag* on the law

prohibiting the taking of timber by the peasants from the forests and his sociological study of the status of the Moselle wine-growers convinced him that it was not the State that imposed its will on private interests, as postulated by Hegel and other idealists, but private interests that bent the State to their will.

In March 1843, the *Rheinische Zeitung* was banned, all hope of a press free from censorship vanished, and Marx started looking for new, more effective ways of continuing the struggle. But first he decided, in his own words, to "retire to the classroom" in order to examine and consolidate the theoretical foundations of his activities. He was turning more and more away from Hegelian idealism and in his study *Toward a Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, published in 1844, these doubts grew into a conscious orientation towards materialistic principles.

In summer 1843, while living at Kreuznach, Marx undertook an analysis of world history ranging over the vast period from 600 BC to the French Revolution. He came to the conclusion that all historical processes were determined by changes in the nature of private property; it was this that exercised real influence on the State and not vice versa. For the State to express the true interests of the people private property would have to be abolished.

At the same time Marx was developing his views concerning the "essence of man". "The essence of a particular personality, a particular man, is neither his beard, nor his blood, nor his physical quality, but his *social character*."

In October 1843 Marx emigrated to Paris with his new bride, Jenny von Westphalen, and threw himself into the study of political economy, having come to the conclusion that the world was ruled not by ideas but by economic laws. From April to August 1844, working virtually non-stop, at times going for three or four nights in a row without sleep, he wrote his famous *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts* which contained all the roots and elements of his world-embracing theory, a synthesis of his philosophic, economic and political view of the world.

Comparative analysis of the three sources of income—wages, interest on capital and land rents—led Marx to the conclusion that the many contradictions in the society of his day, and first and foremost the antagonism between labour and capital, were generated by the "alienation of labour".

Marx stressed the economic basis of this alienation: "The more wealth the worker produces the less he has to consume, and the more values he creates, the more his production increases, the more he devalues himself. The devaluation of the world of men is in proportion to the increasing value of the world of things... The object which labour produces—labour's market product—confronts the worker as something alien, as a power independent of the producer."

Marx also attributed a wider meaning to "alienation", seeing it not only in work but also in political, spiritual and other spheres of social life. A new and genuinely humanistic society would abolish all forms of alienation and thus resolve the contradictions between man and man, man and nature, individuals and groups. The self-alienation of man would be overcome and a harmonious, whole new man would emerge.

NIKOLAI IVANOVICH LAPIN, is head of the philosophical and sociological studies department at the All-Union Research Institute for Systems Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Vice-President of the Soviet Sociological Association. He is the author of over 100 works on history, philosophy and sociology. Of his numerous works on Karl Marx, the most widely known is "Young Marx" (Moscow, 1968) which has been published in Russian, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Chinese, German, Moldavian, Slovak, Finnish and French editions.

These new ideas brought upon their author new repression. Marx was exiled from France, in 1845, and moved to Brussels where he was joined shortly afterwards by Friedrich Engels. Here they wrote *The German Ideology* in which they criticized abstract idealistic concepts of man. While writing it Marx made one of his great discoveries; he showed that each stage of social evolution was characterized primarily by a certain mode of production of material goods. His views on the dialectics of productive forces and the interactions of production as the source of the auto-development of history, as well as on socio-economic systems and their changes at important, successive stages, became the basis of the materialistic view of history.

The basic principles formulated by Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto* were put to the test in the crucible of the European revolutions of 1848-1849. But this did not mean that the development of these principles was complete. The main problem that Marx was trying to solve in London, where he had moved in 1849 and where he was to remain to the end of his days, was how to explain the process of the creation of surplus value, that is, how a certain additional product appropriated by the capitalist emerges on the basis of the theory of value, i.e. the theory of equivalent exchange between the workers and the capitalists.

In the process of solving this problem Marx discovered that labour is a special kind of commodity which costs the employer much less than the value of goods it creates. Employing a worker, the capitalist purchases his labour power and, being the owner of the means of production, he provides for such use of this labour power that the value created by it is higher than its own value, in other words, it ensures that a surplus value is obtained without violating the theory of value.

Marx's discoveries in economics came as a result of hard work carried out in the most difficult conditions. Yet not all his manuscripts were published during his lifetime. Ten years were to elapse between the production of the great manuscript of 1857-1858 and the publication in 1867 of the first volume of *Das Kapital*. In the meantime, from 1861-1865, Marx produced two huge revised variants—clear evidence of his conscientious scientific approach. The second and third volumes of *Das Kapital* were prepared and published (in 1885 and 1894 respectively) by his friend and comrade Friedrich Engels; the fourth volume was published in 1905 after Engels' death.

Das Kapital was the great original, seminal work of Marx's life, taking account of the whole preceding history of economic thought and subjecting a mountain of facts to theoretical analysis. It contains a detailed examination of the particular mechanisms of the links between the socio-economic structure of society and production under the capitalist system whose tendency towards revolutionary transformation into a new and more progressive system it reveals.

Some concepts seem to be less in evidence or to have

been modified, but this does not mean that Marx had abandoned them. In *Das Kapital* and other studies, for instance, he consistently employs "alienation" as a philosophic notion. Generally speaking, *Das Kapital* has not only an economic but also a wide-ranging philosophic, methodological and humanistic content. The discovery of the materialistic interpretation of the history of mankind and the creation of the theory of surplus value brought about a revolution in social thinking and made of socialism a science rather than a utopian dream.

Right up to the end of his life Marx worked intensively, finding new horizons of creative thought. His *Chronological Notes* on world history and on the history of specific countries (India, Italy, United Kingdom, Russia, etc.), compiled in the period 1880-1882, totalled over two thousand printed pages. The idea behind their compilation is still a mystery, but the most plausible hypothesis seems to be that of the Soviet scientist B.F. Porshnev who believed that at the time Marx was interested in the problem of the interconnexions between the parallel histories of different countries.

While working on *Das Kapital* Marx had concentrated on the study of one particular socio-economic system; next he turned his attention to the problems of the interaction of different systems existing simultaneously and to the problem of the common aspects and contradictions of economic, socio-political and spiritual processes which take place within the context of humanity as a whole. His aim was to achieve a global picture of a world in which many societies co-exist and influence one another in all the main aspects of their activities. The significance of this design has been confirmed by modern researchers studying global problems.

Marx did not live to implement this great design. Exhausted by illness and depressed by the loss of his wife and his daughter, he died quietly in his armchair on March 14, 1883.

For hundreds of years mankind had been seeking ways of achieving a just restructuring of a society which would be free from exploitation, violence and material and spiritual poverty. Many daring ideas had been put forward during the course of history but few of them had succeeded in capturing the imagination of millions and becoming a driving force affecting the evolution of human civilization. The theory of Karl Marx ranks among the latter, incorporating as it does a whole range of philosophic, economic and political concepts that gave people something they had never had before—a proper understanding of themselves and, consequently, of the way to emancipation.

