

The History of International Relations in the Legacy of the Soviet Historian Vladimir M. Khvostov (1905–1972)

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Abstract. In the article, based on a large number of archival documents, some of which were first put into scientific circulation, the research activities and problems of scientific research by V.M.Khvostov are considered. The author analyzed two main directions in the work of the scientist: the history of diplomacy and international relations; problems of general and national history (mainly the events of world wars). The contribution of V.M.Khvostov to the study of this issue is determined, his creative biography is considered as one of the models of the life and career of a scientist in the Soviet political and historiographic space.

Keywords: historiography, foreign policy, history of diplomacy, international relations, general history, national history

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Introduction

The study of the history of the Soviet stage of Russian historical science is one of the most important tasks of the further development of modern scientific knowledge. This is primarily due to the study of the scientific heritage of historians, with the disclosure of the essence of their worldview, views, concepts, and rethinking the experience of previous generations of scientists. An independent place in these studies is occupied by the historian himself, the «life milestones» of his creative path, his ideals, the socio-cultural environment – all this influences his formation.

Among the outstanding representatives of the Russian historiography of the twentieth century, the historian Vladimir Mikhailovich Khvostov (1905–1972) stands out vividly. Interest in his personality, scientific and professional activity is still relevant today. Vladimir Mikhailovich Khvostov was a specialist in the history of Modern times and international relations, became a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences in the Department of Historical Sciences, became the first president of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the USSR, participated in the creation and activities of the International Committee of Historical Sciences of the USSR (Photos 1, 2, 3).

In the 1930s, he published a number of articles on the history of international relations in the Middle East at the end of the XIX century, based on archival materials. Later he studied the history of German foreign policy. The result was the work “Foreign Policy of the German Empire in the last years of Bismarck’s Chancellorship”, which in 1938 was defended by him as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Historical Sciences.

Nevertheless, the personality of the scientist and his creative contribution to the study of the problems of the history of international relations and foreign policy of Russia have not yet become the object of special consideration. The purpose of the study is to reconstruct the creative biography and determine the scientific contribution of V.M.Khvostov to the study of the history of international relations and foreign policy of Russia, to consider his life history and creative biography as one of the models of the scientist’s life and creative path in the Soviet political and historiographical space – on the basis of archival materials introduced into scientific circulation for the first time.

Materials and methods

The materials involved during the study can be divided into several groups.

The first group contains unpublished materials: archival documents from the personal fund of Khvostov (fund 1667), as well as funds of his contemporaries and close friends with whom he corresponded for a long time (funds 693, 1604, 1702, 1713), which are presented in the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences (ARAS, Moscow).

The materials of the funds help to recreate the biography and professional activity of the scientist. The personal fund of Khvostov preserved in the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences is of particular value for the study. It amounts to 544 cases for the years 1901–1975¹. The personal fund of Khvostov has not yet been described, although it is provided for use by visitors to the archive. Most of the materials available in the fund are related to his activities in the Commission of Historians of the USSR and the GDR. A significant place in the materials of the foundation is occupied by Khvostov’s reviews of the works and scientific activities of other historians, reviews of doctoral and candidate dissertations, as

1 ARAS, fund 1667.

well as reviews of books by contemporaries, a list of his own works should also be included here². Of particular interest are the documents on the participation of Khvostov in the work of international congresses, conferences and scientific organizations. The fund contains documents characterizing the personality of Khvostov (29 cases for 1926-1974). These are reviews by N.M.Druzhinin, M.V.Nechkina, I.I.Mints, A.L.Sidorov, M.N.Pokrovsky, S.D.Skazkin, E.V.Tarle, newspaper and magazine clippings about his speeches at sessions, conferences³, congresses⁴. An important role for the study of facts about the life and work of Khvostov is played by his correspondence. Among the addressees and correspondents, the largest part is occupied by: L.Boltz, A.A.Gromyko, N.M.Druzhinin^{5,6}, A.S.Yerkalimsky, I.M.Maysky^{7,8}, A.Z.Manfred, I.I.Mints, V.P.Potemkin, S.D.Skazkin, V.V.Struve, M.N.Tikhomirov^{9,10}, V.Ulbricht, L.Stern. In the Central State Archive of Historical and Political Documentation of the Republic of Tatarstan (CSA of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Tatarstan), information was found about Khvostov attendance of meetings and meetings of the Eastern Pedagogical Institute¹¹. With the help of the found office materials of Kazan University (f. 1487) in the department of manuscripts and rare books of the N. Lobachevsky Scientific Library the personal file of Khvostov, which was formed by the staff of the Eastern Pedagogical Institute in 1921, was studied¹². The collection of archival materials related to the biography of the scientist is very extensive and contains a significant amount of diverse information that helps to fully illuminate different aspects of the life and work of Khvostov.

The second group of sources is represented by the works of Khvostov himself. Among the historiographical sources we have studied such works as: "40 years of struggle for peace"[12], "Diplomatic struggle during the First World War"[14], "Instructive lessons of history"[23], "The Franco-Russian Union and its historical significance"[31], "The principle of peaceful coexistence"[25], "Some results of the discussion on the issue of periodization of the history of foreign policy"[21], "The world between the two World Wars"[12], "The international political significance of the victory of the Soviet Union over German fascism"[19], "Methodological Guide to Modern History (1870-1918)"¹³, «History of International Relations»[15], "On the question of history and Modernity in the school course of social Studies»[16], «How the German imperialists once "conquered" before their own death"[17], "The Crisis of Bismarck's Foreign Policy" [18], "Documents of the USSR Foreign

2 ARAS, fund 411, Inventory 3, File 314, pp. 20-33.

3 ARAS, fund 1667, Inventory 1, File 73, pp. 1-23.

4 ARAS, fund 1667, Inventory 1, File 73, pp. 1-73.

5 ARAS, fund 1604, Inventory 4, File 226, p. 1.

6 ARAS, fund 1604, Inventory 4, File 826, pp. 1-39.

7 ARAS, fund 1702, Inventory 4, File 273, pp. 1-5.

8 ARAS, fund 1702, Inventory 4, File 771, pp. 1-13.

9 ARAS, fund 693, Inventory 4, File 57, pp. 1-2.

10 ARAS, fund 693, Inventory 4, File 646, pp. 1-19.

11 CSA HPD of the RT, fund 7415, Inventory 1, part 23, p. 2.

12 Archive of Kazan (Volga region) Federal University, fund 1487, Inventory 1, File 3608. p. 4, fund 1713, Inventory 3, File 268, p. 3.

