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Problem Questions of History of Russia XIX – the First Quarter of XX Centuries in Interpretation P.A. Kropotkin

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The article focuses on various discussion problems' Russian history XIX – first quarter of the XX centuries in interpretation ideologist anarchy-communism, outstanding scientist P.A. Kropotkin. Noted, that ideologist anarchism appraised only positively Russia revolutions, since he seed fight people against state in their. Explore, that opinions P.A. Kropotkin on the war transformed, and afterwards, he began consecutive fighter behind continuation of the First World War.

Keywords: Kropotkin, anarchism, history opinions, Russia.

Introduction

Peter Alekseevich Kropotkin's historical sights are the important component of outlook of this outstanding thinker. P.A.Kropotkin has put in pawn a methodological basis of the new revolutionary-anarchical historical concept. Paying the basic attention to questions national and revolutionary movement, the ideologist of Russian anarchism or antistateism (Greek anti – against, and from French état – the state, is equivalent to anarchism), has managed to give estimations of the basic events of Russian and general history essentially new to the time.

P.A.Kropotkin's historical sights were an organic part of its revolutionary -anarchical outlook. The historical science was for the ideologist of Russian anarchism the powerful ideological weapon by means of which it struggled against autocracy and the state institutes of authority. For this reason P.A.Kropotkin was

engaged in development of the basic historical problems not only in special historical monographers and scientific articles, but also in publicist works, on pages of newspapers and magazines, in letters of business character. This feature of a statement gives to historical sights of the ideologist of Russian anarchism an acuteness, irreconcilability to dominating outlook, polemic brightness and an openness.

The scientific and political heritage of the ideologist of the Russian anarchism draws to itself attention as domestic (Ermashova, 1967; Baranchenko, 1995), and foreign researchers (Cai, 1992; Sakon, 1992). It is necessary to note, that basically, were studied its political (Blauberg, 1991; La Torre, 1993), philosophical (Hamilton, 1964), legal sights, and also the biographic facts of many-sided activity of the ideologist anarchism (Danilov, 1976; Slatter, 1994). Researchers have analyzed a significant part of questions of the

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anarchical doctrine and the theory of revolution of P.A.Kropotkin (Zateev, 2003), have tried to estimate its political (Pirumova, 1989) and ethical views (Itenberg and Sasaki, 1994; Kinna, 1995). At the same time, the theme of history of our country and emancipating movement in Russia in P.A.Kropotkin's estimation was not analyzed at all. E.V.Starostin marking is absolutely right, that «Clauses and books Кропоткина in which it, anyhow, mentioned history of Russia, features of its historical way, history of revolutionary movement, etc., did not become a subject of close studying» (Starostin, 2005, P. 10). Also there were not quite opened its sights at genesis and development of the state, and the question on formation of historical views of the theorist of the Russian anarchism has not been designated at all.

As a whole, historical sights of an outstanding thinker of anarchical ideology have not received due attention from scientists-historians. V.A.Markin written «However not all the parties of extensive creative heritage Kropotkin is absolutely right are known equally» (Markin, 1993, P. 154). Meanwhile, the detailed analysis of historical views of the ideologist Russian anarchism will promote an intensification of process of accumulation of historical knowledge. In connection with the special interest shown by a modern society to the decision of historical problems, the objective analysis of historical sights of P.A.Kropotkin is the ripened problem.

The point of view

History of the Russian state P.A. Kropotkin analyzed through a prism of the anarchist theory, that is through criticism of the state. Trusting in broad masses, in their effective force which will turn Russia to a victory of labors over oppressors, it considered all Russian history, as never-ending revolt of the unskilled workers against the state and all estates.

P.A.Kropotkin has paid steadfast attention to country reform of 1861. It considered, that destruction of the serfdom in Russia has been prepared by decembrists in 1825, petrashevchams in 1848 and country performances in 50x (Kropotkin, 1991).