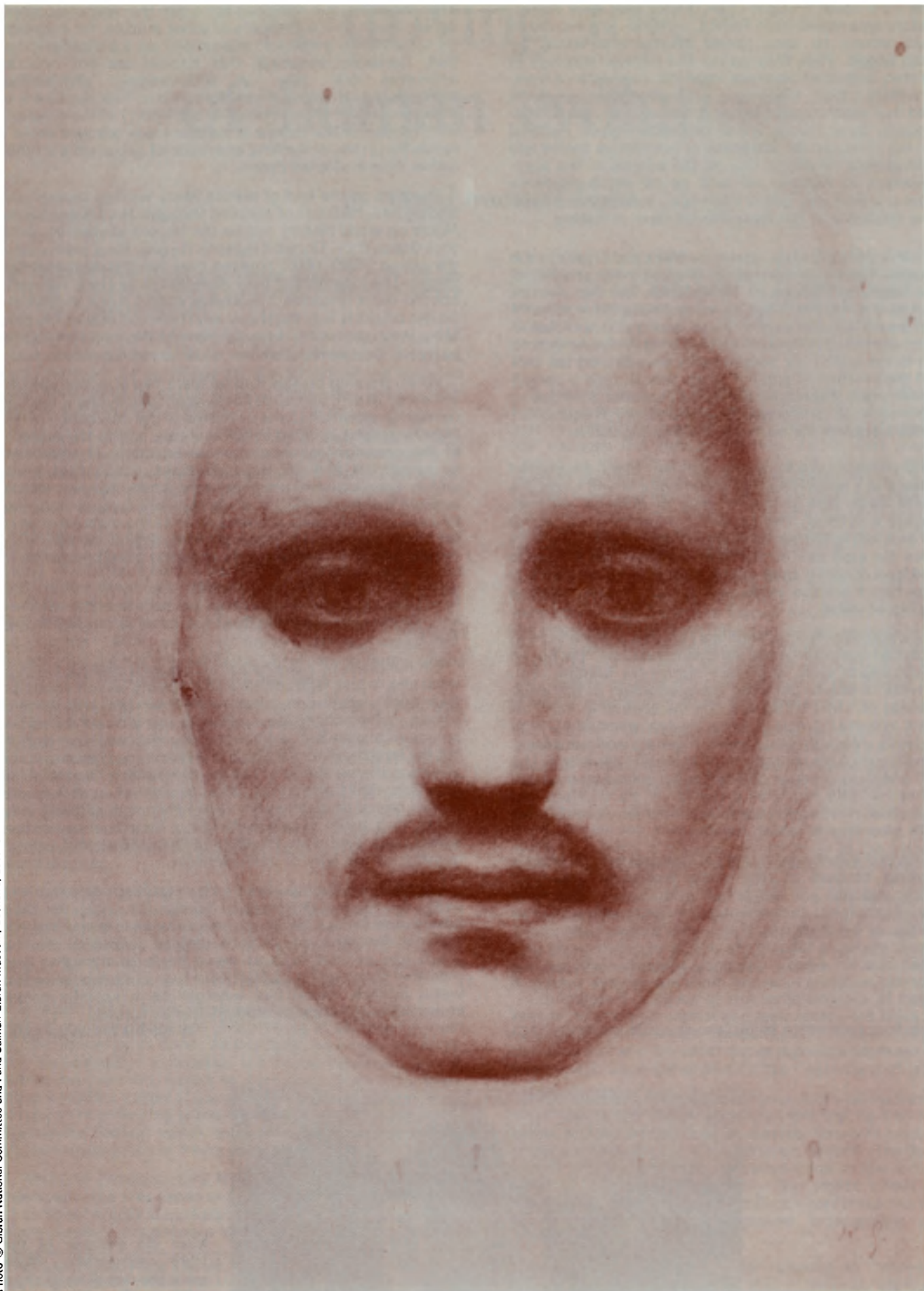
Marx provided answers to fundamental problems that had been raised by progressive human thought. He had assimilated the best of German classical philosophy, English political economy and French utopian socialism, but he drastically revised each of these fields of thought, synthesizing them into a qualitatively new entity—a scientific world outlook which has emerged as a specific socio-cultural phenomenon of modern human history.

■ Nikolai Ivanovich Lapin



After the collapse of the 1848 revolution, Marx spent the rest of his life as a political exile in London. His grave in Highgate Cemetery, left, is a centre of attraction for visitors from all over the world.

Photo Vince Blye © Parimage, Paris



The Lebanese writer, mystic poet and thinker Gibran Khalil Gibran (1883-1931) also painted in an allegorical style close to that of William Blake. Influenced by Nietzsche, he attempted to use the will to power for the improvement of man in accordance with the precepts of Christ and of Oriental sages. In his many works written in Arabic and English he proclaimed himself a citizen of the world. His spiritualistic work *The Prophet* (1923) was a best-seller in the United States and has been translated into 34 languages. Above, a self-portrait by Gibran.

A voyage and a vision

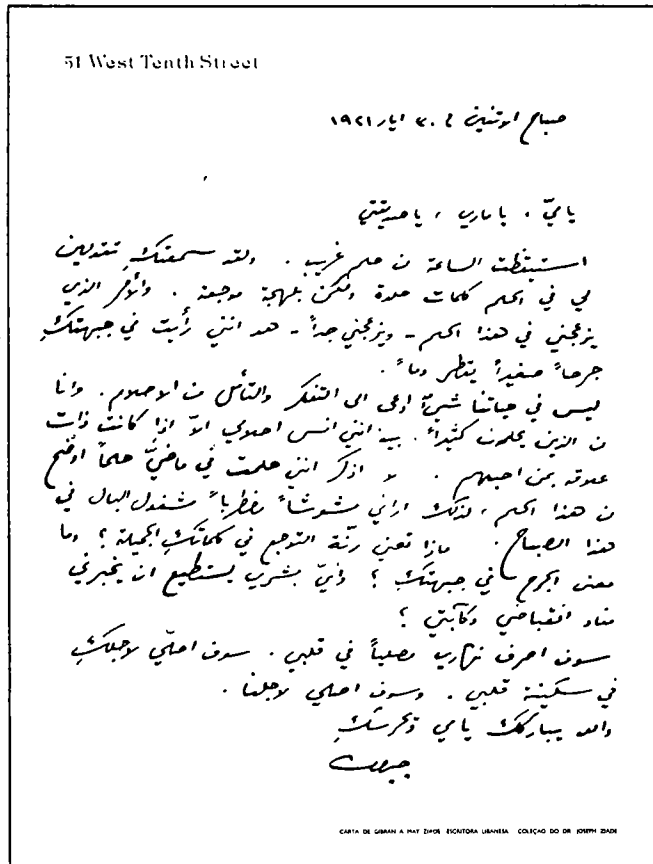
by Ghali Shukri

GIBRAN Khalil Gibran (1883-1931) left Lebanon for the United States in 1895 when he was twelve years old, but three years later he returned to Beirut to study Arabic. Thus 1903, the year in which he went back to Boston, may be regarded as the date when he began nearly a lifetime's residence in North America, where he divided his time between his studio in New York and his sister's house in Boston. Gibran thus spent the first three decades of the twentieth century in one of the world's major centres of "modern culture", far away from his native land, itself a major world centre of "traditional culture".

Gibran's emigration to the west was not due to personal or family reasons. It was part of a larger, more general movement in which Syrians and Lebanese migrated to Egypt and to the Americas, fleeing from the appalling conditions resulting from the decline of the Ottoman Empire around the end of the last century. The origins of this wave of migration lay in the suppression of freedom of expression and belief and in the series of famines, epidemics wars and earthquakes that ravaged the Levant at the turn of the century.