13 Methodical manual on modern history (1870-1918), ed. V.M.Khvostov Moscow, State Educational and Pedagogical Publishing House of the Ministry of Education of the RSFSR, 1953. P. 244.

Policy"^{14,15} and others. Some of them are presented in the argumentation of this article, others are used in the context of the ongoing research to correct the conclusions presented in the published work of the author. In addition to the scientific works of Khvostov himself, we note the works in collaboration with other historians, such as "History of Diplomacy" (volume 2, 1945, authors – Khvostov and Mints) [5], "History of Diplomacy" (2nd edition, volume 2, 1963) [4], "New History, Part II, Textbook for universities"¹⁶, "How the Second World War arose" [7]. V.M.Khvostov, in collaboration with L.G.Beskrovny and S.L.Tikhvinsky, considered a wide range of issues related to the formation of the Russian-Chinese border in the XVIII-XX centuries in the manuscript "Folding of the Russian-Chinese border", stored in the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences¹⁷. Articles belonging to Khvostov were used in the study: Marxist Historian[13,27], Red Archive [29,24], Class Struggle [22] and Historical Journal [26].

A special role in the study of V.M.Khvostov is played by N.P.Poletiki's memoirs "Seen and experienced (from memories)" [10], in which he tells about the formation of V.M.Khvostov as a historian and scientist. The following works are also important for studying the creative portrait of V.M.Khvostov: B.F.Bulov "Memories. Translated from German. Edited and with a preface by V.M.Khvostov" [1]; Y.A.Polyakov "Luminaries of Russian Historical Science: Memoirs" [11].

The theoretical and methodological approaches of the author are based on the principles of scientific objectivity and historicism, thanks to which were provided the study of the views and activities of V.M.Khvostov as a phenomenon generated and conditioned by the objective-historical conditions of the development of Russian society and the state of historical science, the analysis of scientific ideas and the scientist's worldview as a process and objective influence of a scientist's activity on the state of scientific life. The principle of historicism allowed us to consider the process of creating theoretical and methodological views of a scientist, his political views and scientific concepts, from the very moment of their formation.

The following scientific methods were used in the study: historical-genetic, historical-comparative, historical-chronological, historical-biographical, historiographical and source analysis. With the help of the historical method, the life path of V.M.Khvostov is presented against the general background of the political situation in Russia in the middle of the twentieth century. The use of the historical-genetic method allowed us to consider the life of the scientist and his activities in the context of historical problems in the chronological framework from 1929 to 1972. The historical-comparative method made it possible to compare the views of Vladimir Khvostov in the general historiographical context of the epoch. The historical-chronological method made it possible to reconstruct the history of

14 Documents of the foreign policy of the USSR. Vol. 1 / Ed. by I.N.Zemsky, S.M.Mayorov, I.V.Sadchikov, V.M.Khvostov. Moscow, State publishing house polit. literatures, 1957. P. 772.

15 Documents of the foreign policy of the USSR. Vol. 2 / Ed. by G.K.Deev, E.M.Zhukov, M.A.Sivolobov, V.M.Khvostov. Moscow, State publishing house polit. literatures, 1958. P. 804.

16 New History. Part II. Textbook for universities / Ed. by E.V.Tarle, A.V.Efimov, F.I.Notovich, V.M.Khvostov. Moscow, 1939. P. 298.

17 ARAS, fund 1604, Inventory 1, File 133, p. 40.

his life. The historical and biographical method made it possible to recreate the portrait of the scientist both as a person and as an organizer of science.

Results

V.M.Khvostov was focused on studies of the period of Modern History, mainly interested in the history of diplomacy and international relations. From 1933 to 1938, he worked on his doctoral dissertation «Essays on the Foreign Policy of the German Empire» [2], in which he examined the main aspects and trends of German foreign policy in the last years of Bismarck's chancellorship. In the preface to the memoirs of B.Bulov, he criticized the thesis of the former Reich Chancellor that Germany allegedly passed the so-called "danger zone" in relations with England under him and, consequently, the First World War was not necessarily an objective phenomenon. V.M.Khvostov reasoned that the nature of relations between the two countries in the maritime sphere in the first decade of the XX century testified that a military conflict between them was inevitable. This thesis was a red thread in the researcher's reasoning, presented in his large-scale works published in the period from 1945 to 1963. V.M.Khvostov linked the German-English naval antagonism in 1906–1914 with the negative reaction of Great Britain to the German Naval Law of 1900 and its amendments in 1906, 1908 and 1912 [6].

Among the priority scientific topics for V.M.Khvostov was the history of international relations and foreign policy. He often visited the reading room of the Archive of Russian Foreign Policy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, where he got acquainted with the documents of the Foreign policy department of tsarist Russia, diplomatic correspondence, reports and diaries of Russian diplomats. Before the Great Patriotic War, V.M.Khvostov published a number of scientific articles on international relations in Europe and the Middle East (1895–1897), preparations for the capture of the Bosphorus in the 1890s, Bismarck's foreign policy and about the policy of the European powers. In addition to these works, V.M.Khvostov published articles on the history of Italian colonial expansion and the Italo-Abyssinian War (1895–1896) and reviews of the works of foreign historians devoted to Russian foreign policy [2].

