

125

7783-6

STUDIES IN HISTORY, ECONOMICS AND PUBLIC LAW

EDITED BY THE FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Volume LXVII]

[Number 1

Whole Number 161

RUSSIAN SOCIOLOGY

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE
HISTORY OF SOCIOLOGICAL THOUGHT AND THEORY

BY

JULIUS F. HECKER, Ph.D.



New York

THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONGMANS, GREEN & CO., AGENTS

LONDON: P. S. KING & SON, LTD.

1915

A Contribution to the History of Sociological
Thought and Theory

RUSSIAN SOCIOLOGY

I

words based upon the English pronunciation of the alphabet. The Russianized name of the Russian capital "Petrograd" has been used (instead of St. Petersburg) throughout with the exception of quotations.

In conclusion, it is a pleasure to state that I owe my interest in sociology to the inspiring teaching of Professor Franklin Henry Giddings, who also spent much of his valuable time in the correction of the manuscript.

J. F. H.

NEW YORK, MAY, 1915.

CONTENTS

PART I

THE BEGINNINGS OF RUSSIAN SOCIOLOGY

CHAPTER I

	PAGE
THE SOCIAL-POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF RUSSIAN SOCIOLOGY	
How Russian sociology may be understood	19
The conflict of the developing forces of autocracy and democracy .	21
The rôle of Peter I	23
Catherine II, her social theories and practical policies.	23
The Decembrist movement, its representative leaders and theorizers.	26
Speransky on the signs of the time	27
Nicholas I and his policies	28
The nationalistic trend, Slavophiles and Russophiles	29
The Westernizing trend and its principal theorizers	34
The great reform period and its consequences	36
The populist movement, its leaders and organizations	37
The reaction of the eighties	43
The rise of industrial classes and spread of Marxism	43
The revolution of 1905-6 and its consequences	44

CHAPTER II

THE SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES OF THE SLAVOPHILES AND THE RUSSOPHILES

1. <i>The Slavophilism of Danilevsky:</i>	
His theory of historical types of culture	46
His opposition to Darwinism	47
His cosmological and biological analogy.	48
His idea of progress.	49
His five generalizations or laws of evolution	50
His conclusion as to the Slavic type of culture	52
Critique of his theories	52

	PAGE
2. <i>The Russophilism of Leontiev :</i>	
His relation to Panslavism	53
His Theocratic ideal and hatred of democracy	53
His synthetic theory of social evolution and its application to the Russian state	54
Critique of Leontiev's theories.	56
3. <i>Neo-Slavophilism of Vladimir Soloviev :</i>	
His relation to the older Slavophiles	57
His ethical approach to sociological problems	57
The individual versus society	58
The three fundamental psychic characteristics of the human species	58
His idea of progress	60
Conclusion	61

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES OF THE WESTERNISTS

1. <i>Chaadaev representative of western theocratic thought :</i>	
His critique of Russian civilization	63
His appreciation of the Roman hierarchy	64
2. <i>Belinsky representative of the humanitarian trend :</i>	
His transitional rôle.	65
The problem of the individual versus society	65
His organic view of society	66
His later departures.	67
3. <i>Herzen the precursor of Russian populism :</i>	
His disappointment with Western Europe	68
His hope for a special social-economic evolution of Russia	69
His practical program.	71
His relation to the Slavophiles	72
Conclusion	73
4. <i>Bakunin's theory of anarchy :</i>	
His organic view of society	74
Life as the dynamics of progress	74
Liberty the goal of evolution	75
The state and other institutions of control in their relation to " natural patriotism "	76
His propaganda by deeds	77
Conclusion	77
5. <i>Granovsky's historicism :</i>	
His theory of the disintegration of masses by thought.	78
The statistical method in social sciences	78

6. <i>Chernishevsky's populist theories :</i>	
His philosophical presuppositions	79
His mechanistic conception of society	80
The rôle of institutions in society	82
His view of the peasant land-commune.	83
Conclusion	84