In earlier days successive waves of migration had been motivated by trade and the other maritime activities for which the people of Phoenicia had been famous since ancient times. The novel feature of the migration at the turn of the century was that the migrants associated trading interests with cultural aims. These Lebanese and Syrian *émigrés* laid the foundations of culture, journalism and the arts in Egypt, establishing publishing houses, theatres, cinemas and newspapers. The same phenomenon occurred, to vary-

GHALI SHUKRI is an Egyptian literary critic and sociologist. A former professor at the University of Tunis, he is the author of 30 books of literary criticism and cultural and political sociology.



Gibran divided his life between Lebanon, the United States, and France, and carried on a vast correspondence with intellectuals of his own and other countries. Left, a letter which he wrote in Arabic to the writer May Ziade. In it he describes a disturbing dream in which May Ziade had appeared with a bleeding wound.

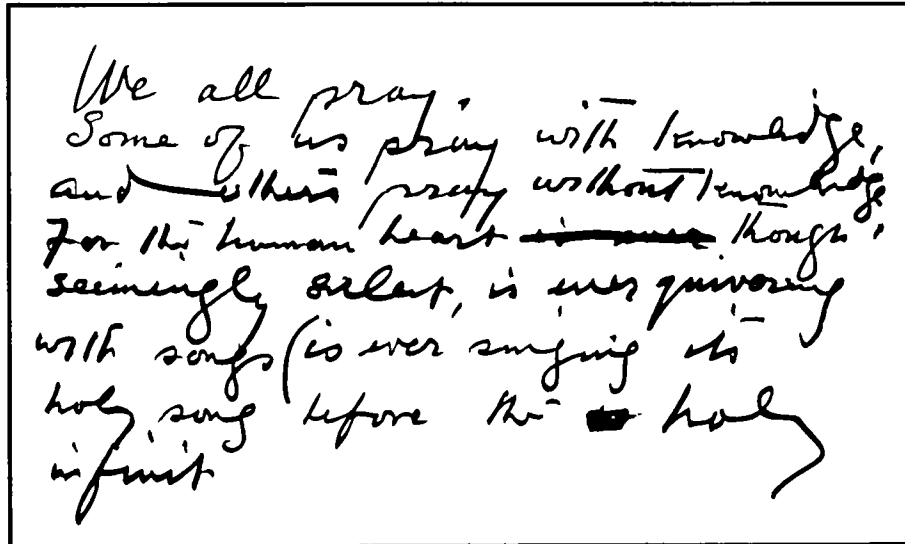
ing degrees, in North and South America. Gibran himself tried his hand at business, alternately making and losing money, while Mikhayil N'aïmi, as he confesses in his book on Gibran, worked as a commercial representative.

Thus it was the quest for freedom of intellectual expression and economic opportunity that drove the intelligentsia of the Arab East to migrate in successive waves either to Egypt or to South and North America. All these men and women combined the trade of journalist, writer or artist with that of dealer in stocks and bonds. Trade, art and politics almost always went together in their lives and only in rare cases did one take precedence over the others. Gibran Khalil Gibran was one of those rare cases.

Gibran's life and works present a number of distinctive features. First of

all, he was fully a child of his times. The first three decades of the twentieth century set the tone for the new age which Gibran did not live to see. It was a time of wholesale destruction that was also marked by an upsurge of activity in culture, art and science and by an attempt to experiment with visionary ideas that had risen from the ruins. These were the decades of the First World War, the first socialist revolution, the birth of Nietzscheanism and the spread of Freudianism. All these unprecedented occurrences had a strong influence on sculpture, poetry, painting, the novel and the theatre, shattering old forms and dictating new subject-matter.

Gibran was immersed in his epoch, an actor not a spectator. His migration from Mount Lebanon to Boston may be seen as the journey of a prophet. ▶



Gibran expressed himself with equal facility in Arabic and English. Above, a fragment from his "Notebooks".

► When the Ottomans began their slaughtering in the Levant, all the intelligentsia of Syria (which then included the whole of the Fertile Crescent region) fled. For Gibran and a few others, the goal was a spiritual one. For them migration was a stage which would necessarily be followed by a return to the homeland. They did not go in search of refuge, exile, trade or money, but in search of a vision, following a circular path that necessarily ended where it began.

The second feature that epitomizes the life and works of Gibran is that while he lived at a geographical distance from his native land, he maintained close links with it and with its history. Although distant from Lebanon, he was always strongly influenced by *émigré* Arab culture and the Arabic press, and remained in constant communication with his homeland. Geographical distance gave him a broader and deeper insight into

*The earth is my homeland and
humanity is my family.*

Gibran

his country and enabled him more swiftly and more perceptively to identify its misfortunes and see where the remedies might lie. Thus the essential feature of his migration was that it took him both away from and back to his homeland; it was a temporary measure to enable him to trace the lineaments of his prophetic message, not to arm himself with a residence permit. Hence

Gibran's "modernity" was the reverse side of his deep-rooted cultural identity; his migration was at once an inward and an outward journey.

Gibran's greatest creative achievement was, then, his own life within whose short span—he was only forty-eight years old when he died—the public and private dimensions were indistinguishable. His views on women, marriage and the clergy were not simply theoretical standpoints expressed in his writings and drawings but represented his practical views on life, love and religion. More than half a century after the death of Gibran we are beginning to understand the major importance of his book *The Prophet* (1923); we should not, however, fail to recognize the equal importance of his work *Jesus, the Son of Man*. In fact, the key to Gibran's works lies in his attitude towards authority, whether represented by established tradition, prevailing convention, religious institution, social structure, economic system or foreign occupying power.

The "movement" that grew out of Gibran's life and art (drawing, painting and writing) was clearly founded by a man possessed of prophetic vision. And his founding of the "Pen League", his defence of his country against the Ottomans, his long dedication to art in his New York studio and to literature in a secluded house in Boston were for him indissociable activities. His metrical verse and his free verse, his narrative prose and dialogues, plays and novels, all served that one vision. The forms these writings took grew naturally out of

*I am a traveller and a navigator,
and each day I discover a new
country in my soul. My friend,
you and I will live as strangers to
this life, strangers to one another
and to ourselves, until the day
when you will speak and I will
listen to you believing that your
voice is mine, until the day when
I shall stand before you, thinking
that I am before a mirror.*

Gibran

their subject-matter, for Gibran did not set out deliberately to modernize poetry and language. His constant concern, once he had discovered his life's mission, was to express his "vision".

Was Gibran a Romantic when he wrote *A Tear and a Smile*? Did he become a symbolist with *The Madman*, *The Forerunner* and *The Wanderer*? Was he a philosopher in *The Prophet*, *The Garden of the Prophet* and *The Earth Gods* and a novelist in *Spirits Rebellious* and *Broken Wings*?

Gibran's life and death, his writings and works of visual art defy such classification to which, moreover, he was opposed throughout his life. He fought against all forms of pigeon-holing, against all that would strait-jacket thoughts and feelings. Throughout his spiritual journey, Gibran Khalil Gibran remained true to his vision and through his art and writings in the first three decades of this century he proclaimed his prophetic message.

■ Ghali Shukri

FRANZ KAFKA (1883-1924)

The devil's pay

by Maurice Nadeau

FRANZ Kafka was born in Prague a hundred years ago, on 3 July 1883. Portraits and photos of him until just before he died, ravaged by consumption, on 3 June 1924 show an eternal adolescent—just as Lautréamont and Rimbaud remained adolescent. There are authors who do not age, and works which, from the moment they are written, rush forward in time so that a century or more later we still breathlessly try to catch up with them. *The Penal Settlement*, *The Trial* and *The Castle* are stories we have known—we read about them in the newspaper only this morning—and, alas, they still presage the future. In the last fifty years since Kafka's work, most of which was published posthumously, has come to light, how many times has its author been hailed as a saint and prophet? Today does he not possess one of the common characteristics of the prophet, namely that he is (officially) not without honour save in his own country?