He paid special attention to the publication of documents on the history of international relations, identified by him in various archives. Based on the involvement of a variety of documentary material, he drew new conclusions about Franco-German relations after the Frankfurt Peace [9], in particular, about Bismarck's continuous provocation of war against France, his desire to cause a new military conflict in any way, to prove the inevitability of a new Franco-German war. The historian linked this issue with another central problem of European politics of the same period – Russian-German relations, publishing a book on this topic, *The Bismarck Foreign Policy Crisis*, in which he concluded that the Austro-German Alliance was becoming the «core of the foreign policy» of the German Empire. That is why Germany sought to preserve the inviolability of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. According to V.M.Khvostov, Bismarck, on the one hand, sought to keep Russia from an

alliance with France by any means, and on the other, pushed it in every possible way on the slippery path of adventures in the Eastern question. The second way led to an inevitable clash between Russia and England. This led to his important conclusion: "Only in the light of Bismarck's "English" policy reveals the true meaning of his policy towards Russia and Austria" [3]. N.M.Lukin, assessing V.M.Khvostov's contribution to the study of this problem, noted:

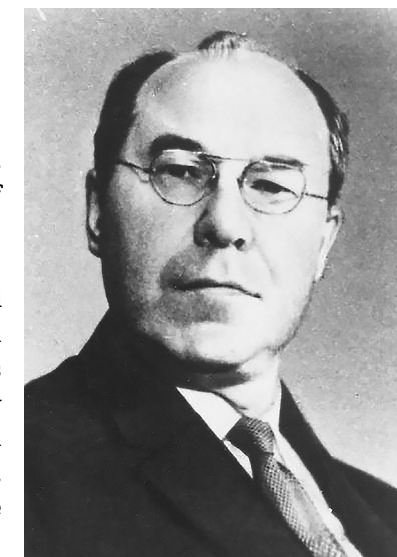
Of the greatest interest is the author's successful attempt to prove the correctness of Engels's position on the basis of the latest materials ("Bismarck uses every effort to cause a war with Russia") and destroy the legend created by one of the trends in modern historiography – the legend of Bismarck's «pacifism», his bet on preserving peace in Europe. At the same time, another legend is being destroyed – about the "misunderstood" Bismarck, who allegedly sought a direct alliance with England even during the conclusion of the reinsurance agreement and the creation of the "Eastern Entente". Khvostov managed ... to prove that Bismarck wanted war with France in every possible way for its final defeat, that for this purpose he tried to draw Russia into a southeastern adventure, the success of which was to prevent England. Only the collapse of Bismarck's British policy, which failed to force England to play the role of a «working ox» in the war with Russia, forced him to be «peace-loving» towards Russia and France [9].

V.M.Khvostov also investigated a complex tangle of current contradictions in the Middle East. Russian Russian diplomacy's active actions in the Balkans, he saw this as one of the reasons for Anglo-Russian antagonism.

The work on archival documents concerning issues of European politics relevant to the second half of the XIX century led the scientist to study the policies of European powers and the United States at the beginning of the XX century, as well as to subjects related to the history of Asian, African and Latin American countries in modern and modern times. The result of many years of work by the scientist was a chapter in the second volume of the "History of Diplomacy" devoted to the diplomatic history of the period 1870–1914. For this work, he, like a number of other authors of the book, was awarded the USSR State Prize.

V.M.Khvostov paid much attention to the initial period of the First World War and international relations during the war, especially German foreign policy. Despite the heavy lecturing and propaganda load, he continues to work on the second edition of the "History of Diplomacy", the second volume of which is "Diplomacy in Modern Times. 1801–1914" was entirely written by him. He significantly revised and expanded his chapter published in

Photo 1. Vladimir Mikhailovich Khvostov



Source: URL: <http://www.arran.ru/> (accessed: 20.01.2022).

the first edition, attracting a huge array of additional documentary materials and sources. In the 2nd edition of «History of Diplomacy» (Vol. II) V.M.Khvostov highlighted the nature of Russia's foreign policy. Two chapters were devoted to the First World War: the twelfth and the thirteenth [4]. When preparing this edition, new research and publications of sources were taken into account, some inaccuracies were corrected, some sections were supplemented. At the same time, the task was to overcome, if possible, the well-known one-sidedness of the first edition, which mainly paid attention to the countries of Europe. He included additional materials on the history of diplomacy in Asia, especially China and India. The presentation of the history of the diplomacy of the United States of America has been significantly expanded.

The twelfth chapter opened with the conclusion that the Balkan wars had led to an aggravation of international conflicts: "The Balkans have turned into a powder magazine of Europe".

Behind the Balkan monarchies were the great imperialist powers that disputed each other's influence in the Middle East. Russia and England sought to wrest Turkey from German influence. In Sofia, Bucharest and Athens, there was a fierce struggle between the Entente and the Austro-German bloc for the political orientation of the Balkan governments, for their military forces necessary in view of the impending world war. Austria was waiting for an opportunity to deal with Serbia; Serbia sought to liberate the Yugoslavs of Austria-Hungary; Russia patronized the Serbs [15].

Considering the situation in the Far East, he characterized it through the growth of Japanese-American antagonism, while the Anglo-Japanese and Russian-Japanese contradictions were blunted by the fact that Russia and England were busy preparing for the fight against Germany. With the outbreak of the First World War, the dependence of these powers on Japan in the Far East increased even more. Now Japan could make full use of those special facilities to "rob" China.

