

**BASIS OF P. A. KROPOTKIN'S ANARCHO-REFORMISM IN HIS
SOCIAL-POLITICAL AND ANARCHIST VIEWS
(ACCORDING TO RUSSIAN MATERIALS)**

About life, activity and creativity of P. A. Kropotkin there are many articles and monographs, candidate and doctoral dissertations. And now the investigation of problems in the history of the anarchist movement and anarchist political consciousness is ongoing. But there are many controversial points of view (including traditional ones) for both individual problems directly related to the social-political views of P. A. Kropotkin and with respect to more general problems. They in a new way throw light upon standard approaches to social and political including in the anarchist Kropotkin's views. One of these fundamentally important problems is the question of the periodization of his social and political views.

Anti-state philosophical ideas were extremely popular in Russia at the turn of XIX and XX century.¹ And now they become well-known and popular again.² Topicality of anarchism ideas is corroborated by the fact of anarchist organizations formation (some of them are reformist trend) in Russia too. These are anarcho-communists, anarcho-syndicalists, anarcho-extremists, anarcho-democrats, anarcho-capitalists, anarcho-nihilists, anarcho-pacifists, anarcho-green, anarcho-trotskyists, anarcho-biocosmists, anarcho-Christians, tolstoyists and others.³

Except those anarchist organizations in our country and around the world there are rather popular anarchic tendencies which are generated by the processes of denationalization and decentralization, active implementation of the principles of "industrial democracy", the development of forms of self-management, the tendency of

¹ Кульчицкий Л. Анархизм в России. СПб., 1907; Маринова А. М. Анархизм в российской культуре XIX – начала XX века. Ростов-на-Дону, 2003; Сандомирский Г. Торжество антимилитаризма (К истории анархистского движения). М, 1920.

² Сайтанов С. В. Анархизм П. А. Кропоткина как философия общественной свободы // Свеча-2007: сборник тезисов международных конференций. Т. 15. Владимир, 2007.

³ Русаков А. Ю. Сущность и тенденции развития современного анархизма: автореф. дис. ... канд. филос. наук. СПб., 1991. С. 2.

transition to the priority of the horizontal relations in the economic, social and political areas, the emergence of new elements of social structure.

Thus anarchism in the history of civilization took the place of opposition. As far as a state has a lot of defects the anarchism always acts against him as the protesting and opposing force. And this is the most uncompromising opposition because in contrast to all other social movements anarchism is the only force which does not strive for coming to replace in governance those ones against whom it opposed.

The researcher of anarchist views of P. A. Kropotkin S. F. Pivovarov demonstrated convincing in his article “The anarchist views P. A. Kropotkin in the context of etatism tendencies in a developing Ukrainian statehood”⁴ that similar intensification of etatism tendencies can be fully attributed to the processes that are taking place in contemporary Russia. There is a total process for the whole of Western civilization today. It is characterized by the struggle between the state and society in the direction of maximum divestment of government power and decentralization of the individual activity. Purpose of Western civilization is free civil society where the influence of the state should be minimal.

It is clear that this applies to highly developed countries with formed democratic traditions. But it is not about the countries that took place after collapse of Soviet Union. There are other processes here. And unfortunately some of them are contrary to the way of the Western civilization.

It is quite clear that the post-communist countries can not immediately get rid of the consequences of the totalitarian regime. It will take much time before the new state will become more or less civilized. However international experience has also shown that the elimination of the totalitarian legacy has been accompanied by a very strong state intervention. So – it is inevitably increased etatism.

Analysis of the current stage of political and socio-economic development of Russia and its political and state structures makes it possible to tell about forming of etatist tendencies. It means the active intervention of the state in the political, social and economic spheres of life. Of course the peak of etatism in Russia took place during the

⁴ Пивовар С. Ф. Анархистские взгляды П. А. Кропоткина в контексте этатистских тенденций на этапе становления украинской государственности // Труды Междунар. науч. конф., посв. 150-летию со дня рожд. П. А. Кропоткина. Москва, Дмитров, С.-Петербург. 9-15 декабря 1992 г. Вып. 2. Идеи П. А. Кропоткина в социально-экономических науках. М., 1995. С. 98-109.

communist regime. But the current situation is characterized by the formation of the Russian statism acquiring specific features.

If you create a civil democratic society the state should only be considered as a necessary condition. In modern Russia we have the opposite situation. The country's leadership marked a goal of its activities the formation of government state. All the rest put into complete dependence on the extent of the formation of the institutions of statehood.

The main effort in the creation and preservation of the new Russian state now goes to the economic sphere. But there are still unresolved social and political problems. And it is possible now to learn much useful from P. A. Kropotkin. He believed that “our leaders preach unity of government, to consolidate of power, the increasing of power in the hands of the all-powerful state, while the life demands full freedom of the individual louder and louder. To all the demands of the people they know one answer: “Wait and hope!”... In industry, they rush today - with free trade, and tomorrow - in the most ferocious prohibition of any free trade... They are decisively unable to bring to the people's lives something stable and useful. If they agree to some concessions at this time they are already thinking about how to draw the assignment to nothing and to save themselves the opportunity to go back to the old days after a while.”⁵⁵

And everything takes place against the background of the further pauperization of the people. When governmental power had had authority to manage in the name of the people, it in fact satisfied its own interests and the interests of the mafia structures, presenting them as universal. The Government is realizing antipopular policies and shows the arrogance of officialdom to the people and says that everybody who tries to achieve the resignation of the government is the enemy of state.

The economic crisis becomes a good cover for the government tricksters and their colleagues – newly businessmen. Not that person who offers beneficial terms gets export license but the other one who gives a big bribe. Kropotkin emphasized: “In this regard we must just remember that the “authority” and “abuse of authority” are automatically pull together in double harness and that between functionary necessarily

⁵⁵ Крoпoткин П. А. Речи бунтовщика. Пб.; М., 1921. С. 5.

set kind of mutual protection which consists in the fact that they support each other and connive to what they like to call the “sad necessity to use power”.⁶

In the works of P. A. Kropotkin with criticism of the state there are a lot of statements about the “functionaries-robber and illegal extortion which all governments commit”.⁷ He was sure that “the theft was a permanent feature in all military and civilian ministries”.⁸ Many of those who are now in authority have already guaranteed a comfortable life not only for themselves but also for their grandchildren. Here words of Kropotkin are timely: “Robbery, misappropriation and plundering of national resources with the help of the state... is the true lineage of the enormous riches and fortunes”.⁹

In today's Russia there is etatism of public life and political mind. For example the etatists mentality is forming at the People's Deputies. It focuses the main aim not on the society but on the state and there is the main principle: “first of all is the state, and then democracy”. Under its influence there was a fracture in the democratic camp and the redistribution of political power. Deputies-etatists often take anti-democratic position and elevate the state above the law.

They are abandoning the idea of formation of a free civil society. The number of such members is growing. This happens because of various reasons. Somebody goes to the camp of etatists under the threat of losing the real authority before schedule date when the public have negative attitudes to their work. For the retention of power the left and right and the centrists co-operate. Kropotkin claimed: “The government is their banner... And when the moment of the fight comes- all both weak and strong closely rallied around the banner. They know that they will reign for as long as this banner will be flapping”.¹⁰

Other deputies became statist when they had received some part of high-level posts from the ruling elite or they had got from it possibility to improve significantly their own wealthiness. It is no coincidence in Kropotkin's admonishment that any power is the incarnation of the most disgusting traits of human personality and that everybody

⁶⁶ Крoпoткин П. А. Современная наука и анархия // П. А. Крoпoткин. Хлеб и воля. Современная наука и анархия. М., 1990. С. 519.

