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PETER KROPOTKIN



FUGITIVE WRITINGS

Introduction by George Woodcock

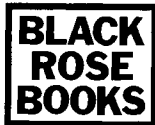
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Peter Kropotkin

Edited with an Introduction by George Woodcock

Volume 10 of The Collected Works of Peter Kropotkin



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Introduction

FROM his schooldays in the Corps of Pages during the early reign of Czar Alexander II, when he essayed fiction and verse, to the disillusioning after years of the Russian Revolution when he worked fitfully on the manuscript of his never-completed *Ethics*, Peter Kropotkin was constantly writing. Already, during the his pre-anarchist period, as an ex-officer of the Cossacks turned geographer, he gave expression to the theories of East Asian mountain forms which he had developed so accurately as he explored large areas of western Siberia and Manchuria as part of his military duties, and for which he is still well remembered by the fraternity of geographers. The monographs and essays he wrote in this field really belong to the geographers as specialists. Here we are concerned with Kropotkin in a wider sense that sees him primarily as a social scientist and social agitator who at a crucial time in his life, as he described vividly in *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, renounced the mental luxuries of the scientific life to serve the people more directly as an activist.

After his conversion to the service of revolutionary ideals in the early 1870s, which occurred largely as a result of his association with exiled revolutionaries and reformers in Siberia, Kropotkin became an activist militant in Russia and later in western Europe. It was here, while on a trip to Switzerland in 1872, and where he encountered the watchmaker disciples of Bakunin in the Swiss Jura, that he had in fact acquired the anarchist ideas that distinguished him among Russian revolutionaries of that populist era. It was after returning home from this trip that he wrote his first, long unpublished work, "Must We Occupy Ourselves with an Examination of the Ideal of a Future System"; it was a paper that he read to the discussion circle to which he had become attached and which is known in history as the Chaikovski Circle, since its principal convenor — rather than leader — was Nicholas Chaikovski, the brother of the celebrated composer. The Chaikovski Circle, in fact, consisted mainly of vaguely socialist populists influenced to some extent by the ideas of Saint Simon and Fourier, but willing to accept a constitutional rather than a revolutionary solution

to Kropotkin's problems. We shall be discussing "Must We Occupy Ourselves..." like the other works included in this volume, in the Preface that accompanies it. But at this point, it is appropriate to point out that Kropotkin, and some of his comrades, did pursue the plan he suggested of visiting the workmen's artels — or living co-operatives — and it was peasants living in these artels and working in the capital as weavers who betrayed him and led him to his imprisonment in the Peter-and-Paul Fortress in 1874.

It was Kropotkin's flight in 1876 from a prison hospital in St. Petersburg that started the career of writing for a publication which continued the rest of his life. He arrived destitute in England, for he had not been able to bring funds with him from Russia, and income from his estate was frozen by the Tsarist authorities, so that he could not have sustained himself as absentee landlord, even if he had wanted to do so, which is unlikely. The only way he could think of earning a living was by writing about the scientific matters of which he had some knowledge, and with this in mind he established a contact with the editors of publications like *Nature*, and with the officials of the Royal Geographic Society, including its secretary, the great biologist Henry Walter Bates, who became his valued friend. Until his last days in England, in 1917, Kropotkin continued this scientific journalism to provide for the needs of him and his wife Sophia and, eventually, his daughter Alexandra. Most of this work was published anonymously or pseudonymously, and now, a century and more later it is virtually impossible to identify it all. In any case, it was the most ephemeral of his work, since it was concerned with science — and particularly the biological sciences — in one of its most mutable periods.

It is with Kropotkin's less narrowly professional writing, much of it done without payment for the anarchist cause, that we are concerned in this edition of his *Collected Works*. This writing covered many fields — anarchist theory and practice, social history and sociology and literary criticism. Here and there, indeed, in his frankly popularising way, Kropotkin blended his socio-political theories with scientific arguments, notably in *Mutual Aid*, which can be seen as one of the great polemics in the evolutionary controversy as well as a study of animal and human societies, and the balancing of scientific knowledge and social theory is done quite openly in *Modern Science and Anarchism* which, with other essays on science and the natural world, will form the next and final volume of this series.