The direct precondition of a cancelling of the serfdom was a long number of country performances. P.A.Kropotkin marked also that circumstance, that a quantity of landowners was influenced with distribution of liberal ideas of revolutions 1793 and 1848. As a result among landowners the idea about necessity of a cancelling of the serfdom has extended. As precondition Kropotkin marks also the fact of intellectual awakening of Russia per 1857-61. Concerning peasants' revolts, P.A.Kropotkin correctly spoke, that with 1850 of excitement among peasants have increased. And to the beginning of the Crimean war there were splashes in peasants' revolts. And, has occurred not only quantitative increase in peasants' revolts, but also character has changed – excitements began to get more and more severe character, and for their suppression it was necessary to send a lot of active armed forces. «Revolts have accepted such terrible character, – wrote P.A.Kropotkin about 50x years of XIX century, – that for suppression it was necessary to send the whole shelves' with guns whereas before small groups the soldier made up for horror on peasants and stopped indignations» (Kropotkin, 1990, P. 127).

Thus, in opinion of the ideologist of anarchism, excitement among peasants, on the one hand, and influence of liberal mood of court circles, with another, needs of carrying out of country reform have led. «These flashes, on the one hand, – wrote P.A.Kropotkin, – and deep disgust for the serfdom in that generation which was put forward at the introduction on Alexander's II throne, – with another, have made

clearing peasants by the vital issue» (Kropotkin, 1990, P. 127).

Concerning preparation of country reform Kropotkin spoke the following. The first step was made by Alexander II, proving necessity of reform for the speech said in March, 1856. The Lithuanian nobility has sent emperor the message in which it is spoken about necessity of destruction of the serfdom in reply to which Alexander II has expressed intention to release peasants. In provinces and St.-Petersburg specially selected committees for development of the project of clearing of peasants began to work. But for wide discussion of projects business is not has reached. Alexander II has charged to censorship to not pass a material about a preparing reform. P.A.Kropotkin considered, that on weak-willed emperor has rendered strong influence a party of landlords. «Landlords whispered, – wrote P.A.Kropotkin, – that in day of clearing of peasants general beating landowners and that Russia will begin then waits new pugachevshina, it is even more terrible than 1773. Alexander II was the person flabby and listened to similar ominous predictions» (Kropotkin, 1990, P. 128).

P.A.Kropotkin positively concerned all displays of freedom, directed against the state dictatorship, has unequivocally approvingly estimated revolt of exiled of Poles 1866 on road Krugobajkalskoj. It is necessary to note, that P.A.Kropotkin at once has responded to revolt by the report which has been published in Exchange Sheets №301-303, 305, 307, 312 for 1866.

P.A.Kropotkin, as well as the majority of revolutionaries-populists, has positively concerned to Russian-Turkish war 1877-1878. The ideologist of anarchism considered this war emancipating as southslavic people were under a turkish yoke during several centuries. In spite of the fact that Russian tsarism aspired in the given war to achievement of the mercenary purposes, nevertheless, in P.A.Kropotkin's opinion,

«oppressed Slavs will fall arms to any who will help their struggle. Because the turkish yoke the constancy and the cruelty surpasses everything, that the human nature» (Kropotkin, 1877, 24 juin) is capable to bear.

The ideologist of anarchism considered, that oppression of tsarism is better, than double, i.e. political and religious, operation southslavic people.

P.A.Kropotkin's great value gave reforms of tsar on released from a Turkish yoke southslavic the grounds. «Yes, a fighter and the murderer of Poles, – wrote P.A.Kropotkin in clause «To east question», – Alexander II becomes the liberator Bulgarian ... Tsar, this Neron socialists, ... creates establishments for expropriation violent by turkish of or pert to a landowner the grounds to transfer them without the repayment to the Bulgarian peasants ... Russian government carries out revolutionary mission» (Kropotkin, 1877, 24 juin).

The beginning of XX century has brought Russia war with militaristic Japan. P.A.Kropotkin condemned the Russia-Japanese war 1904-1905, including its aggressive both from imperial Russia, and from the Japanese militarism. «The present war is a celebration of the most low capitalist instincts, – it wrote, – against which any conceiving person should struggle» (Bread and will, 1904, P. 6).