V.M.Khvostov believed that Anglo-German antagonism was the main factor in the imperialist struggle that led to the war of 1914. He called the perpetrators of the war «imperialists of all countries», since both groups of powers that were at war with each other, both the Entente and the Triple Alliance, conducted an imperialist policy and prepared an aggressive war. But Germany directly started the war in the summer of 1914. It was the most aggressive power, armed itself most hastily and managed to prepare for war better and faster than anyone. V.M.Khvostov concluded about the prerequisites of the First World War. The last years before it began were a period of sharp aggravation of imperialist contradictions. The international situation has become so acute that a fire of war could easily arise at any moment and for the slightest reason. In fact, that's what happened. The flame that broke out in the Balkans for a relatively small reason soon spread to the entire European continent and engulfed the whole world. Thus, the contradictions between the main capitalist countries, which reached a catastrophic acuteness, led to the First World War.

In the thirteenth chapter of the History of Diplomacy, V.M.Khvostov analyzed diplomacy during the First World War. He continued to consider the issues of diplomatic struggle in other works, for example, in the monograph "Diplomatic struggle during the First World War" [9]. V.M.Khvostov came to the conclusion that during the war, the main efforts of the secret diplomacy of both warring camps were aimed at recruiting allies and taking care of inter-allied relations: on methods of joint warfare, on the coordination of military actions between the allies, on the financing of the war, on the supply of weapons and military materials, and finally, on drawing the contours of the future a peace treaty, on the division of the expected production. This led him to the final conclusion: the European and world war has a clearly defined character of a bourgeois, imperialist, dynastic war. This conceptual position was argued by him throughout his work. And only "after the overthrow of the Imperialist Provisional Government by the rebellious people, Russia embarked on the path out of the imperialist war", V.M.Khvostov summed up [14].

The V.M.Khvostov Foundation has preserved materials of a conversation at the Institute of History of the USSR Academy of Sciences with the Deputy director of the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Gyorgy Ranky, during which issues of cooperation between Hungarian and Soviet historians were discussed, during which Ranky said that before leaving he received an answer to his letter on the development of scientific cooperation between institutes of History of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences¹⁸. According to him, he would like to further clarify some issues, said that the conference proposed in his letter on the study of the history of the emergence and development of the people's democratic system was supposed to coincide with the 20th anniversary of the liberation of Hungary, by the beginning of 1965, confirmed the invitation to Soviet historians to take part in this conference. V.M.Khvostov, in turn, thanked for the invitation and replied that Soviet historians would obviously try to take part in the conference, promised to discuss his proposal with his colleagues and notify him. When asked by Ranky, V.M.Khvostov promised to inform him of the date of the symposium on the agrarian history of Eastern Europe.

After that, Ranky moved on to the question posed by him in his letter about the participation of Soviet historians in a conference in Budapest on the study of the history of Austria-Hungary, scheduled for March-April 1964. He said that he had received a message from A.A.Huber that Y.A.Pisarev would arrive at the conference. Ranky said that the Hungarian Academy is asking for a second representative. According to Ranky, it could be Islamov. V.M.Khvostov replied that he would talk to Islamov and give an answer. Ranky moved on to paragraph four of his letter concerning the coordination of efforts in the fight against bourgeois ideology in historiography. He explained that Hungarian historians would like to work out the main provisions on which the joint struggle against bourgeois ideology in historical science should be based, as well as to distribute the areas of work, establishing in which area of historical knowledge each of the socialist countries has the best forces, and will be able to more productively carry out work on exposing bourgeois ideology.

18 ARAS, fund 1667, Inventory 1, File 456, p. 10.

V.M.Khvostov invited him to concretize his proposal. Ranky replied that they expect that the Soviet Institute of History will develop the main provisions that could determine the direction of the struggle against alien ideology. V.M.Khvostov said that they have released a number of collections against bourgeois historiography, and that their installations partially answer his question, noting that, however, he will consult with their employees about what remains to be done in this sense. On the question of the three options proposed by Hungarian historians for possible cooperation in writing a two-volume history of Hungary, the historian said that they accept the first of the three options proposed in Ranky's letter and would be very grateful for the review and discussion by Hungarian historians of the book when it is ready. Ranky agreed, but made it clear that he would like direct and broader participation of Hungarian historians in the «History of Hungary» prepared at the Institute of History of the USSR Academy of Sciences. V.M.Khvostov noted that the preparation of the book is still a matter of the future that so far they have agreed to jointly discuss the work and review it by Hungarian historians. He agreed to return to this issue.

After that, Ranky moved on to the issue (also raised in his letter) of publishing in Hungarian a collection of articles on the history of Hungary prepared by the staff of the Institute of History of the USSR Academy of Sciences. V.M.Khvostov invited Ranky to familiarize himself with the collection "Revolutionary Movement and Socialist Construction in Hungary" already available to them, and almost ready for printing. Ranky asked to show him the contents of the collection, to which V.M.Khvostov agreed.

Moving on to the next paragraph of the text of the letter, Ranky said that he would write to V.M.Khvostov about the contents of their planned collection dedicated to the twentieth anniversary of the liberation of Hungary and about the topics of those articles that he would like to receive for this collection from Soviet historians. V.M.Khvostov thanked Ranky for the offer to send their graduate student to Hungary for training and he said that he would inform the candidate's name and the time of his arrival by a reply letter. He also noted that they are ready to consider hosting a Hungarian graduate student.

In connection with the issue of information exchange raised by Ranky in his letter, V.M.Khvostov informed him that some information had already been sent to them by mail. He also asked him what other questions are of interest to Hungarian historians in the sense of information about the work of Soviet historians.

