THE FIRST RUSSIAN REVISIONISTS

A Study of Legal Marxism in Russia

RICHARD KINDERSLEY

The First Russian Revisionists is a study of the movement of thought known as 'Legal Marxism' which flourished in Russia during the 1890s. The movement's leaders—Peter Struve, Mikhail Tugan-Baranovsky, Sergey Bulgakov, Nikolay Berdyaev and Semën Frank—were deeply involved in the struggle between declining Populism and militant Marxism. Their belief in Westernization placed them in the Marxist camp, but they were too critical to submit to the rigidity of Marxist dogma for long. Russian conditions, however, offered no such latitude as the German revisionist Bernstein enjoyed, and whereas he could remain a Social-Democrat, the 'Legal Marxists' evolved swiftly towards Liberalism.

The author examines, in their historical context, the Russian revisionists' personal backgrounds, philosophical and economic ideas, and political development. He has drawn on documents, memoirs and interviews with surviving contemporaries to illuminate a crucial decade in the history of the Russian intelligentsia.

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BY
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Another contemporary of the 'Legal Marxists', Baron A. Meyendorff, happily still survives. He, too, has drawn upon his memory for my benefit.

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R. K. K.

In Russia the social movement is still a struggle for knowledge and not for power.

Karl Kautsky, 1899.

CONTENTS

GLOSSARY OF RUSSIAN TERMS

Artel', *pl.* arteli: producers' co-operative.
Gubernia: province of the Russian Empire.
Intelligent, *pl.* intelligenty: member of the intelligentsia.
Khozhdenie v narod: 'going among the people', i.e. the movement of idealistic educated young people from the towns to the countryside in the mid-1870's.
Kruzhok, *pl.* kruzhki: group (e.g. of students, workmen, etc.) meeting for discussion, self-education or propaganda, often of a political nature.
Kulak, *pl.* kulaki: rich peasant.
Kustar', *pl.* kustari: handicraftsman.
Mir: *see* obshchina.
Napravlenie, *pl.* napravleniya: trend, tendency, body of opinion, movement of thought.
Narodnaya Volya: People's Will, *or* People's Freedom; *hence* Partiya Narodnoy Voli: the revolutionary and terrorist Party of that name responsible for the assassination of Alexander II in 1881; *hence also* narodovolets, a member of that Party.
Narodnichestvo: Populism.
Narodnik, *pl.* narodniki: adherent of narodnichestvo, populist.
Narodovolets *pl.* narodovoltsy: *see* Narodnaya Volya.
Obshchina, *pl.* obshchiny: unit of communal peasant land-tenure, normally involving periodical redistribution of individual plots; *gen.*, the system of such land-tenure. Peasants holding land in the obshchina were known collectively as the mir.
Partiya Narodnoy Voli: *see* Narodnaya Volya.
Raznochinets, *pl.* raznochintsy: man from a class other than the nobility; a non-noble.
Zemets, *pl.* zemtsy: member of a zemstvo council.
Zemstvo, *pl.* zemstva: organ of local self-government, established by one of Alexander II's reforms.

INTRODUCTION

The historian is commonly interested in political men and movements according to the degree of their political success: their significance for him lies in the fact that they wielded power and in the use that they made of it. It is not surprising therefore that students of the Russian Revolution and its doctrine should have concentrated their attention on the Bolsheviks. Other figures and other movements which helped to prepare the Revolution have been relegated to the background, and sometimes appear merely as hindrances to Bolshevik success.

Yet there is a good case for studying the failures as well as the successes of history. If not in themselves 'important', they may be revealing. The causes of their failure are complementary to the springs of success in others, and often scarcely less informative. The question 'Why did Bolshevism succeed?' implies another: 'Why did Menshevism, Socialist-Revolutionism and Liberalism fail?' Neither can be answered fully without the other.

Of all such failures in modern Russian history, that of 'Legal Marxism' appears at first glance to have been one of the most complete.[1] The name itself has been used not so much by the 'Legal Marxists' as by their opponents; and the inverted commas which properly enclose it (but with which it would be tedious to persist in this book) are some indication of its obscurity. The early revisionist movement in Russian Marxism, which it denotes, enjoyed a brief hey-day of some seven or eight years at the turn of the century, and then dissolved into Liberalism, academic economics, and philosophy. And yet there are reasons for rating its claim to attention high. Its protagonists —Struve, Tugan-Baranovsky, Bulgakov, Berdyaev, and Frank —were men of an intellectual calibre unequalled among Socialist-Revolutionaries or, with the possible exception of

[1] But see L. Schapiro, *The Origin of the Communist Autocracy* (London, 1955), pp. x–xi: 'Who are the victors, after all, and who the vanquished? . . . It would perhaps be wiser for the present to suspend the verdict as between Lenin and say Martov or Plekhanov or Chernov—or Struve, or even Stolypin.'

Plekhanov, among Mensheviks. Tugan-Baranovsky early enjoyed a European reputation as an economic theorist, and Struve was known as a political leader and as a scholar before and after the revolution of 1917.[1] Berdyaev's fame spread later, but he is today perhaps the best known of the whole group. Bulgakov and Frank, whose main life's work lay in the more specifically Russian field of Orthodox religious philosophy, have naturally not attracted the same interest outside the Russian emigration, though within it they are hardly less esteemed. These considerations alone would be sufficient to justify a study of the ideas and conditions which first brought such men together in the 1890's.

But there is another reason, too. The 1890's were a remarkable period of Russian history: a new reign, vigorous economic activity, the resurgence of the searching intellectual life of the intelligentsia, and the revival of opposition to the autocracy in new and pregnant forms, all combine to give the years before and just after the turn of the century an interest comparable to that of the other great decades of the Russian nineteenth century, the forties and the sixties. Among the currents and cross-currents of the time, the Legal Marxists hold a peculiar and in its way valuable position. They were the Westernizers *à outrance*, Europeans as much as they were Russians; they were concerned with eternal problems as much as they were with the 'cursed questions' of the Russian intelligentsia. They were committed to Truth as much as to any political cause. They were prepared to change their minds, and to admit it, for they valued honesty

[1] As early as 1904, Struve's work formed the subject of a dissertation submitted to the University of Berne (H. Sachs, *P. von Struve, Ein Beitrag zur Russische Nationalökonomie* (Breslau, 1904)). In 1916, visiting England as a member of a delegation from the Duma, Struve, together with Milyukov and others, received the degree of Hon. LL.D. from Cambridge University. Later he edited the volume 'Food Supply in Russia during the World War', in the *Economic and Social History of the World War* for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He contributed to the *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences* and to the *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, Vol. i. Sir Bernard Pares (in an obituary notice, it is true) described him as 'one of the most powerful thinkers in Europe'. (B. Pares, 'Two Great Russian Liberals', in *Slavonic Review*, Vol. xxiii, p. 141.) In his own country his name reappears after the Revolution as a historical heresiarch. (See an accusation of 'Struvianism' levelled against Tarlé by G. Seidel in G. Seidel and M. Zwieback [Zaydel', Tsvibak], *Klassovy vrag na istoricheskom fronte* (Moscow, 1931), esp. pp. 12–17.)

and originality above consistency. These qualities may be considered virtues or vices, according to the point of view from which they are seen: where politics are concerned, they invite the accusations of academicism and instability, not to say renegation. But the same qualities may make their possessors more, not less, interesting to the historian: for if it is often the single-minded man who makes history, it is the many-sided nature which reflects its variety and tensions. So with the Legal Marxists: moving as they did from Marxism to Idealism and from Social-Democracy to Liberalism, they assisted at the births of two of the three main political movements of twentieth-century Russia. Their memoirs offer interesting titbits for the historian, and their writings of the time illumine the problems of social philosophy, of *Weltanschauung*, which beset the emergent forces of Russian political life.

* * *

In this study, then, the term 'Legal Marxism' is understood in its ideological sense, denoting the critical movement of thought among certain Russian Marxists in the 1890's which is otherwise known as Russian 'Revisionism', or sometimes simply 'criticism' or 'Bernsteinism', or even 'Struvism'.

Some other writers have defined it differently, taking it to cover all Marxist literature published legally in Russia up to about 1905; others again have used the same criterion of legal publication, but have limited the period to the 1890's.[1] Their justification lies in the term itself—'*Legal* Marxism': this they take to mean Marxist works published legally. However, quite apart from the deficiencies of such a formal definition from the historian's point of view, there is reason to think that it was originally a man's status, rather than publication or activity, which determined whether he should be called a Legal Marxist.[2] The fact is that those Russian Marxist writers who retained legal status produced a deviant form of Marxism. But they also engaged in illegal activity, and at least one of them—Struve—wrote articles for the illegal Press. Orthodox

[1] A brief survey of the literature on Legal Marxism is given in Appendix I.

[2] For a fuller account of the origin of the terms 'Legal Marxist' and 'Legal Marxism', see Appendix II.

Marxists, on the other hand, frequently published their articles in the legal journals of the time. So it is that the illegal writings of Struve are a part of Legal Marxism, whereas the legal writings of Lenin are not.

* * *

The central figure of this book is Peter Struve. For although the attention of some scholars has been devoted too exclusively to him—and it is even possible that the names of other Legal Marxists may be remembered longer than his for their later contributions in their own special fields—there is nevertheless good reason for giving him pride of place in a study of Legal Marxism. Chronologically he was the initiator of Russian Revisionism. Politically he was easily the most important member of the group; and this pre-eminence has been reflected in the relatively large amount of material available on him. In this study, therefore, he will appear as something between *primus inter pares* and *facile princeps*.

I

MARXISM VERSUS *NARODNICHESTVO*

The 1890's in Russia are rightly known as the period of the great debate between Marxism and *narodnichestvo*, when the Russian radical intelligentsia was as sharply divided into these two camps as W. S. Gilbert's 'boys and gals' into Liberals and Conservatives. The differences between Russian Marxism and Western Marxism are striking enough; but they have one thing in common: they both came into existence as a critical trend within another brand of Socialism. In Russia the other brand of Socialism, which Russian Marxists, like their Western fellows, soon began to stigmatize as 'Utopian', was *narodnichestvo*, or Populism.

Narodnichestvo, unlike Marxism, was not the product of a single mind. On the contrary, many claims to its paternity have been urged. Herzen, Chernyshevsky, and Dobrolyubov have each been called the father of *narodnichestvo*.[1] Of the revolutionaries, Tkachëv, Bakunin and Lavrov; among 'publicists', V. V. (V. P. Vorontsov), Nikolay -on (N. F. Danielson), Mikhailovsky, and Yuzov (Kablits); in literature, writers so different as Zlatovratsky and Gleb Uspensky—all these[2] have at one time or another been called *narodniki*. It is hardly surprising therefore that the Brockhaus–Efron Encyclopaedia should say cautiously that the term *narodnichestvo* 'has no fully exact meaning',[3] or that a modern *narodnik*, M. Vishnyak, should write:[4]

> The formal characteristic of *narodnik* ideology is that neither historically nor in any single period was it reducible to any one characteristic.

[1] See A. I. S. Branfoot, 'A Critical Survey of the narodnik movement' (Ph.D., London University, 1926), ch. 4.

[2] Some of these claims to the title of *narodnik* have been specifically disputed. See T. G. Masaryk, *The Spirit of Russia* (London, 1919), Vol. ii, pp. 52, 130, 157 (on Chernyshevsky, Lavrov and Mikhailovsky), and Sir John Maynard, *Russia in Flux* (London, 1941), p. 194 (on Uspensky).

[3] Brockhaus & Efron (publishers), *Entsiklopedichesky Slovar'* (Spb., 1890–1906), 'Narodnichestvo'.

[4] M. Vishnyak, 'Opravdanie narodnichestva', in *Novy Zhurnal* (New York), XXX, p. 227.

In its self-definition, as in its content, the ideology of *narodnichestvo* is alien to monism.

All that can be attempted here is the briefest of sketches necessary for the understanding of Russian Marxism.

Whatever its ideological eclecticism, the psychological basis of *narodnichestvo* was a simple and powerful feeling for the common people, the *narod*. Among the nobility, it was feelings of guilt and duty which predominated; with the *raznochintsy*, it was rather the self-assertion of radical democrats on behalf of the people, with whom they fancied they had much in common. In either case the product was a form of ethical Socialism.

The moral urgency of the tasks which the Russian socialists saw before them—first to achieve the liberation of the serfs, and then to remedy the inadequacies of the Emancipation Edict itself—was such as to preclude them from serious philosophical work. Unlike Marx himself, a philosopher turned radical publicist, they were radicals who seized on such philosophy as suited their needs. Chernyshevsky's 'common-sense materialism' and Lavrov's eclectic absorption of Comte, Kant and Hegel are typical.[1] The men of the Russian Enlightenment were thinkers, not philosophers.[2]

For their Socialism, the *narodniki* looked to Western, and particularly to French models. Herzen has described the impact of Saint-Simonism on his generation:[3]

> Many people, superficial and otherwise, had a good laugh over Père Enfantin and his apostles; but the time is coming for a new recognition of these forerunners of socialism. These rapturous young men, with their terry cloth waistcoats and their sprouting beards, appeared triumphantly and poetically amid the world of philistinism. They proclaimed a new faith, they had something to say, and something in the name of which the old order of things could be brought before their judgement-seat. . . .

Fourier had his Russian disciples in the Petrashevtsy; and

[1] See Masaryk, op. cit., pp. 5, 118.

[2] See 'Thinkers or Philosophers?' (a review of N. O. Lossky, *History of Russian Philosophy*), in *The Times Literary Supplement*, 1953, pp. 197f.; and D. I. Chizhevsky, *Gegel' v Rossii* (Paris, 1939), p. 247, who denies them even the title of thinkers: 'Now thinking was finally replaced by taxonomy, sorting and distribution by headings which were accepted in advance, given, and liable to no doubt.'

[3] A. Herzen, *Byloe i dumy* (Spb., 1905), p. 199.

Proudhon and Robert Owen also shared the favour of the young Russian radicals.

But these Western varieties of Socialism had been conceived in an industrial society, and the human material on which they were to operate consisted for the most part of proletarian workers. Transferred to Russia, such ideas might have lacked any basis in the realities of Russian life, had it not been for one thing: the *obshchina*, or Russian peasant commune. In 1843, Baron Haxthausen, at the invitation of Nicholas I, visited Russia, and spent two years travelling round the country; and the book which he published on his return contained, in the Preface, the following words:[1]

> Tout Russe appartient à une commune et a droit à une part du sol; aussi n'y a-t-il point de prolétaires en Russie. Dans tous les autres pays de l'Europe, des bruits sourds annoncent l'approche d'une révolution sociale dirigée contre la propriété. Sa devise est: L'abolition de l'hérédité et la division égale des terres. En Russie, un pareil bouleversement est impossible, l'utopie des révolutionnaires européens s'y trouve déjà réalisée par l'application de l'un des premiers principes de la vie nationale.

What had seemed to Haxthausen and his patrons to be a guarantee against revolution became, for the *narodniki*, the institutional basis of their socialist faith. Haxthausen had wondered whether the *obshchina*, with its periodical redistributions of land among its members, might not prove a brake on agricultural progress;[2] Herzen admitted similar doubts,[3] and Chernyshevsky recognized that the *obshchina* might tend to suppress the individual.[4] But one and all clung to it as a guard against a danger which, in their eyes, threatened Russia. It was not the danger of revolution, which Haxthausen so optimistically scouted; it was the danger that Russia might be invaded by the germ of

[1] Baron August von Haxthausen, *Etudes sur la situation intérieure, la vie nationale et les institutions rurales de la Russie*, Vol. i (Hanover, 1847), p. ix. The work was published simultaneously in French and German.

[2] See ibid., p. 118.

[3] See Richard Hare, *Pioneers of Russian Social Thought* (London, 1951), pp. 226–8. This, in any case, seemed the lesser of two possible evils: Chernyshevsky, discussing the distinction between national wealth and popular welfare, did not suggest that the two were necessarily incompatible; but if, in a given situation, there was a conflict between them, popular welfare (distribution) should have priority over national wealth (production). See Ivanov-Razumnik, *Russkaya Literatura ot semidesyatykh godov do nashikh dney* (Berlin, 1923) p. 248.

[4] See Masaryk, op. cit., p. 33.

that very type of society against which the Western socialists were protesting. The *obshchina* could, in Chernyshevsky's words, 'maintain the beneficial principle of communal land-ownership, and save us from the terrible ulcer of proletarianism in our village population'.[1] Herzen described the *artel'* and the *obshchina* as 'the corner-stones on which the temple of our future free-communal life will be built'; but he added, significantly, 'these corner-stones are still only stones . . . and without Western thought our future cathedral would be left with nothing but foundations.'[2]

It was plain that Utopia was not, as Haxthausen thought, already realized. Nevertheless, in *narodnik* eyes, Russia had great advantages: capitalism could be avoided, evolution could be telescoped, the leap into Socialism could be made. This was, and for long remained, the kernel of *narodnik* doctrine on the economic development of Russia. Russia, said the *narodniki*, need not follow the West: she had what they called 'a special path of development' (*osoby put' razvitiya*). This belief was held with varying degrees of dogmatism. For Herzen it had been an article of faith, but as time went on and as more and more the facts of economic life seemed to give the lie to the dream of avoiding capitalism, it was whittled down to Mikhailovsky's statement that the 'special path of development' was one of the possibilities, but not necessarily the most probable.[3] By 1883, Mikhailovsky was describing his views as those of 'a voice crying in the wilderness'.[4] His words were no more than the recognition of a turning-point in Russian social thought which can be dated fairly accurately about the year 1880.

Meanwhile the perennial Russian interest in Western European radical thought had ensured Marx a hearing in Russia, and in the sixties he gained his first serious Russian convert. At first Marx and Engels had travellers, attracted dilettante who were fascinated by their reputation and personalities, journalists and social thinkers who valued their works on philosophy or Western European economic conditions, and a few

[1] Quoted by Hare, op. cit., p. 188.

[2] Herzen, op. cit., p. 410. Bakunin, Tkachëv, Lavrov, and Mikhailovsky all proclaimed the value of the *obshchina* as a basis for the future economic order. See Masaryk, op. cit., pp. 86, 92; Ivanov-Razumnik, op. cit., pp. 50, 51, 67.

[3] Ivanov-Razumnik, op. cit., p. 52. [4] Quoted ibid., p. 53.

revolutionaries. Nikolay Ivanovich Sieber, however, was none of these things, but an academic, who held the Chair of Political Economy and Statistics at Kiev from 1873 to 1875.

Sieber's interest in Marx began soon after the appearance of the German edition of *Capital*, Vol. i in 1867, and in the next twelve years he published a number of studies and articles on Marx's economic theory.

In all Sieber's works published in Russia,[1] there is not a single article on the economic development of Russia; his influence through publication remained academic and unapplied. But the reminiscences of Ovsyaniko-Kulikovsky and Mikhailovsky leave no doubt where his sympathies lay. According to Ovsyaniko-Kulikovsky, he attacked the *narodniki* in the strongest terms: 'They do not understand the first thing about Scientific Socialism and political economy. Ignoramuses! Utopians!'[2] and only refrained from doing so in print on the principle that 'you don't hit a man when he's down'. Mikhailovsky has recorded what is undoubtedly Sieber's most famous remark: 'We shall have no sense in this country until the Russian *muzhik* is cooked up in the factory boiler.'[3]

But with the exception of Sieber (in a limited sense), there was at this time no such thing as a Russian Marxist. The publication in 1872 of a Russian translation of *Capital* did not immediately alter the position. In Russia Marx was read and studied *together* with other thinkers, not in preference to them. For the radicals of the seventies, he was a social analyst of the calibre of John Stuart Mill or Chernyshevsky, without dominating their minds to the exclusion of these others; and in 1879 Plekhanov wrote: 'Rodbertus, Engels, Karl Marx and Dühring form a brilliant Pleiad of representatives of the positive period in the development of Socialism.'[4] The truth was that most

[1] The extent and content of Sieber's contributions to Dragomanov's *Vol'noe Slovo* (Geneva, 1881–3) has yet to be investigated.

[2] Quoted by L. M. Kleinbort, *Nikolay Ivanovich Sieber* [*Ziber*] (Petrograd, 1923), pp. 41f.

[3] Mikhailovsky, *Literaturnye Vospominaniya i Sovremennaya Smuta* (Spb., 1900), Vol. i, p. 339.

[4] G. V. Plekhanov, *Sochineniya* (Moscow, 1922–6), Vol. i, p. 57. This position remained unchanged in many *kruzhki* of the eighties, which lived on in the Lavrist or *Narodnaya Volya* tradition. See, for instance, M. P. Shebalin, *Klochki Vospominaniy* (Moscow, 1935), for a provincial *kruzhok*, where Sieber was read alongside Lavrov, Chernyshevsky, Flerovsky and

Russian radicals agreed with the censor who passed *Capital* that 'free competition does not exist in Russia'.[1] Therefore Marxism, a piece of intellectual architecture whose very stones and mortar were the facts of competitive, industrial, 'capitalist' society, was interesting as a Western European phenomenon, without application to Russia. There might be individual statements in Marx which were relevant to Russian conditions; but there could be no general acceptance of his social theory until something was recognized which could be called 'Russian capitalism'.

Russian Capitalism

As early as 1871, Dostoevsky had put the following words into the mouth of Peter Verkhovensky: 'Oh, what a pity there's no proletariat! But there will be, there will be—that's the way things are going. . . .'[2] The insight of the novelist was soon backed up by the more weighty assertions of Engels himself. In 1873, Engels found himself engaged in a polemic with Tkachëv, in which the economic development of Russia was a central theme. Engels saw the Emancipation Edict of 1861 as the critical moment. It was then that 'the Russian Government set history in motion . . . by the abolition of serfdom and the absolution from personal services.'[3] These measures 'were introduced in such a way that they are sure to defeat their purpose and result in the ruin of the majority of the peasants. . . . The chief consequence of the Reform was a new tax burden on the peasants. . . . Usury flourishes . . . the peasant needs more and more cash.'[4] As for the *arteli*, they 'serve the capitalists rather than the labourers':[5] and the survival of the *obshchina* in Russia proves only that 'agricultural production and the corresponding conditions of rural society are at an undeveloped stage.'[6] It is a situation conducive to despotism rather than

Mikhailov. Other such *kruzhki* are described by the anonymous author of manuscript reminiscences preserved in the Bodleian Library: 'According to the stage of development in these *kruzhki* we read Dobrolyubov, sometimes Pisarev, Lavrov (*Isotoricheskie Pis'ma*), then Chernyshevsky, Marx, and some illegal publications such as the *Vestnik Narodnoy Voli*.' Bodlei. MS. Russian, e.2, p. 17.

[1] 'K. Marks i Tsarskaya Tsenzura', in *Krasny Arkhiv*, no. 56, p. 7.

[2] F. M. Dostoevsky, *Besy*, Vol. ii (Berlin, 1921), p. 101.

[3] F. Engels, 'Russia and the Social Revolution', in P. W. Blackstock and B. F. Hoselitz (edd.), *Marx and Engels, The Russian Menace to Europe* (London, 1953), p. 204. [4] Ibid., p. 207. [5] Ibid., p. 210. [6] Ibid., p. 211.

socialism. But it is fated to pass, and is already passing: 'communal property long ago passed its high point in Russia and to all appearances is nearing its doom.'[1] 'The further development of Russia in a bourgeois direction will destroy communal property gradually',[2] without any interference from the Russian Government. There is already a 'large bourgeois class in Petersburg, Moscow, and Odessa, which has grown rapidly in the last ten years.'[3] Engels admitted, as a diminishing possibility, that the leap into Socialism, based on the *obshchina*, might still be achieved; but he introduced a new condition, which took the initiative out of the hands of the Russian revolutionaries. 'The possibility of transformation into a higher form exists . . .', he wrote, 'only if in Western Europe a victorious proletarian revolution is achieved before the complete disintegration of communal property [in Russia].'[4] The burden of Engels's article was such as to attack the central economic doctrine of *narodnichestvo*, and it may reasonably be seen as the first skirmish in the Marxist-*narodnik* conflict.

There was still little attempt among Russians themselves to attack the *narodnik* position from the same point of view as Engels. Lavrov is a case in point. Author of the *Istoricheskie Pis'ma* (*Historical Letters*), which provided the *narodnik* movement with an inspiration for the intelligentsia as 'critically-thinking personalities', he nevertheless absorbed a number of Marxist ideas, and wrote in 1876: 'Capitalism [in Russia] is developing quickly and luxuriantly.'[5] But the problem of what a 'Russian Marxist' might think was first raised acutely in 1877, by Mikhailovsky, in the course of a controversy about Marx's *Capital*. The protagonists of the debate were Yury Zhukovsky and Chicherin as critics, and Sieber and Mikhailovsky as defenders of Marx.[6] The arguments were concerned

[1] Ibid., p. 213. [2] Ibid., p. 212. [3] Ibid., p. 208.
[4] Ibid., p. 213.
[5] Quoted by F. I. Dan, *Proiskhozhdenie Bol'shevizma* (New York, 1946), p. 80. Cf. K. A. Pazhitnov, *Razvitie sotsialisticheskikh idey v Rossii* (Kharkov, 1913), Vol. i, p. 142: 'Lavrov cannot be called either an orthodox *narodnik* or an orthodox Marxist: he was, so to speak a *narodnik* in Marxism or a Marxist in *narodnichestvo*.'
[6] For a summary of the arguments see A. L. Reuel', *Kapital Karla Marksa v Rossii 1870-kh godov* (Moscow, 1939), pp. 86–119. The references and titles of the articles in the controversy are: Yu. Zhukovsky, 'Karl Marks i ego kniga o kapitale', in *Vestnik Evropy* 1877, no. 5; N. Sieber, 'Neskol'ko

almost entirely with Marx's dialectical method and value theory, and took little account of the social and political implications of the work.[1] Mikhailovsky, like Sieber, defended Marx's economic theory; but he also raised the question of whether Marx's historical scheme was applicable to Russia. 'Let us imagine', he said, 'a Russian who believes in the truth of this historical theory', and continued:[2]

> That two-edged process of 'socialization of labour',[3] at once terrible, beneficial and irresistible, or rather that form of socialization which Marx expounds, has not advanced very far here in holy Russia. Our peasant is far from that degree of 'freedom' from the land and the means of production which is required for the exuberant development of capitalist production. . . . The ideal of the Russian pupil of Marx lies in the 'coincidence of labour and property', in the land and implements and means of production belonging to the worker. . . . But at the same time if, as a pupil of Marx, he accepts Marx's historico-philosophical views, then he must rejoice at the separation of labour and property . . . as being the first step in the necessary and ultimately beneficial process. . . . He must therefore welcome the destruction of the rudiments of his own ideal.

Simplified and stripped of jargon, this statement might read: 'Marx says that capitalism must come before Socialism. But capitalism has not got very far in Russia: the peasant still lives in the *obshchina*, not as a proletarian. So the Russian socialist, on becoming a Marxist, must welcome capitalism, although it will destroy the *obshchina*, on which his hopes of Socialism are based.' Mikhailovsky had put his finger on a dilemma which was to trouble Russian Marxists for many years.[4]

The dispute, it will be seen, largely turned on a question of

zamechaniy po povodu stat'i Yu. Zhukovskogo', in *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*, 1877, no. 10; N. K. Mikhailovsky, 'Karl Marks pered sudom Yu. Zhukovskogo', in *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*, 1877, no. 11; B. N. Chicherin, 'Dva nemetskikh sotsialista, II: Karl Marks', in *Sbornik Gosudarstvennykh Znaniy*, Vol. vi, 1878; and N. Sieber, 'Chicherin contra Karl Marks', in *Slovo*, 1878, no. 2.

[1] Chicherin, however, disputed the idea of the increasing polarization of society into two camps, and pointed to the growth of the middle class. He also touched on the revolutionary proletariat, which he believed to be 'morally too adolescent to tackle such problems.' See Reuel', op. cit., p. 111.

[2] Mikhailovsky, *Sochineniya*, Vol. iv (Spb., 1897), p. 170.

[3] The term 'socialization' is here used to translate the Russian 'obobshchestvlenie', which was itself coined to translate the German '*Vergesellschaftung*' as used by Marx.

[4] On Marx's letter in reply to Mikhailovsky, see Additional Note 1, p. 237 below.

fact: Was Russian capitalism making headway? Was Russia actually, or in the process of becoming, a capitalist country? It was time now to leave impressions, assertions and pious hopes, to turn to the collection of facts, and to marshal 'objective', 'scientific' economic arguments.

The first approach to the problem on these lines was made by Vasily Pavlovich Vorontsov, a doctor who took to writing on economic and sociological subjects under the pseudonym V. V. His first articles were published in 1879, and a book based on them appeared in 1882 under the title *Sud'by kapitalizma v Rossii* (*The Destiny of Capitalism in Russia*).[1] V. V.'s work showed distinct signs of the influence of Marx (whom he quoted on occasion). The aim of the book, he wrote, was[2]

> to summon our scholars and sworn capitalist and *narodnik* publicists to study the law of the economic development of Russia—the basis of all other manifestations of the life of the country. . . . The ruling conceptions can hardly be called a law, and are hardly capable of giving a firm basis to a practical *Weltanschauung*.

V. V. did not claim to have discovered the 'law' himself; it still 'requires to be found out'.[3] But he saw a weakness in *narodnik* views as hitherto formulated, and believed he could fill a gap: the *narodnik* party would gain much[4]

> if to its faith in the vitality of [the *obshchina* and the *artel'*] were joined a conviction of the historical impossibility of capitalist production in Russia. Our generalizations (if only they be true) can give this conviction.

V. V.'s work was thus an attempt to appropriate one of the weapons from the Marxist armoury—historical materialism—and to use it to support *narodnik* doctrine. His *leitmotiv* was that capitalism in Russia would never flourish:[5]

> it will remain as it arrived—a guest introduced almost by force, feeling itself not at home, and therefore unable to exert here that enormous influence which it had in the country of its natural inception and florescence.

[1] The book itself is rare in Western Europe today. A summary of V. V.'s views may be found in W. G. Simkhovitsch, 'Die ökonomische Lehre der russischen Narodniki', in *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie*, Vol. lxix, pp. 653ff.

[2] V. V., *Sud'by kapitalizma v Rossii* (Spb., 1882), p. 1. Cf. K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. i (London, 1938), pp. xviii–xix.

[3] V. V., op. cit., p. 7.

[4] Ibid., p. 4.

[5] Ibid., p. 73.

V. V. admitted a number of apparent symptoms of the coming of capitalism: railway-building, the growth of credit, banks, and companies, government commissions and policies designed to encourage large industry and machine industry, popular discontent, the increase in the number of landless peasants, blood-suckers and exploiters among the people, women and children going to work in industry, the labour movement manifest in strikes, the increase in the number of bankruptcies. But all this, he believed, was 'playing at capitalism', not the real thing. 'We have taken over from the West all the attributes and implements of capitalism, but not capitalist production itself.'[1] These things had occurred not because of an inherent economic law, a 'struggle between large- and small-scale production', but because of 'the unfortunate interference of the ruling classes in the economic life of the country.'[2] 'Society and State have been on the side of large-scale production'[3] (which V. V. treated as synonymous with capitalism); they had decreased peasant land-holdings, arranged large-scale credit, given subsidies, built railways, and so forth.

The fact that industry demanded tariffs and subsidies was proof of its infirmity. As for agriculture,[4]

> nothing permits us to say that agriculture has firmly entered the capitalist phase of development. . . . The single fact that the farmers are people from the merchant class and for the most part Jews—a class which lives for quick, easy returns—this alone allows us to sing a Requiem to our capitalist agriculture—which is in any case more imaginary than real. The result of their farming will be nothing but exhaustion of the soil, which, we hope, does not conduce to the development of capitalism. . . . They come, exhaust the soil, and go—that is their mission.

The error of supposing that capitalism would flourish in Russia (an error common to bourgeois and Marxist writers alike),[5] derived, according to V. V., from the unwarranted assumption that 'the law of economic development of our country was . . . the same as the law of development of Western society.'[6] In fact 'the doctrines of [capitalist economics] are only valid for true capitalism: for our capitalism the law is not

[1] V. V., *Sud'by kapitalizma v Rossii*, pp. 22–24. [2] Ibid., p. 5.
[3] Ibid., p. 292. [4] Ibid., p. 133. [5] Ibid., p. 1.
[6] Ibid., p. 7.

yet written. . . .'[1] Russia's position was peculiar in that she had 'come on to the path of progress later than others'.[2] V. V. was careful to forestall any possible charge of Slavophilism or Slav mysticism: it was 'a peculiarity shared by us with many other Slav and non-Slav nations'.[3] This backwardness in the race for economic progress was, in V. V.'s mind, the central fact in any consideration of Russian capitalism. It had two consequences. On the one hand it meant that Russia (like all young countries) could take advantage of the latest technical inventions of the West; on the other, she would lack the foreign markets essential to the development of capitalism. Capitalism was inevitably accompanied by a proletariat, impoverishment and pauperism:[4] these would undermine the home market, and foreign markets were therefore indispensable.

V. V. admitted only one element of 'the Western European formula of industrial progress' with universal validity. 'The development of the productivity of labour is the basic phenomenon, and the only one which in our view can be obligatory for every country.'[5] But the contradictions between the aims of social progress and the results of capitalism suggested that the capitalist method of developing the productivity of labour was abnormal, and 'in contradiction to the tasks of society'.[6]

There must, therefore, be some other way.[7] And here, according to V. V., Russia was more fortunate. For besides her late arrival on the industrial scene, she had another peculiarity: she had 'preserved such universal [*vsechelovecheskie*] features of character and institutions (the *artel'* spirit and the *obshchina*) as have been long since lost by other nations, and which they will have to regain.'[8]

It was these features—the small independent *kustar'* worker organized in the *artel'*, and the small peasant organized in the *obshchina*—which provided V. V. with some hope for future Russian economic development. It was wrong, he thought, to suppose that *kustar'* industry was becoming capitalist. He quoted Marx to the effect that the change from craft to manufacture would have taken place very slowly but for the influx of capital from usury, attracted by the prospects of colonial markets;[9]

[1] Ibid., p. 189. [2] Ibid., p. 274. [3] Loc. cit.
[4] Ibid., pp. 11, 14. [5] Ibid., p. 271. [6] Loc. cit.
[7] Ibid., p. 21. [8] Ibid., p. 274. [9] Ibid., p. 84.

but such markets were absent for Russia. Data from the Moscow *gubernia zemstvo* showed that the craft character of *kustari* in the furniture industry, and others, had survived.[1] There had even been some decapitalization in the last decade, for in some places large workshops had been disintegrating into smaller ones.[2]

Moreover, there were prospects of progress. Western examples, where craft industries had not died out, showed that division of labour could be achieved in a series of small workshops as well as in a factory: V. V. quoted Swiss watch-making as an instance.[3] In Russia, wooden spoons and felt boots were made in the same way.[4] *Kustari* could do more than serve local customers: coopers in Gzhel, who supply quite a wide market, offer an example of 'the national method of development of capitalist industry'[5] [*sic*].

V. V. was less optimistic about increasing productivity in agriculture, but even here he found examples where the peasant was holding his own against the large farmer, for instance in Novorossiysk, where peasant agriculture flourished soundly amid the soil-plundering of the large farms.[6] Agriculture, he argued, was more variegated than industry; it could not be organized by 'just any class', but only by the people, which, in spite of lack of knowledge, 'has qualities which no learning can give, which have been developed in the people by its thousand-year-long struggle and communion with nature.'[7]

V. V. recommended 'a radical change in the very basis of our domestic economic policy, which must renounce its solidarity with capitalist production.'[8] There were, he admitted, some branches of industry 'where a large-scale organization of producers is *at the present time* a technical necessity: railways, ships, machine construction, etc.'[9] Such large industry should 'mark out for itself a sphere beyond which it should not venture.'[10] In this case it could exist to benefit society; ultimately it would almost inevitably pass into government hands.[11] All attempts to root capitalism in the unfavourable soil of Russia

[1] V. V., *Sud'by kapitalizma v Rossii*, p. 74. [2] Ibid., p. 116.
[3] Ibid., p. 120. [4] Ibid., p. 272. [5] Ibid., p. 94.
[6] Ibid., p. 126. [7] Ibid., p. 166. [8] Ibid., p. 270.
[9] Ibid., p. 275. Our italics. [10] Loc. cit. [11] Ibid., pp. 65, 275.

would fail, but they might lead to 'a number of ineptitudes'. Policy must change, for how could the *obshchina* resist[1]

> the soulless bacchanalia of blinded theory, supported by enormous physical force . . . the fanatical inquisitor . . . ? All that is left of the *obshchina* now is the fiscal administrative unit . . . civilization does not come into it.

In industry and agriculture alike, the centre of gravity must be in small 'popular production' (*narodnoe proizvodstvo*).[2]

V. V.'s arguments sound shallow enough today, and the protracted summary which has been given above could not be justified, if it were not for the importance of his position in the Marxist-*narodnik* controversy. By his acceptance of the Marxist idea of an inherent economic 'law of development', he transferred to Russia the fashion of 'scientific' prophecy. By his use of economic information made available, for the most part, since the establishment of the *zemstva*, he directed attention to a study of that economic reality about which earlier writers had talked so much and known so little. Finally, the points which he emphasized—the *artel'* as well as the *obshchina*, the *kustar'* industries, *narodnoe proizvodstvo*, and the shortage of foreign markets—were to provide the framework within which much of the economic discussion was conducted until the end of the century.

V. V. was soon followed by another pseudonymous writer, Nikolay -on. This was Danielson, the Russian translator of *Capital*, who kept up a correspondence with Marx and Engels for many years. In October 1880, Nikolay -on published an article in *Slovo* under the title 'Kapitalizatsiya zemledel' cheskikh dokhodov' ('The Capitalization of Agricultural Incomes').[3] In this article Nikolay -on took as his starting-point the Emancipation Edict of 1861. According to its terms, he argued, the means of production should belong to the producer, organized in the *obschchina*; he should himself therefore profit by any accumulation which takes place.[4] Unlike V. V., Nikolay -on saw capitalism making fast progress in Russia. The intention

[1] Ibid., p. 284. [2] Ibid., p. 185.

[3] Later reprinted as the first part of his book *Ocherki nashego poreformennogo obshchestvennogo khozyaystva* (Spb., 1893). The article itself has not been available, and references in this section are to the book.

[4] Nikolay -on, *Ocherki*, pp. 1, 64.

behind the Edict had not been fulfilled: the increase in the national debt had produced a class of *rentiers*; the concentration of capital into fewer hands had been furthered by the spread of credit, and by railways; railways, by assisting international trade, had raised the price of staple products; both credit and railways had accelerated the transformation of 'natural economy' [*natural'noe khozyaystvo*] into commercial—that is, capitalist—economy.[1] In agriculture, 'the capitalist tendency is plainly gaining ground'; the number of hired landless labourers had increased. The towns exploited the agricultural population mercilessly. The population was growing, agricultural productivity was not increasing, and consequently consumption was declining.[2] The economic crisis was due to capitalism. When it came to recommendations, V. V. and Nikolay -on were in agreement: the only way out, according to Nikolay -on, was to return to the true idea behind the Edict of 1861—'the development of the progress of producers' labour in conditions where he freely owns the instruments of production.'[3]

The same year, 1880, saw the publication of two other articles on the problem of Russian capitalism. These were 'O sovremmenykh proyavleniyakh kapitalizma v Rossii' ('On the Contemporary Manifestations of Capitalism in Russia') and 'Protiv ekonomicheskogo optimizma' ('Against Economic Optimism'), by N. S. Rusanov.[4] Rusanov concluded that the *obshchina* could not survive, but was decaying owing to the peasants' desire to get off the land. As for V. V.'s beloved *kustari*, far from being a point of defence against capitalism, they were more likely to provide a basis for it: for they were the milieu in which merchant capital was forming, which would eventually turn into industrial capital. Unlike V. V. and Nikolay -on, Rusanov made no recommendations, contenting himself with a dispassionate analysis of tendencies; later, however, he became a *narodnik*. Rusanov did not acknowledge any debt to Marx;

[1] Nikolay -on, *Ocherki*, pp. 65–71. [2] Ibid., p. 73.

[3] Ibid., p. 78. V. V., in *Sud'by kapitalizma*, discussed Nikolay -on's article, and concluded that they agreed on most points *except* that 'the capitalist tendency is plainly gaining ground', which, he thought, contradicted all Nikolay -on's other arguments. (V. V., *Sud'by*, pp. 294–312.)

[4] In *Russkoe Bogatstvo* and *Delo* respectively. Summarized by N. Angarsky, *Legal'ny Marksizm* (Moscow, 1925), pp. 26–28.

but it is plain that he, too, was beginning to discuss Russian economic development in Marxist terms.[1]

Neither V. V. nor Nikolay -on were revolutionaries. They wrote not for purposes of political agitation, but to convince the wide public of the intelligentsia and the bureaucracy; when they use the word 'we', they mean Russian society as a whole. But meanwhile revolutionaries in their own milieu were having to take note of the arrival of capitalism. In spite of a theoretical belief that the peasant would be the moving force in the revolution, a number of revolutionaries began to find that the industrial workers were more receptive to their ideas. The first workers' *kruzhok* was organized by Peter Alekseev, a weaver, in Moscow in 1874–5.[2] Alekseev was arrested, to appear (and to make a striking speech) at the 'Trial of the Fifty' in 1877; two workers' organizations, the *Yuzhno-russky Soyuz Rabochikh* (*South-Russian Union of Workers*) and the *Severny Soyuz Russkikh Rabochikh* (*Northern Union of Russian Workers*) were formed before the end of the decade; and there were many, among them Plekhanov, who had also found their attention shifting from the peasant to the town worker. Plekhanov recalled later how he found the worker becoming less and less a peasant, and more and more a type of his own; and there were further gradations observable—the worker in light industry was half-way between a peasant and a worker in heavy industry, while the latter was half-way from a light industrial worker to an *intelligent*. Together they formed an ascending scale of responsiveness to propaganda.[3]

So Plekhanov had grounds in his own experience for thinking that the coming of capitalism might not be disadvantageous to the revolutionary cause. He did not at once try to relate his experience to theory. But when he did, he was concerned to tackle the problem of capitalism in a more radical way than either V. V. or Nikolay -on. The question which Plekhanov

[1] Angarsky, op. cit., p. 27. Two years previously, in 1878, Rusanov had read a paper to the Moscow Juridical Society pleading for a more scientific and analytical approach to the study of the *obshchina*. See *Yuridichesky Vestnik*, 1878, no. 2, pp. 94ff., 605ff., where the Society's meeting is reported.

[2] See I. N. Vasin, 'Pervye Marksistskie organizatsii v Rossii', in *Voprosy Istorii*, 1952, no. 10, p. 93.

[3] See Plekhanov, *Russky rabochy v revolyutsionnom dvizhenii* (Moscow, 1919), p. 13.

asked himself was not whether capitalism was making or could make headway in Russia, but whether the Russian economy as a whole had reached a turning-point from which there was no going back—whether (and here Plekhanov borrowed a phrase from Marx) Russia had 'come on the track of the natural law of her development'.[1]

'When', Plekhanov asks, 'did the nations of Western Europe come upon this fateful track? We think that this happened when the Western European *obshchina* collapsed . . . in the struggle with mediaeval feudalism. . . .' In Russia, on the other hand, he saw then (1879) nothing which would condemn the *obshchina* to extinction:[2]

> Therefore while the majority of our peasantry cleaves to the *obshchina* we cannot deem our society to have come upon the path of that law by which capitalist production would be a necessary station on the way of its progress.

During the next few years Plehkanov gradually changed his mind. Early in 1881 he thought that the *obshchina* could be saved, but only by a revolution; and consoled himself with the thought that if capitalism came, it would prepare the ground for Socialism.[3] By the end of 1881, his views had hardened further, and he wrote to Lavrov:[4]

> What a pity that I could not hear your lecture on 'Capitalism in Russia'. As you know, I hold the view that the matter is settled, Russia has already come upon the path of her natural law of development, and all other paths, conceivable, perhaps, for some other countries, are closed to her. . . . V. V. is a very dubious figure; his data are hardly reliable, and I am convinced that he will not have time to write his last article on the impossibility of capitalism in Russia before this very capitalism will be, as the saying goes, plain for all to see.

Three years later, in 1884, Plekhanov answered V. V. point by point in a long pamphlet, *Nashi Raznoglasiya* (*Our Differences*), giving his own facts and figures. He questioned the statistics on which V. V. based his argument that capitalist industry

[1] Plekhanov, *Sochineniya*, Vol. i, pp. 57–60. On Plekhanov's use of the text from Marx see Additional Note 2 (p. 238).

[2] Plekhanov, *Sochineniya*, Vol. i, p. 61.

[3] See B. N. Kozmin, Introductory article to 'Neizdannye Pis'ma G. V. Plekhanova i P. L. Lavrova', in *Literaturnoe Nasledstvo*, nos. 19–21 (Moscow, 1935), p. 274.

[4] Ibid., p. 293.

was not expanding. *Kustari*, which V. V. regarded as a bulwark against capitalism, Plekhanov described as 'united by capital', 'dependent on the bourgeoisie', a part of capitalist economy.[1] As for factory industry, Plekhanov quoted *Capital*:[2]

> Manufacture produces . . . a new class of small villagers who, while following the cultivation of the soil as an accessory calling, find their chief occupation in industrial labour. . . . Modern Industry alone, and finally . . . expropriates radically the enormous majority of the agricultural population,

with the comment: 'We are at present going through just this process of gradual envelopment of our national industry by manufacture.'[3] Russian capitalism was flourishing: such things as the Trade Fair at Nizhny Novgorod and the influx of foreign capital attested it.[4] As for foreign markets, there were many countries in Western Europe which were late-comers to the world market, just as Russia was; and yet they had developed industrially.[5]

In agriculture, Plekhanov pointed out, capitalism always comes later than in industry. He quoted Nikolay -on's conclusion: 'The capitalist tendency is plainly gaining ground.'[6] The development of a money economy was destroying the *obshchina*. The State needed money, and the government encouraged everything which would increase the total quantity of it in the country. The class of industrialists wanted mobility of property. All these factors worked against the *obshchina*, which was in any case breaking up because of land-shortage and tax burdens.[7] And even if taxes were decreased, the evidence showed that land-redistributions tended to be rarer—that is, individualistic tendencies tended to be stronger—in the lower-taxed *obshchiny*,

[1] Plekhanov, *Sochineniya*, Vol. ii, p. 222.
[2] Marx, *Capital*, Vol. i, p. 773. [3] Plekhanov, *Sochineniya*, Vol. ii, p. 225.
[4] Ibid., pp. 228f. [5] Ibid., pp. 230f.
[6] Ibid., p. 234. Plekhanov here described Nikolay -on's article as 'an admirable piece of research'. When the second part of Nikolay -on's work appeared in 1893, it became clear that he was a *narodnik*; and in a footnote to the second edition of *Nashi Raznoglasiya* Plekhanov expressed his disappointment. In the early 1880's it was sufficient to assert that Russia was becoming a capitalist country in order to be aligned with the Marxists, for most *narodniki* still tried to deny it: ten years later, denial was ridiculous, and the attitude *towards* that development became the touchstone.
[7] Ibid., p. 248.

so that a general decrease might accelerate the process of shipwreck.[1] A rural proletariat was coming into being. The number of horseless peasants—'candidates for the title of proletarians'—amounted to a quarter of the total peasantry.[2] The differentiation into rich and poor peasants meant that the rich peasants tried to retain their holdings, which they might well have improved; they therefore tended to resist redistribution and the intervals between redistributions grew longer.[3] The system of redemption payments, instituted by the Edict of 1861, had a similar effect, for peasants regarded redeemed land as personal property.[4] Plekhanov concluded:[5]

> *On the side* of capitalism is the whole dynamic of our social life, all those forces which develop with the movement of the social mechanism and in their turn determine the direction and speed of its movement. *Against* it is nothing but the more or less dubious interests of a certain part of the peasantry, and that force of inertia which is at times so painfully sensed by civilized people in any backward agricultural country. The main stream of Russian capitalism is as yet small . . . but into it from all sides there is pouring such a mass of burns, brooks and rivulets that the total quantity of water entering it is enormous. . . . It cannot be stopped, even less can it be dried up; it remains only to regulate its flow, if we do not . . . renounce the hope of subjecting the elemental force of nature, at least in part, to the rational activity of man.

Politics

Narodnichestvo has frequently been called an 'apolitical' movement.[6] The Russian government's reaction to the events of 1848, followed by the widespread disillusionment at the results of the Edict of 1861, sharpened the lines of division between the various sections of Russian educated society, and drove the radicals—with the exception of Herzen—to more and more extreme positions. Not only autocracy, but liberal society was condemned; the idea of Reform from Above had proved its worthlessness, while the liberals wanted no more than Western-style political freedoms which would extend their own influence and power without bringing any good to the common

[1] Plekhanov, *Sochineniya*, Vol. ii, p. 250. [2] Ibid., pp. 241–6.
[3] Ibid., pp. 254f. [4] Ibid., p. 260. [5] Ibid., p. 270.
[6] See, for instance, A. Potresov, 'Evolyutsiya obshchestvenno politicheskoy mysli v predrevolyutsionnuyu epokhu', in Martov *et al.*, *Obschchestvennoe dvizhenie v Rossii v nachale XX-go veka* (Spb., 1909, etc.), Vol. i, p. 561; M. Vishnyak, op. cit., p. 226.

people. In contrast to such 'politics' the *narodniki* put forward the idea of the 'social revolution'. It was a capacious concept, able to shelter Bakunin, Tkachëv and Lavrov, and (not surprisingly) ill-defined. Rejecting politics, the *narodniki* turned to the *narod*, the original mainspring of their psychology; only to find, in the fiasco of the *khozhdenie v narod* in the mid-seventies, that the peasants were too poor and ignorant, too close to the animals, to care anything for the ready-made ideas which the young people brought from the towns.[1] They found, instead, that few were interested in their activity except the police.

This disillusionment was shortly followed by another, when many young radicals' hopes of a Southern Slav revolt against the Turks foundered in the wave of Russian nationalism which accompanied the Balkan War of 1877. As a result the radicals turned to terrorism, aimed, in the words of the Programme of the *Partiya Narodnoy Voli* (*People's Will Party*), 'at undermining the fascination of governmental power, giving a continual proof of the possibility of struggle against the government, and so raising the revolutionary spirit of the people'.[2] The *narodniki*, disregarding Mikhailovsky's pleas for a programme of political reform, persisted in their visionary extremism; and by 1880 events had so developed that even Mikhailovsky ceased to plead for moderation.[3] But even the assassination of a Tsar failed to find any response in the people, and Alexander II was replaced by Alexander III. *Narodnichestvo* was proved politically sterile.

One possible way out would have been to jettison the idea of revolution. One of the assumptions of the *narodovol'tsy* had been that 'the State is the greatest capitalist force in the country . . . and that only thanks to it can minor exploiters exist.'[4] The revolutionaries drew the conclusion that the State must be seized by revolution. But there was an alternative: for

[1] See, for instance, Vera Figner, *Zapechatlënny Trud*, extract in S. S. Dmitriev (ed.), *Khrestomatiya po Istorii S.S.S.R.*, Vol. iii (Moscow, 1952), p. 393: 'Could there be any thought of protest in such conditions; was it not mere irony to talk about resistance and struggle to people who were utterly crushed by physical distress?'

[2] 'Programma Ispolnitel'nogo Komiteta "Narodnoy Voli" ', in Dmitriev, op. cit., p. 407.

[3] See J. H. Billington, *Mikhailovsky and Russian Populism* (Oxford, 1958), pp. 99–119.

[4] Dmitriev, op. cit., p. 405.

'the State' substitute 'government policy' as the main supporter and defence of capitalism, and instead of a monstrous force which can only be destroyed or seized, you have something flexible and rational, which can be changed by persuasion. This was, in fact, the political aspect of V. V.'s and Nikolay -on's views. V. V. believed that the existing system, Tsarism, 'is the only possible State system in Russia for a long time to come.'[1] The government need have nothing to fear from Liberalism, for the Russian *kulaki* were not a progressive liberal bourgeoisie in the Western sense, and would never form a party striving for political ideals. There was therefore no danger, he thought, from the freedom of the press. The government might give concessions, but in fact they would be unreal. 'European constitutional Liberalism has no meaning for us.'[2] 'Let us hope', wrote V. V., 'that Russia's mission consists in the realization of equality and fraternity, even if it is not her destiny to struggle for liberty.'[3]

Naturally this solution could not satisfy those with revolutionary temperament and convictions. For them, there was nothing for it but to think again, if they did not wish to become ineffectual. It was time, as Mikhailovsky had seen, to admit that uncompromising apolitism had been the weakness of *narodnichestvo*, and had condemned the *narodniki* to an extremism which was doomed to failure.

Already in March 1879 the leaders of the *Severny Soyuz Russkikh Rabochikh* had argued that[4]

> political freedom can guarantee us and our organization from the arbitrariness of the authorities, and will allow us to develop our *Weltanschauung* correctly and to carry on our business of propaganda more successfully . . . that this freedom is, all the same, a very important condition for the earliest possible revolution and for a more or less intelligent solution of the social question.

Social revolution as the end, 'politics' as a means: the clumsy and groping formulations of the *Severny Soyuz* contained, in essence, the idea which, in the hands of Plekhanov, was to make Russian Marxism into a powerful revolutionary creed.

Plekhanov recalled, years later, that reading the *Communist*

[1] V. V., *Sud'by kapitalizma v Rossii*, p. 6. [2] Ibid., p. 7.
[3] Ibid., p. 124.
[4] 'Pis'mo v redaktsiyu "Zemli i Voli" ', in Dmitriev, op. cit., pp. 350f.

Manifesto when he first went abroad in 1880 was an epoch in his life.[1] He promptly set about translating it into Russian, and it provided the epigraph and inspiration for his first Marxist pamphlet, *Sotsializm i politicheskaya bor'ba* (*Socialism and the Political Struggle*). The epigraph reads: 'Every class struggle is a political struggle.'

By this time Plekhanov had no doubt that Marx's doctrine was applicable to Russia, and that it could help to solve the dilemma of the revolutionary socialist. 'Let us see', he writes, 'what is the place given to the political struggle by . . . scientific Socialism.'[2] He is at some pains to defend his Marxism against the charge that it would have Russia 'pass through exactly the same phases of historical development as the West.'[3] Marx, he pointed out, had never said anything of the sort; on the contrary, he had specifically allowed that the *obshchina* might, given a successful European revolution, form the basis of Socialism in Russia: it was rather Marx's 'general philosophico-historical views' which applied to Russia, as to all other countries.[4] It is very doubtful how far such statements represented Plekhanov's true opinions at this time, for in 1882 he had written to Lavrov: 'I see no essential difference between Russian history and that of the West.'[5] Perhaps the truth is that in *Sotsializm i politicheskaya bor'ba* and in *Nashi Raznoglasiya* he was writing to convince his readers that the Russian revolutionary movement would gain if all Russian socialists became Marxists,[6] and wished to deprive his *narodnik* opponents of a powerful appeal against Marxism as such.

Certainly it was not in Marx's general historical views that Plekhanov found an answer to the problem of 'politics', but in a sentence from the *Communist Manifesto*. 'In Germany', Marx had written, '[the Communists] fight with the bourgeoisie whenever it acts in a revolutionary way against the absolute monarchy, the feudal squirearchy and the petty bourgeoisie.' The Russian socialists, according to Plekhanov, should follow

[1] Plekhanov, *Pervye shagi Sotsial-demokraticheskogo dvizheniya v Rossii* (1909), in Dmitriev, op. cit., p. 587.
[2] Plekhanov, *Sochineniya*, Vol. ii, p. 31.
[3] Ibid., p. 46. [4] Ibid., p. 47.
[5] Kozmin (ed.), 'Neizdannye pis'ma G. V. Plekhanova i P. L. Lavrova', in *Literaturnoe Nasledstvo*, nos. 19–21, p. 295.
[6] See Plekhanov, *Sochineniya*, Vol. ii, p. 71.

this example of the Germans; and at the same time, as Marx had recommended to the Germans, they should show the working class that its interests are basically opposed to those of the bourgeoisie.[1] The aim of the Russian socialist should be to gain political freedom (in which, Plekhanov notes, they will have the support of the liberals), and to 'work out the elements for the formation of the future workers' socialist party of Russia.'[2] The difference between Russia and Germany is that the Russian bourgeoisie has arrived on the scene even later than the German:[3]

> It has developed lungs which demand the pure air of political self-government, but at the same time it has not lost the use of its gills, with the aid of which it continues to breathe in the muddy water of decaying absolutism.

The consolation is that its period of domination will surely be brief.[4]

In fact, Plekhanov had solved one dilemma only by accepting another which was inherent in Marxism. The Marxist idea of the dual revolution—first bourgeois, then socialist—which Plekhanov introduced into Russia,[5] implied an indefinite period of tight-rope walking by the socialists not only while the bourgeois revolution was coming, but even after it had been effected. It was this situation, not foreseen at the time, which produced in Western Socialism the conflicts surrounding the names of Jaurès, Millerand, and Bernstein. In Russia the relationship of the socialists to the bourgeoisie was Akselrod's main preoccupation in the 1890's. It led to the Legal Marxists (and others) being branded as bourgeois by the orthodox. As much as anything, it underlay the Bolshevik-Menshevik split in 1903, and many of the later controversies within the Russian Social-Democratic Party; and in one form or another, it has recurred in the history of Communism up to the present day.

The Eighties

The Marxist-*narodnik* controversy died down temporarily amid the general *quietus* of progressive thought in Russia in the 1880's. Mikhailovsky's mouthpiece, *Otechestvennye Zapiski*

[1] See Plekhanov, *Sochineniya*, Vol. ii, p. 86. [2] Ibid., p. 83.
[3] Ibid., p. 203. [4] Ibid., p. 86. [5] Ibid., pp. 37f.

(*Notes of the Fatherland*), was suppressed in 1884. The first shipment of literature from Plekhanov's *Gruppa Osvobozhdeniya Truda* (*Liberation of Labour Group*) took place in 1886;[1] but the amount which got in was a drop in the ocean, and the memoirist Voden recalls that in 1890 he was unable to obtain a single copy of any of the Group's publications in St. Petersburg: only the students of the Technological Institute had some sort of 'extract' from *Nashi Raznoglasiya*, which they would not let out of their hands.[2] Volume ii of *Capital*, in Danielson's translation, appeared in 1885;[3] but it lacked the impact of the first volume, and caused little stir.[4] Sieber hardly published anything after 1884, and no other economist devoted himself to Marxist exegetics. It is perhaps significant that when Sieber died in 1888, his obituary notice in *Yuridichesky Vestnik* (*Legal Herald*) (in which he had published several articles on Western European economic life) did not even mention that he was a Marxist, but called him 'probably our greatest expert on English Classical Economics'.[5] A few articles appeared in various periodicals putting forward the view that capitalism was bound to come in Russia, and *Severny Vestnik* (*Northern Herald*), which appears to have flirted with Marxism at this period, printed a number of translations of Kautsky and Lafargue. In 1889 a pamphlet appeared in Kazan entitled *Intelligentsiya kak kategoriya kapitalisticheskogo stroya* (*The Intelligentsia as a Category of the Capitalist Order*), by M. M. Mandelstam.[6] None of the articles, nor the pamphlet, attracted any attention at the time; and the fact that they could appear in periodicals whose dominant note was muted *narodnik* serves only to shew that issues which would have been the subjects of lively controversy a few years ago had temporarily lost their sting. The rump of the *Partiya Narodnoy Voli* continued to exist: but its attempt on the life of the

[1] See 'Pervy transport literatury Gruppy Osvobozhdeniya Truda', in *Krasny Arkhiv*, no. 18, p. 197.

[2] See A. M. Voden, 'Na zare legal'nogo marksizma', in *Letopisi Marksisma*, no. III (1927), p. 73.

[3] Engels had been sending Danielson the sheets of Vol. ii as they became available, thus enabling the Russian translation to appear in the same year as the German original. See 'Sochineniya K. Marksa v russkoy tsenzure', in *Dela i Dni*, 1920, kniga 1, p. 324.

[4] For Pobedonostsev's reaction, see p. 75, below.

[5] *Yuridichesky Vestnik*, 1888, no. 2, p. 101.

[6] See Angarsky, op. cit., pp. 27–31.

Tsar, in which Alexander Ulyanov took part in 1887, was isolated, and a failure. Progressive political impulses, in the face of Alexander III, Pobedonostsev, and Dmitri Tolstoy, were channelled into the *zemstva*. Here many young enthusiasts found an outlet for their idealism in the day-to-day work of the *zemstvo* secretariats. The *zemstva* themselves had to be defended from the encroachments of the administration, a task which fell to liberal journalists of the *Vestnik Evropy* (*Herald of Europe*) type. But it was a task which demanded legal arguments rather than historical or social theorizing and the construction of *Weltanschauungen*. In this sphere, until the crop failure and famine of 1891, an other-worldly Tolstoyanism shared the stage with Abramov's timid 'theory of small deeds'.

After the famine the intelligentsia began to respond again to larger social problems. The background was the same, only intensified: with Witte in office, the development of Russian capitalism was greatly accelerated. Old issues were re-kindled —many now proclaimed what only a few had seen before— and new ones were started, among them that of Legal Marxism. Struve's *Kriticheskie zametki k voprosu ob ekonomicheskom razvitii Rossii* (*Critical Notes on the Question of the Economic Development of Russia*) in 1894 ushered in a new phase of social thought, involving questions of ethics, epistemology, economic theory and sociology which had hitherto scarcely been touched in the Marxist-*narodnik* controversy.

II

PERSONAL BACKGROUNDS

Struve

Peter Bernhardovich Struve was born on 26 January 1870.[1] Unlike many members of the Russian intelligentsia, his background was neither that of the landed nobility, nor of the typical *raznochintsy*. His grandfather, Friedrich Georg Wilhelm Struve, had migrated early in the century from Altona (then in Denmark) to Dorpat; there he began a distinguished career as an astronomer, which culminated in his appointment as the first Director of the new observatory at Pulkovo in 1839, a position which he held until two years before his death in 1864.[2] Thereafter three streams of tradition are discernible in the family. The first is Germanic: it dictated the names of many of Friedrich's children and grandchildren—Otto Wilhelm, Heinrich Wilhelm, Bernhard, Karl Hermann, Gustav Wilhelm Ludwig. Bernhard Struve married in 1852 a Baroness Rosen, of Baltic German stock; and Peter Struve spent some of his childhood in Stuttgart, where his father went after his retirement.[3] The second is scientific: one of Friedrich's sons succeeded him as Director of Pulkovo; another became a chemical expert; two of his grandchildren became astronomers, and a third—Peter Struve's brother—a surveyor. The third tradition is one of public service: Friedrich's eldest son became Russian envoy to Japan, while his youngest, Bernhard, joined

[1] See I. V. Vladislavlev, *Russkie Pisateli* (Moscow, 1924), p. 294.

[2] See B. A. Orlov's biographical sketch in V. Ya. Struve, *Etyudy o zvezdnoy astronomii* (Moscow, 1953), pp. 172–208. The following anecdote of the opening of Pulkovo is perhaps worth recording. In May 1839 Uvarov, the Minister of Education, reported to Nicholas I that a number of foreign astronomers had written to Struve asking if they might attend the opening ceremony. Uvarov submitted a list of names for invitation. Nicholas's response was to write across the memorandum: 'It is not for us to invite them, but for them to beg to come.' (*Ne nam ikh zvat', a im k nam prosit'sya.*) (See *Krasny Arkhiv*, no. 95, p. 172.)

[3] See B. V. Struve, *Vospominaniya o Sibiri, 1848–1854* (Spb., 1889), p. 149; S. L. Frank, *Biografiya P. B. Struve* (New York, 1956), p. 221; V. A. Posse, *Moy Zhiznenny Put'* (Moscow, 1929), p. 124.

the staff of Count Muravëv on his appointment as Governor-General of Siberia in 1847.[1] Elements of all these three traditions may be seen combined in the character of Peter Struve himself.

Although he had German blood from both his parents, the sentiments which Peter Struve must have imbibed from his father were those of pure Russian patriotism unspoiled in spite of personal disillusionment. Bernhard Struve's career had not been an entirely happy one. At first his enterprise in going to the wild spaces of Siberia was rewarded. He was among Muravëv's closest associates, and reached the position of Governor of Irkutsk at the age of twenty-three.[2] Later, however, he lost Muravëv's favour, and resigned from his service;[3] appointed to Astrakhan, he resigned again after five years. His last appointment was to the Governorship of Perm; but here again, this time after a senatorial investigation, he was forced from his post.[4] Towards the end of his life, he wrote bitterly:[5]

> Thanks be to God, I am happy in my family life, though in service I have experienced great misfortunes, because of the bitter truth that there is on earth no more powerful spring of action than envy, nor stronger motive than money, while firmness of conviction is reprehensible. . . . 'God preserve me from friends—I will deal with enemies myself.'