Many of Kropotkin's books, like *Mutual Aid*, *Fields Factories and Workshops*, and *The Great French Revolution*, and the incomplete *Ethics*,

are works of deep thought and original scholarship, though Kropotkin never affected a professorial style and evaded scholarly apparatuses as far as he could. Others of his books, like *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* and, to a less extent, *In Russian and French Prisons*, were autobiographical, developing the narrative vein Kropotkin had tried in his boyhood to turn to fiction. These books and his contributions to reviews like *The Nineteenth Century*, the *Fortnightly Review*, and the *Atlantic Monthly*, to newspapers like the *Times* and the *Daily Chronicle*, and to major compilations like *The Encyclopedia Britannica* and Elisée Reclus' *Géographie Universelle*, established him among the men of letters who flourished in the late Victorian and Edwardian eras in Britain.

But there are two other books which revealed a different role, that of the anarchist activist and polemicist; these were *The Conquest of Bread* and *Paroles d'un Révolté*, only recently translated into English and first published in this series as *Words of a Rebel*. These consisted of the articles he wrote for the periodicals he founded and edited in Switzerland and France from 1878 until 1883, when he was arrested and imprisoned by the French authorities. They were written for working people; Kropotkin had the advantage that, after Proudhon, he was one of the few leading anarchist militants to express himself eloquently on paper. Bakunin was a fiery orator who carried his listeners on the flow of his enthusiasm, but his written prose was turgid, he could never organize his thought so well on paper as he did facing a sympathetic audience, and he rarely finished his ponderous essays. Kropotkin, who wrote in three languages, Russian, the French that came to him easily as a Russian aristocrat trained by French tutors as a child, and with increasing confidence English, deliberately set out to discuss serious things in a simple prose that would be understood by any moderately educated working man. In doing so he wrote the best anarchist literature since Proudhon died.

The Conquest of Bread, and *Words of a Rebel* served as word mines for Kropotkin's contemporary activists and for later generations, with the result that many of the pamphlets by him, translated into languages as far apart as Korean and the Portuguese of Brazil, which spread over the earth during the 1980s and early twentieth century were in fact chapters taken from one or other of these books and turned into quickly printed publications that could be sold for a few pence or sous.

By printing the source books for these numerous Kropotkin pamphlets we have to an extent simplified our task, but there were other works that appeared after the seminal propagandist books and

which justly demand a place in this collection. I have naturally left out everything included in the earlier volumes where it belongs, so that the period of Kropotkin's greatest political activism, from the later 1870s and early 1880s in Switzerland and France is virtually absent from the present volume of shorter works. Two other clearly identifiable periods are in fact represented here; his conspiratorial phase in Russia where he lived a double life as gentleman-scientist and sheepskin-clad agitator among the workers and wrote "Must We Occupy Ourselves..." in 1873; and the 1880s and 1890s after his arrival in England in 1896, to which all the other four items belong.

This was the early part of Kropotkin's time in England when, apart from his scientific journalism, he was still active in trying to create an anarchist movement; he was instrumental in founding *Freedom* in 1886 and the Freedom Press as an anarchist publishing house at the same time; both of them survive more than a century later as a testament to the durability of the anarchist ideal. But Kropotkin appears at this time not merely as an anarchist militant, increasingly less active, but also as a member of late Victorian culture, lecturing at universities and staying with professors, making his house at Bromley open to Sunday gatherings of writers and painters as well as radical thinkers, and slowly retreating from the London haunts of anarchist activity, as his health deteriorated, to refuges like Bromley and finally, Brighton.

During the same period as he wrote "The State" and these other pamphlets, Kropotkin also wrote fairly regularly in *Freedom*, where his occasional articles from 1886 to 1907 were devoted to themes he thought would interest English working people, though, in fact, *Freedom* was read — as it is a hundred years after — mainly by middle-class radicals rather than by authentic proletarians. Apparently he intended to collect these pieces in a book similar to *The Conquest of Bread* or *Words of a Rebel*, but never did so, and it was left for Nicholas Walter and Heiner Becker a century later to carry out this task in a collection which they called *Act for Yourselves*. This volume, published at *Freedom's* centenary in 1986, is still freely available from Freedom Press in London, which is why I have not included any of its contents.

There are two other items falling into the category of lesser works which I have omitted from the present volume. One is a shift rather than an omission, for *Modern Science and Anarchism* (1903) represents the beginning of the post-activist phase when he was drawing together his scientific and social interests. I have accordingly made it one of the features of the final volume of this series; the rest of that volume will consist of a never completed series of essays on the subject of evolution

and environment published in *The Nineteenth Century* between 1910 and 1915.