Ranky pointed out two main issues:

- 1) What is the Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences doing;
- 2) Which issues in his work are debatable.

He mentioned, as an example, the question of the agrarian system in Russia on the eve of the October Revolution.

V.M.Khvostov replied that he would inform all visiting historians about the work of the Institute on April 28. And that, in his opinion, the best channel for exchanging information are journals. They agreed to send information for publication in journals, if possible, quarterly. The conversation was held in very friendly tones. Ranky sought to expand cooperation with Soviet historians as much as possible, and is clearly interested in this.

However, during a personal meeting, entering the office of V.M.Khvostov, Ranky immediately began a conversation in German, although, as V.M.Khvostov later became convinced, he speaks Russian with dignity.

In 1963, the second edition of the second volume of the "History of Diplomacy" [4] was published, significantly revised and expanded. It summed up the results of the great work done by Soviet historians, and first of all, by V.M.Khvostov himself. This volume was essentially a new job. In it, a study based on primary sources, the study of diplomatic actions and an in-depth analysis of the most important international phenomena and Russia's foreign policy were combined with broad generalizations.

The volume presented the results of research on the following topical issues: the role of Russia in deterring German aggression in the 1870–1880s in Europe, Russia's policy and the rivalry of the great powers in the Eastern question and in the Balkans. The pages with the results of research on the policy of the ruling circles of Russia in the Balkans were meaningful. Russian Russian policy and the Russian-English contradictions in the Middle East, V.M.Khvostov concluded that two streams of expansion collided in Central Asia – from England and from Russia. The connection between the issues of the Middle East and Central Asia in the foreign policy systems of Russia and England was clearly revealed. V.M.Khvostov considered strategic considerations and trade interests as motives of policy in Central Asia, both in Russia and England, also pointing out that the annexation of Central Asia also met the interests of the Russian bourgeoisie, since it opened up sales markets and sources of raw materials to it [4:543].