⁷⁷ In the same place. P. 518.

⁸⁸ Крoпoткин П. А. Анархическая работа во время революции // П. А. Крoпoткин. Век ожидания. М., 1925. С. 73.

⁹⁹ Крoпoткин П. А. Современная наука и анархия // П. А. Крoпoткин. Хлеб и воля. Современная наука и анархия. М., 1990. С. 490.

¹⁰¹⁰ Крoпoткин П. А. Анархическая работа во время революции // П. А. Крoпoткин. Век ожидания. М., 1925. С. 76.

is liable to depraving influence of power. It has affects for everybody who ever touched this temptation.

“We are not living in a world of phantoms and can not imagine people better than they really are: on the contrary we just see them as they really are and therefore we say that the power spoils even the best ones”.¹¹

Even some of the people's deputies who recently defended the interests of the people and struck for freedom have change and now they are calling people upon for patience and obedience in the name of the cult of statehood.

It is well known that Kropotkin in the beginning of his anarchist activity had a negative attitude to the parliamentary system of government and he called the election a “Vanity Fair and the Fair of human conscience”, and he think that “management of people by their authorized persons” is prejudice.¹² At the same time he thought about the forces in opposition to the current government – it was a question of great importance to him. “In itself representative government does not give real freedom... – claimed Kropotkin. – Freedom must be wrested from it... and be protected... Day by day step by step never folding arms. It is only possible when there is a class in the country..., who is jealously guarding his freedom and who is always ready to defend it against the slightest encroachment... Where there is no such class, where there is no unity in self-defense – there will not be any political freedom”.¹³ “Under such class P. A. Kropotkin meant "broad liberal intellectual movement... the spirit of freedom, the spirit of protest”.¹⁴

But the attitude to it from the government in our country also showed a demonstration of statism. The opposition is the norm of civilized development of the state, the guarantee against social transformation it into authoritarian system. However, in today's Russia the high-ranking functionaries of former party, of the Komsomol (Young Communist League in Soviet Union) and of the KGB nomenclature has retained its power and it is clearly that they are not having any opposition which does not give them to live carefree. Those ones in power do not want the diversity of political ideas and programs and they are not interested in the existence of an objective public opinion. They want to see any of their activities unanimously approved as before. Therefore

¹¹¹¹ Кропоткин П. А. Анархия, ее философия, ее идеал. М., 1917. С. 38.

¹²¹² Кропоткин П. А. Речи бунтовщика. Пб.; М., 1921. С. 172, 194.

¹³¹³ In the same place. P. 179.

¹⁴¹⁴ In the same place.

everywhere we hear slogans urging to unite around the idea of statehood around the president and the government.

State administration sees a threat to its existence in the very activities of the opposition forces. So it directs its power against those who “creates an image of undemocratic” Russia instead of forming civilized society. Kropotkin wrote: “Inherently the state can not tolerate the free Union. For the state lawyer it is scarecrow: “there is State into the State”. The state does not want to endure inside itself the voluntary union of people who exists of its own accord. It only accepts the liegemen”.¹⁵

Taking place in our country the reforms in the social and political system cause profound changes in the life of Russia. In this connection it is reasonable to turn to creative work of the Great Russian anarchist P. A. Kropotkin who has a prominent place in the history of social and political thinker of Russia. Many of the ideas of Kropotkin sound now very timely. We passed harsh and sometimes tragic way. And in fact now we again are fighting for the return to the ideas of local government, local initiative. We struggle for the minimization of centralized control of state. These control functions connect with economic, social, cultural and national life of the individual, regional and national communities, labor collectives of enterprises, institutions, etc.

The above demonstrates quite clearly: the socio-political views of P. A. Kropotkin on the state and society have not only informative but also practical importance. Post-communist statism jeopardizes the very possibility of the transformation of Russia into a democratic state. Orientation towards the state but not towards society will lead to serious economic, political, social and moral consequences. If we'll take into consideration the actual ideas of Kropotkin in the process of making the new state we'll have possibility to avoid the negative effects which will inevitably follow the further deepening of the statist tendencies. Therefore at the present time, a time of democratic reforms, there is a necessity in depth study of social and political views of the great theorist of classical anarchism Peter Alekseyevich Kropotkin.

Despite the fact that the ideological approaches to the study of anarchism P. A. Kropotkin's are in the past now, his social and political world-view has not yet become an integral object of historical research. Some researches retain certain clichés and stereotypes of thinking. However you can be sure that in the light of changes in

¹⁵ Крoпoткин П. А. Современная наука и анархия // П. А. Крoпoткин. Хлеб и воля. Современная наука и анархия. М., 1990. С. 432.

Russia in the social and political spheres of human relations a comprehensive study of this subject is one of the most promising areas in the field of national and world history.

Peter Alexeyevich Kropotkin (in accordance with its anarchic social and political views) has developed his own original theory of the future organization of the anarchist society. Therefore Kropotkin has exceptional place among other anarchists as one of the leading theorists of anarchism not only in Russia but also in the world because he made a unique attempt scientific justification of anarchism. Topicality the continuation of research the social and political views of P. A. Kropotkin now is no one in doubt. Moreover that anarchist theory P. A. Kropotkin to the high degree reflects the uniqueness of the personality of its author and his social and political views.

Until recently Kropotkin considered only as a theorist of anarcho-communism.¹⁶ Meanwhile the remarkable position of P. A. Kropotkin as the classic of Russian and international anarchist movement requires a closer research of his social and political views. All the more so Peter Alexeevich differs from other Russian anarchists because of his anarcho-reformist views. And he differs from those traditional conception that were formed about him in Russian historiography.

First of all we can find information about anarcho-reformism of Kropotkin in archival materials. The largest collection of Kropotkin archives there are in Moscow at the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF). In a special fund of P. A. Kropotkin there are more than 6200 items (5 inventories). In addition some documents were found in other funds (of P. L. Lavrov, A. F. Kerensky, N. V. Tchaikovsky, B. L. Burtsev, L. A. Tikhomirov, S. P. Melgunov, N. V. Konchevskaja, Z. K. Arbore Rally, V. L. Teplov and others).¹⁷

Part of Kropotkin's documents are kept in the Central State Archive of Literature and Art (CGALI), in the Central State Archive of Ancient Acts (CGADA), in the Literary Museum of Leo Tolstoy (LMT), in the Department of Manuscripts of the Russian State Library (NIOR of RSL), in the State Museum of Contemporary History (former Museum of the Revolution). In Dmitrov's Museum-Reserve "The Kremlin of Dmitrov" there are 237 items in the Fund 22/5152 and they cover the period from 1854

¹⁶¹⁶ Старостин Е. В. Предисловие // Анархизм. Сборник. М., 1999. С. 5.