The other omission is the material which Kropotkin wrote, particularly at the time of the 1905 Revolution and afterwards, regarding the situation in Russia. Hidden away in anonymous or pseudonymous pieces in the Russian revolutionary emigré press, notably in the publications of the anarchist *Khleb i Volya* (Bread and Freedom) group, there are pieces by Kropotkin — examinations and exhortations. But they are addressed from outside, and in judging even those that can plausibly be attributed to Kropotkin, we have to bear in mind the warning he himself gave in “Must We Occupy Ourselves...” about the different experiences and hence the different viewpoints of emigré leaders and of conspirators actually working in Russia. This difference shows in his writing from England on the Russian situation; he was there — as he was in so many other contexts — and incessant optimist, and if he perhaps rightly saw the 1905 Revolution emerging spontaneously from the will of the masses, he did not understand how the authoritarian leaders of the revolutionary parties were learning the lessons of this situation, so that while 1905 may have begun as a spontaneous uprising, October 1917 would be from the beginning an organized and successful conspiracy simulating a spontaneous outbreak. There really seems no point in my showing that the great social anarchist and visionary was not always perceptive regarding the Russian politics of the moment. The same, after all, might be said of Marx or Engels and even of the early Lenin, and certainly of Bakunin. So, except for “Must We Occupy Ourselves...,” where Kropotkin speaks very much to the current Russian situation as one deeply involved conspiratorially in the then and there of Russian circumstances, nothing is included here about the situation in the country to which he remained devoted but which he did not see between 1876 and 1917.

In assembling this volume of short works I have been indebted to many people working beforehand in the field, including Roger Baldwin, who prepared in 1927, Kropotkin’s *Revolutionary Pamphlets*, a somewhat different collection from the present because it contained many of the items appearing in *The Conquest of Bread* and *Words of a Rebel*, and Martin A. Miller, who in 1970, published Kropotkin’s *Selected Writings on Anarchism and Revolution*. In his collection, Professor Miller included the first publication of the important formative essay, “Must We Occupy Ourselves with an Examination of the Ideal of a Future System,” translated by Victor Ripp, and a new translation,

better than anything in the past, of "The State," done by Vernon Richards.

I express my appreciation of the willingness with which Professor Miller has allowed me to use these items from his collection, and also I thank Dr. Ripp and my old friend and comrade, Vernon Richards, for permission to reproduce their respective translations.

*George Woodcock
Vancouver, 1993*

Must We Occupy Ourselves
with an Examination
of the Ideal of a
Future System?

Preface

THIS is the only known statement made by Kropotkin of his revolutionary beliefs during his period of activism in Russia, though in his *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* he does tell us retrospectively and in his own rather vivid terms of the development of his anarchist ideas and his increased involvement in radical activity that would lead to the writing of "Must We Occupy Ourselves with the Examination of the Ideal of a Future Society" in the later months of 1873.

When the Grand Duke Nicholas visited Kropotkin in the Peter-and-Paul Fortress during 1874, and quizzed him—perhaps on the Tsar's behalf—about the origins of his revolutionary ideas, he was somewhat alarmed that Kropotkin may have already developed these subversive beliefs while he was still a member of the Corps of pages and a close personal attendant of Alexander II. Kropotkin's answer was: "In the Corps I was a boy, and what is indefinite in boyhood grows definite in manhood."

It is true that Kropotkin did react as a child against the authoritarian family pattern imposed by his father, who was a military authoritarian untouched by the liberal ideas that had seeped in during the reign of Alexander I and had inspired the Decembrists in the 1820s. Yet through his mother Kropotkin was related to noblemen who had taken up in the surge of reformism that temporarily influenced the Tsar and his advisers and led to the emancipation of the serfs in 1861. It was in the hope of taking part in the projected reforms of the 1860s that the young Kropotkin—with all the privileges of the Emperor's personal page—chose a commission in the humble Mounted Cossacks of the Amur rather than in one of the prestigious Guards regiments. Indeed, Siberia at first did seem a bridgehead for reform to take hold before it swept over the whole of Russia, and on his arrival Kropotkin became involved in a number of investigative commissions, including one on the Siberian prison system.