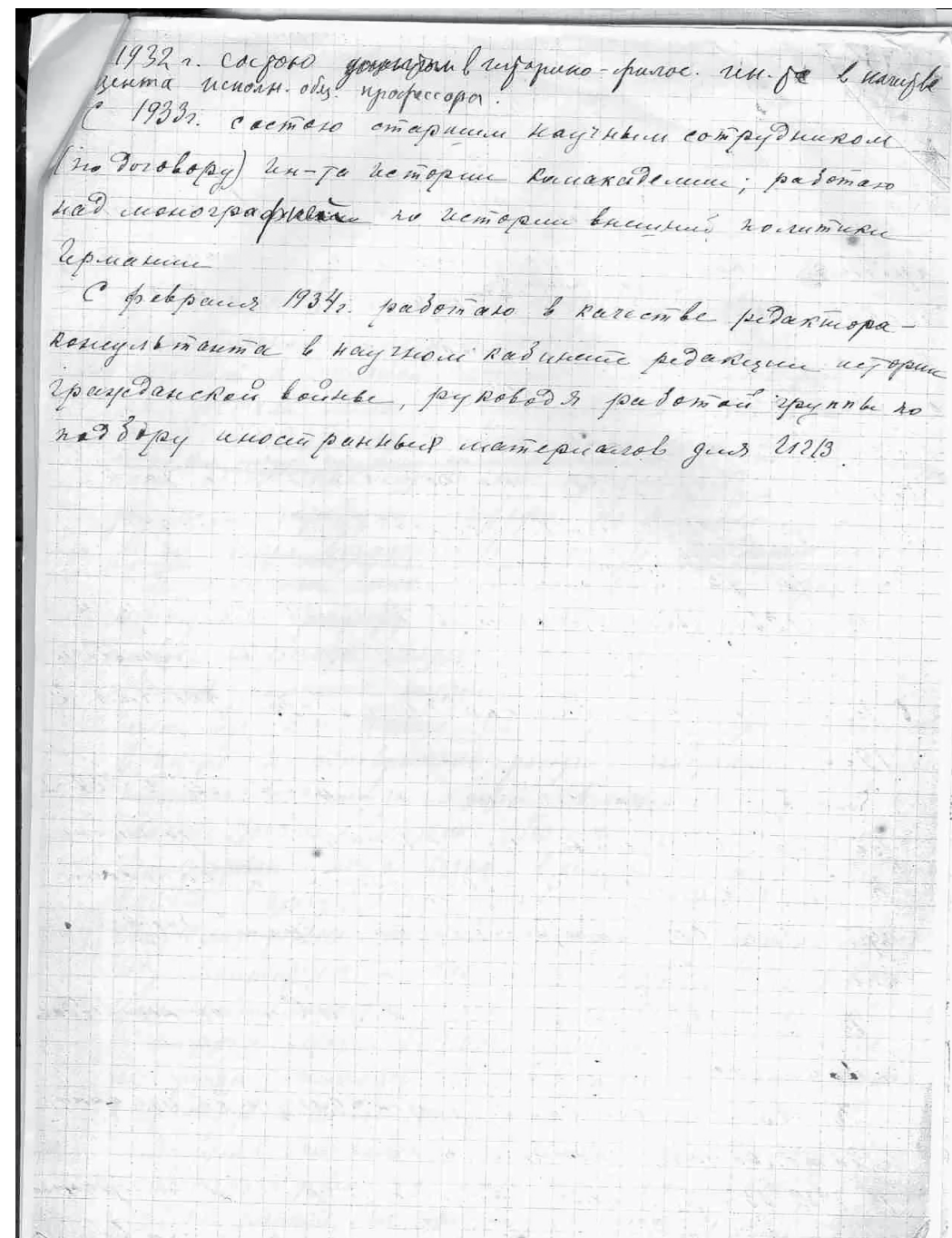
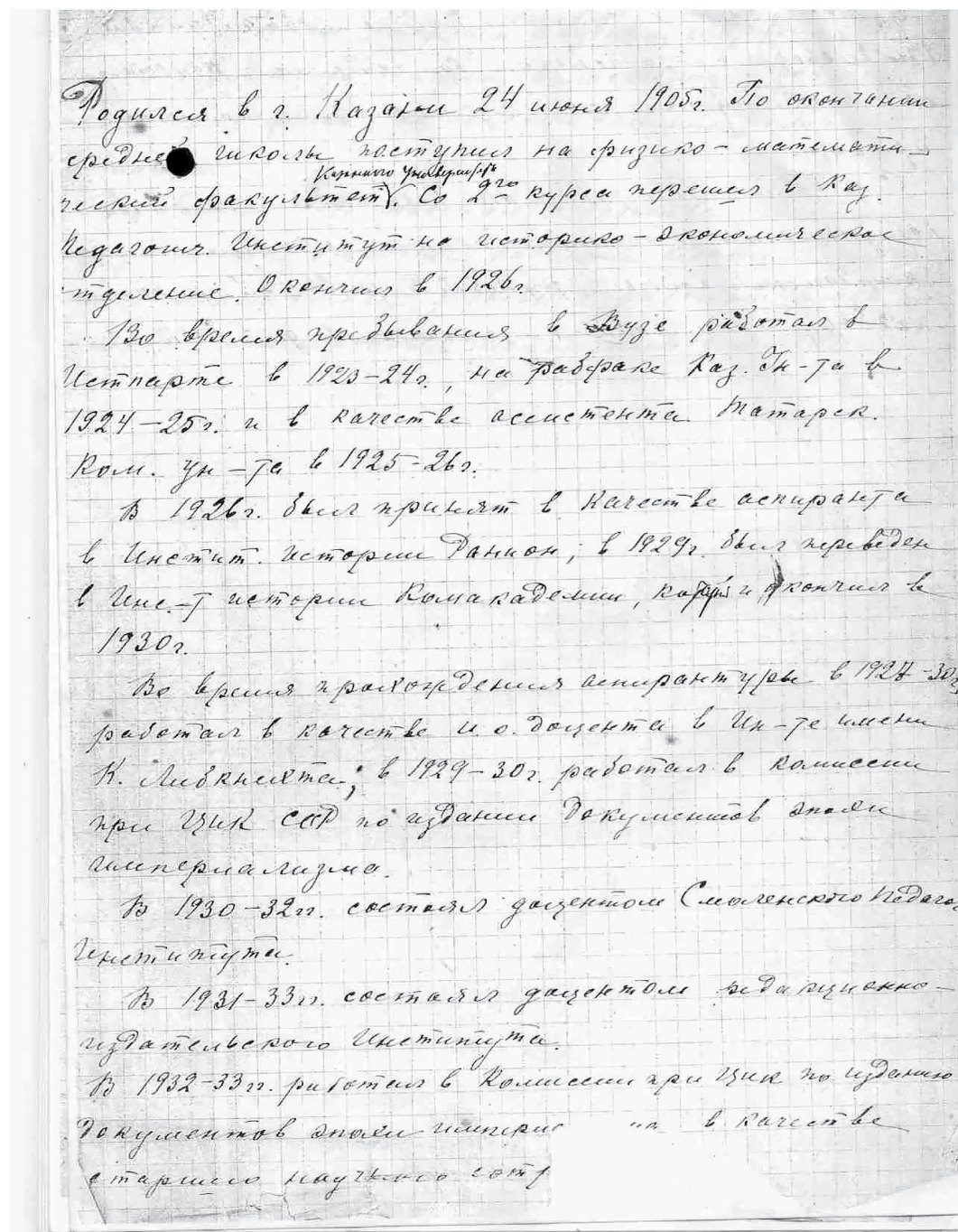
In the 1950s and early 1970s, V.M.Khvostov made a great contribution to the preparation of a number of fundamental works. As one of the authors and members of the editorial boards, he participated in the preparation of the History of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, the multi-volume "History of the USSR from Ancient Times to the Present Day", the "Soviet Historical Encyclopedia", and the "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" [8].

In 1970, the work "The World between two World Wars" was published [20], the publication of which was preceded by a heated discussion at the XIII International Congress of Historical Sciences in Moscow. This topic was presented by four reports:

1. "The social movement in Europe after 1914" by Prof. Valyana;
2. "The problem of collective security between the two world wars" by Prof. Oprea and Campus;
3. "Fascism – varieties of fascism in Central and Eastern Europe" by Prof. Lasko;
4. "Social Christianity" by Prof. Ober [2].

Each of the reports was of considerable interest to V.M.Khvostov, regardless of the presence in some of them of such provisions with which it is impossible to agree. However, the topic of «Peace between two World Wars» was not fully disclosed. That is why he prepared a work of the same name, which describes the main features of the historical period that began after the First World War and ended with the beginning of the Second: the development of a new social system, the beginning of which was laid by the October Revolution in Russia. After the First World War, two social systems coexisted and fought,

Photo 2. Autobiography of Vladimir Mikhailovich Khvostov



Source: ARAN, f. 1667, op. 1, storage unit 307. Ll. 1-1 turnover.

not counting the many social structures that remained as remnants of a more distant past.

