平成29年度

大学院文学研究科博士課程後期3年の課程入学試験

（春期・一般選抜）問題

専門科目 ヨーロッパ史

試験開始の合図があるまで、この問題冊子を開いてはいけない。
In the spring of 1927 something like panic fear obsessed the Soviet leaders, and spread to large sectors of the population. With the British strike movement defeated and the British Government displaying more and more open hostility to the Soviet Union, with Germany succumbing to the lure of the League of Nations and of cooperation with the western Powers, with Poland arrayed as the outpost of imperialism on the Soviet frontier, with the Chinese revolutionary movement in ruins, no light could be discerned anywhere on the horizon. Rykov addressing the fourth Union Congress of Soviets when the break with Great Britain was imminent, and after the attack on the Soviet legation in Peking, bracketed China with the USSR as “the target of imperialist aggression”, and treated British agitation against the Soviet Union as “preparation for encirclement, psychological preparation for intervention”. The resolution of the congress invited the government “to repel all new attempts to provoke the Soviet Union to war with anyone whatever and to do everything possible to avert war.”

The rupture of relations with the Soviet Union by Great Britain in May 1927 gave body to these vague fears of hostile action. On June 1, 1927, the party central committee issued a proclamation on the theme that the “British imperialists” were on the way to “unleash a pan-European war”. The Russian and Chinese revolutions had intensified “the deepening crisis of capitalism, and first and foremost of English capitalism”. This explained the British Government’s menacing gestures:

We do not and cannot know when the enemy will openly march with bayonets against the USSR. But it can no longer be doubted that English imperialism is more and more eager to hasten this moment.

The assassination of Volkov in Warsaw on June 7, 1927, seemed a further step on the road to war; and two days later Voroshilov made a cautious public speech which probably reflected the appreciation of the situation by his military advisers. Recent actions instigated by the British bourgeoisie, culminating in the Volkov murder, showed that “we are now entering a period of history in which our class enemies will inevitably force a war on us”; and “the relatively peaceful period of our existence is undoubtedly over”. If the rupture of relations by Great Britain had not been followed by military action, this proved that “the British
bourgeoisie obviously miscalculated”. The interests of the capitalist countries were “too full of contradictions” to permit of the formation of a united front, and Great Britain was not strong enough to act alone. Undue optimism would, however, be dangerous:

If I personally am of opinion that a war this year is improbable, events develop so rapidly that we cannot predict with certainty what awaits us in the immediate future... It can come in two years or in one year, but it is possible, though not probable, that the delay might be only a few months.

Vigilance and preparedness for self-defence were, therefore, the watchwords. Few sophisticated observers in Moscow at this time expected a declaration of war by Great Britain. But fears of a Polish attack on the western frontier of the Soviet Union, encouraged and supported from London, or of an organized commercial and financial blockade, were less unrealistic. In a conversation with Stresemann on the day of Voikov’s murder, Chicherin refused to believe in direct military intervention by Great Britain, but expressed the fear that Pilsudski, in pursuit of his territorial ambitions, would provoke a frontier incident in which the Soviet Union would be declared an aggressor, and that France would come to his aid. Rykov explained to the Moscow Soviet at the beginning of July 1927 that Great Britain, faithful to her tradition, “will wage war not with her own hands, but with those of others”. At the end of July 1927 Stalin contributed a long article to Pravda on “Contemporary Themes”, the first section of which was devoted to “the danger of war”, further defined as “the real and actual threat of a new war in general, and of war against the USSR in particular”. The Voikov murder had been organized by agents of the British Conservative Party “to play the rôle of the Sarajevo murder by drawing the USSR into a military conflict with Poland”. Contradictions between capitalist Powers were multiplying; but so also were contradictions between the imperialist Powers and the victims of imperialism.