¹⁷¹⁷ Козлов В. П. Перегудова З. И. Фонд П. А. Кропоткина в ГАРФ СССР // Труды комиссии по научному наследию П. А. Кропоткина. Вып. 1. М., 1992.

to 1939 years. These documents were got after the death of S. Kropotkin (the wife of P. A. Kropotkin) in 1941 in Dmitrov.¹⁸

In St. Petersburg a special fund of P. A. Kropotkin was formed in the Archives of the Russian Geographical Society, some documents are available at the State Academy of Sciences Institute of Literature (Pushkin House), at Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences (ARAN) and at the National Library named of Saltykov-Shchedrin. Some of documents must be in the archives of a number of European cities (London, Amsterdam, Brussels, Geneva, Paris, Lion) and obviously in USA. Kropotkin twice visited the United States and Canada and his only daughter has long lived in the United States and died in New York in 1968. Special consideration is required vast material of his diaries and his published and unpublished letters.

Archives of P. Kropotkin is extremely extensive despite the fact that he destroyed documents related his revolutionary activities, and encouraging its reporters doing this for his own letters. Not all his archival materials are studied although now it is created quite extensive “kropotkiniana”. Bibliography of his scientific and journalistic works contains more than 2000 names no less than in 20 languages. To this day his works are published so as books about him both in Russia and in other countries (USA, Canada, UK, France, the Netherlands, Bulgaria, Poland).¹⁹

Thus the reformism in Kropotkin's political views can be considered as the political tendency which has defined the evolution of his anarchical views in such unique line as anarcho-reformism at the late period of his life and activity. We can see it well if we shall subdivide the analyzed sources on Kropotkin's political notions to four groups.

Written in the period of radical anarchism of Kropotkin papers are in the first group. First of all there are Kropotkin's works here such as “Anarchical communism”,²⁰ “Anarchy and its place in socialist evolution”,²¹ “State, its role in the history”,²² “Notes

¹⁸¹⁸ Черныш Т. П. Фонд П. А. и С. Г. Кропоткиных в собрании музея-заповедника «Дмитровский Кремль» // Петр Алексеевич Кропоткин и проблемы моделирования историко-культурного развития цивилизации: материалы международной научной конференции / сост. П. И. Талеров. СПб., 2005. С. 363.

¹⁹¹⁹ Маркин В. А. Неизвестный Кропоткин. М., 2002. С. 5-7.

²⁰²⁰ Кропоткин П. А. Анархический коммунизм // Образ будущего в русской социально-экономической мысли конца XIX - нач. XX в. М., 1994.

²¹²¹ Кропоткин П. А. Анархия и ее место в социалистической эволюции. СПб., [1907].

²²²² Кропоткин П. А. Государство, его роль в истории / Перевод Н. Чайковского; Под ред. авт. // Хлеб и воля. Женева, 1904.

of the revolutionary”;²³ “Speeches of the rebel”;²⁴ “Modern science and anarchy”;²⁵ “Bread and Liberty”.²⁶ By these classical works of Kropotkin his radical political views are treated traditionally.

Here but in a separate subgroup we can place some works that in any way consider possibility of cooperation of anarchists with other orientation of policy. These are such published works of Kropotkin as “Our relation to the peasant’s and worker’s unions”;²⁷ “Organization or free agreement”;²⁸ “Russian union of workers”;²⁹ “Syndicalism and anarchism”.³⁰

In the second group we referred those Kropotkin's works in which there is the turn in his mind from radicalism into reformism to some extent has been reflected. These are Kropotkin's following works: “Mutual help as evolution factor”;³¹ “Mutual help among animals and people as the progress engine”;³² “Anarchical work during revolution”.³³

In the third group we can include the works of Kropotkin where anarcho-reformism in his political views was more visible. In any case it is possible to put there “About war”;³⁴ “P. A. Kropotkin in 1917: first impressions of revolutionary Russia”;³⁵ “Kropotkin's some thoughts on Russian revolution”;³⁶ “About modern

²³²³ Крoпoткин П. А. Записки революционера / Послесл. и прим. В. А. Твардовской. М., 1990.

²⁴²⁴ Крoпoткин П. А. Речи бунтовщика. М., 1917.

²⁵²⁵ Крoпoткин П. А. Хлеб и Воля. Современная наука и анархия. Вступительная статья, составление, подготовка текста и примечания С. А. Мндоянца. М., 1990.

²⁶²⁶ Там же.

²⁷²⁷ Крoпoткин П. А. Наше отношение к крестьянским и рабочим союзам // Листки «Хлеб и воля». 1906. №2 (14 ноября).

²⁸²⁸ Крoпoткин П. А. Организация или вольное соглашение // Хлеб и воля. 1905. №18 (июнь).

²⁹²⁹ Крoпoткин П. А. Русский рабочий союз // Хлеб и Воля. СПб., 1905.

³⁰³⁰ Крoпoткин П. Синдикализм и анархизм // П. А. Крoпoткин и его учение. Интернациональный сборник, посвященный десятой годовщине со дня смерти П. А. Крoпoткина. Чикаго, 1931.

³¹³¹ Крoпoткин П. А. Взаимная помощь как фактор эволюции. СПб., 1907.

³²³² Крoпoткин П. А. Взаимная помощь среди животных и людей как двигатель прогресса / Пер. с англ. Батурицкого В. П.; Под ред. авт. Пг.; М., 1922.

³³³³ Крoпoткин П. А. Анархическая работа во время революции. Пб.-М., 1919.

³⁴³⁴ Крoпoткин П. А. О войне. М., 1916.

³⁵³⁵ П. А. Крoпoткин в 1917 году: первые впечатления от революционной России / Публикация А. В. Бирюкова, Н. К. Фигуровской. Комментарии А. В. Бирюкова // Труды комиссии по научному наследию П. А. Крoпoткина. Вып. 1. М., 1992.

³⁶³⁶ Несколько мыслей П. А. Крoпoткина о русской революции // Дело труда. Чикаго, 1927. №20-21 (январь-февраль).

England”;³⁷ “About the current events”;³⁸ “Modern position of Russia”;³⁹ “Kropotkin's Report on federalism”;⁴⁰ “Political rights”;⁴¹ Kropotkin's speech at the State Summit;⁴² “Constituent assembly and social revolution”;⁴³ “Development of a federal system”;⁴⁴ “Address to the Ukrainian people”;⁴⁵ “Open letters to the 8th All-Russia Congress of Soviet of Kropotkin and M. Gorky”.⁴⁶

In the fourth group it is necessary to refer Kropotkin's works in which he tried to find a way for salvage of Russian February revolution in 1917. He thought this revolution made the first step on a way to formation of anarchical society. These are such his works as “Cooperation and freedom”;⁴⁷ “Cooperation, as a practical way to anarchism”;⁴⁸ “Kropotkin's appeal to working and advanced circles of the public of Western Europe”;⁴⁹ “To youth”;⁵⁰ “Program installations of party... about a

³⁷³⁷ Кропоткин П. А. О современной Англии // Вестник Общества сближения с Англией. М., 1918.

³⁸³⁸ Кропоткин П. А. Обращение Кропоткина к рабочим и передовым кругам общественности Западной Европы. О текущих событиях. Современное положение России / Публ., перевод и прим. А. П. Лебедевой, предисл. Н. М. Пирумовой // Вопросы философии. 1991. №11.