The V.M.Khvostov Foundation also preserves the comments of academicians M.V.Nechkina and I. I. Mints on the report of the XXIV Congress of the CPSU and the tasks of historical science at the All-Union Coordination Meeting of Historians, in which they emphasize that one of the most important tasks of our institutes is to strengthen ties with the institutes of republican academies¹⁹. In their remarks, they refer to the words of L.I.Brezhnev about significant achievements of Soviet science and about the activities of scientific institutions in which there are also significant shortcomings. It is no secret that there were also such scientists who were busy with matters that were largely disconnected from both the immediate practical needs of the country and the real interests of the development of fundamental branches of science. The key to success is to concentrate on the most promising areas of science and to raise the scientific and theoretical level of historical research in every possible way. Also in the article in the Yearbook of German History for 1969 I.I.Mints noted that the Meeting would help Soviet historians in the great task of solving the problems put forward to the social sciences by the 24th Congress of the CPSU [3].

The XIII International Congress of Historical Sciences, held in August 1971 in Moscow, confirmed the relevance of the problems of science studies, scientific policy, and the entire complex of disciplines, which were then united under one name «History of Science». During the Congress, and in constant practical work, it was revealed that contacts and joint activities of historians of the humanities and natural sciences turned out to be very weak. The tasks of developing the science of science, studying the system of folding and development of scientific institutions, centers, scientific societies, scientific periodicals, the system of training scientific personnel – could not be developed in isolation within individual scientific disciplines. Even in the field of humanities alone, there were no necessary contacts and agreed plans. Historians of historical science have advanced further in this direction than other humanities. On this basis, it was proposed to develop a research plan on the history of the humanities in the USSR. It was only on this basis that it was possible to advance in the development of science about science.

The period between the two wars attracted the special attention of historians and V.M.Khvostov too. In Soviet historiography, the emergence of a socialist social system was understood as a fundamental difference between the period between the two wars and the period preceding the October Revolution and the First World War. Another feature that distinguished the period between the two wars was the general crisis that engulfed the old social system, capitalism. This general crisis was expressed not only in very deep economic shocks as a result of the two economic crises of 1920 and 1929. The general crisis of the old world was also expressed in the extreme aggravation of all its contradictions – in the rise of the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries, the growing discontent of the peasantry and petty-bourgeois strata, and finally, in the huge and rapid increase in the national liberation struggle of the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies. The end of the

19 ARAS, fund 1667, Inventory 1, File 144, p. 3.

First World War not only did not eliminate international contradictions, but on the contrary, strengthened them. In particular, the contradictions between the victors and the defeated Germany, in the end, was one of the main reasons for the emergence of the Second World War.

The international labor movement 1918–1939 is a much broader concept than the socialist movement in Europe, which received widespread, but also controversial coverage in the works of Khvostov's contemporaries. His inclusion in the discussion on this issue is confirmed by the monograph «Problems of the history of the USSR foreign Policy and international Relations. Selected works» [28]. The book examines the formation and development of the Soviet historiography of modern Western countries during the first quarter of a century of the existence of the Soviet state. The monograph was based on numerous literature and archival documents extracted from the funds of fifteen archives of the country. The author paid special attention to the analysis of V.I.Lenin's works on the subject under study, the works of Soviet scientists on the Modern History of Western countries, discussions on these problems that took place in the second half of the 20s–early 30s, the development of Soviet historical institutions.

In his work «Russia and German Aggression in the days of the European crisis of 1887» (1946), V.M.Khvostov contributed to the development of the problem of counterbalancing German aggression in Europe. It was he who, in the post-war years, was the first to begin its in-depth study, having made a large article about the military alarm of 1887. He highlighted the role of Russia during the European crises provoked by Bismarck in 1875, 1877 and especially in 1887, coming to the conclusion that Bismarck could not draw Russia into the fairway of his aggressive policy in Europe. V.M.Khvostov made an important conclusion about the influence of the unsuccessful outcome of the 1887 war alarm for Bismarck on the acceleration of the rapprochement of Russia and France, the formation of an alliance between them [5].

We should also note the «Yearbook of German History» of the 1969 edition, in the editorial board of which V.M.Khvostov was also present. One of the most important tasks of the new edition was to expose various falsifications of history in the West German editorial historiography, contrasting them with a truly scientific concept. According to the authors, the «Yearbook of German History» helped to further expand the fruitful scientific cooperation of Soviet historians with historians of the GDR, the joint struggle against distortions of the historical past, often serving the policy of reaction, revenge and war. On the pages of this publication, a worthy place was occupied by works on historical transformations in the German Democratic Republic, which successfully created a developed society in difficult conditions. The work consisted of several sections, among which the largest number of articles stand out: «The Middle Ages and Modern Times», «To the 150th anniversary of the birth of K.Marx», «Modern History» [14].

In the second half of the 1940s, V.M.Khvostov's lecture courses on the history of international relations were published, which he prepared for reading the course «History of International Relations» at the Higher Diplomatic School of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The course of lectures covered the period from 1870 to 1893. In 1947, V.M.Khvostov's work of the same name was published for the Higher All-Army military-political courses of

Photo 3. Portrait of Vladimir Mikhailovich Khvostov

Source: ARAN, f. 1667, op. 1, storage unit 446. L. 46.

the Main Political Directorate of the Armed Forces of the USSR. The course was prepared for the period 1871–1917, consisted of 7 chapters: “The Franco-Prussian war and its consequences”, “The Eastern crisis of 1875–1878”, “The emergence of two military-political blocs on the continent of Europe”, “The end of the struggle for the redistribution of the world and the first wars for this redistribution”, “Russian-Japanese the War and the Entente”, “The Struggle of the Entente and the German-Austrian bloc (1908–1911)” and “The Beginning of the First World Imperialist War”.