PART II

THE SUBJECTIVIST SCHOOL

CHAPTER I

THE SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES OF LAVROV

<i>His philosophical and methodological presuppositions :</i>	
His subjective method	88
What is sociology and what are its problems.	91
<i>His theory of social solidarity or social control :</i>	
How solidarity arises	95
Transition of animal solidarity into human society	97
Dynamic factors of solidarity	100
Summary.	102
<i>His theory of individuation :</i>	
The genesis of the individual	104
The individual a product of the group.	106
The historical functionings of the individual	107
The individual and social forms	109
Summary.	110
<i>His theory of social progress :</i>	
Its principal queries.	111
In what <i>could</i> progress consist.	112
In what <i>did</i> progress consist	114
In what <i>does</i> social progress possible for our time consist.	116
His definition of social progress	117
Conclusion and estimate of Lavrov	118

CHAPTER II

THE SOCIOLOGICAL SYSTEM OF MIKHALOVSKY

<i>His philosophical and methodological presuppositions :</i>	
His idealistic positivism.	120
His subjective method.	122
The province of sociology and its relation to the sciences.	123

His theory of the struggle for individuality:

1. The relation of the Spencerian and Darwinian theories of evolution to the theory of the struggle for individuality. . . . 125
 2. The biological aspect of the theory of the struggle for individuality. 131
 3. The psychological aspect of the theory of the struggle for individuality. 135
 - a. The individuating process and the functions of the hero and of the mob. 136
 - b. The individuating process and the function of love . . . 140
 - c. The individuating process and the function of religion. . 142
 - d. The individuating process and the functions of libertinism and asceticism 144
 4. The economic aspect of the theory of the struggle for individuality 145
 - a. The individuating process and the functioning of division of labor. 146
 - b. The individuating process and the functioning of Russian economic institutions 148
 5. The historical aspect of the theory of the struggle for individuality 150
- Conclusion and estimate of Mikhalovsky. 153

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF YOUZHAKOV

- His criticism of the subjectivist method. 156
- His outline of a suppositious sociological system 157
- His contribution analyzed:
1. The sources of his philosophical and sociological views . . . 158
 2. What is sociology and what are its principal problems 160
 3. What is society and what are the ultimate and proximate causes of socialization 161
 4. The organic and physical aspects of sociology 163
 5. The ethical aspect of sociology 167
 6. The economic aspect of sociology. 169
 7. Résumé and conclusion. 172

CHAPTER IV

THE SOCIOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF KAREYEV

1. *His philosophical and methodological presuppositions:*
 - His idealistic positivism. 174
 - The classification of the sciences. 176

- The subjective method 179
2. *What is society in its various aspects:*
 - The organic, mechanistic, psychical, and anthropological aspects of society 180
 3. *The nature of the historic process and the role of the individual in history:*
 - The pragmatic and cultural aspects of history 185
 - The hero and the mob 186
 - Individual differences 187
 - Individual activity and cultural evolution. 188
 - Summary. 190
 4. *The sociological problem of progress:*
 - Elements of a sociological theory of progress. 191
 - What is progress and a progressive process. 193
 - The general law of progress. 198
 5. *Conclusion:*
 - Kareyev and the subjectivist school of Russian sociology . . . 201

PART III

MISCELLANEOUS SCHOOLS AND TRENDS OF
RUSSIAN SOCIOLOGY

CHAPTER I

THE OBJECTIVIST SCHOOL OF SOCIOLOGICAL CRITICISM

*(The Orthodox Marxists: Plekhanov and Lvov)*I. *Plekhanov's Marxist sociology:*

1. His critique of the non-Marxian subjectivist sociologists and Russian Populists: The "special" non-capitalistic evolution of Russia. 206
- The subjectivist method 207
- The rôle of the exceptional individual in history. 209
2. His own philosophical and methodological presuppositions:
 - His materialism 210
 - His dialectic method 211
3. His theory of history or of social evolution: Economic determinism 212
- Environment changes the individual 213
- The tool-making animal 214
- The function of the productive forces 215

	PAGE
The class struggle	216
Conclusion, and estimate of Plekhanov	218
II. <i>Lvov's Marxist sociology</i> :	
Follows Plekhanov	219
Considers collective labor the basis of social evolution	219