³⁹³⁹ Там же.

⁴⁰⁴⁰ Архив Дмитровского музея-заповедника «Дмитровский Кремль». Ф. 22/5152. Оп. 1. Д. 17.

⁴¹⁴¹ Кропоткин П. А. Политические права. Петроград, 1917.

⁴²⁴² Государственное совещание. М.; Л., 1930.

⁴³⁴³ Кропоткин П. А. Учредительное собрание и социальная революция. М., 1917.

⁴⁴⁴⁴ Кропоткин П. А. Развитие федеративного строя: [Вступительное слово при открытии Московской лиги федералистов ряда лекций по вопросу о федерации] // Русские ведомости. 1918. №33 (10 марта/25 февр.).

⁴⁵⁴⁵ Кропоткин П. А. Обращение к украинскому народу / Публикация И. В. Петушковой // Труды комиссии по научному наследию П. А. Кропоткина. Вып. 1. М., 1992.

⁴⁶⁴⁶ Кропоткин П. А. О вольных издательствах: [Открытое письмо 8-му Всероссийскому съезду Советов] // Вестник литературы. 1921. №3 (27).

⁴⁷⁴⁷ Кропоткин П. А. Кооперация и свобода // Дальний Восток. 1991. № 12.

⁴⁸⁴⁸ Кропоткин П. А. Кооперация как практический путь к анархизму // Почин. 1920. №4 (апрель).

⁴⁹⁴⁹ Кропоткин П. А. Обращение Кропоткина к рабочим и передовым кругам общественности Западной Европы. О текущих событиях. Современное положение России / публ., перевод и прим. А. П. Лебедевой, предисл. Н. М. Пирумовой // Вопросы философии. 1991. № 11.

⁵⁰⁵⁰ Кропоткин П. А. К молодым // Вестник анархиста. Брянск, 1918. №10-13 (без окончания).

reconstruction of Russia”;⁵¹ “Kropotkin's speech about cooperation”;⁵² “What to do?”;⁵³ “What is the anarchy?”.⁵⁴

In the third and fourth groups some new archival materials from three Russian archives were also used. First of all these are materials from fund 1129 of one of the main Russian archives – the State archive of the Russian Federation (GARF). Then there are materials from fund 410 of Department of manuscripts of the central Russian State library (NIOR RGB) which widely known in Russia. Besides new archival materials are entered into a scientific turn from 22/5152 Archives of the Dmitrovsky estate memorial “Dmitrovsky Kremlin”. It is well known that Kropotkin lived and worked in Dmitrov since 1918 to his death in 1921.

The studying of these Kropotkin’s works as sources of his political views as a whole and the anarcho-reformism problem in particular and the support on already carried out researches in the Russian historiography⁵⁵ opens a huge field for further studying of political views of Kropotkin. It applies to the anarcho-reformist direction both in pre-anarchists and in actually anarchical periods of his life and creativity.⁵⁶ Such work can help to look absolutely in a different way at settled traditional approaches and rating of P. A. Kropotkin and anarchism as a whole as integral and logical system of world-view. At different periods of Russian history the political views of P. A. Kropotkin attracted interest in Russia so he was the most authoritative member of anarchical movement. And they received the rating according to time of the investigating.⁵⁷

In the Soviet historiography as a rule all researchers of Kropotkin’s creativity painted his social portrait with warmth and sympathy. So far as he had been a fighter against the autocracy they forgave him the statements of the last years of life against the

⁵¹⁵¹ Архив Дмитровского музея-заповедника «Дмитровский Кремль». Ф. 22/5152. Оп. 1. Д. 217.

⁵²⁵² Кропоткин П. А. Что же делать? // Труды Комиссии по научному наследию П. А. Кропоткина. Вып. 1. М., 1992.

⁵³⁵³ Речь П. А. Кропоткина о кооперации // Промысловая кооперация. М., 1919. №2 (август).

⁵⁴⁵⁴ П. А. Кропоткин. Что такое анархия? (Из неизданной рукописи П. А. Кропоткина) // П. А. Кропоткин и его учение. Интернациональный сборник, посвященный десятой годовщине смерти. Чикаго, 1931.

⁵⁵⁵⁵ Сайтанов С. В. Обзор отечественной историографии изучения анархизма П. А. Кропоткина // Наше Отечество. Страницы истории. Вып. V, М., 2006.

⁵⁶⁵⁶ Сайтанов С. В. Становление общественно-политических взглядов П. А. Кропоткина: доанархический период // Наше Отечество. Страницы истории. Вып. VII, М., 2009.

⁵⁷⁵⁷ Ситдыкова К. Р. Анархизм П. А. Кропоткина в зеркале оценок и мнений // SCHOLA-200. М., 2000.

Bolshevik dictatorship. They justified them as anachronisms of his respectable extreme old age and as a result of his “backwardness” from the Russian reality after long years of the emigration. In their opinion P. Kropotkin followed M. Bakunin as revolutionary and he followed L. Tolstoy as the humanist and the optimist.⁵⁸

In Post-Soviet time to the Russian historical science the similar approach to studying of anarchical views of Kropotkin remains traditional and modern researchers keep ignoring reformist tendencies in his political views.⁵⁹ At the same time studying of reformism in Kropotkin's political views in Russia was absent practically.

For example the collection “Reformism and sociopolitical questions” is one of the most interesting Russian editions which connected with problems of reformism. Analytical works and survey materials were published in this edition about evolution of reformism, its program directives and problems of its modern political influence.⁶⁰ But also here Kropotkin's anarchism and reformism was absolutely not co-ordinate.

However some Russian authors at the beginning of Soviet period criticized Kropotkin as “reformist” and “the municipal socialist of the most vulgar sense” for Kropotkin's excessive attention to questions of self-government and the rights of communes.⁶¹ But they did not do more than the unfounded statement in the spirit of phantasmagoria about the “right- leftist” bias of Kropotkin.⁶²

At the beginning of the XX century Kropotkin actively protected parliamentary freedoms. It was the reason for a point of view that Kropotkin was the opponent of all violence⁶³ and that “the great destroyer acts as the preacher of the class peace”.⁶⁴ It was in the Soviet literature of the period of Khrushchev’s “thaw”. Nevertheless even such modest statements have not found among the Russian researchers any due support and

⁵⁸⁵⁸ Бехтенева Р. А. Проблема человека в русском анархизме второй половины XIX – начала XX веков: М. А. Бакунин, Л. Н. Толстой, П. А. Кропоткин: дис. ... канд. филос. наук. СПб., 1999. С. 5.

⁵⁹⁵⁹ Ермаков В. Д. Интеллигенция и ее роль в становлении российского анархизма как политического течения // Интеллигенция России: уроки, история и современность: Тез. докл. Межгос. науч.-теорет. конф., Иваново, 20-22 сент. 1994 г. Иваново, 1994.

⁶⁰⁶⁰ Реформизм и социально-политические вопросы. М., [1999].

⁶¹⁶¹ Полянский Ф. Я. Социализм и современный анархизм. М., 1979. С. 29.

⁶²⁶² Мкртчян А. А. П. А. Кропоткин и Западная Европа // Новая и новейшая история. М., 1991. № 2. С. 60.