But although Bernhard Struve believed that Muravëv had done great harm to him personally, his loyalty to his former chief and to the principles he stood for remained unshaken. He quotes the advice which Muravëv told him he had been given before leaving for Siberia: 'to hope for help from above, to have faith in the Gospel and in Christ . . . [and] not to be distracted by so-called Progress, the idol before which supposedly enlightened Europe bends her knee.'[6] Muravëv remained, for Bernhard

[1] See Brockhaus-Efron, *Entsiklopedichesky Slovar'*, 'Struve.'
[2] See B. V. Struve, op. cit., p. 172.
[3] Ibid., pp. 171, 178.
[4] See *Russky Biografichesky Slovar'* (Spb., 1903, etc.), 'B. V. Struve.'
[5] B. V. Struve, op. cit., pp. 149, 172. It is possible that Struve was here concerned to scotch a suggestion which had been put about that his misfortunes in his career were due to the character and behaviour of his wife. (See Posse, op. cit., p. 493.) Ivan Aksakov, however, believed that Bernhard Struve suffered for his straightness, courage and inflexibility. (Quoted by B. I. Nikolaevsky, 'P. B. Struve, 1870–1944', in *Novy Zhurnal*, X, p. 311.)
[6] B. V. Struve, op. cit., p. 10.

Struve, a man of great 'statesmanlike far-sightedness',[1] beside which all else was trifling:[2]

> It is to him that we owe it that Russia did not lose then, and has not lost since, her chance of playing on the Great Ocean that role which she ought to play as the greatest of States, with her shores washed by the waves of all the oceans. . . . An eternal Russian 'Thank you' to Muravëv-Amursky!

Peter Struve responded eagerly to these sentiments in his early years.

> In my childhood, [he recalled later][3] I had patriotic, nationalistic impulses, tinged with dynastic and at the same time Slavophil sympathies, verging on hatred for the revolutionary movement.

His favourite authors, his 'heroes in the realm of ideas', at this time were Ivan Aksakov (the editor of *Rus'*), and Dostoevsky, whose *Dnevnik Pisatelya* (*Diary of a Writer*) was then appearing. Aksakov was then preaching a type of Slavophilism which included strong racialistic elements, and some anti-semitism. Even so, he came into conflict with the Censorship, and *Rus'* was warned for discussing current events 'in a tone incompatible with true patriotism'.[4] This clash with authority enabled young Struve to find in Aksakov 'a strong and clearly perceptible note of the love of freedom', and in the Struve family[5]

> everybody read with enthusiasm Aksakov's passionate and forceful answer to the censorship department, and in my case it acted as the warm or even hot breeze in which my own love of freedom finally matured.

This 'passion for freedom', Peter Struve tells us, was born in him 'with something like an elemental force' when he was fifteen.[6] During the next few years the passion was fed by new influences, which led him away from Slavophilism towards Liberalism. At this time the *Vestnik Evropy*, edited by Konstantin Arsenev, was defending the tradition of the Great Reforms of the sixties against the retrenchments on liberty made by Alexander III. The general tenor of Arsenev's articles was the need

[1] Ibid., p. 179. [2] Ibid., Preface, and p. 180.
[3] P. B. Struve, 'My contacts and conflicts with Lenin', I, in *Slavonic Review*, Vol. xii, p. 575.
[4] V. Rosenberg and V. Yakushkin, *Russkaya pechat' i tsenzura v proshlom i nastoyashchem* (Moscow, 1905), p. 245.
[5] P. B. Struve, op. cit., I, p. 575. [6] Ibid., p. 576.

for the continued Westernization of Russia. Struve became his 'attentive and grateful reader'.[1] About the same time he began to attend the weekly meetings of Arsenev's *kruzhok*, and I. V. Hessen recalls a paper given by Struve in 1886 or 1887 on Shakespeare's *The Tempest* which won Arsenev's particular approval.[2] Struve's movement from Slavophilism found further support in the writings of Saltykov-Shchedrin, who was a contributor to *Vestnik Evropy*. In his stories of 'Poshekhon'e' Saltykov was attacking the Slavophil idealization of Russia's past- and in his *Pëstrye Pis'ma* (*Motley Letters*), which Struve 'read and re-read', he was inveighing against the moral and political stagnation which pervaded Russian society in the eighties. Under these influences Struve had become, he tells us, 'by passion and conviction' a liberal and a constitutionalist.[3]

These may seem big words for anyone to apply to himself between the ages of fifteen and eighteen; but it must be recognized that Struve's intellectual development was extremely precocious. In 1882, at the age of thirteen, he had already submitted an article to Aksakov's *Rus'*. At fifteen, while still at high school in St. Petersburg, he attended the doctoral disputation of an eminent slavist, V. I. Lamansky.[4] At sixteen or seventeen he had won the praise of Arsenev, which was not lightly given, in a group which included university students much older than himself. By the time he entered the university, when he was nineteen, he had already read through many of the university courses of the Faculty of Philology.[5]

In 1888, according to Struve's own account, he became a socialist. He emphasizes most strongly that his Socialism was a different thing from his former (and later) Liberalism. It was an intellectual conviction without strong feeling:[6]

> Socialism, however it be understood, never inspired any *emotions* in me, still less a passion. It was simply by way of reasoning that I became

[1] Loc. cit.

[2] I. V. Hessen [Gessen], *V dvukh vekakh* in *Arkhiv Russkoy Revolyutsii*, xxii, p. 252.

[3] Struve, op. cit., p. 576.

[4] B. I. Nikolaevsky, 'P. B. Struve, 1870–1944', in *Novy Zhurnal*, X, p. 314.

[5] Struve, 'Iz vospominaniy o Sanktpeterburgsom universitete', in *Rossiya i Slavyanstvo* 22 February 1930. Struve ascribes this reading to 'a lucky chance', but does not specify further.

[6] Struve, 'My contacts and conflicts', I, p. 577.

an adept of Socialism, having come to the conclusion that it was a historically inevitable result of the objective process of economic development.

This account of Struve's early attitude to Socialism is borne out by the source which he cites for his convictions. It was not the heroic figures of the Russian socialist tradition, nor yet anyone so romantic as Herzen's Saint-Simonistes, nor even the illegal (and therefore tempting) writings of Plekhanov, which first led Struve to Socialism:[1]

> The principal part in the formation and consolidation of my views on economic evolution was played . . . by the now almost forgotten book of Rudolf Meyer, *Der Emanzipationskampf des vierten Standes*—through the rich material of facts which I found in it.

Meyer's book was not such as to stir the emotions or set a young man crusading: a careful history of the early stages of the working-class movement, with conscientious expositions of the various socialist theories, it is a work of academic detachment. From Meyer, possibly, Struve learned of Marxism as the most scientific basis for Socialism. Struve's interest in economics grew. Soon afterwards he read Marx himself, and Klyuchevsky's *Boyarskaya Duma* (*The Boyars' Council*), which emphasized the economic basis of history in a Russian setting. What impression Marx made on Struve's mind at the time may be gauged from his later statement that he learned the economic interpretation of history as much from Klyuchevsky's book as from *Capital*.[2] It was not the ideal socialist society—that seemed 'remote and abstract',[3] and Marx, in any case, has little to offer on the subject—nor the technique of revolution, but an interpretation of history, which Struve sought and found. He later formulated the central problem of Russian Marxism at the time as follows:[4]

> What economic processes, what social relations and forces would determine the downfall of absolutism, the conquest of civil and political liberties, the establishment of a constitutional régime?

What he had learned, then, was that economics were the basic force in history. For Plekhanov, 'politics' had been a means towards the social revolution: for Struve, more consistent,

[1] Loc. cit. [2] See Nikolaevsky, op. cit., p. 316.
[3] Struve, 'My contacts and conflicts', I, p. 577. [4] Loc. cit.

perhaps, in his application of the economic interpretation of history, the question was rather what sort of economy would conduce to these 'politics'.

In spite of his early interest in economics, Struve entered the university of St. Petersburg in the Faculty of Natural Science. His reasons for this can only be guessed. Family tradition may have some part in it; or he may have chosen it initially in preference to the Faculty of History and Philology, where the syllabus had been restricted in 1885 to give ancient languages priority over history and literature, or the Faculty of Law which in the late eighties had the reputation of attracting the rich and idle students;[1] or he may have felt, as did others, like his friend A. N. Potresov, that the method of the natural sciences should be studied as a preliminary to the social sciences.[2] Whatever his reasons for taking up science, Struve, like Potresov, transferred to the Faculty of Law. In later life, he attributed this step to the fact that his sight was too bad for looking through microscopes;[3] but he was fond—reacting against his early social determinism—of finding incidental and contingent causes for decisive changes in his life, and it may be suspected that the real reason was that he found in the Faculty of Law—which included Political Economy—the nearest thing that the university had to offer to the social philosophy which he was seeking. There is no suggestion that he ever thought of the Bar as a career; but Law, as taught in Russian universities at that time, had little to do with the vocational training of barristers, being mainly concerned with general principles. Traces of Struve's reading in Law are to be found in a few legal analogies in his writings,[4] and in his concern with the Rule of Law (*zakonnost'*) and its content.[5]

[1] See Posse, *Moy Zhiznenny Put'*, pp. 33, 40.

[2] See A. N. Potresov, 'Vospominaniya', in his *Posmertny Sbornik Proizvedeniy* (Paris, 1937), p. 133. However, whereas Potresov came to this conclusion from reading the literature (particularly translations) of the sixties, Struve never mentions any such influence, nor is it discernible in him.

[3] See N. Tsurikov, 'Pëtr Berngardovich Struve (Vospominaniya)', in *Vozrozhdenie*, xxviii (Paris, 1953), p. 79.

[4] See, for instance, Struve, *Kriticheskie zametki k voprosu ob ekonomicheskom razvitii Rossii* (Spb., 1894), p. 137.

[5] See Struve, 'Tekushchie voprosy vnutrenney zhizni: Zakonnost' i ego otnoshenie k soderzhaniyu zakona', in *Novoe Slovo*, April 1897, ii, pp. 229f.; also his 'Pravo i prava' (1901) in *Na raznye temy* (Spb., 1902), pp. 522ff.

Struve recognized later that the university had much to offer in its curriculum and from its teachers, but that the students did not make full use of these opportunities:[1]

> Some were distracted by the freedom and breadth of student life in which the young men of our days, fresh out of high school, somehow submerged themselves; others were enthralled by politics. Purely political interests took up much time and at the same time narrowed their intellectual outlook. There was created an arrogant and contemptuous attitude to learning, if it was not connected with political questions and tasks, and subordinated to them.

It was, however, for no frivolous reasons that Struve soon 'knocked off lectures altogether', but because he preferred to read the books himself.[2] The atmosphere of the university was changing: there was 'a rush of "moralism", an urge to replace the former jollity and dissipation of student life with a new "asceticism"—not of the church, and even anti-church, but nevertheless severe.'[3] This was partly due to the influence of Tolstoy, transferred to the radical plane: 'We were at the same time Tolstoyans and radicals, politicians and socialists.' The result was that Struve and his contemporaries avoided the traditional student drinking-parties, gathering instead in the evenings for 'strictly ascetic tea-drinking, with serious talks on social and personal morality'. Distinguished speakers were sometimes invited, and Struve bearded Vladimir Solovëv for the purpose. But although he discovered that Solovëv had known his uncle (the diplomat) in Japan, Solovëv's dislike of radicalism prevailed and he refused to come.[4]

But ethics were a minor concern compared with economics and politics. For this sort of reading and discussion, too, informal *kruzhki* sprang up. A. M. Voden recalls how in May 1890 a friend introduced him to Struve, knowing they were both interested in Marxism. Already then Struve had on his shelves *La Misère de la Philosophie*, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, and *Anti-Dühring*, which he lent to Voden.[5]

[1] Struve, 'Iz vospominaniy o Sanktpeterburgskom universitete', in *Rossiya i Slavyanstvo*, 22 February 1930.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] Struve, 'Iz vospominaniy o Vl. Solov'ëve', in *Rossiya i Slavyanstvo*, 20 September 1930.

[4] Loc. cit.

[5] A. M. Voden, 'Na zare legal'nogo marksizma', in *Letopisi Marksizma*, iii, p. 72.

That summer Struve augmented his library during a visit to Switzerland and Germany. Shortage of money and the lack of letters of introduction prevented him from seeing Plekhanov, but in Zürich he bought 'a whole library of important Social-Democratic publications'.[1] Struve himself smuggled the books over the Swiss frontier into Germany; there he got in touch with his brother, who was on a scientific trip at the time, and who arranged to have the books sent back to Russia. Voden recalls how difficult it was for Russians to get a clear idea of the position of German Social-Democracy at the time,[2] and Struve's possession of the latest literature on the subject put him in a very strong position. Apart from books, too, he had gathered a mass of impressions from the life around him: public meetings of trade unions, cultural organizations and political parties, which were already taking place in South Germany on the lapse of Bismarck's anti-socialist legislation, were a revelation to one brought up under autocracy, and Struve, like many other young Russians, was fired with admiration for the successes achieved by the German Social-Democrats.[3]

Back in St. Petersburg, Struve made haste to share his new knowledge with others. Together with a friend, D. V. Stranden, who had also been abroad, he gave Voden an account of the history of German Social-Democracy. Soon Struve read a paper of his own on the life and work of Marx, followed by another on 1848 in Germany, in which he concentrated on Marx and Engels' activities. It was Struve's paper on Marx, according to Voden, which 'broke the ice':[4]

> It was the first tangible step in the trend which for a certain time was connected with the name of P. B. Struve, for instance in the verses which G. V. Plekhanov so much liked to quote:
>
> 'The People's Friend's departed,
> Into darkness gone.
> In his place arises
> Struve (Peter von)'.

Struve's papers were followed by others in the *kruzhok* which

[1] Struve, 'My contacts and conflicts', I, p. 578.
[2] See Voden, op. cit., p. 72. [3] See Struve, op. cit., p. 578.
[4] Voden, op. cit., pp. 72f.; the doggerel is quoted in full by Gorev, *Iz partiynogo proshlogo*, pp. 11f. It shows to the full the ascendancy of Struve as an authority on Marxism among the students in the mid-nineties. A translation is given in Additional Note 3 (p. 239, below).

was formed. A student called Zotov read several on the Decembrists: Voden took as his subjects the history of French Socialism, and of the Russian revolutionary movement. Here again it was Struve who provided the books: Voden's papers on Russia were based on Thun's *Geschichte der revolutionären Bewegungen in Russland*, of which Struve had 'almost the only copy to be found in St. Petersburg at the time'.[1] In the autumn of 1890 contacts were established between the university *kruzhok* and the students of the Technological Institute. One of these, R. E. Klasson, was to give a talk based on Engels' *Origin of the Family*, and an invitation was issued to the university students to provide an 'anti-Marxist' speaker. Voden replied that the 'technologists' had no monopoly of Marxism, and agreed to speak, but only in support of the Marxist point of view. The technologists lent him a copy of Engels' book, but refused to part with their 'extract' from *Nashi Raznoglasiya*. For this, Voden had to be content for the time being with Struve's and Zotov's accounts of what Plekhanov had to say.[2]

After his transfer to the Faculty of Law, Struve found a new forum for the discussion of political economy, and Marxism in particular. One of the members of the Faculty was a *privat-dozent* by the name of M. I. Sveshnikov, a former pupil of the historian Gradovsky, who had had a high opinion of him. In the event, this proved unjustified: Sveshnikov's dissertation was rejected, and he remained quite undistinguished. But he had a spirit of initiative, and the ability to encourage it in others, even if his projects were seldom carried to completion. One of his ideas was to write a history of the *zemstva* for the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of their existence in 1889. Sveshnikov circulated the individual *zemstva*, asking for material, and masses of local statistical year-books piled up in his rooms. Each member of Sveshnikov's seminar was to deal with one *zemstvo*. For most of them, the pile of dry factual reports—one fat volume for each year—proved too intimidating; only one pupil, Baron A. Meyendorff, completed his work on the St. Petersburg *gubernia zemstvo*.[3] Nevertheless, Sveshnikov's

[1] Voden, op. cit., p. 73. [2] Loc. cit.

[3] Baron A. Meyendorff, Personal Communication. Meyendorff's contribution was never published: he submitted it to a periodical, but it was rejected as being too dull. Another project of Sveshnikov's was a volume of

seminars soon became the main centre in the university for the informal discussion of political theory. They were particularly popular among the students interested in Marxism, and became known as 'the Marxists debating among themselves'.[1] Those taking part, apart from Meyendorff and Voden, included Struve and Potresov; N. P. Pavlov-Silvansky, the historian of Russian feudalism; N. V. Vodovozov, the author of a study of Malthus, and a contributor to Struve's periodicals later in the decade; and N. D. Sokolov, later a member of the *Soyuz Osvobozhdeniya* (*Union of Liberation*).[2]

Apart from such gatherings of intellectuals, there were a number of young people, inside and outside the university, who were trying to make contact with workmen and introduce them to Social-Democratic propaganda. Struve knew a number of these 'practitioners' (*praktiki*) of Russian Marxism. Klasson, Stranden, and Potresov were among them; others were V. V. Bartenev, who was soon arrested and exiled for five years for 'sitting under an upturned boat on the banks of the Neva and reading an account of Marx's theory to two workmen, one of whom turned out to be an *agent-provocateur*';[3] M. I. Brusnev, whose *Sotsial-Demokraticheskoe Obshchestvo*, founded in 1889, had one section for *intelligenty* and another for workmen, and ran *kruzhki* in three factories;[4] L. B. Krasin, later Soviet ambassador in London; V. S. Golubev; and V. V. Starkov.[5] Golubev and Bartenev tried to interest Struve in this 'practical' work. One memoirist (possibly Bartenev) recalls how he had been asked by some of his group of workmen to give lectures on the history of the working-class movement in Germany, and feeling that he did not know enough himself, he turned to Struve. Struve was attracted by the idea, and agreed to speak to the *kruzhok* himself. On this occasion,

translations of foreign constitutions. See also B. I. Nikolaevsky, 'A. N. Potresov', in A. N. Potresov, *Posmertny Sbornik Proizvedeniy*, pp. 15f.

[1] Voden, op. cit., p. 74.

[2] See Nikolaevsky, op. cit., p. 16.

[3] Bartenev's own words, recollected by V. A. Obolensky, Unpublished Memoirs, ch. X.

[4] See Vasin, 'Pervye marksistkie organizatsii v Rossii', in *Voprosy Istorii*, 1952, no. 10, p. 95; V. I. Nevsky, *Ocherki po istorii R.K.P.* (Moscow, 1925), p. 301.

[5] Struve, 'My contacts and conflicts', I, p. 583.

however, he was prevented by illness, and his sponsor's arrest precluded a further invitation.[1]

In the event, Struve took little or no part in such activity. In his memoirs he attributes this to a chance occurrence. Students could not visit factories in their university uniform for fear of attracting the attention of the police or their agents; and among Struve's friends the practice had been to use Golubev's fur coat as a disguise. So (according to Struve) when Golubev was arrested in the spring of 1891, the fur coat was lost, too, and no more such visits could be made.[2]

This is hardly an exhaustive explanation, and a more probable one is to be found in Struve's own character. According to one hostile account, he explained his non-participation in practical work at the time by saying that he was 'being saved as a theoretician';[3] and while the malice in this story is evident, it may contain a grain of truth. He was an intellectual's intellectual; in his own words 'an incorrigible littérateur and bookman'.[4] He lacked the common touch. Tyrkova-Williams goes so far as to suggest that he lacked not merely the common, but even the human touch, and that he 'was not interested in living people' and 'did not notice them';[5] but Tyrkova's personal observations are not always reliable, and there is no reason to take this comment seriously. What is certain is that Struve was a poor public speaker, more effective in a small seminar than in a lecture-room.[6] His academic style was not such as to hold an audience of workmen, and the one recorded occasion on which he did address a workmen's *kruzhok* was a failure.[7] The only non-intellectual organization in which he is known to have taken part at the university was the students' *Kassa vzaimopomoshchi* (*Mutual Assistance Fund*), which served as

[1] See V. B- [Bartenev?], 'Vospominaniya peterburzhtsa o vtoroy polovine 80-kh godov', in *Minuvshie Gody*, 1908, X, pp. 193f.

[2] Struve, op. cit., p. 583.

[3] I.e. from possible arrest. V. Perazich, 'Iz vospominaniy', in *Krasnaya Letopis'*, nos. 2–3 (1922), p. 114.

[4] Struve, 'Iz letnikh nablyudeniy' (1900), in *Na raznye temy*, p. 468.

[5] A. V. Tyrkova-Williams, *Na putyakh k svobode* (New York, 1942), pp. 36, 41.

[6] I. V. Hessen, op. cit., p. 252. This is borne out by the evidence of surviving acquaintances who heard him speak, such as E. D. Kuskova and Baron Meyendorff. Cf. also N. Rybinsky, 'Russky Belgrad do voyny: k 7-letiyu smerti P. B. Struve', in *Russkaya Mysl'* (Paris), 1951, no. 319.

[7] See Nikolaevsky, 'P. B. Struve', in *Novy Zhurnal*, X, p. 323.

a Students' Union, and had a membership of three or four hundred. This doubtless enhanced Struve's authority among the students, but the *Kassa vzaimopomoshchi* confined its activity to university affairs without meddling in politics, and it does not appear to have had any influence on Struve's development.[1]

The crop failure and subsequent famine of the years 1891–2, which shocked Russian society out of the social apathy typical of the eighties, had their effect on the young radical intelligentsia. For many they were the occasion of a second *khozhdenie v narod*:[2] students and writers, young and old, set out for the stricken areas to give what help they could, and many of them were brought face to face for the first time with the harshest realities of peasant life. The vast majority of these people, unlike their predecessors of the seventies, had no thought of propaganda: the need to combat starvation was overwhelming. But the government's attempts to minimize the facts of the disaster, coupled with irresponsibility and incompetence in dealing with it, drove many of them willy-nilly into opposition to the authorities.[3] Those who did hope to use the famine to rouse feeling among the peasants were disappointed, as Vera Figner had been twenty years before. The typical peasant's comment on his troubles was that 'the Lord Almighty has stricken the whole people; the Orthodox are chastened'.[4] Plekhanov's appeal, in his two pamphlets *Vserossiyskoe razzorenie* (*The Ruin of all Russia*) and *Zadachi sotsialistov v bor'be s golodom* (*The Tasks of Socialists in the Struggle against the Famine*), to carry the ferment, which the famine had caused in society, into the popular masses, found no response.[5] Struve, for his part, describes the effect of the famine as follows:[6]

> Our generation had been greatly impressed by the famine. . . . Those impressions gave birth to that movement of public thought

[1] See op. cit., p. 321; N. Cherevanin, 'Dvizhenie intelligentsii', in Martor *et al.*, *Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie v Rossii*, Vol. i, pp. 267f. It was not until 1899, and then unwillingly, that the St. Petersburg *Kassa vzaimopomoschchi* lent any support to students' political demonstrations. (See ibid., p. 275.)

[2] See Sibiryak, *Studencheskoe dvizhenie v Rossii* (Geneva, 1899), p. 6.

[3] See, for instance, V. G. Korolenko's diary, *V golodny god* (Petrograd, 1915), pp. 14ff., 46ff.

[4] Ibid., p. 44.

[5] See A. Egorov [L. Martov], 'Zarozhdenie politicheskikh partiy i ikh deyatel'nost' ', in Martov *et al.*, op. cit. Vol. i, p. 375.

[6] Struve, op. cit., pp. 585f.

which came to be known as 'legal Marxism'. I emphasize the fact that it was born not from books but from impressions of life. [The] more or less harmonious 'Marxian' theory of Russian economic, social and political development . . . created . . . in the works of Plekhanov and Axelrod . . . was a product of the émigré circles; it was not connected with fresh and direct impressions of life. The younger generation received such impressions from the famine of 1891–1892.

There is no doubt that Russian Marxism received a new impulse from the famine, quite independently of its own adepts and propagandists. The *obshchina*, supposedly the bulwark of justice and harmony among the peasants, proved, under the stress of hunger, to be no such thing. Korolenko, who was no Marxist, wrote in his diary:[1]

On all sides we hear complaints: the harmony of interests in the peasant *mir* turns out to be a fiction. . . . The semi-mystical idea of some sort of special 'way of life' among the people, where the wealthy or middling-wealthy member of the *obshchina* gladly and consciously takes on himself the burden of his needy brother—alas! this is quite imaginary. The fact is that in the *obshchina* conflict and antagonism of interests are boiling, and that now the phenomenon stands out with particular clarity. . . .

Many who went to the villages came back, disillusioned either by the failure of the *obshchina* or by the political apathy of the peasants, to form *kruzhki* among the town workers, the basis of the future Social-Democratic Party.

But for Struve himself such 'impressions of life' must have had their effect for the most part at second hand. Towards the end of 1891 he fell ill with pneumonia, and after a time in hospital went abroad, where he stayed for over a year.[2] (Visits to Western Europe became almost an annual event for him: he was there in 1890, 1892, 1893, 1896, 1897, 1899, and 1900–1, before emigrating to edit *Osvobozhdenie* (*Liberation*) in 1902.)[3] On this occasion, it seems, he made contact with the

[1] Korolenko, op. cit., pp. 31–33. [2] See Struve, op. cit., p. 583.

[3] See the following: for 1893, the date-line to his article 'Nemsty v Avstrii i krestyanstvo', in *Vestnik Evropy*, 1894, no. 2, p. 828 (Gräfenberg, in Austrian Silesia); for 1896, his 'My contacts and conflicts', I, p. 582, and II in *Slavonic Review*, Vol. xiii, p. 72, and Nikolaevsky, 'A. N. Potresov', p. 26 (Switzerland and London); for 1897, Struve, 'Mezhdunarodny kongress po voprosam zakonodatel'noy okhrany rabochikh', in *Na raznye temy*, p. 363 (Zürich); for 1899, S. L. Frank, op. cit. (Berlin); for 1900–1, Struve, 'Zametki o Gauptmanne i Nittsshe' [Hauptmann, Nietzsche], in *Na raznye temy*, p. 291, and his 'My contacts and conflicts', II, p. 77 (Berlin and Munich). This list, naturally, may not be exhaustive.

Gruppa Osvobozhdeniya Truda, for when Klasson visited them in August 1892, he had letters of introduction from both Struve and Potresov.[1] Struve has unfortunately left no record of this meeting, nor of the visit generally; but the German Social-Democrats were steadily increasing their membership and activity at the time, and we may suppose that the impressions of two years previously were reinforced.

For Struve the trip was fruitful in another way, too, for it was while he was abroad in 1892 that his first articles were written and published in German periodicals.[2] In 1891, talking to Voden after they had attended Shelgunov's funeral, Struve had outlined his plans 'to give the *narodniki* the necessary explanations' on their idealization of the *obschchina* and *artel'* and on Russia's 'special path of development', and further to elaborate his own views on the peasant question in Russia.[3] The crop failure and famine made such subjects topical; and for this reason, perhaps, Dr. Heinrich Braun, the editor of the *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt* and the *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik* accepted the articles of an unknown Russian economist of twenty-two. Struve's first article, 'On the question of migration in Russia', appeared in the *Centralblatt* on 11 July 1892; the second, embracing a wider field—'The economic development of Russia and the maintenance of the peasant estate'—on 22 August. Thereafter, until 1896, Struve contributed some fifteen articles and reviews both to the *Centralblatt* and to the *Archiv* on subjects related to the economic development of Russia; and in 1893–4 he published, in Arsenev's *Vestnik Evropy*, his first work in Russian. His early articles were written under the stimulus of the famine, and dealt mainly with agriculture; only from 1894, when the first of the clashes between workmen and employers which ultimately led to the mass strikes of 1896 occurred, did he turn his attention to industrial affairs. But already in these early articles, the central idea is that which formed the theme of his book *Kriticheskie zametki* in 1894: the growth of capitalism (understood in the wide sense of a commercial economy embracing both industry

[1] See R. M. Plekhanova, 'Nashi vstrechi so "znatnymi puteshestvennikami" ', in Gruppa Osvobozhdeniya Truda, *Sborniki* (Moscow, 1924–8), Vol. iii, p. 299.

[2] See Struve, 'My contacts and conflicts', I, pp. 581, 583.

[3] Voden, op. cit., p. 76.

and agriculture), its inevitability and progressive mission in a backward, predominantly agricultural, subsistence economy. In his German articles he dealt with the problem in its Russian setting; in his two Russian articles—such views not being readily acceptable in Russian periodicals at the time—he treated the same question as it arose in the Austrian Alps, and contented himself with pointing the moral for Russia:[1]

> The process has . . . more than a merely local interest; if like causes produce—*ceteris paribus*—like results, then the study of changes taking place in the economic structure of Western European countries are of deep and vital interest to us Russians. Too often we make a wholesale contrast between 'capitalist Europe' and communal [*obshchinnaya*] Russia, forgetting that in Europe too the transition to a money economy is by no means everywhere completed. . . .

For Struve, these articles were an opportunity to try out his pen, and to work out some of the ideas for his plan to give the *narodniki* 'necessary explanations'. The beginning of the Marxist-*narodnik* controversy of the nineties can be dated from Struve's review, in Braun's *Archiv* in 1892, of a work by V. V. on the *obshchina*.[2] Although these German articles could not command a wide public in Russia, this review was read by Nikolay -on, who added a footnote to his *Ocherki nashego poreformennogo obshchestvennogo khozyaystva* (*Sketches of our Social Economy since the Reform*), in which he accused Struve of being 'in favour of the peasants' being deprived of land'.[3] And when Struve criticized Nikolay -on's *Ocherki* in the *Centralblatt* in November 1893, S. N. Krivenko sprang to his colleague's defence in the next number of *Russkoe Bogatstvo* (*Russian Wealth*).[4]

But these were hardly more than sighting shots. On his return to St. Petersburg, Struve's main occupation (we hear little or nothing of his university studies, except that he passed the State examination in Law in the spring of 1894)[5] was the writing of *Kriticheskie zametki*. His memoirs tell us that he was[6]

[1] Struve, 'Nemtsy v Avstrii i krestyanstvo', in *Vestnik Evropy*, 1894, no. 2, p. 818.

[2] Struve, Review of A. Chuprov, A. Fortunatov and V. Vorontsov, *Itogi ekonomicheskogo issledovaniya Rossii po dannym zemskoy statistiki* (Moscow, 1892), in *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik*, 1892, V, pp. 499ff.

[3] Nikolay -on, *Ocherki*, p. 344n.

[4] S. N. Krivenko, 'Po povody kul'turnykh odinochek', in *Russkoe Bogatstvo*, 1893, no. 12. (Reference from Angarsky, op. cit., p. 49.)

[5] Struve, 'My contacts and conflicts', I, p. 581n.

[6] Ibid., pp. 580f.

absorbed by the intellectual working out of those problems to such an extent that all other questions were relegated to the background. It was not only brain work. It actually meant giving oneself up to a single big problem, theoretical and practical at the same time. . . . The writing of that book was on my part a fulfilment of some moral (as well as political) command, and the realization of some call.

Such an enviable state of concentration was not achieved without a background of reasonable emotional and financial security. At one time, between 1892 and 1894, Struve held the post of Assistant Librarian of the Scholastic Committee of the Ministry of Finance.[1] But more than anything else, at this period, he owed his comfort and security to a woman just twenty years older than himself, Alexandra Mikhailovna Kalmykova. Struve's own home had rather broken up on his father's death in 1889, and he had left his mother, who appears to have been a slightly difficult character.[2] Kalmykova, a Senator's widow with an energetic career of public service in education already behind her, was the mother of a school-friend of Struve's. According to one account, young Kalmykov felt that he was a disappointment to his enterprising and spirited mother, and suggested that the young intellectual Struve was really the sort of son that she wanted.[3] The substitution was effected: Kalmykova's son left home, and Struve was given a room in the flat where she lived above her book-store at No. 60, Liteyny Prospekt.[4] She was exceptionally devoted to Struve: according to E. D. Kuskova, who knew them both, Struve had a bad stomach, and so when they travelled together she would stay herself at inferior hotels so that Struve could live in the best, and get the food he needed. Apart from this, she supported him when he was earning no money.[5]

What influence she had on Struve is hard to determine

[1] See M. I. Tugan-Baranovsky, *Promyshlennye krizisy v sovremennoy Anglii* (Spb., 1894), Preface, p. ii, where Struve's help is acknowledged.

[2] See *Russky Biograficheskiy Slovar'*, 'B. V. Struve'; Posse, op. cit., p. 124.

[3] See Vera Slavenson, 'A. M. Kalmykova', in *Krasnaya Letopis'* 1926, no. 4 (19), p. 141.

[4] See Posse, op. cit., p. 124; Slavenson, op. cit., p. 143; Voden, op. cit., p. 76. In her memoirs Kalmykova calls Struve her 'adopted son'. Their next-door neighbour on the Liteyny, oddly enough, was Pobedonostsev. (A. M. Kalmykova, 'Obryvki vospominaniy', in *Byloe*, 1926, no. 1, pp. 64, 72.)

[5] E. D. Kuskova, Personal Communication to the author.

exactly. We have Struve's own recognition that she 'played a great part' in his life;[1] but her main activity at this time was teaching in Sunday evening classes for workmen at Vargunin's porcelain factory, work on the Council of the Imperial Free Economic Society's Literacy Committee, which she had helped to revive and reorganize in the late eighties, and running her book-store as a distributing centre for country school libraries.[2] Struve took no part in this kind of work.[3] More probably she acted as a substitute for his own mother, introducing him to opposition circles in society and giving sympathetic encouragement to his ambitions. Struve's influence on Kalmykova is somewhat more definable: according to his own account, it was through him that she became 'in an emotional and psychological sense' converted to Marxism, although 'spiritually and ideologically Marxism had always been something alien to her and she could not take a creative part in it as an intellectual or political movement.'[4] When Struve married in 1897,[5] he became estranged from Kalmykova, and she refused his offer that she should come and live with him and his wife.[6] She worked with him on the editorial boards of his periodicals in 1897 and 1899; but when he broke with Social-Democracy, she followed Lenin, and contributed funds for the support of *Iskra*. She died in Soviet Russia in 1926.[7]

Struve recalls that the writing of *Kriticheskie zametki* was done 'in a state of possessedness, inspiration if you like'.[8] There were interruptions in the work. Apart from his examinations, Struve was arrested in the spring of 1894, and was held in custody for nineteen days. At the time he thought that his connexions with the 'practitioners' of Social-Democracy had been disclosed, but it turned out that the police had no charge against him, and he was released.[9] As a result, the writing and even the printing

[1] Struve, 'My contacts with Rodichev', in *Slavonic Review*, Vol. xii, p. 351.
[2] See Kalmykova, op. cit., pp. 64, 69; D. D. Protopopov, *Istoriya S.-peterburgskogo Komiteta Gramotnosti sostoyavshego pri Imperatorskom Vol'no-ekonomicheskom Obshchestve* (Spb., 1898), pp. 34f., 41.
[3] See Posse, op. cit., p. 124.
[4] Struve, 'My contacts with Rodichev', p. 351.
[5] A. P. Struve, Personal Communication to the author.
[6] See Tyrkova-Williams, op. cit., p. 32; Slavenson, op. cit., p. 141.
[7] See Bertram Wolfe, *Three Who Made a Revolution*, pp. 103f.; *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya* (1st edn.), 'Kalmykova'.
[8] Struve, 'My contacts and conflicts', I, p. 580. [9] See ibid., p. 581n.

was done 'in bursts'.[1] There was a real urgency about it, for Mikhailovsky had opened his attack on the Marxists from the pages of *Russkoe Bogatstvo*, late in 1893, and they felt it imperative to answer him as soon as possible. Because of this polemical topicality, the book was written 'in feverish haste'.[2] In spite of all difficulties Kalmykova had it printed in 1,200 copies, and it was published in September 1894.[3]

It was an erudite if rather unpolished book of some 290 pages. Struve was fully conscious of its shortcomings—shortage of factual material, a certain baldness of assertion, a superfluity of quotations—and later refused suggestions that he should reprint it.[4] Nevertheless, as the first all-round attack, philosophical, sociological and economic, on *narodnichestvo*, it was an immediate success: the whole edition was sold out in two months.[5] We read in Struve's memoirs:[6]

> Within a few weeks [it] turned me from a 'promising' young student, hardly known to anyone outside a very limited circle of the Petersburg intelligentsia . . . into a well-known writer. . . .

In spite of Kalmykova's remonstrances (for she felt sure he would change his views, and feared that he would be called a renegade), and in spite of the critical attitude to Marx evinced in the book, Struve began to be known as the leader of the Marxists.[7] Kalmykova's friend Baroness Uexkull von Gyllenband, who had connexions both in government and in radical circles,[8] called to say that, for better or worse, *Kriticheskie zametki* was on every Minister's desk, and that conversation among them was of nothing else.[9] Mikhailovsky, one of the main objects of Struve's attack, devoted some forty pages to

[1] Struve, *Kriticheskie zametki*, Preface, p. viii.
[2] Kalmykova, op. cit., p. 66; cf. Struve, op. cit., p. viii.
[3] Kalmykova, op. cit., p. 66, gives the figure as 200; but this (if it is not a misprint) is improbably small compared with Struve's own 1,200. See Struve, 'My contacts and conflicts', I, p. 581.
[4] See Struve, *Kriticheskie zametki*, Preface, p. viii; Nikolaevsky, 'A. N. Potresov', p. 21; Kalmykova, op. cit., p. 66.
[5] Kalmykova, op. cit., p. 66; according to Struve, 'My contacts and conflicts', I, p. 582, the period was only two weeks.
[6] Struve, op. cit., p. 581. [7] Kalmykova, op. cit., p. 66.
[8] See Posse, op. cit., pp. 45, 158; E. K. Pimenova, *Dni minuvshie* (Moscow, 1929), pp. 148–53.
[9] See Kalmykova, op. cit., p. 66.

a review of the book in the October number of *Russkoe Bogatstvo*; but when some of the young radicals tried to arrange a debate between the two of them in a private house, Mikhailovsky backed out, and was stung to the sour comment: 'I refuse to meet this stupid Marxist, and consider these debates completely useless.'[1] This was unusual behaviour for a man known in general for his approachability and gentlemanly ways, and the story is a measure of how far Mikhailovsky was shaken from his customary composure; and although he later re-established friendly personal relations with Marxists, he began to recognize that he had lost his hold on the progressive intelligentsia, and became embittered against his opponents.[2]

V. V. In *Nedelya* (*The Week*) and Nikolay -on in *Russkoe Bogatstvo* also answered Struve's attacks. The leading periodicals carried reviews, as did provincial papers in Saratov and Odessa.[3] A man called Hofstetter published a separate brochure against *Kriticheskie zametki* under the title *Doktrinery kapitalizma* (*Doctrinaires of Capitalism*).[4] Naturally comments were very largely critical, but this did nothing to lessen the book's popularity, for its very appearance was, as a Moscow reader put it, 'a sensation of its kind; people fought to read it, and it was discussed in the student *kruzhki*.'[5]

Although it earned him the title of leader of the Marxists, the publication of *Kriticheskie zametki* did not cut Struve off from Liberalism. In spite of fundamental differences, Russian Marxism and Liberalism at this stage were in agreement in their yearning for political emancipation. Struve's memoirs contain a list of some of the literature which influenced him most strongly at the time, which illustrates the superficial fusion of the two currents. Among Marxist writers, apart from Marx (whose influence he is rather inclined to play down in retrospect) he mentions Sieber, Plekhanov and A. I. Skvortsov.

[1] E. D. Kuskova, Personal Communication to the author. The *venue* was to have been in the flat of L. F. Panteleev, the publisher.

[2] See Gorev, op. cit., pp. 17, 43; Tyrkova-Williams, op. cit., p. 30; Voden, op. cit., p. 76n.

[3] Slonimsky in *Vestnik Evropy*, 1894, no. 12; Golovin in *Russky Vestnik*, no. 234 (December 1894). *Russkaya Mysl'* has not been available; see also H. Sachs, *P. von Struve*, p. 14.

[4] See P. Orlovsky, *K istorii marksizma v Rossii* (Moscow, 1919), p. 29n.

[5] S. Mitskevich, *Na grani dvukh epokh* (Moscow, 1937), p. 184.

It is significant that of Plekhanov's works, Struve selects *Nashi Raznoglasiya*, with its destructive criticism of *narodnichestvo*, rather than *Sotsializm i politicheskaya bor'ba*, with its emphasis on the ultimate aim of social revolution, for mention both in one of his German articles written at the time and in his memoirs.[1] Skvortsov, a Professor of the Economics of Agriculture at Novaya Alexandria (Pulawy) in Russian Poland, was the author of a 700-page treatise entitled *Vliyanie parovogo transporta na sel'skoe khozyaystvo* (*The Influence of Steam Transport on Agriculture*), based on Marxist economics and devoted mainly to an examination of various theories of rent under the impact of the growth of railways.[2] Struve wrote later: 'Of myself I can say that Marx's *Capital* had no more influence on me than Skvortsov's huge, half-agronomical dissertation. . . .'[3] Two points in Skvortsov's work particularly impressed Struve: his estimate of the effect of steam transport on the dispersion of industry and the growth of towns,[4] and his insistence on the tendency towards intensification of agriculture.[5] Both were relevant to the general theoretical basis of the development of capitalism in Russia.

But there were other influences, not mentioned in the memoirs, but quoted in *Kriticheskie zametki*, which moved Struve beyond Marxism both in economics and in philosophy. Already in 1890 or 1891, Struve had talked of using the philosophy of Riehl instead of Hegel as a framework for historical materialism;[6] and in *Kriticheskie zametki* it was the works of the critical philosophers Riehl and Simmel, as much as Engels' *Anti-Dühring*, which provided the philosophical basis.[7] Coupled with this went an interest in such economists as Sombart and Schulze-Gävernitz, for whom Marxism was a method of analysis rather than a revolutionary gospel.[8] Epistemology and

[1] See Struve, 'Zur Beurtheilung der kapitalistischen Entwickelung Russlands', in *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt* III Jhg., no. 1, p. 1; 'My contacts and conflicts', I, p. 579.

[2] See A. I. Skvortsov, *Vliyanie parovogo transporta na sel'skoe khozyaystvo* (Warsaw, 1890), Preface, p. iv. Von Thunen's theories received particular critical attention. (Ibid., pp. 27, 86f., 686–98.)

[3] Struve, op. cit., p. 587.

[4] Skvortsov, op. cit., pp. 326ff.; Struve, *Kriticheskie zametki*, pp. 105f.

[5] Skvortsov, op. cit., pp. 425–34; Struve, op. cit., pp. 209, 211.

[6] See Voden, op. cit., p. 74.

[7] See Struve, op. cit., pp. 34n., 35n., 36–39, 40, 54n., 69.

[8] Ibid., pp. 67, 89, 101, 137, 146, 281.

methodology can be unhealthy preoccupations for a good Marxist; the seeds of doubt once sown, there is no knowing to what they will grow.

Tyrkova-Williams has left a picture of Struve and Tugan-Baranovsky as bigoted and fundamentalist Marxists, who[1]

> repeated Marxist truths with the obedient obstinacy of a Mohammedan preaching the Koran. . . . [They] were quite convinced that the right texts from *Capital* or even from Marx and Engels' correspondence could settle all doubts and all controversies. . . . For these Marxist scholastics every letter in the works of Marx and Engels was hallowed.

A charge of bookishness is one to which all the Legal Marxists are open; but those of believing in the absolute sufficiency of Marxism, and of uncritically accepting Marx's every word, are both ridiculous. Not only did Struve think it necessary, from the first, to supplement Marxism from other sources, but he explicitly expressed reservations about his own Marxism. In the Preface to *Kriticheskie zametki* he described himself as accepting only 'certain propositions' of Marxism. It was a point on which Lenin fastened with eager sarcasm, and one which would hardly have been made by the sort of Marxist depicted by Tyrkova-Williams.

Nevertheless, in 1890–4, Struve considered himself a socialist and even a communist. After reading *Vliyanie parovogo transporta* Struve struck up a correspondence with Skvortsov, which ultimately led to personal acquaintance. But Skvortsov, as it turned out, combined Marxist economic views with membership of the Orthodox Church, constitutional monarchism, and nationalism;[2] and after the meeting Struve wrote to Potresov:[3]

> I thought Skvortsov very intelligent—as I expected—and certainly someone to be respected. But I did not like him *personally*. He is not at all *one of us*, that is, he is a Marxist without being a communist. . . . I should not be surprised if one fine day he became a contributor to the *Moskovskie Vedomosti*.

Alongside such Marxism and 'Communism' went liberal influences. Struve selects three for mention: the works of Dragomanov, who[4]

[1] Tyrkova-Williams, op. cit., p. 36.
[2] See Struve, 'My contacts and conflicts', I, p. 587.
[3] Quoted by Nikolaevsky, 'A. N. Potresov', p. 20. *Moskovskie Vedomosti* (*Moscow Gazette*) was a conservative newspaper.
[4] Struve, op. cit., p. 580.

firmly advocated the principle of the struggle for political freedom and democratic institutions and rejected the very idea of 'social revolution' carried out by extra-legal violent methods;

the letters of Kavelin and Turgenev to Herzen (published by Dragomanov in Geneva in 1892);[1] and John Morley's *On Compromise*.[2] These influences were less palpable, and cannot be traced to quotations in Struve's works. In the long run, they proved the stronger; meanwhile, he was still able to keep a foot in both the Marxist and the liberal camps. During his years at the university, he maintained his contacts with Russian liberals. He continued attending Arsenev's *kruzhok*;[3] he knew Prince Dmitry Shakhovskoy, possibly through Kalmykova, who had been Shakhovskoy's colleague on the Literacy Committee since 1886;[4] about 1890 he met Fëdor Rodichev of the Tver *zemstvo*.[5] When Nicholas II, in a celebrated speech, dashed the hopes of representation expressed by the *zemstva* (particularly the Tver *zemstvo*) in their addresses to the Throne, Struve reacted promptly:[6]

Like lightning there flashed through my mind the idea of replying at once to the Emperor's speech in the name, as it were, of all progressive Russia, aspiring to freedom and public self-expression—and more especially in the name of Zemstvo Russia.

The outcome was the *Otkrytoe pis'mo k Nikolayu II-mu* (*Open Letter to Nicholas II*). Struve shewed it first to Kalmykova, then to Potresov. Both approved, and Kalmykova placed the hectograph in her book-store at his disposal; Shakhovskoy and two other sympathizers helped with the duplicating. By the evening of the 19 January 1895, two days after Nicholas' speech, copies of an Open Letter calling him 'inexperienced and ignorant' and threatening him with a 'struggle' had been posted to all chairmen of *gubernia zemstva*, the editors of some periodicals, and selected private individuals. Many people

[1] Struve, op. cit., p. 579.
[2] Ibid., p. 592. A Russian translation had appeared at the time.
[3] See A. Meyendorff, 'A. M. Onou' (obituary), in *Slavonic Review*, Vol. xiv, p. 186.
[4] See D. I. Shakhovskoy, 'Avtobiografiya', in *Russkie Vedomosti 1863–1913* (Moscow, 1913), Part II, p. 200; Protopopov, op. cit., p. 34.
[5] See Struve, 'My contacts with Rodichev', p. 348.
[6] Ibid., p. 351. For a fuller discussion of these events, see pp. 18off. below.

thought that the letter came from the pen of Rodichev.[1]

So within four months of the publication of *Kriticheskie zametki*, Struve had entered the lists on behalf of the liberals. But *Kriticheskie zametki* had greater immediate consequences for Struve than the *Otkrytoe pis'mo*. During 1893 Klasson had returned from Germany to St. Petersburg, and, renewing old Marxist contacts among fellow-'technologists' and others, had formed a kind of Marxist salon which met at his flat on the Bolshaya Okhta, just across the river opposite the Smolny Institute. The members included Struve, Potresov, Tugan-Baranovsky and Krupskaya. Also present from time to time was Lenin; and it was here, in the winter of 1894–5, that Struve first met him. Lenin's most notable contribution to the salon, apart from 'interesting discussions of Russian capitalism', was a paper criticizing Struve's book. Its title (borrowed from a passage in *Kriticheskie zametki*) was suggestive: 'Otrazhenie marksizma v burzhuaznoy literature (The Reflection of Marxism in Bourgeois Literature').[2] Whether Lenin originally intended it for publication is doubtful; but Potresov was busy just then planning a miscellany of articles by Marxist writers, and Lenin was invited to adapt his paper for inclusion in it.[3] According to Potresov, Struve, Klasson and he gathered one evening in Potresov's flat at No. 9, Ozerny Pereulok, and Lenin came with two friends, Stepan Radchenko and Starkov, to read the revised and expanded text.[4] Struve's account of the reading differs slightly from Potresov's:[5]

'Lenin's . . . article . . . was, in fact, a little book,[6] which it was impossible either to discuss or even to read in one evening. Perhaps I am mistaken; but I do not think that Lenin read the whole of his article in the circle [of six people]. As far as I remember, after having read a concise summary of his article to the . . . group . . . , Lenin read the

[1] Ibid., pp. 351f., 357f. Struve here quotes the texts of the Tver *zemstvo*'s address, Nicholas's speech, and the *Otkrytoe pis'mo* in full, in an English translation.

[2] See R. E. Klasson, 'Vladimir Il'ich u R. E. Klasson', in *Krasnaya Letopis'*, 1925, no. 2 (13), pp. 144f.; Struve, 'My contacts and conflicts', I, p. 590.

[3] Potresov, Communication to the editors of *Krasny Arkhiv* in *Krasny Arkhiv*, no. 4, pp. 308f. See also pp. 76ff. below.

[4] Potresov, 'A. N. Potresov o Lenine', in *Krasnaya Letopis'*, 1925, no. 2 (13), pp. 146f.

[5] Struve, 'My contacts and conflicts', I, pp. 590f.; see also p. 129n below.

[6] It occupies some 160 pages in Lenin's *Sochineniya*.

whole of it to me alone in my room on the Liteyny. He did so with a definite practical object, which we had in common, namely to make possible its appearance, together with my reply to my critics, in the proposed miscellany. That reading, which demanded not merely attentive, but even strenuous listening on my part, and was interrupted by conversations which often assumed the form of long and lively discussions, took several evenings.

Whatever the details, the article and the discussions were of great significance: they represent the first sign of a conscious divergence between Legal Marxists and orthodoxy. From this point, Struve's biography temporarily loses its separate identity, and becomes part of the history of Legal Marxism, and its relations to Social-Democracy and Liberalism.

Tugan-Baranovsky

Mikhail Ivanovich Tugan-Baranovsky was the eldest of the Legal Marxists. Born on 8 January 1865 in the village of Solyonoe near Kharkov, he came from a family of mixed Ukrainian and Tatar blood;[1] their full name was Tugan Mirza Baranovsky, and they had come to Lithuania in the fourteenth century.[2] He was educated in high school in Kiev and Kharkov, where he shewed an early interest in philosophy, reading Kant while he was still a schoolboy. At Kharkov university, where he went in 1884, his career was somewhat similar to Struve's and Potresov's in St. Petersburg. He began as a natural scientist, in the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics, in which he took the degree of Candidate in 1888; but at the same time his interests began to turn to Political Economy, and in 1890 he passed the examination in the Faculty of Law and Economics at Kharkov as an external student.[3]

However, it was as a natural scientist that Tugan-Baranovsky came into contact with radical and revolutionary movements. While he was still at Kharkov, he got to know students in the same field at St. Petersburg; among them was Lenin's brother Alexander Ulyanov, and Veresaev, then a medical student, recalls meeting Ulyanov and Tugan-Baranovsky together in the

[1] See O. K. Mitsyuk, *Naukova diyal'nist' politiko-ekonomista M. Iv. Tugan-Baranovs'kogo* (Lvov, 1931), p. 5.

[2] See Tyrkova-Williams, op. cit., p. 38.

[3] See Mitsyuk, op. cit., p. 5; *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*, 'Tugan-Baranovsky'.

mid-eighties.[1] In 1886, however, the friendship was cut short. The Natural Science students of St. Petersburg took the lead that year in staging a demonstration on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of Dobrolyubov (17 November). When the demonstrators moved to the Kazan Square, and the city's chief of police arrived to disperse them, Tugan-Baranovsky was among those arrested. He was temporarily banished from St. Petersburg, and so lost touch with Ulyanov.[2] Posse, from whose memoirs the story is taken, suggests that but for his arrest Tugan-Baranovsky might have taken part in Ulyanov's attempt on the Tsar's life the following year, and might have shared the fate of the conspirators. But Posse's memoirs are garrulous rather than judicious: all the evidence on Tugan-Baranovsky's character suggests impractical academic naïvety,[3] and it is hardly conceivable that he had the makings of a terrorist.

In 1889 Tugan-Baranovsky married Lydia Karlovna Davydova, the daughter of the Director of the St. Petersburg Conservatoire. Lydia Karlovna was *une belle laide*, her liveliness and charm making up for a lack of looks in which she matched her husband. Her school-friend Tyrkova has described the marriage in glowing terms:[4]

> Misha, tall, broad-shouldered, heavily-built, with fat cheeks on high cheek-bones, and little eyes with a slight cast, looked just like the Tatar he was. He had a strange way of talking. He mumbled, lisping slightly, and the words flew childishly out of his small mouth with red, pouting lips. For Lydia he was the most beautiful, the most attractive and intelligent, the most astonishing man on earth. In her he found his first full self-affirmation. She was the first to believe in him. They fell in love at first sight. They met in Paris, at the exhibition of 1889. High over Paris, on the Eiffel Tower, their fate was decided.

It was evidently marriage which gave Tugan-Baranovsky the confidence he needed to start his career of productive scholarship. His first article, 'Uchenie o predel'noy poleznosti khozyaystvennykh blag' ('The Doctrine of the Marginal

[1] See V. V. Veresaev, *Vospominaniya* (Moscow, 1946), p. 290; cf. Struve, 'My contacts and conflicts', I, pp. 591f., according to whom Tugan-Baranovsky was 'on close terms' with Alexander Ulyanov.

[2] See Posse, op. cit., pp. 36–38.

[3] See Tyrkova-Williams, op. cit., p. 30; Struve, op. cit., p. 590; Pimenova, op. cit., p. 147; N. D. Kondratev, *Mikhail Ivanovich Tugan-Baranovsky* (Petrograd, 1923), p. 30.

[4] Tyrkova-Williams, op. cit., pp. 38f.

Utility of Economic goods'), was published in October 1890 in *Yuridichesky Vestnik*. It was an early, if not the earliest, account of the Austrian marginal utility theory of value in Russian economic literature. Arguing that 'both [labour and utility] principles of valuation are in agreement with each other',[1] the article foreshadowed some of Tugan-Baranovsky's own later criticisms of Marxism,[2] and shewed in him traces of that search for an independent viewpoint which was ultimately characteristic of all the Legal Marxists.

Apart from this initial impetus, Lydia Karlovna had further effects on her husband's career. Her mother, Alexandra Davydova, was from 1891 the founder and proprietress of *Mir Bozhy* (*God's World*), which started as a magazine for young people, but soon became a straightforward 'fat review' with Marxist leanings.[3] Lydia Karlovna helped her mother on the editorial board, where she ran the foreign section, and contributed a number of articles under such titles as 'The White Slaves', 'Richard Oastler, King of the Factory Children' and 'Joseph Arch, the English peasant M.P.'[4] According to Tyrkova, Lydia Karlovna was not a gifted writer; her genius lay rather in dealing with people; and it was here, where her husband tended to be gauche and tactless, that she could be of great assistance to him.[5] Through her he was introduced to the world of St. Petersburg publicists, among whom, in a few years' time, he was to hold a leading position. His first articles devoted to the popularization of historical materialism were printed in his mother-in-law's review *Mir Bozhy*.

After the article on marginal utility, Tugan-Baranovsky turned, briefly, to popular biography, a genre to which his talents of economic theorist and historian did not greatly suit him, and to which he never later returned. Lydia Karlovna's influence may, perhaps, be reasonably suspected here: with her interest in individuals, she was herself a biographer by inclination and in fact. The publisher Pavlenkov was at this time producing a series under the general title 'Lives of Re-

[1] Tugan-Baranovsky, 'Uchenie o predel'noy poleznosti khozyaystvennykh blag', in *Yuridichesky Vestnik*, 1890, Vol. vi, kn. 2, p. 228.

[2] See Mitsyuk, op. cit., p. 5. [3] See pp. 80f. below.

[4] See Tyrkova-Williams, op. cit., p. 37; Brockhaus-Efron, op. cit., '*L. K. Tugan-Baranovskaya.*'

[5] See Tyrkova-Williams, op. cit., pp. 37f.; Pimenova, op. cit., p. 147.

markable Men. The Biographical Library'. They were serious little works of about eighty pages each, with a portrait engraving for frontispiece, and they sold at no more than twenty-five kopecks a copy. Their subjects included historical figures like Alexander the Great and Metternich, philosophers like Confucius, Plato and Bentham, religious leaders like Gregory VII and John Hus, scientists like Faraday, Edison and Morse. Lydia Karlovna's *George Eliot* appeared in 1891 in this series;[1] and Tugan-Baranovsky contributed in 1891 and 1892 biographical sketches of Proudhon and John Stuart Mill.

Popular essays of this kind are not the best vehicles for a thinker to use for the expression of his deeper convictions, and it would be unwise to attempt to learn too much about Tugan-Baranovsky's ideas at this time from them. But it is plain that he achieved a greater degree of sympathy with Mill than with Proudhon. Proudhon he criticizes for his lack of 'straightness and sincerity', his 'weakness and cowardice' and 'hypocritical fawning on Louis Napoleon';[2] on the intellectual plane, Tugan-Baranovsky is equally critical, and praise for Proudhon's occasional 'acute and original thoughts'[3] is hedged about with mention of his 'frequent self-contradictions', lack of system and logical order, obscurity and love of paradox,[4] and 'an inborn lack of imagination [which] prevented him from creating his own system and founding a new movement in economic science'.[5] His proposals for reform were 'Utopian'.[6] Tugan-Baranovsky concludes that Proudhon was[7]

> an honest and talented publicist and politician, who was not without weaknesses, but who amply expiated them by his life of toil, full of hardships, in the service of the grey working mass, from which he came himself.

Personal probity and methodical exposition, which Tugan-Baranovsky found so lacking in Proudhon, were far more characteristic of Mill; in Tugan-Baranovsky's sketch critical remarks are relatively few, and mainly turn on Mill's lack of originality.[8] In spite of this, Tugan-Baranovsky believed that

[1] Under her maiden name, Davydova.

[2] See Tugan-Baranovsky, *P. J. Proudhon, ego zhizn' i obshchestvennaya deyatel'nost'* (Spb., 1891), pp. 19, 21, 64f.

[3] Ibid., p. 39. [4] Ibid., pp. 29f. [5] Ibid., p. 35.

[6] Ibid., p. 57. [7] Ibid., p. 80.

[8] See Tugan-Baranovsky, *J. S. Mill, ego zhizn' i uchëno-literaturnaya deyatel'nost'* (Spb., 1892), pp. 70, 84, 86.

Mill 'more than anyone else helped the spread throughout the civilized world of a right understanding of the spirit of contemporary science, based on the study of nature'.[1]

But if all this does not shed any very great light on Tugan-Baranovsky himself, there is one point which emerges with some clarity.

No more than Struve can Tugan-Baranovsky be accused of a wholesale acceptance or uncritical application of the Marxist canon. In the first place, had Tugan-Baranovsky been a Marxist of such rigidity as Tyrkova-Williams makes him out to be, it is hardly likely that he would even have undertaken the biographies of Proudhon and Mill, two men to whom Marx was contemptuously hostile. Moreover, Tugan-Baranovsky's own words refute any such charge. His comments on both Proudhon and Mill are singularly free from the standard Marxist class categorizations, such as 'bourgeois', 'petty-bourgeois' and so forth. When he tries to explain features of Proudhon's views, his method is psychological rather than sociological.[2] He describes Marx's pamphlet against Proudhon, *La Misère de la Philosophie*, as 'very harsh and not quite just',[3] and believes that in spite of it, Proudhon had some influence on Marx. Mill's *Principles* he regards as 'still pretty well the best treatise on Political Economy'; he qualifies him as 'a worthy successor to . . . Bacon, Locke, and Hume', and 'an eclectic in the best sense of the word'.[4] These are judgements which may be contrasted with Marx's own gibe at Mill:[5]

> On the level plain, simple mounds look like hills; and the imbecile flatness of the present bourgeoisie is to be measured by the altitude of its great intellects.

But presently Tugan-Baranovsky was engaged on a major work of scholarship, which makes it possible to determine his position with rather more definition. Like the other Legal Marxists, Tugan-Baranovsky was a Westernizer; and though he recognized that the proper study for a Russian economist was Russia itself, he saw the West, and particularly England, as the forerunner of economic development, which could serve

[1] See Tugan-Baranovsky, *J. S. Mill*, p. 71.
[2] See, for instance, Tugan-Baranovsky, *P. J. Proudhon*, p. 29.
[3] Ibid., p. 39. [4] Tugan-Baranovsky, *J. S. Mill*, pp. 84–88.
[5] Marx, *Capital*, Vol. i, p. 527.

as a guide to the future of less advanced countries.[1] With these thoughts in mind, he spent six months in London in the spring and summer of 1891, burrowing, like Marx before him, among the Blue Books and statistical surveys in the British Museum. When he got back to St. Petersburg, he worked for two more years in the Public Library and the Library of the Scholastic Committee of the Ministry of Finance (where he apparently first met Struve).[2] The result was a solid book of over 500 pages, with diagrams; its full title was *Promyshlennye krizisy v sovremennoy Anglii, ikh prichiny i vliyanie na narodnuyu zhizn'* (*Industrial Crises in Contemporary England, their Causes and Influence on the Life of the People*). It was published in 1894 and earned its author his Master's degree at Moscow University.[3] Three-quarters of the book were devoted to a detailed history of booms and slumps in England in the nineteenth century. The remainder was a discussion of the theory of crises.

All this was remote from the economic development of Russia, hardly yet affected by the same fluctuations of economic activity as Western countries. The vital issue in Russia was not the causes of slumps, but a larger one: could capitalism develop without external markets? V. V., as we have seen, had answered, 'No'. Although Tugan-Baranovsky did not spend much time on this question, there was no doubt of his views: using Marx's 'reproduction-schemes' from *Capital*, Vol. ii, he argued that production created its own demand, and that there were 'no external limits to the expansion of production except an insufficiency of the productive forces themselves'.[4] This suggestion—that there were no social, but only material limits to the expansion of capitalism—not only determined on which side of the Russian controversy Tugan-Baranovsky should be, but ultimately embroiled him with orthodox Marxism.[5]

But even before the Revisionist controversy brought this aspect of his work into relief, Tugan-Baranovsky had shewn that he was not tied to the letter of Marxism. Marx, he

[1] See Tugan-Baranovsky, *Promyshlennye krizisy*, Preface, p. i.
[2] See ibid., p. ii. [3] See Mitsyuk, op. cit., p. 5.
[4] Tugan-Baranovsky, op. cit., p. 427.
[5] See R. Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital* (London, 1951), ch. XXIII; also P. Sweezy, *The Theory of Capitalist Development* (London, 1946), chs. X and XI, esp. pp. 158–73.

observed, had never worked out a full theory of crises; Engels and Kautsky had done rather more, and theirs was the most satisfactory yet. They rightly held that the causes of crises lay not in natural phenomena such as harvests or sunspots, but in the organization, or rather lack of organization, of capitalist commodity production itself; but they failed to deal with another part of the problem—the peculiar ten-year periodicity of crises—which others had at least attempted to tackle.[1]

Tugan-Baranovsky's own theory of crises was original, and his emphasis on the distinction between the reactions of producer-goods and of consumer-goods industries to the cycle-swing is recognized as a contribution of permanent value.[2] The book was not immediately noticed abroad; but in 1899 he published a section of it as an article in Braun's *Archiv*, and in 1900 the second Russian edition was translated into German. Thereafter Tugan-Baranovsky's reputation was established among European specialists in the field. Werner Sombart went so far as to call him 'der Vater der modernen Krisenlehre'.[3] A French translation of his book followed in 1913, but, curiously, no English one.

Meanwhile, equipped with his Master's degree, Tugan-Baranovsky began his academic career. In 1895, he was appointed *privat-dozent* at St. Petersburg university.[4] In the same year, together with Struve, he joined the Free Economic

[1] Tugan-Baranovsky, op. cit., pp. 453–8.

[2] See J. A. Schumpeter, *History of Economic Analysis* (London, 1954), p. 1126.

[3] W. Sombart, quoted by M. Moisseev, 'L'évolution d'une doctrine. La théorie des crises de Tougan-Baranovsky et la conception des crises économiques', in *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale*, Vol. xx (1932), p. 9. This article contains a discussion of Tugan-Baranovsky's influence on cycle theory, e.g. on Spiethoff, Pohle, Eulenberg, Cassel.

[4] There is some disagreement among the authorities whether Tugan-Baranovsky ever took up the appointment. According to Kondratev (op. cit., p. 115), he held it until 1899, when he was dismissed for political unreliability. Brockaus-Efron ('Tugan-Baranovsky') has the same account. Mitsyuk, on the other hand (op. cit., p. 11) says that his appointment was not confirmed by the government, and that he taught independently, without being attached to a university department. A police report of 1897 refers to him as a '*dozent* of Spb. university' (Polyansky, op. cit., in *Krasny Archiv*, no. 9, p. 243), but the value of this report is reduced by the fact that it also names Struve as a *dozent*, which is nowhere confirmed, and is almost certainly false. Short of access to university records, the question must remain open.

Society.[1] Finally, in December 1895, he published in *Mir Bozhy* his article 'Znachenie ekonomicheskogo faktora v istorii' ('The Significance of the Economic Factor in History'); it called forth replies from the *narodniki* Obolensky, Mikhailovsky, and Kareev, to which Tugan-Baranovsky himself printed a rejoinder in April the following year. Although there is no record of him having any contact with Social-Democratic groups at this stage, he was now committed in his views; and as the Marxist and Legal Marxist movements grew, he became more deeply involved in them.