CHAPTER II

THE NEO-MARXISTS: STRUVE AND TUGAN-BARONOVSKY

1. <i>The Neo-Marxist theories of Struve</i> :	
His orthodox Marxian period	220
Critique of the subjectivist school	221
The socializing function of capitalism	222
His revisionist period	222
Marxism criticised.	223
The experience of the revolution and his new liberalism.	224
2. <i>The Neo-Marxist theories of Tugan-Baronovsky</i> :	
His psychological presuppositions	225
Man's needs as the dynamic force in social evolution	226
Economics and the social life	230
The social classes and the class struggle	232
Conclusion	234

CHAPTER III

RUSSIAN ANARCHIST AND REVOLUTIONIST SOCIOLOGY

(*The Theories of Kropotkin and Chernov*)

1. <i>Peter Kropotkin's anarchial sociology</i> :	
His philosophical presuppositions	236
Anarchism the goal of social evolution.	237
What is society.	238
How does it originate.	239
The rôle of mutual aid.	240
The development of the communistic ideal.	241
The rôle of the exceptional individual	246
Conclusion and critique	246
2. <i>Victor Chernov's revolutionary sociology</i> :	
His philosophical and methodological presuppositions	249
His theory of the social process	252
Conclusion	256

CHAPTER IV

THE JURISTIC AND THE HISTORICAL-GENETIC SCHOOLS OF
RUSSIAN SOCIOLOGY

(*The contributions of Korkunov and Kovalevsky*)

1. <i>The juristic school of Russian sociology</i> :	
The precursors, Sergeyevitch and Muromtzev	257
Korkunov's theories	258
The nature of society	258
The character of law considered as the social order	262
The conception of the state	263
Conclusion	264
2. <i>The historical-genetic sociology of Kovalevsky</i> :	
The methodological aspect of Kovalevsky's sociology.	265
The historical-genetic aspect of Kovalevsky's sociology.	267
Conclusion	269

CHAPTER V

THE FRANCO-RUSSIAN SOCIOLOGISTS

(*Novicov and De Roberty*)

1. <i>The sociological theories of De Roberty</i> :	
His Comtism	271
From positivism to hyperpositivism	273
Summary of his most recent ideas.	274
Conclusion	277
2. <i>The sociological theories of Novicov</i> :	
His philosophical presuppositions	278
His analyses and classification of struggle	278
His biological analogy of society	279
His theory of justice	279
The development of the state	282
Conclusion and critique	283

CHAPTER VI

RETROSPECT AND FUTURE OF RUSSIAN SOCIOLOGY

The social and scientific achievements of Russian sociology.	285
Analytical table of Russian sociology.	287
The future of Russian sociology	287

APPENDIX I

THE TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY IN RUSSIA	289
---	-----

APPENDIX II

PAGE

SOCIOLOGICAL LITERATURE IN RUSSIA.	290
BIBLIOGRAPHY	292
INDEX	297
VITA	311

PART I

THE BEGINNINGS OF RUSSIAN SOCIOLOGY

CHAPTER I

THE OBJECTIVIST SCHOOL OF SOCIOLOGICAL CRITICISM (THE ORTHODOX MARXISTS PLEKHANOV AND LVOV)

THE popularity of the subjectivist school with its populist propaganda and with its hope of a special, non-capitalistic, social-economic evolution of Russia was diminished by the introduction of the Marxian philosophy of social evolution. Russian Marxism both possessed a sociological theory and made a practical appeal. The latter was directed to the rapidly increasing city proletariat, whereas the former was seized upon by the intellectual classes and by them exploited for an attack upon the subjectivist sociology which in the eighties had reached the zenith of its popularity. Hegel, Feuerbach and the English and French materialists had prepared the Russian mind for the philosophy of Marx. The readiness to embrace the Marxian creed is the more easily understood when we remember that the desire of the Russian intellectuals was to cast off the yoke of autocracy and to emancipate the individual. Marx's social philosophy showed that changes in the forms of production are followed by an inevitable change of social and political institutions.¹ The Marxian or Objectivist Sociologists were divided into two factions. The orthodox, who were championed by the "father" of Russian Marxism, Plekhanov, and his pupils and friends² and the

¹ Cf. Plekhanov, *History of Russian Social Thought*, Petrograd, 1914, vol. i, p. 129.