⁶³⁶³ Куниский С. Д. Русское общество и Парижская коммуна. М., 1962. С. 91.

⁶⁴⁶⁴ История русской экономической мысли. Т. 3. Ч. 1. М., 1966. С. 498-499.

attention. Thus the whole considerable layer of political world-view of Kropotkin has dropped out of a field of vision of the Russian researchers. It is anarcho-reformism.⁶⁵

Nevertheless lately in the Russian historical science we can clearly see logical movement of researchers to this problem. It begins to show contours of its statement and the solving.

So the leading researcher (late Soviet period) of creative works of Kropotkin N. M. Pirumova wrote that Kropotkin had been confused in his own theoretical construction and contradicted to himself. But Pirumova thought that "... Kropotkin did not take notice of the contradictions in his theory because he designed the future proceeding from a certain ideal image of the Individual without class and social prejudices".⁶⁶

N. M. Pirumova showed the contradictions in Kropotkin's political views of P. A. Kropotkin and S. F. Udartsev (other Soviet researcher) found the theory of Kropotkin dual (such as many other researchers). But he started to investigate the reasons of this phenomenon. However he believed that politician realist Kropotkin "prevailed" over the utopian anarchist, the practical person – over the theorist. So Udartsev believed that the political reality had not allowed Kropotkin to be the consecutive anarchist in practice.⁶⁷

S. F. Udartsev thinks that Kropotkin was far from denying the authority in general. Kropotkin's meaning of the duality of the state and the law is a step ahead of anarchism in its ambiguous theoretical knowledge of social phenomena. With this feature of views of Kropotkin as well as with some controversy of his views are related his judgment about the use of the state organization in the public interest at the period of the revolution, about a real federation of independent States in pre-revolutionary Russia instead of Empire and about the small States as a political form prior anarchist formation.⁶⁸

Thus late Soviet researchers offered to look for the solution of problem in two spheres independent from each other. But nevertheless Russian historians studying Kropotkin's views have achieved appreciable results. E. I. Nikulchenkov looked into a

⁶⁵⁶⁵ Сайтанов С. В. Эволюция общественно-политических взглядов П. А. Кропоткина: от анархо-радикализма к анархо-реформизму // Наше Отечество. Страницы истории. Вып. VIII, М., 2010.

⁶⁶⁶⁶ Пирумова Н. М. Петр Алексеевич Кропоткин. М., 1972. С. 143.

⁶⁷⁶⁷ Ударцев С. Ф. Кропоткин. М., 1989. С. 66.

⁶⁸⁶⁸ Ударцев С. Ф. Власть и государство в теории анархизма в России (XIX – начало XX в.) // Анархия и власть. М., 1992. С. 53-54.

question of formation of socio-political opinions of Kropotkin.⁶⁹ P. I. Talerov investigated pre-anarchists and the beginnings of the anarchical periods in Kropotkin's works.⁷⁰ A. A. Mkrtychan showed Kropotkin's activity during his emigration.⁷¹ A. A. Nazarov studied Kropotkin's interrelation with the Soviet power.⁷² But only Nazarov attended much attention to the question of reformism in Kropotkin's views and threw light upon it partially in his dissertation.⁷³

Scientific novelty of A. A. Nazarov's work was in making for the first time the attempt at studying the reformism as the whole part in Kropotkin's political views. For the first time in science Nazarov conceptually aggregated Kropotkin's disembodied materials dealing with social and political problems. They testifying to Peter Alekseevich's quite realized theoretical work at a problem of gradual transformation of capitalism.

Such statement of a question has closely brought the author of this article [S. Saytanov] to a problem of a role of ideas of anarchy and reformism in Kropotkin's political views during the late period of his life and creativity in their possible compatibility and even harmony. The author also has tried to prove it in his dissertation.⁷⁴

It should be noted that formation of anarcho-reformist anarchist views of P. A. Kropotkin inside of classical anarchism had a significant impact P. J. Proudhon who deepened philosophical foundation of the anarchism. Calling for the elimination of the State Proudhon thought it possible to carry out a social revolution by peaceful means. And it is close to the position of reformism.

⁶⁹⁶⁹ Никульченков Е. И. Проблема эволюции и революции в социально-политической теории П. А. Кропоткина (политико-этический аспект): дис. ... канд. политол. наук. СПб., 1993.

⁷⁰⁷⁰ Талеров П. И. Место Анархо-коммунизма П. А. Кропоткина в истории России и российского анархизма второй половины XIX – начала XX веков: дис. ... канд. ист. наук. СПб., 1997.

⁷¹⁷¹ Мкртичан А. А. П. А. Кропоткин и Западная Европа // Новая и новейшая история. М., 1991. № 2.

⁷²⁷² Назаров А. А. Уроки реализма: П. А. Кропоткин в годы революции // Труды комиссии по научному наследию П. А. Кропоткина. Вып. 1. М., 1992.

⁷³⁷³ Назаров А. А. Эволюция социально-экономических воззрений П. А. Кропоткина: дис. ... канд. экон. наук. М., 1994.

⁷⁴⁷⁴ Сайтанов С. В. Анархо-реформизм в общественно-политических взглядах П. А. Кропоткина (1897 – 1921 гг.): дис. ... канд. ист. наук. Иваново, 2012.

Kropotkin initially took the idea of autonomy and the federal structure of society from Bakunin. “From him (to a large extent) and the idea of teamwork and cooperation assumed. But further Kropotkin developed them in his own way”.⁷⁵

However these “originally” perceived ideas Peter Alekseevich Kropotkin translated into the language of his time and creatively developed for the conditions of new anarcho-reformist social and political views on grounds of cooperation with the democratic State as a stage on the way to becoming the anarchist society.

I must say that in the XIX century anarchism was not popular in Russia. In 1907 year Russian historian of social thought, the literary critic and sociologist Ivanov-Razumnik (Ivanov Razumnik Vasilievich, 1878-1946) stated: “Anarchism is the typical sociological ultraindividualizm. It has never been particularly popular among the Russian intelligentsia... And the reason for us is clear: we believe anarchism is typical romantic concept. Anarchism, expressed in realistic forms, is unconvincing and not enough evidence, not persuading mind it leaves a cold feeling”.⁷⁶

Prior to the beginning of XX century anarchistic views of P. A. Kropotkin also were not popular in Russia. In Kropotkin's anarchist views were often dominated artistic, emotional over the rational. Italian friend of Kropotkin anarchist Enrico Malatesta called Kropotkin “poet of science” and he added at the same time that his mind was “highly systematic”. However at the same time he believed that Kropotkin was “too passionate to be accurate observer”.⁷⁷

Many books of P.A. Kropotkin are publicist but they actually are read like fiction. It is especially “Notes of a revolutionary” (1902) and “Diary” (1923). The reason is the worldview of author: he considered all the phenomena of life in their unity. He recognized isomorphism of human and natural world and for him there was no border between literature and life.⁷⁸

Ivanov-Razumnik wrote in theses of his speech to the meeting “In Memory of Kropotkin's” in Petrograd Free Philosophical Association: “The weakness and strength are from the era of his development: the 60-th... But the power is not in the science.

⁷⁵⁷⁵ In the same place.