He was nothing if not a man of Prague, the city where he was born and is buried. He was more a man of Prague than he was Jewish (although he was born a Jew) or German (although his

writings are an adornment of German literature). Fundamentally neither Jewish, nor Czech, nor German, or else all three at once, he belonged to no category which would enclose him within a people, a nation (or the conglomerate of nations which comprised the Austro-Hungarian empire) or a confession. A member of the German Jewish minority which engaged in trade and sent its children to the *Gymnasium*, he found himself at that intersection of space and time where his family happened to live, where he worked in an insurance office, and where his grave is today. Look at his contemporaries: the superabundantly Czech Jaroslav Hasek, the undeniably Austrian Franz Werfel, the militant Jew Max Brod. It is as if they all insisted on affiliation to a community. Kafka was his own man. If he immersed himself in Hebrew towards the end of his life, perhaps it was because he felt that he was so little a Jew. His German is sometimes the German of the ghetto and sometimes a German that can be traced directly back to Goethe. There is nothing in common with the expressionists of Vienna or Berlin. What other literary influences helped to shape him? Flaubert and Dickens, a Frenchman and an Englishman.

Shortly after meeting Max Brod, the faithful friend (whose loyalty went so far as the act of betrayal which brought Kafka posthumous fame) Kafka tried to collaborate with him in writing a novel. Little came of it. However, the *Description of a Struggle* (1905) and *Preparations for a Country Wedding* (1907), in

between which a doctorate in jurisprudence had led to a position as the conscientious and efficient employee of a workers' insurance company, are already pure Kafka—what Sartre would call forty years later "a universe both fantastic and rigorously true." In fact, and this would only be realized later, Kafka was writing in a new way.

But only on condition that he had the time and the material conditions in which he *could* write. Perhaps, as many commentators insisted after his death, the drama of Kafka's life was metaphysical. First and foremost, however, it was physical: the drama of someone who carries within himself a world which he cannot bring to birth, trapped as he is between two swing doors in his room in the family home, and, during the day, in his office at the "Workers' Accident Insurance". He can only indulge his vice, his reason for living, when all is asleep. Short descriptions, suddenly interrupted, a gesture captured in an instant, unusual and fleeting situations—these are the ingredients of Kafka's *Diaries*, interspersed with outbursts of rage at the short span of time at his disposal, complaints about the task he feels entrusted to perform and cannot, and those constant, appalling headaches. The monotony is deadly. With a headstrong passion he takes an interest in a troupe of Yiddish actors and in its director Jizschak Löwy. After holidaying with Kafka on the Italian lakes, Max Brod makes him collect the texts of his first book *Meditations*, which would appear in December 1912. ▶

MAURICE NADEAU, French man of letters, has been publisher and editor-in-chief of the literary magazine *La Quinzaine Littéraire* since 1966, and publisher of *Lettres Nouvelles* since 1953. Notable among his published works are *Histoire du Surréalisme* (1945), *Le Roman Français depuis la Guerre* (new edition 1969), and *Gustave Flaubert, Ecrivain* (1969).

Franz Kafka (1883-1924) was born and buried in Prague. Below, panorama of towers over the Moldau River, Prague. In foreground, the Klementinum, a former Jesuit college and university, with its church, library and (far left) astronomical tower.

Photo © Jan Pank, Munich



► 1912 was the crucial year. In January he drafted the first chapters of *The Man who Disappeared*, which would later become *America*. While staying with Max Brod in August, he met Felice Bauer, his future fiancée. During the night of 22-23 September he wrote *The Judgment* at a single sitting. In November and December he wrote *Metamorphosis*.

In *The Man who Disappeared* he admitted that he had unconsciously plagiarized Dickens. The “fiancée” was the woman he wished to marry and could not bring himself to marry. One of the dramas of his life, this engagement would last until the final break came in 1917. But before that it would be broken off, then be renewed again, and he would carry on a 500-letter correspondence, an astonishing psychological document

If the book we are reading does not awaken us with a punch on the skull, what's the good of reading it?

Kafka

which shows him oscillating between commitment and withdrawal, between the desire to create a family in order to enter fully into life, and the rejection of the life of a petty bourgeois. And all the time, looming in the background, is the even greater fear that “the other” will interfere in what is most important to the writer, his most precious occupation.

After writing *The Judgment* in a single night, Kafka expressed his jubilation in these words: “The fearful strain and joy, how the story developed before me, as if I were advancing over water... How

everything can be said, how for everything, for the strangest fancies, there waits a great fire in which they perish and rise up again... Only *in this way* can writing be done, only with such coherence, with such a complete opening out of the body and the soul. “Here can be heard the voice of the young Flaubert, who used almost identical words in his letters. Flaubert, whose *Sentimental Education* Kafka always had with him and passages of which he knew by heart.

Writing can be a godlike activity or a devilish one. Kafka talks of plunging into “the underworld”, of conjuring forth “phantoms” and “demons”, of shadowy indulgence in guilty activities, of living in the anguish of having penetrated once and for all the “nothingness” of life. “The point of view of art and the point of view of life are different even in the artist”, he wrote in *Preparations for a Wedding*. Like Flaubert he knew that art is not life but “a place where, in the dark void, without foreknowledge, the rays of light can be powerfully intercepted.” These rays make it possible to reveal the “truth” around which art flies “with the set purpose of not burning itself.” Were it to burn itself there it would be extinguished in the common reality, whereas what must be done is to open reality to its own potentiality, to “deliver” reality of what it carries obscurely within itself. The writer lives vicariously and in a state of anticipation. The empty page is his battlefield.

Judging from comments which have been made on the occasion of the centenary of his birth, this image of Kafka as a writer and nothing else is tending to become the new stereotype of the author of *The Trial*. Perhaps it is more accurate than the previous ones: Max



Photo © Jan Parik, Munich

Franz Kafka in 1916 or 1917, The photo, probably from a passport, is now in the archives of the Beth Hatefutsoth Museum, Tel Aviv.

Brod’s “Saint Kafka” dedicated to asceticism and transcendence; the mystical Kafka who was for a time coupled with an equally indecisive suitor, Kierkegaard, the author of the *Diary of a Seducer* and the fiancée of Régine Olsen; André Breton’s Kafka, a practitioner of “black humour”; Camus’s Kafka, the all-time champion of “the absurd”; and many more, including the Kafka of whom in 1945 a newspaper asked, not altogether frivolously, whether he should not be “burned” since he was distracting young people from fundamental, life-enhancing tasks. This effigy of Kafka as



“Kafka in Prague”, a drawing by the Austrian artist Hans Fronius, who illustrated most of the great Czech writer’s works.

Photo © Edimedia, Paris. Private Collection

writer, the Kafka who noted in his diary the famous sentence "All that is not literature bores me and I hate it", is the most acceptable effigy of all. But what kind of a writer was he? In what sense was he different from other writers?