² Of these we may mention Lenin, Ulianov, Patressov, and Maslov. They voiced their opinions principally in the socialist monthly, "The Contemporary World," and in other publications.

heterodox Neo-Marxists and Revisionists, of whom Struve and Tugan Baronofsky are the principal exponents.

I. *Plekhanov's Marxist Sociology*

Plekhanov¹ is not only the first but also the foremost of the Orthodox Marxist School in Russia. His principal sociological work is *On the question of the development of the Monistic Conception of History*; it is inscribed to Mikhailovsky and Kareyev as the surviving champions of the subjectivist school and its avowed purpose is to controvert their views by developing the Marxian monistic conception of history and social evolution. A brief analysis of Plekhanov's theory of social evolution follows:

1. Plekhanov's critique of the non-Marxian subjective sociologists and Russian populists.
2. Plekhanov's philosophical and methodological presuppositions.
3. Plekhanov's theory of history or of social evolution.

I. PLEKHANOV'S CRITIQUE OF THE NON-MARXIAN SUBJECTIVE SOCIOLOGISTS AND RUSSIAN POPULISTS

Plekhanov who, to begin with, was an ardent Russian populist, became in the early eighties after his conversion to Marxism, just as ardent and militant an advocate of this new political and social creed. His attacks were directed against the leaders of the Russian populist movement and he ridi-

¹Georgy Valentinovitch Plekhanov (1857-) is one of Russia's famous revolutionists; he founded the Marxian wing of Russian Social Democracy. In 1880 he was forced to leave his native land, nor has he been allowed to return thither. Being considered legally an undesirable citizen, he was compelled to write under various pseudonyms as N. Beltov, Volgin, Valentinov, etc. He enjoys an international reputation as Russia's most scholarly Marxist. His writings cover the various phases of the Russian socialist and revolutionary movement and are written for propaganda or for polemical purposes.

culed as utopian their hope for a special non-capitalistic social evolution of the Russian people.¹ Plekhanov classed the Russian populist leaders among the French and English utopian socialists of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The populist movement received its intellectual bearings from subjectivist sociology, especially that of Lavrov and Mikhailovsky,² and, therefore, Plekhanov pours out his wrath fiercely against this school in a manner which, to a foreign observer, seems hardly warranted but which, nevertheless, proves how intensely nationalistic these Russian sociologists were. Thus the "objectivism" of the Marxist school proves to be highly colored by passionate subjectivism which actually discredits its claim as a truly scientific theory.³ Plekhanov's attack upon the subjectivist school is directed first upon its "subjective" method which

¹This hope even Marx had cherished at the time of the Russian transition period which began with the emancipation of the serfs. He expressed his opinion in this regard in a letter to the editor of the "Otechestvennyya Zapiski". This letter was later used by Mikhailovsky and other populists as an argument against the Russian Marxists. Plekhanov explains away Marx's wording in that letter which he claims was written not as an argument but as a letter of consolation, intended for the purpose of quieting the troubled young Mikhailovsky, who worried over the inevitable doom of the Russian commune. "It was necessary," says Plekhanov, "to show the young Russian author that dialectical materialism does not condemn any nation to anything, that it does not show a general and 'inevitable' way for all people and at any given time; but that the development of any given society always depends upon the coördination of the inner social forces, and therefore it is necessary for every serious man to study the existing coördination, for only such study can show what is determined or indetermined for a given society." *On the Question of the Development of the Monistic Conception of History*, 4th ed., p. 218.

²Vide supra, pp. 39-40.

³This intense polemical spirit shows itself in all of Plekhanov's sociological writings and especially in his book, *A Critique of Our Critics*, Petrograd, 1906.

he identifies with the idealists' presupposition that ideas of individuals shape environment and history and not that environment conditions and determines man's ideas.¹

Secondly, Plekhanov attacks the subjectivists' idea that society is the product of the interaction of social forces or factors. "What is 'a social-historical factor'?" he asks. His answer is that

"a social-historical factor" is an abstraction, the conception of it arising by means of abstraction and because of this abstracting process, the different aspects of the social integer take on the appearance of particular categories, and the different phenomena and expression of activity of the social man, as morals, law, economic forms, etc., are transformed in our mind into particular forces, as if they were advancing and conditioning this activity, which is its final or ultimate cause.²