⁷⁶⁷⁶ Иванов Р. В. (Иванов-Разумник) История русской общественной мысли. Индивидуализм и мещанство в русской литературе и жизни XIX в. Т. 2. СПб., 1908. С. 104-105.

⁷⁷⁷⁷ Малатеста Э. (Энрико Малатеста) Петр Кропоткин. Воспоминания и критика одного из его старых друзей // Пробуждение. Детройт, 1931. № 15. С. 68-70.

⁷⁸⁷⁸ Петр Алексеевич Кропоткин. Kropotkin Peter 1841-1921. (дата обновления: 27.03.2009). URL: <http://oldchita.megalink.ru/persona/kropotkin.htm> (дата обращения: 12.11.2006).

From the era of the 60-th there is the basic spirit of Kropotkin – it is revolutionary spirit. And this is his main strength”.⁷⁹

Probably for this reason authority of P. A. Kropotkin was so great in different circles but primarily they saw him as a radical. According to Max Nettlau almost total domination of Kropotkin’s authority as a theorist in the first quarter of the XX century has led even to a certain stagnation and regression in anarchist thought. “In fact all that he (Kropotkin – S. S.) said always was associated with so many good ideas that attempt to discover their weaknesses has always been perceived as a refutation of these ideas ... For many people opinions of Kropotkin seemed not to be questioned truths and the other ones thought that it is undesirable to raise questions that can to weaken the enormous influence which rendered personality, talent and dedication to his work”.⁸⁰

When they write about the radical anarchist views of P.A. Kropotkin on society and the history of the State they usually emphasize his “naturalism” and “biologism” which is reduced to the idea of migration on society of laws discovered by natural science and above all the “law of mutual aid” that he formulated. Kropotkin himself wrote that “anarchism is to be built using the same methods as those applied in the natural sciences”.⁸¹

But as it often happens the objective content of a system of the thinker is not the same as his subjective view on it. A closer look shows that the very original idea of P. A. Kropotkin to justify anarcho-communism by the methods of natural science is not realizable absolutely. His natural scientific “basis” is only possible if conclusions of science are predetermined by the anarcho-communist ideal itself. Speaking otherwise it is possible if the cognitive content of the material in advance of natural science has been called due to the value attitudes of his interpreter.⁸²

Meanwhile his views in later life and activities were twofold. They combined largely seemingly irreconcilable: there were anarchism and reformism within a single

⁷⁹⁷⁹ Цит. по: Белоус В. Г. Заседание «Памяти Кропоткина» в петроградской Вольной философской ассоциации (ВОЛЬФИЛЕ) // Труды Международной конференции, посвященной 150-летию со дня рождения П. А. Кропоткина. Вып. 1. Идеи П. А. Кропоткина в философии. М., 1995. С. 46.

⁸⁰⁸⁰ Цит. по: Рябов П. В. Краткий очерк истории анархизма в XIX-XX веках; Анархические письма. М., 2010. С. 42.

⁸¹⁸¹ Кропоткин П. А. Записки революционера. М., 1966. С. 369.

⁸²⁸² Пустарников В. Ф. Познавательное и ценностное в мировоззрении молодого Петра Кропоткина // Труды комиссии по научному наследию П. А. Кропоткина. Вып. 1. М., 1992. С. 47.

system of public and political opinion. Though among other socialist doctrines are revolutionary and reformist ones.⁸³

From the point of view of contemporary theorists of reformist the socialism is not a natural product of a natural historical development but it is a moral ideal that is equally accessible for all sectors of society. The socialist transformation of society is seen therefore as a moral problem of educating people in the spirit of “eternal” values of socialism. Accordingly reformism rejects revolutionary methods of influence on social development. Reform as the antithesis of the revolution remains the basis of reform-minded. From the point of view of reformist the socialism can arise only “democratically” as a result of the amount of political and economic and especially cultural and educational activities carried out by the social-democratic and even bourgeois governments, the socialism can only exist as a “democracy”. It must be harmonious unity of all social groups including capitalists: it is the credo of reformism.⁸⁴

The reformism arose in the last quarter of the XIX century. By influence of the success of the labor movement and the development of bourgeois democracy it gradually “grows” into socialism (E. Bernstein, H. Vollmar, A. Millerand, etc.). As organization reformism was in the labor movement first as 2-nd and 2 and 1/2-nd Internationals and then after their merger in 1923 it became the Socialist Workers' International. The evolution of the social democratic parties in the period between the world wars was in the direction of movement from Marxism to anti-Marxism. And in this process the reformism plays an important role too. Its official doctrine was proclaimed in the Declaration of Frankfurt (1951) Congress of the Socialist International and it was defined as “the democratic socialism”. It was recorded in the new programs of the main European social-democratic parties in the years 1958-61.

The democratic socialism is a concept combining the socialist order of society with democratic forms of political life. The democratic socialism proclaims the freedom, equality, social justice and solidarity.⁸⁵ Such a concept pulls together the democratic socialism with the modern anarchism. The last one is no longer considered as ultra-left movement but as some kind of the reformism. Now it is a sort of liberal

⁸³⁸³ Якушик В. М. Социал-реформизм в современном мире. Киев, 1990. С. 4.

⁸⁴⁸⁴ In the same place.

⁸⁵⁸⁵ Глоссарий. ру: Демократический социализм (дата обновления 04.09.2009). URL: http://www.glossary.ru/cgi-bin/gl_sch2.cgi?RElsuqwgyo,lxqop!xu.ogrons (дата обращения 18.09.2010).

populism and the theory of “small activities”.⁸⁶ The concept of the democratic socialism is very close to socio-political views of P. A. Kropotkin too. They can be described as the anarcho-reformism that is the political line of thought combined features of anarchism and reformism. It seeks to establish a stateless social organization not only by series of revolutions but by the policy reforms in the framework of the existing State. And it must be a transitional stage on the way to anarchism.

Now the expression “anarcho-reformism” only has started to enter into our scientific language in Russia. However it is used generally by members of various groups in modern anarchism in negative sense at opposition to the “real” anarchists.⁸⁷ In addition the expression has appeared in teaching literature for Institutes of higher education. For example it is in the teaching-methodical learning aids on political science of the Ivanovo State Energy University. Authors, S. Yu. Lisova and E. Yu. Moiseyev, use the term “anarcho-reformism” in the meaning equated to such modern movements as hippie and punks.⁸⁸

But in our opinion this term designates connection of ideas of an anarchical ideal as the purposes and politicians of reforms as way of its achievement in the political plan. We sure that it is necessary to understand Kropotkin's political views exactly in this sense (since the end of XIX century till 1921 year).

The study of anarcho-reformism in Kropotkin's political views has significant scientific interest so as the system of anarchical views of Kropotkin includes a wide range of problems: from state and society problems to revolution and war problems.⁸⁹

In the last decades two main tendencies were outlined in Russia. There is

⁸⁶⁸⁶ Анархо-реформизм (дата обновления 04.09.2009). URL: cabet.livejournal.com/118120.html (дата обращения 18.09.2010).

⁸⁷⁸⁷ СРС | Анархия и анархизм – единый форум анархистов (дата обновления: 13.06.2005). URL: <http://anarhia.org/forum/viewtopic.php?p=185513> (дата обращения: 13.04.2011).