The French critics Maurice Blanchot and Jean Starobinski have said that the difference lies in the fact that Kafka is himself the material of his novels. Even his characters are so much his other selves that they are identified by the initial of his name or, like Samsa in *Metamorphosis*, by a name related to it in some way. Furthermore, their torment is his, even more than the feeling of guilt which nags at them, the search for the transgression for which they are being punished. If the punishment is to be "slaughtered like a dog" or changed into a beetle (or a monkey, or a mouse), the

transgression must be unatonable, perhaps sacrilegious, a serious attack on the order of things. This is what he wrote to Max Brod about literary creation: "Last night I saw clearly, with the distinctness of a childhood object lesson, that it is pay for serving the devil. This descent towards dark forces, this unleashing of spirits naturally bound, these dubious embraces, and everything that can happen down below and which is unknown above, when one writes these stories in the sun..." This "devil's pay", a "sweet and marvelous reward", does not redeem the transgression, which gives rise to fear and remorse. "Terrible fear of death". Not, says Kafka, because it would end my life but because it would prevent me from acceding to life "since I have not yet lived." A terrible confession. "Why," he asks again, "is the final

word always: 'I could live and I do not live'?"

This incapacity to be born in the world, this fate of someone who does not live, a zombie, lead to despair but do not conceal the cardinal sin from him who has reached the limits of extreme lucidity: "I have not redeemed myself through literature... What I have played at is really going to happen." Joseph K., executed on a patch of waste ground, is a victim of this tragic "game", which will have no end for the land surveyor in *The Castle*. Kafka, writes Starobinski, is simultaneously "the object of his creation" and "the object of his destruction". His work bears within itself its own extinction. It consumes itself as it burns, in unfulfilment, and perhaps this is why Kafka did not wish it to survive him. It is like the machine in *The Penal*

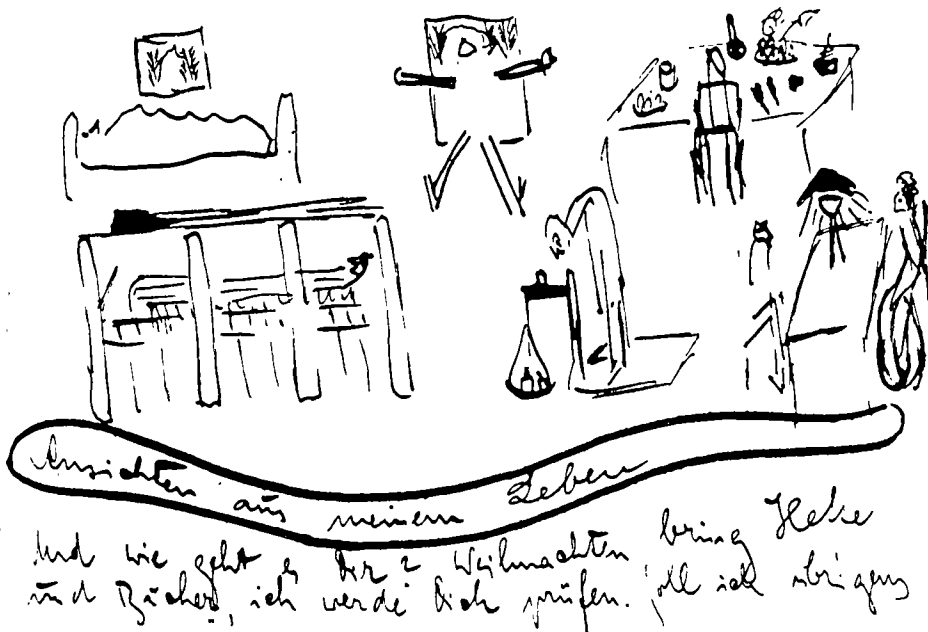
Men are bound together by ropes, and it's a bad thing even when the ropes loosen around someone and he falls into the void a little below the others, but when the ropes snap and he falls totally, it is horrible. That is why we should hold each to the other.

Kafka

Settlement which collapses when it inscribes the fatal sentence on the skin of the man who usually handles it and who has offered himself to torture.

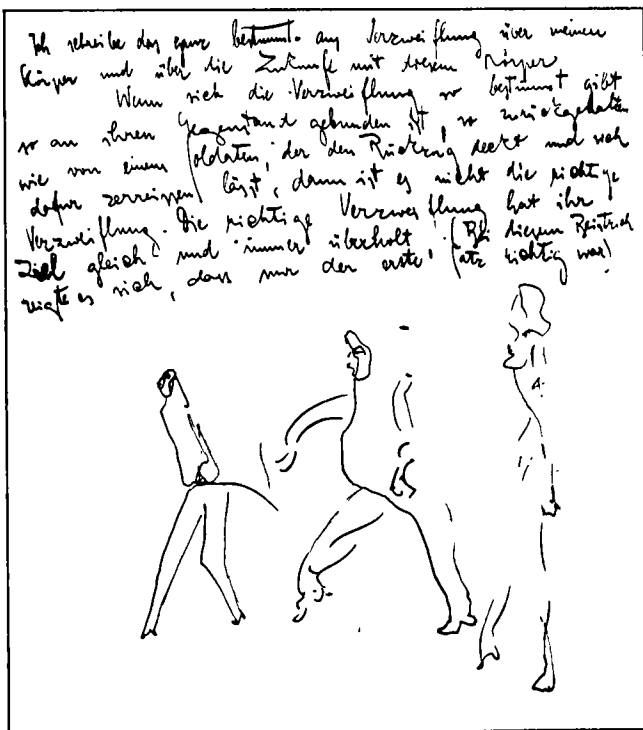
How can this body of work whose material is its author and which is nourished by his fantasies and his torment render such a precise, glowing image, so clear-cut in its horror, of the world in which we live? Of Auschwitz, the totalitarian bureaucracies, everything which systematically destroys the human in man? This aspect of Kafka's work—the diagnosis it makes of our universe—has received too much attention for there to be any need to return to it here. Kafka says that the force of literature derives from its nature as an "observation-act", that is, "observation of a superior kind... which obeys the laws of its own movement." Movement which mingles, which should succeed in mingling, with the very movement of the writing—as long as they both transgress their bounds as long as (in the words of the *Diaries*) an assault on the frontiers" is carried out. Then comes the moment when, thanks to an unassailable dialectic, and through a rigorous form of language, a world begins to unfold. It is either transcendental, nor "realistic" nor "different", but it is nevertheless "something else" just as the X-ray photo of a body is not the same thing as the body which has been pierced by the X-rays; with its dark areas (its unsaid) and its lines of force finally visible. Kafka sees just as clearly into himself as into the reality around him, even into the reality gestating in everyday life. It is this lucidity

Photo © Wagenbach, West Berlin



"Panorama of my existence" is the title Kafka gave to this card he drew in 1918 and sent to his younger sister Ottilia, the only person apart from his friend and biographer Max Brod from whom he had no secrets.

Photo © Jan Panik, Munich



Manuscript page from Kafka's *Diary* for 1910. The text reads: "I write this very decidedly out of despair over my body and over a future with this body. "When despair shows itself so definitely, is so tied to its object, so pent up, as in a soldier who covers a retreat and thus lets himself be torn to pieces, then it is not true despair. True despair overreaches its goal immediately and always, (at this comma it became clear that only the first sentence was correct)."

The United Nations University

The United Nations University (UNU) was established by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1972 and began operations from its headquarters in Tokyo in 1975. Since September 1980 the UNU's Rector has been Soedjatmoko, an Indonesian scholar in the field of international development and politics. Interviewed for the Unesco Courier by Gérard Viratelle (of the Paris daily Le Monde) and Rana Gauhar (of Third World Quarterly, London) he discusses the UNU's aims, activities and prospects.