In the latter part of Alexander's reign the reactionaries regained control, and Kropotkin gave up his hopes of furthering reform and instead carried on the explorations of the East Asian mountains on which his early repute as a geographer would be based. These journeys supplied him with observations of the behaviour of wild animals and of primitive peoples that he would later develop in books like *Mutual Aid*. His enquiries in this direction only became linked with rejection of

authority when he and his brother Alexander resigned their commissions in 1867, largely in protest at the barbarous treatment of certain Polish prisoners who had staged a daring escape in Siberia.

Back in St. Petersburg, Kropotkin obeyed the tradition that young aristocrats who did not join in the armed forces should join the civil service, but he combined his light official duties with attending the University and with preparing for the Russian Geographical Society the monographs stating his conclusions on the formation and direction of Asian mountain chains, on the last great Ice Age and on the desiccation of Central Asia, the works on which his reputation as a geographer still remains secure. He was interested in radical ideas, and an exiled writer in Siberia had already moved him in the direction of anarchism by giving him a volume of Proudhon. But he did not become involved in the discussion groups and conspiratorial societies that were beginning to re-emerge in the early 1870s until after what he regarded as his conversion.

This took place in 1871 when he had gone on a geographical expedition to examine Ice Age phenomena in Finland. In the lengthy solitudes in wild country he began to consider the future course of his life, and a decision was precipitated when a telegram came inviting him to become Secretary to the Russian Geographical Society, a post that would enable him to carry on his geographical work and pay him enough to live modestly. The moment had come for choosing the main direction of his life. He rejected science on the grounds that pursuing it exclusively was a luxury in a world where many people survived in the direst of poverty. He returned to St. Petersburg resolved to involve himself with those who were working for radical change.

But instead of seeking the activist groups there, he decided to travel first to Switzerland, which was the destination of many Russians in the 1870s, not only those with radical ideas but also many women in search of a higher education not available to them in Russia. Both Michael Bakunin and Peter Lavrov, leaders respectively of the revolutionary and the reformist populists were living there. But Kropotkin was not then interested only or even primarily in Russian expatriate politics. He had heard of the First International, the International Workingmen's Association, and he was anxious to find out how European working people went about seeking their liberation from authority—political and economic.

He went first to Zurich, where most of the Russian expatriates were concentrated, and then to Geneva. By this time, the International was already becoming sharply divided between its Marxist and Bakuninist

trends. In Geneva, it was mostly in the hands of the Marxists, and while Kropotkin enjoyed his first encounters with real workers at the union halls there, he did not find the atmosphere of political calculation congenial. He went to the Swiss Jura, and there, among people like the printer James Guillaume and the watchmaker Adhémar Schwitzguegel, friends and disciples of Bakunin, he absorbed the doctrine of free socialism that they projected. (He never met Bakunin, who was then living in Locarno, but that is a passage of anarchist history that has remained irremediably obscure.) He was an anarchist by the time he returned to Russia.

He did not have very long to wait for entry into a group of like-minded young people, for his radical views had been observed and it was known that he had returned from western Europe with a collection of pamphlets and journals which were brought over the border for him by a Jewish smuggling ring based in Cracow and which the Tsarist authorities would certainly have regarded as subversive. A fellow student—and later a famous geographer—Dimitri Klemens (whom Kropotkin, in his *Memoirs*, called Kelnitz) approached him with the suggestion that he might be interested in joining the Chaikovski Circle which included members who were later to become famous revolutionists, such as Sophia Perovskya and Sergei Stepniak. Kropotkin agreed, and Klemens proposed him; after some objection to the fact that he was a prince and had close connections in the Tsarist court, he was accepted. Though some of its members were to become tragically involved in conspiratorial groups like *Narodnaya Volya*, the Circle was propagandist and educational in its main intent, aiming at enlightening in a socialist direction the workers of St. Petersburg, who were mainly young peasants coming to the city because of rural poverty and who lived in artels or dwelling communities. Kropotkin showed a talent for assimilating with these people, and very soon, as the sheepskin-clad Borodin, he was well-known among them.

His activity did not last for many months, since the net of the Third Section, the Tsarist secret police, soon closed on the Circle and on the satellite groups its members had founded in other towns and cities. Eventually more than 2,000 people were imprisoned, including Kropotkin who was picked up on March 12, 1874, but many were released because of their tenuous links with the main group, until eventually in 1879, and long after Kropotkin's own escape from Russia, the residue were arraigned at the Trial of the 193.