Therefore interaction of the factors explains nothing; it only leads one into a vicious circle which reduces itself to the formula: that environment creates man and man creates environment. Or, in other words, "the development of human nature interprets itself through its collective needs, and on the other hand the development of collective needs interprets itself through the development of human nature."³ In order to free oneself from the subjectivistic eclecticism and to escape the vicious circle in which it has continually been moving, Plekhanov says that

¹ *On the Question of the Development of a Monistic Conception of History*, p. 26. Plekhanov thinks that even Comte did not emerge from this vicious circle, but that, despite all his positivistic pretences, he only "chewed over" the ideas of St. Simon, and the ideas of the anonymous author of "De la physiologie appliquée a l'amélioration des institutions sociales." Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 54-56.

² Cf. *On the Question of the Development of a Monistic Conception of History*, p. 9.

³ *A Critique of Our Critics*, p. 311.

we must find that historical factor which created both the characteristics of a given people and its form of government, the factor that created the very possibility of their interaction. If we find such factor, we shall have the correct point of view sought for, and then without any difficulty we shall solve the disturbing contradiction.¹

As the reader may readily surmise, Marxism is the "point of view" that will furnish the key to the mysteries of the universe!²

The role of the exceptional individual as a factor of progress was emphasized by the subjectivist school.³ This view Plekhanov attacks as an antiquated utopian doctrine, which cannot successfully be maintained against the criticism of dialectical materialism. "The peculiarities of reason of a given time can be understood only in relation to the peculiarities of reason of the preceding epoch."⁴ At its best, therefore, the genius surpasses his contemporaries only in that sense, that "*he earlier than they grasps the meaning of new generating social relations.*"⁵ This, Plekhanov believes, justifies him in seeing in the genius nothing but a product of his environment. And since the dialectic process of evolution has no set goal, everything being in the process of change, formulas of progress have no meaning whatsoever.⁶

¹ Cf. *On the Question of the Development of a Monistic*, etc., p. 11. Cf. also p. 166.

² *Vide infra*, p. 213 et seq.

³ *Vide supra*, p. 202.

⁴ *On the Question of the Development of a Monistic*, etc., p. 173.

⁵ *Idem.* Italics are Plekhanov's.

⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 87.

2. PLEKHANOV'S PHILOSOPHICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL
PRESUPPOSITIONS

Plekhanov describes himself as a *dialectic and monistic Materialist*. He believes that there can be but two types of philosophy: the idealistic and materialistic. He says: "All those philosophers in whose view the prime factor is matter belong to the camp of materialists; but all those who consider this factor spirit, are idealists."¹ Epistemologically he holds to Engel's naive, pragmatic realism expressed in the old prosaic epigram: "The proof of the pudding is the eating thereof." The criterion of truth is not subjective but social. It "lies not in me, but in the relations existing outside of me,"² says Plekhanov. Hence "true" are the opinions which correctly represent these relations; "wrong" are those opinions which misrepresent them. "True" is that theory of natural science which correctly grasps the mutual relations of the phenomena of nature; "true" is that historical description which correctly depicts the social relations of the epoch under description."³ Our author reviews the history of materialism in the eighteenth century and places the blame for its failure to maintain itself in the face of the revival of German idealism upon its conclusion that man is the product of environment, and that the changes of environment are the product of man. In this manner they were entrapped in the same vicious circle from which the older schools of philosophers in vain tried to escape. This perplexity was solved by Hegel's great contribution of the dialectic method, which, when freed from its idealistic accretions, enriched the older materialism and made of it the philosophy of the new age. Plekhanov, who

¹ Cf. *On the Question of the Development of a Monistic*, etc., p. 3.

² *Ibid.*, p. 178.