Gérard Viratelle: There are already several research institutions in the United Nations system. Why was the UN University created?

Soedjatmoko: The major characteristic of the United Nations University is that it is not an intergovernmental body. Non-governmental organizations have greater freedom to study problems and to come up with findings without taking into account governmental sensitivities. Many UN institutions, before they publish reports, have to check those reports with Governments. We don't have this obligation. Take, for instance, international economic problems. The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank combined have the largest research capability in the world on international economic issues. Still, there are several problems that they have not in-

vestigated. Why? Because they are too sensitive for Governments. We feel therefore that the UN University has an obligation, for instance, to look at global economic policy problems, especially at the kind of problems that other intergovernmental agencies have difficulties handling. There is an important role for such a non-governmental body.

Rana Gauhar: What are your hopes for the World Institute for Development Economics Research which the University is planning to set up?

Soedjatmoko: First, I think that the current recession has made it very clear that it is no longer possible to think of development only within the isolation of a single nation-State. The development theory must be revised to take into account international factors. At the same time, the impact of national developmental policies on the international system has not been adequately studied. The whole bank problem is an example of that.

There is also a dearth of study of which development policies have succeeded and which have not, and why. The search for more effective development theories would be helped very much by independent assessments of which policies have worked and why and which policies have not worked and why.

Then there is the question of the workings of the international economic system. The capacity of the world to move more effectively in international development is constrained by the malfunctioning of the international system. These problems arising from the crisis of the international economic system should be looked at. It would be very important for an independent institution to do research on issues of particular relevance to the Third World, without becoming partisan in the sense of taking sides. We are a UN institution and we have to serve the needs of all mankind, but we also have a commitment to redress the disparities in the world. There is a need for that kind of research, and I intend that this new institution should do it.

Viratelle: Is there not a kind of rivalry between UNU and some other UN institutions? How is the co-ordination done?

Human and Social Development and Co-existence of Peoples, Cultures and Social Systems is one of the five broad themes or "problem areas" which form the framework for UN University research programmes and projects. Migration within and across national boundaries by migrant workers and refugees from war, famine and other disasters poses a major problem and over the coming decades will change the ethnic and cultural composition of many countries and increase social tensions. Below, on the march in the high plateau near Tug Wajale, in north-western Somalia.



Soedjatmoko: I don't think it is a problem. We are too small to be a threat to anyone, and fortunately so. We try to co-ordinate. We join all kinds of co-ordinating meetings, but that is not the important thing. More important than co-ordination is collaboration and we try to collaborate with larger United Nations agencies in specific areas. With Unesco we have a number of collaborative projects in the areas of communications and the social sciences. In the area of development theory we have collaborative projects with other UN agencies. I am not worried about competition. I think a little competition is good, it keeps everyone on his toes, and as long as it leads to better quality it is fine.

Gauhar: Let's talk about the University's Charter and the autonomy which is written into it. As each of your projects develops further—for instance the one on human nutritional requirements and malnutrition—you are going to come closer and closer to political questions. At what stage do you think you will need this academic freedom when your projects get past collecting data and actually point fingers at very unpleasant truths?

Soedjatmoko: I believe it is the legitimate task of the social sciences and the policy sciences to study and make recommendations as to what kind of food policies in a given situation might be the best to ensure that the poorest of the poor get as much nutritional value as possible. If there are Governments which take exception to this, then we have a problem. But I don't expect the problem to arise. Many Governments run into food policy difficulties, not because they want to but because they have generally been looking at the supply side of food and not at the consumption side. So my own experience is that Governments are first rather surprised, then rather pleased, that somebody is suggesting ways of making sure that the poor get more value out of their purchasing power. Of course, at some point one has to deal with the fact that purchasing power is not enough and then one will have to suggest policies. I believe it is the task of the United Nations University to make recommendations that are comprehensive and that pay special attention to

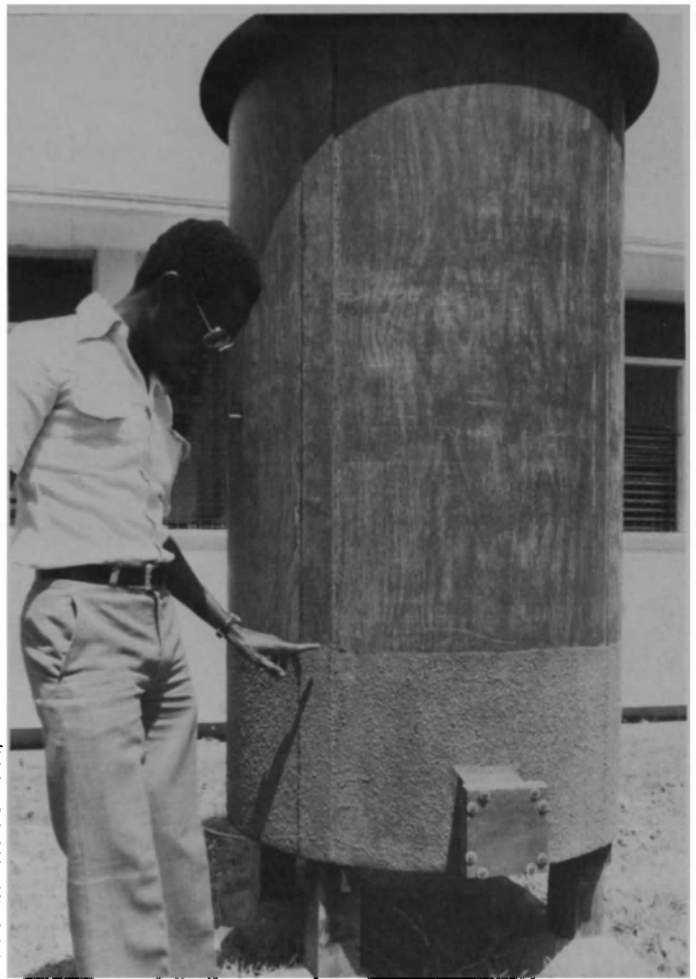


Photo United Nations University

Senegalese food scientist and UN University Fellow Cheikh N'Diaye examines a small storage silo which has been made rat-proof using techniques developed at the Central Food Technology Research Institute, Mysore, India, an associated institution of the UN University.

the weakest and poorest in our societies. I think that this is an obligation. I don't really expect any problems in terms of academic freedom.

Viratelle: How is the Rector of the University chosen? Since you have a governing Council what freedom of action do you have?

Soedjatmoko: First, the Secretary-General of the UN and the Director-General of Unesco agree on the appointment of the Rector from a list of nominations from various sources. Once the Rector is appointed, he is a member of the governing Council. The Rector is the chief Academic and Administrative Officer, so the selection of research topics, the direction of the research and the selection of people is very much his responsibility—always, of course, in consultation with the Council. The Council approves the budget and by doing so has its say on the proposals submitted by the Rector.

In institutional terms, the academic freedom and autonomy of the University which we have talked about is based on the Endowment Fund, the income from which it is the University's responsibility alone to manage.

Viratelle: How are the developing countries participating in your work and what can they expect from it?

Soedjatmoko: It was the vote of the developing countries that pushed the resolution for the establishment of the UN University through the General Assembly in 1972. If you disregard the contribution of Japan, more than 50 per cent of the remaining contributions come from the Third World.