Bulgakov

Unlike Struve and Tugan-Baranovsky, Sergey Nikolaevich Bulgakov came from a relatively humble social milieu. He was born on 16 June 1871, in the small town of Livny in the Orël *gubernia*, where his father was for nearly fifty years a priest.[2] Priesthood was in the family; for six generations, since the time of Ivan the Terrible, the Bulgakovs had been in the Church.[3] To judge from Bulgakov's reminiscences, his childhood was not a happy one: 'I do not remember any marriages being celebrated in our house, but I remember many, many funerals. . . . Death was our nursemaid in that house.'[4] Out of seven children, five died young; Bulgakov's father drank, and congenital alcoholism was a partial cause of the deaths of two of his brothers. The family felt, not perhaps real poverty, but constant insufficiency, which gave rise to family quarrels, exacerbated by his father's irritability after a drinking bout.[5]

From this sad atmosphere Bulgakov found escape in the church. The church of St. Sergius in Livny was for him 'not only a sanctuary, but a source of the delights of beauty—it was all we had, but it was enough'. Here he found music and beauty and glory: 'There was no choir', he recalls, 'but to tell the truth there was no need for one—the church itself sang.' In the Orthodox ritual Bulgakov found 'boundless poetry, and the joy of golden life'.[6]

[1] See Vol'no-Ekonomicheskoe Obshchestvo, *Otchëty o deystviyakh Vol'no-Ekonomicheskogo Obshchestva za 1905 g.*, pp. 71–86.

[2] See L. A. Zander, *Bog i Mir* (Paris, 1948), Vol. ii, p. 379; Zander, *Pamyati o. Sergiya Bulgakova* (Paris, 1945), pp. 11f., 29; S. N. Bulgakov, *Avtobiograficheskie Zametki* (Paris, 1946), pp. 8f., 16.

[3] See Bulgakov, op. cit., p. 15. [4] Ibid., pp. 9, 20.

[5] Ibid., pp. 16f., 20f. [6] Ibid., pp. 12, 17.

But this childish appreciation of the Church was soon interrupted. Bulgakov was, naturally, intended for the priesthood. In 1881, accordingly, he entered the Church School at Livny, and three years later moved on to the seminary at Orël.[1] Here, almost at once, when he was about fourteen years old, began the rebellion which soon resulted in his loss of faith and premature departure from the seminary. Pride and conceit had a part in it, and the wish to seem clever; the seminary teaching, uninspired in itself, concentrated on intellectual apologetics at the expense of the urgings of faith which were strong in Bulgakov; and the actual 'crisis' passed so easily that it hardly deserves the name. Bulgakov 'surrendered the positions of faith without even defending them'.[2] The seminary authorities had intended him to proceed to the Theological Academy, but in 1888 he left the seminary and entered the eighth class of the Elets high school.[3] Here he spent two years and here began the search for a *Weltanschauung* (typical of the Russian intelligentsia and of the Legal Marxists in particular), which determined the course of his life thereafter.

Having lost his faith, Bulgakov soon turned his thoughts to politics. Already in his background there were factors which might predispose him to radicalism. Most of the inhabitants of the town of Livny were neither peasants nor merchants nor nobles (*dvoryane*), but small tradesmen (*meshchane*), whose livelihood was insecure, depending on the chance of profit and loss; 'lower than proletarians', as Bulgakov recalled them.[4] Although the Bulgakov household felt short of money, and were dimly aware of landlords—'semi-mythical aristocrats, who arrived in *troikas*'[5]—they were still better off than most. At Easter the children used to be given some new article of clothing—a pair of shoes, or a suit—and when they went to church Bulgakov would see with a pang of conscience some town boy in his old, dirty, ill-fitting coat, and be aware that it was the only one he had. Readily suppressed at first, such promptings of self-reproach grew in time into the psychology of social repent-

[1] See Zander, *Bog i Mir*, Vol. ii, p. 379.
[2] See Bulgakov, op. cit., pp. 25ff., 30, 34, 35.
[3] See Zander, op. cit., p. 379. The parallel with such figures as Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov is obvious, and Bulgakov draws it himself (op. cit., pp. 29n., 35).
[4] Bulgakov, op. cit., p. 22. [5] Ibid., p. 10.

ance.[1] These feelings were given a new impulse and direction when atheism was added to them; for loss of faith in God meant loss of faith in the Tsar, the Anointed of God. Alexander II, the Tsar-Liberator, had been regretted by many, including the ten-year-old Bulgakov; but his successor aroused no such loyalty. Such monarchistic emotions as Bulgakov had were quickly dissolved, and readily turned into their opposite: hatred of Tsardom.[2]

If he could no longer serve God, he could serve humanity, progress, science. With such motives Bulgakov left the seminary for high school, and, in the autumn of 1890, proceeded to Moscow university. His account of why he chose the Faculty of Law is worth quoting:[3]

> I was attracted by the fields of philology, philosophy, and literature, but I entered the Faculty of Law, which was alien to me, in order to save my country—intellectually, of course—from the tyranny of Tsardom. For this, I had to devote myself to the social sciences, binding myself to Political Economy, like a convict to his barrow. . . . I entered the university with a definite preconceived intention—to devote myself to a science which was alien to me. And I fulfilled my plan, and was invited to do post-graduate work in this Faculty.

Political economy at Moscow was taught by Professor A. I. Chuprov, whose lectures, copied down by his students, were turned into one of the most highly regarded textbooks of the subject. Chuprov's 'political reliability' was, from the government's point of view, not above suspicion,[4] and he was among those economists who, without becoming dogmatic Marxists or even playing any part in controversy, regarded Marx's economic views favourably.[5] Such direction was congenial to Bulgakov's intentions. He describes his conversion to Marxism:[6]

> My mind was moving in the direction of a social, and, of course, socialist *Weltanschauung*. In turn, and to some extent automatically, I moved from one form of Socialism to another, until in the end I secured myself in Marxism, which suited me as a saddle suits a cow.

Certainly Bulgakov was never an uncritical Marxist. His first article, published in the Moscow review *Russkaya Mysl'*

[1] See ibid., pp. 14f. [2] See ibid., p. 28. [3] Ibid., p. 36.
[4] See K. P. Pobedonostsev, *K. P. Pobedonostsev i ego korrespondenty* (Moscow, 1929), Vol. i, II, p. 747.
[5] See Struve, *Kriticheskie zametki*, p. 44. [6] Bulgakov, op. cit., p. 36.

(*Russian Thought*) in March 1895, was devoted to a discussion of the third volume of *Capital*, which had been published the previous year. Like many other Marxists, he was disappointed: it failed to resolve the contradictions in the theory of value which many economists had pointed out after the publication of Volume i.[1] At the same time, he was eager to find excuses for Marx where his own critical sense told him that logic was affronted. After discussing one particular piece of circular reasoning he adds a footnote: 'We feel such a respect for the scientific authority of Karl Marx that we . . . prefer to attribute these shortcomings to the unfinished state of the work.'[2]

When he took his degree in 1894, Bulgakov was allowed to remain at the university with a view to proceeding to a higher degree. At the same time, for two years, he taught Political Economy at the Imperial Technical College in Moscow, until, in 1897, he took his Master's examination and went abroad to prepare his dissertation.[3] But apart from such academic progress, he was becoming involved in the ideological controversies of the time. His book *O rynkakh pri kapitalisticheskom proizvodstve* (*On Markets under Capitalist Production*) was published in 1897. It was (as he later described it[4]) 'an attempt to prove, abstractly and theoretically, the possibility of the development of capitalism in Russia on the basis of the home market'. Based as it was on Marx's reproduction schemes in *Capital*, Vol. ii, Bulgakov's book agreed in its conclusions with what Tugan-Baranovsky had said two years before, though it used different arguments.[5] With it, Bulgakov entered the Marxist-*narodnik* controversy on the side of the Marxists. Meanwhile, at the end of 1896, his article 'O zakonomernosti sotsial'nykh yavleniy' ('On the Comformity-to-law of Social Phenomena'), a review of Rudolf Stammler's *Wirtschaft und Recht nach der materialistischen Geschichtsauffassung*, appeared in the Moscow philosophical review *Voprosy filosofii i psikhologii* (*Questions of Philosophy and Psychology*). In it Bulgakov recognized, as Struve

[1] See Bulgakov, 'Trety tom "Kapitala" K. Marksa' in *Russkaya Mysl'*, 1895, no. 3, pt. II, p. 20.

[2] Ibid., p. 13. [3] See Zander, op. cit., p. 379.

[4] In his own notes to a detailed *curriculum vitae* of him, compiled by Professor L. A. Zander during the writing of the book *Bog i Mir*. (Communicated to me by Professor Zander.)

[5] See pp. 147ff. below.

had done in *Kriticheskie zametki*, that the philosophical basis of historical materialism needed working out (although he defended historical materialism against Stammler's particular attacks). In this very philosophical seriousness were the seeds of Bulgakov's revisionism; and in this sense he was already then a Legal Marxist.[1]

Berdyaev

If Bulgakov, the priest's son and seminarist, represents one of the traditional types of Russian radical *intelligent*, Nikolay Aleksandrovich Berdyaev represents another: the repentant nobleman. He was born in 1874. His ancestry was aristocratic and military. On his mother's side he was descended from a branch of the Choiseul family to which Catherine the Great gave asylum from the French Revolution; his father's family, originally from Poland, acquired Russian nobility and estates under Boris Godunov. Lineal descent from the Bakhmetev and Kudashev families added some princely Tatar blood to his heredity. Military distinction came with Berdyaev's grandfather, a Major-General and Ataman of Cossack troops. Berdyaev's father, however, served little more than a year, and the military side of Berdyaev's background seems to have left little or no trace on his character. Repelled by both the coarseness and the discipline of the Kiev Cadet Corps, where he was educated for some years, he developed an aversion to all things military, and avoided them so far as possible thereafter.[2]

What he called his 'aristocratism', on the other hand, was very important to him. It was not, he recalled later, a love of high society, but a dislike of the *parvenu*:[3]

> I remember that as a boy and a young man . . . I always felt very much connected with the heroes of the novels of Dostoevsky and L. Tolstoy—with Ivan Karamazov, Versilov, Stavrogin, Prince Andrew; also with that type which Dostoevsky called 'wanderers over the land of Russia'—Chatsky, Evgeny Onegin, Pechorin and others; also with Chaadaev, some Slavophiles, Herzen, even Bakunin and the nihilists; with Tolstoy himself and Vladimir Solovëv.

And he adds, in explanation of this comprehensive list:[4]

[1] See pp. 113ff. below.
[2] See D. A. Lowrie, *Rebellious Prophet* (London, 1960), pp. 7–13, 26–28.
[3] See Berdyaev, *Samopoznanie* (Paris, 1949), pp. 31, 43.
[4] Ibid., p. 43.

Like many of these people, I came from the milieu of the nobility, and broke with it. This departure from the aristocratic world for the revolutionary world is the basic fact of my biography, not only externally, but internally.

Berdyaev's break with the 'aristocratic world' was prepared by conflicts in his own home. His father, a child of the Enlightenment in Russia, was at odds with himself. A frequent visitor to Western Europe, with French as his family language, but also at ease in German and Italian; well read in philosophy and history, with an extensive library of his own; influenced both by Voltaire and by Tolstoy; an admirer of Abraham Lincoln and an advocate of Emancipation in Russia—all these characteristics were crammed into a traditional framework of life which could not properly contain them. So Berdyaev's father was elected 'marshal of the nobility', but quarrelled with his neighbours; and, unable to cope with the economic results of the Emancipation which he favoured, sold his estate. Nor did personal relations at home offer any refuge from discord. The father quarrelled with the mother over where they should live, and both scolded Berdyaev's neurotic elder brother, of whom he was very fond. Lastly, there was constant illness in the family; Berdyaev himself spent a year in bed with rheumatic fever at an early age. Small wonder that he grew up with persistent hypochondria and a severe nervous tic.[1]

Inevitably, Berdyaev reacted against this environment; but his response was intellectual withdrawal rather than political or personal rebellion. He always remained on good terms with his parents, but at the same time felt that he never really belonged to either of them.[2] With no religious faith—for his father's rationalism had prevailed over his mother's seemingly conventional devoutness—Berdyaev took instead 'a quite improbably early'[3] interest in philosophy. While he was still a boy he began to write novels with philosophical themes,[4] and by the age of fourteen had read Schopenhauer, Kant's *Kritik* and Hegel's *Philosophy of the Spirit*, soon to be followed by

[1] See Lowrie, op. cit., pp. 13–30.
[2] Ibid., p. 17.
[3] Berdyaev, op. cit., p. 50.
[4] See ibid., p. 27.

Mill's *Logic*.[1] Although he was an atheist, he was never a materialist or a positivist; the philosophers he read, especially Kant and Schopenhauer, nurtured in him a conviction of the primary reality of the spiritual world, and a love of the 'freedom of the spirit'.[2] Other influences—Nietzsche and Ibsen—were soon added, to reinforce a preoccupation with the theme of freedom which lasted him all his life.[3]

It was, however, through personal contacts that he became, in some sense at least, a Marxist. At Kiev university, where, like Tugan-Baranovsky, he studied in the faculties both of Natural Science and of law,[4] he made many Jewish friends, some of whom had connexions with the Bund. In 1894 a Jewish friend from the Natural Science Faculty introduced Berdyaev to a *kruzhok* of Marxist students, including Lunacharsky. Berdyaev recalls the first time he attended a meeting of the group, which gathered in the flat of a Pole in Kiev to hear a paper by one of the members: 'There was a stifling feeling, a lack of air and of freedom to breathe.'[5] Even so, Marxism seemed to have something to offer; the industrialization of the country had to be explained in general and historical terms; and Berdyaev began to read Marxist literature. What captivated him in it was 'its historiosophical sweep' which made the older forms of Russian Socialism seem 'provincial'.[6]

Through similar contacts, Berdyaev was soon drawn into the clandestine activity of the Kiev group of embryo Social-Democrats. He began to read lectures and give papers to the group; when he went abroad he met members of the *Gruppa Osvobozhdeniya Truda*, and on one occasion brought back to Kiev a load of illegal Social-Democratic literature in a double-bottomed trunk.[7] What position Berdyaev held in the Kiev Social-Democratic group must be regarded as doubtful. According to his own account they 'considered [him] as their ideological leader', and unlike some of the *intelligenty*, he found no difficulty in establishing good relations with workmen.[8] But there is record of an incident which suggests that the group

[1] See ibid., pp. 24, 50. [2] See ibid., pp. 61, 90, 94, 100.
[3] See ibid., p. 151.
[4] See Granat (publ.) *Entsiklopedichesky Slovar'*, 'Berdyaev'.
[5] Berdyaev, op. cit., pp. 124f. [6] Ibid., p. 125.
[7] See ibid., pp. 126f. [8] See ibid., pp. 74, 126.

at least saw his limitations. In October 1897, when the movement to unite the various scattered Social-Democratic groups and to make contact with the *Gruppa Osvobozhdeniya Truda* had gained momentum, the Kiev group sent one of their members, Tuchapsky by name, to Switzerland to meet Akselrod and Plekhanov. One object of his visit was to ask the *émigré* leaders to write some pamphlets on current problems suitable for distribution by the group in Kiev. Akselrod's answer was disappointing: the *Gruppa Osvobozhdeniya Truda*, he said, had neither the time nor the means, and this sort of work could well be done either by comrades in exile in Russia, or by young *littérateurs* like Nikolay Berdyaev. Akimov-Makhnovets, from whose account the incident is taken, adds the following comment: 'The Kiev group did not consider N. Berdyaev at all a competent person in this respect.'[1] However, it is doubtful how far this attitude on the part of the Kiev group was of concern to Berdyaev if he knew of it; for he never (as he put it later) 'merged with the revolutionary Marxist milieu',[2] but always retained connexions with people in other spheres, particularly academic.

Nevertheless, by 1897 he was a member of the Kiev *Soyuz Bor'by za Osvobozhdenie Rabochego Klassa* (*Union of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class*), and helped to find lodgings in Kiev for other members assembling there to elect a delegate to the First Congress of the Social-Democratic Party in 1898. When, after the Congress, the police made mass arrests in many parts of Russia simultaneously, Berdyaev's illegal activities as a member of the *Soyuz Bor'by* were sufficient to land him in the net. Ironically, his arrest took place at a time when the influence of Ibsen and Dostoevsky was turning his mind to themes of individualism and freedom, which put new barriers between him and the revolutionary Marxists.[3] It was soon after this arrest, too, that he first met Struve. While his case was under investigation, he got special permission to make a short visit to St. Petersburg. One evening, after dining with an aristocratic cousin and a high official in the Ministry of the

[1] Akimov-Makhnovets, 'I-y s"ezd R.S.-D.R.P.', in *Minuvshie Gody*, 1908, no. 2, p. 147, q.v. for the whole incident; also Nevsky, *Ocherki po istorii R.K.P.* (*b*), p. 551.

[2] Berdyaev, op. cit., p. 132.

[3] See ibid., pp. 127, 132.

Interior, he called on Struve and Tugan-Baranovsky. Struve (wrote Berdyaev later) 'was very nice to me, and wrote to a friend that he had great hopes of me. He decided to write a preface to my first book'.[1]

Berdyaev's sentence was promulgated in 1900: expulsion from the university and three years' exile in Vologda.[2] For Berdyaev, however, exile proved to be agreeable, stimulating and formative. He not only lived in comfort in the best hotel in Vologda, but in 1901 and 1902 was able to take a summer 'vacation' in Kiev. The society was good: in Vologda were to be found the writer Remizov, the literary historian P. E. Shchegolev, Boris Savinkov, the sociologist Kistyakovsky, a Danish writer called Madelung, Lunacharsky and Bogdanov. Berdyaev recalls that the exiles fell into two classes: Lunacharsky and Bogdanov were the 'democrats', Remizov, Savinkov, Shchegolev, Madelung and himself the 'aristocrats'.[3] In argument with Lunacharsky Berdyaev worked out his own point of view. His first published work, an article entitled 'F. A. Lange i kriticheskaya filosofiya' ('F. A. Lange and the Critical Philosophy') was printed first in German in Kautsky's *Neue Zeit* in 1899, and then in Russian in *Mir Bozhy* for July 1900. As the title suggests, the article shewed an un-'orthodox' concern with the philosophical foundations of Socialism. When his book *Sub"ektivizm i individualizm v obshchestvennoy filosofii* (*Subjectivism and Individualism in Social Philosophy*), with the promised, and extensive, preface by Struve, came out in 1901, it was clear that Berdyaev, in spite of his criticisms of Mikhailovsky, was a Legal, not an orthodox, Marxist.

Frank

The youngest of the Legal Marxists was Semën Ludwigovich Frank, born on 29 January 1877.[4] His background was again different from that of all the other Legal Marxists. The family

[1] Ibid., pp. 139f.
[2] See ibid., pp. 127, 129; Granat, op. cit., 'Berdyaev'.
[3] See ibid., p. 137.
[4] V. S. Frank, 'Semën Ludwigovich Frank, 1877–1950', in Fr. V. Zenkovsky (ed.), *Sbornik pamyati Semëna Lyudvigovicha Franka* (Munich, 1954), p. 3. The section which follows is based almost exclusively on this biographical sketch by Frank's son, who has had access to unpublished material by Frank, notably *Predsmertnoe. Vospominaniya i mysli* (1935), some notebooks and a journal. References will be given only to S. L. Frank.

was Jewish. Frank's father was a doctor who had moved from western Russia to Moscow at the time of the Polish rising of 1863; Frank himself was born in Moscow. When Frank's father died in 1882, his mother settled with her father M. M. Rossiyansky, one of the founders of the Jewish community in Moscow in the sixties. Young Frank received his earliest upbringing at the hands of his maternal grandparents. His grandmother was of German origin, and he picked up German early. Rossiyansky taught the boy Hebrew, and took him to synagogue: Frank later recalled that the feelings of reverence engendered in synagogue became 'in a genetico-psychological sense'[1] the basis of his later religious feeling. As a child he 'believed with unshakeable firmness in a personal God, prayed to Him, and at the same time, looking into the bottomless depths of the heavens, felt Him through them and in them'.[2]

In 1891, however, Frank's mother re-married, and a new influence came to bear on Frank, who was then fourteen. His stepfather, V. I. Zak, had moved among *narodnik* revolutionaries when he was young, and introduced Frank to *narodnik* Socialism and political radicalism. The first work that Frank read under Zak's tuition was Mikhailovsky's 'Chto takoe Progress?' ('What is Progress?'), thence they moved on to Dobrolyubov, Pisarev, Lavrov and other *narodnik* writers. Frank later recalled that the influence of these ideas on him was not deep. 'All that affected me was the general atmosphere of ideological searching . . . ; it strengthened in me the feeling of the need to have a *Weltanschauung*.'[3]

Nevertheless, the imprint of radicalism was sufficiently firm to determine in which direction Frank was to seek his *Weltanschauung* first. In 1892 the family moved from Moscow to Nizhny Novgorod. When Frank transferred to the senior classes of the Nizhny high school, he fell in with a *kruzhok* in which Marxism was studied, and became friendly with a group of radical *intelligenty*. He later analysed his attitude towards Marxism at the time:[4]

> Marxism attracted me by its apparently scientific form. I was drawn by the idea that it is possible to understand the life of human society

[1] S. L. Frank, *Predsmertnoe*, quoted in V. S. Frank, op. cit., p. 3.
[2] S. L. Frank, Journal for 12 March 1950, quoted ibid., p. 4.
[3] S. L. Frank, quoted in loc. cit.
[4] S. L. Frank, quoted ibid., pp. 4f.

in its conformity-to-law, studying it as Natural Science studies nature. When I later read in Spinoza's *Ethics* the phrase: 'I shall speak of human passions and vices as if of planes, lines, and bodies', I saw in it an expression of the mood which I felt when I studied Marx's theory. I accepted the revolutionary and ethical tendency of Marxism, but my heart was not in it.

Frank's 'acceptance' of the revolutionary content of Marxism lasted for the first two years of his time at Moscow university, where he entered the Faculty of Law in the spring of 1894, aged seventeen. In comparison with Bulgakov, who was then just about to take his degree at Moscow, Frank was at first a more typical and less serious student, who found his interests, particularly his Marxism, outside the university curriculum; he neglected lectures, and preferred to spend his time in *kruzhki*, debating problems of Socialism and political economy. Apart from such exercises in theory, Frank formed contacts with some of the 'practitioners' of Social-Democracy, took off his student's uniform, dressed in plain clothes, and went off to one of the industrial districts of Moscow, Sokolniki, in order to talk Socialism to workmen. Evidently the experiment was unsatisfactory, for he recalled later: 'I had no clear idea of the working class and in general of first-hand social reality. I acted rather as one hypnotized, as one in a dream.'[1]

In his late 'teens Bulgakov had undergone a crisis which led him to break with his religious training, and to devote himself to Marxist dogmatics instead; Frank, on the other hand, had accepted radicalism early and had slid quite easily into Marxism. His crisis came at the same age as Bulgakov's, though a few years later, and *à contre-sens*. He has left a description of it:[2]

During my second year at the university (1895–6) a spiritual crisis began to mature in me, which led me in the autumn of 1896 to break with the revolutionary milieu and to busy myself with learning. I felt annoyance at the hasty categorical adolescent judgements and at the ignorance which was hidden behind them; and I caught myself, when I was alone, thinking of anything you like except the revolution and practical revolutionary activity. This feeling of dissatisfaction was so great that . . . I promptly made a complete break with my comrades, although I earned thereby the label of traitor and deserter (for it was supposed that any brave man must be a revolutionary, and leaving the ranks was explained only by cowardice. . . .).

[1] S. L. Frank, *Predsmertnoe*, quoted ibid., p. 5. [2] Loc. cit.

What Frank found intolerable in the revolutionary *kruzhki* was 'the atmosphere of sectarian faith': his metaphor for it is the same as Berdyaev's—'choking'. There followed 'a period of hesitation and of tormenting, dramatic explanations with friends'.[1] Frank found it difficult to justify himself:[2]

> I was then so lacking in spiritual independence that I could explain my real motives neither to others nor to myself. I explained myself by saying that I was disappointed in the revolutionary *Weltanschauung*, and that I could not do practical work until I had verified the assumptions of that *Weltanschauung*.

Later he understood himself better, and adds:[3]

> In fact it was a revolt of my being against an attitude of mind and activity which did not suit it, and a passionate thirst for pure disinterested theoretical knowledge.

Meanwhile, in 1894–5, the Moscow Marxist *kruzhki* had got wind of developments in St. Petersburg. Two young men, Struve and Tugan-Baranovsky, were speaking at gatherings of students and in learned societies; and the *narodniki* seemed to be getting the worst of the arguments. In 1896 or 1897 Frank met M. I. Vodovozova, who favoured Marxism and published books on economic subjects; he began to do some work for her as a translator, and through her began to move in new circles. Instead of the 'choking' little groups of undergraduates, with their secretive visits to Sokolniki, he could mix with Marxist *littérateurs*, men to whom Marxism seemed at the time to promise not more conspiracy and secrecy, but a truer recognition of the facts of Russian history and development, new themes for their pens, a breath of European air, and new self-confidence. Vodovozova often travelled to St. Petersburg on business, and on her return would bring news of the fresh happenings there—Struve's and Tugan-Baranovsky's speeches in the Free Economic Society, or how *Novoe Slovo* (*The New Word*), the Marxist review, was faring with the censorship. When, in the end, that battle was lost and *Novoe Slovo* was closed down, there was a suggestion that the Marxists should transfer their energies and talents to running a newspaper in Moscow. Struve came from St. Petersburg with Kalmykova,

[1] S. L. Frank, *Biografiya P. B. Struve*, p. 18.
[2] S. L. Frank, *Predsmertnoe*, quoted in V. S. Frank, op. cit., pp. 5f.
[3] Loc. cit.

and one evening in the autumn of 1898 Frank was invited to Vodovozova's flat to meet him. Struve was then twenty-eight, and had been the *de facto* editor of *Novoe Slovo*; Frank, at twenty-one, had just seen his first article—a discussion of 'psychological' theories of value—printed in *Russkoe Bogatstvo*. A few days after their first meeting Frank went to call on the older man as a neophyte on an authority. There were two problems which bothered him. He wanted to be reassured about his recent decision to give up 'revolutionary activity'. Here Struve offered no particular comfort. He had recently drafted the text of the *Manifesto* of the Social-Democratic Party, and had defended it against criticisms at a clandestine meeting. His answer to Frank's question was that it was possible to retain freedom of thought while participating in illegal work; participation was 'simply a matter of guts'. The second question was one which had been raised by the recent recurrence of crop failure and famine: should one undertake relief work? would it not slow down the (ultimately beneficial) process of the formation of a rural proletariat? In this instance Struve's answer had a satisfying common-sense trenchancy: 'There is no need for ratiocination in order to decide to feed starving people.' Struve was evidently pleased with his new young friend, for before the end of their talk he invited him to edit a translation of J. A. Hobson's book on unemployment. The MS. was in Frank's hands a few days later; the translation was published by Popova.[1]

The friendship continued, at first, intermittently. To *Nachalo* (*The Beginning*), which Struve edited in the first five months of 1899, Frank contributed only one or two book reviews. Then in the spring of that year he became involved, as many students did, in the university disorders. Frank himself composed some sort of proclamation, was arrested and expelled from university towns for two years. After a few months at home in Nizhny Novgorod he set off for Berlin. Here, developing an idea put forward by Tugan-Baranovsky almost ten years previously, and continuing on the lines of his own article in *Russkoe Bogatstvo*, he wrote his book *Teoriya tsennosti K. Marksa i eë znachenie.*

[1] See S. L. Frank, *Biografiya P. B. Struve*, pp. 19ff.; for the proposal to start a Marxist newspaper in Moscow, see pp. 93f. below; and for Struve and the *Manifesto*, pp. 197ff. below.

Kritichesky etyud (*Marx's Theory of Value and its Significance. A Critical Study*), which was published in St. Petersburg in 1900. Although he attempted to reconcile utility theory with the labour theory of value, Frank was categorical in his criticism of Marx's version of it. He recalled later the results of his study of political economy: 'Without ceasing to be a "socialist", I became aware of the shakiness and inconsistency of Marx's theory.'[1] His words are a brief statement of the Revisionist position in Western Europe; in Russian terms, Frank had become a 'critic', or a Legal Marxist.

[1] Loc. cit.; for a fuller discussion of his book on value theory, see pp. 166ff. below.

III

THE CENSORSHIP: MARXISM AND LEGAL MARXISM

Although the decisions of the Censorship are an unsatisfactory basis for a definition of the subject-matter of a study of Legal Marxism, and are inadequate as an explanation of the origin of the term itself,[1] the Censorship as an institution bulked so large in the lives of the Legal Marxists (as of others) that it merits separate treatment.[2] In any but their most abstract and theoretical works, and particularly when they were publishing the monthly reviews *Novoe Slovo* and *Nachalo*, they had to write with one eye on the censor, never quite sure how much they could get past him. It was a problem which they shared with the orthodox Marxists, and which occasioned their closest co-operation.

The Censorship and Marxism

The Censorship Statute (*Ustav o tsenzure i pechati*) dated originally from 1828, with new editions in 1885 and 1890. As might be inferred from their dates, the new editions brought no relaxation of stringency: what had served Nicholas I served his grandson equally well, with a few additions. From the point of view of a budding Marxist, the most relevant article of the Censorship Statute was Article 95, which forbade publications which 'expound the harmful doctrines of Socialism and Communism, and tend to shake the existing order, to stir up class hatred and to establish anarchy'. If this was not enough, Article 94 might serve, which forbade 'audacious and insolent subtleties, directed against faith and true wisdom', or Article 93, which enjoined respect for the Christian faith and for Persons of the Imperial House.[3] For what was called a 'harmful

[1] See Appendices I and II.

[2] A brief outline of the history and organization of the Censorship is given in Appendix III.

[3] 'Ustav o tsenzure i pechati' in *Svod Zakonov*, Vol. xiv (1890), artt. 95, 94, 93.

tendency' (*vrednoe napravlenie*) without further definition,[1] a periodical might receive a 'warning'.

The various penalties available to the Censorship and its superior authorities, which ranged from a fine to complete suppression, had been widely applied to publications of all political colours (not merely radical), particularly in the seventies and early eighties. During the latter years of the eighties, the laws had been less frequently invoked;[2] but this, it may be thought, stemmed from loss of spirit in the opposition press rather than from any mitigation of the censorship.

The attitude of the Censorship towards Marxism in particular shewed some signs of hardening. Marx himself had indeed early been recognized as dangerous, but this had not prevented the Censorship authorities from passing the first volume of *Capital* on the grounds that it was an obscure and abstract treatise, without relevance to Russian conditions. Their attitude in the mid-eighties was precisely the same as it had been a dozen years earlier. When in 1884 the Minister of the Interior was authorized to ban books from issue in public libraries, Marx's name was among those black-listed.[3] Nevertheless, in December 1885, the St. Petersburg Censorship Committee passed *Capital*, Vol. ii, with the comment that it was a 'serious piece of economic research . . . comprehensible only to specialists'.[4]

In fact, as this apparent inconsistency suggests, it was not so much ideas themselves as the danger of a wide, popular appeal that the Censorship feared above all. This distinction was even embodied in the Censorship Statute, which laid down that imperfections in Russian legislation might be criticized only in 'special learned discourses [*rassuzhdeniya*] in a tone

[1] Op. cit., art. 7. For cases of the application of this rule, see V. Rosenberg and V. Yakushkin, *Russkaya pechat' i tsenzura v proshlom i nastoyashchem*, pp. 227–47.

[2] See Rosenberg and Yakushkin, op. cit., pp. 136, 227ff.

[3] See J. F. Baddeley, *Russia in the Eighties* (London, 1921), p. 206; the full list included Bagehot, Huxley, Lassalle, Lecky, Louis Blanc, Marx, Mill, Elisé Réclus, Zola, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* and *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, and the whole of Herbert Spencer. Not Engels? Not Darwin? Apparently not, though without access to the original decree it is impossible to be certain.

[4] See 'Karl Marks i tsarskaya tsenzura', in *Krasny Arkhiv*, no. 56, p. 10. Volume ii of *Capital* was added to the 'index' only in 1894. (Loc. cit.)

appropriate to the subject'[1] and in books of more than ten printed sheets or in reviews with an annual subscription of not less than seven rubles.[2]

It was only in 1887 that Pobedonostsev, Procurator of the Holy Synod—the 'Tsar's Eye' himself—wrote to E. M. Feoktistov, Head of the Chief Directorate for Press Affairs (*Glavnoe upravlenie no delam pechati*), complaining that he could not obtain Carlyle's *French Revolution* because it was forbidden by the Censorship, and contrasting its fate with that of *Capital*:[3]

> All Carlyle's works ought to be allowed—they are steeped in moral principle to the point of severity! And imagine it: Marx's *Capital*, one of the most inflammatory books there are, has been published in a Russian translation.

Marx next came up for judgement before the Russian censor in 1890, when the Foreign Censorship considered the fourth German edition of *Capital*, Vol. i; and, whether mindful of Pobedonostsev's hint or for other reasons, resolved to ban it.[4] The Censorship, it seemed, was alive to the dangers of Marxism as it had not been some twenty years previously.

First Expedients: Books

Struve and his friends in the young generation of Marxists can hardly have known of these developments in detail when, in the early nineties, they first began to think of publishing their views; and although they were doubtless aware in a general way that they were likely to have trouble with the Censorship, their initial difficulty was not so much to get past the censor as to overcome the *narodnik*-dominated periodicals' refusal to accept Marxist articles at all. They were concerned to assert the coming of capitalism before the coming of Socialism—a statement more offensive to the *narodniki* than to the government. Struve's first solution to the problem—to print his articles in German periodicals[5]—was plainly a *pis-aller*: it was not through Braun's *Archiv* that the Russian intelligentsia would be weaned from *narodnichestvo*: for different reasons, the

[1] *Ustav o tsenzure i pechati*, art. 97. [2] Ibid., art. 99.
[3] Pis'ma K. P. Pobedonostseva k E. M. Feoktistovu', letter of 20 November 1887, in *Literaturnoe Nasledstvo*, nos. 22–24 (Moscow, 1935), p. 531.
[4] See 'Karl Marks i tsarskaya tsenzura', p. 11.
[5] See p. 42 above.

influence of a musty German sociological quarterly was unlikely to exceed that of Plekhanov's illegal *émigré* pamphlets.

The Marxists' next expedient was more successful. In 1893 Potresov and Struve persuaded Professor Skvortsov to publish in book form some articles on the famine of 1891–2 which had been rejected by both *Severny Vestnik* and *Vestnik Evropy*.[1] Encouraged by the result, Potresov next published Struve's own *Kriticheskie zametki*. As soon as it was printed Potresov took a copy of it to London to persuade Plekhanov, too, to write a book for publication in Russia.[2] Again he was successful: the book was supplied with a fine camouflage title, designed to fool the censor, and a pseudonym was found for Plekhanov: *K voprosu o razvitii monisticheskogo vzglyada na istoriyu* (*A Contribution to the Question of the Development of the Marxist View of History*), by N. Beltov. The complete work was off the press by 20 December 1894. Two days later it was submitted to the Censorship, in the hope that the proximity of the Christmas holiday, due to begin the following day, would make the censor less attentive in his scrutiny. The book was passed with remarkable despatch, and was on sale on 29 December. The whole printing of 3,000 copies was sold out in less than three weeks; and it was only belatedly, at this evidence of popularity —surprising in what had seemed to be an abstruse philosophical work by an unknown author—that the Censorship awoke and forbade reprinting.[3] It is hard to resist the conclusion that Potresov's gamble on the censor's Christmas holidays was justified by the event.

Skvortsov, Struve and Plekhanov—three books attacking the *narodniki*—all published within a year: this was sufficient encouragement to continue on the same lines. Potresov's next venture was a miscellany which was to combine contributions by the older and the younger generations of Russian Marxists, inside Russia and in emigration. The idea had already been discussed with Plekhanov when Potresov was in London in the autumn of 1894, and with Struve on his return to St.

[1] See A. I. Skvortsov, *Ekonomisheskie etyudy. I: Ekonomicheskie prichiny golodovok v Rossii i mery k ikh ustraneniyu* (Spb., 1894), Preface, p. viii; Struve, 'My contacts and conflicts', I, p. 587.

[2] See A. N. Potresov, Personal Communication to D. Ryazanov, in D. Ryazanov, Preface to G. V. Plekhanov, *Sochineniya*, Vol. vii, p. 8.

[3] See loc. cit.; Nikolaevsky, 'A. N. Potresov', pp. 21f.

Petersburg.[1] The composition of the miscellany, as it finally emerged, owed much to the Marxist 'salon' which was meeting that winter in Klasson's flat on the Bolshaya Okhta.[2] Struve and Potresov were both members, and it was here that they met Lenin and recruited him as a contributor. Klasson himself provided a translation of an article by Eduard Bernstein on *Capital*, Vol. iii.[3] The other contributors living in Russia were V. A. Ionov, a *zemstvo* statistician from Saratov, and P. N. Skvortsov, an economist then living in Nizhny Novgorod, where he took part in a Marxist *kruzhok*;[4] both these names were proposed as contributors by Lenin, who knew of them from his days on the Volga.[5] Plekhanov contributed two articles; another, due from Akselrod, failed to arrive in time owing to his illness.[6]

Numerous precautions were taken to put the censor off the scent. Once again, as with Plekhanov's book, a ponderous title was used: *Materialy k kharakteristike nashego khozyaystvennogo razvitiya* (*Material for a Characterization of Our Economic Development*). Only P. N. Skvortsov, Potresov and Struve appeared under their own names. Ionov was disguised under his initials 'V. I.'; the article on *Capital*, Vol. iii, was printed without acknowledgement either to Bernstein or to Klasson; Lenin became 'K. Tulin'; Plekhanov appeared once as 'D. Kuznetsov' and once as 'Utis'.[7] Apart from this, the title of Lenin's original paper was changed from 'Otrazhenie marksizma v burzhuaznoy literature' to the wordier and milder 'Ekonomicheskoe soderzhanie narodnichestva i kritika ego v knige g. Struve' ('The Economic Content of *Narodnichestvo* and its Criticism in Mr. Struve's Book'), and its content was toned down.[8]

This time, however, precautions were in vain. The Censorship had persisted in its watchfulness against Marx's works. In January 1894 a reconsideration of Volume ii of *Capital* in

[1] See A. N. Potresov, Communication to the Editors of *Krasny Arkhiv* in *Krasny Arkhiv*, no. 4, p. 308.

[2] See pp. 51f. above.

[3] See Lenin, *Sochineniya*, Vol. i, p. 500 (notes).

[4] See M. Gorky, 'Vremya Korolenko', in Gorky, *Sobranie Sochineniy*, Vol. xv (Moscow, 1951), p. 28.

[5] See Potresov, op. cit., p. 308. [6] See Lenin, op. cit., p. 500 (notes).

[7] 'Utis' presumably = *Οὖτις*. For the title and pseudonyms, see loc. cit.

[8] See Lenin, 'Predislovie k sborniku "Za 12 Let" ' (1908), in *Sochineniya*, Vol. xii, p. 59.

Danielson's translation, instigated by the Department of Police, had led the Censorship to place both Volumes i and ii on the list of books which were not to be issued in public libraries and reading-rooms, and to forbid their reprinting.[1] The German edition of *Capital* came in for special treatment. In May 1894 the Chief Directorate for Press Affairs decided that the three volumes of *Capital* in German were not to be 'allowed in circulation', but might be issued 'upon written application, to those who require them by the nature of their scholastic work, or who merit confidence by their social and professional position'. The principle, be it noted, was the same which had governed the Censorship's original attitude to the Russian translations of Volumes i and ii: that the work might be permitted if its distribution was limited.

It fell to the censor of *Materialy k kharakteristike nashego khozyaystvennogo razvitiya*, Matveev by name, to cast doubt on the validity of this principle. The book, a fat volume of some 500 pages,[2] was printed by the end of April 1895, and on 10 May Matveev reported to his Committee. Describing the book as 'the organ of the Russian Marxists'[3] he noted that it was a scholarly work without harmful socialist tendencies; but 'one must take into account Marx's activities (as well as his learned publications), which have created a sort of cult of Marx, which it is the aim of the authors of this miscellany to spread'.[4] The same idea is to be found in Matveev's comments on Lenin's article against Struve, which attracted his particular attention. Here above all, he wrote,[5]

> does Marx's formula . . . take on the nature of a harmful doctrine . . . the doctrine of the class struggle . . . requiring the militant organization of the workers . . . [Lenin's article is] the frankest and fullest programme of the Marxists.

Matveev concluded that the miscellany 'spreads a doctrine directed against the existing order of society and the State',

[1] See 'Karl Marks i tsarskaya tsenzura', p. 11. It appears from this passage that in spite of Marx's inclusion on the 'black list' of 1884 (see p. 74n. above), neither of the first two volumes of *Capital* had been specified on the lists circulated to Governors and Censorship Committees.

[2] See Struve, op. cit., p. 590.

[3] 'Doklad tsenzora Matveeva o sozhzhennom marksistskom sbornike', in *Krasny Arkhiv*, no. 4, p. 310.

[4] Ibid., pp. 310f. [5] Ibid., pp. 311f.

for the Russian Marxists 'go beyond the economic theory of Karl Marx according to *Capital*' and try to stir up the class struggle. After enumerating a number of other minor points he played his trump card: the Chief Directorate's circular of 14 January 1894 had forbidden the reprinting of Volumes i and ii of the Russian translation of *Capital*; the miscellany spread Marx's doctrine and tendentiously applied it to Russian social life; Matveev therefore had no hesitation in finding in it 'a harmful tendency . . . especially as it is presented as the programme of the Russian Marxists'.[1] The police impounded the book. Of 2,000 copies printed, about a hundred were somehow saved by Struve and Potresov, and circulated secretly; one was kept in the files of the Chief Directorate; two were sent to the 'secret section' of the Public Library; and the remainder were burnt by official order.[2]

Undismayed by this setback, Potresov continued his activities as a publisher. First he repeated his experiment with Plekhanov as author: *Obosnovanie narodnichestva v trudakh g-na Vorontsova* (*The Basis of Narodnichestvo in Mr. Vorontsov's Works*), under a new pseudonym, A. Volgin, appeared early in 1896. In March 1896 Akselrod wrote gleefully to Plekhanov:[3]

> Struve, Beltov, Volgin . . . before you know where you are, in about two years, they will have cleaned out the Augean stable [of *narodnichestvo*] so well that even a genuine Marxist will be able to breathe freely . . . poor Vorontsov!

Then, pursuing his previous aim of gathering *émigrés* and indigenous Marxists between the same covers, Potresov began to collect material for a second miscellany, which was due to come out early in 1897. Like its predecessor, this miscellany did not appear, but for different reasons: in December 1896 Potresov was arrested for his part in the activities of the *Peterburgsky Soyuz Bor'by za Osvobozhdenie Rabochego Klassa* (*Petersburg*

[1] Ibid., p. 316.

[2] See 'Lenin v tsenzure', in *Krasnaya Letopis'*, 1924, no. 2 (11), p. 22; Struve, op. cit., p. 590; Nikolaevsky, op. cit., p. 23. Struve adds that one copy was sent at the time to the Library of the British Museum, 'where every student can now easily find it'. One student, at least, has been unable to do so: neither he nor the librarians whose help he enlisted could find any trace of it.

[3] G. V. Plekhanov and P. B. Akselrod, *Perepiska Plekhanova i Aksel'roda* (Moscow, 1925), Vol. i, p. 121.

Union of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class). The articles collected for this miscellany were seized by the police, and did not survive.[1]

Three years' trial of strength by the Marxists against the Censorship had proved that much could be done within the existing regulations; at the same time it had shewn up the danger-lines, beyond which it was still impossible to go. Critical work—the attack on *narodnik* ideology—could be carried on without very much trouble; but the destruction of the miscellany had made it clear that anything further—anything touching the class struggle—was at present taboo. Potresov's arrest pointed to a further conclusion: great caution was necessary in mixing legal and illegal work. Nevertheless, these few years represent the coming of age of Russian Marxism; it was now that it achieved recognition, both by the *narodniki* and—with Matveev's report—by the government, as a *napravlenie*.

Periodicals

The strength of the new movement was reflected in the rising chorus of attacks on it in the monthly reviews of various *napravleniya*; and these attacks brought the Marxists face to face again with the chief and central problem of legal publication —how to gain a position in the periodical literature of the time. Matters were, indeed, easier than when Skvortsov's articles had been rejected in 1892. The Moscow liberal *Russkaya Mysl'* gave Struve space in February 1896 to answer *narodnik* criticism of *Kriticheskie zametki*,[2] and in September printed an article by Plekhanov on historical materialism in the form of an 'Open Letter to the Editor'. Tugan-Baranovsky's mother-in-law's paper *Mir Bozhy* provided a more sympathetic home for Marxist articles. Tugan-Baranovsky's own articles popularizing the economic interpretation of history[3] were followed in December 1896 by Struve's review of a Russian translation of the *Critique of Political Economy*,[4] and in the years to come *Mir*

[1] See Potresov, op. cit., p. 308; Nikolaevsky, op. cit., p. 25.

[2] Struve, 'Neskol'ko slov po povodu stat'i g. Obolenskogo', in *Russkaya Mysl'*, 1896, no. 2, reprinted in *Na raznye temy*, pp. 233–51.

[3] See p. 59 above.

[4] Struve, 'Osnovnye ponyatiya i voprosy politicheskoy ekonomii', in *Mir Bozhy*, 1896, no. 12, pp. 106–14.

Bozhy was more than once to prove a reliable stand-by when the Censorship caught up with other Marxist ventures.[1]

But none of these things was adequate from the Marxist point of view. Neither books, nor miscellanies, nor articles lodged in other people's reviews were any real substitute for what the Marxists really wanted—a review of their own, a wieldy short-sword for the cut and thrust of argument on every sort of issue. This traditional weapon they still lacked.

Potresov had been planning a Marxist monthly review since as early as 1894.[2] The provision in the Censorship regulations that the publisher and editors must be approved by the Chief Directorate precluded a straightforward application by the Marxists, which would have certainly been turned down. Two possibilities remained: to put forward some person respectable in the eyes of the authorities, who, out of vanity or for money or both, would lend his name as 'responsible editor' and risk the penalties of the law without in fact interfering in the running of the paper;[3] or alternatively to take over a review already in existence—a proceeding which was less likely to cause a stir in the Chief Directorate than the foundation of a new periodical.

Potresov made several attempts both to take over an existing review and to found a new one, all without success, between 1894 and 1896.[4] The late Prince V. A. Obolensky has left an account of one such attempt, in which he took part:[5]

> P. B. Struve was to be the actual editor. But first of all we had to find a reliable [*blagonadëzhny*] official publisher and 'responsible editor'. My colleagues on the editorial board placed some hope on my

[1] See Polyansky, op. cit., in *Krasny Arkhiv*, no. 18, pp. 176ff.

[2] See Nikolaevsky, op. cit., p. 24.

[3] *Russkoe Bogatstvo* was run on this system. For an example of the paradoxical situations which could arise from it, see Additional Note 4 (p. 241, below).

[4] Nikolaevsky, op. cit., pp. 24f.

[5] V. A. Obolensky, op. cit., ch. VII. The section of these memoirs dealing with the early planning of this review and listing the proposed contributors has unfortunately been lost. But shortly before his death in 1951 Prince Obolensky gave me the following list: Struve (editor), Tugan-Baranovsky; Lenin; A. A. Nikonov, later a contributor to *Novoe Slovo*, and a member of the Council of the Free Economic Society; K. K. Bauer, a lawyer, secretary of the Third Section of the Free Economic Society until his arrest in 1896; V. V. Vodovozov, another contributor to *Novoe Slovo*, later a Kadet; and A. S. Izgoev, a contributor to *Novoe Slovo*, *Nachalo*, and ultimately *Vekhi*.

princely title as an adequate façade of reliability, and therefore asked me as official publisher to make the application to the Chief Directorate. We could not find a 'responsible editor' in our own milieu. Struve himself was plainly 'unreliable', and the others had no desire to bear a real responsibility for a nominal position. We had to look for a 'gaol-bird' editor elsewhere, among people who would be prepared to sacrifice their liberty for a certain monetary reward. A. A. Nikonov finally found the man we needed . . . and took me, as publisher, to see him. I do not know what his occupation was, but he lived well enough. The room into which the maid led us was entirely hung with pictures of ballerinas in muslin skirts, from which I infer that the proposed editor of the first Marxist review liked either the art of ballet or its female practitioners. His looks, however, bore witness only to a *penchant* for alcoholic drinks: his face was sleepy, and his nose the colour of lilac.

I do not remember what indemnity we offered him for imprisonment, but agreement was quickly reached, and he readily signed the application we had prepared, which already bore my signature.

For a long time we had no answer from the Chief Directorate. When at last I set off there myself to ask for information, the official who received me informed me that our request was refused.

'Why?'

'Well, you see, the Chief Directorate has decided that there are enough monthly reviews in Russia, and sees no reason for a new one.'

During 1895 and 1896 a group of Marxists in Samara succeeded first in infiltrating and then in taking over a local newspaper, the *Samarsky Vestnik* (*Samara Herald*), to which Struve contributed a few articles.[1] But it was not until 1897 that the financial difficulties of the *narodnik Novoe Slovo* enabled Struve and his friends to take it over and so gain control of a monthly review in St. Petersburg.

Novoe Slovo

Novoe Slovo belonged to Olga Aleksandrovna Popova, who also owned a popular bookshop and publishing house. Its nominal editor was her husband, A. N. Popov, a retired military captain. The idea of rescuing it from insolvency by taking it over as a Marxist review was suggested by Vladimir Posse, a medical student turned journalist, who was already contributing

[1] See Polyansky, op. cit., pp. 235ff.; Angarsky, op. cit., pp. 86ff.; N. Samoilov, 'Pervaya Legal'naya Marksistskaya Gazeta v Rossii', in *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya*, 1924, no. 7 (30), pp. 98ff.; A. A. Sanin, 'Samarsky Vestnik v rukakh Marksistov', in *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya*, 1924, no. 12 (35), pp. 251ff.

articles on German Social-Democracy. Posse approached Struve, who naturally favoured the idea. One of the provincial contributors, M. N. Semënov, agreed to be publisher, and since at this time permission from the Chief Directorate for a change of publisher was not required,[1] no obstacles arose from that quarter. The problem of finding an editor acceptable to the Chief Directorate was also neatly solved by persuading Popov to stay and 'edit' the Marxist *Novoe Slovo* as he had done its *narodnik* predecessor.[2] Kalmykova supplied the funds,[3] and the deal with Popova was concluded in the first half of February 1897. The *narodnik* contributors to *Novoe Slovo* resigned *en masse* and protested vainly;[4] but there was nothing practical that they could do. The Marxists' acquisition of *Novoe Slovo* led indirectly to the loss of *Samarsky Vestnik*, for the existence of two Marxist press organs was more than the authorities could stomach, and they promptly suspended *Samarsky Vestnik* for four months, a blow from which it never recovered.[5] But a monthly in St. Petersburg was worth much more than a provincial newspaper, and in the event the Marxists gained a publishing house as well, for Popova soon appointed Struve to be Social Science Editor to her firm.[6]

While the Marxists were infiltrating the Russian Press and the Censorship was gradually waking up to the dangers of the new movement, Marxism itself was gaining more adherents and becoming almost respectable in some sections of Russian society. During 1896 Struve received an invitation to become a regular contributor to the Stock Exchange paper *Birzhevye Vedomosti* (*Stock-Exchange News*).[7] In November of the same

[1] See p. 234 n. 2 below. [2] See Posse, op. cit., p. 119.

[3] See Posse, op. cit., pp. 113ff.; Polyansky, op. cit., pp. 240ff.

[4] See Posse, op. cit., p. 120; 'K podpischikam', in *Novoe Slovo*, March 1897. *Novoe Slovo* will be referred to in footnotes as *NS*. All references are for 1897.

[5] See Polyansky, op. cit., pp. 237–40.

[6] See Angarsky, op. cit., p. 113; Struve, 'My contacts and conflicts', II, p. 73. Marxist works published during the next few years by Popova included a new translation by Elena Gurvich of *Capital*, Vol. i, edited, with a preface, by Struve; translations of Parvus' *Die Weltmarkt und die Agrarkrise*, and of Hobson's *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*; and Lenin's translation of the first volume of the Webbs' *Industrial Democracy*.

[7] See Nikolaevsky, op. cit., p. 24. So far as is known, the invitation was declined.

year Matveev the censor reported to his Committee on the Russian translation of *Capital*, Vol. iii, which had been submitted to him, and recommended that publication should not be allowed. The St. Petersburg Censorship Committee's reasons for allowing the work, against Matveev's advice, shew both the extent of the spread of Marxism and the weakness and confusion of the Censorship in the face of it. Volume iii was, they held, a serious economic treatise, which could not be disallowed, 'since Karl Marx's conclusions now form part of every course of Political Economy'.[1] By the beginning of 1897 rumours had even begun to circulate that a new edition of Volume i (banned only three years before) might be possible. The rumours were justified: in 1898-9 no less than 18,000 copies of four Russian editions of Volume i were published, including two new impressions of Danielson's translation.[2]

The Censorship's inability to deal with Marxism is well seen in its attitude towards the first few numbers of the new *Novoe Slovo*. It is true that it was still the *narodniki*, rather than the government, who would be the more upset by what the Marxists had to say. The main task of *Novoe Slovo* was to destroy the decades-old arguments and prejudices against the viability of capitalism in Russia, rather than to preach constructive Socialism. When Tugan-Baranovsky wrote in the first Marxist issue that 'Russia is the land not of natural economy but of merchant capitalism. . . . The dealer, the trader, the merchant —this is the central figure, who guides our economic life'[3] and concluded, with a fine peroration: 'We stand for economic progress, for Russia's transition to higher economic forms . . . for the development of money economy, for the transformation of merchant capitalism into industrial capitalism',[4] it caused far less excitement in the Censorship than Gorky's story *Konovalov*, of which passages on eighteen pages were cut before the issue appeared.[5] And when, in the April issue, Tugan-Baranovsky took his argument a step further, hinting plainly

[1] 'Karl Marks i tsarskaya tsenzura', p. 14.

[2] See E. A. Gurvich, 'Iz vospominaniy. (Moy perevod "Kapitala")', in *Letopisi Marksizma*, I, p. 92; O. A. Kalekina, *Izdanie marksistskoy literatury v Rossii kontsa XIX veka.* (Moscow, 1957), p. 38.

[3] Tugan-Baranovsky, 'K voprosu o vliyanii nizkikh khlebnykh tsen', in *NS*, March, Part II, p. 82.

[4] Ibid., p. 83. [5] Polyansky, op. cit., in *Krasny Arkhiv*, no. 9, p. 245.

at Socialism—'capitalism leads to the creation of another and higher economic order, which answers the needs of the producer better than the old small-scale or the present-day large-scale production'[1]—the censor merely commented that the article 'is written with great restraint . . . and recommends no particular programmes'.[2] His views on the April issue as a whole are illuminating:[3]

> The new editorial board apparently remains faithful to the line of economic materialism—so fashionable at the present moment—which it has adopted. There are few articles which fail to mention or to quote Marx, the famous author of *Capital* and founder of the economic interpretation of history.

In spite of this, he concluded, after discussing individual items,[4]

> in general, this whole issue of the review does not go beyond the limits allowed to publications appearing without preliminary censorship, and cannot, in the censor's opinion, give rise to any repressive measures.

Quite soon, moreover, Semënov discovered that Elagin, the censor who looked after *Novoe Slovo*, could be bribed; for a payment of 100 rubles an issue he was willing to look through any dubious items before they were printed, and so avoid the nuisance of constant excisions.[5]

So for four months—April, May, June, and July—*Novoe Novo* aroused only mild comments in the Censorship, and was passed for publication without cuts.[6] In August a single item —an article which characterized the books issued by the government's *Kommissiya narodnykh chteniy* (*Commission on Reading-matter for the People*) as either unctuous or militaristic—was cut out.[7] After the September issue, however, it was noted that 'in each new number the review's pitch rises higher and higher, and in their search for effective phrases at all costs the editors are ultimately forgetting all sense of responsibility'.[8] The chairman of the St. Petersburg Censorship Committee therefore

[1] Tugan-Baranovsky, 'Istoricheskaya rol' kapitala v razvitii nashey kustarnoy promyshlennosti', in *NS*, April, Part II, p. 33.
[2] Polyansky, op. cit., p. 246. [3] Ibid., p. 245.
[4] Ibid., p. 246. [5] See Posse, op. cit., p. 134.
[6] See Polyansky, op. cit., pp. 245–9. On the July issue, Elagin wrote resignedly: 'No worse and no better than the others.' (Ibid., p. 249.)
[7] See ibid., pp. 249f. In *NS*, August, Part II, pages 34 to 51 are missing.
[8] Ibid., p. 252.

recommended that one of the 'serious penalties' envisaged by the law should be applied. Further excisions followed in October and November, and on 24 November Solovëv, the Head of the Chief Directorate, decided that *Novoe Slovo* should be suppressed. On the 29th a proposal to this effect was forwarded to Goremykin, together with a general report on the review. The matter was discussed by the Council of Four Ministers on 10 December, and reported to the Tsar on the 12th; official notice of closure was published on the 17th. Five thousand copies of the December issue, already printed, were impounded, and *Novoe Slovo* had lived out its nine months' life as a Marxist review.[1]

Nevertheless, in spite of its quick demise, its significance had been considerable. First and foremost it had provided a point of concentration for Marxists of all sorts. Struve, Tugan-Baranovsky, and Bulgakov, of the 'legals'; Plekhanov and Vera Zasulich, of the *émigrés*; Lenin, Potresov and Martov, of those under arrest in Russia—all these contributed to *Novoe Slovo*. And even within the limits imposed by the Censorship much could be done to publicize and elaborate the Marxist viewpoint. A passage from Elagin's report on the November issue of *Novoe Slovo* reveals clearly what those limits were, and what could and could not be said without transgressing the article of the Censorship Statute. Elagin wrote:[2]

> Not content with theoretical discussion in numerous articles, nor with a continuous and bitter polemic against our 'obsolescent' *narodnichestvo*, *Novoe Slovo* has paid special attention to Russian provincial life. In this it promptly adopted a highly critical attitude to the reorganized *zemstvo*, the church schools, etc. So far as life abroad is concerned, here too the review's attention . . . has been occupied exclusively with labour questions in their various forms, with the struggle of parliamentary parties, the victories of socialists, and so forth.

Theoretical discussion, and attacks on *narodnichestvo*: these could be tolerated. Lenin's *K kharakteristike ekonomicheskogo romantizma* (*Towards a Characterization of Economic Romanticism*),[3] Plekhanov's *O materialisticheskom ponimanii istorii* (*On the Materialist Conception of History*), even a translation of Engels' *Afterword* to

[1] See ibid., pp. 252–63. Eighteen months later Semënov, as publisher, received permission to sell the printed sheets of the December issue for pulping.

[2] Polyansky, op. cit., p. 254.

[3] In *NS*, April, May, and July.

Volume iii of *Capital*[1] could be allowed 'in view of their seriousness'.[2] Moreover, whatever the Censorship Statute had to say about Socialism, there was nothing in it to deter anyone from asserting the coming of capitalism to Russia; and this, more than anything else, was the *leit-motiv*—or, sometimes, the assumption—which ran through *Novoe Slovo* from beginning to end.[3] It attracted comment in the Censorship for a few months,[4] but was never the cause of excisions or other action against the review.

It was, in fact, the political corollaries of this *leit-motiv* which led to the banning of *Novoe Slovo*. To Russian Marxists—Legal Marxists more than others—the coming of capitalism meant the political and cultural Europeanization of Russia. It gave them the political aim of representative government, and an end to absolutist bureaucratic administration. This was the 'politics' which Plekhanov, ten years previously, had urged Russian radicals not to abhor;[5] it was also the meeting-point of radical and liberal in opposition to Autocracy—a point which the liberals, rebuffed and cowed by Nicholas II as soon as he was on the throne, had hardly dared to approach since 1894. The *zemstvo* assemblies, where these diffident liberal voices had been raised,[6] were, with the town *dumy* (councils), the only representative political institutions in the country. Since 1889, they had been subjected to an increased degree of administrative interference, and their franchise had been altered to ensure the predominance of the nobility. *Novoe Slovo* found ample opportunities to point out the handicaps which 'any organ so imperfectly representative as our *zemstvo*'[7] had to bear, and to espouse the cause of the elected body against the encroachments of the administration.[8] This, undoubtedly,

[1] Both in *NS*, September. [2] Polyansky, op. cit., p. 252.

[3] Articles *specifically* devoted to various aspects of this subject were: Tugan-Baranovsky, 'Istoricheskaya rol' kapitala v razvitii nashey kustarnoy promyshlennosti', in *NS*, April; I. Gurvich, 'Razvivaetsya-li kapitalizm v russkom zemlevladenii?', in *NS*, May; K. Kachorovsky, 'Razlozhenie obshchiny pod vliyaniem malozemel'ya', in *NS*, June and July; V. Mikhailovsky, 'Naselenie Rossii po pervoy vseobshchey perepisi', in *NS*, June.

[4] See Polyansky, op. cit., pp. 244f., 246, 274.

[5] See pp. 24ff above. [6] See pp. 180ff. below.

[7] See P. Cherevanin, 'K kharakteristike ekonomicheskoy deyatel'nosti Chernigovskogo zemstva', in *NS*, April, Part II, p. 178.

[8] See ibid., in *NS*, June, Part II, p. 143; also A. S. Izgoev, 'Administratsiya i vybornye lyudi', in *NS*, August. Other references to the same

was what Elagin meant by *Novoe Slovo*'s 'critical attitude to the reorganized *zemstvo*'.

Working-class politics—the very questions with which Marxists in other countries were most concerned—were treated much more gingerly, and indeed found relatively little space in *Novoe Slovo*. This was not because they lacked interest or topicality; on the contrary, the strike movement of 1895–8 would surely have filled the columns of a free Press. But the strikes were, like the famines in the countryside, 'forbidden fruit for the periodical press'.[1] Nevertheless, the publication of the Law of 2 June 1897, establishing—in principle, if not in practice—a 'normal' working day of eleven and a half hours, gave occasion for comment on this taboo subject. To criticize the Law at all involved a gamble on the censor's leniency: Article 97 of the Censorship Statute explicitly limited permissible criticism of legislation to those Laws whose imperfections had been discovered in practice. Nevertheless, the whole of Struve's 'Tekushchie voprosy vnutrenney zhizni' ('Current Questions of Domestic Life') in the July issue was devoted to the Law. Compared to Lenin's criticisms, contained in an illegal pamphlet written about the same time, Struve's objections to the Law of 2 June were neither so detailed nor so far-reaching. How far this difference was due to Censorship considerations alone cannot be determined with any accuracy. Lenin's pamphlet, emphasizing at every turn the conflict of interest between worker and factory-owner, and concluding that 'when the mass . . . of the industrial workers, led by a single socialist party, put forward their demands together—then the government will not get away with such trifling concessions',[2] certainly could never have appeared in the legal Press. Both Lenin and Struve made the point that the application of the Law would depend on the workers' maintaining the pressure by which the Law had been won. But whereas Lenin was able to say this bluntly and unequivocally, with side kicks at the government 'trying to whitewash the utterly rotten structure of

theme are in V. Bogucharsky, 'Iz zhizni provintsii', in *NS*, May, Part II, pp. 90ff. and September, Part II, pp. 96ff.

[1] D. Koltsov, 'Rabochie v 1890–1904 gg.', in Martor *et. al.*, *Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie v Rossii*, Vol. i, p. 194n.

[2] Lenin, 'Novy fabrichny zakon', in *Sochineniya*, Vol. ii, p. 154.

police arbitrariness, want of justice, and oppression',[1] Struve had to resort to double-talk such as this:[2]

> The Law of 2 June has a great '*significance in principle*', not because it proclaims the *principle* of State intervention, but by virtue of those real relationships and conditions in which it originated. These very conditions are the most important guarantee of the Law's vitality; as they develop, so will the significance of the Law itself grow. And develop they certainly will, if the country progresses economically.

After this, Struve's final conclusion, that 'factory legislation raises the personality of the worker, and thereby the strength and weight of the whole class',[3] seems almost bold in its suggestion that the working class as such should have any 'weight'; but compared to what could be said in the illegal or free Press it is merely pathetic. The censor evidently appreciated Struve's reticence, for he noted that the references to 'workers' self-preservation' were 'fairly obscure',[4] and let the issue pass. Apart from two articles by Professor Erisman urging more protective legislation in dangerous and unhealthy occupations,[5] this was the sum total of *Novoe Slovo*'s direct references to the Russian proletariat.

More, in fact, could be done by implication, from the example of other countries. Foreign affairs in *Novoe Slovo* were Posse's province.[6] Like many other Russians, he had German as his second language; and, drawing the material for his articles mainly from the parliamentary reports of countries with large socialist parties, he naturally gave pride of place to the German Social-Democrats.[7] There was some danger from the Censorship here, for Article 102 of the Statute forbade the publication of matter insulting to the Russian government

[1] Ibid., p. 142.

[2] Struve, 'Tekushchie voprosy vnutrenney zhizni', in *NS*, July, Part II, p. 241.