The V.M.Khvostov Foundation has preserved letters from the Gramsci Institute in Rome inviting him to take part in the II Conference on the Study of Gramsci Heritage on March 19–21, 1960²⁰. On the initiative of the Gramsci Institute, a conference on the study of Gramsci heritage on the topic “Problems of Unification of Italy” was held. The conference focused on some issues that aroused particular interest in connection with recent historiographical studies. On the one hand, the conditions in which the Italian unified state was created and the methods of its formation, the political

and social situation of Italy after the revolution of 1848, the nature of the governing class that operated in the decisive years 1859–1861, its social base, the formation of its ideology and division into parties, its dependence on the social and political development of Europe. On the other hand, the characteristics of society and the state after unification, the formation of a peculiar capitalist structure in Italy and, in connection with this, the formation of a specific form of a single state, which was established for a long time in the subsequent history of Italy.

The II Gramsci Heritage Conference developed its work around the following reports: “The Emergence of a United State” by Prof. Giorgio Candeloro, “National market and Capitalist accumulation in united Italy” by Senator Emilio, “Politics and Governance in the United State” by Prof. Ernesto Rajonieri. The official invitation was received from the Secretary General of the Gramsci Institute, Dr. Frank Ferry, President of Ranuccio Bianca Bandinelli [20].

The history of the First World War attracted the attention of many researchers in various countries of the world. Statesmen and public figures, civil and military historians, writers and publicists, economists and sociologists dedicated their works to her.

An extensive literature has been created in which such issues as the origin, results and lessons of the war of 1914–1918, its impact on the economy and socio-political life of

20 ARAS, fund 1667, Inventory 1, File 357, p. 8.

the warring powers, the role of each participant in it, the nature of military operations and military art are analyzed. The study of the First World War has not lost its relevance today, because it is directly related to the solution of one of the most pressing problems of our time – the problem of war and peace. A generation of people living in the age of nuclear weapons is turning to the past to better understand the present. And it is important to know how in the second decade of the XX century the imperialists managed to plunge the peoples into one of the greatest tragedies of human history. V.M.Khvostov also tried to give his answer to these questions, devoting his doctoral dissertation, numerous sections of the History of Diplomacy and special articles to this problem.

In the personal fund of V.M.Khvostov, R.P.Konyusha's review of V.M.Khvostov's unpublished manuscript “The Socio-political Views of M. Hess” has been preserved, in which Konyushaya indicates that the unpublished work of the late academician V.M.Khvostov is a report on what he did (apparently, in the late 20s–early 30s) research work devoted to the critical analysis of the system of socio-political views of Moses Hess²¹. In this regard, the reviewer drew attention to the special speeches of Marx and Engels against «true socialism» and its ideologists – in the “German Ideology” and “Manifesto of the Communist Party” – represented an essential moment in the struggle of the founders of scientific communism, the leaders of the international proletariat for the theoretical foundations and program of the proletarian Communist Party. Attaching great fundamental importance to this struggle of Marx and Engels, Lenin considered it necessary to study and illuminate it, showed that the direction of “true socialism”, as one of the forms of petty-bourgeois socialism, did not sink into oblivion, but from time to time revived in a certain historical environment. “True socialists”, as he wrote in 1906, “are something like peaceful Laurists, semi-culturalists, non-revolutionaries, heroes of sophisticated reasoning and abstract preaching”. In the light of the assessments of Marx, Engels and Lenin, as the reviewer wrote, the author convincingly reveals the supra-class nature of M.Hess's social protest, his exaltation of the supra-class humanistic consciousness, the extra-social «ethical authority» opposed to the crude materialism of the individual. Socialism in Hess and other true socialists' perspective was confined within the framework of the opposition «love – egoism». Showing the inconsistency of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois historiography of true socialism, V.M.Khvostov makes an independent class analysis of the socio-political, partly philosophical, views of Hess, as they developed before the revolution of 1848. According to Konyusha, the analysis was carried out by V.M.Khvostov with great care. His methodology is still of considerable interest to researchers. The concrete historical environment in which Hess's views were formed is being recreated. The typically petty-bourgeois nature of his ideology, ideas about the future society, as well as about those forces that are the first carriers and conductors of a new, harmoniously organized society are thoroughly revealed. Then follows a description of the methods of transition to this new society. The work was of quite definite interest for the coverage of the early period of the formation of Marxism, the biography of the

21 Khvostov V.M. History of international relations and the struggle for the division of the world 1870–1900 (textbook). M.: Military-political. Academy named after Lenin, 1940. 84 p.

young Marx. As for the very system of ideas of «true socialism» critically examined in the manuscript, even now some of them and even whole complexes of ideas, according to Konyusha, continue to exist in the complex ideological struggle of the modern world, especially in the consciousness in some parts of Asia and Africa. Communist leaders and the parties they lead in developing countries have to speak out against various forms of non-proletarian socialism, which, for example, under the guise of criticizing capitalism, idealize pre-capitalist relations or propagandize so-called «democratic socialism», speculating with a considerable number of «ideas» of the old «true socialism» of the last century.

Conclusion

The Russian historiography of the Soviet period had an ideological component, the monopoly of the Marxist-Leninist methodology in the approach to the study of the problem. However, this does not detract from the significance of scientific discoveries made in 1920–1991.

At the initial stage of the development of Soviet historiography, much attention was paid to the publication of documents on international relations of the early XX century and memoir literature, the translation of works by foreign authors. This stimulated historians to conduct research.

Dealing primarily with the problems of the history of diplomacy, V.M.Khvostov was a broad-profile historian and a major organizer of science. He, as one of the authors and members of the editorial board of the fourth volume, took an active part in the preparation of the multi-volume “History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union” and a short work on its history-edited by academician B.N.Ponomarev, in the preparation of the “History of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union”, the multi-volume history of the USSR from ancient times to of our days, “Soviet Historical Encyclopedia”, was a member of the editorial boards of various historical journals and collections.

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