However, the ideologist of anarchism is not agreed with Bolsheviks who wished defeat Russian armies for the sake of the prompt approach of revolution. It only regretted for vain human victims and wanted only approach of the world. The position of Bolsheviks, in its opinion, spoke only influence of Engels and Liebknecht, «which hated Russia, than the Bismarck» (RSALA, f. 1390, L. 11).

Defeat of Russia in the Russia-Japanese war has served as one more factor destabilized political conditions in the country. The social and

economic crisis aggravated by political crisis, promoted folding of a revolutionary situation which has led to the First Russian revolution 1905-1907. In A.I.Rakutov's opinion the ideologist of anarchism allocated not only subjective, but also objective factors of genesis of revolution. It wrote, that «For preparation and make except for moral feeling at some number of outstanding persons and at weights many other things is necessary for revolution still» (Rakutov, 1975, P. 71).

P.A.Kropotkin has concerned to revolution 1905-1907 positively as considered, that it could bring clearing oppressed to people. It could not take part personally in revolutionary events, however, being abroad, closely watched and actively reacted to occurring events in Russia. In particular, P.A.Kropotkin condemned the Jewish pogroms. A.Yassur written has absolutely fairly paid attention to this circumstance «Kropotkin had personal communications with Jews-anarchists, in working quarters of London and in the United States America ideas of anarchism have found the spreading in the environment of the Jews run from Russia owing to an amplified anti-Semitism and the state support of a wave of pogroms. It has caused condemnation from Russian intelligence, including Kropotkin, Gorki, Tolstoy, etc.» (Yassur, 1994. P. 164).

When revolutionaries began to use actively various terrorist means, including expropriation the theorist of anarchism has decided to condemn publicly in the beginning the given actions (Mkrtichan, 1992). However, under influence of revelry of the governmental reprisals, Russian anarchist has solved, that during such moment will condemn not ethically the revolutionaries who are being the grounds of uncompromising struggle. «When executioners of each boy, – wrote P.A.Kropotkin in the letter to M.I.Goldsmit, – seized on a robbery, execute in 24 hours, – we cannot act with resolutions against robbers. Whatever thought – we have no right and the

stone still to throw, in addition to the imperial gallows» (SARF, f.1129, L.16).

In the beginning of 1910th there was the complex international situation caused by struggle of leading imperialistic powers for repartition of the world. Attempt of Germany, together with the allies on the Tripartite alliance to select colonies at powers Antanty has led to the First world war. It is necessary to note, that in P.A.Kropotkin's sights at war as the social phenomenon, there was an evolution. If in 80th years of XIX century the ideologist of anarchism condemned national-chauvinism in any form, declaring about readiness to protect only «France revolutionary, bearing freedom, equality and a brotherhood», but in any way «small circle rich men and crowd made destitute» (Kropotkin, 1886, № 28).

Moreover, the ideologist of anarchism called to transform war imperialistic into war civil, against the governments: «Dealers, exploiters, bankers, different fools – here a contingent of the French chauvinists. If war nevertheless will flash, our program is known: a social revolution against all bourgeoisies together taken» (Kropotkin, 1887, № 44).

But in 1906, during work of the London congress of Russian anarchists, P.A.Kropotkin has not admitted acceptance of the anti-war resolution. «It has come out with the assumption of an opportunity of a campaign of Germany to Russia, – recollected I.S.Knizhnik-Vetrov, – named Wilhelm II «the crowned gendarme» and with great hatred spoke about its artful plans» (Knizhnik-Vetrov, 1922, P.28-52).