[3] Ibid., p. 242. [4] Polyansky, op. cit., p. 249.

[5] F. Erisman, 'Dva voprosa iz oblasti fabrichnoy gigieny', in *NS*, October, Part I, and esp. November, Part I, pp. 58–61. Erisman had had to give up his chair at Moscow for political reasons. (See A. A. Kizevetter, *Na rubezhe dvukh stoletiy* (Prague, 1929), p. 23.)

[6] See Posse, op. cit., p. 126, where he gives the composition of the board in governmental terms: Prime Minister—Struve; Foreign Affairs—Posse: Belles-Lettres—Posse, later Kalmykova; Provincial News—Semënov; Minister without Portfolio—Tugan-Baranovsky.

[7] See, for instance, an extended report of a speech of Bebel's in V. P. [Posse], 'Inostrannoe obozrenie', in *NS*, May, Part II, pp. 151ff.

or to the governments of countries friendly to Russia; but Posse managed to attract no more than comment from the censor, and his articles must have been meat and drink to Russian radicals yearning for a fusion of 'politics' and 'Socialism'. By November, however, the Censorship had begun to take particular interest in them, and they were an important contributory factor towards the closure of the review.[1]

There were already in *Novoe Slovo* a few articles which revealed revisionist tendencies among the Legal Marxists. Struve and Bulgakov's friendly controversy on Freedom and Necessity (in the May issue), shewed, from the orthodox point of view, an untoward interest in Kantian philosophy;[2] and Struve's article (in the September issue) on the International Congress on questions of Legislation for the Protection of Workers put him unequivocally among those who opposed the Marxist *Zusammenbruchstheorie*, or theory of a climactic collapse of advanced capitalism.[3] But there is no sign at this time, that the Censorship was any more lenient to revisionist articles or authors than to others. On the contrary, Solovëv's report of 20 November, proposing the suppression of *Novoe Slovo*, assumes that Marxism has long since abandoned revolution in favour of evolution and parliamentary activity:[4]

> The working class . . . having achieved a majority for its representatives . . . will change the economic structure of the State by legal means. This is the victory on which the Marxists count. . . . It stands to reason that Marx's views, which lay all hope on the constitutional structure of Western Europe, are finding support in the liberal camp, which yearns for the establishment of 'the rule of law' in Russia.

Such doctrines might be permissible in Western European states, but in Russia they could only lead to the 'awakening of destructive instincts, since the people has no direct legal part in the government of the State and in legislation.'[5] This judgement was followed by a remark which suggested that the Censorship was outgrowing its persistent belief that subversion was less dangerous if it was confined to theoretical terms:[6]

[1] See Polyansky, op. cit., pp. 154 and 161, where Posse's report of some remarks of Bebel at the expense of Wilhelm II receives particular comment.

[2] See pp. 110ff below. [3] See pp. 130f. below.

[4] Polyansky, op. cit., pp. 258f. [5] Loc. cit. [6] Loc. cit.

Therefore the very doctrine of Karl Marx, which his followers try to represent as of exclusively theoretical academic interest, turns out to be revolutionary and communistic, and fully justifies the application of Article 95 of the *Ustav o tsenzure i pechati.*

This was, perhaps, the nearest the Russian Censorship ever got to an all-round condemnation of Marx and Marxism.[1] If it had been accepted as a rule and strictly applied, every form of Marxism, revisionist or theoretical as well as revolutionary or applied, would have been banished from the Russian press. In fact matters had already gone too far; Marxism had a firm grip on a large part of the intelligentsia, and the Censorship quickly retreated from this advanced position.

There can be no doubt that *Novoe Slovo*, even in the few months of its existence as a Marxist review, played a great part in this popularization of Marxist terminology and ideas. Its circulation trebled,[2] reaching 4,500 copies;[3] and Solovëv wrote in some alarm to his Minister:[4]

Novoe Slovo not only circulates among the sort of young readers who are sensitive to any fashionable and novel idea, but penetrates deeper, into sections of society in which the succession of fashionable theories does not take place so swiftly as among young educated people, but where they may put down more lasting roots, develop in their own way, and then really find expression in the life of society.

In support of his estimate of *Novoe Slovo*'s circulation in unexpectedly respectable milieux—for that is surely his meaning—Solovëv quoted a case where the review had been found in possession of the parish clerk of a country district in the Perm *gubernia.*

Marxists of all sorts were naturally pleased with *Novoe Slovo.* A Moscow reader among them recalled later 'with what enormous pleasure we read this review; we could not have dreamed of its appearance two or three years before'.[5] Lenin received

[1] Solovëv's report is a striking document not only for a few perceptive comments such as those quoted above, but equally for some extraordinary ineptitudes of which the following is an example: 'Marxism thus joins hands with the so-called economic materialism . . . preached in Russia by Count L. Tolstoy, Profs. Milyukov, Erisman, Isaev, and others.' Bearing in mind Posse's qualification of Solovëv as 'a half-wit', it seems quite possible to conclude that the report was the work of more than one hand.

[2] See Posse, op. cit., p. 133. [3] See Polyansky, op. cit., p. 257.

[4] Loc. cit.

[5] S. Mitskevich, *Na grani dvukh epokh,* p. 225.

the April issue in Krasnoyarsk, and promptly wrote to his mother that he had read it 'with real pleasure'.[1] It found its way to others in prison, such as members of the *Soyuz Bor'by* who were being held in the House of Preliminary Detention. 'Each issue', wrote one of them later, 'excited feelings of deep joy in the prison, and its suppression was felt as deeply as the death of a near and dear being.'[2] It even penetrated the Schlüsselburg Fortress, reaching terrorists who had been confined there for fifteen years or more, since the collapse of the *Partiya Narodnoy Voli*. Vera Figner, who was among them, described its impact in her memoirs: 'It had the effect of an ideological bomb . . . Schlüsselburg society was divided into Marxists and *narodniki*.'[3]

Later, in the spring of 1899, before he returned from exile, but when he was already actively concerned at the appearance of rifts between the Legal Marxists and himself, Lenin still wrote of *Novoe Slovo*'s 'enormous success'.[4] Certainly it represented the highest point of co-operation ever achieved between the Legal Marxists and their orthodox allies. *Novoe Slovo*, in spite of its suppression, had justified Potresov's original belief in the value of legal publication and his ambition to found a Marxist review.

Nachalo

With the loss of *Novoe Slovo* the Marxists found themselves back where they had been in 1896. Yet not entirely so. *Mir Bozhy*, it is true, still provided a home from home for the dispossessed: Struve, Tugan-Baranovsky and Lenin all used it now.[5] But *Novoe Slovo* had done its work of popularization;

[1] Lenin to his mother, 5 April 1897, in E. M. Hill and D. Mudie, *Letters of Lenin* (London, 1937), p. 31.

[2] Gorev, op. cit., p. 42.

[3] V. Figner, *Zapechatlënny Trud*, Vol. ii (Moscow, 1922), p. 159. Figner erroneously gives the date as 1895–6.

[4] Lenin to Potresov, 27 April 1899, in Lenin, *Sochineniya*, Vol. xxviii, p. 30.

[5] Tugan-Baranovsky, 'Kapitalizm i rynok', in *Mir Bozhy*, 1898, no. 6, Struve, 'Osnovnye momenty v razvitii krepostnogo khozyaystva v Rossii XIX stoletiya'. in 1897, no. 12; 'Marks o Goethe', in 1898, no. 2, and 'Istoricheskoe i sistematicheskoe mesto russkoy kustarnoy promyshlennosti', in 1898, no. 4; Lenin, Review of A. Bogdanov, *Kratky kurs ekonomicheskoy nauki*, in 1898, no. 4.

the strike movement of 1896 did not abate after the Law of 2 June 1897, but carried over into the following year;[1] Marxism had become a subject of general interest, and the number of reviews which were prepared to give it a place in their columns increased to satisfy a growing demand among readers. *Obrazovanie* (*Education*) was one such, in which Posse continued his surveys of foreign affairs;[2] another, *Nauchnoe Obozrenie* (*Scientific Review*), carried articles by Plekhanov, Maslov, Sanin, Bulgakov, and Struve.[3] In spite of the warning which Solovëv himself had sounded on the revolutionary nature of Marxist theory the Censorship paid no heed to any of these articles.

During the course of the year 1898, however, the situation was altered once again by the introduction of an entirely new element. Hitherto the government had attempted to keep Russian Marxism within bounds by the orthodox methods of Censorship repression. They now decided to apply to the Marxist *côterie* another technique—infiltration by police spies—which was more usually associated with operations against clandestine *kruzhki*, a field in which it had paid handsome dividends in the wave of arrests made in the summer of 1898. Their chosen agent was a man called Mikhail Ivanovich Gurovich, who had done some useful work for the police in the early nineties.[4] It is likely that the Marxists would have been ready to accept almost anyone who offered to take on the nominal post of publisher of a new Marxist review and to provide funds. Gurovich had the added recommendation of a revolutionary past: Bogucharsky had known him in Siberia,

[1] See Koltsov, op. cit., pp. 194–204.

[2] See Posse, op. cit., p. 137.

[3] Plekhanov, 'K voprosu o roli lichnosti v istorii', in *Nauchnoe Obozrenie*, 1898, nos. 3, 4; P. Maslov, 'Obshchestvennye otnosheniya i ideologiya', in 1898, no. 1; A. Sanin, 'Narodnichestvo v proshlom i nastoyashchem', in 1898, nos. 2, 6; Bulgakov, 'O nekotorykh osnovnykh ponyatiyakh politicheskoy ekonomii', in 1898, nos. 2, 9, 10; Struve, 'Iz istorii obshchestvennykh idey v Germanii v XIX veke', in 1898, no. 4, and 'Nauchnaya istoriya russkoy krupnoy promyshlennosti', in 1898, no. 6. Struve's first article was a direct continuation of a series started in *Novoe Slovo*.

[4] See L. M. Kleinbort, 'M. I. Gurovich—"Khar'kovtsev" ', in *Byloe*, no. 16, 1921, p. 86. Gurovich was not the only one of his kind: see Posse, op. cit., pp. 232ff. for two lesser examples of literary *provocateurs*.

and seems to have vouched for him in some sense.[1] The first approaches were made in the autumn of 1898 to some of the Moscow Marxists. Gurovich offered financial and other assistance towards the foundation of a newspaper, to be called *Telegraf*. After a number of discussions the Moscow Marxists decided to invite the co-operation of Struve, who soon arrived from St. Petersburg with Kalmykova.[2] The Censorship's permission, it might be thought, was a foregone conclusion; but events proved otherwise. Gurovich chose not to appear as publisher himself, but to allow his common-law wife, Anna Voeykova, to put herself forward in his place. According to one account, she gave the impression of being 'a frivolous lady of high society',[3] with connexions at Court. In Moscow, however, applications of this sort were dealt with by the Governor-General, a post which was filled at this time by the Tsar's uncle, the formidable and unpopular Grand Duke Sergey Aleksandrovich. Voeykova's 'connexions', whatever they were, availed her nothing here: the Grand Duke turned down her application on the ground that she was not qualified by any previous literary experience for the undertaking.[4]

In St. Petersburg, on the other hand, the ultimate decision rested not with the Governor-General, but with the Minister of the Interior, who was responsible for the Okhrana as well as for the Chief Directorate for Press Affairs, thus controlling both Gurovich and the Censorship. Permission was granted remarkably quickly, within a week of asking[5]—and for a review instead of a newspaper. As for the Marxists, a number of them have been wise after the event, and declared in their memoirs how suspicious they were of Gurovich;[6] but they do

[1] See V. Totomiants, 'Zhurnal "Nachalo" i provokator Gurovich', in *Novy Zhurnal*, XLIII, p. 265; Kleinbort, op. cit., p. 103. According to Kleinbort, Bogucharsky knew Gurovich as a 'morally most unattractive' person, but had thought to forget such bygones for the good of the cause—a piece of naïveté for which he never forgave himself. (Loc. cit.)

[2] See S. L. Frank, *Biografiya P. B. Struve*, p. 19.

[3] Totomiants' impression of her. (Op. cit., p. 265.)

[4] See V. Abramkin and A. Dymshits, 'U istokov revolyutsionnogo marksizma (Iz istorii zhurnala "Nachalo", 1899 g.)', in *Zvezda*, 1931, no. 3, p. 221.

[5] See V. Evgenev-Maksimov, *Ocherki po istorii sotsialisticheskoy zhurnalistiki v Rossii XIX veka* (Moscow, 1927), p. 244.

[6] See Abramkin and Dymshits, op. cit., pp. 221f.; Totomiants, op. cit., p. 265.

not seem to have done very much about it. The temptation to accept him, on Bogucharsky's recommendation, was too great; the chance of repeating the success of *Novoe Slovo* was not to be missed; and the idea of an 'official' publisher or backer who seemed to have little in common with them intellectually was nothing new in the circumstances of the time.[1]

Moreover Gurovich offered funds. How much he gave towards *Nachalo* (as the review was called), how much of it was his own money and how much came from the police—these are questions to which no satisfactory answer has been given. Those who were in contact with *Nachalo* at the time bear witness that he seemed to be well off, entertained generously and was apparently 'laying out considerable sums on *Nachalo*'.[2] The assumption, sometimes made explicit, is that the money was provided by the Police Department,[3] but this was later denied both by friends of the Legal Marxists and by Gurovich himself: possibly the money came from Voeykova.[4]

What value Gurovich was to his masters in his equivocal position in *Nachalo* is equally doubtful. Memoirists agree that he was not an intelligent man. His technique of provocation, at least at this stage, seems to have been very crude, consisting as it did in urging the Marxist *littérateurs* to take to terrorism. This alone was sufficient to rouse suspicion in the minds of his hearers, though Struve put it down to Gurovich's stupidity and ignorance in political matters.[5] But *Nachalo* was edited from Gurovich's flat, and in the four or five months of its existence he can hardly have failed to pick up something of the 'legals' ' contacts with 'illegals', apart from knowing, as he presumably would, all the pseudonyms used in the review.

His unmasking was a gradual process. Among the first to suspect was Kuskova, who returned to Russia early in 1899, smuggling in with her the manuscript of her husband S. N. Prokopovich's book *Rabochee dvizhenie na zapade* (*The Workers'*

[1] See pp. 81-2 above. As had been intended in the case of *Telegraf*, Voeykova's, not Gurovich's, name stood on the cover.

[2] Kleinbort, op. cit., p. 87; Totomiants, op. cit., p. 265.

[3] See Obolensky, op. cit.; cf. Evgenev-Maksimov, op. cit., p. 243, Abramkin and Dymshits, op. cit., p. 221, Totomiants, op. cit., p. 265.

[4] See Additional Note 5 (p. 242).

[5] See Totomiants, op. cit., pp. 265f.; cf. Kleinbort, op. cit., p. 94, for a similar judgement of Gurovich.

Movement in the West), which was to be published by L. F. Panteleev. Prokopovich, who followed Kuskova shortly afterwards, was arrested on the frontier. Kuskova gave the book to Panteleev, who, doubting whether it would pass the Censorship, shewed it to the censor. At this point Prokopovich (in gaol), Kuskova, Struve, Panteleev and the censor were the only people who knew of its existence. Kuskova was therefore surprised when one evening Gurovich turned to her and asked her what the title was to be; and after making sure that neither Struve nor Panteleev had mentioned it to Gurovich, she concluded that Gurovich was in the confidence of the censor. Her suspicions were soon confirmed when Gurovich offered to use his influence to get her an interview with her husband in gaol.[1] Struve, it is said, was unwilling to believe that Gurovich was an agent, considering him too unintelligent for the part.[2] The early suppression of *Nachalo* relieved Struve of the necessity of deciding whether to act on Kuskova's suspicions; and Gurovich remained undiscovered. In spite of further suspicions which accumulated as time went on,[3] he continued to frequent Marxist literary circles until an officer of the Gendarmes, whom Gurovich had reported for a minor breach of regulations, gave him away in revenge. Gurovich (to give him his due) did not lose his head, but demanded a trial by his fellows (*tovarishchesky sud*). This was arranged by various revolutionary organizations abroad in Paris; Gurovich appeared in person, and at first defended himself with some success. After a long investigation, however, incontrovertible proofs of his duplicity were produced, and in September 1901 the 'court' declared him an *agent-provocateur*.[4]

Meanwhile *Nachalo* began to appear. Gurovich naturally exercised no influence on editorial policy, which was directed

[1] Kuskova, Personal Communication.

[2] See Kleinbort, op. cit., p. 94; Posse, op. cit., pp. 230ff.

[3] See Totomiants, op. cit., p. 266; Kleinbort, op. cit., pp. 97f.; Posse, op. cit., p. 232.

[4] See Kleinbort, op. cit., pp. 103–7; Posse, op. cit., p. 232; and the 'verdict' itself, in *Osvobozhdenie*, no. 8, 2/15 October 1902. Gurovich's last notable action was his interrogation of the terrorist Sazonov after he had assassinated Plehve in 1904; as Sazonov lay delirious in hospital Gurovich was brought to his bedside disguised as a doctor. (See Kleinbort, op. cit., pp. 104f.) Gurovich retired in 1906 and died in 1915. (See Posse, op. cit., p. 496.)

by the same people—Struve, Tugan-Baranovsky and Kalmykova—as had run *Novoe Slovo*, with Bogucharsky and Veresaev; only Posse had left for *Zhizn'* (*Life*), another review which was shortly to 'go Marxist'.[1] Yet there was a perceptible difference in flavour between *Nachalo* and its predecessor. It is a curious fact that whereas orthodox Marxists have tended to decry *Nachalo* in comparison with *Novoe Slovo*,[2] the Censorship took it much more seriously. No doubt the personality of the censor concerned had something to do with it: *Nachalo* was allotted not to the venal Elagin but to Sokolov,[3] of whom Struve wrote, in a letter to Plekhanov: 'We now have a censor who gets to the root of things and who cannot be fooled.'[4] Even so, the divergence of opinion is striking. On the one hand Potresov could write:[5]

> There is lacking in these reviews [*Nachalo* and *Zhizn'*] the solder of common political ideas which held together the various elements in legal Marxism of the *Novoe Slovo* period; gone is the co-ordinated drive against *narodnichestvo*, and the political optimism combined with a class analysis of the current events of social life and promotion of the idea of the liberating mission of the proletariat. . . .

whereas the opinions of the censor and his Committee were very different:[6]

> The militant group of the Marxist *napravlenie* whose representative is *Nachalo* should not be tolerated in the press at all . . . Marxism is here confident, celebrating victory. . . . The doctrine . . . put forward with unceremonious thoroughness, is not a scientific theory, but a social-revolutionary doctrine, expounded, moreover, dogmatically like a creed in a tone which brooks no contradiction or compromises. . . . This revolutionary tendency pervades more or less all the articles. . . . Each successive issue reveals . . . that the contributors . . . are not a literary but a socio-political *kruzhok*, pursuing plainly revolutionary aims . . . their faith is in the kingdom of the proletariat built on the ruins of a structure worked out by centuries of the people's toil and genius.

[1] See pp. 106f. below.
[2] See, for instance, Martov, *Zapiski Sotsial-demokrata*, p. 407.
[3] See Evgenev-Maksimov, op. cit., p. 256.
[4] Struve to Plekhanov, 17 May 1899, in Abramkin and Dymshits, op. cit., p. 226.
[5] A. Potresov, 'Evolyutsiya obshchestvenno-politicheskoy mysli v pred-revolyutsionnuyu epokhu', in *Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie v Rossii*, Vol. i, p. 586.
[6] Polyansky, op. cit., pp. 264-8.

Later Marxist writers have attempted to explain this contradiction by saying that the 'militant tone' of the review prevented the Censorship from discerning the discordances which now first became clearly perceptible in Russian Marxism.[1] The discordances were there certainly; but they should not be exaggerated in retrospect. The most serious was Bulgakov's article in the first issue, a highly critical review of Kautsky's *Die Agrarfrage*;[2] it was the first time that any Russian Marxist had raised his voice against a German contemporary of comparable standing; and although Bulgakov proclaimed that he shared Kautsky's general social philosophy—that is, Marxism—he declared Marx to be in error on one point, and Kautsky on a great many.[3] The criticism was wholly destructive; Bulgakov proposed no alternative theory of agricultural development. Lenin and Potresov both saw the article and exchanged angry protests;[4] but it was full of economic technicalities and statistical methodology in which a political censor would only take the remotest interest. What concealed the schism in Marxism from the Censor in this instance was, perhaps, not so much the militant tone of the rest of the paper as that same obscurity and abstruseness which had saved Marx himself from the censor so often in the past—that, and the fact that Bulgakov's article was the only one of its kind in *Nachalo*.

Nor are all the other items which Potresov lists to support his contention that *Nachalo* lacked the unity of *Novoe Slovo* wholly convincing on examination. Struve's article on Rozanov, 'Romantika protiv kazenshchiny' ('Romanticism against Bureaucracy') specifically avoids sociological analysis,[5] it is true, and contains a profession of Westernizing faith absolute enough to include Nietzsche as a progressive democratic phenomenon;[6] but it closes with the phrase 'The iron tread of the force of the future

[1] See Polyansky, op. cit., p. 256; Abramkin and Dymshits, op. cit., p. 227.

[2] See pp. 203f. below.

[3] See Bulgakov, 'K voprosu o kapitalisticheskoy evolyutsii zemledeliya', in *Nachalo*, nos. 1–2, Part II, pp. 1–3.

[4] See Lenin to Potresov, 27 April 1899 in Lenin, *Sochineniya*, Vol. xxviii, p. 30.

[5] See Struve, *Na raznye temy*, p. 206 (first published in *Nachalo*, no. 3).

[6] But not Bismarck: see ibid., pp. 215f.

is heard', which was readily understood to refer to the proletariat.[1] It is only in the literary section that Potresov's strictures can be fully sustained. There were, indeed, some sociological stories, such as Veresaev's sketch *V sukhom tumane* (*In a Dry Fog*), about peasants leaving the country for work in the towns,[2] and Rubakin's *Mitroshkino Zhertvoprinoshenie* (*Mitroshka's Contribution*), a story from the famine.[3] But Gorky had joined forces with Posse in *Zhizn'*, and although Chirikov's name appeared in the list of contributors to *Nachalo*, nothing of his was printed in the four issues which went to press.[4] The most considerable work to be published in the fiction section—Merezhkovsky's *Voskresshie Bogi* (*Resurrected Gods*), a historical novel about Leonardo da Vinci, with which each issue of *Nachalo* opened—was a far cry from the contemporary social realism which had dominated *Novoe Slovo*. The same is partly true of a sympathetic study of Maeterlinck by Zinaida Vengerova, although she criticized him for having 'no ethical aims' and 'giving no new understanding of the problems of life and spirit'.[5] There is little doubt that the influence which brought these fresh elements into a Russian Marxist review was Struve's. It was a time when he was moving swiftly away from such little Marxist orthodoxy as he had ever admitted in philosophy, and seeking new formulae for his beliefs. When Mikhailovsky picked on Vengerova's articles as examples of 'decadence and aestheticism', Struve hastened to reassure her by letter:[6]

> The fact that people curse us because of you is of *no consequence*.

[1] So, at least, it was taken by Kuskova; see her 'Nadpol'e i podpol'e marksizma', where she even misremembers Struve: '*Slyshitsya zhelezny postup' proletariata*' instead of '. . . *gryadushchey sily*', adducing it as evidence that Struve had moved to the *left* in the last few years.

[2] In *Nachalo*, no. 3, Part I, pp. 80–88.

[3] In *Nachalo*, nos. 1–2, Part I, pp. 170–84.

[4] The same was true of Chekhov. Gorky wrote to Chekhov on behalf of Posse asking him to write something for *Zhizn'*, only to find that Struve had got in first. (See Chekhov to Gorky, 18 January 1899, in A. P. Chekhov, *Polnoe Sobranie Sochineniy* (Moscow, 1946–51), Vol. xviii, p. 24.

[5] Z. Vengerova, 'Maurice Maeterlinck', I, in *Nachalo*, nos. 1–2, Part I, quoted by Abramkin and Dymshits, op. cit., p. 223. Abramkin and Dymshits also mention (without quoting) Vengerova's review (in *Nachalo*, no. 3) of a work by Nietzsche, as a sign of decadence.

[6] Struve to Vengerova, 7 March 1899, quoted by Abramkin and Dymshits, op. cit., p. 224.

They curse us for *everything*. I personally sympathize with the articles on Maeterlinck, and I am not afraid of a conflict with the 'reading public'.

Inevitably, much of *Nachalo* was devoted to the eternal theme of Russian capitalism. In *Nachalo* the emphasis was on agriculture. A section from Lenin's coming book *Razvitie kapitalizma v Rossii* (*The Development of Capitalism in Russia*);[1] figures on the rural exodus from B. Avilov;[2] Maslov, arguing that at least half the rural population lived by selling their labour;[3] or an article by V. Ionov ascribing the impoverishment of the central provinces of Russia to 'a latent form of capitalist overpopulation';[4] these were merely re-statements in a new context of a familiar doctrine, and passed the censor without difficulty. Tugan-Baranovsky, in the first issue, hinted that something more positive was in the air, when he wrote, *à propos* of the debate with *narodnichestvo*:[5]

Behind these arguments is concealed the old painful searching for an answer to the question 'What is to be done?' How are we to bring more justice into human relationships? There are two stages: first, criticism and polemic, a necessary prelude to the second stage, which is to work out a new principle. This principle will be based on the following idea: that we are carried along by the flow of history and we know where it is taking us.

The 'second stage', the 'new principle'—Socialism, in a word—could not be discussed in real terms in a legal review: Article 95 of the Censorship Statute saw to that. But Potresov's suggestion that the drive against *narodnichestvo* was weaker or that political optimism was lacking in *Nachalo* is surely refuted by the articles just mentioned. As Lenin wrote to Potresov after

[1] Lenin, 'Vytesnenie barshchinnogo khozyaystva kapitalisticheskim v sovremmennom russkom zemledelii', in *Nachalo*, no. 3, Part I, pp. 96–117.

[2] B. Avilov, 'K voprosu o svyazi s zemledeliem nashikh fabrichnykh rabochikh', in *Nachalo*, no. 4, Part II, pp. 23–46. This issue of *Nachalo* was in fact confiscated and pulped (see p. 104 below); nevertheless, a copy is to be found in the Bibliothèque de Documentation Internationale Contemporaine, Paris.

[3] P. Maslov, 'Zarabotnaya plata i zemel'naya renta v russkom zemledel'cheskom khozyaystve', in *Nachalo*, nos. 1–2, Part I, pp. 259–76.

[4] V. Ionov, 'Chto takoe "oskudenie tsentra"?', in *Nachalo*, nos. 1–2, Part II, p. 67.

[5] Tugan-Baranovsky, 'Spory o fabrike i o kapitalizme', in *Nachalo*, nos. 1–2, Part II, pp. 24f.

reading two issues: 'Compared with our tone today our *Materialy*[1] might be a model of "moderation" and "respectability". . . .'[2]

As for failure to give 'a class analysis of the events of social life', Potresov was perhaps thinking of Struve's two 'Vnutrennie Obozreniya' ('Domestic Surveys'). Here there is some justification for his view. In the first of them Struve, dealing with the annual report of the Minister of Finance to the Tsar, and in particular with proposals for the reform of the *obshchina*, wrote not so much from the point of view of the rural proletariat as with a vaguer touchstone: 'the all-round liberation of personality' (*'vsestoronnee osvobozhdenie lichnosti'*).[3] In the second his subject was protectionism. Like Marx in his *Speech on Free Trade* in 1847, Struve was neither an absolute protectionist nor an absolute free-trader on principle; the problem was relative to another criterion. Marx had asked whether protection would develop the productive forces of the country concerned, and thus lead to the progress of capitalism and so ultimately to revolution. Struve's attitude was the same without the revolutionary conclusion: his criterion was 'the productivity of labour, on which ultimately the absolute wage level depends'.[4] But if these articles—and particularly the implication of a rising absolute wage-level—tended to set aside irreconcilable class interests, there were other parts of *Nachalo* where they were given full weight, notably in Bogucharsky's 'Otgoloski russkoy zhizni' ('Echoes of Russian Life').[5]

Indeed, it was the depredations of the Censorship, as much as any intrinsic weakening of the common front, which affected the propaganda value of *Nachalo*. They began with the first issue, for which Potresov had written the key article. It was the time when Russian Marxists were busily looking for an

[1] See pp. 77ff. above.

[2] Lenin to Potresov, 27 April 1899, in Lenin, *Sochineniya*, Vol. xxviii, p. 33.

[3] Struve, 'Vnutrennee obozrenie', in *Nachalo*, nos. 1–2, Part II, pp. 303f.

[4] Ibid., in *Nachalo*, no. 3, Part II, p. 232.

[5] See, for example, *Nachalo*, nos. 1–2, pp. 93ff., on the appearance of a class of agricultural magnates, and p. 108: 'We aim to be on the side not of "those who exult" but of "the humiliated and insulted" . . . [our] basis will be not the phantoms of "human justice", "truth", "pure thought" and all the rest of it, but definite interests of definite classes of people.' Both in *Novoe Slovo* and in *Nachalo* Bogucharsky contributed a form of salty journalism which makes livelier reading than anything else in these reviews.

answer to the charge that they rejected the heritage of Russian radicalism. Potresov's article 'O nasledstve i naslednikakh' ('On Heritage and Heirs')[1] argued that this was untrue: on the contrary the Marxists had inherited from earlier radicals a most important psychological trait, which Potresov called *otshchepenstvo*—irreconcilable dissent from the established order of society. This was too much for the censor. 'The frank expression . . . of a line of succession between Marxism and the destructive activities of our political dissenters of the seventies gives the new review an inflammatory character', wrote the chairman of the St. Petersburg Censorship Committee to the Head of the Chief Directorate.[2] The Committee recommended confiscation, and 'arrested' the first issue—a double one for January and February—until their superior's decision should be known. But the Head of the Chief Directorate—aware, perhaps, that the government had some ulterior purpose in allowing *Nachalo* in the first place—referred the matter to the Minister of the Interior. The issue was allowed to appear—without Potresov's article.[3] In the March issue particular exception was taken to an article entitled 'Evolyutsiya sem'i i semeynogo vospitanya' ('The Evolution of the Family and of Family Upbringing'); the Committee went on to describe the contributors as 'the basest enemies of Russia, trying at all costs to wipe out everything that constitutes her individuality as against the principles of Western European life';[4] once again they recommended confiscation, but once again high policy prevailed. The offending article on the family—'directed against one of the main foundations of the existing order'[5]—was cut out, and the issue appeared without it.

The Minister of the Interior was in fact pursuing two separate ends which could easily become incompatible. As Minister responsible for the secret police and for Gurovich, he needed to keep *Nachalo* in existence, at least for a time. Meanwhile he could not forgo his responsibility for the Censorship. The Head of the Chief Directorate may have known what was going on; but it seems plain from the increasingly alarmist nature of

[1] Reprinted in Starover [Potresov] *Etyudy o russkoy intelligentsii* (Spb., 1906), pp. 73–109.
[2] Polyansky, op. cit., p. 265.
[3] Loc. cit. [4] Loc. cit. [5] Ibid., p. 266.

their reports on *Nachalo* that the St. Petersburg Censorship Committee did not. The report on the April issue ran, in part, as follows:[1]

> Economic matters recede into the background, and questions of political struggle are brought forward. . . . [In this issue] the destructive tendencies of Russian Marxism have taken a considerable step forward. . . . The principles of social revolution are proclaimed. . . .

The Committee concluded that cutting out individual articles was no use, and recommended suppression by the Council of Four Ministers; meanwhile they held up publication of the April issue.

The Chief Directorate took its time over the April issue, and as the weeks went by and nothing was heard, editors, contributors and interested readers alike became gradually more pessimistic about *Nachalo*'s survival.[2] On 2 May Voeykova went to the Chief Directorate to complain of the prolonged detention of the April issue. Nothing happened for a week; then on 10 May she was asked to comply with a formality—to provide two eighty-kopeck stamps. This done, the Minister of the Interior forwarded his report, with a recommendation for confiscation, to the Committee of Ministers.[3] Another week passed. Then on 19 May came a new demand from the Chief Directorate: would Voeykova supply the real names of the authors of four pseudonymous articles? Voeykova did so, apparently after some hesitation, on 26 May. In the interval, evidently, it had been decided by the editors that the name of Potresov, who was in exile in the Vyatka *gubernia*, was too compromising to be mentioned, for his article 'Ne v ochered'' ('Out of Turn'), written under the pseudonym 'A. K-r-y', was attributed in Voeykova's information to A. A. Nikonov.[4] At last, on 28 May, the Committee of Ministers discussed the

[1] Ibid., pp. 229, 266f.

[2] See letters from Kalmykova to Lugovoy-Tikhonov (27 April), Struve to Plekhanov (17 May), and Bulgakov to Plekhanov (30 April), in Abramkin and Dymshits, op. cit., pp. 224–6; also Lenin to Potresov, 27 April, in Lenin, *Sochineniya*, Vol. xxviii, p. 32.

[3] It was—illogically—the Committee of Ministers that dealt with the fate of single issues, while the Council of Four Ministers had powers of complete suppression. (See p. 235, below.)

[4] See Evgenev-Maksimov, op. cit., pp. 257f.; Nikolaevsky, op. cit., pp. 28, 31; *Nachalo*, no. 4, Part II, pp. 150–74. Potresov reprinted his article in his *Etyudy o russkoy intelligentsii* under the title 'O raznochintse-skital'tse'.

April issue.[1] The decision to ban it was taken on 1 June,[2] but even then the same leisurely tempo was maintained, for four days later Kalmykova—complaining of 'the tormenting feeling of being kept in the dark'—still had not been told whether it was to come out or not.[3] The final act of pulping took place in a paper-mill on 19 July.[4]

The May issue of *Nachalo*, with which the editors had persevered in spite of their setback, was the last; for although the Censorship Committee recognized that it was more moderate than those which had gone before—there was nothing in it by Struve, Tugan-Baranovsky, Potresov, Lenin or Plekhanov—and allowed it to appear with a few cuts, they repeated their recommendation for suppression. By 10 June the editors had become aware 'from reliable sources' that the decision to suppress had been taken in the Chief Directorate, and were discussing what their policy should be. They decided not to print the June issue, which had been set up in type. Some wanted to close down voluntarily for the time being, hoping thereby to retain the right to begin publication again later. Others, among them Tugan-Baranovsky, thought that this was playing into the hands of their enemies—'that is, the whole Russian Press'—who would say that it had failed for lack of support from the public. The first view prevailed, and on 15 June Voeykova applied to the Minister of the Interior for permission to close down—the very same day that the Minister forwarded his recommendation for suppression to the Council of Four Ministers. Voeykova's application was disregarded; the Council of Four met on 22 June and suppressed *Nachalo*.[5] Finally, on 1 July, a circular went out to all Governors that *Nachalo* and (rather belatedly) *Novoe Slovo* should be withdrawn from all public libraries and reading-rooms.[6]

[1] See Kalmykova to Tikhonov-Lugovoy, 5 June, in Abramkin and Dymshits, op. cit., p. 225.

[2] See Polyansky, op. cit., p. 268.

[3] Kalmykova, op. cit.

[4] See Abramkin and Dymshits, op. cit., p. 227.

[5] See Tugan-Baranovsky to Plekhanov, n.d. June, in Abramkin and Dymshits, op. cit., pp. 226f.; Polyansky, op. cit., p. 268.

[6] See Evgenev-Maksimov, op. cit., p. 264.

The Common Front Flawed

Struve never again edited a Marxist review.[1] In *Nachalo* he had attempted to carry on the task undertaken in *Novoe Slovo*—to combine all the best Marxist talent available. Plekhanov, Lenin, Potresov, Tugan-Baranovsky and Bulgakov all contributed. Martov, on receiving the first issue of *Nachalo*, promptly set to work on a series of four articles, but *Nachalo* was closed before they could appear.[2] Of the Legal Marxists, Frank's name appears for the first time in a Marxist paper, as a book-reviewer.[3] But it was not the Censorship alone, nor even the fact that *Nachalo* never achieved the same popularity as *Novoe Slovo*—*Nachalo*'s circulation was only 3,500[4]—which prevented any attempt at another publication of the same kind. Times were changing: the conditions which had made it possible for Legal and orthodox Marxists to work together were passing away. Bulgakov's article against Kautsky, with Lenin's reaction to it; Lenin's own article, in *Nauchnoe Obozrenie* for January 1899, against Tugan-Baranovsky on the Marxist theory of the realization of the product of capitalism, and the controversy with Struve arising from it; Tugan-Baranovsky's first openly revisionist article in May; Kuskova's return to Russia with first-hand news of the split in the *Soyuz Russkikh Sotsial-demokratov Za-granitsey* (*Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad*), her hastily-formulated *Credo*, and Lenin's *Protest* against it—all these things, happening between January and September 1899, made it clear that the common front which had been maintained, with fair success, against all comers since the miscellany of 1895, was seriously flawed.[5] *Novoe Slovo* and *Nachalo* had been run on the assumption that Russian Marxism was a single *napravlenie.*

[1] After *Nachalo* closed, Struve, Tugan-Baranovsky and Bogucharsky made a brief attempt to take control of a daily newspaper called *Severny Kur'er* (*Northern Courier*); Struve also invited Frank to contribute. However, their participation in the paper was enough to earn it two warnings from the Censorship, and they resigned before a third should seal its fate. (See Posse, op. cit., p. 235; M. Feofanov to Karl Kautsky, 15 May 1900 (N.S.), in Kautsky's archives; Frank, op. cit., p. 23.)

[2] See Martov, op. cit., p. 406.

[3] See *Nachalo*, nos. 4 and 5.

[4] See Evgenev-Maksimov, op. cit., p. 245; Abramkin and Dymshits, op. cit., p. 227.

[5] See pp. 203ff. below.

Controversy and polemics among contributors had been avoided: Lenin's reply to Bulgakov had been replaced, in *Nachalo* for April, by a brief summary notice of Kautsky's book, with an editorial footnote: 'This notice is printed since it gives a different evaluation of Kautsky's book from that given in S. Bulgakov's article in *Nachalo* Nos. 1–3.'[1] Now the assumption of unity was invalidated; and what was needed was not a 'party' propaganda magazine, but a forum for the discussion of admittedly different points of view. Such a forum was ready to hand in Posse's *Zhizn'*, which, thanks mainly to Gorky and other imaginative writers, was gaining rapid popularity. Here in October 1899 Struve published his article 'Protiv Ortodoksii' ('Against Orthodoxy') calling for 'a critical review of the whole of Marx's economic theory as such'.[2] Posse, according to his memoirs, did not personally sympathize with Struve, but wished *Zhizn'* to become available for revisionists and orthodox to argue their cases in.[3] Accordingly, in the months which followed, Struve, Lenin, and some minor figures in the Russian Marxist world published articles elaborating their respective revisionist or orthodox points of view in *Zhizn'*.[4]

The Censorship watched these events with equanimity, as well it might. *Zhizn'* was in any case subject to preliminary censorship, which gave the censor a slightly greater measure of control; at the same time Solovëv had been relieved as Head of the Chief Directorate by the more lenient Shakhovskoy; thirdly, the censor responsible for *Zhizn'* was the familiar Elagin.[5] All these factors would have made for smooth running, even if *Zhizn'* itself had not been of a milder character than its predecessors. It was not until May 1901, when fresh signs of

[1] Lenin, Review of Kautsky, *Die Agrarfrage*, in *Nachalo*, no. 4, Part II, p. 165.

[2] Struve, 'Protiv Ortodoksii', in *Zhizn'*, 1899, no. 10, Part II, p. 178.

[3] See Posse, op. cit., p. 242.

[4] Struve, 'Osnovnaya antinomiya trudovoy teorii tsennosti', in *Zhizn'*, 1900, no. 2, and 'K kritike nekotorykh osnovnykh problem i polozheniy politicheskoy ekonomii', in *Zhizn'*, 1900, nos. 3 and 6; Lenin, 'Otvet P. Nezhdanovu', in *Zhizn'*, 1899, no. 12, and 'Kapitalizm v sel'skom khozyaystve' (the unabridged—and long-delayed—reply to Bulgakov), in *Zhizn'*, 1900, nos. 1 and 2.

[5] See Polyansky, op. cit., in *Krasny Arkhiv*, no. 18, p. 163; Posse, op. cit., p. 211; Kuskova, Personal Communication to the author (on Shakhovskoy's leniency).

revolutionary activity had begun to alarm the government, that a general report on the review was called for from the censor. This report is noteworthy as the first sign that officialdom was aware of a split in the Marxist camp. It read, in part:[1]

> *Zhizn'* is certainly Marxist, but Marxism has now lost most of its sting, not because of the censorship, but because the movement itself abroad has been considerably softened by the work of Bernstein and other gradualists.

The censor went on to attribute *Zhizn'* 's success—circulation figures had risen from 4,000 in 1899 to about 15,000 in 1901, if Posse is to be believed[2]—to Gorky's contributions rather than to the economic and sociological sections.[3] But the Minister of the Interior, recommending suppression, took matters rather more seriously:[4]

> Although *Zhizn'* does not acquaint the Russian public with Marxism in its social-democratic form . . . nevertheless the academic problems which it discusses are the intellectual basis for Social Democracy the world over.

And *Zhizn'*, in its turn, was closed by the Council of Four Ministers.

The type of theoretical discussion, in ever more attenuated categories, to which *Zhizn'* lent itself, had in fact some time previously been overtaken by events. Struve and Lenin, for all their differences, were agreed on one thing: the need for political activity against the Autocracy. The continuing strikes, the growth of discontent among the students during 1899, the persistent but frustrated efforts of the *zemstva* to publish a paper for the expression of common *zemstvo* opinion, coinciding with the return from exile of Lenin, Potresov and Martov, early in 1900, created a situation of urgency. The idea of an illegal *émigré* periodical, originally conceived by Potresov and Lenin while they were still in exile as the only means of combating

[1] Polyansky, op. cit., p. 170.

[2] See Posse, op. cit., p. 237. Polyansky's material (op. cit., p. 173) gives 13,000.

[3] This is supported by Polyansky (op. cit., in *Krasny Arkhiv*, no. 9, p. 229), who recalls that in 1900–1, looking through *Zhizn'* in a provincial public library, he found the literary sections well-thumbed, while the pages of the rest were not even cut.

[4] Polyansky, op. cit., in *Krasny Arkhiv*, no. 18, p. 172.

Revisionism, was soon mooted between Struve and the radical *zemets* Petrunkevich as the only means of political activity. One thing was clear to all parties: the time for playing cat-and-mouse with the Censorship was past. The only solution lay in emigration. *Iskra* (*The Spark*) and *Zarya* (*The Dawn*) in Munich from the end of 1900 and Struve's *Osvobozhdenie* (*Liberation*) in Stuttgart eighteen months later became the mouthpieces of the Russian Social-Democratic and Liberal movements respectively.[1]

[1] See pp. 206ff., 216f., below.

IV

PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL THEORY

> Votre excellence m'excusera, dit Pangloss; la liberté peut subsister avec la nécessité absolue; car il était nécessaire que nous fussions libres; car enfin la volonté déterminée . . . Pangloss était au milieu de sa phrase, quand le familier fit un signe de tête à son estafier qui lui servait à boire du vin de Porto, ou d' Oporto. VOLTAIRE.

It has been said above[1] that the *narodniki* had little or no time for true philosophizing, and that for them philosophy was subordinated to the needs of social thinking. As Zenkovsky puts it:[2]

> If Chernyshevsky, Lavrov, Mikhailovsky and Strakhov did not create genuine systems, this was not from lack of talent but because of a dissipation of philosophic talent in concrete life and contemporary problems. How much philosophic reflection and genuine philosophic creativity was absorbed by social and political writing, for example!

When Russian Marxism arose and turned against *narodnichestvo*, it too made do without philosophy. Plekhanov, indeed, early accepted the Dialectic (and praised Chernyshevsky for using it); but when he urged Russians to study the 'philosophico-historical part of Marx's doctrine',[3] he had in mind not philosophy proper, but Marx's statement of historical materialism. He was concerned merely to make the point that the *narodniki* failed to take account of objective historical and social conditions, and were thus guilty of Utopianism. Again, if Plekhanov's *K voprosu o razvitii monisticheskogo vzglyada na istoriyu* is in a sense a 'philosophical' work, it is in another sense anti-philosophical: its essential message was to reduce metaphysics, ethics, and aesthetics—the disciplines of philosophy—to derivatives of social conditions, and to deprive them of independent validity. In 1897 Plekhanov wrote, comparing the age of Belinsky and Russian Hegelianism with his own time: 'It is no longer philosophy which points the way to happiness. . . .

[1] See p. 6 above.
[2] Zenkovsky, *A History of Russian Philosophy*, Vol. ii, p. 469.
[3] Plekhanov, *Sotsializm i politicheskaya bor'ba* (Moscow, 1948), p. 23. Cf. also ibid., pp. 29f.

Its social significance is equal to nought, and it can become the tranquil pastime of amateurs of pure thought.'[1] The point of view is very different, but the picture given by Plekhanov is much the same as Zenkovsky's: radical social and political thinkers, Marxist and *narodnik* alike, treated philosophy as irrelevant.

Yet even as Plekhanov wrote, the situation was changing. Philosophy, in the person of Vladimir Solovëv, stepped out of its ivory tower, and took a vigorous interest in social and political issues. Solovëv's view—religious and, specifically, Christian—was such as hardly to raise a ripple on the surface of unphilosophical radicalism, so great was the distance between the two.[2] But in 1900 Struve wrote, in contrast to Plekhanov's words quoted above:[3]

> We believe that in working out a harmonious *Weltanschauung* one cannot with impunity toss aside fundamental questions of cognition and being. . . . Woe to the social movement which forgets the formulation and solution of these problems, or which decides them by routine and tradition without hard thinking.

Long before this, the Legal Marxists had begun to think about philosophical problems which orthodox Marxists disregarded, and it was only to combat them that the orthodox bent their minds to these problems at all. The impulse which set Plekhanov, Zasulich, L. Akselrod-Ortodoks, and ultimately Lenin himself writing on philosophical themes came from the appearance of philosophy as a heresy in Russian Marxism. The arch-heretics here, as in other fields, were the Legal Marxists.

Free Will

The central problem in Legal Marxist philosophy was an old one: the problem of Free Will and Necessity. It was framed, however, in a modern context.

If there was one compulsive need which affected all but a very few social thinkers and philosophers in the second half of the nineteenth century, it was the need to be 'scientific'.[4]

[1] Plekhanov, 'Sud'by russkoy kritiki', in *NS*, July, Part II, p. 18.

[2] On Solovëv, cf. p. 35, above, for a story which epitomizes the position.

[3] Struve, Preface to Berdyaev, *Sub"ektivizm i individualizm v obshchestvennoy filosofii. Kriticheskiy etyud o N. K. Mikhailovskom* (Spb., 1900), p. lvii.

[4] The Russian words *nauka, nauchny* (like the German *Wissenschaft, Wissenschaftlich*) have a considerably broader meaning than the English

The prestige of the natural sciences, from which the slogan originally stemmed, was as pervasive in Russia—at least among the intelligentsia—as elsewhere. In its application to social philosophy it took the form of positivism. It affected *narodniki* no less than anyone else: when Mikhailovsky protested against Herbert Spencer's 'organic' theory of society and against sociological Darwinism, he did so in the name of other equally 'scientific' laws, and in terminology no less 'scientific' than his opponents; and the Comtean echo and the systematizing urge in his 'three phases' of historical development[1] are unmistakable. When Russian Marxism came into being, it too hastened to claim the epithet 'scientific': as early as 1879 Plekhanov was talking of the 'law' of economic development of society on a scientific analogy, questioning not its validity but only its applicability to Russia,[2] and by 1883 he had explicitly adopted the point of view of 'Scientific Socialism'.[3]

By the early nineties any predictions made by *narodnichestvo* in support of its dream of avoiding capitalism seemed to be falsified; its 'scientific' character was correspondingly vitiated. Marxism on the other hand could point to the fulfilment of its prophecies and its pretensions to be a science seemed thereby substantiated.

For most Marxists at the time, perhaps, some such argument as this was sufficient; and it is characteristic of the Legal Marxists, particularly Struve, that, attracted as they were, in company with many others before and since, by the 'scientific' facet of Marxism, they quickly tried to dig rather deeper. It is to Struve's intellectual credit that he early recognized that

'science' and 'scientific', which are generally restricted to the natural sciences with their special inductive and empirical methodology. *Nauka*, on the other hand, covers any discipline which orders knowledge methodically. The question of whether history is an art or a science, familiar in English discussion, is largely meaningless in Russian: there has never been any doubt that history is a *nauka*.

This is no argument against the statement that the natural sciences influenced social thought (or other branches of learning) in Russia; indeed, it is more likely to have eased the path of that influence.

[1] 'Objective-anthropocentric', 'eccentric' and 'subjective-anthropocentric'.

[2] Plekhanov, 'Zakon ekonomicheskogo razvitiya obshchestva i zadachi sotsializma v Rossii', in *Sochineniya*, Vol. i, pp. 57ff.

[3] Plekhanov, 'Ob izdanii biblioteki sovremennogo sotsializma', in *Sochineniya*, Vol. ii, p. 30.

there were philosophical problems involved. While he was still an undergraduate, after one of Sveshnikov's seminars, Struve had told Voden[1]

> that there was not a scrap of ethics in Marxism,[2] that a consistent Marxist only notes what is and what is coming to be; that all ethical arguments in the formulation of programmatic demands were a survival of Utopianism . . . that in Marx and Engels this realistic point of view was, unfortunately, clouded by Hegelian phraseology, but that he, Struve, intended to put forward the view in the more adequate terms of Riehlian criticism.

Historical materialism, he wrote in 1894, 'still lacks a pure philosophical basis',[3] although he added that it had given 'a profoundly scientific, truly philosophical interpretation to a whole series of historical facts of enormous importance'.[4] Marxism was, indeed, the best thing going: 'What theory of social development has more scientific and philosophical basis than Marxism?'[5] But that did not make it perfect. What it required, in Struve's view, was support from the Critical Philosophy.

A few years later, neo-Kantianism was to make its appearance in German Revisionism. The main impulse behind the German movement, however, was not philosophical doubt, but Bernstein's perception that Marx's prognosis of social development was not being fulfilled. Neo-Kantian philosophy was called in by Bernstein to supply a need created by his general revisionist thesis: its function was ancillary, not causal.[6] In Russia on the other hand a quite different process was at work. Here philosophical criticism came first. The German academic neo-Kantian revival of the 1870's reached Russia in the late eighties and early nineties, and in 1890 the neo-Kantian Vvedensky was appointed Professor of Philosophy at St. Petersburg University.[7] The Legal Marxists, particularly Struve and

[1] Voden, op. cit., p. 74.

[2] This phrase is a quotation from Werner Sombart (reviewing a work by Julius Wolf in Braun's *Archiv für Sozialgesetzgebung*, Bd. V, Heft III, p. 490), and is repeated by Struve in *Kriticheskie zametki*, p. 67.

[3] Struve, *Kriticheskie zametki*, p. 46. [4] Ibid., p. 50.

[5] Struve, 'Moim Kritikam' (1895), in *Na raznye temy*, p. 6.

[6] See Gay, *The Dilemma of Democratic Socialism* (New York, 1952), pp. 141–51.

[7] See Zenkovsky, op. cit., Vol. ii, p. 678. Alois Riehl's *Der philosophische Kritizismus* had appeared in German in 1877–87, and part of it was published in a Russian translation in 1888.

Bulgakov—always rather more academic than Bernstein and his followers—could not fail to be affected by the new trend. It was not for some years yet that Struve and Bulgakov began to express doubts about the empirical validity of the Marxist scheme;[1] but philosophical stirrings were in Struve's mind from the first, and he later rightly claimed to have been the first not only in Russia but in Europe to supplement Marxism with the Critical Philosophy.[2]

Struve first drew on concepts from the Critical Philosophy in order to advance the 'scientific' claims of historical materialism against *narodnichestvo*. Attacking the *narodnik* doctrine of the individual in history and sociology, Struve wrote:[3]

> The elimination of the individual from sociology is only a particular instance of the general tendency towards scientific knowledge, towards thought according to the principle of identity. This principle requires an *equation* between cause and effect. . . . If the human spirit, proceeding from the unity of *logical* consciousness, seeks a similar unity in the external world—a *non-logical, empirical* unity—then it cannot and must not treat the social process in any other way.

Society, then, must be seen as a series of causes and effects, just as the scientist sees the subject-matter of botany or biology. Discussing the same subject two years later, in a review of *Wirthschaft und Recht nach der materialistischen Geschichtsauffassung* by the German neo-Kantian Rudolf Stammler, Bulgakov argued in terms very similar to Struve's:[4]

[1] Struve in 'Mezhdunarodny kongress po voprosam zakonodatel'noy okhrany rabochikh' (in *Novoe Slovo*, 1897), and Bulgakov in 'K voprosu o kapitalisticheskom evolyutsii zemledeliya' (in *Nachalo*, 1899).

[2] See Struve, *Na raznye temy*, pp. 5n., 300.

[3] Struve, *Kriticheskie zametki*, pp. 33f. Struve (quoting Riehl) also saw a further reason for eliminating the individual from sociology in 'the *social* origin of transcendental (logical) and moral consciousness'. (Ibid., p. 34.) 'If thinking is possible only as a 'social' thing, if truth is the idea of the genus and error the idea of the individual . . . does this not point to the possibility and necessity of reducing the individual to the general, to the social?' It may be thought that Struve's enthusiasm for neo-Kantian ideas has here led him too far: scientific method (which is all he means by the 'elimination of the individual from sociology') developed without any impulse from collectivist logic, and hardly stands in need of such sanctions.

Berdyaev, in one of his first articles, also felt the need to declare himself 'not anti-scientific . . . science, realistic science is the nineteenth century's great gift to the human spirit' ('Bor'ba za idealizm', in *Mir Bozhy*, 1901, no. 6, p. 3). He did not, however, elaborate the point.

[4] Bulgakov, 'O zakonomernosti sotsial'nykh yavleniy', in *Voprosy Filosofii i Psikhologii*, god vii, kn. 5 (35), November–December 1896, p. 608.

If we recognize unity of consciousness, thereby is proved the unity of the cosmos, the universal significance of the law of causality, and unity of conformity-to-law [*zakonomernosti*] for social phenomena and for phenomena of the external world. . . .

(It is to be noted, *en passant*, that this much is already, from the Marxist point of view, heretical. The ultimate reality in Marxism was matter, Being, not mind or consciousness. The appeal, by both Struve and Bulgakov, to 'the unity of consciousness' was superfluous to—if not yet destructive of—the Marxist system. It was not yet clear, either to themselves or to others, that the 'basis' on which they tried to rest their historical materialism was to erode the substantive doctrine itself.)

This theoretical discussion of the scientific attitude brought the Legal Marxists face to face with the problem of Free Will. *Narodnichestvo*, when it approached the same problem, had preserved what Zenkovsky has called an 'illicit combination of free and autonomous ethicism with positivism'.[1] It is a view exemplified in a passage from Mikhailovsky:[2]

Man may say: 'Yes, nature is pitiless towards me, and knows no distinction of right between me and a sparrow: but I too shall be pitiless towards nature, with my bloody toil I shall subdue her, make her serve me, expunge evil and create good. I am not the purpose of nature, nor has she any other purposes. But I have purposes and I shall achieve them!'

Was man, then, not a part of nature? Or if he was, was he, like nature, purposeless? How then could he have purposes to achieve? These questions remained unasked and unanswered in *narodnichestvo*: when Mikhailovsky faced the problem of Free Will squarely, he frankly refused its challenge, and described it as 'insoluble in essence'.[3]

This the more critically-minded Legal Marxists were not prepared to do. At first, however, Struve was content to quote Engels' well-known gloss on Hegel:[4]

Freedom is the appreciation of necessity. 'Necessity is *blind* [Hegel had said] only *in so far as it is not understood*' . . . Freedom of the will . . .

[1] Zenkovsky, op. cit., Vol. ii, p. 471.
[2] Quoted by Ivanov-Razumnik, op. cit., p. 58.
[3] Quoted ibid., p. 87.
[4] F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring* (London, 1936), pp. 128f.; Struve, op. cit., pp. 65f. Cf. also Plekhanov, *In Defence of Materialism* (London, 1947), pp. 178f., 245. Plekhanov does not quote Engels, but his '*Tantum possumus quantum scimus*' expresses the same idea.

means nothing but the capacity to make decisions with real knowledge of the subject . . . Freedom . . . consists in the control over ourselves and over external nature which is founded on knowledge of natural necessity. . . .

and Bulgakov's formula was in essence a slightly subtler version of Engels: 'In fact, it is only the idea of conformity-to-law of human actions which makes possible really free, i.e. rational, purposive activity.'[1] While they remained on such grounds as this, the Legal Marxists were not far from orthodoxy. But Stammler, using neo-Kantian concepts to attack historical materialism, and to substitute for it a system of 'social idealism', had posited—as part of the 'basic unity' (which was 'conformity-to-law' in general) and *beside* the particular conformity-to-law of the external world—a *special kind of conformity-to-law* applicable to the categories of will and freedom, a conformity-to-law of aim-setting (*Zwecksetzung*).[2] Both Bulgakov and Struve rejected this, but for different reasons: Bulgakov because 'the unity of transcendental consciousness does not tolerate two points of view which are irreconcilable and at the same time of equal validity',[3] and Struve because[4]

conformity-to-law is not simply the basic unity, it is the basic unity *of experience*. The materialist conception of history is . . . a system relating wholly to the sphere of experience. . . . Freedom [on the other hand, as Kant had long since said] is a naked idea . . . which can never be discovered, understood or even envisaged in experience.

Or again, more bluntly: '*Freedom is without laws*. There is no other *philosophical* sense of the word except the *denial* of necessity and conformity-to-law.'[5]

'The charm of the materialist conception of history', Struve wrote at about the same time as this, 'is that its ideal represents that relationship of "freedom" and "necessity" which is most satisfying to the contemporary scientific spirit.'[6] It was on this point, nevertheless, that he thought historical materialism needed self-criticism; Engels (Struve now said) lacked the critical point of view; and his remarks on freedom could

[1] Bulgakov, op. cit., p. 610. [2] See ibid., p. 590. [3] Ibid., p. 600.
[4] Struve, 'Svoboda i istoricheskaya neobkhodimost' ', first in *Voprosy Filosofii i Psikhologii*, January–February 1897, then in *Na raznye temy*, p. 490.
[5] Ibid., p. 499.
[6] Struve, 'Muzhiki Chekhova i Mikhailovsky' (1897), in *Na raznye temy*, p. 145.

only be true if the word 'freedom' was deprived of its only possible definite sense.[1]

In the controversy (in friendly terms) which ensued with Bulgakov Struve's tendency was to emphasize the contrast between freedom and necessity; Bulgakov was inclined rather to limit the sense of the word 'freedom' so narrowly that it became dissolved in necessity. Thus Bulgakov denied the existence of 'freedom in the epistemological sense' (Kant's and Struve's freedom as 'a naked idea'), admitting only 'psychological freedom [which is] nothing but a certain state of mind . . . entirely relative and conditional';[2] and by the end of their discussion, Struve had come near to saying the same thing: 'The idea of freedom is only the abstract distillation of the psychological feeling of freedom which colours the activity of our will.'[3]

At one point Struve seemed to be going to attempt to resolve the hoary contradiction between freedom and necessity himself. He was not, he said, a fatalist, nor did he, like Kant, base freedom, expelled from the world of experience, on 'things-in-themselves', that is, on metaphysics. 'The solution of the problem', he went on, 'lies in the sphere of psychology [where] epistemological contradictions turn into harmony. . . .'[4] When Bulgakov questioned this, however, he explained that he was talking not of solving insoluble problems 'in psychology', but of the actual psychological reconciliation which takes place in the consciousness of living people.[5] For the time being he was left without an answer to the problem: proclaiming himself 'a fully consistent determinist', he concluded that 'from the point of view of experience freedom is undoubtedly an illusion, but from the point of view of the activity of the living individual it is no less certainly a *reality*'.[6]

[1] See loc. cit. f.

[2] Bulgakov, 'Zakon prichinnosti i svoboda chelovecheskikh deystviy', in *Novoe Slovo*, May 1897, Part I, pp. 194n., 195.

[3] Struve, 'Eshchë o svobode i neobkhodimosti', in *Novoe Slovo*, May 1897, Part I, p. 203.

[4] Struve, 'Svoboda i istoricheskaya neobkhodimost' ', p. 502.

[5] See Bulgakov, op. cit., pp. 196, 197n.; Struve, 'Eshchë o svobode i neobkhodimosti', p. 201.

[6] Struve, op. cit., pp. 200, 207; cf. also his 'Svoboda i istoricheskaya neobkhodimost' ', p. 500: 'For [experience] there is no reconciliation of freedom and necessity, but experience is not the whole of our conscious life.'

If this discussion did not advance its authors very far in itself —it embodied a criticism of Engels' formula (simply 'a psychological truism', in Bulgakov's phrase)[1] without substituting anything very constructive—it led them directly to a clearer statement of their attitude towards Marxism. Both proclaimed themselves adherents of the Critical Philosophy *and* of the materialist conception of history.[2] But as has been suggested above,[3] they found their Absolute in the first rather than the second component of their professed *Weltanschauung*. Historical materialism was transformed into a mere intellectual tool, or a handmaid for the Critical Philosopher: Struve twice describes it as a fruitful 'heuristic principle'.[4] This transformation is clearly apparent in the discussion of ideals which arose naturally in connexion with Free Will and Necessity.

> The ideal, [wrote Struve][5] is outside science, above it, if you like' though it needs scientific sanction. . . . The materialist conception of history does not claim to answer the question 'What is to be done?' —a question which is decided in another sphere, that of interests and ideals—it answers the question 'How to do it?'

Or Bulgakov:[6]

> The ideal is not given by science, though it comes in scientific wrapping. . . . In what logical relationship to the ideal does the materialist conception of history stand? None! The materialist conception is a *scientific* doctrine, and deals, therefore, only with the cognition and understanding of certain relationships of life. If practical conclusions are drawn from it in favour of certain ideals, then it may easily be imagined that it can be exploited in favour of interests and ideals which are far from ideal. . . .

The process may now be plainly observed: what had been Marxism's chief strength—its claim to be scientific—was transformed into a limitation. If Marxism was scientific, in the sense in which the Legal Marxists understood the term, it could offer only analysis, but no solution—and above all no ethical guidance. To pretend, as orthodox Marxists did, to infer *das Sollen* from *das Sein*, and so to combine theory and

[1] Bulgakov, op. cit., p. 194n.
[2] See Struve, 'Svoboda i istoricheskaya neobkhodimost' ', p. 489.
[3] See p. 114 above.
[4] Struve, 'Moim Kritikam', in *Na raznye temy*, p. 5; review of books by Bernstein and Kautsky in Braun's *Archiv*, Bd. xiv (1899), p. 724.
[5] Struve, op. cit., pp. 504, 507. [6] Bulgakov, op. cit., pp. 197f.

practice in a single organic whole, was 'to give oneself up entirely to illusion'.[1] The very phrase 'Scientific Socialism' was, according to Struve, simply 'one big Utopia'.[2] Struve, in fact, from a different starting-point and by a different route, had reached the position which Bernstein in Germany described in the phrase 'No *ism* is a science.'[3]

He was not, however, content to remain there. His tendency hitherto, as has been said above,[4] had been to recognize two separate tendencies (*napravleniya*) of consciousness—cognition and will—although this meant leaving the contradiction between freedom and necessity unresolved. Bulgakov had been more insistent on unity without, however, really tackling the main problem.[5] Berdyaev, on the other hand, in his first substantial philosophical work, repeated, in essentials, Struve's point of view as so far expressed, though he suggested that the contradiction between freedom and necessity was apparent only, and due to false logic. They were, he said, different categories, between which there could be no conflict. Necessity was an epistemological category, freedom a psychological category. Freedom understood as *indeterminism* was an illusion: properly it appeared only as an aim in the human mind, not as a cause without preceding causes. Behind the apparent antagonism of freedom and necessity lay the real antagonism of our will against the forces which oppose it.[6]

At one point, however, Struve had defined freedom as 'the denial of necessity'.[7] This meant that it was outside experience, a 'naked idea'. Had this point been pursued, he might have been driven to ask where such naked ideas exist; and he would have had to answer: 'In metaphysics.' Four years later, he was prepared to state as much spontaneously. In his long preface to Berdyaev's book, he had recourse to a metaphysical concept

[1] Struve, 'Die Marx'sche Theorie der sozialen Entwicklung', in Braun's *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik*, Bd. xiv (1899), p. 689.

[2] Ibid., p. 690. [3] Gay, op. cit., p. 149.

[4] See p. 116 above; and especially Struve, 'Svoboda i istoricheskaya neobkhodimost' ', p. 498.

[5] In fact he lets it drop, and proceeds to discuss the very different problem of the origin of ideals. See Bulgakov, 'Zakon prichinnosti i svoboda chelovecheskikh deystviy', pp. 195ff.

[6] See Berdyaev, *Sub"ektivizm i individualizm y obshchestvennoy filosofii*, pp. 106ff.

[7] See p. 115 above.

—that of *substance*—in order to solve the problem. In contrast to Berdyaev, Struve saw indeterminism as the only possible meaning of freedom:[1]

> Freedom is the capacity to produce actions without being determined by anything extrinsic, anything alien, anything else; it is independence of the continuous causal connexion; and substance is the only thing which possesses this capacity.