⁸⁸⁸⁸ Лисова С. Ю., Моисеев Е. Ю. Политология: учебно-методическое пособие / ГОУВПО «Ивановский государственный энергетический университет имени В. И. Ленина». Иваново, 2007.

⁸⁹⁸⁹ Жуков Ю. В. Политические идеи анархизма П. А. Кропоткина в контексте современности: дис. ... канд. полит. наук. Саратов, 2006; Гарявин А. Н. Культурологические воззрения П. А. Кропоткина // Культура и интеллигенция России в эпоху модернизаций (XVIII-XX вв.) Материалы II Всероссийской научной конференции. Омск, 1995. Т. I. Интеллигенция и многоликость культуры российской провинции. Ляшенко В. В. Идеи П. А. Кропоткина о государстве и праве: автореф. дис. ... канд. юрид. наук. М., 2008; Никульченков Е. И. Проблема эволюции и революции в социально-политической теории П. А. Кропоткина (политико-этический аспект): дис. ... канд. политол. наук. СПб., 1993; Ударцев С. Ф. Политическая и правовая теория анархизма в России: история и современность. Алматы, 1994.

- (1) aspiration to reconsider the settled estimates of activity of Kropotkin⁹⁰ and
- (2) statement of new problems for research of views of Kropotkin.⁹¹

First of all it is connected with detection in his political views of contradictions. We think that they may be removed in many aspects. For this it is necessary to use the methodological approach which is offered in this work considering existence in anarchical views of Kropotkin of the period of anarcho-reformism.

Kropotkin's anarchist theory was traditionally estimated in Russia as radicalism of materialistic, natural-science and positivistic character, it always remained the revolutionary theory.⁹² But at the end of the XX century and till 1921 the anarcho-reformist concept began to prevail in Kropotkin's political views and not anarcho-radicalism. If we shall investigate formation, evolution, manifestations and significance of such rare combination of political currents in views of one person as anarchism and reformism we can arrive at absolutely new conclusions. It will change the rating of anarchical views of P. A. Kropotkin which became traditional and quite settled in Russia.⁹³

Many anarchists and researchers of anarchism are of opinion that anarchism is one of the most ancient political currents and there are sources of it in Platon's doctrines and philosophers-Cinics of Ancient Greece.

They find anarchism elements in practice of the free cities of medieval Europe and in the veche republics (with popular assembly in ancient Russia) in Pskov and Novgorod.⁹⁴

⁹⁰⁹⁰ Матюхин А. В. Пути и теории политической модернизации в России: сравнительный анализ консервативных и анархических подходов. М., 2005; Щенникова О. Н. П. А. Кропоткин в контексте истории русского анархизма: дис. ... канд. ист. наук. Барнаул, 2006.

⁹¹⁹¹ Назаров А. А. Эволюция социально-экономических воззрений П. А. Кропоткина: дис. ... канд. экон. наук. М., 1994; Пивовар С. Ф. Анархистские взгляды П. А. Кропоткина в контексте этатистских тенденций на этапе становления украинской государственности // Труды Междунар. науч. конф., посв. 150-летию со дня рожд. П. А. Кропоткина. Москва, Дмитров, С.-Петербург. 9-15 декабря 1992 г. Вып. 2. Идеи П. А. Кропоткина в социально-экономических науках. М., 1995.

⁹²⁹² Ситдыкова К. Р. Анархизм П. А. Кропоткина в зеркале оценок и мнений // SCHOLA-200. М., 2000. С. 104.

⁹³⁹³ Талеров П. И. Влияние П. А. Кропоткина и его взглядов на формирование анархистского движения в России в начале XX в. // Харизматические личности в истории России. Сб. науч. тр. СПб., 1997. С. 70-77.

⁹⁴⁹⁴ Свобода, нравственность и самоорганизация. С точки зрения революционера (П. А. Кропоткин). От 19.04.01. Дата обновления: 27.06.2006. URL: http://www.kirsoft.com.ru/freedom/KSNews_18.htm (дата обращения 11.01.2008).

There is the word “anarchy” in the well-known Russian dictionary of V. I. Dahl (the 1860-th). It is defined as Greek one by origin and it means “the absence of head, the organized government, the force and an order; there are no authorities, no administration, there is the power of many boyars in the State or a community.” And the meaning of “anarchist” is “the defender, the patron, the devotee of anti-guidance, revolts and seditions”.⁹⁵

In the Soviet scientific researches the meaning of anarchism is one of versions of socialist political theories.⁹⁶ – They deemed it was the influential direction existing already two eyelids and without knowledge about it never understand many events of the world and Russian history. And they thought that only in this direction the state opposed to society and so the future development of mankind would not possible. And the aim of anarchism is the destruction of the State and any political power. They are considered only as bodies of violence and anarchism supports consolidation of individuals in free and voluntary associations of citizens.

In the modern Russian encyclopedic dictionaries there is such definition of essence of anarchism: this is one of types of the world-views which are peculiar to political culture of radicalism.⁹⁷ And in many respects the radicalism of the XX century in Russia has ideological sources the revolutionary theory of Russian anarchism in the Bolshevik and modern variant. Russian anarchists have offered their own strategy, their system of values, their alternative of world development.

In trivial consciousness the anarchist is the person who throws the bombs and commits other crimes. It may be because he is more or less crazy or he uses his extreme political views as a pretext for his criminal actions. Such representation has been formulated by B. Raccel as early as 1918.⁹⁸ It is connected with the using a combination of words “anarchy and chaos” as the negative characteristic of a social situation. And now the word “anarchy” (from the Greek language “without the power”) instinctively is translated as “without an order”.

⁹⁵⁹⁵ Даль В. И. Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка. Т. 1. М., 1989. С. 16.

⁹⁶⁹⁶ Пирумова Н. М. Социальная доктрина М. А. Бакунина. М., 1990. С. 123.

⁹⁷⁹⁷ Арефьев М. А., Давыденкова А. Г. П. А. Кропоткин и теория классического анархизма // Петр Алексеевич Кропоткин и проблемы моделирования историко-культурного развития цивилизации: материалы международной научной конференции / сост. П. И. Талеров. СПб., 2005. С. 235.

⁹⁸⁹⁸ Russell B. Roads to Freedom: Socialism, Anarchism and Syndicalism. London, 1966. P. 38.

However many anarchists did not think so. For example there was the Russian anarchist contemporary P. A. Kropotkin who was known under the name of V. Volin (it is the pseudonym of Vsevolod Mikhaylovich Eykhenbaum). He and his comrades accentuated as wrong the opinion that libertarian concept (i. e. without State) would mean the absence of the organization. The problem point is not about existence of “organization” or “not organization” but about existence of two essentially different principles of the organization.⁹⁹

Thus the anarchism is not confined only by radicalism. And it is the greatest value of it. There are anarchical ideas such as collectivist solidarity, harmonization of individual and public interests, equality, mutual help and caring for other ones, mutual responsibility, wise statement of purposes etc in our modern world. And they are more demanded than ever in the world where ideas of radicalism give way to reformism.¹⁰⁰

The reformism is as it has been told in the Soviet philosophical dictionary “a political trend ... which denies the necessity of classes fight and a socialist revolution. It preaches cooperation of classes and it hopes to turn by reforms the capitalism into the society of “general prosperity”.¹⁰¹

What can be the common between anarchism and reformism – they are two such different political trends? How can it be in the person of the famous leader and the theorist of classical anarchism P. A. Kropotkin? It appears that the communion not only can be but also it is quite harmoniously combined if to set anarchism as strategic aim of development of society and to make reformism as a tactics in achievement of this purpose.