Therefore in 1914 P.A.Kropotkin was already convinced defender. It is necessary to agree with A.A.Mkrtichan's written opinion «That has resulted convinced internationalist Kropotkin in camp defenders during the first world war? Obviously, among the reasons which have affected this decision, there was a belief in special revolutionary mission of France in the Europe» (Mkrtichyan,

1991, P. 58). P.A.Kropotkin considered, that Russia should defend from an attack of militaristic Germany. Despite of the general humanistic orientation of its political sights, it sometimes did exceptions for display of violence. One of such exceptions just also is connected with external war. The ideologist antistateism personified Germany and Austria-Hungary with a world harm which tries to destroy all rudiments freedom which have arisen in republican France. «Struggle in the Europe goes now, – spoke P.A.Kropotkin on meeting the soldier, – between two opposite beginnings: national, a democratic principles and the beginning of reaction, to which protection the Union of Three Emperors was up in arms. One of these three conspirators will already dethrone. It is necessary to derthrow both two others. And this question is solved now on fronts» (SM SPL, f. 601, a unit storage 1245).

Therefore, it was glad, that Russia has appeared in this war on the party of the democratic forces struggling against imperial spirit of Germany. Actually, the Russian anarchist did accent not to Russia, and to France. Russian army has been simply obliged, in its opinion, to protect revolutionary France. «In fact from Germany to Belgium and France, to Paris with its revolutionary traditions there were ... soldiers, blow German nobility and capitalists,» great-German «imperialism and adoration of the almighty state, and there were they to destroy a heritage of three revolutions which have been gone through by France» (SARF, f. 1129, L.9).

It is necessary to note, that P.A.Kropotkin's sights at war sharply contrasted with opinion of Bolsheviks. Owing to what, the ideologist of anarchism has undergone to the sharp criticism from their party. «After I have named Germans «Huns», – wrote P.A.Kropotkin, – on me began to look as at the mean criminal who has encroached on sacred bases of socialism» (Kropotkin, 1995, P. 155).

In it the theorist of anarchist-communism has kept these sights at war and at a role of Russia during all war. February revolution in Russia only has added to it confidence of necessity to continue war. In fact after February revolution soldiers needed to protect any more only revolutionary traditions of France, but also «freedom won by Russian people, and we who have gathered here in the name of the maximum moral beginnings of mankind, great slogans of freedom, a brotherhood and equality, bless you on your feat» (SARF, f. 1129, L.69, Bask.).

P.A.Kropotkin has positively concerned to February revolution. It is necessary to agree with N.M.Pirumova written «Kropotkin welcomed February revolution and in the beginning hoped for succession of events aside anarchist-communism» (Pirumova, 1991, P. 41). P.A.Kropotkin understood, that the February revolution liquidated monarchic authority, has not solved all the collected problems. According to the sights at revolution, it distinguished revolution and reform. Revolution, in its representation dared a barrier existed in the form of emperor. But now reform which, and has been obliged to construct economic, political, ethical bases of a free society should enter the role. P.A.Kropotkin so understood importance after revolution constructions of a new life that has left hospitable England and, after long absence, has returned home.

In Russia the theorist of anarchist-communism has collided with a lot of political-economical problems. It vainly tried to direct at the State Meeting antagonistic classes on the joint decision of essential problems. It assigned greater hopes to activity zemski societies which were considered by it as voluntary communities. Whether «It is impossible to find the necessary building forces in Zemstvoes, – asked P.A.Kropotkin at G.E. Lvov, – and to organize Zemski Russia for inevitable

reorganization as it has organized Zemski the Union for war as serious political force» (Works of the Commission on P.A.Kropotkin's scientific heritage, 1992, P. 158-161).

However zemstvos have not justified hopes anarchist. Nevertheless, it optimistically looked ahead. «I deeply trust, – wrote P.A.Kropotkin, – that Russia will cope with present ruin» (Kropotkin, 1991, P. 55). It well concerned to both heads of Provisional government and as a whole supported to their politician. «In Petersburg I have more close got acquainted with Kerensky, – wrote P.A.Kropotkin to S.P.Tyurin, – its position is high-is tragic. Here often I see George Evgenevichem (Lvov – O.S.), and we very much have grown fond of it» (Works of the Commission on P.A.Kropotkin's scientific heritage, 1992, P. 158-161).

P.A.Kropotkin did not expect arrival of October revolution and a gain of political authority Bolsheviks. However, in the beginning it welcomed October revolution, as the certificate of overthrow of domination of bourgeoisie and transition to people's power in the form of Advice. The ideologist of antiauthoritarianism allocated the positive actions of the Bolsheviks which have shown: in the form of socialization of the ground, manufacture, and also barter.