Freedom *could* therefore properly be contrasted to necessity: all that was needed was 'the category of substance in the absolute sense of *causa sui* or in the more limited sense of a created but creative cause of its own actions'.[2] In Spinoza substance was God; Struve did not go so far as this, but he readily agreed that 'substance, as a creative thing, can only be thought of as a spiritual principle',[3] and that this implied a spiritualistic metaphysics. He concluded that 'the substance of the world is spirit, and the spirit of the world is substance'.[4]

Two years later Struve reinforced these new positions with a critical survey of positivism. Its great error, he thought, lay in its attempt to subordinate what should be to what is.[5] This produced 'the monstrous idea of *scientific* ethics . . . as if what is could provide any basis for what ought to be.'[6] The root of error here is 'uncritical idolatry of causality . . . forgetting that in experience and science what is revealed to us is the causality and method of Being, while Being itself remains unknown and unexplained. . . .'[7] But if Being is unknowable, then it cannot be known to have a cause; it becomes impossible to deny causeless Being; indeed, there is no reason to deny it except '*faith* in causality'.[8] It is only faith in causality which precludes creative Being, 'creating other Being out of itself and only out of itself.'[9] There is then no need to reduce

[1] Struve, Preface to Berdyaev, op. cit., p. xxxii.
[2] Loc. cit. [3] Ibid., p. xxxiv.
[4] Loc. cit. Berdyaev, however, did not draw metaphysical conclusions at this stage. This was one of a number of minor differences between him and Struve.
[5] By this time Struve's interest in ethics has developed, and he talks in terms of *dolzhenstvovanie* and *bytie* or *dolzhnoe* and *sushchee* rather than freedom and necessity.
[6] P. G. [Struve], 'K kharakteristike nashego filosofskogo razvitiya', in *Problemy Idealizma* (Spb., 1903), p. 79.
[7] Loc. cit. [8] Ibid., p. 80. [9] Ibid., p. 81.

what ought to be to what is. Finally: 'What philosophical right have we to say that spirit in the form of personality cannot be original in its activity?'[1]

In 1894 Struve had written of 'the figment of free will',[2] and in 1897 he had hastened to deny that he was 'a theoretician of free will'.[3] By 1903 he had become just such a theoretician. Well might he write, in the preface to his collection of articles over these years, that he was not to be scared by 'being continually under the accusation of "instability" '.[4]

Ethics

The adoption of a free-will point of view was naturally accompanied by an increasing interest in ethics. Struve's first pronouncement on the subject, in 1894, had been:[5]

> The main fcature of modern scientific ethics is its equation of morality with typical social behaviour, and the repeated assertion of economic materialists that facts make ideals is a valuable accession to ethics as a historico-psychological science.

But is ethics a 'historico-psychological science', a matter merely of explaining away good and evil in other terms? In 1897 Struve still thought that ethics 'as a "normative" discipline'[6] was impossible. The big change in his views on ethics, as on the problem of free will, came between 1897 and 1900; it is unfortunate, from the historian's point of view, that he did not write anything on the subject between these two dates, so that the change appears quite suddenly, as a *fait accompli*, almost as a conversion. There is a passage in an article he wrote in 1901, through which a personal overtone seems to be audible:[7]

[1] Loc. cit. [2] Struve, *Kriticheskie zametki*, p. 24.
[3] Struve, 'Eshchë o svobode i neobkhodimosti', p. 200.
[4] Struve, *Na raznye temy*, p. i. [5] Struve, *Kriticheskie zametki*, pp. 42f.
[6] Struve, 'Svoboda i istoricheskaya neobkhodimost' ', p. 494 and note. Struve approved of Simmel, whom he quotes here, for not being, like Stammler, 'a slavish Kantian'.
[7] Struve, 'Protiv ortodoksal'noy neterpimosti—Pro Domo Sua', in *Na raznye temy*, pp. 292f. It would be wrong to attribute Struve's personal crisis and the alteration in his ethical views to his political and personal rupture with Russian Social Democracy and Lenin. Struve's Preface to Berdyaev's book, in which his new ethical and metaphysical ideas are clearly stated, was written in September and October 1900, some months before the crucial negotiations with Lenin. For the latter, see pp. 210ff. below.

Nothing is more attractive for moral (personal and social) life than a certain practical intolerance . . . an irreconcilability to evil. Evil must be perceived and felt; and the process of doing so cannot be described. Every man who has awoken from moral slumber, from thoughtlessly following a tradition learned by rote, has felt it in his own person.

No clue is given to what provided Struve with his own 'awakening'; but there is no doubt of its reality. Compare the ethical relativism inherent in his statement of 1894, quoted above, and indeed the anti-ethical tendencies of Struve's early years,[1] with some of his writings after the critical period. We have already seen that he now thought the idea of scientific ethics 'monstrous'; and in 1900, he wrote:[2]

Although we recognize that the moral problem cannot have an objective solution (in the sense of a solution in experience), nevertheless we recognize the *objectivity of morality as a problem, and consequently we come to the metaphysical postulate of a moral world-order independent of subjective consciousness.*

This, both Struve and Berdyaev clearly saw, was a religious idea; and the existence of a personal God, though it could neither be proved nor disproved empirically or logically, was one of the forms of conviction of an objective and rational world-order.[3]

Having decided that ethics was a valid and autonomous part of philosophy, it remained for the Legal Marxists to give it some content. What was to be their supreme ethical principle? How was the 'absolute good', of which they now began to write, to be described and recognized? For the answers to these questions the Legal Marxists went straight back to Immanuel Kant. 'Man as an aim in himself' (*chelovek-samotsel'*): this was to be their 'guiding star',[4] said Berdyaev. Struve went further, and pointed to the religious—even Christian—affinities of the idea:[5]

[1] See p. 112 above. [2] Struve, Preface to Berdyaev, op. cit., p. liv.

[3] P. G. [Struve], 'K kharakteristike nashego filosofskogo razvitiya', in *Problemy Idealizma*, p. 80; Preface to Berdyaev, op. cit., pp. liiif.; cf. Berdyaev, 'Bor'ba za Idealizm', p. 25: 'If science merges into philosophy, philosophy merges into religion. Without religious faith in a moral world-order, in the close connexion of the individual with the universal . . . life is not worth living . . . *rien ne vaut la peine.*'

[4] See Berdyaev, *Sub"ektivizm i individualizm*, pp. 71, 81.

[5] Struve, 'K voprosu o morali' (1901), in *Na raznye temy*, p. 520.

> The solution [to the ethical problem] was found long ago, and lies in the recognition of the absolute value of human personality [*lichnost'*] as such. This idea of the value of human personality was first clearly discovered by Kant, but it has its metaphysical, or if you like, religious root in the assertion of the human spirit as eternal and self-determining substance, an assertion which is one of the chief metaphysical ideas of Christianity. This ethical principle is far from being abstract and fruitless. For him who has received it in his soul it becomes an accurate and strict rule, to the judgement of which all human affairs, events, relationships and purposes must defer.

It was a morality, Struve pointed out, which was neither wholly altruistic, like Socrates', nor wholly egotistic, like Nietzsche's;[1] the essence of it was the statement that 'my personality and another's are of equal value'.[2] It differed both from *narodnik* and from orthodox Marxist morality in that it was not eudaemonistic: its ideal was moral perfectionment, not happiness:[3] 'the absolute good', according to Struve, 'lies in this—that man as such, as a personality, every man, therefore, should contain in himself and should create absolute truth and absolute beauty.'[4]

Dealing in absolutes, it was not a class morality. True, it contained the idea of duty, as must any morality worthy of the name;[5] and Struve recognized that this was commonly thought to make it a morality of the ruling classes. Struve protested strongly against this view: of course, he admitted, morality had often been given a bourgeois content; but essentially Kant was no more of a bourgeois moralist than Nietzsche.[6] For Berdyaev, who was less inclined than Struve to emphasize the element of duty in morality, it was not enough to defend the new ideas against the charge of bourgeoisness: 'morality', he argued, 'is not class morality, but historically it takes a

[1] See ibid., pp. 511, 521.

[2] Struve, Preface to Berdyaev, op. cit., p. lxxii.

[3] See Berdyaev, 'Bor'ba za idealizm', p. 23; Struve, Preface to Berdyaev, *Sub"ektivizm i individualizm*, p. lxviii and especially lxi: 'For the moral man happiness is an incidental result of his moral existence.' It was his dethronement of eudaemonism which Struve most apprcciated in Nietzsche: for Berdyaev, his romanticism and anti-bourgeois, anti-philistine tendencies were possibly more important.

[4] Struvc, Preface to Berdyaev, op. cit., p. lxiii.

[5] See Struve, 'K voprosu o morali', p. 516; Preface to Berdyaev, op. cit., p. lxix.

[6] Ibid., p. lxxii.

class form. . . .'[1] It is only in the moral consciousness of 'the progressive class' that we see a relative harmony of subjective and objective morality, because the psychology of the progressive class is the result of adaptation to the demands of social progress for all mankind. 'Every epoch creates in its progressive class a higher type of morality than preceding epochs.'[3]

For Berdyaev and Struve, then, good and evil were independent of the class struggle: to this extent both men had ceased to be Marxists. Both believed, however, at this period, that good became embodied in a particular class at a particular time, and that that class became 'the bearer' of the absolute good: to this extent they retained elements of Marxism, for they saw no other 'progressive class' but the proletariat.[4] At the same time—and here there is an implied criticism of German Revisionism—they were not sure that the proletariat possessed the necessary gifts for such a mission, for they believed that it had become deeply imbued with moral bourgeoisness.[5] At this point, however, clear-sightedness had reached its limit, for they saw in this situation only their own opportunity: 'The theoreticians of the new society [must] create in the proletariat a moral mood and *Weltanschauung* worthy of . . . its historical and social calling. . . .'[6]

Epistemology

Parallel with these developments in the problem of Free Will and in ethics came new ideas in epistemology. Epistemology was the leaven in the whole fermentation of critical thought which led in the end away from Marxism. Berdyaev's first article, 'F. A. Lange i Kriticheskaya Filosofiya', was largely

[1] Berdyaev, *Sub"ektivizm i individualizm*, p. 78. A year previously, Berdyaev had been more inclined to lay stress on the class nature of morality; but the essence of his view—the idea of the 'progressive class'—is the same. See Berdyaev, 'F. A. Lange i Kriticheskaya Filosofiya', in *Mir Bozhy*, 1900, no. 6, Part I, p. 249.

[2] See Berdyaev, *Sub"ektivizm i individualizm*, p. 78. By 'subjective and objective morality' Berdyaev appears to mean little more than 'will and duty'.

[3] Ibid., p. 80.

[4] See ibid., p. 83; Struve, op. cit., pp. xxiiif.

[5] Ibid., p. lxxi n.; Berdyaev, 'Bor'ba za Idealizm', p. 6.

[6] Struve, op. cit., p. lxxi n.

concerncd with epistemological considerations. These led Berdyaev, like Struve, straight into heresy: 'The law of development embraces only individual psychological consciousness; transcendental logical consciousness is absolute and unchanging.'[1] Further, although at first both Berdyaev and Struve were, so to speak, epistemologically optimistic, they soon shortened the claims they made for human reason. 'The real world', Berdyaev thought at first, 'is wholly knowable. . . . All questions can be answered one way or another; unanswerable questions are simply foolish senseless questions, the products of thinking in figments. . . .'[2] Or Struve: 'Unknowability begins at the point where man wants to get back . . . to the paradise lost of harmonious experiences, and to resurrect the unity of subject and object.'[3] Psychic phenomena could be objects of cognition as much as material things; in principle, the whole world could be known. At this stage Struve called his viewpoint 'epistemological positivism';[4] yet two years later, with the words 'Being itself remains unknown and unexplained',[5] he turned his back on positivism of all sorts for ever.

But epistemology is a tool, rather than an end-product; in it the reason sharpens itself, the better to do its work on other things. It is, as the very term Critical Philosophy suggests, often destructive work; and so it proved for the Legal Marxists. The first part of the Marxist edifice against which Struve directed the new weapon of Criticism was, so to speak, its East Window: the Social Revolution. Struve rejected the idea of Revolution in favour of Evolution as the principle of social development.

The State

Here, however, the ground had been prepared for many years; it is no exaggeration to say that Struve was never in the full sense a revolutionary. One plain sign of this is to be found in Struve's attitude towards the State. In the series of articles and reviews which he began writing in August 1892 in German periodicals[6] he repeatedly referred to social policy (*Sozialpolitik* or sometimes *der sozialpolitische Standpunkt*) as the

[1] Berdyaev, 'F. A. Lange i Kriticheskaya Filosofiya', p. 233; for Struve, see p. 113 above.
[2] Ibid., p. 242. [3] Struve, op. cit., p. xx. [4] Ibid., p. xxix.
[5] See p. 119 above. [6] See p. 43 above.

criterion by which he judged economic events.[1] This implies an attitude to the State which was not entirely negative and destructive: the State was allowed, at any rate, a *policy*, whose aims, ideally, 'can strictly speaking never be at odds with the economic point of view'.[2] When he spoke of the State directly, he was not ready at once to depart from the orthodox Marxist formulae: 'As Marx and Engels have clearly demonstrated, the State never represents an ideal independent power, but the political expression of the economic circumstances of the time.'[3] At the same time, however, he implicitly accepted the possibility of the State's progressive role in society. It is to 'intervene forcefully . . . to relieve the immediate misery . . . of the negative sides of capitalism . . . and to redirect the national economy on the new paths as swiftly and painlessly as possible.'[4] In 1892 Struve believed firmly that 'it is in the power of the State to ease the birth-pangs of the capitalist order in Russia.'[5] In 1894 he was more cautious. 'A methodical social policy could and should make impossible all extravagances of the young giant [capitalism]'; but there is some doubt whether such a policy is possible 'under prevailing conditions'.[6]

In *Kriticheskie zametki* Struve gave his ideas further development and definition, and a clear differentiation from the common Marxist view:[7]

[1] See, for instance, Struve, Review of *Itogi ekonomicheskogo issledovaniya Rossii po dannym zemskoy statistiki*, Vol. i, in Braun's *Archiv*, Bd. v (1892), p. 498; 'Zur Beurtheilung der kapitalistischen Entwicklung Russlands', in *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt*, III Jhg., no. 1, p. 1; 'Das Lodzer Projekt einer gesetzlichen Regelung der Arbeitszeit in den Fabrik- und Handwerksunternehmungen Russlands', in *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt*, IV Jhg., no. 4, p. 45.

[2] Struve, 'Die wirthschaftliche Entwicklung Russlands und die Erhaltung des Bauernstandes', in *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt*, I Jhg., no. 34, p. 416. Struve, in other words, was writing much as if he were an economist advising the government.

[3] Struve, Review of *Itogi ekonomicheskogo issledovaniya Rossii*, Vol. ii, in Braun's *Archiv*, Bd. vi (1893), p. 174. Elsewhere in these articles Struve describes the State as 'the representative of the ruling classes'.

[4] Struve, 'Die wirthschaftliche Entwicklung Russlands und die Erhaltung des Bauernstandes', p. 416.

[5] Struve, 'Zur Auswanderungsfrage in Russland', in *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt*, I Jhg., no. 28, p. 346.

[6] Struve, 'Der Arbeitslohn und die Lebenshaltung der Fabrikarbeiter im Gouvernement Moskau', in *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt*, III Jhg., no. 20, p. 234.

[7] Struve, *Kriticheskie zametki*, p. 53.

One social form which is capable of a certain degree of independent existence is the State. The State, from the point of view of the founders of economic materialism, is an organization of economic, class domination. . . . This view of the State . . . is in our opinion one-sided. The State is, in the first place, an *organization of order*; it is an organization of class domination in a society in which the subordination of some social groups to others is conditioned by its *economic structure*. There was in tribal government a certain organization of order, in other words, there was a State; and when, in a society of estates and classes the State became an organization of domination, it did not, of course, cease to be an organization of order.

His next sentence presciently asserts the persistence of the State even under Socialism:[1]

One may suppose that in a society, in which the bases of production and distribution will be different from those existing in our time, the domination of some social groups over others will disappear, and the State will cease to be an organization of domination but will still remain an organization of order, and will, of course, *preserve its coercive power*.

Compare this with the classic passage in *Anti-Dühring*:[2]

The interference of the State in social relations becomes superfluous in one sphere after another, and then ceases of itself. The government of persons is replaced by the administration of things and the direction of the processes of production. The State is not abolished, *it withers away*.

[1] Loc. cit. (Struve's italics throughout). Struve's formula is in fact close to that given by Marx in the *Communist Manifesto*: 'Public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another.' There is here no suggestion that 'public power' would not survive revolution. Lenin, however, promptly took Struve to task for his heretical ideas, particularly for saying that 'coercive power' was the 'distinguishing mark' of the State; the distinguishing mark (Lenin quotes Engels' *Origin of the Family, etc.*) was 'public power, divided from the mass of the people', which in its turn implies the existence of 'a special class of people in whose hands *power* is concentrated'. (Lenin, 'Ekonomicheskoe soderzhanie narodnichestva i kritika ego v knige g. Struve', in *Sochineniya* (IVth ed.), Vol. i, pp. 389f.) Under Socialism, we are left to conclude, public power will not be divided from the mass of the people; it will not be the power of one class over another. So far, Struve would agree; he merely adds that public power (for what is this if not the State, under that name or another?) will continue to be coercive. Who can deny that he was right? Here, as elsewhere, Struve foreshadows criticisms of Marxism which have been advanced much more recently by J. Plamenatz. (See Plamenatz, *German Marxism and Russian Communism* (London, 1954), pp. 137ff., 152ff.; also pp. 135n., 136n., below.)

[2] Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, p. 309.

So far as the question of Revolution or Evolution was concerned, the class (or non-class) nature of the State was equally germane to the argument. If (as the common Marxist view had it)[1] the State was an instrument of class oppression, then it must be destroyed or seized; force would have to be used against it; there would be a revolution. Struve returned to a brief discussion of the class nature of the State in 1900, in an article commemorating the seventy-fifth anniversary of the birth of Lassalle. After emphasizing Lassalle's view of the State as 'a great moral power', Struve noted that Social-Democrats of his own day preferred 'a realistic conception of the State as an organization of class interests in ever-changing domination'.[2] 'But', he continued,[3]

> it is only through a misunderstanding that this historical and realistic conception of the concrete social content of the State—of the State as a historical fact—can be opposed to the idealistic or ethical conception of the State as a principle of social morality.

States, as we know them, are vile; but the State can be a mighty power for good. Such, in simple words, was Struve's point of view. How can the State become worthy of its task of 'educating and developing the human race towards freedom'?[4] By revolution or evolution? Struve did not answer the question at this point; but equally he did not, like the orthodox Marxists, prejudge the answer.

Economic Progress and Social Reform

Apart from his explicit unorthodoxy on the role and nature of the State, there was from the first another related strain of evolutionism in Struve's thought. This was the doctrine of the interdependence of economic progress and social reform, formulated by Brentano, passed on by him to his pupils Gerhard von Schulze-Gävernitz and Heinrich Herkner, from whom Struve took it over.[5]

[1] There was another thread in Marxist thought which regarded the State as a parasite on (and above) all classes. (See Plamenatz, op. cit., pp. 144ff.) This was not, however, the more influential view. In any case, as Plamenatz points out, either view can be used as a premiss for anarchist conclusions.

[2] Struve, 'F. Lassalle', in *Na raznye temy*, p. 262.

[3] Ibid., p. 264. [4] Ibid., p. 263.

[5] Struve, 'Die wirthschaftliche Entwicklung Russlands und die Erhaltung des Bauerstandes', p. 415; 'Nemtsy v Avstrii i krestyanstvo', in *Vestnik Evropy*, 1894, no. 2, p. 809.

This interdependence was interpreted in various ways. For Schulze-Gävernitz (who was also the author of a work called, significantly, *Zum sozialen Frieden*) it meant that economic progress led more or less automatically to social improvements; for Herkner, the upshot was the same, but the emphasis was different: if economic progress was to come, then social reforms must come too, for unequal distribution led to decreased mass purchasing power. The doctrine, in fact, could be interpreted either idealistically: 'More production will lead to better social relationships', or cynically: 'If you want more production, you will have to put up with social reforms.'

Transferred to a Russian context, the doctrine acquired another application. It had been an important part of *narodnik* economic dogma that distribution must have primacy over production, and popular welfare over national wealth. Capitalism might well produce more goods (the *narodnik* argument ran), but see how unjustly it distributed them; national wealth was gained, but only at the sacrifice of popular welfare; and if that was so, let us have none of it. There *might* always be a happier issue, in which production and distribution did not come into conflict; but it was not apparent, and if it did not come about, then distribution must have first place.[1]

Struve's concern, as a Marxist, was to shew that Socialism could come only through the further development of capitalism. It was not a question of 'preferring' social progress to economic progress: economic progress—which, in effect, meant capitalism[2]—was coming in any case. The point was that it could and would produce social improvements, even elements of Socialism. It was becoming more widely recognized (Struve argued) that economic progress, besides being a condition of social progress, also required it; required, that is, the denial of the private-ownership principles of capitalism.[3] Struve hastened to disclaim any affinity with the theorists of 'a harmony of interests' in capitalism, a harmony which simply did not exist. Brentano and Schulze-Gävernitz, moreover, were over-optimistic: social progress was not to be had automatically

[1] See Ivanov-Razumnik (op. cit., pp. 244ff.), who instances Chernyshevsky. Struve himself cites Marx as the originator of the antinomy.

[2] See Struve, 'Zur Beurtheilung der kapitalistischen Entwicklung Russlands', pp. 1, 3, where the two terms are equated.

[3] See Struve, *Kriticheskie zametki*, p. 136.

without a struggle.[1] Nevertheless, mass production required a basis of mass consumption; and this could only be achieved by social reform.[2]

Struve did not regard any of this as a departure from the principles of Marxism. He noted that Schulze-Gävernitz had claimed Marx's authority,[3] and himself proceeded to sketch, very briefly, the view that there were two contradictory strains —the evolutionary and the revolutionary—in Marx, of which the evolutionary came to prevail more and more with the passage of time. 'Some passages in Marx', he wrote, 'give reason to think that he envisaged the transition from capitalism to Socialism in the form of a sudden collapse.'[4] Yet Marx had been one of the first to point out the importance of factory legislation and of the political unification of the working class. Since then Marx's followers had struggled tirelessly for *reforms* to improve the lot of the proletariat—a policy which involved a tacit admission that improvements were possible within the capitalist structure.[5]

> Social reforms [Struve continued][6] are the links connecting capitalism with the social structure which will replace it; whatever the nature of the final link which will be the boundary between the two socio-economic formations, *one form will grow historically out of the other.*

In the forties and fifties, said Struve, Marx apparently thought that the further deterioration of the position of the working class was inevitable; but he changed his mind:[7]

> Later an important corrective was introduced, to the effect that instead of an abyss dividing capitalism from the order which was to replace it, both theory and practice had to recognize a whole series of transitional stages. In this instance theory followed upon life and its development.

[1] See ibid., p. 137. Struve quotes Bernstein—not yet a revisionist—who had just written two highly critical articles on Schulze-Gävernitz. (See Gay, op. cit., p. 58.)

It was at this point that Struve used the phrase 'the reflection of Marxism in bourgeois literature' to describe Brentano and his school—a phrase which Lenin promptly picked up and used against Struve. (See p. 51 above.) It was, however, not the only phrase of Struve's which Lenin later found apt: 'Economic Romanticism', Lenin's term for the ideas of Sismondi, also occurs in *Kriticheskie zametki* (p. 129).

[2] See Struve, op. cit., p. 160. [3] Ibid., p. 146n. [4] Ibid., p. 130.

[5] See loc. cit. [6] Loc. cit. [7] Ibid., p. 131.

It may be doubted whether Struve, writing in 1894, was fully justified in his estimate of the shift in Marx's views, which was perhaps not so definite as Struve made out; and it was not until a year later, in 1895, that Engels wrote an introduction to a new edition of Marx's *Class Struggles in France* with a markedly reformist theme.[1] In another sense, however, Struve's insight was true, for the whole long history of Revisionism in Germany was based on the evolutionary interpretation of Marxism.

Struve became confirmed in this interpretation by his visit to the International Congress on questions of Legislation for the Protection of Workmen, held in Zürich in August 1897. What a difference, Struve reflected in a long account of the Congress published in *Novoe Slovo*, between the days when Engels attacked the Ten Hour Bill as a reactionary measure and the present![2]

> People are now becoming more convinced that social reforms are by no means 'pathetic patching', but on the contrary links in the organic chain of forms which lead from one socio-economic formation to another. Socio-political radicalism has finally been wedded to the idea of evolution, and has got used to thinking and arguing in an evolutionary manner. . . .

Why, asked Struve, has the belief in social collapse disappeared? When it came into being, he answered, there was a much greater justification for it than there is now: capitalism was developing convulsively, and repeated crises seemed to be leading to pauperization. This was the background to the *Communist Manifesto*. The *Manifesto*, he went on, was informed with a profoundly evolutionary and realistic spirit, and if it does not

[1] See Plamenatz (op. cit., pp. 164ff.), who says, however: 'Marx died a revolutionary socialist and Engels never ceased to be one.'

Lenin promptly seized on this point in Struve's argument and retorted that Marx had always, even in the *Communist Manifesto*, connected the communist movement with the working-class movement, i.e. with the struggle for reforms. The point is well taken. Lenin goes on to say that Marx proposed, in conclusion, a number of 'practical measures'. In the social structure of Germany in 1848 the ten points at the end of Section II of the *Manifesto* can hardly have seemed very practical; it is, however, remarkable how many of them have been enacted in modern 'capitalist' countries. (See Lenin, 'Ekonomicheskoe soderzhanie narodnichestva i kritika ego v knige g. Struve', in *Sochineniya* (4th edn.), Vol. i, p. 419.)

[2] Struve, 'Mezhdunarodny Kongress po voprosam zakonodatel'noy okhrany rabochikh', in *Na raznye temy*, p. 414.

entirely correspond to reality today . . . it is because times have changed. The convulsive character of capitalism has disappeared: proletarization has not led to pauperization. Social collapse, in fact, has vanished out of sight.[1] Nobody, and especially no Marxist, could now say, as Engels had done, that a shorter working day holds up the growth of industry. 'This is one of those many points', Struve concluded, 'where economic development itself has introduced major corrections into the picture . . . sketched by Marx in the forties.'[2]

And that, it might have been thought, was good enough. Marx's scheme had been proved wrong by events, but the lesson of events was clear, and could be put in a single word: Reformism. Serious and hitherto orthodox Marxists, like Bernstein, would have to sit down and give a theoretical justification to the new situation—would have, as Bernstein put it, 'to become clear just where Marx is right and where he is wrong'.[3] But Struve had never, as he said in the preface to his first book, been 'infected with orthodoxy'.[4] What would have been easier than quietly to bury the inconvenient parts of Marxism, retaining only those which were needed to continue the battle —and that already almost won—against Mikhailovsky? Revolution could not be mentioned in the legal press in any case: there was, indeed, little to be lost.

Rejection of the Social Revolution

It says something for Struve's intellectual honesty that he was not content to take the easy way; even more, perhaps, it speaks for the philosophical bees which buzzed persistently in his head. The outcome of his ratiocination was a long article entitled 'Die Marx'sche Theorie der sozialen Entwicklung' which was published in Braun's *Archiv* in 1899. It is one of his most original, if not perhaps most successful or influential, productions.

Struve began with a forthright tribute to Marxism. The bourgeois world, he noted, was considerably excited by the current controversies in Marxism, and tended to draw from them conclusions about the validity of Marxism in general.

[1] See Struve, op. cit., pp. 415f. [2] Ibid., p. 418.
[3] Bernstein to Bebel, 20 October 1898, quoted by Gay, op. cit., p. 61.
[4] Struve, *Kriticheskie zametki*, p. ix.

This was based on a misunderstanding: in fact, if he were to choose a high-sounding title for his article, he would call it something like 'The Beginning of Marxism', or 'Marxism without End'.[1] All that the current criticism and re-working of Marxism proved was how deep it had sunk into political thought, and how political thought was assimilating it: assimilation never takes place without some excisions. Criticism could do Marxism no harm: 'As a Marxist', wrote Struve, 'I can say this with absolute sincerity: however far one goes in criticizing the Master, one's known veneration for him makes criticism no apostasy.'[2]

He was not, he said, attacking the materialist conception of history, but only one particular application of it: the transition from capitalism into Socialism. This application would, on examination, be found to be at variance with the general principles of historical materialism.

Marx had been right, in the forties, in talking of the socialization of production under capitalism, of concentration and anarchy; right in observing the disappearance of the middle class, the increasing misery of the masses and the expropriation of the smaller capitalist by the larger; and right in seeing the emergence of a revolutionary proletariat with a socialist mission. His error, according to Struve, lay in the socialist interpretation which he put on these three sets of facts: this was mere Utopianism, for one could not infer Socialism from the facts as Marx saw them.

Take, for instance, the theory of increasing misery (*Verelendungstheorie*). Marx saw Socialism as a blossoming of culture and prosperity; it would, he thought, inherit all the material and cultural achievements of the bourgeoisie. Yet he supposed that this would be brought about by crises, misery, impoverishment! The only realistic conclusion from these premisses was social pessimism, or possibly a 'Socialism of destruction' (*Zerstörungssozialismus*). Suppose that the collapse of capitalism became inevitable, as Marx suggested: there would then be no class ready to build Socialism, if it was to be in any sense the continuation of the same culture. The more depressed the proletariat was assumed to be, the more would be demanded of it

[1] Struve, 'Die Marx'sche Theorie der sozialen Entwicklung', p. 658.
[2] Ibid., p. 659.

in the creation of Socialism, and the less could be expected of it on a realistic view.[1]

How had Marx failed to see the 'howling contradiction' between the theory of increasing misery and the building of Socialism? 'For [Marx]', said Struve, 'these real contradictions legitimized themselves as a dialectical contradiction. . . .'[2]

Struve then proceeded to examine the doctrine of development through increasing contradictions. There were, he said, two alternative formulae. In the first, which could be written down as follows:

A	B
2A	2B
3A	3B
4A	4B
5A	5B
nA	nB

the contradiction did indeed grow continually wider, until ultimately, it was supposed, nA destroyed nB, and the contradiction was thus resolved. There was, however, another possible formula:

A	B
2A	2B
3A	3B
4A	2B
5A	1B
6A	zero B

in which the contradiction was resolved not through 'sharpening' but through 'blunting'. There was also a third possibility: that *each* opposing phenomenon might blunt the other, and alter it qualitatively. It was, Struve concluded, 'a fantastic dogma' to suppose that social development only took place according to Formula I.[3]

If, as we read this, it is necessary to remind ourselves now

[1] See ibid., pp. 659–63. [2] Ibid., pp. 663f.

[3] See ibid., pp. 664f. As an example of Formula II Struve cited the history of the anti-socialist laws in Germany, which gradually lost their effect against the growing working-class movement, and finally had to be discarded as a 'useless blunted weapon' (ibid., p. 675).

and again that Struve is writing about a society of human beings and not, let us say, surfaces under friction in some ponderous machine,[1] this does not lessen the force of his point. The doctrine of contradictions, with the assumption that it is the increase, sharpening or widening of these contradictions which will lead the process of history forwards, whereas any decrease or mitigation of contradictions will slow it up, long remained one of the favourite arrows in the Marxist ideologue's quiver. Its strength lies in its oversimplification of the complexity of history. Struve's third alternative—interaction with qualitative as well as quantitative change—corresponds far more closely to the material which any student of human affairs, historian, sociologist or politician, finds presented to him.

Struve next proceeded to confront the 'contradiction-formula' with the basic idea of historical materialism, as stated in the preface to the *Critique of Political Economy*, which he quoted:

> The mode of production of material life determines the social political and intellectual life process in general. . . . At a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production in society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or—what is but a legal expression of the same thing—with the property relations within which they have been at work before. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. . . .

This famous passage, according to Struve, is self-contradictory. One the one hand, the first sentence is a clear statement that the adaptation of law and political forms to the economy is 'the normal form of their co-existence'.[2] On the other hand it is made equally clear that the content of the 'social revolution' is precisely such an adaptation of juridical, etc., forms ('the superstructure') to the economic foundation. One can imagine social development as a continuing process of collisions and adaptations; but Marx has also seen the socialist revolution as a large-scale conflict between economics and law,

[1] To be just: Struve describes the formulae as 'höchst schematisch' (ibid., p. 665); even so, the stuff of life is but dimly visible through the abstraction of much of his article.

[2] Ibid., p. 666.

which is necessarily to culminate in a decisive event: the individual 'social revolution'. He has, in fact, espoused both conceptions of the social revolution at the time without being aware of their incompatibility.[1]

Historical materialism is right, according to Struve, in asserting the 'genetical primacy' of economics over law: there are many 'paper' or obliterated laws, but no one has ever heard of a paper economy (in this sense). In saying this, and in deducing therefrom that law tends to adapt itself to economics, historical materialism speaks 'a simple but great truth'.[2]

It is on this understanding of historical materialism as the doctrine of the adaptation of law to economics that Struve's criticism turns. Struve's point is that historical materialism, so understood, precludes Marx's conception of the social revolution. The idea of a great clash between the whole juridical order and the whole social economy is unrealistic: 'in real society there is no absolute conflict between law and economics and no absolute agreement, only continuous partial collisions and adjustments. . . .'[3] 'Social revolution' is a valueless and actually misleading theoretical idea; if Marx's 'dialectical' contradiction-formula is rejected, then 'social revolution' in the sense of a complete overturning of the social order is only another name for social evolution and its results; it is not a new concept.[4]

Struve argued that Marx, full of theoretical confusion and figurative language, stuck to the only conception of the social revolution which was at all realistic—the transformation of the legal and political superstructure *together with* the alteration of

[1] Loc. cit. f. Struve points out that Marx's error is due to his treatment of 'the material forces of production' and 'the relations of production' as if they were independent entities or 'things', capable of either adaptation or opposition *en bloc*, instead of abstract collections of concrete juridical or economic relationships (which must, presumably, adapt or collide individually), A similar, but not identical point is made in criticism of this passage of Marx by Plamenatz, op. cit., pp. 25–28.

[2] Struve, op. cit., p. 672. [3] Loc. cit.

[4] Ibid., p. 673. In fact, Struve suggested, what the 'dialectical' view implies is political revolution: this is the meaning of the famous 'dictatorship of the proletariat'. But political revolution, he continued, is a very much simpler concept; so simple, indeed, that it cannot possibly do justice to the rich content of the complex process of 'social revolution', which involves far more than some revolutionary legislative acts by people with political power. (See also ibid., p. 684n.)

the economic basis. Some of his recent disciples, however—Struve here referred to Rosa Luxemburg, whose *Sozialreform oder Revolution* was just published—thought otherwise. The economy, all agree, becomes more socialistic; but the juridical order, according to these *Zusammenbruch*-theorists who believe that social reform is reactionary, becomes more capitalistic. This is contrary to historical materialism: the last word in Marxist orthodoxy does nothing less than sacrifice historical materialism to the social revolution.[1]

Marx himself, Struve continued, never did anything so crude as this. In his day he could, in a way that was no longer possible, unify the opposites of evolutionism and revolutionism. Life had not seriously raised the problem of social reform and it was left to Marx's successors to ask the ultra-revolutionary question whether durable social reforms may not raise (and not lower) the wall between capitalist and socialist society.[2]

Struve then turned to philosophical criticism. First he dealt with that phrase about the transformation of quantity into quality, which most Marxists seemed to regard as a real explanation of the process of social revolution. Capitalism is to change into Socialism: a qualitative change. But, said Struve, the epistemological problem is not so much the change of quality of a thing, but what conditions are necessary for us to be able, after the change of quality, to see it as 'the same thing'. The most important of these conditions is 'the observed or assumed continuity of the alteration'.[3] Hegelian Marxists treat this as tautology and reactionary nonsense; but hear Kant, 'the founder of German idealist philosophy':[4]

> 'All alteration is only possible through . . . a continual action of causality . . . and so the new condition of reality grows out of the first, in which it was not, through all its endless gradations, whose differences one from another, taken together, are less than the difference between omega and alpha.'

These considerations, Struve went on, contain an epistemological meaning of evolutionism:[5]

[1] See ibid., pp. 676f. Once again Struve anticipated Plamenatz in pointing out the logical sleight of hand involved in the phrase 'relations of production'. Cf. ibid., p. 676, and Plamenatz, op. cit., pp. 24f.
[2] See Struve, op. cit., p. 679. [3] Ibid., p. 680.
[4] Loc. cit. f. [5] Ibid., p. 682.

The continuity of even the most far-reaching alteration is a necessary epistemological and psychological postulate of its intelligibility. The principle of evolution involves a position analogous to the law of causality. It is a generally valid form in which we have to imagine the complete alteration of things in order to comprehend them. The principle of evolution has nothing to say about the cause and content of the alteration. It merely supplies the form, and the form is continuity. The old phrase *Natura non facit saltus* should therefore be changed to *Intellectus non patitur saltus.*

The idea of revolution, said Struve, is to be consigned to the same region as was the idea of free will (in the sense of doings without cause) in Kant's time. It is outside the causal chain: it has no theoretical validity, though it may have great practical importance. But if Socialism is to be *proved* as inevitable, the change-over from capitalism to Socialism must be expressed in a theoretically intelligible way; that is, it must be identified as a continuous process grounded in causality. Orthodox Marxists are quite wrong, therefore, to place Socialism 'in unbridgeable [conceptual] opposition' to capitalism, since this makes theoretical proof of its necessity impossible. Determinism, in other words, can lead to Socialism only on evolutionary assumptions.[1]

But this 'unbridgeable opposition' is deeply embedded in Marxist thought. Therefore—and here Struve threw back at the orthodox Marxists a label which they had often used against others—in order to 'prove' the inevitability of Socialism they call in 'a passionately desired but impossible social miracle', the social revolution: they are, in fact, Utopians.[2]

This they have concealed by using the ideas of social revolution and *Zusammenbruch* to transform practical ideas of Socialism into a historical theory. In fact, the Kantian dualism of theory

[1] See ibid., pp. 683f.

[2] See ibid., pp. 684f., *et passim.* They are, of course, Utopians of a special type: their Utopianism is '*entwicklungsgeschichtliche oder historische Utopismus*'. (Ibid., p. 686.)

At this point Struve turned aside to deal briefly with the dialectic. The dialectic, he argued, is not properly the same as the principle of evolution. It is a matter of thought, not of being; to insert it into real life is to turn logic into ontology. Being is fluid; thought depends on the rigidity of the terms used; without this rigidity thought is impossible. Even dialectical Marxists use rigid terms like 'class', 'socialism', and so forth to describe realities which are not fixed and rigid at all. (See ibid., pp. 687f.) This argument has reappeared recently in R. N. Carew-Hunt, *The Theory of Communism* (4th edn., London, 1951), pp. 22f.

and practice persists in full force; it is illusory to try to bring practical ideals completely into line with theoretical judgements. 'Socialism—by its very nature as a social ideal—can never rise to the level of science, nor subordinate itself to science.'[1]

With this return to a familiar theme, Struve concluded his main philosophical argument. His own 'realistic' conception, he insisted, was just as much based on Marx's ideas—namely on the idea of the adaptation of law to economy—as was the 'unrealistic' view which used the 'pseudo-concept' of social revolution. 'Marx versus Marx!'[2]

Struve's article has been summarized at length because it represents his most serious attempt to apply ideas from the Critical Philosophy to Marxism. In this respect it was intended as an improvement on Bernstein's *Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus* published in March 1899, which provided the external stimulus that brought Struve to the point of setting down his ideas.[3] Bernstein's weakness, according to Struve, lay in his *philosophical* shallowness. Imagining that he could soften historical materialism by 'a less deterministic' explanation—as if there could be any question of more or less determinism! Kant settled *that* ineptitude long ago—Bernstein had introduced an uncritical theoretical idealism. He had, in Struve's view, made a false diagnosis of the sickness of Marxism as a sociological doctrine; for what it needed was not more idealism—at least of that kind—but more realism.[4]

Reading Struve's article, it is impossible not to admire his ingenuity and logical invention, even if it is almost equally hard to believe that the article would ever seriously influence anyone. It is, nevertheless, worth asking how far Struve has achieved what he set out to do. Masaryk's chilling comment trips the mind: 'Epistemologically the revolution becomes comprehensible enough as soon as it exists.'[5] On this point, however, Struve is on stronger ground than Masaryk allows. He has not, as Masaryk suggests, 'rejected revolution *in toto* as epistemologically incomprehensible.' He has rejected only one particular form of revolution—the *social* revolution:[6]

[1] See Struve, op. cit., p. 690. [2] Loc. cit.
[3] See ibid., p. 699. [4] See ibid., pp. 700f.; but cf. p. 143, below.
[5] See p. 228, below. [6] Struve, op. cit., p. 692; see also p. 135, above.

> The great difference between what we call a political revolution and what we call a social revolution is that we can substitute for the former an active subject which makes the revolution into its own action; the latter, however, because it exceeds all possible historical subjects, can only be thought of without subject.

Social revolution, in other words, is incommensurable with the capacities of any person, group, party or class—including the proletariat: all that these can effect is a political revolution.

To say this is merely to affirm the continuity of history (as indeed Struve was concerned to do) in a particular context. It is a commonplace that revolutionaries, on seizing power, find themselves bound by the past: even where the convulsion has been very great, history reasserts itself. The pity is that Struve does not say this plainly. He never once refers to a specific revolution in the past. Was the French Revolution a social revolution? The question is not asked. A few more historical examples would have given body to Struve's argument.

We must suppose, though, that he would have dismissed the French Revolution as political, a mere milestone on the road of social evolution. Is he right in thinking that Marx's idea of the social revolution is of an event so sharp, so divisive, that it raises epistemological questions about whether society after it can be considered as 'the same thing' as it was before?[1] What has been left out in the whole argument is the factor of time, or speed of development. Marx's words are: 'Then begins an *epoch* of social revolution . . . the entire immense superstructure is *more or less rapidly* transformed.' (Our italics.) Taken in conjunction with the basic statement of the 'continual adaptation of law to economy' according to historical materialism, all that these words imply is an *acceleration* of the process. And if this be admitted, there can be no talk of the interruption of the causal chain. There is, in the passage quoted from Marx, no conflict between evolution and revolution, but merely a change of gear.

'Marx versus Marx!' then, was unjustified. It would have

[1] It is true that Struve attributes the 'quantity-into-quality' argument not to Marx himself but to his followers; but the same point applies to Struve's phrase: an 'absolute conflict between law and economics', which he uses to describe Marx's idea of the social revolution. (See p. 135 above.)

been nearer the truth to say 'Marx versus the Marxists'. And indeed, it is Struve's case against Rosa Luxemburg and the theorists of collapse which is the strongest part of his argument. He was writing for European readers and thinking in European terms; and in that framework he was right to deny the social revolution. It is irony, rather than condemnation, that in 1917 history should have proved him wrong in his own country.

From Historical Materialism to Idealism

In 'Die Marx'sche Theorie der sozialen Entwicklung' Struve retains, when all has been said, three elements of Marxism: Socialism as the ultimate objective; the class struggle; and the theory of historical materialism. Much of 'Die Marx'sche Theorie' reads like a defence of this theory; and its final sentence is:[1]

> If critical Marxism is to stand firm on its feet as it develops Marx's doctrine further, it must hold to the realistic basic outlook of Marx himself, to his 'materialist' or rather economic conception of history. *In hoc signo vinces!*

Historical materialism—*alias* economic materialism, historico-economic materialism, or the materialist conception of history[2] —had a history in Russia some decades before the effective coming of Marxism in the 1890's. In the sixties it was an ethical mood, emphasizing the material welfare of the popular masses, denigrating art, literature and private emotion. Later, suggestions of it were to be found in *narodnichestvo*: Mikhailovsky believed that 'the central point of the philosophy of history must be recognized as the form of co-operation', and that 'the laws of progress must be sought in the development of social life itself, i.e. in the development and succession of various forms of co-operation'.[3] In this sense, in spite of his rejection of

[1] Struve, op. cit., p. 704.

[2] Struve used all three forms in *Kriticheskie zametki*: later he tended to prefer 'the materialist conception of history'. Plekhanov held that 'dialectical materialism' was the only accurate description of Marx's philosophy. (See Plekhanov, *In Defence of Materialism*, p. 245n.) 'Economic materialism' he regarded as misleading and sometimes a cloak for idealism. (See Plekhanov, *The Materialist Conception of History*, first in *Novoe Slovo*, September 1897, then as a separate pamphlet in English translation (Moscow, 1946), p. 7.)

[3] Quoted by Ivanov-Razumnik, op. cit., p. 57.

determinism, his philosophy of history 'paved the way for the spread of Marxist ideas'.[1]

In *narodnichestvo*, however, this materialism was diluted with elements—notably the doctrine of 'critically-thinking personalities'—which came to acquire the greater weight. What might have remained a difference of emphasis was quickly exacerbated into one of principle, and the young Marxists began to attack the *narodniki* with the weapon of historical materialism. 'Historico-economic materialism', wrote Struve in *Kriticheskie zametki*, '. . . simply disregards individual personality as a sociologically negligible quantity.'[2] The *narodnik* view ascribed an important role to the intelligentsia, of which the 'critically-thinking personalities' were members: Struve described the intelligentsia as 'a bunch of idealists . . . a *quantité négligeable* so far as sociology is concerned'.[3] They were not, he admitted in a footnote, negligible intellectually; but they could avail nothing against the elemental historical process.[4]

Relying on the intelligentsia, *narodnichestvo* naturally tended towards a rationalist philosophy of history. The weapons of the intelligentsia are ideas: the *narodniki* were, in this sense, idealists. The Marxists, Legal and orthodox alike in unison, devoted much energy to the refutation of historical idealism, and to counter-assertions of materialism. Struve quoted Engels to the effect that consciousness is to be explained from Being, not Being from consciousness. The causes of social change, he said, are not in men's heads, nor in their increasing understanding of nature, but in the economic realities of the time: in 'the modes of production and the forms of exchange'.[5] Plekhanov's *K voprosu o razvitii monisticheskogo vzglyada na istoriyu* developed the theme at much greater length and found the factor that determines both social environment and ideology in 'the development of the productive forces'.[6] Tugan-Baranovsky's article 'Znachenie ekonomicheskogo faktora v istorii' was a lucid popularization of the same point of view: ideas are determined by the social milieu, the social milieu is a matter of classes,

[1] Masaryk, op. cit., Vol. ii, p. 191.
[2] Struve, *Kriticheskie zametki*, p. 30; and cf. p. 59. [3] Ibid., p. 71.
[4] Loc. cit. n. [5] Ibid., pp. 47, 49. Cf. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, p. 32.
[6] Plekhanov, *In Defence of Materialism*, pp. 155, 245f.; cf. his *The Materialist Conception of History*, pp. 13, 18, 27.

classes are determined by the distribution of national income, which in its turn is determined by the modes of production and exchange.[1] Pressed by *narodnik* critics on the question whether the modes of production were not determined by inventions, and therefore by ideas, Tugan-Baranovsky answered that 'the primary role has been played by market conditions. . . . Economic evolution calls forth inventions. . . . Economic conditions determine where scientific inventiveness shall be directed'.[2]

This amiable unanimity[3] in the Marxist camp lasted until 1899. The first suggestion of doubt came from Berdyaev:[4]

> What is there better than the materialist conception of history? Nothing better can be found in ready form: it must be created. The future does not belong to Berkeley's subjective idealism, nor to Hegel's absolute idealism, nor to agnosticism, nor to contemporary neo-Kantianism, but it does not belong to 'dialectical materialism' either. . . . Thought, like life, moves forward.

A year later this was followed by a more specific dismemberment of the doctrine. Plekhanov, like orthodox Marxists since his day, argued a close relationship between philosophical materialism and historical materialism.[5] Berdyaev on the contrary held that the materialist conception of history had 'no logical connexion' with philosophical materialism: historical materialism, in his opinion, recognized 'social life alone and one' (*edinoe sotsial'noe*); and social life was, from the philosophical point of view, psychic.[6] Struve, who only a year before had defended Marx's historical materialism against the distortions of his followers, now declared: 'Marx's sociological doctrine is in essence as little connected with philosophical materialism as are modern physiology and psychophysics',[7] and Berdyaev

[1] See Tugan-Baranovsky, 'Znachenie ekonomicheskogo faktora v istorii', in *Mir Bozhy*, 1895, no. 12, pp. 115ff.

[2] Tugan-Baranovsky, 'Ekonomichesky faktor i idei', in *Mir Bozhy*, 1896, no. 4, pp. 275f.

[3] There were minor differences. For instance, Tugan-Baranovsky accepted the terminology of 'factors' in history, whereas Plekhanov (op. cit.) disputed it. But there was agreement on essentials over this part of Marxist theory.

[4] Berdyaev, 'F. A. Lange i Kriticheskaya Filosofiya', p. 254 and note.

[5] See Plekhanov, *In Defence of Materialism*, pp. 27ff.

[6] Berdyaev, *Sub"ektivism i individualizm v obshchestvennoy filosofii*, p. 86.

[7] Struve, Preface to Berdyaev, op. cit., p. vi. For a modern repetition of this dismemberment, see Plamenatz, op. cit., pp. 11f.

added that the term 'materialism' would probably soon disappear from the nomenclature of the ideology of the proletariat.[1]

In place of materialism, the Legal Marxists adopted idealism. It was not an alternative historical theory: rather it lifted them away from all historical theories, and back to something more like common sense plus metaphysics. Berdyaev wrote:[2]

> Ideology is not created automatically by economic development; it is created by the spiritual toil of men; ideological development is only the discovery of spiritual values which have an eternal significance. . . . Ideology really is *conditioned* by the state of the productive forces . . . and it is only when the *material means* of life are there that the *ideal aims* of life are attained. Thus we recognize the spiritual independence of ideology and its social conditioning by material productive forces. . . .

But for the Legal Marxists idealism had also a historical and social relevance. For Struve it meant 'Back to Lassalle!' who 'had almost all the strong points of Marx, and at the same time really inherited the spirit of philosophical idealism, the spirit of Kant, Fichte and Hegel, which Marx renounced . . .'.[3] What Struve looked for in these thinkers was not, of course, dialectic, but their 'strict and inflexible idealistic essence'.[4] The figure of Lassalle proved to Struve and Berdyaev that philosophical idealism was not undemocratic;[5] and for Berdyaev, at least, idealism had a marked anti-bourgeois colouring. Struve and Berdyaev criticized Bernstein not only for bringing one form of idealism into Marxism inappropriately, but also for the weakness of his idealism in general: they found in him 'moderation', 'propriety' and 'philistinism'.[6] Idealism, for Berdyaev, was a cry against utilitarianism, against eudaemonism, against pettiness, against 'philistine contentment and bourgeois satiety';[7] it was the call of Ibsen's Hilda for churches and spires instead of houses for people;[8] a call for 'that romanticism which is an

[1] Berdyaev, op. cit., p. 52n.
[2] Berdyaev, 'Bor'ba za idealizm', p. 20.
[3] Struve, 'F. Lassalle', p. 265.
[4] Ibid, p. 272.
[5] Struve, 'Eshchë o Lassalle', in *Na raznye temy*, pp. 277f.; Berdyaev, op. cit., p. 16.
[6] Struve, 'Die Marx'sche Theorie der sozialen Entwicklung', p. 702; 'Protiv ortodoksal'noy neterpimosti', p. 307; Berdyaev, op. cit., p. 8.
[7] Berdyaev, op. cit., pp. 15f.; cf. also p. 23.
[8] The epigraph to Berdyaev's article 'Bor'ba za idealizm' is taken from *The Master Builder*.

eternal requirement of the human soul', for the Absolutes of Truth, Goodness and Beauty. Although it must be realistic and recognize the achievements of positive science, it admitted no limits: 'In principle idealism is preserved even if the ideal is quite unattainable.' The new man, according to Berdyaev, will be inspired with a new religion: 'A profoundly intelligent and profoundly progressive ethical pantheism with its faith in the final triumph of Truth will be the last chord in the idealistic understanding of the world. . . .'[1]

These romantic, idealistic and near-religious sentiments were a far cry from the dry analytical formulations with which the history of Legal Marxist philosophy had opened. Berdyaev, indeed, had been a Marxist only in a limited sense, for even in his earliest articles his Marxism is expressed mainly in his contempt for the bourgeoisie and a reiterated belief in the historic mission of the proletariat; but Struve, as he himself recognized, had moved some way from his starting-point. In the context of Russian thought, however, the Legal Marxists' development towards idealism has another relevance. They had begun their careers as extreme Westernizers. The reader of Struve's *Kriticheskie zametki* and his articles of the period cannot fail to be struck by the absence of references to Russian authors. Apart from an occasional illustration from Saltykov-Shchedrin or Gleb Uspensky, Russian literature might not have existed for Struve in the 1890's; and the same might be said with almost equal truth of Russian thought. The literary influences in his development were, with few exceptions, German, as the footnotes to his work attest,[2] and this was particularly true of philosophy. Idealism gave the Legal

[1] Berdyaev, op. cit., pp. 12, 19–21, 25f.

[2] The following German authorities are quoted by Struve at one time or another in this period: Bergmann, Bernstein, Brentano, Bücher, Dühring, Engels, Fichte, Goethe, Hainisch, von Hartman, Hauptmann, Held, Herkner, Ihering, Kant, Lamprecht, Lange, Lass, Lassalle, Lexis, List, Losch, Lotze, Marx, Nutsch, Paulsen, Rehmke, Rickert, Riehl, Konrad Schmidt, Schmoller, Schulze-Gävernitz, Schuppe, Sigwart, Simmel, Sombart, Lorenz Stein, Trendelenburg, Windelband, Woltmann, Wundt. It is characteristic, too, that his essays in the history of thought at this time should have been studies of German, not Russian, ideas. See Struve, 'Studien und Bemerkungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des wissenschaftlichen Sozialismus', in *Die Neue Zeit*, Jhg. 14, Bd. i and ii; 'Ocherki po istorii obshchestvennykh idey i otnosheniy v Germanii v XIX veke', in *Novoe Slovo*, April and May 1897, and *Nauchnoe Obozrenie*, 1898, no. 4.

Marxists the opportunity to look for support among Russian thinkers; in the works of Vladimir Solovëv, for instance, of whom Struve had written that 'the bourgeois features of [his] economic philosophy are so obvious that they can only produce a reaction of revulsion in morally sensitive people',[1] he later found 'brilliance', 'originality' and 'the first idealistic criticism of Slavophilism and of Katkovism';[2] B. N. Chicherin's transcendentalism,[3] Kozlov's 'panpsychism' and S. N. Trubetskoy's development of the ideas of Solovëv were other philosophical sources which Struve now exhorted his readers to study.[4] This was the beginning of the revival of idealistic philosophy which played a large part in non-revolutionary Russian thought in the early twentieth century. Philosophical idealism made it possible for the Legal Marxists to correct the unbalance of their excessive Westernism, returning them, in some part, to their national roots, and enabled them to contribute to Russian philosophy as well as to other branches of Russian thought.

[1] Struve, 'Filosofiya ideal'nogo dobra ili apologiya real'nogo zla?' (1897) in *Na raznye temy*, p. 197.

[2] P. G. [Struve], 'K kharakteristike nashego filosofskogo razvitiya', in *Problemy Idealizma*, p. 86; cf. his 'Pamyati V. Solov'ëva', in *Na raznye temy*, pp. 199ff., for an earlier similar revaluation.

[3] Struve had always had an interest in Chicherin. In 1894 he had quoted him as an authority on the fiscal origin of the *obshchina* (see Struve, Review of Nikolay -on, *Ocherki nashego poreformennogo obshchestvennogo khozyaystva* in Braun's *Archiv*, Bd. vii, p. 356); and in 1897, though engaged in a polemic with Chicherin on the antecedents (or lack of antecedents) of Russian Marxism, he recognized his 'recent exceptionally useful publicistic activity' on behalf of the organs of local self-government. (See Struve, 'G-n Chicherin i ego obrashchenie k proshlomu', in *Na raznye temy*, p. 94n.) Interest in Chicherin's philosophy was, however, a new departure.

[4] See P. G. [Struve], op. cit., p. 86.

V

ECONOMICS

Narodnik economists, as has been seen above,[1] were much concerned to deny the possibility that capitalism could develop in Russia. The argument may be briefly rehearsed: capitalism inevitably undermines its own home market by the formation of a pauperized proletariat; hence it requires foreign markets in order to reach full development; but Russia has no access to foreign markets, all of which have been occupied by more advanced countries; therefore Russian capitalism is bound to remain a stunted growth. So V. V. had said in 1882, and eleven years later the same argument was repeated by Nikolay -on.[2]

The relative backwardness of Russian economic development thus presented Russian Marxists with problems which differed considerably from those which Marxists in more advanced countries were facing. Quite apart from the collection of facts from Russian economic reality which might tend to disprove the *narodnik* thesis empirically, there were theoretical considerations involved.

In the wider perspective of European Marxism, the problem had three stages, corresponding to different stages of the development of capitalist economy. The first was the question of capital accumulation, or an attempt to answer the question: 'Can capitalism develop to the full on the basis of its own home market?' The second was to explain the cyclical 'crises' in capitalist economy. Thirdly, and eschatologically, there arose the *Zusammenbruchstheorie*, according to which capitalism would finally collapse through increasing contradictions.

The Question of Markets

Only the first of these three related problems was directly relevant to the Russian situation. Russian Marxists, particularly Legal Marxists, did indeed take an interest in the other

[1] See pp. 12ff. above.

[2] See Nikolay -on, *Ocherki nashego poreformennogo obshchestvennogo khozyaystva*, ch. XV.

two, but here even more than elsewhere the framework of their ideas was derived from Western European sources. Struve's 'Die Marx'sche Theorie der sozialen Entwicklung', a philosophical examination of the *Zusammenbruchstheorie*, prompted by Bernstein's *Voraussetzungen* and printed in a German periodical, was a contribution to the European rather than the Russian controversy. Tugan-Baranovsky's *Promyshlennye krizisy v sovremennoy Anglii* won him fame by his treatment of the second problem. Feeling the need to justify his choice of a non-Russian subject for his book, he included in his Preface a pious quotation from A. I. Chuprov: 'The cycle of development which has taken place in England affords an opportunity to glimpse . . . the future destinies of other countries'.[1] This said, however, Tugan-Baranovsky pressed the point no further, and—language apart—the book might have been written for Western readers. It was in fact the first book by a Russian Marxist to be translated out of Russian.[2]

Tugan-Baranovsky's theory of crises, with particular reference to their periodicity, was his most original contribution to economic theory; but it was his general consideration of the realization of the product of capitalism, from which his crisis theory emerged, that found a place in the Russian controversies of the time.

On this point the differences between Legal Marxism as represented by Tugan-Baranovsky and Bulgakov, and orthodoxy as represented by Lenin, were less clearly defined, perhaps, than on any other. All these three authors used the 'reproduction schemes' from *Capital*, Vol. ii.[3] Now Volume ii of *Capital* is remarkable for the absence from its pages (except for a few scattered references to crises[4]) of that sense of the transience

[1] Tugan-Baranovsky, *Promyshlennye krizisy v sovremennoy Anglii*, p. i.

[2] See p. 58 above.

[3] Tugan-Baranovsky developed rather more elaborate versions of the schemes than are found in Marx, but their import is the same. (See Tugan-Baranovsky, op. cit., pp. 407–38; cf. Sweezy, op. cit., p. 162.) Bulgakov's book *O rynkakh pri kapitalisticheskom proizvodstve* (Moscow, 1897) adhered closely to Marx's schemes. Lenin's earliest reference to the schemes suggested that they could be dispensed with; but he returned to them in his section on Marx's realization theory in *Razvitie kapitalizma v Rossii* in *Sochineniya* (4th edn.), pp. 29ff., though he did not reproduce them in full.

[4] See Marx, *Capital*, Vol. ii (Chicago, 1925), pp. 87, 211, 363, 475. Only one of these references (p. 363 and note) suggests that crises limit the

of the capitalist system which appears elsewhere in Marx's work: and the reproduction schemes, in particular, illustrate the workings of an expanding economy. As Bulgakov put it: 'Strictly speaking, the schemes relate only to a state of prosperity.'[1]

The *narodnik* argument ran as follows. In value terms, the product of capitalist industry falls into three parts—constant capital (c), variable capital (v) and surplus (s). That part of the product which has value c is realized in the replacement of constant capital; that part which has value v is realized in consumption; but that part which has value s cannot be realized, since capitalists do not consume all their profits, rent, and interest. It must therefore find a market abroad.

The crucial point in Marxist criticism of this thesis was simply to point out that capitalists did not indeed consume all their surplus, but invested a part of it in the expansion of industry. Marx's reproduction schemes, by dividing the whole social production into two departments—production of means of production and production of means of consumption—illustrated the process by which investment and expansion took place. The importance of investment lay in the existence of a whole branch of industry which the *narodniki* had neglected: what today would be called 'producer-goods industry'. It followed that the total national demand was not limited to the demand for consumer goods:[2] the existence of industry producing 'means of production' created a demand for 'means of production for the production of means of production'. Moreover, this branch of the economy was bound to develop faster than any other. Lenin may be quoted:[3]

development of capitalism: the remainder merely imply that they are characteristic of it. This is not to say that Marx did not believe that crises would be a cause of the decline of capitalism—there are plenty of passages to show that he did—but it may go some way towards explaining why the Russian controversy on this point remained somewhat muted.

[1] Bulgakov, *O rynkakh pri kapitalisticheskom proizvodstve*, p. 165.

[2] See Tugan-Baranovsky, op. cit., p. 417.

[3] Lenin, *Concerning the So-called Question of Markets* (Moscow, 1954), p. 19. (This is a translation of a paper written in 1893 and printed in Lenin, *Sochineniya* (4th edn.), Vol. i, pp. 63–108.) Lenin adds: 'That conclusion could have been arrived at, without Marx's investigation in Volume ii of *Capital*, on the basis of the law that constant capital tends to grow faster than variable: the proposition that the means of production grow faster is merely a paraphrase of that law applied to the whole of social production.' (Loc. cit.)

The production of means of production for means of production grows fastest, then comes the production of means of production for means of consumption, and the growth of the production of means of consumption is slowest.

It followed that the market for consumer goods (means of consumption) was not merely not the only home market but not even the most important home market for the expansion of capitalism.

How far was the argument to be pushed? How far was capitalism to be regarded—as Marx had certainly regarded it at times[1]—as a system of production for accumulation, that is, production for production, not consumption? Or how far—with no less warrant from Marx[2]—was it to be seen as a system in which consumption was the ultimate cause and driving force?

Tugan-Baranovsky went furthest in pushing consumption out of the picture. 'Production', he wrote, 'creates its own market, and requires no other. . . . Production itself creates a market for commodities. . . .'[3] Production could increase even if consumption did not: total output could continue to grow, only the proportion made up by means of production would become always larger.[4]

Bulgakov was hardly less definite: 'The limits of capitalist production are determined only by the limits of capital accumulation. . . . Capitalist production does not depend on consumption, but only on the limits of capital itself.'[5]

Lenin, on the other hand, was much more cautious:[6]

The department of social production which produces the means of production must . . . grow faster than that which produces objects of

[1] See Sweezy, op. cit., p. 172. [2] See ibid., pp. 173f.

[3] Tugan-Baranovsky, op. cit., pp. 416, 438; cf. his 'Kapitalizm i rynok', in *Mir Bozhy*, 1898, no. 6, p. 120.

[4] In a later work, *Teoreticheskie osnovy marksizma* (Spb., 1905), Tugan-Baranovsky drove his reasoning to its logical—and quite unreal—conclusion: a society consisting of a number of capitalists and *one* worker, who would 'place the whole enormous mass of machinery in motion and with its assistance produce new machines—and the consumption goods of the capitalists'. (Quoted by Sweezy, op. cit., p. 168, from the German translation of the book.) Tugan-Baranovsky went on to explain that he did not, of course, mean this to be taken seriously as a picture of reality, but only that 'given a proportional distribution of social production, no decline in social consumption is capable of producing a superfluous product'. (Ibid., p. 169.)

[5] Bulgakov, op. cit., pp. 158, 168.

[6] Lenin, *Razvitie kapitalizma v Rossii*, pp. 32ff.

consumption. In this way the growth of the home market for capitalism is up to a certain point 'independent' of the growth of personal consumption, as it takes place more on the score of productive consumption. But it would be a mistake to understand this 'independence' in the sense of a complete disjunction of productive consumption from personal consumption: the first can and must grow faster than the second (and that is the extent of its 'independence'), but it stands to reason that in the last analysis productive consumption always remains connected to personal consumption.

