

# CONTENTS

1	<i>Mikhailovsky: Socialism or Personalism?</i>	1
2	<i>Progress, Poverty, and Patience</i>	37
3	<i>The Theory and Practice of Defeat</i>	77
4	<i>The Birth and Triumph of Russian Marxism</i>	104
5	<i>Legal Marxism: The Philosophy and Economics of Dialectical Determinism</i>	130
6	<i>From Marxism to Idealism: Struve</i>	165
7	<i>From Marxism to Idealism: Berdyaev and Bulgakov</i>	194
8	<i>The Dilemma: An Evaluation</i>	227
	<i>Bibliography</i>	255
	<i>Notes</i>	265
	<i>Index</i>	307



DILEMMAS OF PROGRESS  
IN TSARIST RUSSIA

*Legal Marxism and Legal Populism*

What is it to me that I understand ideas, that to me there is opened a world of ideas in art, in religion, in history, when I cannot share this with all who should be my brothers. . . . However rich and sumptuous may be a man's inner life . . . it is incomplete if it does not take upon itself the interests of the world external to itself, of society and humanity. . . . A *living* person bears in his spirit, in his heart, in his blood, the life of society. He is hurt by its misfortune, tormented by its suffering, flourishes in its health. — Vissarion Belinsky<sup>1</sup>

Remember how things were: the educated minority, having long enjoyed its privileged position, its aristocratic, literary, artistic, governmental ambience, at last felt a pang of conscience and remembered its forgotten brothers. . . . For it is they, none other, who are dying of hunger, of cold, it is they whose muttering we hear above us and below us, in garrets and in the cellars, while we sit on the *piano nobile*, "over pastry and champagne" talking of socialism. — Alexander Herzen<sup>2</sup>

Human life is characterized by these two movements — by ascent and descent. Man dares to climb upwards, to transcend himself and his environment, to rise to God. On this path he gains spiritual strength, he recreates the natural configuration of life and creates new life and new values. Yet he cannot forget those left below, those weak of spirit and incapable of reaching out to the summits of creative knowledge and vision. He is compelled from within to begin the downward motion, to descend so that he may share his spiritual treasures and attend to the needs of his brothers, who are all destined for a high calling. As he soars upward man does not, or ought not, to disregard the world and humanity outside and disembarass himself of responsibility for others. — Nikolas Berdyaev<sup>3</sup>

How can one reconcile the striving for absolute truth and beauty with the absolute postulate of equality, of the equal value of all people? — Peter Struve<sup>4</sup>

I should like to be of use as a doctor or a farmer and at the same time to be gestating something lasting, something fundamental, to be writing some scientific paper or a literary work. . . . I have an incredible, passionate desire to live, and to live always means to strive to move higher, toward perfection, and to achieve it. . . . Only a life similar to the life of those around us, merging with it without a ripple, is genuine life, . . . an unshared happiness is not happiness. . . . And then the two basic ideals of modern man — without them he is unthinkable — the idea of free personality and the idea of life as sacrifice. — Boris Pasternak<sup>5</sup>