But to the theorist of anarchist-communism, the consecutive fighter with the government, there was not on a shower a domination of social democrats. It is necessary to agree with A.L.Nikitin's written opinion «Russian revolution with its civil war and dictatorship of a party has brought disappointment all without exception to layers of a society ... Kropotkin recognized, that revolution has gone not on that way which we prepared it (Nikitin, 1991, P. 92-93). «We experience revolution, – wrote P.A.Kropotkin, – ... what to do now?... It creates horrors. It ruins all country» (Business of Work, 1927, P. 5-6).

He always criticized any form of the state, including marxism. The ideologist of anarchist-communism considered, that «transition from old modes of production and trade to new ... is made by revolutionary dictatorship of a small party. Reorganization in Russia has accepted character yakobism dictatorships 1793-1794. Having begun in the form of dictatorship, it conducts to unsuccessful of all business, and in the further to reaction and generously spilled blood» (SARF, f. 1129, L.4). P.A.Kropotkin considered, that Bolsheviks will struggle against freedom of people, but secretly hoped, that the popular initiative nevertheless will get the best. Not accepting the Soviet authority, the ideologist of anarchism nevertheless did not oppose it, and tried to direct the revolutionary initiative to a positive channel.

Not accepting the Soviet authority, the ideologist of anarchism nevertheless did not oppose it, and tried to direct the revolutionary initiative to a positive channel. «First of all for this purpose it is necessary, – wrote P.A.Kropotkin, – that the Soviet Government has given up the thought about management of Russia through dictatorship of one party that it has involved wide national forces in construction of a national life and, certainly, has recognized necessity for this purpose a full freedom of speech» (Kropotkin, 1991, P. 46). The ideologist of anarchism not only suggested to enter a freedom of speech, but also struggled for it. «If I have accepted above mentioned offer, – wrote P.A.Kropotkin, – (about edition CE Committee of products of P.A.Kropotkin. – O.S.), – it would mean my moral approval of that the whole country is reduced on a degree of slavish silence as which I consider fatal, not only for development in general ideas and lives, but also the most Russian revolution» (Kropotkin, 1991, P. 56). In the created conditions the ideologist of anarchism offered the federal device, as a

way leading to anarchical communism. «Unique rescue of Russia, – P.A.Kropotkin wrote, – is – its transformation into the close union (federation) of free areas and people as it takes place, for example, in the North-American United States» (Kropotkin, 1991, P. 52).

Moreover, in complex conditions of Civil war of P.A.Kropotkin has sharply negatively concerned to foreign intervention. «Russia experiences now the same deep and significant period, – wrote P.A.Kropotkin, – what was for British people the period of revolution 1639-48, and for France – 1789-94, and all the nations should refuse that shameful role which played the Great Britain, Prussia, Austria and Russia during the French revolution» (Kropotkin, 1991, P. 43). The ideologist of anarchism considered, that Russia should solve independently the problem questions caused by revolution. «Under such circumstances, – wrote P.A.Kropotkin, – military intervention of allies in Russian business is twice undesirable» (Kropotkin, 1991, P. 50).

Conclusion

Thus, it is necessary to note, that the anarchist doctrine has served P.A.Kropotkin as basis for interpretation of debatable questions of history of Russia. Its sights at war as the social phenomenon, have undergone change. If in the beginning it categorically demanded development of imperialistic war in civil in the further it only condemned the Russia-Japanese war 1904-1905 as aggressive, leading only to vain human victims. After its belief were transformed also it became the consecutive fighter for continuation of the First world war. The ideologist antistatism estimated Russian revolutions only positively as saw in them struggle of people against the state. It is necessary to note, that only to October revolution P.A.Kropotkin had a special opinion. It considered, that Bolsheviks as supporters of the state way of management, will take away from people won by it with such greater work freedom. However, the great humanist sincerely hoped, that the popular initiative nevertheless can win and lead a society to anarchical communism.

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