Photo © Bernhard Wagner, Stuttgart



Under the UN University's Programme on the Use and Management of Natural Resources, the Alps, the Rocky Mountains and the Himalayas are linked in an ambitious project on mountain hazards mapping, a new technique which aims to define the extent, type and degree of danger posed by landslides, avalanches and similar natural hazards. In mountainous regions of the world landslides are a major threat, increasing soil erosion, disrupting roads and destroying houses and painstakingly constructed terracing like these irrigated rice terraces (left) in Nepal on the edge of the Kathmandu Valley.

► **Viratelle:** What do they get for it?

Soedjatmoko: Our research is primarily meant to contribute to knowledge that is of use to developing countries in their development process. We are also providing training designed to strengthen Third World institutions. We are currently exploring the establishment of an International Institute for Natural Resources in Africa. This would help strengthen local institutions that deal with the various dimensions of the resource problem but don't have the desirable concentration of expertise.

Viratelle: You don't have any student body, but you undertake training through fellowships?

Soedjatmoko: Yes, our Fellows are post-graduates in developing countries. Many of these young scholars are isolated. It is our task to help identify them and give them an opportunity to develop, particularly through interdisciplinary training, and go back to their countries with their skills reinforced. Our Fellowship programme is being strengthened and developed and I think it makes a valuable contribution to building Third World institutions through relevant advanced training for Third World scholars and researchers.

Then we are also concerned with improving the dissemination of scientific information. This is one of the reasons why we have established a new division, the Global Learning Division, because it is very obvious that even the available scientific knowledge does not reach the people who need that knowledge. There are many reasons why this knowledge does not reach them and we want to have a more systematic look at that problem. To take one example: as world population increases, more and more people will have to move from the lowlands to the uplands. Upland agriculture is usually done on marginal land, land that is less fertile, with thin top soil, and so on. Now if you increase the number of people living on that top soil, it will go beyond the ecological carrying capacity. You can increase the carrying capacity only through the application of scientific knowledge and



The Marga Institute in Colombo, Sri Lanka, is the coordinating institution for the UN University's project for the study and sharing of traditional technologies. Above, the traditional method of cutting logs in a Sri Lankan village.

through different social arrangements. There is no way of bringing that about unless that scientific knowledge reaches the peasants. This is one of the major world problems, in my opinion.

Gauhar: Do you feel it is important for peasants everywhere to know or to share in the experience of peasants in other regions that will be helpful to them? Is this something which you plan to do in the future, or is the UNU already doing it?

Soedjatmoko: We are at present engaged in activities along these lines. For instance, we have started on a village video network activity. The idea is to see whether it is possible for villagers to talk to other villagers without interlocutors. In the field of rural energy systems we have asked villagers in China to put themselves on video tapes to explain why they have decided to have biogas and bioconversion systems which created an integrated rural energy system that has brought them considerable prosperity. Then they made a second video tape that showed the technology they developed. This is now being adapted and shown in other places, in other villages, in other countries, as well as in China itself. My main interest in developing this video programme is to transfer, not technology, but hope; to show villagers, who have been bludgeoned into passivity for many centuries either by feudal lords or by the colonial régimes or later on by military régimes, that it is possible for villagers to do something for themselves. That, I think, is the most important message that we could help bring, by simply showing that there are villages that have made a success of things.

There are many local success stories in the Third World, which are not known. The thing is to eliminate both the urban interlocutor of your own nationality and the foreign interlocutor, and let villagers talk about themselves and their achievements to other villagers.

Gauhar: I hate to inject a note of pessimism, but whether you are thinking of transferring technology or hope to peasants don't you have to by-pass the very people you mentioned earlier, the military or landlords, or the urban interlocutor?

Soedjatmoko: Yes. A medium like video has multipurpose functions because we have found that there are Governments which are interested in showing their tapes as teaching material for their own civil servants.

Gauhar: It creates a greater consciousness?

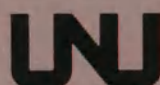
Soedjatmoko: Yes. A lot of what we perceive as suppression arises from ignorance rather than malice. I think that one of the major problems that has led to violence and oppression has not been any philosophical commitment to it, but an incapacity to manage social transformations.

Gauhar: Wherever there is change, there is potential for conflict. Are you saying that it is not necessary that change will come about violently and that violence is in fact a kind of mismanagement?

Soedjatmoko: I did not say that. I did not say that it is possible to eliminate violence completely. The University is studying the problem of the violence that accompanies social change. When we started to design the "Peace and Global Transformation" programme, we were faced with the fact that there are more than 200 peace research institutions in the world. What could our role be? We found that very few studies had been made on peace as it relates to inevitable social change. If you accept that the world is changing, then the study of peace and conflict resolution should aim at the reduction, as far as possible, of violence and human suffering. For instance, massive migration is now increasingly a feature of global change; the ethnic and cultural composition of all countries is in the process of changing and this leads to tension. The tensions may explode along fault lines not only of class but also of ethnicity, of race and of religion. These problems have not been sufficiently studied, and we should understand the phenomenon more deeply. Such understanding is necessary to enhance the adjustment capacity of society, because the movement of people from poor areas to rich areas and to empty spaces is going to increase; no government can do much about it. And it is a potential source of major conflict.

Gauhar: Although you don't have a student body as such, every major educational institution tries to inculcate certain values in people who come into contact with it. Do you think that there are certain values which are specifically those of the UNU and which UNU Fellows or other people who come into contact with you should benefit from? Perhaps a greater global awareness...?

Soedjatmoko: Yes. There are certain values which the UNU is committed to. Probably the most important is the sense of human solidarity. The UNU is an academic institution which is not linked to any national interest but is based on an acceptance of human solidarity. I think that is a very important value—perhaps the most important value of all. ■



The UNU is a new kind of university designed to: 1) increase understanding of causes and solutions of what its Charter terms "pressing global problems of human survival, development and welfare;" 2) increase the practical impact of research and post-graduate training by organizing collaboration among scientists and scholars across national boundaries; and 3) strengthen research, training and dissemination of knowledge activities, particularly in developing countries.

In its initial phase, the University developed three programmes—in World Hunger, the Use and Management of Natural Resources, and Human and Social Development. Their scope has been broadened with the adoption of a Medium-Term Perspective for the years 1982-1987 to ensure that this early work remains relevant to the current world situation. The new University Programme that is emerging, under the leadership of its second Rector, Soedjatmoko, is thus an organic growth of the initial work.

This unified University Programme is planned and carried out by three divisions, each with a distinctive function. Problems are explored at the local and country level

by the Development Studies Division. Their broader implications are looked at under the Regional and Global Studies Division. The results of the work are communicated to various users in the new Information Society through the Global Learning Division.

The University's priority concerns are defined by five themes which range across the modern world's most urgent anxieties: 1. Peace, Security, Conflict Resolution and Global Transformation; 2. The Global Economy; 3. Hunger, Poverty, Resources and the Environment; 4. Human and Social Development and the Co-existence of Peoples, Cultures and Social Systems; and 5. Science and Technology and Their Social and Ethical Implications.

In the 1984-1985 biennium, the University's work will fall under eight programme areas: 1. Peace and Global Transformation; 2. The Global Economy; 3. Energy Systems and Policy; 4. Resource Policy and Management; 5. Food-Energy Nexus; 6. Food, Nutrition, Biotechnology and Poverty; 7. Human and Social Development; and 8. Science, Technology and the Information Society. ■

ty which in turn terrifies us. The world he has taught us to read through his eyes is indeed Kafkaesque.

