

and their application within the U.S.S.R. led to incredible confusion. He described the great difficulties created by the attempt to introduce thousands of Russian political, philosophical and technical terms into primitive languages with grammatical and phonetic systems quite different from Russian. The completely unsuccessful Marrist approach was to try to introduce these words in their exact Russian form rather than by some "natural" process of assimilation. It is important to note that Mordinov is criticizing only the method of enriching minority languages from Russian, not the principle that the minority languages must develop solely through "co-operation" with Russian. Mordinov made this quite clear by asserting that "one of the most important questions of Soviet linguistics is the question of the tremendous beneficial influence of the great Russian language on the development of the national cultures and languages of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R." He referred to a new relation in the U.S.S.R. of mutual co-operation between languages and cultures, with the Russian people and their language and culture playing the leading role, and added that the development of the native languages was assured through knowledge of Russian and could not proceed if Russian were not mastered. In conclusion Mordinov referred to Stalin's teaching that:

Mankind will arrive at a single language and a single culture under communism through the maximum development, the flourishing of the national languages and cultures under socialism. The experience of building the culture of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., national in form and socialist in content, fully confirms this inspired statement by our leader and teacher . . . National differences and languages will begin to die out only at the third stage of the world dictatorship of the proletariat when socialism enters into the daily lives of the peoples, when the nations become convinced, through practical experience, of the advantages of a common language over national languages.

What language is to become the universal tongue is not specified, but from the tone of Mordinov's article it can only be inferred that this destiny has been assigned to Russian.

### Results of Intervention

Immediately after Stalin's intervention in the linguistic dispute, things began to happen, as they are wont to do, very rapidly, not to say precipitately, in the practical sphere. Marr's name was dropped from the title of the Marr Institute of Linguistics, although it was retained, in recognition of his more permanent contributions to linguistic studies, for which Stalin gave him full credit, in other institutions with which he had been connected. Meshchaninov, the leading Marrist, was replaced as director of the Institute by Vinogradov, a philologist with a high reputation in Western Europe, who for consistently opposing the Marrists had been labelled by them a "bourgeois cosmopolitan" and prevented from holding a post commensurate with his abilities and attainments. If Stalin's support of Vinogradov aroused any suspicions of bourgeois cosmopolitan tendencies in the leader himself, they have not been expressed in print. Meshchaninov, who is a well-known authority on the Finno-Ugrian languages, was retained on the staff of the Institute under Vinogradov. It was immediately apparent that new textbooks would be required to replace the repudiated Marrist textbooks throughout the entire educational system of all the Soviet republics, and work on this enormous task was started at once. Teachers who had been thoroughly indoctrinated in the pernicious Marrist theories required re-education and the machinery for this was rapidly set in motion.

In the two years which have passed since *Pravda's* debate was held, Soviet scholars in every field of study have been busy applying Stalin's views on philology to their various subjects. Almost every article in any learned journal now includes an expression of the writer's great debt to Stalin's work on linguistics. The academic and artistic world of the U.S.S.R. would clearly like to believe (and may well feel