Nevertheless, Tugan-Baranovsky, Bulgakov and Lenin all agreed that the hindrances to the expansion of capitalism lay not in the market but on the production side. What must be preserved for accumulation to take place smoothly was 'proportionality': no one branch of industry must expand out of proportion to the others: investment must be properly distributed. Bulgakov called this proportionality 'the basis and only condition' of accumulation.[1] For Tugan-Baranovsky it was disruption of proportionality—together with the ebb and flow of money capital unsynchronized with the demand for investment funds—which lay at the root of crises.[2] For Bulgakov, it was the fact that proportionality was not normally fulfilled ('or only by pure chance'), because capital followed not demand but the rate of profit, wherever it was above average.[3] For Lenin, of two alternative theories of crises, that which attributed their cause to 'the anarchy of production' was nearer the truth than that which attributed it to 'underconsumption'; 'underconsumption' took a 'subordinate place', since the 'contradiction between the social character of production and the private character of appropriation' was 'more profound, [and indeed] the fundamental contradiction in the present economic system. . . .'[4]

Faced with the *narodniki's* extreme and primitive underconsumptionism, the Russian Marxists naturally adopted the disproportionality point of view. Marxist orthodoxy was hardly

[1] Bulgakov, op. cit., p. 158; cf. Tugan-Baranovsky, op. cit., p. 438.
[2] See Tugan-Baranovsky, op. cit., p. 504.
[3] Bulgakov, op. cit., p. 162.
[4] Lenin, *A Characterization of Economic Romanticism* (Moscow, 1951), p. 64. (A translation of 'K kharakteristike ekonomicheskogo romantizma', first in *Novoe Slovo*, reprinted in *Sochineniya*, Vol. ii.) Sweezy, though anxious to rescue the underconsumption theory from disrepute, seems to agree with Lenin on this point. (See Sweezy, op. cit., pp. 183f.)

in question here. The alternative of underconsumption or disproportionality as a cause of crises was not then, either in Russia or in Western Europe, one of the lines of division between revisionist and orthodox, reformist and revolutionary Marxists, and it has continued to cut across these lines.[1] Some years later, long after the demise of Legal Marxists as such, Lenin attempted to project backward into this period differences which were only clarified much later. In a footnote to his study 'K kharakteristike ekonomicheskogo romantizma' reprinted in 1908 he wrote: 'In *Razvitie kapitalizma* [1899] I already noted the inexactitudes and errors of which Mr. Tugan-Baranovsky was guilty and which subsequently brought him over completely to the camp of the bourgeois economists.'[2] Reference to *Razvitie kapitalizma* reveals the following notes of Tugan-Baranovsky's 'inexactitudes and errors':[3]

> Mr. Bulgakov's exposition [of Marx's realization theory] is more satisfactory than Mr. Tugan-Baranovsky's. . . . [The latter] made some very unsuccessful divergences from Marx in constructing his schemes and explained Marx's theory inadequately . . . Mr. Tugan-Baranovsky is wrong to think that Marx . . . in noting the contradiction between the limitless urge to expand production and limited consumption . . . falls into a contradiction with his own analysis of realization. There is no contradiction in Marx, since his analysis of realization indicates the connexion between productive and personal consumption.

Now this is precisely what Marx does *not* indicate in his 'analysis of realization', that is, in his schemes in Volume ii of *Capital*.[4] It is of course possible that he would have done so if he had lived to complete the work himself: and this is in fact what

[1] See Sweezy, op. cit., pp. 169f., 179.

[2] Lenin, op. cit., p. 69n.

[3] Lenin, *Razvitie kapitalizma v Rossii*, pp. 32n., 36n.

[4] The one exception to this statement is the footnote 'inserted for future elaboration' on p. 363, which includes the following words: 'The sale of commodities, the realization on the commodity-capital, and thus on surplus value, is limited, not by the consumptive demand of society in general, but by the consumptive demand of a society in which the majority are poor and must always remain poor.' Marx then adds: 'However, this belongs into the next part'—but he does not return to the subject in Part III of Vol. ii, except to make one of his *least* underconsumptionist remarks: 'It is a pure tautology to say that crises are caused by the scarcity of solvent consumers, or of a paying consumption.' (Ibid., p. 475.) It was only in Vol. iii (ch. 49), which was not available to Tugan-Baranovsky when he was writing his book, that Marx took up the matter again.

Tugan-Baranovsky suggested, since he attributed the contradiction to the fact that *Capital* Vols. ii and iii were only 'a draft sketch'.[1] The proper appeal here against Tugan-Baranovsky was not to Marx, but to common sense, and this is the appeal which his 'orthodox' critics have made ever since.[2]

The common view that the Legal Marxists stopped short at the capitalist stage of development, and that for them capitalism became an end in itself, is not borne out by their writings on accumulation. The idea of the transience of capitalism is to be found in their writings of this period as much as in Lenin's, though the accent is on evolution, not revolution. Tugan-Baranovsky, for instance, regarded trusts and cartels as 'a transitional form to that higher form of national economy which is coming into being'.[3] Or again: 'The internal organization of capitalist society is changing, and the evolution of a new order is taking place.'[4] Bulgakov saw the limit to the process of expansion in the falling rate of profit, thanks to which[5]

> capitalist production undermines the very source of its own existence —the production of surplus value. There must come a moment when even an absolute increase of capital cannot paralyse the action of the law of the falling rate of profit, and the growth of capital will stop. This will be the highest and final moment of the development of this form of production.

It is harder to be sure of Struve's position on this point. His approach to the realization problem differed from that of the other Russian Marxists. He made no use of Marx's reproduction schemes, and his contribution to the problem was rather to pooh-pooh the theoretical aspect of it altogether. In *Kriticheskie zametki* he assumed, like the *narodniki*, that surplus value could not be realized by capitalists' and workers' consumption

[1] Tugan-Baranovsky, 'Kapitalizm i rynok', p. 123. It was this passage to which Lenin referred.

[2] See Luxemburg, op. cit., pp. 315, 323; and when Sweezy writes (op. cit., p. 172): 'Production is production for consumption, Tugan and his reproduction schemes to the contrary notwithstanding', he might just as well have said 'Marx and his reproduction schemes to the contrary notwithstanding', since he nowhere suggests that Tugan-Baranovsky has essentially altered Marx's schemes; indeed, Luxemburg accuses him of making no more than 'a slavish copy of Marx's diagram. . . .' (Luxemburg, op. cit., p. 323.)

[3] Tugan-Baranovsky, *Promyshlennye krizisy*, p. 371.

[4] Ibid., pp. 5f.

[5] Bulgakov, op. cit., p. 169.

alone, but pointed out that no mature capitalist society consisted entirely of workers and capitalists: in fact, he said, there were a large number of 'third persons' whose consumption could be counted on to right the balance—or at least, the thesis that it could *not* do so required 'special proof' and was 'impossible to prove for Russia'.[1] To support his idea of a class of 'third persons' Struve quoted figures for England and Wales, from which it is clear that the people he had in mind were Civil Servants, the liberal professions and the like—a class which, incidentally, Marx had expelled from his analysis with contumely.[2] On the face of it, the supposition of this class of 'unproductive consumers' seemed to point to an expansibility of capitalism no less elastic than that implied by Tugan-Baranovsky or Bulgakov on the assumption of proportionality (which, as has been seen, they regarded as normally unfulfilled). In a later article, however, Struve identified his 'third persons', so far as Russia was concerned, as 'the Russian agricultural peasantry'[3]—an unhappy formulation, since the peasantry were in no sense the sort of 'unproductive consumers' which Struve's theory required. It was not surprising, perhaps, that Struve tended to minimize 'the real significance of realization theory',[4] and to recall the whole problem from abstraction to a historical setting. Both theoretically and historically, however, he denied the possibility of the limitless development of capitalism—theoretically because of an inevitable shortage of labour (a new point) and historically on the general grounds that 'self-sufficient capitalism is historically unimaginable'.[5]

Apart from Tugan-Baranovsky's theory of business cycles and his introduction of the disproportionality theory into Marxism there is little edifying about the Russian Marxists' theoretical discussions of realization. Bulgakov and Tugan-

[1] Struve, *Kriticheskie zametki*, pp. 251f.

[2] See Marx, *Capital*, Vol. ii, pp. 531f.: 'The landowners or recipients of interest can no longer serve in the role of miraculous interlopers, who convert aliquot portions of the annual reproduction into money by spending their revenue. The same is true of the expenditures of all so-called unproductive labourers, state officials, physicians, lawyers, etc., and others who serve economists as an excuse for explaining inexplicable things, in the role of the "general public".'

[3] See Struve, 'K voprosu o rynkakh pri kapitalisticheskom proizvodstve', in *Nauchnoe Obozrenie*, 1899, no. 1, p. 61.

[4] Ibid., p. 57. [5] Loc. cit.

Baranovsky attacked each other on points of reasoning, while agreeing on conclusions;[1] Tugan-Baranovsky accused Bulgakov of unoriginality, and a too ready tendency '*jurare in verba magistri*';[2] Lenin supported Bulgakov, as being the most orthodox, against Tugan-Baranovsky and against Struve, who had intervened at a late stage only to call the whole discussion virtually irrelevant.[3] A good many debating points were made,[4] but not very much light was thrown on the process of social development in general, no very instructive criticisms of Marx or Marxism were advanced, and apart from a general counterblast to *narodnik* underconsumptionism, which must have come in any case in the course of economic development, Russian thought on Russian problems was not a whit forwarded. 'The question of markets' is one of the less rewarding by-ways of Russian economic thought: the backwardness of the Russian economy prevented the discussion from reaching the problems of crises and final collapse which were live issues in European Marxism, and condemned it to a sterile scholasticism.

The Theory of Value

The second main branch of economic theory which occupied the Legal Marxists' attention was the theory of value. Here the situation was rather clearer than in realization theory, and the basic trend is easier to discern. Matters were not complicated by any specifically Russian elements: there was no question of a polemic against *narodnichestvo* giving a bias to the discussion: the *narodniki* accepted Marx's theory of value—though it is not always possible to be sure that they understood it—without question, for it appeared to offer in its doctrine of exploitation theoretical proof of the wickedness of capitalism.[5] Secondly, although Tugan-Baranovsky, Bulgakov and Struve devoted only occasional articles to the subject, they did not dismiss it

[1] See Bulgakov, op. cit., pp. 246ff.; Tugan-Baranovsky, 'Kapitalizm i rynok', pp. 125ff.

[2] Ibid., p. 123.

[3] See Lenin, 'Zametka k voprosu o teorii rynkov' and 'Eshchë k voprosu o teorii realizatsii', in *Sochineniya* (4th edn.), Vol. iv.

[4] For some particularly arid and rhetorical self-quotation, see Lenin, 'Eshchë k voprosu o realizatsii', pp. 67f.

[5] See Nikolay -on, *Ocherki*, pp. 104f. At a later stage Nikolay -on, the *narodnik*, was to be found defending Marx's value theory against the Legal Marxists' criticism.

as unreal, as the 'philistine' Bernstein dismissed it in Germany,[1] or as Struve had dismissed realization theory. So seriously, indeed, was it taken, that the youngest of the Legal Marxists, Frank, devoted his first book to a systematic study of Marx's value theory.

The beginning of Legal Marxism coincided with a dramatic moment in the history of the Marxist theory of value. The publication of *Capital*, Vol. iii, in 1894 was expected to provide the answer to the famous 'riddle of the Sphinx' of Marx's theory, which the Austrian economist Böhm-Bawerk had pointed out in 1884,[2] and which Engels, in the Preface to Volume ii, had challenged all comers to solve before the appearance of Volume iii.[3] A brief sketch of this riddle will serve as a background to much of the Legal Marxists' criticism of Marx's value theory.

The capitalist, according to Marx, 'must buy his commodities at their value, must sell them at their value, and yet at the end of the process must withdraw more value from circulation than he threw into it at starting'.[4] Value itself (exchange-value, that is, for use-value is not under consideration) 'is determined by the quantity of labour expended on and materialized in it, by the working-time necessary, under given social conditions, for its production'.[5] The problem of the capitalist's profit—surplus value—is solved, according to Marx, by a peculiarity of the commodity *labour-power*: unlike other commodities, such as raw materials, plant and so forth, which can transmit only their value or part of it to the finished product, labour-power is 'a source not only of value, but of more value than it has itself'.[6] In this way[7]

> every condition of the problem is satisfied, while the laws that regulate the exchange of commodities have in no way been violated. Equivalent has been exchanged for equivalent. For the capitalist as buyer paid for each commodity, for the cotton, the spindle and the labour-power, its full value. . . . He sells his yarn . . . at its exact value. Yet for all that he withdraws . . . more from circulation than he originally threw into it.

[1] See Gay, op. cit., p. 174.
[2] See E. von Böhm-Bawerk, *Karl Marx and the Close of His System* (London, 1898), p. 60.
[3] Engels, Preface to Marx, *Capital*, Vol. ii, p. 23.
[4] Marx, *Capital*, Vol. i, pp. 144f.
[5] Ibid., p. 166f. [6] Ibid., p. 175. [7] Ibid., p. 176.

If the value of a commodity is written in the formula $c+v+s$, according to its three component parts, the capitalist's rate of profit or return on total outlay, may be written $\frac{s}{c+v}$. But s, as we know, is derived only from v, not from c; therefore if the ratio of c to v is high, s will tend to be low. This is another way of saying that the rate of profit in a highly capitalized industry will be lower than in an industry where labour forms a high proportion of the costs of production.

But this is demonstrably untrue: rates of profit throughout the economy in fact tend to be equal, although the ratio $\frac{c}{c+v}$ (which Marx calls the organic composition of capital) varies widely from industry to industry. If commodities did not exchange at their values, there would be other ways of explaining s; and if s was not a function only of v, rates of profit would not be dependent on the organic composition of capital. Yet according to Marx, both these possibilities are excluded. It was this dilemma which led Böhm-Bawerk to write:[1]

> Either products do actually exchange in the long run in proportion to the labour attaching to them—in which case an equalization of the gains of capital is impossible; or there is an equalization of the gains of capital—in which case it is impossible that products should continue to exchange in proportion to the labour attaching to them.

This was the riddle to which Engels promised a solution in *Capital*, Vol. iii.

Marx's solution, which was widely regarded as disappointing when it came, was briefly as follows. Commodities, he now said, do not in reality exchange at their values, but at their *prices of production*, which are made up of the capital expended in production plus a certain percentage of the capital outlay. This percentage is given by the *average rate of profit* for the economy. Schematically, the system looks like this:[2]

Industry I	$c_1+v_1+s_1=\text{Value}_1$
Industry II	$c_2+v_2+s_2=\text{Value}_2$
Industry III	$c_3+v_3+s_3=\text{Value}_3$
Whole Economy	$C+V+S=\text{Total Values}$

[1] Böhm-Bawerk, op. cit., p. 60.

[2] These schemes, which offer a relatively simple statement of something which takes many pages in Marx, are taken from Sweezy, op. cit., pp. 112f.

The average rate of profit, which may be called p, is total surplus value over total capital: $p=\frac{S}{C+V}$. Convert this into Marx's prices of production:

Industry I	$c_1+v_1+p(c_1+v_1)=\text{Price}_1$
Industry II	$c_2+v_2+p(c_2+v_2)=\text{Price}_2$
Industry III	$c_3+v_3+p(c_3+v_3)=\text{Price}_3$
Whole Economy	$C+V+p(C+V)=$Total Prices

But we know that $p(C+V)=S$. Therefore total surplus value is the same as total profit, and *total prices are equal to total values.* Individual prices and individual values differ, but for society as a whole the totals agree. Only if the labour theory of value is jettisoned for individual exchanges can it survive with reference to society as a whole.

Among the earliest critics of Marx's solution was Bulgakov, who reviewed *Capital*, Vol. iii, soon after its appearance. In the first place, he pointed out, the labour theory of value is severely limited by what Marx has now said. Driven out of exchange, where Marx had established it in Volume i, value has become that very *valeur intrinsèque* which Marx then denied it was, or has been turned into 'something like Kant's intelligible freedom of the will—inaccessible to empirical observation and yet existing'.[1] The second problem which Bulgakov saw in Marx's solution was that of the distribution of surplus value and its conversion into profit. For society as a whole, according to Marx, profits are equal to surplus value: $p(C+V)=S$. But in each individual industry profit is determined not by s in that industry, but by the average rate of profit. There is no reason, except Marx's arithmetic, why $s_1+s_2+s_3$ should be equal to total profits. Bulgakov pointed out that it *might* be so:[2]

> If products whose price is lower than their labour value exchange for products whose price is higher than their value . . . and in just the right proportion, then we would have the right to say that profit comes from surplus value and that the value for the whole economy is determined by labour.

But, he continued,[3]

[1] Bulgakov, 'Trety tom "Kapitala" K. Marksa', in *Russkaya Mysl'*, 1895, no. 3, Part II, p. 9.

[2] Ibid., p. 12. [3] Loc. cit.

this proportionality of exchange is not proved by Marx, and hardly can be proved. . . . Even if total prices in the economy coincide with total value, it does not mean that value is determined by labour and profit by surplus value. . . . If it is not proved that in each individual instance profit consists of surplus value, then it is odd to define the average rate of profit by dividing total surplus value by total capital. . . . This is a complete *petitio principii*, although it is the spiritual centre of the theory.

The Legal Marxists, however, were not prepared to abandon the labour theory of exchange value immediately. Bulgakov recognized that *Capital*, Vol. iii, had failed to justify the hopes laid upon it; but he concluded that it was up to Marxists to do better than Marx himself had done, and 'to prove that the labour theory of value is true for the economy as a whole [as well as for exchange], or, what amounts to the same thing . . . to shew the mechanism of the distribution of social surplus value and the formation of the average rate of profit'.[2]

Struve, at this stage, was even more faithful to Marx than Bulgakov. In a review of a new Russian translation of the *Critique of Political Economy*, which contains some of the most enthusiastic praise that he ever gave Marx, Struve wrote in 1896:[3]

Many people have been struck by the apparent incompatibility [of Marx's theory of profit] with the labour theory of value, but this incompatibility is turned into full harmony for him who sees the whole system in the light of the doctrine of economic categories . . . as *historically determined social categories* . . . which is basic to it.

This element of Marx's thought—that economic categories are social categories and that what they attempt to describe is always a social relationship between man and man or class and class—is one which has attracted the attention of modern Marxists;[4] but they have not, on the whole, used it to absolve themselves from facing the contradiction (apparent or real) between Volumes i and iii of *Capital*. The tendency has rather

[1] Bulgakov, 'Trety tom "Kapitala" K. Marksa', in *Russkaya Mysl'*, 1895, no. 3, Part II, p. 13.

[2] Ibid., p. 20; see also Bulgakov's comment quoted on p. 62 above.

[3] Struve, 'Osnovnye ponyatiya i voprosy politicheskoy ekonomii', in *Mir Bozhy*, 1896, no. 12, p. 112.

[4] See Maurice Dobb's pamphlet *Marx as an Economist* (London, 1946), p. 9; Sweezy, op. cit., pp. 4f., 27.

been to argue that Volume i deals with capitalism on a simplified model, or at a high level of abstraction, from which Marx descended towards the real world by gradually removing his simplifying assumptions.[1]

Now this is another way of saying that Marx did not mean what he seemed to mean in Volume i: and although Struve's statement is extremely obscure, Bulgakov, when he next returned to the problem, seems to have had something of this sort in mind. He made no attempt to describe the mechanism for the transformation of surplus value into profit, as might have been expected from his previous article. 'Formally', Bulgakov admitted, Volume iii contradicted Volume i; but was it not possible that both ideas were 'moments in the development of one higher concept?'[2] To suppose, as Böhm-Bawerk did in his essay *Zum Abschluss des Marxschen Systems*, which had just been published and translated into Russian, that value was a mere matter of measuring the proportions in which commodities exchange against one another, was 'a *commercial* idea of value . . . which reduces political economy—roughly—to bookkeeping'.[3] But the object of political economy, as a branch of social science, was the study of social relationships arising from co-operative labour. Bulgakov argued a very close connexion between labour and the field of study of political economy: 'The phenomena of commodity exchange are economic in so far as in them is expressed the social combination of labour.'[4] Having narrowed his field in this way, Bulgakov went on:[5]

> In this sense the *labour* theory of value must be accepted *a priori*, and is a particular case of the study of social relationships from a definite economic point of view. It is a method of establishing economic phenomena. It is a necessary requisite of *economic* perception. In economic language *value* and *labour value* are synonyms.

From this it followed, according to Bulgakov, that since the accurate measurement of exchange ratios held no interest for political economy, exchange disproportionate to labour was

[1] See Dobb, op. cit., pp. 20f.; Sweezy, op. cit., pp. 18, 70.

[2] Bulgakov, 'O nekotorykh osnovnykh ponyatiyakh politicheskoy ekonomii', in *Nauchnoe Obozrenie*, 1898, no. 2, p. 333.

[3] Ibid., p. 349. [4] Ibid., p. 338. [5] Loc. cit.

not a contradiction of the labour theory of value; all it meant was that other 'social forms' (such as the tendency towards an equal rate of profit, or the existence of price in non-reproducible objects) also played their part.[1]

Shortly before this article was published, Werner Sombart had said that value, outlawed from exchange, had 'one place of refuge left—*the thought of the theoretical economist* . . . Marx's value is *a fact not of experience but of thought*'.[2] Bulgakov was saying much the same thing. What is less immediately obvious is that they were both saying the same thing as modern defenders of Marx's value theory say: for the higher the level of abstraction at which Marx is supposed to have worked, the fewer the shreds of reality which are left clinging to the concept, and the nearer it comes to being 'a fact not of experience, but of thought', 'a necessary requisite of economic perception' —a tool of analysis.

Tugan-Baranovsky soon approached the same conclusion from a different angle, which is worth mentioning since on the way he attacked one of the arguments which Marx adduced for believing in the transience of the capitalist system. This was the law of the falling tendency of the rate of profit. The rate of profit, in Marx's notation, was expressed as $\frac{s}{c+v}$. By the nature of capitalist accumulation, c tends to increase: this is merely an expression of the increasing mechanization of production. If therefore the *rate of surplus value*, which is expressed as $\frac{s}{v}$, remains constant, the rate of profit $\frac{s}{c+v}$ will fall as the organic composition of capital $\frac{c}{c+v}$ rises.

Tugan-Baranovsky pointed out that this argument contained an unjustified assumption, namely that the rate of surplus value $\frac{s}{v}$ remains constant. In fact, he argued, as the organic composition of capital rises, live labour plays a reduced role in production; this means that the productivity of labour rises, and that *the labour value of variable and constant capital falls.* $\frac{s}{v}$ increases. Tugan-Baranovsky gave a numerical example in

[1] See loc. cit. ff. [2] Quoted in Böhm-Bawerk, op. cit., p. 193.

which both $\frac{s}{v}$ and the proportion of constant to variable capital increased by 100 per cent., and the rate of profit remained unchanged. The law of the falling rate of profit, which according to Tugan-Baranovsky was in any case not in accordance with observed fact, was proved to be false even on the basis of the labour theory of value.[1]

The argument was pushed a step further by Struve, who now returned to the subject in a very different mood from that of three years previously. Tugan-Baranovsky, he said, had pointed to a profound antinomy in Marx's theory (which Struve now dubbed 'the *mechanical theory of labour value*').[2] According to this theory $\frac{S}{C+V}$ must fall continually. But S is nothing but the total surplus value in the economy, 'social surplus value, incarnate in the social surplus product, the net or free product of the social economy, and the *measure of the productivity of social labour*'.[3] Therefore a decline in $\frac{S}{C+V}$ means a decline in the productivity of social labour; yet this is supposed to be caused by a progressive increase of C, that is, constant capital, whose growth 'forms the technico-economic base for the growth of the productivity of social labour'.[4] This, Struve saw, was a manifest absurdity which he described as 'the basic antinomy of the theory of labour value'.

[1] Tugan-Baranovsky, 'Osnovnaya oshibka abstraktnoy teorii kapitalizma Marksa', in *Nauchnoe Obozrenie*, 1899, no. 5, esp. pp. 981f. Essentially the same argument is to be found in Sweezy, op. cit., pp. 100ff.: 'All we can say is that the rate of profit will fall if the percentage increase in the rate of surplus value is less than the percentage decrease in the proportion of variable to total capital.' (Ibid., p. 102.) Lenin read Tugan-Baranovsky's article in Siberia, and wrote to his mother and brother: 'It is monstrously stupid and absurd, he simply introduces at random an alteration in the rate of surplus value, so as to refute Marx. . . .' (Lenin to his mother and brother Dmitri, 20 June 1899, in Hill and Mudie, *The Letters of Lenin*, p. 85.) But Tugan-Baranovsky's alteration was less random than Lenin supposed, as may be seen from a quotation from Marx: 'But hand in hand with the increasing productivity of labour goes . . . the cheapening of the labourer, therefore a higher rate of surplus value even when real wages are rising. The latter never rise proportionally to the productive power of labour.' (Quoted by Sweezy, op. cit., pp. 101f.)

[2] Struve, 'Osnovnaya antinomiya teorii trudovoy tsennosti Marksa', in *Zhizn'*, 1900, no. 2, p. 298.

[3] Ibid., p. 299 (italics added).

[4] Loc. cit.

Where lay the error? It was in his answer to this question that Struve really crossed the Rubicon. The absurdity arose, he said, 'from the proposition that surplus value comes only from labour'.[1] *S* is a function of *C plus V*, not of *V* alone; moreover the rate of increase of surplus value (or surplus product) is *predominantly* a function of *C*.[2] Once the labour theory of value is applied to society as a whole—once *S* is seen as the measure of the productivity of social labour—the labour theory must be abandoned except in a limited sense. Struve saw that this entailed a return to Ricardo, whom he quoted: 'After all, the great questions of Rent, Wages and Profits must be explained by the proportions in which the whole produce is divided between landlords, capitalists and labourers, and which are not essentially connected with the doctrine of value.'[3] It was odd, Struve remarked, that Tugan-Baranovsky thought that his article had been a correction to the labour theory and not its abolition.[4]

Tugan-Baranovsky hastened to correct this impression: he had preserved the labour theory of value, he said, 'only as a methodological device',[5] a 'conventional hypothesis . . . a useful fiction.'[6] Tugan-Baranovsky then propounded what he called 'an objective theory of profit', concerned neither to justify profit (like Böhm-Bawerk's theory of the productivity of capital) nor to condemn it (like Marx's theory).[7] In effect, Tugan-Baranovsky abandoned value calculation altogether for price calculation; this gives his ideas a certain modernity, but in fact he did no more than dot the i's and cross the t's of what Struve had just said. The essence of the theory was to understand profit or surplus value as the valuation of the 'social surplus product' (Struve). Tugan-Baranovsky wrote:[8]

> At the basis of profit lies the simple fact that as a result of the social process of production there takes place an increase in the *quantity* of products at society's disposal. . . . By expending a given quantity of

[1] Struve 'Osnovnaya antinomiya teorii trudovoy tsennosti Marksa', in *Zhizn'*, 1900, no. 2, p. 300.
[2] See ibid., p. 303.
[3] Ricardo, *Letters to MacCulloch*, quoted ibid., pp. 304f.
[4] See ibid., p. 298.
[5] Tugan-Baranovsky, 'Trudovaya tsennost' i pribyl' ', in *Nauchnoe Obozrenie*, 1900, no. 3, p. 617.
[6] Ibid., p. 622. [7] Ibid., p. 631. [8] Ibid., p. 628.

products society not only reproduces them, but gets a certain surplus of products. This surplus is valued in just the same way as the expended products. . . . The creation of surplus product is at the bottom of profit.

Why, Tugan-Baranovsky then asked, does some of the product go to classes who have taken no part in the process of production? The reason is that not only labour but also the means of production are necessary for production. 'The monopoly ownership of [the means of production] gives economic power to the possessing classes and they can guarantee themselves a definite share of participation in the social product.'[1] The size of that share, and particularly the apportionment of the surplus product, depends on 'the relative social power of each [of the two great social groups] . . . workers or capitalists. . . .'[2] 'Profit is the capitalists' share in the common product, a share whose size is determined by the class struggle —by social relationships beyond the market.'[3]

But if the labour theory was abandoned, what was left of Marxism? Tugan-Baranovsky answered:[4]

It is my deep conviction that everything essential in Marx's sociological conception stands. Marx's strength is not so much in economics as in sociology. As an economist, Marx had no outstanding originality, and is often wrong where he is original (in the law of the falling rate of profit, for example). Modern political economy is mainly the creation of Smith and Ricardo. So Marx found it, and so it has remained to this day.

It was the theory of profit outlined above, with its emphasis on the importance of social power in determining the distribution of the product, which provided the bridge, in the Legal Marxists' minds, between economics and Marx's sociology.

Marginal Utility

If Marx's economic theories were to be discarded, something had to be put in their place. There was only one alternative: the 'subjective' or Austrian theory of value. Struve wrote:[5]

[1] Ibid., p. 629.
[2] Ibid., p. 630. Cf. Struve, op. cit., p. 303: 'The share or level of profit is a purely social category relating to the division of the aggregate social product between classes.'
[3] Tugan-Baranovsky, op. cit., p. 632.
[4] Ibid., p. 625.
[5] Struve, op. cit., p. 305.

As I see it, in value theory our critical movement is returning to Ricardo's careful realism, trying at the same time to connect it with the great achievements which economic science owes to Gossen, Walras, Jevons, Menger, Wieser and Böhm-Bawerk. To insert such a realistic theory into the grandiose framework of Marx's sociological generalizations—this way of putting the problem deserves some attention.

The most serious attempt to carry out this operation was made by Semën Frank, whose first article on subjective value theory was published under the title 'Psikhologicheskoe napravlenie v teorii tsennosti' ('The Psychological Trend in Value Theory') in 1898, and was followed up by his book on Marx's value theory two years later.

The subjective or marginal utility theories of value, which had been elaborated since the seventies and gained widespread acceptance in Western Europe—*inter alia* by the Fabian socialists in England—were slow to penetrate Russia. Official doctrine, which prevailed in the universities, was firmly wedded to classicism; and the radicals, since Sieber, had followed Marx. So little impression had marginal theories made by the end of the century that V. Ya. Zheleznov, the author of a textbook on political economy designed for popular consumption, could dismiss them summarily with the statement that they 'cannot be considered a satisfactory solution of the problem'[1] and turn without more ado to labour theory.

One of the earlier exceptions to this attitude, as has been mentioned,[2] was Tugan-Baranovsky; but his article, published ten years before value theory became a live issue in Russian Marxism, did not go beyond a hint that a synthesis of subjective and labour theory should be possible. The first symptom of a general shift towards subjectivism in value theory was, curiously enough, purely linguistic.

In his version of *Capital*, Vol. i in 1872, Danielson used the word *stoimost'*, not *tsennost'*, to translate the German *Werth*. For many years there was no controversy on the point and no particular importance was attached to it. *Tsennost'* was the common word, and was used by labour theorists, among them

[1] V. Ya. Zheleznov, *Ocherki politicheskoy ekonomii* (2nd edn., Moscow, 1904), pp. 310f., 337. (This work, of 831 pages, was published in the series *Biblioteka dlya Samoobrazovaniya*, 1st edn., 1901.)

[2] See pp. 53 above.

the Marxist Sieber.[1] A. I. Skvortsov, another labour theorist, made a distinction between the two: *tsennost'* he used for 'the quantity of labour energy corresponding to a given quantity of the product', while *stoimost'* he limited to costs of production excluding profit and rent.[2] But this was exceptional: after the publication of *Kriticheskie zametki*, Nikolay -on (Danielson) and Struve, who used *stoimost'* and *tsennost'* respectively, exchanged articles in which each used the word of his choice without questioning the other's terms.[3] In 1897, however, M. M. Filippov, the editor of *Nauchnoe Obozrenie*, commenting on the new Russian translation of the *Critique of Political Economy*, remarked that *Werth* was rightly translated by *tsennost'*, *stoimost'* having been introduced by Danielson although it properly corresponded to *Kosten* or *Kostenwerth*;[4] and the following year Filippov, as editor, corrected the translation of an article by Sombart accordingly.[5] The same year Struve edited a new translation of *Capital*, Vol. i, for publication by Popova. The translator recalled later that the only important correction which Struve made in her work was to substitute *tsennost'* for *stoimost'* in translation of *Werth*.[6] It is Struve's justification of this point in his Preface which is interesting:[7]

> Value [*tsennost'*] is an expression of individual or social evaluation [*otsenka*] of economic goods, of which the ruling principle and necessary measure is expenditure of labour, just as use value [*potrebitel'noy tsennosti*] or utility is an expression of that individual or social valuation whose principle and measure is the intensity of want. The element of *evaluation* unites these very different phenomena, and this unity is manifested in their common name *tsennost'*.

Ever since Quesnay distinguished *valeur usuelle* and *valeur vénale* the same word (*valeur* or *tsennost'*) had been applied regardless whether the evaluation was made from the point of view of expenditure or of want: *stoimost'* could not serve here, for the

[1] See Reuel', *Kapital Karla Marksa v Rossii 1870-kh godov*, p. 94.
[2] Skvortsov, *Vliyanie parovogo transporta*, pp. 424f.
[3] See Struve, 'Moim kritikam' in *Na raznye temy*, p. 52.
[4] See M. M. Filippov, 'Sotsiologicheskoe uchenie K. Marksa', in *Nauchnoe Obozrenie*, 1897, no. 1, p. 73n.
[5] See *Nauchnoe Obozrenie*, 1898, no. 3, p. 476n.
[6] See E. A. Gurvich, 'Iz vospominaniy (Moy perevod "Kapitala")', p. 92.
[7] Struve, Preface to Marx, *Kapital*, Vol. i (Spb., 1899), p. xxvi.

phrase *potrebitel'naya stoimost'* (Struve concluded) was plain nonsense.[1]

This shy approach towards a subjective idea of value was soon backed up by Frank. Frank began by dismissing Marx's labour theory of *exchange value*, relying heavily on arguments from Böhm-Bawerk, whose criticism of Marx, he said, 'has not yet been refuted, and in our opinion, cannot be refuted'.[2] But, he pointed out, both the classics and Marx had a concept of 'real' or 'absolute' value: 'The common substance that manifests itself in the exchange value of commodities, whenever they are exchanged, is their value.'[3] Marx had spent very little time on this sort of value. He had, in Frank's view, a theory of absolute value implicit both in his chapter on 'The Fetishism of Commodities', where for a moment he went back, with the classics, to Robinson Crusoe on his island, apportioning his labour according to his wants, and also in Volume iii, where value became a property not of a single commodity, but of the sum of them all. Here there was no question of exchange, any more than there was with Robinson Crusoe; if products still had value here, it was something independent of social relationships or of a particular organization of the social economy. 'Absolute value can come only from the organization of the economy *as such*, in other words from the technical-psychological side of it.'[4] Of this, Marx had said nothing; instead, he had overloaded his concept of absolute value by tying it up too closely with exchange.[5]

Frank then turned to the Austrian psychological school's theory—'the only consistent theory of absolute value'.[6] Frank was interested in reconciling some form of labour theory of absolute value with the theory of marginal utility; it was this

[1] See loc. cit. The following year Lenin ('without attaching very much importance to the use of this or that term') objected when Filippov altered *stoimost'* to *tsennost'* in an article Lenin submitted to him. (Lenin, 'Eshchë k voprosu o realizatsii', in *Sochineniya* (4th edn.), Vol. iv, p. 60n.) When the next translation of *Capital* into Russian appeared in 1909, the Social-Democrat editors restored *stoimost'*, which has remained orthodox in the U.S.S.R. Frank, (*Teoriya tsennosti K. Marksa, Kritichesky etyud* (Spb., 1900), p. 175n.), naturally agreed with Struve.

[2] Frank, *Teoriya tsennosti K. Marksa*, p. 24.

[3] Marx, *Capital*, Vol. i, p. 5, quoted ibid., p. 184.

[4] Frank, op. cit., p. 191. [5] See ibid., pp. 123–39, 191, 262f.

[6] Loc. cit.

point, he thought, that raised those questions of broad sociological generalization which most of the psychological school had not even asked.[1]

This reconciliation could be achieved by a crude notion of disutility—what Bulgakov called 'the Judas's kiss' given by the marginalists to the labour theory[2]—but Frank did not even mention this. Labour, according to Frank, is a *universal means of production*,[3] which can be diverted from one branch of production to another. Now one of the doctrines of the psychological school concerned goods which are 'kindred-by-production' (*produktionsverwandte*), that is, which are all products of the same sort of means of production. Since the means of production can be switched from the production of one such good to another, they will all have the same value, which will be equal to the value of a unit of the means of production; but the value of a unit of the means of production is determined by the value of the least useful good which it creates, the good which satisfies the least intensive want. Therefore the value of all *produktionsverwandte* goods is equal to the value of the least useful good among them, and also to the value of a unit of the means of production.[4]

If three classes of products are produced with values of 10, 5, and 2, and if the addition of an extra unit by production reduces the value of the others in its class by 1, the means of production will tend to shift to the production of the product whose value is 10, since the value created by the shift will be 9 for a loss of 5 or 2. If the means of production is labour, labour will move to the high-value products until value-returns to labour are equal all round. There will be an automatic process of ironing-out until the value of the product coincides with the value of a unit of the means of production, i.e. labour.[5]

It is on this basis that Frank concluded that 'the subjective value of the products of labour coincides . . . with their labour value, i.e. it is the result of the valuation of goods in proportion to the labour spent on their production'.[6] More refined than disutility theory, it replaces the crude alternative of 'labour or not labour' by 'labour for this or for that'. It does not,

[1] See ibid., pp. 219f. [2] Bulgakov, op. cit., p. 351.
[3] See Frank, op. cit., pp. 230f. [4] See ibid., pp. 211f.
[5] See ibid., pp. 214f. [6] Ibid., p. 234.

therefore, lie open to the most obvious objection to disutility theory, namely that labour is often agreeable, and, below a certain level, highly desirable.

The assumption implicit in this reasoning is either of an isolated Robinson Crusoe, or of a planned economy. Frank agreed with many critics of marginal theory that it was too individualistic, and needed adaptation to society as a whole. Could 'society as a whole' be considered as the 'subject of economy' in the same sense that Robinson Crusoe was? Clearly *some* societies could be so considered: those in which, in Marx's words, 'the labour-power of all the different individuals is consciously applied as the combined labour-power of the community'.[1] The source of value in such groups, said Frank, is the wants of the whole group, 'or rather, the personal wants of its members in so far as they correspond . . . to the common want of the group'.[2] This is '*social subjective value*', not in the sense that society is the 'subject of the feeling of value' but merely because the sources of this feeling are interests of society as a whole.[3]

Frank believed, however, that social evaluation was present even in capitalist society, though it 'plays no *practical* part'. Collective psychology was present even in an individualistic society: 'The idea of society as a subject of wants, interests and evaluations is among the most lasting and generally valid axioms of the modern cultural-juridical *Weltanschauung*.'[4] 'Labour value', Frank concluded, 'is the *social subjective value of income in social economy*.'[5]

Now this, as Frank was forced to admit, is to drive labour value out of the real world of the market; it becomes what Rodbertus had called it—'a great national-economic *idea*'.[6] Individual evaluation and social evaluation exist side by side, though the latter is derived from the former. But the reality of social evaluation is strictly limited: 'It is no more a material fact of the external world than individual valuation; it does not . . . affect the course of economic phenomena, nor determine the process of social production nor the process of distribution.'[7] Yet it is not a fiction: it is 'a *real psychological*

[1] Marx, op. cit., p. 50; cf. Frank, op. cit., p. 244.
[2] Frank, op. cit., p. 246. [3] Ibid., p. 247. [4] Ibid., p. 256.
[5] Loc. cit. [6] Ibid., p. 252. [7] Ibid., p. 263.

fact, which under certain conditions, when society can consciously influence the economic relationships of its members, gains practical significance too.'[1]

So far, Frank believed that his theory was consonant with Marx's theory of absolute value. When it came to distribution, however—the very point at which value theory comes into contact with 'sociological generalizations'—Frank moved further from Marx than in anything else. The problem was to explain the exchange of unequal values. Marx had explained it by 'the extraction of surplus value': even in Volume iii, where the individual capitalist did not necessarily get any surplus value by exchanging product for labour-power, the capitalist class as a whole did appropriate it from labour. Frank pointed out that once it is recognized that social labour is the measure of social subjective value and that exchange does not generally take place according to labour, 'the extraction of surplus value' becomes a meaningless phrase. What happens in the economy is that the totality of members of society engaged in productive work produce a total of values, which are distributed, whereat some members of society 'turn out to be the possessors of surplus value'.[2] The 'extraction of surplus value' is not a real economic activity at all: all that it means is the uncompensated acquisition of some amount of social value: and this can take place *in many ways besides the hire of labour*. The extraction of surplus value is only theoretically and not really distinct from the distribution of social income in general.

This distribution of social income is determined, according to Frank, by a struggle between the two parties to every individual exchange. Whether one of the parties is exploited or exploiting depends on the *result* of the struggle; class division is not the basis of the struggle for social income, but *vice versa*. It is, of course, possible to predict the result of the struggle in some cases: for instance, if a large capitalist is matched against a manual labourer; and this may be, and is, typical of modern society. But transitional groups, such as peasants who own some means of production, and may buy some labour, and who sometimes obtain and sometimes yield surplus value, prove that it is not universal. Distribution is a *single* process, embodied in exchanges of product for product as well as product for labour.[3]

[1] Loc. cit. f. [2] Ibid., p. 273. [3] See ibid., pp. 265–78.

It follows, according to Frank, that the working class is exploited, as other people are exploited, not only as producers, but as consumers, or as members of society in general: as the weaker party in the struggle of exchange.[1] The root of exploitation is to be found in the economic or social *power* which parties bring to the business of exchange.[2] This power-relationship is also the source of exchange value:[3]

> Certain factors . . . give individual producers . . . the capacity to appropriate part of the social income by the sale of a product; the exchange value of the product, its exchange relationship to other products, is determined by the capacity of producers to seize a greater or lesser part of the social income for their own use, in other words, by the relative *power* possessed by individual members of society in the struggle for distribution, and not by some *deus ex machina* which gives each producer a quantity of social labour equal to the quantity of his own labour which he has given to society.

Frank went on to relate this idea of power to subjective value theory. The root of subjective value, according to Menger, is 'the consciousness of *dependence* of want-satisfaction on the possession of a good'.[4] In an isolated economy (Robinson Crusoe) subjective value is the *measure of the dependence of man on nature.* It derives from the intensity of the want and the *scarcity* of the object of want. But in social economy this scarcity is determined by other things than the simple presence of the good in nature: it arises because to the relationship of man to nature are added his relationships to other people. These consist *in the dependence of man on man.* Dependence on nature is felt when nature refuses or limits her gifts to man; in the same way man may deprive other men of the gifts of nature, and make them dependent on him.

This explains, too, why unequal labour values exchange against each other in capitalist economy. Labour value is the result of the relationship of man (or society as a whole, where there are no other 'subjects of economy') to nature; but in capitalist economy other subjects intervene and upset the smooth working of this relationship in exchange; exchange value is therefore determined not by labour, but by marginal utility.[5]

[1] See Frank, op. cit., p. 277. [2] See ibid., p. 285. [3] Ibid., p. 283.
[4] Quoted ibid., p. 294. [5] See ibid., pp. 295–300.

Finally, why is the hired worker dependent on (and exploited by) the capitalist? According to Frank it is ultimately a consumer-dependence; it is caused by the fact that without the means of production he cannot himself produce the products necessary to satisfy his needs.[1]

By a circuitous route, then, Frank had come back to Marx's conclusion: that it is the possession of the means of production which determines the distribution of income in capitalist society. It was only rarely that he claimed any originality,[2] and he gave full credit to his predecessors.[3] He himself was conscious of what is perhaps the weakest part of his argument: the question of *how* 'social evaluation' is formed from a number of individual evaluations. Frank looked to 'the new science of social psychology'[4] to throw light on this problem, which he recognized as the most important which he had touched.[5]

Yet there were some implications which Frank did not see in his own work. By emphasizing—as did Tugan-Baranovsky too[6]—the role of economic and social power in determining value, Frank was in fact leading the way away from value calculation towards price calculation. To bring power to bear in exchange is to bargain: and the subject of bargaining is price, not value. Frank rightly saw that some such approach as he had elaborated would be fruitful in the analysis of imperfect competition.[7] But to renounce value calculation is to lose sight of the analysis of the system as a whole. It is to become an economist who—in so far as he is an economist—sticks to his manipulative last, concerned with policy, perhaps, but not with the social assumptions of his discipline.

In this sense the Legal Marxists' attempt to graft marginal theory on to the 'grandiose sociological generalizations of Marx' was a failure. The theory was too general; it is not for nothing that Frank's book takes wing and rarely touches the *terra firma* of fact or even example; the new theory could be grafted not only on to Marx's, but on to any other sociological generalizations. It denied the special position of the working

[1] See ibid., p. 315.
[2] For instance, in his use of the concept of 'dependence'. See ibid., p. 297.
[3] Turgot, Ott, Dühring, Stolzmann and Rodbertus. See ibid., pp. 319ff.
[4] Ibid., p. 303n. [5] See ibid., p. 355. [6] See p. 163, above.
[7] See Frank, op. cit., p. 369.

class. Tugan-Baranovsky contrasted his theory of profit with Marx's, in which he saw an ethical bias;[1] and Frank saw his version of the labour theory of value in a similarly lofty position:[2]

> If this sketch . . . aids the reinforcement of the labour theory of value in its more modest but more secure position, from which, retaining a friendly neutrality, it can look calmly on the growth and development of other scientific theories, and if it has helped to destroy the prejudice against these latter—the author will consider his aim achieved.

Neutrality, however, is not a characteristic of Marxism. In value theory, as in philosophy, the Legal Marxists pursued Truth without concern for class partisanship.

Agriculture

In all this, Bulgakov alone had remained relatively orthodox. In the 'question of markets' he had confined himself to expounding and extrapolating Marx; in value theory he had argued that 'the labour theory stands in no need at all of a psychological basis'.[3] His apostasy from orthodox Marxism, when it came, was connected mainly with agriculture—always a thorny problem to Marxists.

Struve, as usual, had first expressed himself on the subject with qualifications:[4]

> Marx's views in Volume iii do not answer the whole question of agricultural evolution: some of his propositions certainly need correction. . . . [But] his fundamental point of view is clear.
>
> Agriculture based on isolated producers suffers from the same anarchy as industry. With this anarchy even technically rational agriculture cannot be secure. . . . In a word, according to Marx the evolution of agriculture and of industry during the development of . . . capitalist production is in its main features identical, *not in the sense of a complete similarity of forms but in the sense of the final result*—the necessity of social organization.

What the divergence of form between agriculture and industry was, Struve did not say, and his scattered remarks on the

[1] See Tugan-Baranovsky, 'Trudovaya tsennost' i pribyl' ', pp. 631f.
[2] Frank, op. cit., p. 369.
[3] Bulgakov, 'O nekotorykh osnovnykh ponyatiyakh politicheskoy ekonomii', p. 353.
[4] Struve, 'Moim Kritikam', in *Na raznye temy*, p. 49. (Our italics.)

subject of agricultural development in general are inconclusive.[1] It was left to Bulgakov to give the subject exhaustive study in his two-volume magisterial dissertation *Kapitalizm v zemledelii* (*Capitalism in Agriculture*), which was published in 1900.

Typically, for a Legal Marxist, Bulgakov's book was based entirely on material from Western Europe, though he promised another work on Russian agriculture later.[2] Written while Bulgakov was abroad, mainly in Germany, and was establishing contacts with German Social-Democratic leaders,[3] it bears the imprint of the current German controversy on agrarian development.

The crucial question in the German controversy was whether Marx's theory of the concentration of capital into large units at the expense of small ones—with its revolutionary implications—could be applied to agriculture as well as to industry. Kautsky in *Die Agrarfrage* (1898) had answered that it could: large farms, technically and economically superior to small ones, were bound to prevail; if the number of small farms had not in fact decreased, this was due largely to complicating factors such as government subsidies. Bernstein and Hertz, the revisionists, held the opposite view: 'Kautsky's claims for growing concentration', wrote Hertz in 1899, 'are downright ridiculous'.[4]

In this argument, Bulgakov was firmly on the side of Bernstein and Hertz. Marx, he thought, was[5]

> fascinated by his scheme of the displacement of variable capital . . . by constant . . . which in general rightly expresses the development of industry, but is quite inapplicable to agriculture. Marx, under the one-sided impression of England, spread the construction to agriculture; he considered possible even an absolute decrease in the number of agricultural workers. . . . This opinion . . . is based on an *a priori* construction and one-sided observations, and cannot be supported at the present time.

[1] See, for instance, *Kriticheskie zametki*, p. 265, where he suggests that small-scale mixed farming may be more efficient than large-scale farming, and cf. 'Moim Kritikam', pp. 47f., where he seems to imply the opposite. For the programme-writers of Russian Social-Democracy, agriculture was a subject to be approached with extreme caution. See p. 186f., below.

[2] See Bulgakov, *Kapitalizm v zemledelii* (Spb., 1900), Preface.

[3] L. Zander, Personal Communication to the author.

[4] Quoted in Gay, op. cit., p. 194.

[5] Bulgakov, op. cit., Vol. i, p. 30.

In fact, according to Bulgakov,[1]

> in so far as technical conditions offer a tendency of change of size in agriculture, it is a tendency to decrease the limiting size. In this agriculture is sharply distinguished from industry, where an increase in size is often . . . a technical necessity.

Bulgakov pursued his argument through surveys of agriculture in England, Germany, France, Ireland, and the United States. Generalizing from a vast amount of data, Bulgakov concluded that capitalist agriculture (by which he meant large-scale farming) was on the down-grade. (Giant farms in America were, he thought, only a temporary phenomenon, due to the existence of plenty of free land: with intensification of farming, the size would go down.)[2] The future lay with peasant farming. It was wrong to think that peasant farming was incapable of technical progress: on the contrary, the progress of peasant farming was 'a *fact*, supported incontestably by the latest statistical data'.[3]

Bulgakov's work on agriculture is not impressive as a whole. His arguments for the economic advantages of peasant farming are no more than the familiar statement that the peasant will work harder than others for the same return.[4] His judgement has often been proved wrong; for instance, he expected that peasant farming would be re-established in England.[5] His idea that agriculture would not require an increase of capital today seems extraordinary. But he can perhaps not be blamed for failing to foresee the internal combustion engine. Lenin, who supported Kautsky, came to the right answer for the wrong reason: he predicted the technical revolution in agriculture, but thought that it would come from electrical engineering.[6]

Yet there are points on which Bulgakov came nearer the truth than the orthodox Marxists. Small-scale agriculture has in fact proved remarkably persistent, and large-scale productive units have been established less as a part of capitalist development than by the legislation of socialist governments.

[1] Bulgakov, op. cit., Vol. i, p. 62. [2] See ibid., Vol. ii, p. 440.
[3] See ibid., Vol. ii, p. 282. [4] See ibid., Vol. i, pp. 153f.
[5] See ibid., Vol. i, p. 338.
[6] See Lenin, *The Agrarian Question and the 'Critics of Marx'* in *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, Book I (London, n.d. [1929]), p. 213.

Finally, it was Bulgakov, rather than Lenin, at this date, who hinted that the peasant (not merely the rural proletarian) was a possible political ally for the industrial working class.[1]

The Russian Economy

And beyond all this theorizing (it is reasonable to ask) what did the Legal Marxists have to say about the economic state —present and future—of Russia? One of the crucial problems of Russian Marxism, both then and long after, was how to apply to a backward agricultural country an ideology which originated in an analysis of industrial society, and which based its hopes for the future on the dispossessed industrial proletariat. In so far as Russia was an industrial country, the matter was relatively simple. In the towns, at least, the polarization of society into two great hostile camps of proletariat and bourgeoisie, brought into sharp relief by the strikes of the mid-nineties, seemed to correspond with Marx's own broad scheme. Only the country *kustar'* gave a lever to the *narodniki*, who claimed him as their own—an example of the national, non-Western way of organizing industry. On this point all Marxists, Legal and orthodox alike, were agreed: the *kustar'* industries, they argued, were organized on a *capitalist* basis.[2] The *narodniki* had no right to appropriate them. Tugan-Baranovsky pointed out that the *kustar'* in many cases owed his very origin to the factory, from which he learned a new technique, emerged into his own small workshop, but to which he was now yielding once again as heavier machinery became essential.[3]

[1] See Bulgakov, op. cit., Vol. i, p. 288; ibid., Vol. ii, p. 456: 'In industry concentration subjects it to more social control; in agriculture it destroys large-scale enterprise and replaces it by strong peasant enterprise. Both these tendencies unite in a mighty democratic stream, which . . . will bring new social forms. . . .'

[2] See Lenin, *Razvitie kapitalizma v Rossii*, chs. V and VI; Struve, 'Istoricheskoe i sistematicheskoe mesto russkoy kustarnoy promyshlennosti', in *Na raznye temy*, pp. 437, 444, 446; Tugan-Baranovsky, *Russkaya Fabrika v proshlom i nastoyashchem* (Spb., 1898), Vol. i, Pt. I, ch. VI, esp. p. 242.

[3] See ibid., Pt. II, ch. IV. Tugan-Baranovsky's book, which traced the history of the Russian factory since the eighteenth century, is the most considerable historical work produced by any Russian Marxist of the period. In spite of Tugan-Baranovsky's later defection from orthodoxy, it has been reprinted in several new editions in the U.S.S.R. The second volume, which was planned to cover the Russian factory '*v nastoyashchem*', including such subjects as location of industry, conditions of competition, hours of work, the employment of women and children, and the economic

Agriculture, however, presented a more difficult problem. All Marxists could agree on one point: that commodity production was invading agriculture, and that in Russia as elsewhere production for the market was superseding production for the farmer and his family's own consumption.[1] This was 'agricultural capitalism' or 'capitalism in agriculture', and like industrial capitalism, it had social consequences. On these, too, Marxists could agree: what was happening in agriculture was what had already happened in industry—the formation of a bourgeoisie and a proletariat, the former owning land and implements, the latter landless, horseless, agricultural wage-labourers.[2]

At the same time the famine of 1891 had thrown a glaring light on the general poverty and vulnerability of Russian agriculture. Struve's contribution was to insist on the importance of productivity—a factor to which he paid more attention than most Russian Marxists. Indeed, his understanding of Marxism itself was coloured by this. He wrote in an early article:[3]

> [I] start from the Marxist point of view of the sociological and particularly economic primacy of the element of production [*Produktionsmoment*]. . . . [The *narodniki*] try to avoid the question of production.

Where Lenin concentrated his attention exclusively on class relationships, Struve—'not infected with orthodoxy'—recognized two interrelated *absolute* factors on which these class relationships developed. One of these was overpopulation:[4]

position of the factory worker (see ibid., p. iii), never appeared in print. According to Kuskova (Personal Communication to the present writer) a main cause of this was Tugan-Baranovsky's distracted state upon the death of his wife in 1899; having once put the work aside, he never took it up again. On Tugan-Baranovsky's wife's death and its effect on him, see Tyrkova-Williams, op. cit., pp. 44f.

[1] See, for example, Struve, 'Die wirthschaftliche Entwicklung Russlands und die Erhaltung des Bauernstandes', p. 415; Lenin, 'Novye khozyaystvennye dvizheniya v krestyanskoy zhizni', in *Sochineniya* (4th edn.), Vol. i, p. 58.

[2] See Struve, op. cit., p. 417; *Kriticheskie zametki*, pp. 238, 245f.; Lenin, 'Ekonomicheskoe soderzhanie narodnichestva', p. 460.

[3] Struve, Review of Chuprov and others, *Itogi ekonomicheskogo issledovaniya Rossii*, Vol. i, p. 498; cf. his 'Zur Beurtheilung der kapitalistischen Entwicklung Russlands', p. 2.

[4] Loc. cit. Cf. *Kriticheskie zametki*, pp. 182ff. Nevertheless, his views earned him the label 'Malthusian' from Lenin (op. cit., pp. 438, 442, 462). In Marxist ears a colourful epithet of condemnation, it has frequently been

One need be no Malthusian in order to appreciate the significance of the population factor—taking into consideration the stationary or regressive productivity of the soil. What is displayed here is not capitalist but—so to speak—simple over-population, corresponding to natural economy.

The other was technical backwardness or 'irrationality':[1]

If commodity production differentiates the peasantry, technical irrationality levels it down. Making itself felt through crop failures, it carries out a perfect "equalization" and thus . . . realizes the *narodnik* programme of "equal distribution" without regard to production. It is the technical irrationality of agriculture, not capitalism, which is the enemy who takes the daily bread from our peasantry.

Lenin's main charge against Struve in his critique of *Kriticheskie zametki* was that of 'narrow', 'professorial' 'objectivism'.[2] The basis of the charge was Struve's neglect at every stage to 'disclose the class contradictions' in the situation. Yet in a sense it was Lenin who was guilty of objectivism. Struve saw the distress of the peasantry and a possible solution:[3]

Commodity production shews the way out. . . . *It makes possible and enforces technical rationality*. This is its great historic mission in the sphere of production in general and agriculture in particular.

This, in Struve's words, was 'the progressive side' of agricultural capitalism; for Lenin, on the other hand, 'the progressive side'[4] was the fact that capitalism disclosed the clash of class interest which was obscured by survivals of serfdom: 'It brings into the light that opposition which is hidden in the form of bondage, and takes from it its features of "old-fashioned nobility".'[5] Lenin, it is true, believed that the agricultural worker would be better off under 'developed' than under 'undeveloped' capitalism: 'Our peasant who works for others is suffering not only from capitalism, but from the insufficient development of capitalism.'[6] But it is doubtful whether he had economic improvement in mind, any more than Marx, whom

repeated by orthodox Marxist writers referring to Struve. See, for instance, Prager, 'Legal'ny Marksizm', p. 61.

[1] Struve, *Kriticheskie zametki*, p. 224.

[2] Lenin, op. cit., pp. 380, 414, 477. [3] Struve, op. cit., p. 224.

[4] Lenin, op. cit., p. 464. Lenin in fact disputed Struve's terms 'progressive' and 'regressive' in this context, and here uses the word in parody. The sense is unaffected.

[5] Loc. cit. [6] Ibid., p. 463.

he was quoting, had in that phrase.[1] In general Lenin's article breathes the spirit of the class war much more strongly than any wish for positive amelioration.

It was on this point, perhaps, more than on any other, that Struve laid himself open to the charge of forgetting Socialism in his enthusiasm for capitalism. He made his position quite clear in *Kriticheskie zametki*:[2]

> My personal sympathies are not at all on the side of an economically strong peasantry, adapted to commodity production, but I cannot help seeing that a policy directed towards the creation of such a peasantry will be the only rational and progressive policy, since it will go to meet the inevitable process of capitalist development, at the same time mitigating its extremes.

Later Marxist writers have not neglected to draw the parallel between Struve's mention of 'an economically strong peasantry' and Stolypin's agrarian legislation.[3] Struve in fact supported Stolypin's policy against the official view of the Kadet party, of which Struve was by then a member.[4] But this is not to say that the parallel is just. Stolypin's legislation was introduced for political as much as economic reasons; Struve's motives in 1894 were purely economic. His aim was to raise productivity and to avoid a repetition of 1891—in a word, to further that 'economic progress' which he held to be a necessary condition of any social progress.[5]

The economic future that Struve foresaw for Russia was such as any thorough-going Westernizer would have foreseen, with the difference that he illustrated it from American rather than European experience. The percentage of agricultural population would be reduced from 80 per cent. to 50 per cent. of the whole;[6] railway-building and the growth of towns would continue side by side, as had been the case in the United States;[7]

[1] See Marx, *Capital*, Vol. i, p. xvii. Marx continues: 'Alongside of modern evils, a whole series of inherited evils oppress us, arising from the passive survival of antiquated modes of production, with their inevitable train of social and political anachronisms.'

[2] Struve, op. cit., p. 281.

[3] See, for instance, Angarsky, *Legal'ny Marksizm*, p. 42; Prager, op. cit., p. 73.

[4] See Frank, *Biografiya P. B. Struve*, p. 96.

[5] See pp. 127f. above.

[6] See Struve, 'Zur Beurtheilung der kapitalistischen Entwicklung Russlands', p. 3.

[7] See Struve, *Kriticheskie zametki*, pp. 260, 270.

as in the United States, industry would develop—with an appropriate measure of protection[1]—on the basis of the home market and the frontier;[2] as in the United States, agriculture would become a separate branch of production, losing its ancillary crafts to manufacture;[3] as in the United States, it would become steadily more intensive.[4] Struve's appreciation of the similarity of economic opportunities in Russia and the United States did not imply any love for the American social and cultural conditions of the time; in this sphere from first to last he was a European.

Struve's sketch of Russia's economic future exemplifies something which distinguished him from the orthodox Marxists: a readiness to look at economic facts without the prism of class relationships. Which, ultimately, is the more fundamental? The answer, perhaps, is given by the Soviet emphasis on production and productivity in our own time. Economic problems persist even when class relationships are changed, and the economist's problem is fundamentally similar in all ages. Struve's emphasis on production may have made him a worse Marxist, but it made him a truer economist.

[1] See Struve, 'Vnutrennee Obozrenie', in *Nachalo*, 1899, no. 3, Part II, p. 231: 'Protection is to be evaluated in relation to economic progress in the country.' It might be necessary for the development of national resources; but if excessive, it could clog competition and hold back progress.

[2] See Struve, *Kriticheskie zametki*, pp. 256f., 261ff.

[3] See ibid., p. 270.

[4] See Struve, 'Moim Kritikam', in *Na raznye temy*, pp. 39ff.

VI

POLITICS

Liberalism

We cherish the hope that the voice of the people's needs will always be heard on the heights of the Throne. We trust that our happiness will increase and grow firmer under an unflinching adherence to the laws on the part both of the people and of the authorities; for the laws, which in Russia embody the expression of the Sovereign's will, must be placed above the accidental intentions of individual representatives of the government. We ardently believe that the rights of individuals and of public institutions will be steadfastly safeguarded.

We look forward, Sire, to its being possible and rightful for public institutions to express their views on matters concerning them, so that an expression of the requirements and thought of representatives of the Russian people, and not only of the administration, may reach the heights of the Throne.

This was the cautious phraseology[1] in which the Tver *zemstvo* addressed the newly-acceded Nicholas II, hinting, amid many expressions of loyalty, that the *zemstva* might be accorded a slightly greater voice in the governance of the country, and that the bureaucracy should not be regarded as the sole adviser on the needs of the people. Nicholas II's reply was given on 17 January 1895:[2]

I am aware that of late, in some *zemstvo* assemblies there have been heard voices of persons who have been carried away by senseless dreams of the participation of *zemstvo* representatives in the affairs of internal administration. Let it be known to all that I, while devoting my energies to the good of the people, shall maintain the principle of autocracy just as firmly and unflinchingly as did my unforgettable father.

It was this exchange which inspired Struve to write the *Otkrytoe pis'mo k Nikolayu II-mu.*[3] His theme was that Nicholas, by rebuffing a *zemstvo* approach which did not even encroach on the principle of autocracy, had driven a wedge between himself and his people:[4]

[1] Quoted by Struve, 'My contacts with Rodichev', pp. 349f.

[2] Ibid., p. 350. Cf. I. P. Belokonsky, *Zemskoe Dvizhenie* (Moscow, 1914), pp. 51f.

[3] See p. 50, above.

[4] Struve, op. cit., p. 352.

The representatives of the public . . . had to listen to a new reminder of your omnipotence and were left under the impression of an utter estrangement between Tsar and people.

Struve went on to draw conclusions:[1]

If the autocracy identifies itself . . . with the omnipotence of officialdom . . . it is digging its own grave, and sooner or later, but in any case in the near future, it will fall under the onrush of the living forces of the public. . . . In some your speech will arouse a feeling of mortification and dejection, from which, however, the living forces of society will soon recover, turning to a peaceful but steady and conscious struggle for the necessary elbow-room, in others it will at once sharpen their determination to fight by any means against the hated régime.

You have begun the struggle, and the struggle will not be long in coming.

The immediate effect of Nicholas's speech, however, was to shock and abash the *zemtsy*, rather than to stimulate them to further opposition. Many people saw that Struve was right, and Nicholas's speech led Klyuchevsky to remark that his reign would end the Romanov dynasty;[2] but in the main the reaction was muffled. After the reception of the *zemstvo* delegates by the Tsar there was a solemn mass for the occasion in St. Isaac's Cathedral, which all the delegates were expected to attend: in spite of the Tsar's rebuff, the majority went obediently to the mass.[3] Only the Chernigov *gubernia zemstvo* reacted to Nicholas's speech by a further address reiterating *zemstvo* demands.[4] For the rest, it had been made clear that Russian Liberalism could hope for nothing from the Autocracy; but being unprepared for any further political action the liberals were compelled to choke back their political ambitions for the time being, and to redirect them into the milder form of pressure for some sort of national union of the *zemstva*.[5]

[1] Loc. cit. f.

[2] See Kizevetter, *Na rubezhe dvukh stoletiy*, p. 197.

[3] See Obolensky, typescript memoirs, ch. VII. Obolensky quotes an epigram on this subject by the poet Zhemchuznikov: 'Zhit' nado prilichno,/Dvoryanam podavno./Ikh svyshe publichno/Rugnuli nedavno./I chto-zhe? vsey kuchey/Priznali potrebnym/Pochtit' etot sluchay/V sobore molebnom.'

[4] See B. B. Veselovsky, *Istoriya zemstva za sorok let*, Vol. iii (Spb., 1911), p. 501.

[5] Sec Belokonsky, op. cit., pp. 55ff.