³ *Idem*. Italics are Plekhanov's.

anticipates the accusation of Hegelianism, defends the great teacher and ranks his contribution, as it appears in Marx, with that of Copernicus, of Darwin, and of the other immortals.¹ Dialectics is the principle of all life. "Every motion is a dialectical process and a living contradiction; and since in the interpretation of every phenomenon of nature in the last instance it becomes necessary to appeal to motion, so we must agree with Hegel who said, that *dialectics is the soul of scientific knowledge*."² The most important aspect of the dialectic process is that it affirms "the transition of quantity into quality."³ If everything moves, everything changes, "*every phenomenon sooner or later is inevitably transformed into its own opposite by the activity of those very forces which condition its existence*."⁴ Thus, if every phenomenon negates itself, no institution can be of absolute or of permanent value; everything is good in its place and in its time, that is to say, relatively good. "Dialectical thinking excludes every Utopia, and, in fact, any formula of progress with a set goal. Social forms do constantly change, by reason of "the higher development of their content."⁵ Thus does Plekhanov express his mysteries of Hegel, who furnished the key to unlock the mysteries of the universe and to rid humanity of every utopian view of society.

The idealistic dialecticians, however, failed to exploit their new method properly, and by identifying the dialectic process with logical thinking they returned to the old view which explained everything by human nature, "since thinking is one of the aspects of human nature."⁶

Plekhanov explains that the earlier idealists remained in

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 176.

² *Ibid.*, p. 75.

³ *Idem*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 62. Italics are Plekhanov's.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 64. Italics are Plekhanov's.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

the dark as to the true nature of social relations. It remained therefore for the young Hegelians Feuerbach and the Bauer Brothers, and especially for Marx and Engels to emancipate dialectics from its subjective idealism and to apply it to an objective materialism,¹ which viewed human nature and social relations as an ever-changing product of the historic process entirely independent of any individual's ideals or wishes.²

Plekhanov is in philosophy and method an Hegelian who, following Marx, inverted Hegel's idealism into materialism. To Hegel objective history was but the reflection of the absolute which he arrived at from subjective process. To the dialectic materialist the real is but the objective world and process, of which the subjective is but the reflex. "For us," says Plekhanov, "the absolute idea is but the abstraction of motion, by which is called forth all coördination and condition of matter."³ Upon this philosophy and by means of the dialectic method Marx and Engels developed their history of social evolution which Plekhanov attempts to defend and to develop as a sociological theory.⁴

3. PLEKHANOV'S THEORY OF HISTORY OR OF SOCIAL EVOLUTION

Plekhanov attempts to be the Russian *alter ego* of Marx.

¹ "At the basis of our dialectics lies the materialistic conception of nature. . . . It would fall were this the fate of materialism. And inversely: without dialectics . . . a materialistic theory of knowledge is impossible." Plekhanov in his introduction to his Russian translation of Engel's *Feuerbach*, 1st ed., Geneva, 1895, p. xxv.

² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 108.

³ Introduction to Engel's *Feuerbach*, p. xxvi.

⁴ Plekhanov believes that dialectics are inevitable to sociology. He says: "In order to understand the important rôle of dialectics in *Sociology*, it is enough to remember in what way *Socialism* out of an *utopia* was transformed into a *science*." *Ibid.*, p. xxviii.

He aims to interpret Marx so as to suppress the popular subjectivist school of Russian sociology. Marx's theory of social evolution he expresses as follows: "In order to exist, man must support his organism, which support he obtains by utilizing natural environment. This dependence presupposes a certain reaction of man upon nature, but while reacting upon natural environment man's nature also changes."¹ Our author differentiates environment into geographic environment or the conditions of place, and into historic environment or the conditions of time. "Geographic environment acts upon a given people, but it does so through the medium of social relations, which take either one or another form as they hasten or retard the growth of productive forces in possession of that given people."² Man is differentiated from the animal because his ancestors learned the use of tools. Implements of labor are equal to new organs and react upon the anatomical structure of the tool-using individual. "Quantitative differences are passing into qualitative differences."³ History takes a new trend of development. It is the era of the perfecting of his artificial organs, of the growth of productive forces. As the perfecting of the tool begins to play a determining part in man's existence, "social life itself begins to change in accordance with the development of the productive forces."⁴ The tools of production are analogous not so much to new organs of the individual man as to those of the social man. Therefore every definite change in the manner of production is inevitably followed by a change

¹ *On the Question of the Development of a Monistic*, etc., p. 108.

² *History of Russian Social Thought*, Petrograd, 1914, vol. i, p. 1.