It was at this trial that "Must We Occupy Ourselves..." made its first appearance, as a piece of evidence for the prosecution. We have no

knowledge what motivated Kropotkin to write such a manifesto in 1873, except perhaps to justify a revolutionary extremity which most of his co-workers did not share. We know from the memoirs of various people associated with the Circle that it was discussed at several meetings, and Kropotkin seems to have tried hard and unrealistically to gain acceptance of what must clearly have been a minority position. The rough draft of the manifesto, with its many corrections and notations, was evidently circulated among the members, for it was found unsigned by the police in the apartment of I.I. Gauenstein shortly before Kropotkin's arrest.

After the trial it remained hidden in the archives of the Tsarist police for more than forty years, until after the October Revolution, and it seems to have been forgotten by Kropotkin himself, who never mentioned it in any of his later works. It was first published in an abbreviated form as part of a memorial issue of the magazine *Byloe* in 1921. It was first published completely in 1964—during one of the Moscow thaws—in a volume entitled *Revolutionnoe narodnichestvo*, edited by Boris S. Itenberg. It is from this version that Dr. Brill made the present translation, omitting the marginal notes and crossed-out passages.

* * *

In "Must We Occupy Ourselves..." we find Kropotkin forming the ideas that would dominate the years of his political maturity; he did so against the unshaped background of mid-nineteenth century Russian populism. Like most of his fellow Chaikovtsi, he was in feeling and in action the heir of the 1860s notion of "going to the people," and his essay can be seen as a study of the best way to reach them. Like *Words of a Rebel*, though with less assurance, it deals with the matter of educating the people, not only in general, but also as activists for the revolution, which he believes can emerge only from the spontaneous will of the people. Already—though he still talks of the revolutionists as a party—he sees them only as the instigators, and stresses the anti-Marxist notion that a revolution made by a conspiratorial party will fail; it will only succeed if the people are convinced to carry it out because they see it as necessary; it can only succeed if the myth of the socialist State is abandoned. In suggesting that revolutionary activists should be agitators and inspirers and not leaders, he was in fact prefiguring his own career. For however much loyalty and reverence he inspired, Kropotkin never sought to capitalize on them to gain power of any

kind. He aimed to be a militant propagandist and writer, advocating, explaining, clarifying, and ready to fight in the ranks on the barricades; no more.

In all this, the influence of Bakunin, as transmitted by Guillaume and Schwitzguebel in Jura, is evident, and it would be the libertarian, Bakuninist wing of the International to which Kropotkin would give a lasting loyalty during his West European exile in the late 1870s. The influence of Proudhon was there in his anti-Statism, of course, but it was even more evident in Kropotkin's developing economic ideas.

He believed, it is clear, that the means of production and consumption must be expropriated and collectivised, though he wisely did not attempt to foresee an intricate mechanism for fulfilling this aim; he was already showing his rejection of any ideas of utopian planning. But he had not yet developed his anarchist communist ideas; that would come when he returned to western Europe later in the decade. He still saw a collectivist rather than a communist arrangement, and clung to a neo-Proudhonist idea of the exchange of goods and services against labour cheques and their alternatives. Still, all that he said against the State and in favour of the expropriation of private property must have seemed extremely radical to his fellow Chaikovtsi, who would have been content with a parliamentary constitution, open elections and the legalization of labour unions. They would almost certainly have voted him down if it came to an issue. But Borodin, when the Tsarist agents arrested that formidable agitator, was already the Kropotkin we know in history, though his first work was neither published nor remembered.

G.W.

Must We Occupy Ourselves with an Examination of the Ideal of a Future System?

I believe that we must.

In the first place, in the ideal we can express our hopes, aspirations and goals, regardless of practical limitations, regardless of the degree of realization which we may attain; for this degree of realization is determined purely by external causes.

In the second place, the ideal can make clear how much we are infected with old prejudices and inclinations. If some aspects of everyday life seem to us so sacred that we dare not touch them even in an analysis of the ideal, then how great will our daring be in the actual abolition of these everyday features? In other words, although daring in thought is not at all a guarantee of daring in practice, mental timidity in constructing an ideal is certainly a criterion of mental timidity in practice.

In speaking about the definition of the ideal, we of course have in mind the definition of only four or five prominent features of this ideal. Everything else must inevitably be the realization of these fundamental theories in life. Therefore, these things cannot be a subject for discussion now. The forms of the realization cannot be derived by scientific means. In practice they can be derived only by means of repeated practical discussion shortly before and during the realization on the spot, in the *obshchina*,¹ in the artel, but not now at the beginning of things.