The image which remains with us a hundred years after his birth is as composite as the multitude of interpretations his work has inspired. We have long been familiar with the sanatorium patient, ravaged by guilt and illness, dying of consumption without ever having succeeded in really living, with illness serving as a symbol for the profound evil which he tried to exorcise through writing. It is amazing to learn from witnesses that he was a vigorous, athletic young man who drew gusts of laughter from his writer friends when he read them the first chapter of *The Trial*. Without denying the existence of a fundamental despair in Kafka, one of these friends adds, "he had weapons with which to defend himself: they were humour, irony, and hope." He did not hesitate to assert that "hope finally triumphed; he possessed a literally messianic force." Setting aside the religious connotation, Kafka gave his friends an impression of force, and it is not pity he calls for, but the admiration we feel for those who have had the courage to take the measure of their evil, of our evil, and who struggle with all their might to overcome it.

"Strange and mysterious is the consolation given by literature," he wrote. Could this be because "literature alone draws from itself no succour, does not inhabit itself, is both a game and despair"? This desperate game, says another witness, was "his only chance of happiness". The attempt of a man to destroy himself through writing becomes in our eyes one of the most solid constructions in all literature, even in its incompleteness. The paradox continues to the inevitable end. While in a matter of months the illness made terrible inroads in a body which it would even deprive of speech, Kafka was at peace when he died in the arms of his young friend Dora Diamant. Long before he had asked Max Brod to burn his manuscripts. But perhaps on 3 June 1924 he thought instead that Franz Kafka was achieving his transmutation. It was then that he came into the world, for ever more numerous generations of readers.

■ Maurice Nadeau

UNESCO NEWSROOM

World Assembly for Peace, against Nuclear War

Some 3,000 participants from 140 countries attended a World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War which was held in Prague (Czechoslovakia) from 21 to 26 June 1983. In response to growing threats to world peace and the grave dangers engendered by the arms race, speakers drew attention to the various aspects of the danger of war; to the role of education for peace; to the interdependence of problems of development, international co-operation and the right to self-determination; and to the efforts of the United Nations and Unesco in favour of peace. The significance of the Assembly was stressed in addresses by Mr. Gustav Husak, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and by Mr. Romesh Chandra, Chairman of the World Peace Council. A message was addressed to the Assembly by Mr. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, Director-General of Unesco, and an account was given of the Intergovernmental Conference on international education held at Unesco earlier this year. The final appeal of the Assembly and reports produced by working groups are to be transmitted to the United Nations.

International Appeal Launched for Havana Site

On 19 July the Director-General of Unesco, Mr. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, launched an international appeal for the safeguard of the "Plaza Vieja" (Old Square) and fortifications of the Old City of Havana, Cuba. Stressing the importance of this architectural complex, inscribed on Unesco's World Heritage List in 1982, Mr. M'Bow said that the Plaza Vieja is one of the most representative examples of architecture originating in the encounter of various cultures "under the Caribbean sun". The square, recognized by the Cuban Government as a national monument in 1976, is a main feature of old Havana in which baroque, neoclassical and Art Nouveau styles are all mixed in a typically Cuban composition. The full text of the Director-General's appeal will be published in a

forthcoming issue of the *Unesco Courier* to be devoted to the arts in Latin America.

Simón Bolívar Prize Awarded for First Time

At a solemn ceremony held in Caracas (Venezuela) on 24 July 1983 to commemorate the bicentenary of the birth of Simón Bolívar the Liberator, the Director-General of Unesco, Mr. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, awarded the International Simón Bolívar Prize to its first recipients, King Juan Carlos of Spain, and Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress leader imprisoned in South Africa. The Prize was created in 1978 to reward activity of outstanding merit which, in accordance with the ideals of Simón Bolívar, has contributed to the freedom, independence and dignity of peoples, to the strengthening of solidarity among nations, and to the establishment of a new and more equitable international order. In his address, Mr. M'Bow said that the Prize had been awarded to King Juan Carlos in recognition of his role in leading "the process which has culminated, not without incident, in the establishment in Spain of a democratic State based on the fundamental values of liberty, equality and justice". Turning to Mr. Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress, who represented Mr. Mandela at the ceremony, the Director-General said on presenting him with the Simón Bolívar Prize diploma and medal: "I should like to assure [Nelson Mandela] that even from the depths of his cell he has been more than ever among us, and that through us the immense majority of mankind is with him, hears his call and strives to bring him succour, in increasingly far-reaching and diverse ways, until the people of Nelson Mandela reconquers its full rights." Nelson Mandela concluded his statement from the dock at his trial nearly 20 years ago with these words: "I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die".

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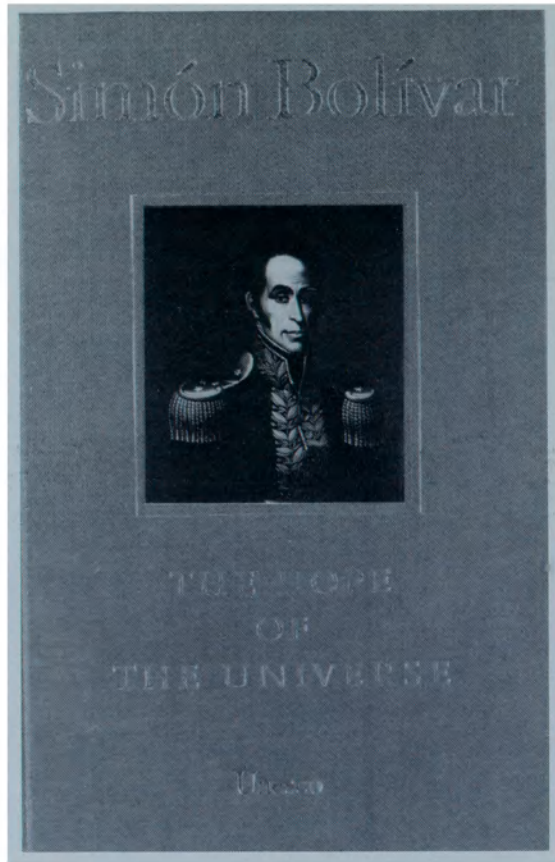
"Simón Bolívar occupies a prominent place among the great figures of universal history whom the United Nations system recognizes as its precursors... He was not just the hero of one country or a group of countries... or even of the American continent alone; by virtue of the universal scope of his thought, he endeavoured to voice the hopes of all the peoples of the world..."

In these words Mr. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, Director-General of Unesco, sums up the historical importance and continuing influence of Simón Bolívar in a brief foreword to an anthology of Bolívar's speeches and writings published by Unesco as a contribution to the world-wide celebrations to mark the bicentenary of the birth of the "Liberator".

The anthology is published in English, French and Spanish editions and was compiled by the Venezuelan historian José Luis Salcedo Bastardo, who also wrote the Introduction and provided the Chronology and the Bibliographical and Biographical Notes. The prologue is by the Venezuelan writer Arturo Uslar Pietri.

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Steps to learning

Near Kathmandu, Nepal, rice is grown intensively on terraced hillsides veined with countless irrigation canals. These steeply sloping areas are prone to landslides, flooding and other hazards. To minimize the problems faced by the local populations and improve land use management, mapping and risk assessment work has been carried out in the region by an international team of scientists. The project is one of many undertaken in recent years by the United Nations University (see article).

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