³ *On the Question of the Development of a Monistic*, etc., p. 109. Cf. also p. 147.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

in social structure. The role of geographic environment is all-important in this transitional period. Says Plekhanov:

It was because of peculiar characteristics of geographic environment, that our anthropomorphic ancestors rose to those heights of mental development which were necessary for their transition into tool-making animals. And, again, only some peculiarities of that same environment could give favorable opportunity for the use and for the continuous perfecting of this new achievement—the making of tools.¹

The ability to make tools is constant with man, but the application of this ability in practice is continually changing. "At any given time the criterion of this ability is conditioned by the criterion of the already attained development of productive forces."² Thus the further development of any given people at any given time depends upon the degree of development to which it has already attained. For example, the slave system of the Greek Republics made a practical use of Archimedes' inventions impossible.³ Plekhanov does not deny to intellect the power of invention, but he believes that the economic background alone can explain why intellect acts in some one certain manner and not differently.

Every ideal and social institution—whether it be the family, the state, property, or law,—every institution changes with any alteration in the process of production.⁴ Changes are at first quantitative and finally become qualitative. Qualitative changes present in themselves revolution-

¹ *On the Question of the Development of a Monistic, etc.*, p. 114.

² *Ibid.*, p. 115.

³ *Cf. ibid.*, p. 118.

⁴ In defending this theory, Plekhanov attempts to prove his case by anthropological data. All changes in social institutions, the beginnings of art, even the play of children, are to him but the reflex of economic conditions. *Cf. A Critique of Our Critics*, last two chapters, especially pp. 383 *et seq.*

ary phenomena, i. e. the change is not gradual, but one which has come by leaps and bounds after relatively long periods of apparent quiet.¹

According to Plekhanov these changes though often masquerading as ethical and religious movements, have an economic cause. "The *psychology* of society adapts itself to its *economy*. Upon a given *economic basis* there inevitably develops a corresponding *ideological superstructure*."² This Plekhanov maintains is a monistic process: economics and psychology are but two aspects of one and the same thing. He says:

Every new step in the development of the productive energies, forces a people in their every day life into new relationships which do not correspond to the passing form of production. These new and never heretofore existing relations reflect themselves in the psychology of the people, and change it. But in what direction? Some members of society defend the old order, these are the static people. Others, to many of whom the old order is not profitable, want the new. Their psychology changes in the direction of those *relations of production which in time will be substituted for the old economic order*. . . . Once this revolution is accomplished a complete correlation of the psychology of society with that of economics is established. On the soil of the new economy flourishes the new psychology, and for a time the relation remains undisturbed; it even continues to perfect itself. But little by little new differences show themselves: the psychology of the progressive class again outlives the old relations of production. Not ceasing to adapt itself to the economic background, it, however, again begins to adapt itself to the new scheme of production, which is the seed of the economics of the future.³

¹ *Cf. On the Question of the Development of a Monistic, etc.*, p. 117.

² *Ibid.*, p. 152. Italics are Plekhanov's.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 152-153. Italics are Plekhanov's.

The simplicity of this psychology is offset and complicated by the historical environment of every social aggregate. The historical environment of any one group is never entirely like that of other groups. This heterogeneity of historical environment, plus the economic differences existing within the group, intensifies the class struggle which expresses itself through political and industrial organizations. The class struggle he regards as the realistic expression of abstract, dialectical materialism. Historically, it shows itself first in the disintegration of primitive communism, leading to inequality and to the rise of classes with different and often with conflicting interests. These classes are in and among themselves engaged in a continuous, hidden or open, struggle which reflects itself in their ideologies.¹ Summarizing Plekhanov's theory of social evolution² we see that, like all other animals, our pre-human ancestors were in the beginning in complete subjection to nature. Their development was brought about unconsciously through adaptation to environment and by means of natural selection. During this period we find no signs of self-consciousness and therefore no freedom; it is the reign of physical necessity. Somehow man began to differentiate from the rest of the animal world into a tool-making animal. Tools are artificial organs directed towards the subjection of environment to man's own interest. So gradually nature is more or less subdued to the conscious will of man. The degree of the development of the productive forces conditions the extent of man's control over nature. These productive forces, in turn, are conditioned by the characteristics of geographic environment. In other words, nature furnishes man with the means for its own subjection. Man's struggle with nature is therefore

¹Cf. *ibid.*, p. 166.

²Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 192, and 197-200.

a social one. The degree and nature of man's sociability is conditioned by the extent of the development of the productive forces which also condition the development of the structure of society. Geographic environment determines the rise of productive forces; hence it is antecedent to the development of the social structure. Once, however, certain social relations have come into being, their further development proceeds according to their own inner laws, the energy of which may hasten or retard the development of productive forces which, in their turn, condition the historical development of mankind. Geographic environment acts now upon man through the medium of historic environment and greatly changes his direct relation to nature; which varies at every stage of the development of the productive forces. The development of social environment according to its own laws, does not mean that the nature of such development depends upon the will and consciousness of the people. Whereas in the first stages of social evolution geographic environment dominated man, he is ruled now by a new slavery created by himself while utilizing his physical environment. This new slavery is *economic necessity*, which increases directly with the growth of the productive forces, and is accompanied by an ever-increasing complexity of social relations. This new social process tends completely to escape social control, the producer appearing to be the slave of his own product.¹ The logic of development of the productive and social relations leads man to realize the causes of his economic enslavement. Once conscious that the cause of his enslavement by his own product is brought about by the anarchy of production, the producer organizes his product, and in this manner subjects it to his own will. Here then ends the kingdom of necessity; freedom is sovereign,

¹ Plekhanov illustrates this by the "anarchy" of capitalistic production.

liberty itself has become a necessity. The prologue of human history has been played, the individual has been set free and history proper begins. Thus the dialectic process shows how man shall come into his own. His future is bright, and furnishes no excuse for the pessimism towards which many disappointed idealists drift.

These in brief, are Plekhanov's conclusions. His theory, by reason of its abstractness, may be a satisfactory hypothesis for a philosopher of history, but it does not satisfy a modern sociologist who is more interested in the proximate causes or antecedents of social phenomena than in their ultimate, all-determining causes. Plekhanov's criticism of the subjectivist school is little more than a criticism of philosophical presuppositions and is not directed against its sociological superstructure, much of which was arrived at by an inductive study of actually existing social facts. Plekhanov's dialectic-monistic materialism, founded upon the Hegelian philosophy, is an *a priori* metaphysical presupposition and may be charged with dogmatism. The monistic attitude towards the universe is not dictated by experience of reality; it is, rather, that emotionalism which characterized the mystic philosophy of Heraclites.

Plekhanov's charges of dualism and eclecticism, therefore, do not disturb the positivist sociologist who deals with facts and not with *a priori* presuppositions. Plekhanov ignores nearly everything accomplished by sociology from the days of Comte, and limits his criticism to the sociological thinking that preceded the rise of positivist sociology. So he over-emphasizes dialectics at the expense of the many achievements of science in biology and psychology.

Plekhanov, however, has been of real service to the Russian social-political movement. His consistent application of the dialectical logic has saved him from the confusion and despair into which other factions in the Russian

revolution have been thrown, but we cannot credit him with having contributed anything of lasting value to sociology.

II. Lvov's Marxist Sociology

Few of Plekhanov's pupils and followers have contributed anything of importance. Lvov's attempt to formulate a law of social evolution on Marxist lines may be mentioned.¹ Lvov thinks Marx the Darwin of sociology. As Darwin discovered the law of the origin and evolution of species, so Marx discovered the fact which interprets the origin of the various species of society.² This fact is the *collective labor of mankind*. Lvov discriminates it from the "division of labor" which is incoördinate and one-sided. He says: "Collective labor presupposes the combination of forces as well as their division."³ So at the basis of social life lies the fact of coöperation, which moves towards measurement and apportionment of the proceeds of labor and therefore yields a formulation of the concept of value. The laws of political economy are therefore basic. Upon them rest the quantitative phenomena of society which alone can make sociology an exact science. This quantitative element, according to Lvov, can be introduced solely in two ways: by means of the anthropologic-statistical methods and by means of a concept of value. And although the anthropologic-statistical method can be applied to other than economic phenomena they all depend upon economic need and therefore must be regarded as its superstructure and must be studied as such by sociology.⁴

These conclusions are like those of Plekhanov; the criticism applied to Plekhanov's monism is applicable to the dependent theories of Lvov.⁵

¹ In a book, *The Social Law*, Petrograd, 1899.

² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 153.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 155-157.

⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 218.