There is not the slightest doubt that among different socialists of the most varied shades there does exist a rather complete agreement in their ideals, if these are taken in the most general form. Those social conditions which they would hope to realize in the more or less near future are generally quite the same: their differences proceed not from fundamental differences in the ideal, but rather from the fact that some concentrate all their attention on that ideal which can, in their opinion be realized in the immediate future; others concentrate on the ideal which in the opinion of the former, is more remote.

In fact, all present-day socialists strive toward the fullest possible equality in the conditions of development of private individuals and societies. They all desire the realization of such a system so that everyone would have the same opportunity to earn his livelihood by

his own labour, that is, so that everyone would have the same right to use those instruments of labour and those raw materials without which no labour is possible so that everyone would be compelled to earn his livelihood by his own labour; so that the distribution of useful occupations in society would be such as to make impossible the formation of a class occupied for life (and moreover, because of heredity) exclusively with privileged labour, that is, labour more pleasant, less difficult, and less protracted, but giving the right to the same, or greater prosperity as others; so that everyone would have the same opportunity, on a level with all others, to receive that theoretical education which now constitutes the lot of only a few; so that the relations of a private individual to all others would be such that he might be happy and at the same time bear the least amount of restraint on his personal freedom and personal development. In a word, to state these positions briefly, today's socialists are striving for equality; in rights to work; in labour; in methods of education; in social rights and duties, with the greatest possible room for the development of individual characteristics; in those capabilities which are harmless for society.

Such is the programme of the immense majority, if not all of the socialists of our time. Even those who evidently advocate a completely different ideal, those who, for instance, advocate as the ultimate ideal a State communism or a hierarchical system and so forth in the end desire the same thing. If they concentrate strong power in the hands of either a ruling minority or elected representatives and, but this means, sacrifice individual initiative, this is by no means because they attribute no value to it or consider it detrimental, but only because they do not consider possible the realization of such a system in which all four forms of equality would be realized in equal measure and they sacrifice one form for the attainment of others. Moreover, not one of the active followers of these learned socialists believes that any social form whatever could ossify and resist further development.

We will now examine all the above-mentioned various forms and conditions of equality separately, and we will see how compatible they are with one another and how necessary a common realization of all of them is for the durability of each. We will examine in particular the practical measures which now seem useful for the realization of each of these ideals.

The first condition of equality is self-evident and is least subject to dispute.

If each member of society is to have the possibility of earning his livelihood by his own labour—without, as a result, enslaving himself to

anyone else, neither to a private citizen, nor to a company, nor to an *artel*—he must obviously always have the possibility of acquiring that shovel with which he intends to dig, that cocoon from which he intends to spin a thread or to weave a fabric, that bread, those clothes, that room where he must live, that place where he will work, before he manufactures anything having an exchange value for society. It is apparent that in former times production was so simple that all this did not require a vast accumulation of the initial products of personal labour, that anyone, although working only with the instruments of labour available in his family, on those raw products which he took free of charge from nature, could produce useful exchange values. But now—and the progress of society consists in this—the preliminary accumulation of the products of labour for the creation of the instruments of labour and the storing up of raw material must be so great that it can no longer be the business of a private individual or a private group of individuals. It is clear, therefore, that if it is desirable that a person beginning to work not enslave himself, not yield part of his labour, his strength, his independence, either permanently or temporarily, to private individuals whose arbitrariness always will determine how great that part should be. Thus it is necessary that private persons control neither the instruments of labour (tools, machines, factories), nor the places of cultivation of the raw products (the earth), nor the raw products stored up beforehand, nor the means for storing up and conveying them to a given place (the means of communication, warehouses, and so forth), nor the means of existence during work (the supplies of the means of subsistence and housing).

Thus we arrive at the elimination, in that future system whose realization we desire, of any personal property, of any property of an associated joint stock company, an *artel*, and so forth.

Those writers of a former time who came to this same conclusion saw no way out other than the transfer of all the capital of society to the State, that is, to a powerful organization representing in itself the interests of society and managing all matters which concern the whole society in total.

It was left to it (the State) to guarantee each member of society the opportunity to obtain the necessary instruments of labour, and so forth; it was also left to it to distribute among the members of society those products made by them. But precisely because of this, the brilliant dreams of the followers of these scholars did not find enough adherents among those who would have to realize these dreams in actuality. In the very ideal of these scholars only one aspect of life is