Social-Democracy: contacts in Russia

For Struve, the effect of this situation was to push him into closer co-operation with Russian Social-Democracy. With its only real centre at this time—the *Gruppa Osvobozhdeniya Truda*—Struve had made contact in 1892.[1] Inside Russia there was nothing but a number of fluid and often short-lived *kruzhki*. Akselrod, writing in 1892, reckoned that 'there are hardly any real Social-Democrats in Russia unless one counts a few young men who have studied Marx and engage in the theoretical education of individual workers'.[2] Struve's main links with this embryonic Russian Social-Democracy were Potresov, who had become the intermediary between Russia and the *Gruppa Osvobozhdeniya Truda*, and Lenin, who was at this time recognized as the leader of a group known as 'The Old Men' (*Stariki*) or 'The Littérateurs', with which Potresov was also closely associated.[3]

The first fruit of this co-operation was the ill-fated miscellany *Materialy k kharakteristike nashego khozyaystvennogo razvitiya*, whose genesis and end have already been described.[4] As between Struve and Lenin, the evidence is that there was give and take on both sides: in return for Lenin's toning down his paper on *Kriticheskie zametki* for inclusion in the miscellany, Struve, whose contributions 'Moim Kritikam' ('To My Critics') dealt only with conservative and *narodnik* criticisms of his book, and therefore not with Lenin's main charge of 'objectivism' and ignoring class contradictions, nevertheless went some way to meet it. Struve now declared, for instance, that 'the main question' in criticizing *narodnichestvo* should be: 'What class's interests does the socio-political *Weltanschauung* concerned express?' 'The answer to this question', he added, 'gives the only reliable criterion for classifying trends.'[5] Again, elaborating the

[1] See pp. 41f., above.

[2] Akselrod to the Russian Social-Democratic Society in New York, 2 March 1892, in Akselrod's archives, quoted by J. H. L. Keep, 'The Development of Social-Democracy in Russia 1898–1907' (Ph.D., London University, 1954), p. 47. For an example, see p. 38 above.

[3] See Gorev, *Iz partiynogo proshlogo*, p. 14. Its members included Krzhizhanovsky, Radchenko, Zaporozhets, Starkov, Vaneev and Silvin; others, including Martov, joined later. (See loc. cit.; cf. also 'Daty zhizni i deyatel'nosti V. I. Lenina', in Lenin, *Sochineniya* (4th edn.), Vol. i, p. 508.

[4] See pp. 76ff., above.

[5] Struve, 'Moim Kritikam', in *Na raznye temy*, p. 14.

famous phrase with which *Kriticheskie zametki* ended—'Let us confess our lack of culture and undergo the capitalist schooling'—Struve explained that what he meant was: first that capitalism would develop the productive forces of the country, and secondly that 'only the capitalist schooling can develop class consciousness—a mighty lever of social development. . . . Let us take our stand consciously on capitalist relationships as they are together with their class contradictions'.[1]

Organizationally, Struve remained aloof from the *kruzhki*, and when the *Soyuz Bor'by za Osvobozhdenie Rabochego Klassa* was formed in St. Petersburg in the autumn of 1895, neither he nor Potresov (who was more deeply involved in underground activity than Struve) formally became members,[2] though both of them, together with Tugan-Baranovsky and Kalmykova, gave active assistance.[3] Lenin and five other members of the *Soyuz Bor'by* were arrested in December 1895, and several more early in the New Year, including Martov;[4] the strike of St. Petersburg weavers, which broke out in May 1896, occupied the whole forces of the remaining members of the *Soyuz Bor'by*. At the same time, however, it was thought essential to send word of this event to the world outside Russia. Potresov and Struve were therefore dispatched abroad, with mandates from the *Soyuz Bor'by*, first to inform foreign Social-Democrats about the strike and to secure their support, and then to join Plekhanov and proceed to the International Socialist Congress which was to assemble in London in July.[5]

Social-Democracy: contacts and co-operation abroad

In Berlin they met German Social-Democratic leaders, and gave Adolf Braun the material for an account of the strike which went the rounds of the European socialist press after its appearance in *Vorwärts*. From there they went on to Switzerland, where they spent some six weeks in consultation with

[1] Ibid., pp. 15f. [2] See Nikolaevsky, 'A. N. Potresov', p. 25.
[3] See Martov, *Zapiski Sotsial-Demokrata*, p. 303.
[4] See Nevsky, *Ocherki po istorii R.K.P.* (*b*), p. 406. Strictly speaking the *Soyuz Bor'by* was not founded under that name until after Lenin's arrest—a fact not given by Lenin's Soviet biographers (see ibid., p. 407; Gorev, op. cit., p. 18); but it was merely a matter of giving a name to an existing organization.
[5] See Struve, 'My contacts and conflicts', II, p. 73; Nikolaevsky, op. cit., p. 26.

the *Gruppa Osvobozhdeniya Truda*;[1] and here, it may be supposed, Struve wrote his own account of the strike for *Rabotnik*, an occasional publication recently started by the *Gruppa Osvobozhdeniya Truda* and intended for Russian working-class readers. Since this article, which appeared under the pseudonym 'Peterburzhets', shews how close Struve came to the orthodox Marxists in politics at this time, it is worth pausing to examine it briefly.

The strike, Struve pointed out, was really the first proof that Russia had such a thing as a working-class movement.[2] But the significant feature of it was the connexion here first established between the working masses and the Social-Democrats; in Russia, as elsewhere, Social-Democracy would only become a force when associated with the working-class movement. Struve went on to point out the difficulties which the Russian Social-Democrats and working-class movement had to face:[3]

> The bitterest enemy of the Russian working-class movement is our political régime, which assures the Tsar and his officials full arbitrary power. . . . Such events as the St. Petersburg strike cannot drag on long nor be repeated often. . . . In Russia, thanks to the political régime, all, or almost all, legal ways are blocked. . . .

Against this political régime 'all other classes' have been powerless. People from other classes who wish to help the workers are at once stamped *unreliable* (*neblagonadëzhny*)—a word which exists and only can exist in Russia and for Russians—and are prevented from being teachers, from serving in the *zemstvo* and often from earning their living.

Nevertheless it is the wealthy classes who really rule Russia through the Tsar and the bureaucracy: 'Witte is the faithful servant of the capitalists and the landlords.'[4] In this Russia is unlike the West, where the wealthy classes were opposed to

[1] See loc. cit. f.

[2] Plekhanov's statement to the International Socialist Congress of 1889 that 'the revolutionary movement in Russia will triumph as a working-class movement or not at all' had been greeted with enthusiasm at the Congress, but there had seemed to be little to justify it. See J. Joll, *The Second International* (London, 1955), p. 42; Keep, op. cit., p. 36.

[3] Peterburzhets [Struve] 'Po povodu s.-peterburgskoy stachki', in *Rabotnik*, nos. 3–4, Geneva, 1897.

[4] Ibid.

the Autocracy: in Russia the working class must throw off the yoke itself:[1]

> The Russian working-class movement, inspired with Social-Democratic ideas, will be the main force which . . . will overthrow the political régime which exists in Russia, based on the complete lack of rights of the popular masses and of individual persons.

Already the Russian proletariat is 'enormous in absolute terms', and as industry develops it will get larger still; moreover, industry will require literate and educated workmen, who will see that only in Russia is the press muzzled and unions forbidden. Factory legislation will never get rid of conflicts between workers and capitalists on the subject of *wages*; the only way to get higher wages is collective action. But the Russian political régime forbids collective action; as the working class becomes more educated it will see this contradiction. 'That is why the working class is the only revolutionary class in Russia.'[2]

Other classes, however, feel the need for free institutions: even the capitalists think that they could influence the government more effectively as deputies, electors and so forth. And if the capitalists feel this, so much the more do the peasants, the petty town bourgeoisie, and the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia has gained spiritual strength throughout the nineteenth century, but only by joining with a revolutionary class will it become an active force. Therefore 'the intelligentsia, in the persons of its most energetic and radical representatives, must fuse with the working-class movement'. Together the intelligentsia and the working class will represent 'the whole people's cause' against Autocracy. In the St. Petersburg strike 'the Russian revolution has at last found the people'.[3]

Struve thus expressed clearly the ambivalence of the Russian Social-Democrats' attitude towards 'the other classes'. On the one hand Witte was the servant of the capitalists; on the other hand the capitalists required the same free institutions as the working class required. It was a dilemma of which Plekhanov had solved in 1883 by reference to the *Communist Manifesto*.[4] Struve's article wholly fell in with the formula Plekhanov had then borrowed from Marx—that the Communists should fight

[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. [4] See pp. 25f., above.

with the bourgeois whenever it acted in a revolutionary way against the absolute monarchy, at the same time making the working class aware of its fundamental antagonism to the bourgeoisie. But the 1890's saw the orthodox Social-Democrats developing a new formula, which assigned a more active role in the forthcoming bourgeois revolution to the working class: 'the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois revolution'. Struve's article apparently did not dispute this idea, since he made it plain that the intelligentsia's duty was to be on the side of the working class; yet this, as will be seen, was to become the final point of rupture between Struve and the orthodox Marxists.

Meanwhile Struve, Potresov and the older Marxist *émigrés* were busy preparing for the forthcoming International Congress. For reasons of security, since they were shortly to return to Russia, Struve and Potresov did not figure as members of the Russian delegation;[1] but the measure of agreement which then existed between the *émigrés* and Struve may be judged by the fact that he was deputed to write the survey of the agrarian question which formed a special Appendix to the Russian Social-Democratic Delegation's *Report* to the Congress. In this Appendix, which attacked the *obshchina* in terms familiar to Russian Marxists, but not, perhaps, to Western Socialists, Struve once more spoke in full consonance with orthodoxy, and shared the fundamental weakness of its agrarian position. The tone of the Appendix was firmly revolutionary:[2]

> The glorious struggle of the Russian revolutionaries of the seventies and eighties—those forerunners of Social-Democracy in the struggle for Socialism against Autocracy—is well enough known. . . . [But] revolutionary Russian national Socialism has been turned into a petty-bourgeois reformist movement. . . . The revolutionary spirit has given place to flirtation with Autocracy and emphasis on the social mission of the government.

Narodnichestvo had failed to take account of economics and history, and had failed to understand the class struggle. Only the Social-Democrats had done this, and their conclusion was:[3]

[1] See G. V. Plekhanov and P. B. Akselrod, *Perepiska*, Vol. i, p. 141 (notes).

[2] [Struve], 'Agrarny vopros i sotsial-demokratiya v Rossii', an Appendix to *Doklad predstavlyaemy delegatsiey Russkikh Sotsial-Demokratov* (International Socialist Congress, London, 1896), pp. 24f.

[3] Ibid., p. 26.

In Russia there is only one revolutionary class, which is not only interested in a political revolution, but is compelled by every condition of its existence to live in a state of continual war with the existing political order. This class is the industrial proletariat.

After such an unequivocal statement, it was not surprising that Struve had little to offer in the way of an agrarian policy:[1]

The backwardness of general economic and social conditions [in the countryside] places the greatest possible hindrances at present in the way of *systematic* and *planned* revolutionary activity. . . . The economic position of the rural proletariat is far from being such as might lead one to expect an early awakening in it of clearly expressed class consciousness. . . . The very economic backwardness of Russia and especially the agricultural character of Russia prescribes that Russian Social-Democrats should be very cautious in questions of practical agrarian policy in the spirit of socialism.

The most that could be done, Struve concluded, was to struggle against reactionary encroachments aimed at slowing down the growth of the proletariat (i.e. efforts to preserve the *obshchina* by legislation). Finally—as a warning against any well-intentioned internationalist resolutions in favour of the *obshchina*: 'Russian Social-Democrats believe that the agrarian question cannot be usefully discussed at international congresses. . . .'[2] In this, at least, although doubtless guided mainly by anti-*narodnik* motives,[3] the Russian Social-Democratic delegation was probably wise: the Congress assembled such widely disparate socialists as the Webbs, George Lansbury, Bebel, and anarchists who attended in spite of their expulsion from the previous international Congress. George Bernard Shaw, who was a member of the British delegation, commented sardonically: 'An International Socialist Congress that everybody laughs at and nobody fears is a gratifying step in advance';[4] but it may be doubted whether the Russians would have seen the joke.

Among those whom Struve met in London was Eduard Bernstein, whose first revisionist articles 'Probleme des Sozialismus' were just beginning to appear in the *Neue Zeit*. But although Struve later recalled with 'pleasure and gratitude' his converse

[1] Ibid., pp. 27ff. [2] Ibid., p. 31.

[3] Plekhanov was involved in a dispute with some *narodniki* over representation at the Congress. (See Keep, op. cit., p. 25.)

[4] Quoted by Joll, op. cit., p. 75.

with 'this clever, well-educated and extremely tactful man',[1] it is perhaps indicative of Struve's relative orthodoxy at the time that no lasting contact was established between them: Bernstein's archives contain no letters from Struve. Bernstein remained in England until January 1901,[2] and Struve did not revisit it during this period. With Kautsky, on the other hand, even after his own revisionism was manifest, he maintained a chaffing friendship,[3] and several times visited him in Berlin.

After the Congress, which ended early in August, Vera Zasulich, Akselrod and Plekhanov and his wife, together with Struve and Potresov, repaired for a short time to Eastbourne to recover from their exertions at the Congress. The first to leave were Akselrod and Potresov, the one back to Switzerland, the other to reach Russia at the end of September.[4]

Struve, for his part, went back to London, where he spent some weeks reading British Blue Books on the subject of unemployment.[5] In his article on the subject, published in *Novoe Slovo* the following summer but written then in London, a critical aside on Marx's theory of capitalist overpopulation and a belief that collective actions against unemployment—'in so far as they represent in the depths of today's society the germ of the future'[6]—might have some palliative effect did not prevent Struve from reaching a conclusion of orthodox pessimism:[7]

> There is no specific against modern unemployment. . . . Even if we imagine something which nowhere exists—compulsory universal state insurance of all persons employed to do physical labour—even this apparently radical reform will by no means get rid of unemployment and will only mitigate some of its forms. . . . No insurance will rid us

[1] Struve, 'My contacts and conflicts', I, p. 582.

[2] See Gay, op. cit., p. 69.

[3] Frank, 'P. B. Struve, Vospominaniya' (typescript), recalls Struve's story in 1899 of an exchange of notes between himself and Kautsky. 'Struve: "Trotz meinen Heresien, möchte ich gerne Sie besuchen"; Kautsky: "Trotz meiner Dogmenfanatismus, freue ich mich, Sie wiederzusehen".' In Kautsky's archives there is a single letter from Struve, making an appointment to meet him in Berlin in January 1902.

[4] See Plekhanov and Akselrod, *Perepiska*, Vol. i, p. 155 (notes); Nikolaevsky, op. cit., p. 27.

[5] See Struve, 'K voprosu o bezrabotitse', in *Novoe Slovo*, July 1897, Part I, p. 92n. The subject of unemployment was much in the air in England at the time. J. A. Hobson's book *The Problem of the Unemployed*, which Struve was later to give Frank to translate (see p. 71, above), appeared in 1896.

[6] Ibid., p. 100. [7] Ibid., pp. 100, 106.

of the representatives of 'unsatisfactory' labour or the products of social degeneration. This social sediment of contemporary society will always be produced by anarchic production and the cruel natural selection which reigns in it.

The other article which Struve wrote on this visit abroad, for publication in *Sociale Praxis* (as the *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt* had now become) dealt with the Russian working-class movement and fully corresponded with the orthodox views of the time. The need for political freedom in Russia, Struve wrote, was becoming daily more evident, and the time might come when Liberalism would be inadequate. 'It is just because of the industrial backwardness of the country and the political backwardness of the bourgeoisie that political aims can appear in Social-Democratic vestments.'[1] This reference to the possible inadequacy of Liberalism and this hint at Social-Democracy's role in the coming struggle was very near to an admission of the 'hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois revolution'. While he appeared to recognize this, Struve could work reasonably closely with Russian Social-Democracy, in spite of ideological divergences. It was only four years later that political co-operation became impossible.

'*Economism*'

Outwardly the next two years—1897 and 1898—were indecisive. Back in St. Petersburg Struve found himself in a position of some isolation from the *Soyuz Bor'by za Osvobozhdenie Rabochego Klassa*, the only Social-Democratic organization in the capital. By December 1896 Potresov, as well as Lenin and Martov, was in prison, and Tugan-Baranovsky, who replaced Potresov as Struve's closest associate, lacked his political drive and contacts.[2] With the loss of its leaders, moreover, the *Soyuz Bor'by* had shelved its political propaganda activities, and although it never renounced political aims, it tended to concentrate more on economic objectives.[3]

This native 'Economism' had little in common with Legal Marxism. In his memoirs Struve rightly emphasizes that one

[1] P. Inorodzew [Struve] 'Die Arbeiterbewegung in Russland', in *Sociale Praxis*, 8 October 1896, quoted in Lenin, *Sochineniya*, Vol. xxviii, p. 57n.; q.v. for the attribution.

[2] See Nikolaevsky, op. cit., p. 27.

[3] See Keep, op. cit., ch. II, esp. pp. 54f.

of the reasons that he was able to work together with Lenin was that they both agreed that 'in Russia the task of political liberation absolutely dominates every other consideration'.[1] The rank-and-file Social-Democrats were more concerned with the immediate problems of conditions and wages which beset the workmen with whom they maintained contact, and argued that the campaign for legislative limitation of working hours, for example, was in itself a political struggle.[2] For intellectuals such as Struve and Lenin, by contrast, constantly aware of police and censorship repression, the centre of gravity lay rather in the struggle for a free press and political institutions which would give them the opportunity to use their talents and organize their forces without the paraphernalia of invisible inks and secret hectographs on the one hand, or 'Aesopian' double-talk on the other—not to mention the ever-present risk of arrest.[3]

If Legal Marxism had any connexion with Economism, it was rather with one of its *émigré* variants. Whereas inside Russia Economism was manifest in the rank-and-file's hostility to the intellectuals, and their differentiation into two distinct planes, with diminishing contact between them, in the closer-knit *émigré* world it appeared as an open factional struggle among Russian Social-Democrats abroad. Differences of personality and of generation combined to make the ensuing quarrel—'the young' against 'the old'—a bitter one. The party of 'the young' was formed of two elements. In the first place, emissaries from Social-Democratic organizations in various Russian towns found the 'old warriors' of the *Gruppa Osvobozhdeniya Truda* (particularly Plekhanov) both out of touch with affairs inside Russia and too arrogant to consider the Russian movement's needs;[4] secondly, at another extreme, young sympathizers like Prokopovich and Kuskova (who went abroad for three years with the express intention of studying the

[1] Struve, 'My contacts and conflicts', II, p. 66.

[2] This argument is found in *Rabochaya Mysl'*, founded in 1897 as the official organ of the *Soyuz Bor'by*. See Keep, op. cit., pp. 55f.

[3] Keep, loc. cit., quotes *Rabochaya Mysl'*: 'The whole trouble is that our revolutionary intelligentsia, mercilessly persecuted by the secret police, has confused its fight against the latter with a political struggle against absolutism.'

[4] See p. 66 above; Akimov-Makhnovets, 'I-y s"ezd R.S.-D.R.P.' pp. 133f.

Western European working-class movement), were so impressed by their first-hand experience of the achievements of trade unions and reformist working-class politics that they too revolted against the Olympian and, as it seemed, doctrinaire revolutionism of Plekhanov and his associates.[1]

The views of this second element owed something to the Bernsteinian interpretation of contemporary trends in Germany. Both renounced the idea of *Zusammenbruch*;[2] both imagined Western Social-Democratic Parties becoming more and more citizens of society, concerned to reform it rather than to destroy it; both saw Social-Democracy gathering allies in its wake.[3] The key idea in this view was the renunciation of revolution for evolution; and it is here that the ideas of Legal Marxism overlap with those of Economism. This much—at least so far as Western Europe was concerned—Kuskova had in common with Struve: for it may be recalled that in September 1897 he declared that socio-political radicalism had 'finally been wedded to the idea of evolution'.[4]

Kuskova's conclusion was that the Russian working class, like the Western European, should concentrate on 'the line of least resistance'—but in Russia this would be the line of economic struggle, not political, since 'the wall of political repression' was too strong for the weak forces of the workers:[5]

> All talk of an independent workers' political party is nothing but the product of transferring other people's problems and other people's results to our own soil. . . . For the Russian Marxist there is one way out: participation, that is, assistance in the proletariat's economic struggle, and participation in the activity of the liberal opposition.

Kuskova's so-called *Credo*, in which these arguments are set out, was a document hastily composed by her on her return to Russia in 1899 in response to the demands of Marxists in Russia who had heard of the factions in the *émigré* body, and

[1] Prokopovich and Kuskova, Personal Communication to the author.

[2] Kuskova saw it as an outworn slogan, useful in its day but now to be discarded. See Lenin, 'Protest Rossiyskikh Sotsial-Demokratov', in *Sochineniya* (4th edn.), Vol. iv, p. 154. Lenin here quotes Kuskova's *Credo* in full.

[3] See ibid., p. 155; Gay, op. cit., pp. 213ff. There were differences, too: Kuskova's idea that working-class political pressure in the West had reached saturation point—'the powerlessness of parliamentary activity' was her phrase—ill accorded with Bernstein's insistence on the role of Social-Democracy as a parliamentary party.

[4] See p. 130 above.

[5] Kuskova in Lenin, op. cit., p. 156.

wanted to know the views of 'the young'. Kuskova gave it to Struve, who was then editing *Nachalo*; through Struve it reached Lenin in exile, who wrote the *Protest rossiyskikh Sotsial-Demokratov* (*Protest of the Russian Social-Democrats*) against it, which was signed by seventeen Siberian exiles and sent abroad to the *Gruppa Osvobozhdeniya Truda*.[1] Struve himself has left no expression of his views on the *Credo*, and in order to gauge his attitude, it is necessary to consider his general position in Russia at this time.

Struve's position

Kriticheskie zametki had made Struve's name partly through the shock which it inflicted on an intelligentsia dulled to controversy; but other influences came in its wake which enabled him to enjoy his fame to the full. Marxism was suddenly the topic of the hour. The indefatigable novelist Boborykin was soon at work on a book whose plot centred on the Marxist-*narodnik* controversy. *Russky Kur'er* (*The Russian Courier*), the organ of the industrialist Lanin, quoted Marx against village traditionalists,[2] and S. I. Prokhorov, director of the Trëkhgornaya Manufaktura in Moscow, gathered one of the best collections of Marxiana in the world.[3] *Birzhevye Vedomosti*'s invitation to Struve to become a contributor[4] was symptomatic, for he and Tugan-Baranovsky were now the leading Marxists in St. Petersburg. Pimenova recalls a cartoon of the time by Valery Karrik which shewed Kalmykova as a nursemaid with two screaming children—Struve and Tugan-Baranovsky—in her arms.[5] Struve's authority was unquestioned. Social-Democratic memoirists, comparing the impact of Plekhanov's *K voprosu o razvitii monisticheskogo vzglyada na istoriyu* with that of *Kriticheskie zametki*, have tended to favour

[1] See E. D. Kuskova, Review of F. Dan, *Iz istorii rabochego dvizheniya i sotsial-demokratii v Rossii 1900–1904*, in *Byloe*, 1906, no. 10, p. 330n.; also Personal Communication to the author.

[2] See P. Berlin, *Russkaya burzhuaziya v staroe i novoe vremya* (Petrograd, 1922), p. 125.

[3] See M. Lyadov, 'Zarozhdenie legal'nogo i revolyutsionnogo marksizma v Rossii' quoted by T. von Laue, 'The fate of capitalism in Russia: the narodnik version', in *American Slavic and East European Review*, Vol. xiii, 1954, no. 1, p. 16.

[4] See p. 83 above.

[5] See Pimenova, op. cit., pp. 190f.

Plekhanov at the expense of Struve. Veresaev is typical: 'The impression [Plekhanov's book] made was stunning . . . [he] attacked Mikhailovsky contemptuously, not with the fervour of a novice, like Struve, but with the powerful confident tone of a publicist and solid scholar.'[1] But views expressed inside Russia at the time suggest that such distinctions are exaggerated. 'If Struve is less read [than Plekhanov]', wrote a St. Petersburg correspondent of the *Samarsky Vestnik* early in 1896, 'it is only because he writes in a language that not everyone can understand'.[2] Plekhanov, moreover, was absent and pseudonymous, while Struve was on the spot and in the public eye; the satirical ballad quoted by Gorev, though it makes it clear that Plekhanov's book made a powerful impression, nevertheless leaves in no doubt Struve's position as the undisputed oracle of Marxism. The ballad ends with the young people of the capital, confused and bewildered by the Marxist-*narodnik* debate, turning to the Almighty for guidance. The advice they get from that quarter is to 'go and talk to Struve' who will clear up all their doubts; and it is Struve—not Plekhanov—who promises to answer their questions with a second volume of his works.[3] When the *Samarsky Vestnik* turned Marxist, and Struve and Tugan-Baranovsky agreed to contribute, the acquisition of these two 'names' was so important that they were at first printed in heavy type, until P. N. Skvortsov, a Nizhny Novgorod Marxist, who was also a contributor, protested at such discrimination.[4]

All this, together with the *de facto* editorship of *Novoe Slovo* from the spring of 1897, brought Struve into direct contact with St. Petersburg intellectual and political society—the 'other classes' as he had once called them.[5]

[1] V. Veresaev, *Vospominaniya*, p. 365; cf. Gorev, op. cit., p. 10; Nikolaevsky, op. cit., pp. 21f.; also V. Chernov, *Zapiski Sotsialista-Revolyutsionera* (Berlin–Petrograd–Moscow, 1922), p. 233.

[2] Quoted by Angarsky, op. cit., p. 90.

[3] See Additional Note 3.

[4] See Sanin, 'Samarsky Vestnik v rukakh marksistov', p. 263.

[5] See p. 184 above.

The Imperial Free Economic Society

The main *venue* for the idealistic, liberal, progressive impulses of this 'society' quickly became the Imperial Free Economic Society. Originated by Catherine the Great with a special charter giving it a measure of autonomy, the Imperial Free Economic Society had for many decades pursued its researches into agronomy, bee-keeping and soils through volume after volume of *Trudy* without becoming, to the wider public, anything much more than a by-word for worthy tedium.[1] In the mid-nineties all this was changed. The ferment began not in the Free Economic Society itself, but in the Literacy Committee (*Komitet Gramotnosti*) attached to it. Roused by the famine of 1891–2, the liberal and radical members of the Literacy Committee, including Kalmykova, greatly expanded its activities —publishing and distributing cheap good books for working-class and peasant readers, setting up public reading-rooms, and collecting information on elementary education.[2] The young radicals, who now began to crowd the Committee's meetings, volunteering their services in its work, made it a centre of opposition to the government; inevitably, the axe fell, and the Committee was effectively closed down at the end of 1895.[3] Foreseeing this, however, the young radicals had already turned their attention to the Free Economic Society itself. Struve and Tugan-Baranovsky were among twenty-three new members

[1] See, for instance, Apukhtin, *Dnevnik Pavlika Dol'skogo* (1891), in *Sochineniya* (Spb., 1896), p. 406, where a dilettante lady forces her admirer to read aloud articles from the *Revue des deux Mondes*. The admirer's comment is: 'I have never in my life read anything more boring than that article. In comparison the annual report of the Free Economic Society would have seemed like the most frivolous novel.' Saltykov-Shchedrin, in *Gospoda Golovlëvy* (Berlin, 1919), pp. 175f., describes a Civil Servant who, asked how much potatoes Russia could produce annually, would take a map of the country, work out the area, ask a grocer how much potatoes are grown per *desyatin*, and by simple arithmetic arrive at an answer. 'And this piece of work', Saltykov continues, 'would not only satisfy his superiors, but would most likely be printed in the hundred-and-second volume of some *Trudy* or other.' It is not stretching probability to suppose that Saltykov was thinking of the *Trudy Imperatorskogo Vol'no-ekonomicheskogo Obshchestva*.

[2] See Protopopov, *Istoriya S.-Peterburgskogo Komiteta Gramotnosti*, pp. 41–51.

[3] See ibid., pp. 45, 61; cf. Obolensky, op. cit., ch. VII. The closure was done indirectly, by transferring the Committee to the Ministry of Education, with a new and less liberal statute. The Council of the Committee resigned *en bloc*. The affair attracted some notice in the foreign press at the time: see, for example, *The Times*, 30 January 1896.

who joined the Third (Economic) Section of the Society in 1895 (the annual average of new members in the five previous years had been five).[1] By shamelessly packing the Society with their friends, even if they did not strictly qualify for membership, the radicals removed from office the elderly conservative President of the Society, Count Bobrinsky, and replaced him by the liberal *zemets* Count P. A. Heyden.[2] Obolensky, one of the instigators of the change, recalls its effect in his memoirs:[3]

> Formerly the meetings of the Society had been attended by 20–30 members and 2–3 guests who were interested in the subject under discussion. Now the number of members increased to 2 or 3 times its previous figure, and the public in dense crowds filled every free seat in the hall . . . and even gathered closely in the foyer. The subjects of the speeches changed, too, and touched on the most stirring questions of national and economic life. . . .

In these debates, which naturally turned into verbal battles between Marxists and *narodniks*, Struve began to gain popularity:[4]

> Among the members, those of *narodnik* views still predominated, but the mood of the public shewed what quick progress the Marxist doctrine was making. The speeches of the young Marxists, and particularly P. B. Struve, were received with noisy applause, in spite of the fact that he spoke in a very difficult phraseology which was incomprehensible to most of the audience. . . .

In all this public activity, with its measure of acclaim, Struve must surely have renewed contacts with the liberals on whose behalf he had written the *Otkrytoe pis'mo*. The Free Economic Society played a vital role in the liberal *zemstvo* movement, serving, in circumvention of the government's efforts to keep the individual *zemstva* in isolation from each other, as a national *zemstvo* centre, and as a meeting place for *zemtsy* and academic and professional men and women.[5] At the same time, however,

[1] See Imperatorskoe Vol'no-ekonomicheskoe Obshchestvo, *Otchët o deystviyakh za 1905 god*, pp. 71–86, where a list of members with dates of election is given.

[2] See Obolensky, op. cit., ch. VII. [3] Loc. cit. [4] Loc. cit.

[5] See Belokonsky, op. cit., pp. 48, 53, 59; Kizevetter, op. cit., p. 224. The initiative in linking the *zemstvo* movement closely with the Free Economic Society belonged to Heyden himself, who proposed that all chairmen of *gubernia zemstvo* councils should become members of the society. (See Veselovsky, op. cit., p. 504.) Struve's oldest liberal friend, Rodichev, had been a member of the Society since 1884; M. A. Stakhovich joined in 1897; Prince P. D. Dolgorukov, Professor Muromtsev, M. I. Petrunkevich, Prince Dmitry Shakhovskoy, Maria Vodovozova, and the Baroness

Struve maintained close contact with orthodox Social-Democrats. Lenin he kept supplied with books through Lenin's sister Elizarova, from his own library and from the library of the Society, and published his articles in *Novoe Slovo*;[1] Akselrod he visited abroad in 1897.[2]

On one particular point Struve and Tugan-Baranovsky found their views supported by Lenin against other Marxists. This was the question of grain prices, which was debated in the Free Economic Society in March 1897. *Narodnik* and official speakers, claiming that the country was predominantly in a state of 'natural economy' with the peasants selling only one quarter of the grain they produced, and having to buy grain in the spring, argued that low grain prices were the most advantageous for the peasantry, and high for the landlords. From this the Minister of Finance concluded that the agricultural crisis, with its attendant depression of prices, was hitting only landlord farms, and that the country was in general prosperous. Struve and Tugan-Baranovsky, taking the view that the predominant type of farming in Russia was not 'natural' but commercial, with the peasant selling far more than a quarter of his grain, argued that low prices were a regressive factor, discouraging the flow of capital to the land and restraining the progress of techniques and productivity. Struve and Tugan-Baranovsky's favour for the same high prices as were demanded by the large landlords, producing for sale and for export, was too much for some of the Marxists in exile in Samara, who wanted to protest openly. In the event the protest was confined to a report of the speeches and an editorial comment against Struve in the *Samarsky Vestnik*. Lenin supported Struve and Tugan-Baranovsky 'almost without qualification' according to Martov, who was involved as a peace-maker:[3]

Uexkull were among an exceptionally large number of new members elected in 1898; Milyukov joined on his return from abroad in 1900. (See Imp. Vol'no-ekonomicheskoe Obshchestvo, *Otchët o deystviyakh za 1905 god*, pp. 71–86.)

[1] Struve, 'My contacts and conflicts', II, p. 73. [2] See p. 198, below.

[3] See Martov, op. cit., pp. 327–30; for the whole discussion, see Angarsky, op. cit., pp. 100–7. A letter to the editor, putting the Lenin-Struve point of view, appeared in the *Samarsky Vestnik* soon after the report and editorial over the pseudonym *S. T. A.*[*?Starik*], and it is to be found in the 2nd edn. of Lenin's *Sochineniya*. In the 4th edn., however, it has been excluded.

There was nothing left of [Lenin's] former mistrust of Struve's apologetics for capitalism. . . . On the contrary, he became very mistrustful of the Samarans, suspecting them of a tendency sentimentally to slur over the question of the process of de-peasantizing the countryside. . . . In this spirit he wrote and asked us . . . to restrain the Samarans from open attacks on Struve.

If Struve and Tugan-Baranovsky's views on grain prices were merely the continuation of an attitude long since taken up on the question of productivity as a result of capitalist development, and implied no concessions to orthodoxy, an event of the following year—Struve's composition of the *Manifesto of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party* in 1898—needs more careful interpretation.

The Social-Democratic Manifesto

There had been since 1894 a series of proposals from various local Social-Democratic organizations that a national party should be formed, and some moves towards unification had been made. Two 'congresses' were held, one in Vitebsk and one in Switzerland, in 1897, without achieving any lasting results. The congress held in March 1898 in Minsk was almost equally futile, since seven out of its nine members—all but one of whom were *intelligenty*—were arrested within a few days of its dispersal.[1] The fact that it became the founding congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Party is due in some part to the *Manifesto* written by Struve.

When the question of a *Manifesto* was raised on the last day of the congress, Tuchapsky, the delegate of the Kiev *Soyuz Bor'by*, announced that the Kiev *Soyuz Bor'by* would like the *Manifesto* to be written by Plekhanov. Krämer, of the Jewish Bund, who had had a disagreeable interview with Plekhanov the year before—Plekhanov objecting to Krämer's insistence that the *Gruppa Osvobozhdeniya Truda* should not interfere inside Russia[2]—said that he understood that the St. Petersburg *Soyuz Bor'by* was prepared to undertake the task. Stepan Radchenko, of the St. Petersburg *Soyuz Bor'by*, who had even before the congress asked Struve if he would write a *Manifesto*, confirmed that the St. Petersburg *Soyuz Bor'by* had 'a man who could

[1] See Keep, op. cit., pp. 51f.
[2] See Akimov-Makhnovets, op. cit., pp. 133f.; Nevsky, op. cit., pp. 551ff.

fulfil this commission'.[1] He did not give the congress Struve's name, not wishing to subject to the risk of exposure any more people than was necessary. With the provision that the Central Committee, to which Krämer, Radchenko, and B. L. Eidelman had just been elected, should be responsible for controlling the substance of the *Manifesto*, the congress accepted Radchenko's offer.[2]

Many factors contributed to the choice of Struve to draft the *Manifesto*—his dominant position in Russian Marxism at the time; the fact that Radchenko, the 'contact man' of the old *Soyuz Bor'by*, had known him personally since 1894;[3] above all, perhaps, the equivocal relationships between the local Russian groups and the *Gruppa Osvobozhdeniya Truda*. Without this last factor it is hardly thinkable that the proposal to entrust the drafting to Plekhanov would have been so lightly set aside.[4]

Struve, when Radchenko approached him, had not long since returned from his visit abroad in 1897, where he had spent some time in conversation with Plekhanov and Akselrod, discussing current affairs in Russia.[5] From this point, however, there are two accounts of Struve's attitude, between which there is a substantial difference, although both of them originate from Struve himself. According to Struve's memoirs, published thirty-five years after the event[6]

> [The] *Manifesto*, drafted by me, still expressed the official or orthodox conception—I did my best to avoid putting into it any of my personal views, which would have either have seemed heretical or been incomprehensible to an average Social-Democrat. Therefore the *Manifesto* which, though written by me in its elementary and drastic statement of Marxism, *did not in the least correspond to my personal and more complex views of that period*, was fully approved both by the [*Gruppa Osvobozhdeniya Truda*] and by Lenin.

[1] Akimov-Makhnovets, op. cit., p. 157.

[2] See ibid., pp. 157ff. [3] See p. 51, above.

[4] Tuchapsky himself had had disappointing meetings with Akselrod and Plekhanov in October 1897, and although during the party which was held on the day the congress finished its work he proposed a telegram be sent to Plekhanov—it being the fifteenth anniversary of the publication of *Sotsializm i politicheskaya bor'ba*—he may have found it more difficult to defend his proposal on the *Manifesto*. (See Akimov-Makhnovets, op. cit., pp. 147, 158.)

[5] See ibid., p. 159.

[6] Struve, 'My contacts and conflicts', II, p. 75; ironically, it is this version which Soviet historians, anxious to shew that Struve was and had always been a revisionist, have accepted.

In contrast to this stands the account given by Akimov-Makhnovets, whose articles on the first congress, published in 1908, has already been quoted. In order to write this article Akimov-Makhnovets visited all but one member of the congress and also Struve.[1] His account reads as follows:[2]

> Struve had had long conversations with [Plekhanov and Akselrod] about Russian affairs, *and had come away with the impression that so far as the realities of Russian life were concerned, he had no differences from them.* Therefore he considered that he could formulate quite objectively the views which ruled in the Russian Social-Democratic world, or, as he expressed it when he was giving me the information I was interested in about his composition of the *Manifesto*, 'the traditions of the Social-Democratic church'.

What is in question here, in fact, is Struve's sincerity in writing the *Manifesto*. Either, as he later suggested, he was suppressing his own views at the time, regarding himself simply as a drafting clerk, or, as Akimov-Makhnovets' account indicates, there was no substantial divergence between 'the views which ruled in the Social-Democratic world' and Struve's own.[3]

So far as general ideological principles are concerned, there were undoubtedly, by the spring of 1898, significant differences between Struve and Plekhanov; Struve had in September 1897 subscribed to the principle of evolution, rejecting the idea of *Zusammenbruch*, in his article on the Zürich Congress on Protective Legislation.[4] This, however, was a European problem, put in European terms. The urgent Russian question was entirely different. With no parliamentary institutions in existence, it was not alternative roads to Socialism which were under discussion, but alternative roads to political freedom.

In the *Manifesto* Struve addressed himself directly to this problem, and resolved it unequivocally in favour of the proletariat's role as the agent of political freedom. The Russian

[1] See Akimov-Makhnovets, op. cit., pp. 159, 165.

[2] Ibid., p. 159. Italics added.

[3] Struve's wife told Akimov-Makhnovets that Struve took the task of writing the *Manifesto* very seriously, and was very conscious of the importance of the declaration: 'he thought long and carefully over the plan of his work before he sat down to write it; spent a whole evening writing it [it is only three pages long—*R.K.K.*], got obviously worked up over it, broke off work from time to time, and walked about the room', and when it was written shewed it to Tugan-Baranovsky. This, however, can hardly be taken as evidence either for or against Struve's sincerity.

[4] See p. 130, above.

working class, he wrote, needs all that Western European and American workers already have: participation in government, freedom of speech, of press, of association, and of assembly—all weapons with which other proletariats fight to improve their position and to achieve final liberation—'against private property, for Socialism'.[1] 'Political freedom is as necessary to the Russian proletariat as fresh air is for healthy breathing. It is the fundamental condition of working-class development.'[2] Struve then went on, in a famous passage:[3]

> The further eastward one goes in Europe, the weaker, more cowardly and more abject the bourgeoisie becomes politically, and the more do its cultural and political tasks fall to the proletariat.

Therefore:[4]

> Only the Russian proletariat can win itself the political freedom that it needs. . . . The Russian proletariat will cast off the yoke of Autocracy, thereby with greater energy to continue the struggle with capitalism and the bourgeoisie to the full victory of socialism.

Struve concluded with a reference to the traditions of the earlier Russian revolutionary movement, whose aim was also political freedom: 'Social-Democracy goes towards a goal which was already clearly set up by the glorious members of the old *Narodnaya Volya*', and with an echo of Marx's Inaugural Address to the First International: 'The emancipation of the working class is the business of the working class itself.'[5]

Now there is nothing in the ideas of the *Manifesto* which could not be found—in politer language, perhaps—in Struve's articles written two years or eighteen months previously. Even his remarks on the weakness and cowardliness of the Russian bourgeoisie are nothing but a sharper formulation of his diagnosis of its 'political backwardness' in *Sociale Praxis* in the autumn of 1896.[6] Even the reference to the *Narodnaya Volya*—suggested, it is true, by Radchenko, but inserted without demur by Struve[7]—finds a predecessor in his Appendix on the agrarian question written for the London Congress.[8]

Nor is there any reason to suppose that Struve's political

[1] [Struve] *Manifest Rossiyskoy Sotsial-Demokraticheskoy Rabochey Partii* (Geneva, 1903), p. 2.
[2] Loc. cit. [3] Ibid., p. 3. [4] Loc. cit. [5] Loc. cit.
[6] See p. 189, above.
[7] See Akimov-Makhnovets, op. cit. [8] See p. 186, above.

views—at least so far as Russia was concerned—had changed much in the interval. The editorship of *Novoe Slovo* during most of 1897 had certainly brought Struve new social contacts, but intellectually it had rather brought him closer to the orthodox Marxists—both exiles and *émigrés*—whose articles he published in the review.[1] Moreover, 1897 was a year of achievement for the working class far more than for the liberal movement. In 1896 the *zemtsy* had succeeded in getting government permission to hold a meeting of the chairmen of *gubernia zemstvo* boards in Nizhny Novgorod;[2] in 1897, however, they tried, and failed, to organize a gathering of chairmen of *gubernia zemstvo* councils in St. Petersburg.[3] For the working class, on the other hand, 1897 was marked by the Law of 2 June on the limitation of working hours, a striking success which Struve had greeted in *Novoe Slovo* and which he mentioned again in the *Manifesto*. Even the point on which the *Manifesto* seemed to depart furthest from Struve's previous opinions—its emphasis on the class struggle *against* the bourgeoisie—is merely a blunt version of what Struve had said in 'legal' terminology in his comment on the Law of 2 June:[4]

> The Law . . . has a great 'significance in principle' . . . *by virtue of those real relationships and conditions in which it originated* . . . as [these] develop, so will the significance of the Law itself grow. *And develop they certainly will.* . . .

There is, in fact, no reason whatever in the logic of events to suppose that Struve was substantially insincere in writing the *Manifesto*. His own later account of his attitude at the time must therefore be treated with some caution. Ideologically, indeed, he had already shewn heretical and reformist tendencies; but if these did not find their way into the text of the *Manifesto*, it was not because Struve suppressed them, but because they were irrelevant to the political situation in Russia at the time.

The *Manifesto*, thus understood, throws new light on the relationship between Legal Marxism and Economism. It is a 'political' document through and through, allowing no concessions to Economism whatsoever; the Economist *Rabochaya*

[1] See pp. 86ff., above. [2] See Veselovsky, op. cit., p. 504.
[3] See Belokonsky, op. cit., p. 59. [4] Cf. p. 89, above. Italics added here.

Mysl' (*Workers' Thought*) rejected the Minsk Congress altogether as an artificial creation of a few intellectuals,[1] and the 'young' members of the St. Petersburg *Soyuz Bor'by* shewed complete unwillingness to distribute the *Manifesto*.[2] Krämer, by whose initiative the Congress had turned down the proposal to invite Plekhanov to write a manifesto, was himself dissatisfied with Struve's text, as was the Central Committee of the Bund, to whom Krämer referred the *Manifesto*; and the reason is thought to have been the prominent place which the *Manifesto* gave to the political tasks of the working class.[3]

The root of Economism was a real democratic feeling engendered by direct contact with workmen and their needs[4]—an experience which Struve and Tugan-Baranovsky both lacked, or which had meant little to them. Even Tugan-Baranovsky, politically a far more pallid figure than Struve, told Krupskaya once that he could not understand why they should give money to support strikes, since a strike was not a sufficiently effective means of combating the owners—a statement which could hardly have been made by an Economist.[5] To such men, by experience, by temperament and by conviction, political freedom was the overriding consideration. The problem, as they saw it, was: What class is most capable of wresting freedom from the Autocracy? Up to 1898, as has been seen, Struve put his stake on the industrial proletariat; the significant change in his political attitude began only in 1899. Of Kuskova's formula—'participation in the proletariat's economic struggle and participation in the activity of the liberal opposition'—the first part was of no practical personal concern to Struve. By the summer of 1899, as will be seen, other factors had combined to make the second part of the formula into a matter of great interest. It is at this point and from this time only that Legal Marxism finds any common political ground with Economism.

[1] See Keep, op. cit., p. 53.

[2] See Akimov-Makhnovets, op. cit., p. 163n.

[3] Krämer only accepted the *Manifesto* (and had it first printed on the Bund press at Bobruysk) after he had been bluntly told that he could take it or leave it. (See ibid., pp. 160ff.)

[4] See Keep, op. cit., p. 74.

[5] See Krupskaya, *Memories of Lenin* (London, 1930), p. 23.

Fresh Differences with Orthodoxy and Contacts with Liberalism

In the autumn of 1898 ideological differences between the orthodox and Legal Marxists began to make themselves felt for the first time since 1894. Lenin in exile had been reading Struve's and Bulgakov's controversy on freedom and necessity, and his suspicions were quickly aroused. He wrote to Potresov on 2 September 1898:[1]

> I must confess that I am not competent in [these] questions, and I am extremely surprised that [Plekhanov] did not and does not come out in the Russian press decisively against neo-Kantianism, instead of leaving Struve and Bulgakov to have a controversy about particular questions of this philosophy as if it had already become part of the views of Russian [Marxists].

About this time, too, Plekhanov's philosophical articles against Bernstein started to appear in the *Neue Zeit*; and early in 1899 Struve began to reckon sides for the coming battle within Marxism. He wrote to Potresov:[2]

> Tugan-Baranovsky and Bulgakov . . . have essentially the same attitude towards orthodoxy as I have. They too, like myself, have now no sympathy for [Plekhanov's] literary activity. . . . It is no mere chance that [Plekhanov] turns out to be spiritually isolated. I think that over the *Zusammenbruchstheorie* [Lenin] has not yet renounced orthodoxy, but I hope that this will come about sooner or later. Conservatism or half-heartedness in thinking is the only thing which can maintain a faith in the *Zusammenbruch*, but [Lenin] has a lively mind which moves forward and real intellectual conscientiousness.

What it was that moved Struve to such an erroneous appreciation of Lenin's position is not known, but he was soon to learn his mistake. An exchange of articles on realization theory, in which Struve criticized Lenin and Tugan-Baranovsky and Bulgakov, might have passed off without consequence by virtue of the academic nature of the subject, but when Struve printed in the first issue of *Nachalo* an article by Bulgakov against Kautsky's *Die Agrarfrage* which foreshadowed quite clearly the views soon to be developed in *Kapitalizm v zemledelii*,[3] Lenin lost patience. He wrote to his mother:[4]

[1] Lenin to Potresov, 2 September 1898 in Lenin, *Sochineniya*, Vol. xxviii, p. 20.

[2] Quoted by Nikolaevsky, op. cit., p. 33.

[3] See pp. 173ff., above.

[4] Lenin to his mother, 11 April 1899, in Hill and Mudie, op. cit., p. 78.

By the next post I shall send a short article on Kautsky and Bulgakov. Please forward it to [Struve] with a request to let you know as soon as possible whether they can accept it for the periodical. I consider it quite possible that they will refuse it, because Struve is probably on Bulgakov's side and will consider polemics unsuitable—especially sharp polemics. As far as I could, I tried to soften down my tone, but all the same I cannot speak calmly about that revolting professorial and clumsy article which introduces such a terrible discord. . . .

Lenin's presentiment was right: Struve did not print his article. But it was the publication of Bernstein's *Voraussetzungen* in March 1899 which opened the flood-gates of Russian Revisionism. In many points Struve had indeed anticipated Bernstein, as he later liked to claim, but the appearance of the *Voraussetzungen* acted as a catalyst, and greatly accelerated the process of apostasy. The immediate outcome was Struve's article 'Die Marx'sche Theorie der sozialen Entwicklung' rejecting the idea of social revolution.[1] From this moment, too, Struve's letters to Potresov were filled with arguments for Revisionism and attacks on Plekhanov.[2] Potresov resisted Struve soberly, as a letter of August 1899 shews:[3]

Beyond all doubt I do not deny the existence of a Marxist crisis and its seriousness. I stand for 'reform' and see the urgent need to enliven our stagnant social thought. (I repeat, for 'reform': Bernstein has made an attempt not to develop or reform the doctrine but to *destroy* it, to destroy all its *social* side, all that gave the doctrine a definite social meaning.) Of course I take account of the abstract possibility that further analysis of social phenomena will lead to the denial of all 'prospects of the future' [i.e. of social revolution]. If such a misfortune occurs (and for you it is already a fact), then I hope to have the courage to draw the appropriate conclusions from it. At least I shall not hide myself. . . .

Meanwhile Potresov had been keeping Lenin informed of events in St. Petersburg, notably of the *Credo*, which Kuskova had tossed into waters already troubled, and which Tugan-Baranovsky described in a letter to Potresov as 'a complete renunciation of Marxism and a return to a general democratic programme'.[4] Lenin, who had been mainly concerned recently

[1] See p. 131ff., above.

[2] See Nikolaevsky, op. cit., p. 32. Nikolaevsky had access to Potresov's archives before they were destroyed.

[3] Quoted by St. Ivanovich, *A. N. Potresov* (Paris, 1938), pp. 72f.

[4] Quoted by Nikolaevsky, op. cit., p. 34.

with delving into neo-Kantianism—'I am becoming a firm opponent of the newest critical trend in Marxism and of neo-Kantianism . . . a reactionary theory of the reactionary bourgeoisie'[1]—was hardly able to credit Potresov's news of the *Credo*. He wrote to Potresov in June:[2]

> What you tell me about the reaction against Marxism which has begun in Piter is news to me. I don't understand. 'Reaction'—that means among Marxists? Which ones? P. B. [Struve] again? Is it Struve and Co. who are developing a tendency towards union with the liberals? I shall await your explanations with great impatience. I quite agree that . . . we shall have to have a serious war with [the 'critics'] (especially about Bernstein). . . .

Lenin's next sentence shewed how seriously he took these developments, and foreshadowed later events:[3]

> If P. B. 'entirely ceases to be a *Genosse*'—so much the worse for him. It will, of course, be an enormous loss to all the *Genosse*, for he is a very talented and well-informed person, but of course, 'friendship is one thing and business is another', and this does not get rid of the need for war.

It was to pursue this war, which they foresaw would be impossible in the legal Press, that Potresov and Lenin, by correspondence while still in exile, formed the plan for an illegal newspaper—the future *Iskra*—and invited Martov to join them.[4]

In the Legal Marxist camp meanwhile criticism of Marxist theory developed into a rising chorus in the Russian Press. Tugan-Baranovsky's attack on the theory of surplus value and profit—'Osnovnaya oshibka abstraktnoy teorii kapitalizma Marksa'[5] ('The Fundamental Error of Marx's Abstract Theory of Capitalism')—appeared in May 1899, and was followed in October by Struve's 'Protiv Ortodoksii'. The turn of the year saw more and more articles of a similar temper, particularly in *Zhizn'*.

Parallel to this the liberal movement was coming to life again. After their failure in 1897, the chairmen of the *zemstvo* councils succeeded in meeting in Moscow in 1898, where they

[1] Lenin to his mother and brother Dmitry, 20 June 1899, in Hill and Mudie, op. cit., p. 92.
[2] Lenin to Potresov, 27 June 1899, in Lenin, *Sochineniya*, Vol. xxviii, pp. 40f.
[3] Loc. cit.
[4] See Nikolaevsky, op. cit., pp. 35f.
[5] See pp. 160f., above.

discussed the Free Economic Society's offer to start a joint publication. At the time this idea was rejected, but the following year it was raised again and on 20 December the Society announced that it intended to go ahead with publication.[1] Since 1898, however, the Society, like its Literacy Committee a few years previously, had been attracting unwelcome notice and interference from the government,[2] and in April 1900, before the proposed publication could begin, an Imperial Order transferred the Society to the Ministry of Agriculture and State Domains, with instructions to work out a new statute. The members of the Society, knowing very well what that meant, voted to close down their activities.[3]

However, this was not the only liberal project afoot at the time. Just how Struve was brought into fresh contact with the renascent liberal movement, and on whose initiative, is not known; opportunities would not have been difficult to find—the Free Economic Society being always a convenient meeting ground. All that is certain is that in February 1900 a discreet meeting was arranged between Struve and one of the more radical *zemtsy*, Ivan Petrunkevich, at which the publication of a paper abroad was discussed.[4] Meanwhile, in January 1900, Lenin's, Potresov's and Martov's terms of exile all came to an end simultaneously, and they returned to Western Russia, selecting Pskov as their point of concentration, where they would concert their plans for an illegal paper. It appears from the only evidence available on Struve's meeting with Petrunkevich[5] that the liberals were aware of these plans, and delayed a decision on their own paper in the hope of co-ordinating the two projects.

The Legal Marxists, represented by Struve, Tugan-Baranovsky and Bogucharsky, had also just given up a

[1] See D. W. Treadgold, *Lenin and His Rivals: the Struggle for Russia's Future, 1898–1906* (London, 1955), p. 118.

[2] See Imperatorskoe Vol'no-ekonomicheskoe Obshchestvo, *Otchët o deystviyakh za 1898 god*, p. 14.

[3] See Imperatorskoe Vol'no-ekonomicheskoe Obshchestvo, *Otchët o deystviyakh za 1900 god*, pp. 3f.

[4] See Belokonsky, op. cit., p. 92; Treadgold, op. cit., p. 118.

[5] A letter written by 'a certain author' to Belokonsky, who summarizes it extensively in his *Zemskoe Dvizhenie*, pp. 92ff. The author can be identified as Dmitry Zhukovsky (cf. Belokonsky, op. cit., p. 93 and P. Milyukov, *Vospominaniya (1859–1917)* (New York, 1955), vol. i, p. 197).

short-lived attempt to take over a daily paper *Severny Kur'er*,[1] and were thus in a weak position *vis-à-vis* the returned exiles, who both knew their own minds well and had their plans better advanced. The Legal Marxists greeted the exiles warmly —rather to the latter's surprise—and declared that they 'were ready to recognize in [the exiles'] group the natural leader of the Social-Democratic party, and that they were ready to support [their] enterprise aimed at organizing a broad struggle against Autocracy'.[2] This was of interest to the exiles, since the Legal Marxists had contacts in society which might be of use, and also a degree of authority in party circles. For these reasons they recognized the Legal Marxists as 'a special variety of Social-Democracy, with whom it was possible and necessary to maintain party and business relations'.[3] The discussions at Pskov ended with the exiles' reading to Struve's party the *Proekt zayavleniya redaktsii 'Iskry' i 'Zari'* (*Draft Declaration of the Editorial Board of Iskra and Zarya*). The hostile comments on Economism in this document[4] aroused no demur from the Legal Marxists, and when Lenin agreed to soften down some of the harsher statements on Revisionism and Legal Marxism, agreement was quickly reached; Struve finally declared: 'We consider your enterprise necessary and will support it so far as lies within our power.'[5]

Now the *Proekt zayavleniya*, even after softening-down, contained the following passages:[6]

> Russian legal literature, this parody of Marxism, which is capable only of corrupting public consciousness, still further intensifies the confusion and anarchy which enabled the celebrated (celebrated for his bankruptcy) Bernstein to make the untruthful statement to the world that the majority of the Social-Democrats active in Russia supported him. . . . We stand for the consistent development of . . . the fundamental ideas of Marxism (as expressed in the *Communist Manifesto* and in the programme of West-European Social-Democracy) . . . in the spirit of Marx and Engels, resolutely rejecting the half-hearted and opportunist revisions which have now become so fashionable thanks to Bernstein.

[1] See p. 105n., above.
[2] Martov's reminiscences, quoted by Nikolaevsky, op. cit., p. 38.
[3] Struve, 'My contacts and conflicts', II, p. 75.
[4] See Lenin, 'Draft Declaration of ISKRA and ZARYA' in *Collected Works*, Vol. iv, Book 1, pp. 14f.
[5] Martov's reminiscences, quoted by Nikolaevsky, op. cit., p. 40.
[6] Lenin, op. cit., pp. 15, 19.

If Struve was to give his support to a party subscribing to these statements it could only be on condition of maintaining complete freedom of action himself. This was in fact promised by Lenin: in return for financial aid and literary material, the Legal Marxists would have the right to print in *Zarya* articles defending their own point of view.[1]

In the Pskov agreement, therefore, Struve seemed to agree to play second fiddle, and to accept, by implication, the idea of the 'hegemony of the proletariat'. Lenin, for one, regarded Struve with some mistrust, believing that he was on the road to Liberalism, and accepted the agreement from tactical considerations—*s kamnem za pazukhoy*, as Martov put it.[2] If therefore, as seems possible, Struve also had a trick up his sleeve—there is no evidence that he told Lenin that plans for a liberal organ were in the air, nor, perhaps, could he have done so without breach of confidence—he was merely being as shrewd as Lenin, and hardly deserves the accusations of treachery to which Lenin later subjected him.

Satisfied with these arrangements, the exiles went abroad and began to arrange for the printing of *Iskra* and *Zarya* in Germany. Here, naturally, they established contact with the *Gruppa Osvobozhdeniya Truda*. New difficulties at once arose. In April 1900 the friction between the 'young' and the 'old' in the *Soyuz Russkikh Sotsial-Demokratov Za-granitsey* had led to an open split, and Plekhanov's group seceded.[3] The congress of the *Soyuz* had come almost to blows, and tempers were high. When the exiles met the *Gruppa Osvobozhdeniya Truda* at the end of August, Plekhanov was still greatly worked up over the split, and (as Lenin recorded) 'really suspicious, distrustful, and *rechthaberisch* to *ne plus ultra*'.[4] He promptly began to attack the Pskov agreement, displaying a complete repugnance to the idea of having the Legal Marxist point of view expressed in *Zarya* at all. Potresov, who had in any case considered the Pskov arrangements as a real gentlemen's agreement,[5] and

[1] See Plekhanov and Askelrod, *Perepiska*, Vol. ii, p. 140; Struve, op. cit., p. 76.

[2] Martov's reminiscences, quoted by Nikolaevsky, op. cit., p. 38.

[3] See Keep, op. cit., p. 60.

[4] Lenin, 'How the SPARK was nearly extinguished', in *Collected Works*, Vol. iv, Book 1, p. 23.

[5] See Nikolaevsky, op. cit., p. 23.

even Lenin, who had not, argued that they must make 'every possible allowance for Struve'; Plekhanov, on the other hand, 'displayed a hatred towards "allies" that bordered on the indecent (suspecting them of espionage, accusing them of being *Geschäftmacher* and rogues, and asserting that he would not hesitate to "shoot" such "traitors", etc.)'.[1] The wrangles, which took on the character of a highly charged lovers' quarrel,[2] ended on this point with a compromise: the Legal Marxists' views could be expressed in *Zarya*, but not as the views of a group within the party. They would be put as the point of view of non-party democrats.[3] By this compromise with Plekhanov, therefore, Lenin had already gone back on his word, given at Pskov, to recognize the Legal Marxists as 'a special variety of Social-Democracy'.

In October 1900 the *Zayavlenie redaktsii Iskry* (*Declaration of the Editorial Board of Iskra*) appeared, announcing *Iskra's* forthcoming publication. Evidently influenced by the need to yield something to Plekhanov's point of view, Lenin now condemned Legal Marxism in more explicit terms than those which Struve had accepted in April. Lenin now wrote:[4]

> The works of authors whom the reading public has with more or less reason regarded up till now as the prominent representatives of 'legal' Marxism more and more reveal a turn towards views approaching those of bourgeois apologetics. As a result of all this we have the confusion and anarchy which enabled the ex-Marxist, or, to speak more correctly, the ex-socialist Bernstein, in recounting his successes, to declare unchallenged in the press that the majority of Social-Democrats active in Russia were his followers. . . . We stand for the consistent development of the ideas of Marx and Engels, and utterly reject the half-and-half, vague and opportunistic emendations which have now become so fashionable as a result of the legerdemain of Ed. Bernstein, P. Struve, and many others.

Without any warning, in fact, the alterations which had been made in the Pskov agreement to meet Struve and Tugan-Baranovsky's wishes were rescinded. If Lenin wished to drive Struve into the liberal camp, this, surely, was the way to do it.

[1] Lenin, op. cit., p. 24.

[2] Ibid., pp. 30f.

[3] Plekhanov and Akselrod, *Perepiska*, Vol. ii, p. 140.

[4] Lenin, 'Declaration of the ISKRA', in *Collected Works*, Vol. iv, Book 1, pp. 4of.

When Tugan-Baranovsky read this declaration, he refused even to meet Potresov (who returned briefly to Russia at the end of 1900), or to have any further dealings with the exiles.[1]

Last efforts to agree with Lenin; Osvobozhdenie

Struve, however, was still prepared to negotiate, and at Christmas 1900 he arrived in Munich for a last attempt to reach agreement. Struve's party was represented by himself and his wife, later joined by Bogucharsky; Potresov, Lenin and Zasulich were already there, and Plekhanov and Akselrod came later. It was plain after the *Zayavlenie redaktsii Iskry* that Struve could not trust the orthodox editors of *Iskra* and *Zarya* to accord him fair treatment if he followed his original plan of placing articles there. He therefore refused to work as a contributor. Lenin was so much taken aback by this, and by the discussion which followed, that (for the second time in three months) he was impelled to take the unusual step of recording his impressions on paper after the meeting. Late that night he wrote:[2]

> In reply to my question . . . as to why he, [Struve] did not agree to work merely as a contributor, he firmly replied that it was psychologically impossible for him to work on a journal in which he would be 'varnished up like a walnut' [*ego razdelyvayut pod orekh*] . . . and that surely we did not think that we could abuse him while he would 'write political articles' (his exact words), that he could only cooperate on the condition that there be complete equality (i.e. evidently equality between the critics and the orthodox). . . .

According to Lenin, Struve now also shifted his ground as compared with Pskov:[3]

> [He said] that his attitude was determined not so much by the Declaration [*Zayavlenie redaktsii Iskry*], in fact not at all by the Declaration, but by the fact that at first he desired to confine himself to the part of 'friendly abetter', but that now he did not intend to limit himself to that but wanted also to be editor ([Struve] almost said it like that!!!).

The discussion dragged on for some time, and Lenin concluded 'that no business could be done with this gentleman'.[4]

[1] See Lenin, 'Note written on December 29, 1900', in *Collected Works*, Vol. iv. Book 1, p. 68.
[2] Ibid., p. 67. [3] Ibid., p. 68. [4] Loc. cit.

Certainly Struve was feeling himself in a stronger position than he had at Pskov. Potresov and Lenin received the impression that he had arrived 'completely convinced of [their] impotence . . . for the purpose of laying down conditions of *surrender* . . .'.[1] Struve put it from his own point of view in his memoirs: 'They did not shew the consideration that I could claim as a political and intellectual personality. . . .'[2] One reason for his increased self-confidence is easily identifiable: he had arrived in Munich armed with a valuable document—Witte's confidential memorandum to the Tsar in which he argued that the *zemstva* were incompatible with Autocracy—which could obviously be used effectively for propaganda, to which end Struve had written an 'Introduction' to it.[3] This could be used to impress Lenin and his friends with the advantages which might accrue to them from an agreement with Struve.

It seems unlikely, however, that this was the only reason behind Struve's greater confidence. In his memoirs he writes:[4]

> They failed to realize that whatever my personal views may have been, they ought to have regarded me no longer as a Social-Democrat, nor even as an ex-socialist, but as a genuine representative of the views of a social milieu which could neither be ignored nor rebuffed, which was entitled to keep its own character and could only then be a valuable ally in the struggle for the political transformation of the country.

It seems probable from this that during the course of 1900 Struve had had further contact with the emergent forces of Liberalism. The Free Economic Society was closed; but one of its members, Prince Peter Dolgorukov, together with his brother Paul, had in 1899 founded a *kruzhok* called *Beseda* (*Talk*) for the discussion of *zemstvo* matters. This *kruzhok* was closely connected with the paper *Pravo* (*Law*), to which we find Struve contributing early in 1901.[5] It seems more than likely, therefore, that he was in touch with *Beseda* in 1900. Moreover, during 1900, in spite of repressions, the *zemstvo*

[1] Ibid., p. 67.

[2] Struve, op. cit., p. 81. [3] See ibid., p. 79. [4] Ibid., p. 81.

[5] See Belokonsky, op. cit., p. 80; Struve, 'Pravo i prava', in *Na raznye temy*, p. 522.

movement had continued to grow by means of private conferences of opposition elements among the elected *zemtsy* and the *zemstvo* secretariats (the so-called 'third element'). These conferences, or *slëty*, as they were called, were held mostly in Moscow, but also in other towns, if some occasion, such as an exhibition or a conference of doctors or schoolmasters, etc., offered itself.[1] It may well have been one of these *slëty* which explains the fact that in the summer of 1900 Struve made one of his relatively rare excursions into provincial Russia—to Smolensk.[2]

By 1901 Struve had formulated his own Liberalism for the first time clearly enough to express it in print. In a long article entitled 'V chëm zhe istinny natsionalizm?' ('Wherein does True Nationalism Lie?') he outlined a philosophy of Liberalism based not on the development of a bourgeoisie, but on Natural Law, and embodied in such laws as safeguard individual freedom and creativeness against the encroachments of the modern State.[3]

In pursuance of the idea originally mooted between himself and Petrunkevich, Struve, since he could work in Lenin's papers neither as a contributor nor as editor, now proposed to Lenin a third periodical in addition to *Iskra* and *Zarya* and on an equal basis with them. The *Sovremennoe Obozrenie* (*Contemporary Review*), as it was to be called, was to be jointly edited and distributed as a supplement to *Zarya*, but without any Social-Democratic label or heading[4]—an essential condition if Struve was to retain the confidence of the liberals.[5] It was to contain political material of a general nature, supplied both by Struve's and by Lenin's parties.

The bargain—for such it was, each party calculating how much material, and of what value, it could expect from the other side—was at first rejected out of hand by Lenin. In his mind it raised the whole crucial question of the hegemony of the proletariat in the struggle against Autocracy. His record of the discussion reads:[6]

[1] See Belokonsky, op. cit., p. 83.
[2] See Struve, 'Iz letnikh nablyudeniy', in *Na raznye temy*, p. 465.
[3] See Struve, *Na raznye temy*, pp. 528–55.
[4] See Lenin, op. cit., p. 68.
[5] See Struve, 'My contacts and conflicts', II, pp. 78f.
[6] Lenin, op. cit., p. 68.

It became clear, and I said so openly, that the publication of a third periodical was out of the question, and that the whole matter reduced itself to the question as to whether Social-Democracy must carry on the political struggle or whether the liberals should carry it on as an independent and self-contained movement. . . . Struve understood, and angrily retorted that after I had expressed myself with *anerkennenswerter Klarheit* . . . there was nothing more to be said. . . .

On this point of hegemony—one of his weakest, since he had only two years previously written the *Manifesto*—Struve naturally refused to be drawn, hinting instead that he had something of value (the Witte memorandum) in which they might be interested. Lenin then asked whether Struve was willing to have it published under the Social-Democratic label. Struve replied that 'there must be no connexion with your firm'.[1] Lenin, irritated by Struve's refusal to tell him exactly what it was he had to publish, began to insist that it should bear the Social-Democratic mark. This was too much for Potresov, who sided with Struve against Lenin on this point; and with that the discussion was postponed.

What had happened is now plain. During the course of 1900 Struve had definitely moved from Social-Democracy to Liberalism. In spite of his earlier suspicions that this was Struve's probable course of evolution, and although Plekhanov had demanded during the summer that this should be recognized as a fact, Lenin had not fully appreciated the difference which this made to their respective positions. What he had to deal with now in Struve was not an erring Social-Democrat, with the inherent weaknesses of that position, but a man who had just realized what his true position was—with all the strength which such realization brings. For this reason Struve was quite prepared to forget Lenin's betrayal of the Pskov agreement, admitting openly that his attitude 'was determined . . . not at all by the [*Iskra*] *Declaration*';[2] Lenin, on the other hand, could not stomach the fact that Struve, once a Social-Democrat, was now a liberal. It was this which made Lenin, previously favourable to an agreement with Struve, oppose it now, while Plekhanov, who had refused to work with Struve within the party, was now prepared to negotiate with him outside it. From this moment, in Lenin's letters, Struve appears under

[1] Ibid., p. 69. [2] Ibid., p. 68.

the pseudonym of 'Judas': what stung Lenin, it seems plain, was the feeling that he had been made a fool of, and the dominant tone of his correspondence about Struve in the first months of 1901 is one of wounded pride.[1]

Nevertheless, thanks largely to the efforts of Potresov and Zasulich (who became known to their fellow-orthodox as the *Struvefreundliche Partei*),[2] something was salvaged from the negotiations. Lenin printed in *Iskra* two articles by Struve (without indications of his authorship) urging the need for a united front between Social-Democracy and the *zemstvo* against autocracy. No doubt Lenin was willing to accept these articles because, for all their emphasis on the *zemstvo*'s role against autocracy, they did not challenge the Social-Democrats' 'hegemony' in the revolution but, at least by implication, accepted it.[3] Agreement was even reached on the proposed 'third periodical', and was embodied in a joint document. Forwarding a draft to Struve for his consideration, Akselrod emphasized the importance of a clear demarcation of principle between the two groups:[4]

> My point of view was and is that by virtue of the historical position of our proletariat, Russian Social-Democracy can acquire hegemony in the struggle with absolutism. From this point of view it is very important to Social-Democracy that entering into a coalition of the kind that you propose, it should guard against misunderstandings about its full programmatic and party autonomy. . . . Your group, too, must be interested in seeing that the agreement is based on a clearly expressed and formally recognized autonomy of each side. . . .

This distinction was achieved in the agreement by making it consist of two separate declarations, one on behalf of Social-Democracy and the other on behalf of 'the democratic opposition'. Both declarations defined the main task of the future publication as 'to give political sense to the legal struggle against the excellently organized arbitrary power of the bureaucracy'. Other points, however, shew up all too plainly the immaturity of Russian Liberalism at this date compared to

[1] See Lenin to Plekhanov, 30 January 1901, and to Akselrod, 20 March 1901, in *Sochineniya*, Vol. xxviii, pp. 215ff.

[2] Lenin to Plekhanov, 7 July 1901, quoted in Struve, op. cit., p. 78.

[3] 'Samoderzhavie i Zemstvo', in *Iskra*, nos. 2 and 4.

[4] Akselrod to Struve, in Plekhanov and Askelrod, *Perepiska*, Vol. ii, pp. 141f.

Social-Democracy. The Social-Democrats made only one concession, that 'victory over . . . "the old régime" can be bought only at the price of simultaneous efforts by all revolutionary and opposition elements in our country'.[1] Beyond this, the Social-Democratic declaration underlined the impossibility of uniting all these elements into a single party, and let it be understood that it was only the existence of 'the common enemy' which brought them together. Support for the legal opposition was described as 'a necessary and long-desired *supplement* to the revolutionary activity of Russian Social-Democrats among the workers'.[2] The 'democratic opposition' on the other hand, undertook to 'make no attempt to work out any party programme', and promised to 'pay equal attention to the illegal, so-called "revolutionary" struggle and to all actually practical and possible attempts to struggle against the existing political order on its own ground'. The Russian opposition, it went on, is becoming more and more aware of the connexion between legal and revolutionary work. Finally,[3]

> we consider it necessary to emphasize that we, like the Social-Democratic group which has joined with us for the common task, recognize the predominant political significance and mission of the Russian working-class movement. In it the political thought of the intelligentsia has found a mighty ally. . . . We expect that *Sovremennoe Obozrenie* will meet sympathy and support from all opposition elements. Its task is to unite all these elements in one literary enterprise, in the closest union with *the only organized force of Russian opposition, Social-Democracy.*

It might have been thought that Struve was here leaning over backwards to satisfy the demands and pride of the Social-Democrats. Akselrod shewed qualified optimism about the future relations of the two groups:[4]

> A coalition on this basis [he wrote to Struve] would have an important significance even if it did not at once achieve the results which might be expected from it. It would serve, at least, as a useful precedent for the future.

Lenin, however, was implacable. According to Struve, the

[1] Potresov, 'Evolyutsiya obshchestvenno-politicheskoy mysli v predrevolyutsionnuyu epokhu', in Martov, *et al.*, *Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie v Rossii v nachale XX-go veka*, Vol. i, p. 615.

[2] Loc. cit. Italics added. [3] Ibid., p. 616. Italics added.

[4] Akselrod to Struve, in Plekhanov and Akselrod, op. cit., Vol. ii, p. 141.

agreement was never printed because Dietz, the publisher who was printing *Zarya*, refused to risk it;[1] but a point in one of Lenin's letters suggests that there may have been other reasons. A certain Dmitry Zhukovsky, who had contributed 1,000 rubles to the foundation fund of *Iskra*, was also a friend of Struve, and indeed later active in the negotiations which led to the organization of *Osvobozhdenie*. After agreement had been reached with the Social-Democrats, Struve invited Zhukovsky to come to Frankfurt-am-Main to discuss the final details of *Sovremennoe Obozrenie*.[2] As a result of this, Zhukovsky sent 200 rubles to Munich, with a letter designating that they should be used for *Sovremennoe Obozrenie*. Lenin wrote in fury to Akselrod:[3]

> Nice goings-on with Judas too: a letter came from his friend [Zhukovsky] (=the supposed source of cash=*goldene Wanze*) a very angry letter, saying that the 200 (two hundred!) rubles are sent for *Sovremennoe Obozrenie*, and bear in mind, says he, that they're NOT for your paper, but for this one. We are all disgusted, and it has been decided: 1) *not to print the announcement of the coalition*, 2) to send Struve and his "friend" an ULTIMATUM, that either we get sure finance for OUR enterprise, or else we refuse. . . .
>
> Well, now, hasn't Judas fooled us again?

At the end of February Struve went back to St. Petersburg, where within a week he found himself under arrest for participating in a demonstration in protest against government maltreatment of some students, and was soon exiled to Tver. The government could hardly have chosen a more foolish place to send him, for Tver was where Petrunkevich lived.

During these weeks after the demonstration on the Kazan Square, the idea of an entirely independent liberal paper, to be called *Osvobozhdenie* and published abroad, took shape. Who its originator was is not wholly clear: according to Milyukov it was Petrunkevich and Dmitry Shakhovskoy, who offered the editorship to him, which he refused as he did not want to emigrate.[4] According to Zhukovsky, it was Struve himself.[5] Most probably it was an idea common to both parties

[1] See Struve, op. cit., p. 79.
[2] See Belokonsky, op. cit., p. 92; cf. p. 206n., above.
[3] Lenin to Akselrod, 20 March 1901 in *Sochineniya*, Vol. xxviii, pp. 218f.
[4] See Milyukov, *Vospominaniya*, Vol. i, p. 197.
[5] See Belokonsky, op. cit., p. 93.

which only became practicable when the two sides were brought together.[1] In any case, Struve soon managed to get out of the country again, and the first issue of *Osvobozhdenie*, under his editorship, appeared in Stuttgart in June 1902. Its programmatic article was written by Milyukov in consultation with Petrunkevich, Shakhovskoy and the historian Kornilov,[2] and within a very short space of time it became the spearhead of the liberal movement.

Meanwhile, Lenin had knocked the last nail into the coffin of the Munich agreement: when the Witte memorandum, with Struve's Introduction, was published by Dietz, Lenin wrote a vicious attack on the Introduction for *Zarya*. Plekhanov and the others urged him to soften the tone, but to little avail.[3] Lenin's wounded pride gave full rein to his intransigent hatred of Liberalism, and thereafter he turned a deaf ear or an acid tongue towards all *Osvobozhdenie*'s pleas for a coalition against Autocracy.

Struve, for his part, had also passed a turning-point. His historical excursus in his article 'V chëm zhe istinny natsionalizm?' convinced him that liberal values were independent of the bourgeoisie which Russia had barely begun to develop: he could therefore in good conscience join forces with the Russian liberal *zemtsy*, as many other *intelligenty* were doing at this time. All the Legal Marxists—even Berdyaev, who regarded himself as nearer to Social-Democrats than to liberals—followed Struve into the liberal *Soyuz Osvobozhdeniya* (*Union of Liberation*) when it was formed in 1903; and all except Berdyaev—even Tugan-Baranovsky—later joined him in the liberal Kadet Party.

[1] See George Fischer, *Russian Liberalism* (Harvard, 1958), p. 125.
[2] See Milyukov, op. cit., Vol. i, p. 236.
[3] See Lenin to Akselrod, 9, 21 and 25 July 1901, and to Plekhanov, 25 and 30 July 1901, in *Sochineniya*, Vol. xxviii, pp. 237–48.

CONCLUSION

There is one half-stated theme which has appeared from time to time in the foregoing pages, and which in fact pervaded the whole of Legal Marxism. This was the theme of Westernism. The Legal Marxists of the nineties were free from what has been called the 'chronically ambivalent attitude to Western Europe which has run through all . . . Russian thought'[1] since Peter the Great: their attitude then was not ambivalent, for their whole inspiration came from the West—from its life, its politics, philosophy, and economics. Occasionally the Legal Marxists made explicit what always underlay their reasoning. When they did so, their *professions de foi* were categorical. In the name of Westernism, Bulgakov was prepared openly to 'risk drawing upon [himself] the charge of bourgeoisness':[2]

> Every new factory, every new industrial concern leads us forwards, increasing the number of people capable of intellectual Europeanization. . . . For Russia there is only one way of development, inevitable and undeniable: it is the way from East to West. It is high time!

When Plekhanov excused Struve's call to 'undergo the capitalist schooling' on the grounds that it was 'the honourable enthusiasm of a Westernizer', he put his finger on a vital nerve in Struve's nature. Of this Struve was fully conscious:

> I love European culture, [he wrote[3]] like the sun, warmth, fresh air. . . . About my Westernism I do not reason, just as no self-respecting man reasons about his moral cleanliness. Such I am, *car tel est mon plaisir*.

This unqualified Westernism was one of the factors which conditioned the Legal Marxists' attitude to Socialism. Socialism was a subject on which, thanks to the Censorship Statute's express veto on the propagation of this 'harmful doctrine', neither they nor the orthodox Marxists writing in the legal

[1] E. H. Carr, ' "Russia and Europe" as a theme of Russian history' in Richard Pares and A. J. P. Taylor (edd.), *Essays presented to Sir Lewis Namier* (London, 1956), p. 360.

[2] Nemo [Bulgakov], 'Prostaya rech' o mudrënykh veshchakh', in *Novoe Slovo*, June 1897, Part II, p. 57.

[3] Struve, 'Romantika protiv kazenshchiny', in *Na raznye temy*, p. 214.

Press had very much to say. But there is no doubt that the Legal Marxists were all, at this date, socialists in their own minds. Not only was it almost an automatic assumption of the radical intelligentsia, but their recurrent references to the 'transition to a higher economic formation' or some such camouflage phrase also attest the fact. At the same time, their model was the West; and the West, though it had socialist parties, could not offer an example of Socialism. The example which it offered was one of civilization, culture, freedom. All these things the Legal Marxists loved for their own sake—not merely as a means to an end—and they were not prepared to see them destroyed, even in the name of Socialism. If Socialism came through revolution, it would most probably destroy the achievements of the past; it must therefore come through evolution, and preserve them. The Legal Marxists alone appear to have recognized that Socialism itself was not the whole story, and that within the framework of Socialism, very different things are possible: 'Socialism', wrote Struve, 'is a *formal* concept into which a very varied real vital content may be packed',[1] and Berdyaev cried out that if Socialism meant philistine contentment and satiety, then he wanted none of it.

No orthodox Marxist could have argued like this, just as no orthodox Marxist could have accepted the West *tel quel* with quite the same whole-heartedness. In each instance another idea—the class struggle—interposed itself, and forced its way in the orthodox Marxists' minds into the position of an absolute. For the orthodox, 'Socialism' meant the *struggle* for Socialism; and for this reason they were as guilty as anyone—indeed, as Marx himself—of failure to consider the realities of Socialism itself. In this Struve, recognizing the continuing role of the State, was more clear-sighted than they. In the same way, the class struggle with its ever-ready label 'bourgeois' prevented the orthodox Marxists from believing, as Berdyaev and Struve did, that such phenomena as Nietzsche or the Symbolist movement in literature had their value.

The Legal Marxists sought their values outside and beyond the class struggle. Hence their attitude to Marxism itself—'a most fruitful heuristic principle', not, as Plekhanov had seen it, 'a mighty weapon in the hands of the working class'.

[1] Struve, Editorial Note in *Nachalo*, nos. 1–2, Part I, p. 133n.

Marxism could help them in their search for Truth, for they recognized the value of its sociology; but when it had served its purpose, or when parts of it began to hinder the search, it could be dismembered. The Legal Marxists were not looking for a dogma to buttress a position: they were still looking for the position itself.

In Russian tradition Truth was either divinely revealed or felt in the immediacy of revolutionary passion. The orthodox Marxists, taking sides promptly and unequivocally in the class struggle, reached their own version of Truth by the second of these channels: even Plekhanov, a Marxist who assimilated the heritage of the European Enlightenment, was a revolutionary before he was a Marxist. The Legal Marxists, on the other hand, followed the purely Western tradition of autonomous reason. Their inspiration—and herein, too, lies the difference between them and the empiricist Bernstein—was abstract, intellectual, philosophical. Critical from the first in their attitude to Marxism—itself a manifestation of Westernism in Russia—the Legal Marxists did not at once revert to national sources. The Critical Philosophy and the marginal utility theories of value were as Western, not merely in origin, but in nature, as the Marxism which they were summoned to supplement, and which they eventually undermined.

Such uncompromising Westernism did not survive indefinitely. The later history of the Legal Marxists—no longer under that name—lies outside the scope of this book: but already in 1902 Struve's call to study the Russian idealist philosophers betrayed a feeling that Westernism could go too far. Here already was a sense of the less rationalistic springs of national feeling; and it led ultimately, for all the Legal Marxists except perhaps Tugan-Baranovsky, to the acceptance of Eastern Orthodox Christianity.

In politics, however, the Legal Marxists' Westernism was more persistent. Russian Marxist politics were, of course, Westernist politics, their strategy borrowed by Plekhanov from the *Communist Manifesto* on the assumption that the development of Russia would be very similar to that of Western Europe. All Russian Marxists subscribed to this; but among them, even before the Bolshevik-Menshevik split of 1903, there were perceptible intimations of another train of thought. The orthodox

idea of the 'hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois revolution' shewed a real insight into the Russian political situation, and already contained the germ of that 'Bakuninist' acceleration or telescoping of history which enabled Lenin to seize power in 1917. This idea, as we have seen, found emphatic expression in the *Manifesto* of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party. It is one of the paradoxes of the period that the *Manifesto* of 1898, marking as it did the foundation of a party whose Western name betokened its intentions, should at the same time register the lowest point of the Legal Marxists' political Westernism. The next three years saw Struve's abandonment of the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat in favour of a coalition against autocracy between the Social-Democrats and the 'democratic opposition' on equal terms. But this again was Westernism. Struve recognized the peculiarity of the Russian political situation—the weakness of the Russian bourgeoisie; he developed a philosophy of Liberalism without the bourgeoisie; but, unable to work with the orthodox Marxists who represented the proletariat, he tried to find a political understudy for the bourgeoisie in the liberal *zemtsy*. It was a temptation to which anyone who had absorbed the Marxist scheme of social development might well have yielded: even Berdyaev, distinguished from the other Legal Marxists by a strong strain of romanticism, took some lukewarm part in the liberal movement before 1905. But it was a misjudgement, for it failed to recognize that the liberal *zemtsy* could never carry the political weight which the bourgeoisie had carried in the West.

The national roots to which the Bolsheviks turned were political roots—the tradition of Stenka Razin and Emelyan Pugachëv. The Legal Marxists found their country in religion; in politics they remained too Western to be successful. But this is only a partial explanation. In the last analysis, the values which the Legal Marxists sought were to be found beyond politics. They were absolute, not relative: in economics —productivity and welfare, in philosophy—Truth and Goodness. If, when the political question 'Who whom?' was finally asked, these men did not prevail, it was partly at least because they were interested in other things besides political power.

APPENDIX I

Some Other Studies and Interpretations of Legal Marxism

There are two monographs on the subject of Legal Marxism, both by Soviet authors: N. Angarsky's book *Legal'ny Marksizm* (Moscow, 1925),[1] and a long article under the same title by P. Prager, published in 1930.[2] Each of these works suffers from faults which are discussed below. Apart from these studies, Legal Marxism makes a more or less brief appearance in general histories of Russia, of Russian thought, of Russian Marxism, of the Russian revolutionary movement, and of the Soviet Communist Party.

There has been no real agreement even on the delimitation and definition of the subject. On this point it is possible to distinguish three views, which are sometimes confusingly combined. According to the first view, Legal Marxism is taken to include all Marxist literature published legally in Russia up to about 1905. The second view uses substantially the same criterion, but limits the period to the 1890's. The third, and largest group of authors treats Legal Marxism as a variant of Russian Marxism, or as Russian Revisionism.

A few quotations will illustrate these categories, and the confusion which sometimes exists between them. Angarsky writes in his preface:[3]

> Together with 'legal' Marxism in the strict sense of the word, and its reflection in bourgeois literature, I take into consideration also genuine revolutionary Marxism in so far as it penetrated into the same legal press, and manifested itself together with the works of the 'legal' Marxists.

[1] This work, apart from other defects, carries its survey only up to 1897. A later edition, published in 1930 by the *Obshchestvo Byvshikh Politkatorzhan*, has not been available. It may be noted, however, that, unlike the 1925 edition, it is described as a *Kratky Ocherk*, and that the number of pages is less than in the earlier edition. (See *Knizhnaya Letopis'* for 1930.)

[2] P. Prager, 'Legal'ny Marksizm', in *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya*, nos. 7/8 (102/103) and no. 9 (104), 1930. An article by M. Lyadov, entitled 'Zarozhdenie legal'nogo i revolyutsionnogo marksizma v Rossii', in *Front nauki i tekhniki*, February 1933, has unfortunately not been available.

[3] Angarsky, op. cit., p. 6.

Angarsky accordingly begins his survey with N. Sieber, the early Russian academic Marxist, deals with Plekhanov only as represented by a few articles published legally in the Russian press, and disregards illegal or *émigré* works altogether. V. M. Stein, although he does not disregard illegal works, allows a similar ambiguity to creep in when he writes of Sieber as 'the founder of legal Marxism'.[1]

The second viewpoint, which treats Legal Marxism as covering all Marxist books and articles published legally in the 1890's, is usually found in some sort of combination with the third. Yaroslavsky, for instance, writes: 'At one time so-called legal Marxism (that is, permitted by law) won a fairly large number of adherents among the bourgeois intelligentsia.'[2] A. N. Potresov writes[3] of

> the début of so-called 'legal Marxism'—its dual nature and the dual nature of its success: Beltov-Plekhanov's *K voprosu o razvitii monisticheskogo vzglyada na istoriyu* and Struve's *Kriticheskie zametki*.

Bertram Wolfe combines the two approaches, suggesting a causal connexion between legal publication and apostasy from Marxism:[4]

> They . . . went through the evolution . . . from demonstration of the inevitability and progressiveness of capitalism to apologetics and glorification; from a bowdlerized Marxism cut to measure for the censor as a matter of reluctant necessity to a castrated Marxism robbed of its revolutionary vigour; and finally to open opposition to Marxism.

Legal publication, as a criterion for a definition of the subject, must be regarded as unsatisfactory. Angarsky's book exemplifies the worst results of this attitude. Accepting as he does the line drawn by the Tsarist Censorship, he gives an incomplete picture. As a chapter in the history of the Censorship, it might have some value, but as a study of trends in social thought, it is rather like describing a ship only as it is visible above the water-line: it explains what it looks like, but

[1] V. M. Stein [Shteyn], *Ocherki razvitiya russkoy obshchestenno-ekonomicheskoy mysli XIX–XX vekov* (Leningrad, 1948), p. 267.
[2] E. E. Yaroslavsky, *Ocherki po istorii VKP(b)*, Vol. i (Moscow, 1937), p. 63.
[3] A. Potresov, 'Evolyutsiya obshchestvenno-politicheskoy mysli v predrevolyutsionnuyu epokhu', in *Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie v Rossii v nachale XX-go veka*, Vol. i (Spb., 1909), pp. 569f.
[4] Bertram Wolfe, *Three who made a Revolution* (New York, 1948), p. 122.

not how it works. As Angarsky's reviewer noted, the work 'does not go beyond a historico-bibliographical description of the legal literature of Marxism in Russia'.[1] Even if the period to be considered were confined to the 1890's, when the possibility of legal publication engaged the attention of all Russian Marxists, bourgeois, revisionist, and orthodox, it is still unsatisfactory as a criterion: it would then become necessary to include works published legally by orthodox Marxists such as Lenin and Plekhanov, and to ignore the illegal writings of the Legal Marxists.

It remains to consider the authors of the third group, who treat Legal Marxism simply as an ideological movement. Here, within a general framework of agreement, differences of emphasis are to be found.

For some, as for Lyadov,[2] it is the bourgeois nature of Legal Marxism which stands out. The *Large Soviet Encyclopaedia* goes as far as anyone in this direction, including an imputation of unworthy motive:[3]

> Legal Marxism: a literary and political current among the liberal bourgeois intelligentsia . . . who wrote . . . against *narodnichestvo* under the flag of marxism, but distorted Marxism in the interests of the bourgeoisie.

(For good measure, the *Encyclopaedia* suggests that the Legal Marxists were unoriginal: 'Legal Marxism coincided in time and content with Bernsteinism, in which it found the theoretical basis of its views.') According to Martov, a more generous critic:[4]

> 'Legal Marxism' of the middle nineties, in its criticism of *narodnichestvo* laid the emphasis on the need to 'recognize our lack of culture and undergo the schooling of capitalism', as P. Struve expressed it in his *Kriticheskie zametki*, and on the need to renounce the *narodnik* testament of struggle against the bourgeoisie.

[1] V. Reichardt, in *Krasnaya Letopis'*, 1926, no. 17, p. 196.

[2] M. Lyadov, *Istoriya RSDRP*, Part I (Spb., 1906), pp. 156 and 158.

[3] *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya* (1st edn.), Vol. 36 (1938), p. 167. The second edition of the Encyclopaedia gives a similar, if briefer, account, quoting the *Istoriya VKP(b)*, *Kratky Kurs* (1952): 'The Legal Marxists tried to use the struggle against *narodnichestvo* and the banner of Marxism in order to subordinate and adapt the workers' movement to the interests of bourgeois society, the interests of the bourgeoisie.' (Vol. 24 (1953), p. 405.)

[4] L. Martov, 'Obshchestvennie dvizheniya i umstvennie techeniya v period 1884–1905 gg.', in *Istoriya russkoy literatury XIX veka*, ed. by D. N. Ovsyaniko-Kulikovsky (Spb., 1908, etc.); Part V, p. 19.

Lenin himself summed up, in 1908:[1]

They were bourgeois democrats for whom the breach with *narodnichestvo* meant a transition from petty-bourgeois (or peasant) Socialism not to proletarian Socialism, as in our case, but to bourgeois Liberalism.

Hugh Seton-Watson mentions the Legal Marxists' Liberalism, without the label 'bourgeois':[2]

The most eminent of the so-called 'Legal Marxists' was Tugan-Baranovsky. Their policy was similar to that of the 'revisionist' section of Bernstein within the German Social-Democratic Party. They put forward Marxist economic views, but in their political attitude were hardly distinguishable from liberals.

For F. I. Dan, Legal Marxism is closely connected with Economism; and its main distinguishing feature is a reconciliation with liberal society:[3]

The last word of Economism thus turned out to be a peculiar 'liberal Marxism'. . . . It was inseparably connected with 'legal' Marxism, and . . . became for considerable and ever-increasing sections of the intelligentsia the ideological tool by which they liquidated their revolutionary-socialist revulsion from opposition-liberal society.

Other writers are struck by the non-revolutionary features of Legal Marxism. The authors of the standard *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* stigmatize the Legal Marxists with equal severity for their 'bourgeois ideology' and for their 'emasculation of the revolutionary content of Marxism'.[4]

[1] Lenin, Preface to *Za 12 let, Sochineniya*, Vol. xii, p. 57.

[2] Hugh Seton-Watson, *The Decline of Imperial Russia* (London, 1952), p. 150.

[3] Dan, *Proiskhozhdenie Bol'shevizma*, p. 249. Dan recognizes that 'liberal Marxism' was itself revolutionary: 'The chief ideologues and organizers of the liberal-constitutional movement, moderate liberal in its programme, but becoming more and more revolutionary in its tactics, proved to be the 'legal Marxists' S. Prokopovich, E. Kuskova, V. Bogucharsky, and others.' (Ibid., p. 254.) But Dan's choice of protagonists is hard to justify: Prokopovich and Kuskova were abroad, in Belgium, during the years 1896–99; and Prokopovich was arrested as he recrossed the Russian frontier in March 1899 (see 'Khronika revolyutsionnoy bor'by', in *Rabochee Delo*, nos. 2–3 (Geneva, August 1899), Part II, p. 104), and exiled from the capitals for a few years (a fact which limited his participation in the early stages of the liberal movement). Neither Kuskova nor Bogucharsky were theoretical writers, and it is therefore doubtful whether any of the three can be considered typical Legal Marxists.

[4] B. N. Ponomarev *et al.*, *Istoriya Kommunisticheskoy Partii Sovetskogo Soyuza* (Moscow, 1959), p. 35.

According to Carew-Hunt, the Legal Marxists wished merely to postpone the revolution:[1]

> The so-called 'legal Marxists' . . . held fast to the Marxist dialectical pattern—introduction of capitalism, organization of the proletariat and bourgeois revolution—and held therefore that no proletarian revolution should be attempted until all these things had been fulfilled.

For Berdyaev himself the Legal Marxists were those Marxists 'for whom the development of capitalist industry acquired an adequate significance of its own, and the revolutionary class aspect receded into a secondary place'.[2] So, too, E. H. Carr according to whom[3] the Legal Marxists'

> insistence on the necessity of the bourgeois capitalist stage led them to regard this as an end in itself, and to substitute reform for revolution as the process through which Socialism would be achieved, thus anticipating the views of Bernstein and the German 'revisionists' of Marxism.

Jacques Choron makes a similar point:[4]

> Le marxisme s'infiltra dans la science officielle, celle qu'on enseignait dans les universités. . . . Le marxisme devenu 'légal' avant tout par la renonciation de ses représentants à toute activité politique révolutionnaire s'étendit sur le marché littéraire, domina les ouvrages d'économie politique et les revues, bref, régna en maître.

Choron goes on to give a fairly full account of Struve's, Bulgakov's, and Tugan-Baranovsky's ideas on Russian capitalism and the development of capitalism in general, and of Lenin's criticism of them; but he does not deal with any other aspects of the movement.

Two historians of Russian thought, on the other hand, tend to neglect the economic side of Legal Marxism for their interest in the Legal Marxists' philosophical contribution. These are

[1] R. N. Carew-Hunt, *The Theory and Practice of Communism*, p. 133. Carew-Hunt says that most of the Legal Marxists later became Mensheviks (this error appears to be based on a mistranslation in the English version of Berdyaev's *The Origin of Russian Communism*, p. 119. Cf. N. Berdiaev, *Les Sources et le Sens du Communisme Russe* (Paris, n.d.), p. 138.)

[2] Nicolas Berdyaev, *The Origin of Russian Communism* (London, 1937), p. 119.

[3] E. H. Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution*, Vol. i (London, 1950), p. 10.

[4] J. Choron, *La Doctrine Bolchéviste. Philosophie, économie politique, sociologie d'après les oeuvres de Lénine* (Paris, 1935), p. 72.

R. Ivanov-Razumnik and T. G. Masaryk.[1] Ivanov-Razumnik does indeed discuss some of Struve's writings in economic theory; but he does not deal with the theory of value, and Tugan-Baranovsky is not mentioned. What is important for Ivanov-Razumnik, operating with the categories which he applies to the whole of Russian thought, is the Legal Marxists' 'return to individualism'[2] after the 'extreme anti-individualism'[3] of orthodox Marxism, and their ultimate development to 'extreme systems of metaphysical spiritualism',[4] 'metaphysical individualism',[5] and 'idealistic individualism'.[6] Ivanov-Razumnik does not emphasize their Liberalism; for him Legal Marxism is a part of 'Russian socialist thought, [which] came out on to the right path from the positivist *cul-de-sac* in which it had stamped helplessly for over half a century'.[7] Unlike Martov, Ivanov-Razumnik finds elements common to *narodnichestvo* and Legal Marxism: 'The newly elaborated *Weltanschauung*', he writes[8]

> was in essence neither Marxism nor *narodnichestvo* (as a sociological doctrine), but united in itself the living elements of each, basing them on an entirely new point of view,

and finally suggests affinities with Dostoevsky, Mikhailovsky, Chicherin, and Vladimir Solovëv.[9]

Masaryk, before coming on to the question of 'idealism', deals briefly with the Legal Marxists' (particularly Struve's) substitution of reformism for revolutionism. He attributes this to the influence of the German revisionists:[10]

> The development of Marxism in Germany took the direction of reformist Revisionism and parliamentarism, and by German influence the Russian Marxists were likewise urged in the direction of Revisionism.

But he makes it clear that the non-revolutionary view had a philosophical basis:[11]

[1] Neither of these writers uses the term 'Legal Marxism'. Ivanov-Razumnik refers mostly to 'the critical current in Marxism' (e.g. *Russkaya Literatura ot semidesyatykh godov do nashikh dney*, pp. 270, 271, 337). Masaryk writes 'critical revisionism' (*The Spirit of Russia*, Vol. ii, p. 294).

[2] Ivanov-Razumnik, *Russkaya Literatura*, p. 271.

[3] Ibid., p. 253. [4] Ibid., p. 341. [5] Loc. cit.

[6] Ibid., p. 349. [7] Ibid., p. 340. [8] Ibid., p. 276.

[9] Ibid., pp. 349f. [10] Masaryk, *The Spirit of Russia*, Vol. ii, p. 302.

[11] Ibid., p. 343.

> Struve . . . found his main argument against revolutionism and terrorism in his insistence upon the constancy of historical evolution. Nature, he said, makes no leaps; the variations in social life are not discontinuous variations. In addition, Struve contested the validity of Marx's theory of increasing misery, and he was of course right in maintaining that it was impossible for a degenerate class to effect the great social revolution. In essentials this argument is identical with the evolutionary conception.

Masaryk does not regard all Struve's arguments on this point as satisfactory:[1]

> Struve . . . attempted to rescue reformism by rejecting revolution *in toto* as epistemologically incomprehensible. But Struve's formula is one difficult to establish, and at any rate Struve did not succeed in establishing it. Epistemologically the revolution becomes comprehensible enough as soon as it exists.

In contrast to Carew-Hunt, Masaryk points out that Struve 'successfully maintained as against Plekhanov that dialectic has no proper place in Marxism (materialism)'.[2] Finally, Masaryk characterizes Legal Marxism in terms reminiscent of Ivanov-Razumnik:[3]

> Struve declared himself in favour not only of ethical but also of metaphysical individualism. . . . From positivism and materialism Struve made an abrupt return to metaphysics. The acceptance of metaphysics implied the acceptance of religion and mysticism. Before long it was impossible to speak of the movement as one of Marxist Revisionism; the revisionists had simply become 'idealists'.

Like Ivanov-Razumnik, Masaryk finds in Legal Marxism resemblances to Mikhailovsky, Solovëv, and Dostoevsky; he also points out the Legal Marxists' debt to German neo-Kantianism.[4]

There remain two writers who deal with all or nearly all sides of the question. The first is Sir John Maynard, who gives the best brief account of the movement available in English;[5] the second is P. Prager, who has been mentioned above.

[1] Masaryk, *The Spirit of Russia*, Vol. ii, p. 344. Masaryk points out that Struve later condemned revolution on ethical, not epistemological, grounds.

[2] Ibid., p. 350. [3] Ibid., p. 352.

[4] Loc. cit. It is of interest that Masaryk regards Plekhanov as a revisionist (op. cit., p. 354n.), on the ground that he failed to maintain a consistent amoralism. *Sub specie aeternitatis*, this may be true; but at the time orthodox Marxism had no stouter defender than Plekhanov, who even took up the cudgels against Bernstein in the *Neue Zeit*.

[5] Maynard, *Russia in Flux*, p. 258.

Maynard introduces Struve as the author of the first Marxist work legally published in Russia, and of the manifesto of the first Social-Democratic Party Conference. But, he continues, 'his "legal" Marxism proved to be a stepping-stone to the revision of Marxian theory and ultimately to a religious Liberalism'. After alluding to German Revisionism, Maynard goes on to mention Struve's criticism of the dialectic and revolutionism, and of the theory of surplus value; he outlines his view of the State, personality, individualism, and the intelligentsia. He regards Struve's idealism as a return to 'Populist conceptions'. Alone among the authorities he mentions Struve's early recognition of 'natural right' and 'natural law'. Maynard also touches on Economism, concluding that it 'found its theoretical support in "legal" Marxism purged of the revolutionary spirit'.[1] He concludes that[2]

> revisionist Marxism became the doctrine of a large part of the intelligentsia and of the majority of the University students, who accepted the historical justification of capitalism given by Marx, while dropping his expectation of revolution.

Maynard deals briefly with Berdyaev's contribution, but does not mention any of the other Legal Marxists in connexion with Revisionism.

Prager's account of Legal Marxism is a curious kind of latter-day polemic. He begins with a definition of the subject which is perhaps rather more fair-minded than the *Soviet Encyclopaedia's*:[3]

> Legal Marxism was the name given to a certain current of social thought in Russia, which took shape in the middle of the nineties of the last century among the most progressive elements of the bourgeoisie, who turned their eyes towards Marxism.

But his position is that of a Marxist not merely orthodox, but dogmatic: Struve is criticized, for instance, because he 'did not carry out one of the elementary requirements of Marxism, and

[1] Ibid., p. 259. Masaryk also mentions Economism, but does not commit himself on its relationship to Legal Marxism which, he says, 'remains obscure in respect of chronology no less than in respect of other matters'. (*The Spirit of Russia*, Vol. ii, p. 295.)

[2] Maynard, *Russia in Flux*, p. 259.

[3] P. Prager, 'Legal'ny Marksizm', in *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya*, nos. 7/8, p. 53.

did not reduce *narodnik* ideas to socio-economic relationships'.[1] Or again: 'We shall not . . . give any criticism of these erroneous views of Bulgakov. For us it is sufficient that they are not Marxist.'[2] It is curious that such energy should be devoted to crying 'Heretic!' at men who never laid claim to orthodoxy. At times Prager's language becomes colourful: Bulgakov's 'rosy optimism' makes him 'a troubadour of bourgeois relationships';[3] and Struve suffers at one point from 'bourgeois nightblindness',[4] while at another he displays 'the concupiscence of a bourgeois ideologue recommending the working class to gather crumbs from the table of the bourgeoisie'.[5] Prager's conclusion is that Legal Marxism was 'a new form of bourgeois Liberalism of the pre-revolutionary upsurge of industrial capitalism'.[6] It must be said, in Prager's favour, that he deals fully and in some detail with the Legal Marxists' economic, social and philosophical views; but he is, to say the least, limited by his point of view, and his method is too often simply to follow his account of the Legal Marxist attitude with an appropriate quotation from the contemporary polemical writings of Lenin, Plekhanov, or L. Akselrod.

[1] P. Prager, 'Legal'ny Marksizm', in *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya*, nos. 7/8, p. 59.
[2] Ibid., p. 70. [3] Ibid., p. 71. [4] Ibid., p. 80.
[5] Ibid., p. 81. [6] Ibid., in *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya*, no. 9, p. 46.

APPENDIX II

The Origin of the Terms 'Legal Marxist' and 'Legal Marxism'

Why '*Legal* Marxism'? What is the origin of the term? There are two views on this point. The first is that the Legal Marxists were so called because they printed their articles in legal papers and periodicals. But this is plainly inadequate: Lenin, Plekhanov, Martov, Potresov, Zasulich and others, who can in no sense be considered as Legal Marxists, all published books or articles legally in Russia.[1] Some other solution must be sought.

Milyukov gives a hint of the right answer when he refers to the Legal Marxists as 'ceux qui ont un passeport légal et vivent sans se cacher, sous la contrôle de la police'.[2] But it is perhaps worth while expanding Milyukov's statement, to shew the development of the term in all its stages.

The Russian word '*legal'ny*', like the English word 'legal', has two meanings: 'juridical' and 'lawful'. The first meaning does not concern us here. But at least as early as the time of the *Partiya Narodnoy Voli* there was a particular application of the second sense of the word to the status of a person. Some members of the *Narodnaya Volya*'s revolutionary organization lived openly under their own names, maintaining secrecy only for their revolutionary connexions and activities; while these were undiscovered, they retained legal status in the country *vis-à-vis* the police. Such people were known in the jargon of the revolutionary movement as 'legals', '*legal'nye*'. A second category of revolutionaries lived either in hiding, 'underground', or on false papers. This group included all those who had escaped arrest, but were liable to it if their real identity became known to the authorities. People in this position were

[1] It is, of course, true that they used pseudonyms. But the use of pseudonyms, initials, and *noms-de-plume* was extremely widespread in the Russian journalism of the time. Struve and Bulgakov among the Legal Marxists both did so when it suited them.

[2] Paul Milyukov, 'Nicolas II', in *Histoire de Russia*, Vol. iii (Paris, 1933), p. 105on.

known as 'illegals', '*nelegal'nye*'.[1] The distinction applied properly only to those who were engaged in revolutionary activity inside Russia: people actually under arrest or in exile, or *émigrés*, did not fall neatly into either class. But plainly *émigrés*, who had for the most part left Russia to avoid arrest, came near to being 'illegals'.

Just as there had been 'legals' and 'illegals' among the *Narodovol'tsy*, so when significant numbers were won over to the Marxist camp, a similar distinction was found there. There is evidence that the terms 'legal' and 'illegal' were used in the same sense by the Marxists of the 1890's with reference to their own status.[2] Thus a 'Legal Marxist' was, originally, merely a Marxist of any shade of conviction who enjoyed legal status. The distinction was one of status, not of activity: Struve, for instance, took part in illegal activities in the 1890's without forfeiting legal status. In practice, naturally, status and activity tended to coincide, for the police were watchful.

Gradually the term acquired its ideological overtone. Bertram Wolfe is right in suggesting that there was a causal connexion between 'legality' and deviation from revolutionary Marxism; but it was status, and the temperamental and historical causes which determined status, rather than the fact of legal publication, which were decisive. The years 1897–9 saw the acquisition by the Marxists of one legal periodical, *Novoe Slovo*, and the foundation of another, *Nachalo*. The editors of these periodicals had to have legal status. Lenin, Potresov, and Martov were in exile; Plekhanov was abroad. They could contribute to the periodicals, but could not edit them. The main editorial functions were fulfilled by Struve and Tugan-Baranovsky, who set the tone of the papers. But during this

[1] See, for instance, S. Stepnyak, *Podpol'naya Rossiya* (London, 1893), pp. 130, 149; also Vl. Debagory-Mokrievich, *Vospominaniya*, Vypusk II (Paris, 1895), pp. 135, 137, 151, etc. A curious survival of this use of the word is found in modern Soviet Intelligence Service terminology. See the *Report* of the Royal Commission appointed under Order in Council P.C. 411 of 5 February 1946, pp. 40 and 94, where a Soviet document is quoted in which the term 'illegal' (as a noun) is used of espionage agents living with false papers in the United States.

[2] E. D. Kuskova, Personal Communication. Cf. B. I. Gorev, *Iz Partiynogo Proshlogo. Vospominaniya 1895–1905 gg.* (Moscow, 1924), p. 26, where the words are so used. Cf. also E. D. Kuskova, 'Nadpol'e i podpol'e marksizma', in *Novoe Russkoe Slovo* (New York), 23 July 1954: 'As legal Marxists they enjoyed great influence in the widest social circles.'

period their differences with the orthodox Marxists were widening, and Lenin wrote in 1899 of 'the complete confusion in legal Marxist literature and the wild efforts of most of its representatives to catch on to the fashionable "criticism" of Bernsteinism'.[1] In September, 1900, in the *Zayavlenie Redaktsii Iskry*, he was yet more specific:[2]

> In the works of writers whom the reading public has till now, with more or less reason, considered as prominent representatives of 'legal' Marxism, one perceives more and more a tendency to views which approach bourgeois apologetics.

By 1906, when the first party histories were written, the ideological connotation was well established, and M. Lyadov, the early historian of Russian Social-Democracy, writes of 'bourgeois "legal" Marxism' and of 'the apologists of capitalism, the ideologues of the large bourgeoisie, the so-called "legal" Marxists'.[3]

[1] Lenin, *Sochineniya*, 2nd edn., Vol. ii (Moscow, 1935, etc.), p. 490.
[2] Lenin, *Sochineniya*, Vol. iv. p. 38.
[3] M. Lyadov, op. cit., pp. 156, 158.

APPENDIX III

The Censorship Organization

The Censorship of the nineties was the result of some eighty years' experience of repression, reform, and reaction. The original legislation of Alexander I's and Nicholas I's reigns, with its cumbersome bureaucratic machinery, enforcing an universal and highly oppressive censorship on all works before printing, had been simplified and, in theory at least, liberalized during the reforming era of the sixties, notably by the so-called 'Temporary Rules' of 1865. According to these Rules, preliminary (or 'preventive') censorship was replaced, for certain types of publication, by the so-called 'punitive' (*karatel'naya*) censorship. Under this system books of not less than ten printed sheets (160 pages)[1] could be printed in the capitals without previous scrutiny by the censor. After printing, but before publication, the book was submitted to the censor, who could retain it for seven days for examination. Then he could either approve it or could bring a case, by due process of law in the newly-constituted courts, against the publisher. The difference between this and the preliminary censorship, which still survived alongside it, was enormous: what the censor had hitherto done by a simple order to the author to alter his text was now subject to all the bother and uncertainties of a hearing in court.

Special provision was made for periodicals. The foundation of a new review or paper required the permission of the Minister of the Interior, which was given to specifically named editors and publishers, for publication under a specified title in a specified place at a specified price; moreover, the periodical had to adhere to a 'programme', which laid down in general terms what its content should be, and which had to be approved at the time of publication. The Minister's permission was required for any change in any of these specifications.[2] For

[1] In the case of works translated from foreign originals, evidently more dangerous than the home product, these figures were doubled. (See Brockhaus-Efron, op. cit., 'Tsenzura', on which this account is largely based; cf. *Ustav o tsenzure i pechati*, Art. 6.)

[2] An exception in favour of the publisher, who could be changed without Ministerial permission merely by informing the Chief Directorate of Press Affairs, was abolished in 1897. (See Brockhaus-Efron, loc. cit.)

periodicals, as for books, the preliminary and punitive forms of censorship existed side by side; but exemption from preliminary censorship was dependent on the permission of the Minister of the Interior, not on the bulk of the periodical. The punitive censorship of periodicals incorporated a system of 'warnings', borrowed from a contemporary French model: on the third warning, the Minister of the Interior could impose a veto on retail sale of the paper, or suspend it for up to six months; in serious cases he could suppress it completely, but only by a resolution of the Senate.

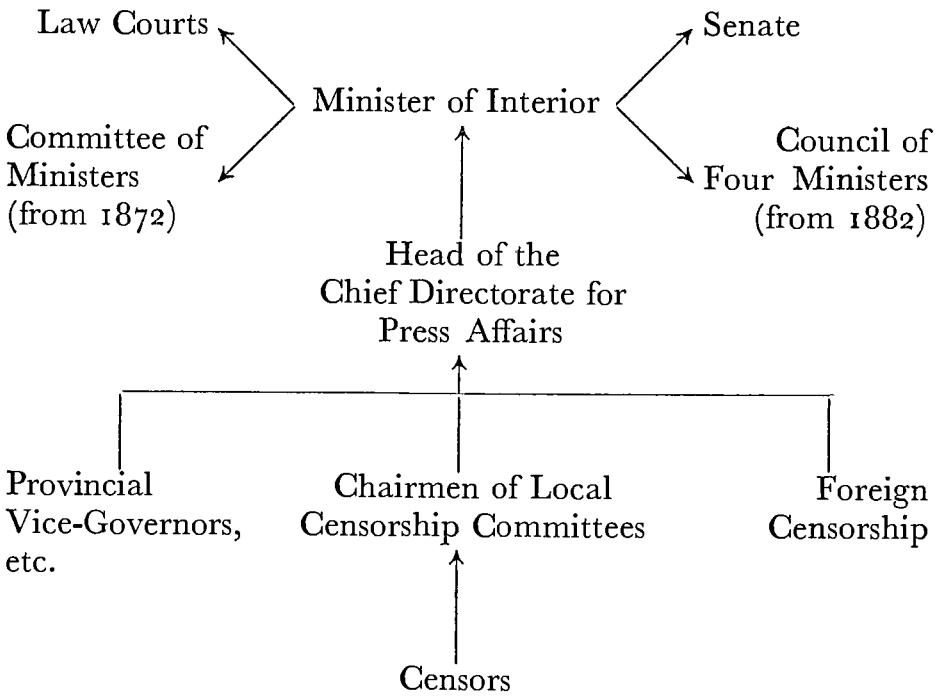
It was not long before even the very modest liberalism of this system succumbed to the harsher atmosphere of the latter part of Alexander II's reign and his successor's. In 1872 the Censorship was given the right to forward a book—or a single issue of a periodical—through the Minister of the Interior to the Committee of Ministers for destruction without going through the courts. This greatly reduced the distinction between the preliminary and the punitive censorship: now that he had lost the right to a court hearing, an author or publisher was far less likely to risk offending the authorities: and if (as often occurred) he took the precaution of ascertaining the censor's opinion before the book had gone beyond proof, then the difference between the two forms of censorship was practically annulled. A further step in the same direction was taken in 1873, when the Minister of the Interior was empowered to forbid the 'reporting or discussion of any question of national importance during a certain period' if it were found to be 'undesirable'.[1] In practice this regulation was used to prevent the publication of anything but official communiqués on such subjects as university disturbances, peasant risings, crop failures, famines and epidemics. In 1882, the year after Alexander II's assassination, the procedure for suppressing periodicals was streamlined:[2] henceforward a periodical could be suppressed altogether not only by a resolution of the Senate, but also (and much more easily) by a Council of Four Ministers—the Ministers of the Interior, of Justice, and of Public Enlightenment, with the Procurator of the Holy Synod—summoned for the

[1] Censorship regulation quoted by Kluge, op. cit., p. 56.

[2] Characteristically, this was done by adding to the Censorship Statute a 'Provisional Note' which remained in force for twenty-three years. (See *Ustav o tsenzure i pechati*, Art. 148 note; Kluge, op. cit., p. 118.)

purpose. Finally, in 1884 the Minister of the Interior acquired a new power, whose very nature was a sign of the times: he could now forbid public libraries and reading-rooms to issue to readers such books as he chose to blacklist. In this way the circulation of books which had been passed by the censors of a more liberal era could be limited to those who had access to copies in private possession.

The plan shewn below illustrates the organization and links of responsibility of the Censorship in the latter half of the nineteenth century:[1]



Censorship Committees existed in the capitals and in a number of other large towns, such as Warsaw, Odessa, Kazan, Reval, Dorpat, Kharkov, Riga and Tiflis. Where they did not exist, the duties of censorship were performed by the provincial Vice-Governors, police chiefs, or other local officials.[2] The Foreign Censorship (*Tsenzura inostrannaya*) dealt with all works published abroad.

[1] Drawn from information in Brockhaus-Efron, loc. cit., Kluge, op. cit., p. 128, and V. Polyansky (ed.), 'Marksistskaya periodicheskaya pechat' 1896–1906 gg.', in *Krasny Arkhiv*, Vol. 9, p. 235.

[2] See Kluge, op. cit., p. 128.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

1. Marx's Letter to Mikhailovsky (see p. 12)

The letter which Marx composed in reply to Mikhailovsky was never in fact sent, but remained in Marx's archives. It was printed in 1886 in the *Vestnik Narodnoy Voli*, and first published in Russia in *Yuridichesky Vestnik*, 1888, no. III.

This letter was the first of a series of Marx's pronouncements on Russia which caused some embarrassment to his Russian followers, for they appeared to countenance the possibility that Russia might by-pass capitalism and achieve Socialism based on the *obshchina*; and so gave the *narodniki* an opportunity to play the Devil quoting scripture. The letter of 1877 is fairly non-committal. In it Marx accused Mikhailovsky of transforming his (Marx's) 'sketch of the origin of capitalism in Western Europe into a historico-philosophical theory of Universal Progress, fatally imposed on all peoples'. In fact all that could be said about Russia was that 'if [she] continues to go on the same path on which she has been going since 1861, she will be deprived of the finest occasion that History has ever offered to any people to avoid all the misadventures of the capitalist system'. This, Marx implied, would reduce the hopes that could be placed on the *obshchina*: 'if Russia is trying to become a capitalist nation after the fashion of Western European nations—and in recent years she has made considerable efforts in this direction—she will not succeed in achieving this aim without first turning a good part of her peasants into proletarians; and then, once she finds herself in the bosom of the capitalist system, she will inevitably fall under the power of its inexorable laws, like all other profane nations.' Marx thus disagreed with Mikhailovsky over the extent to which Russia had already become capitalist, but did not dismiss the possibility that *narodnik* hopes might be realized. When Yuzhakov quoted Marx's letter in support of the *narodnik* thesis some twenty years later, Struve expressed the rather unconvincing opinion that it was written in 'genuine irony'. (Struve, 'Nashi Utopisti' (1897), in *Na raznye temy*, p. 68.)

The time which Marx devoted in his last years to the study of Russian and Russia led him to conclusions which, had they become widely known, might have proved even more troublesome to Russian Marxists. In a letter, of which no less than three preliminary drafts have survived, written in 1881 to Vera Zasulich, he said: 'L'analyse donnée dans le "Capital" n'offre donc de raisons ni pour ni contre la vitalité de la commune rurale, mais l'étude spéciale que j'en ai faite, et dont j'ai cherché les matériaux dans les sources originales, m'a convaincu que cette commune est le point d'appui de la régénération sociale en Russie, mais afin qu'elle puisse fonctionner comme tel, il faudrait d'abord éliminer les influences délétères qui l'assaillent de

tous les côtés, et ensuite lui assurer les conditions normales d'un développement spontané.' (Published in B. Nikolaevsky, *Iz arkhiva P. B. Aksel'roda* (Berlin, 1924), p. 15. English translations of these and other statements of Marx and Engels on Russia are given in Blackstock and Hoselitz, op. cit., pp. 216ff., with bibliographical notes on pp. 274ff.)

2. Plekhanov and a text from Marx: *Spür, sled* or *put'*? (see p. 20)

It may please the curious that Plekhanov, the father of Russian Marxism, bases his argument in his earliest reference to Marx on a distortion or misinterpretation of Marx's meaning. The original German of the passage quoted reads:

> Auch wenn eine Gesellschaft dem Naturgesetz ihrer Bewegung auf die Spür gekommen ist—und es ist der letzte Endzweck dieses Werks das ökonomisches Bewegungsgesetz der modernen Gesellschaft zu enthüllen—kann sie naturgemässe Entwicklungsphasen weder überspringen noch wegdekretiren. Aber sie kann die Geburtswehen abkürzen und mildern. (Marx, *Das Kapital*, Vol. i, 2nd edn. (Hamburg, 1872), Vorwort zur ersten Auflage, p. 6.)

It is quite clear in this context that the phrase 'auf die Spür gekommen ist' refers not to the movement of society itself but to the *discovery* of its laws of development—by means of such treatises as *Capital*. This is made even clearer in the English translation, which was edited by Engels:

> And even when a society has got on the right track for the discovery of the natural laws of its movement—and it is the ultimate aim of this work to lay bare the economic law of motion of modern society—it can neither clear by bold leaps nor remove by legal enactments the obstacles offered by the successive phases of its normal development. But it can shorten and lessen the birth-pangs.

In Danielson's version the word 'auch' is not translated:

> Kogda kakoe-nibud' obshchestvo napalo na sled estestvennogo zakona svoego razvitiya—konechnaya zhe tsel' etogo sochineniya, pokazat' ekonomichesky zakon razvitiya noveyshego obshchestva—to ono ne mozhet ni perestupit' cherez estestvennye fazy svoego razvitiya ni ustranit' ikh putëm dekretov. No ono mozhet sokratit' i oblegchit' mucheniya rodov.

It was possibly this minor slip of Danielson's which led Plekhanov to use the passage in the way he did. At any rate, Plekhanov, omitting not only 'auch' but the whole of the reference to 'der letzte Endzweck dieses Werks', gives the sentence an entirely different sense:

> Posmotrim k chemu nas obyazyvaet uchenie Marksa. Obshchestvo ne mozhet pereskochit' cherez estestvennye fazy 'svoego razvitiya, kogda ono napalo na sled estestvennogo zakona svoego razvitiya', govorit Marks. Znachit, pokuda obshchestvo ne napadalo eschë na sled etogo zakona, obuslavlivaemaya etim poslednim smena ekonomicheskikh fazisov dlya nego neobyazatel'na. (Plekhanov, *Sochineniya*, Vol. i, p. 59.)

This does some violence to the meaning of the Russian word *sled*, which is originally a trace or mark left by anything which is now past, and secondly a track such as footprints, wheelmarks, etc. Whether Plekhanov was conscious of this or not, two pages later he substitutes the word *put'* for *sled*:

. . . my ne mozhem schitat' nashe otechestvo stupivshim na put' togo zakona, po kotoromu . . . [etc.]. (Plekhanov, *Sochineniya*, Vol. i, p. 61.)

Five pages later, he reverts to *sled*; and during the next few years, when he frequently used the text, he oscillated between the two alternatives. (See his letter to Lavrov, quoted on p. 20; and *Nashi Raznoglasiya*, in *Sochineniya*, Vol. ii, p. 113.)

The misinterpretation of a text or the distortion of an idea is sometimes no less fruitful in the development of thought than the original conception.

3. A ballad on Marxism and *narodnichestvo* (see pp. 36 and 193)

The following is a translation, in the original metre, of some verses quoted by Gorev, *Iz partiynogo proshlogo*, pp. 11f. According to Gorev, the verses were circulating from hand to hand in St. Petersburg University about 1895. The anonymous author pokes fun at both sides in the controversy impartially.

The People's Friend's departed,[1]
Into darkness gone.
In his place arises
Struve (*Peter von*).
But to God Almighty,
Maker of this earth,
Came a note from *Basil*,[2]
Man of Learned Worth.
Basil's note was touching,
God was not unmoved—
Sent us *Nikolay -on*—
Thus His mercy proved.
Marxists all were tearful
(See *von Struve*'s face!)
Till from o'er the frontier
Beltov came apace.
Arguments in plenty
Beltov gave us then,
And subjective thinkers
Quailed beneath his pen.
Even old *Kareev*,
Windbag of renown,
Tucked his skirts about him—
Scampered out of town.
Not a sound he uttered,

[1] 'The People's Friend': presumably a reference to the phrase in the title of Lenin's illegal pamphlet *Chto takoe Druz'ya Naroda i kak oni voyuyut protiv sotsial-demokratov*.

[2] 'Basil': Vassily Ivanovich Semevsky, the well-known historian of the 'peasant problem'; at this time he was assistant chairman of the St. Petersburg University Historical Society.

Wrote he not a word;
Only *Mikhailovsky*—
He alone demurred.
Even worthy *Basil*
Was constrained to say:
'After reading *Monism*
Marx is plain as day.'
Marxists young and eager,
Proud and cocky-nosed,
Boasted in their triumph
That the question's closed.
Fate, alas! was cruel,
Compassing their doom;
Who could have imagined
Whence the blow would come?
Came the long-awaited
Capital, Vol. iii,
Came at last; great heavens,
What is this we see?
Marx's Volume iii is
Categorical:
Capital in farming
Will not do at all.
Small-holdings have virtues
Manifold indeed,
But association's
What we really need.
Then *Yarotsky* started[1]
Putting forth the view
That our peasant commune
Should receive its due.
Land and peasant should be
Linked as two in one;
Here the Russian commune
Comes into its own.
Marxists pondered deeply:
'What of *Capital*?
Marx, it seems, is an i-
dealist, after all!
Then I do renounce him
And forswear his name,
And a brand-new theory,
All my own, I'll frame.'
So the Marxists' brows grew
Steadily more moist,

[1] V. Yarotsky, a popular *dozent* at St. Petersburg University and a contributor to *Novoe Slovo* in its *narodnik* days.

And subjective thinkers
Once again rejoiced.
Then the reading public,
Puzzled and distressed,
To the Lord Creator
A second note addressed.
Answer came from Heaven:
'Really men are blind!
Surely you can see who'll
Clear your muddled mind?
Go and talk to *Struve*:
He will quickly say
Whether 'tis *Yarotsky*
Or *Marx* who's astray.
This was Heaven's commandment,
This God's judgement true—
And we have been promised[1]
Struve's Volume ii.

4. The Editor of *Russkoe Bogatstvo* (see p. 81)

The following account of an incident in the history of *Russkoe Bogatstvo*, which is based on a passage in the memoirs of E. K. Pimenova (*Dni Minuvshie*, pp. 175ff.), serves to illustrate the curious situations which arose from the Russian Censorship and methods of circumventing it.

Russkoe Bogatstvo had two 'official' editors, approved by the Chief Directorate for Press Affairs, whose names were P. Bykov and S. Popòv. Bykov never took any hand in the editorial work (which was done by Mikhailovsky) and indeed never appeared in the offices. Nor, as a rule, did Popov, until one day when, quite suddenly and unheralded, he arrived from his home in the Crimea. Since nobody in the *Russkoe Bogatstvo* offices even knew him by sight, he had to introduce himself: 'Your editor.' It happened that Mikhailovsky's birthday fell two days later; naturally, Popov had to be invited to the party. Hitherto, if his arrival had caused some surprise, Popov had at least said and done little to disturb anyone, and had behaved generally as a provincial rather out of his depth in the intellectual society of the capital. At the party, however, drink overcame his shyncss, and he took it upon himself to propose a toast. The toast he proposed, to the horror of the assembled radicals, was that of the Tsar. 'Somehow', Pimenova recalled, 'we managed to shut him up.' After one further *gaffe* of a similar nature, the Editor of *Russkoe Bogatstvo* departed whence he had come, and was no more seen—at least in person: only his name, which appeared as hitherto on the flyleaf of each issue of the review, bore witness to his continued existence.

[1] *Kriticheskie zametki* in fact bore the sub-title *Vypusk pervy*: but no further issues appeared.

5. Gurovich and the financing of *Nachalo* (see p. 95)

Ten years after *Nachalo*'s brief appearance, the question of whether it was financed by the police was aired in the Russian press.

Novoe Vremya began by mentioning that there had been a review supported by secret police funds. *Nasha Gazeta*, which was run by radical democrats like Prokopovich and Kuskova, who had moved in the same circles as the Legal Marxists of *Nachalo*, named the review as *Nachalo*, but maintained that it had not been run on secret government funds. It was financed (according to *Nasha Gazeta*) as a business undertaking with shares, of which Gurovich held one only; moreover he never paid for his share, which made him unpopular with the other shareholders when the review was suppressed and they began to count their losses. *Nasha Gazeta* concluded, however, by admitting the possibility that Gurovich had run a Police Department expense account.

This last concession to common opinion elicited a response from none other than Gurovich himself, who had been in retirement for several years. His interest in the current discussion, apparently, was to clear his own name of the imputation of having misspent departmental funds. A week after the articles in *Novoe Vremya* and *Nasha Gazeta*, Gurovich wrote privately to the Director of the Police Department, denying the insinuations of both these papers:[1]

> The Department of Police spent absolutely nothing on [*Nachalo*], and my whole participation in this review was limited to a deposit of 3,000 rubles paid to the Censorship Committee out of my own resources, which I got back when the review was closed down. . . . *Nasha Gazeta* is wrong to suggest that the Department of Police paid my expenses. It can easily be checked in police files that *Nachalo* cost the police nothing.'

It is hard to see why Gurovich should refer his ex-chief to the files if they did not in fact bear out his contention. It must be accepted, it seems, that there was at least no direct secret police expenditure on *Nachalo*. Certainly *Nachalo* suffered from shortage of money as well as from the attentions of the Censorship. In a letter to a contributor dated 10 June 1899, Kalmykova wrote: '[Our] financial difficulties are enormous.'[2]

What, then, of Gurovich's apparent affluence? There is ample

[1] Gurovich to Director of Police Department, 28 January 1909, in *Byloe*, nos. 5–6 (27–28), 1917, p. 287, where extracts from *Novoe Vremya* and *Nasha Gazeta* are also quoted. It should be mentioned that Gurovich's letter, as quoted in *Byloe*, contains two startling inaccuracies, for it refers to *Nachalo* as a '*podtsenzurny zhurnal*' which was 'published in 1898', whereas in fact it was *bestsenzurny* and published in 1899. This is more easily explained by reference to Gurovich's stupidity (attested by most of those who knew him) or to errors of transcription in *Byloe*, than by any suggestion that the letter is not authentic: a forger, even supposing that there was a motive for this particular forgery, would surely have taken the trouble to check the date.

[2] Kalmykova to A. A. Lugovoy-Tikhonov, 10 June 1899, in Abramkin and Dymshits, op. cit., p. 226.

evidence that both at the time of *Nachalo* and for a few years afterwards he and Voeykova turned their flat on the Basseynaya into a honey-pot to attract unwary and sometimes impecunious radicals, both Marxists and of other persuasions.[1] All accounts assume, perhaps because Bogucharsky had known Gurovich as a poor man in Siberia,[2] that he had no money of his own. If this is true, there are two possibilities left. It may be that, in spite of what he professed ten years later, Gurovich did receive some sort of entertainment allowance from the police. It may be noted that, apart from his denial of *Nasha Gazeta*'s statement, all he claimed in his letter was that 'the Department of Police spent . . . nothing on *Nachalo*. . . . *Nachalo* cost the police nothing'. It is a form of words which might be taken to cover only direct expenditure on publication; and of that, perhaps, there was indeed nothing to be found in the files. But it is perhaps more plausible to suggest that Voeykova, the society woman with connexions at Court, also had some money. If true, it is a detail which does nothing to enhance Gurovich's already unattractive character.

[1] See Totomiants, op. cit., p. 265; Kleinbort, op. cit., pp. 87f.; also Kuskova, Personal Communication to the author.

[2] See Totomiants, op. cit., p. 26

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