And it is really that P. A. Kropotkin in his social-political views has approached very close to the foregoing definition of reformism. It was both in the period of pre-anarchists and in the anarchists period of his creativity.

But in our article we are mainly interested in Kropotkin’s reformism which was combined with his anarchical views. In our opinion such unusual combination brought Peter Alekseevich to absolutely unique direction in his anarchical views: it is anarcho-reformism.

⁹⁹⁹⁹ Федотова В. Г. Анархия и порядок в контексте российского посткоммунистического развития // Вопросы философии. 1998. № 5. С. 7.

¹⁰⁰¹⁰⁰ Реформизм и социально-политические вопросы. М., [1999].

¹⁰¹¹⁰¹ Философский словарь. М., 1987. С. 411.

Early reformist period of Kropotkin began in the Page College. Then it continued in Siberia and it lasts during his job in scientific department. It was rather short and in the beginning of a choice of anarchical world-view it has led Kropotkin to a complete negation of a way of gradual reforms of system of the power in political conditions of the Russian Empire of that time.

But when P. A. Kropotkin was in emigration he was not become simple follower sociological-communists direction of V. Godwin's in anarchism and got some principles of M. A. Bakunin. He also adopted the basic postulates of reformist anarchism of P. Zh. Prudon. In many cases Kropotkin has adopted postulates and norms of their world-views. (We can see sometimes that he directly used the ideas of his great predecessors). However as we see Kropotkin has added and has built them already in other system of priorities and with other basis.

Already at the turn of the XIX-XX centuries under the influence of the social and political transformations the sharp borders began to erode between the recognition of the revolutionary and class struggle methods and the methods of reformism. Before that it served almost the main dividing line between liberalism and socialism. The subject of intense discussions of “orthodox” (of revolutionism – S. S.) and advocates of the right and left “revisionism” (the reformism – S. S.) were such fundamental questions for the future of the socialist idea as a measure of maturity of capitalism and its ability to act in the new environment as a progressive dynamic force. There were problems of the ratio of revolution and reform, the role of the social evolution of the objective and subjective factors (it is a dispute about determinism and voluntarism), the relationship of democracy and socialism, parliamentary and non-parliamentary forms of struggle, the importance of ideals, beliefs, opinions of the masses and the leaders and what does it mean the progress.¹⁰²

“Earlier than in other countries the reformism has received a wide circulation in England” where “in labor movement it has arisen at the end of the XIX century”.¹⁰³ When in England the reformism was formed as the political direction P. A. Kropotkin starts to speak already not so much about opposition. He began to speak about cooperation with contemporary capitalist society. He noted that among countries of

¹⁰²¹⁰² Яхимович З. П. Метаморфозы революционаризма и реформизма в Европе XX столетия // Переходные эпохи в социальном измерении: История и современность. М., 2003. С. 302-303.

¹⁰³¹⁰³ Большая Советская Энциклопедия. Т. 36. М., 1955. С. 333-334.

Western Europe the new form of society arose. That was the form of equal ones among themselves.

At a turn of centuries under the pressure of the international labor movement and fledgling ideology of the reformism the States in Europe (and first of all England) and America (especially USA) have started to evolve gradually towards the social direction. These changes have allowed P. A. Kropotkin to reject the most radical slogans that had been directed on destruction of the State. He has supported organic reformative progress of contemporary capitalist society into anarchical society. That directly has affected on a whole Kropotkin's political views. From that time we can consider them in the form of the complete concept of anarcho-reformism. This anarcho-reformism in social-politic views of Kropotkin was undergone of multiple-factor influence of West Europe reformism but first of all it was the influence of English reformism.

Kropotkin most part of his creative life lived in Europe. He created his theory of anarchist society focusing exclusively on the European social and political culture. And he was heavily influenced by European social and political realities especially under the influence of the French revolutionary movement and then under the strong influence of English socio-political system.

After the defeat of the Paris' Commune in 1871 the popularity of the ideas of anarchist radicalism in Europe began to fall and it led to a crisis of the anarchist movement and reduced its impact among the population. Dominating the socialistic radicalism began losing ground to the social democratic reformism. People have become more interested not in how to destroy the State but what kind of society and how to build. In these circumstances it was necessary for anarchism to comprehend theoretically and to rationalize the anarchist ideal and if possible to make it clear and understandable for ordinary people. And Kropotkin began to give more attention to theoretical questions He tried to associate anarchism with real life in order to prove the inevitability of both the anarchist and the social revolution. Peter Alekseevich was never purely academic researcher of anarchism and his writings were one goal: the developing of worldview that will help to build a new life on the basis of anarchism. In the justification and promotion of these ideas Kropotkin saw the meaning of his existence and as a revolutionary and as a scientist.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ Мндоянц С. А. П. А. Кропоткин (вступительная статья) // П. А. Кропоткин. Хлеб и воля. Современная наука и анархия. М., 1990. С. 5.

When Kropotkin began to formulate a constructive part of his worldview and began to sketch the main features of an anarchist society he was not in captivity purely abstract concepts and assumptions that can help to create in the reader an idea of the millennium Kingdom such as many of the old socialists did. On the contrary he was trying to rely on the facts of social life and to the precise study of various social trends in the past and present. First of all he looked for signs that show a beginning of new period of public culture and collected them. He separated organic material out of some random facts and based on the extracted data he generalized the general conclusion.¹⁰⁵

Propaganda in England had its own peculiarities. Kropotkin “found everywhere the firm conviction that the revolution in England is impossible”.¹⁰⁶ This direction of the interests of workers made Kropotkin specify any provisions of his theory. Just before the time of his relocation to London Kropotkin has defined his views as the anarcho-communists.¹⁰⁷ But Kropotkin treated anarcho-communism as a “synthesis: this is a connection of two goals in one that mankind tried to found at all times: these are economic freedom and political freedom together”. In addition according to Kropotkin this synthesis, this anarchic order is created inside the capitalist State.¹⁰⁸

Natural sciences is largely formed the basis of anarchist doctrine of P. A. Kropotkin. He wrote: “Anarchism is the inevitable result of the intellectual movement in the natural sciences which began at the end of the eighteenth century... But he got his full formation only after the revival of science which occurred early in the second half of nineteenth century which gave a new impetus to the study of human institutions and societies on the basis of natural science”.¹⁰⁹

Thus for the P.A. Kropotkin as a radical anarchist the main content of the London period of emigration was the development of science-based anarchist doctrine. He could not draw a picture of the future society in details because he considered any such projects were speculative and he charted only basic provisions. This was primarily due with the socio-political situation in the UK that did not accept the idea of radicalism.

¹⁰⁵ Рокер Рудольф. Петр Кропоткин и его творчество (общий очерк) // П. А. Кропоткин и его учение. Интернациональный сборник, посвященный десятой годовщине со дня смерти П. А. Кропоткина. Чикаго, 1931. С. 23.

¹⁰⁶ П. А. Кропоткин. Записки революционера. М., 1990. С. 459.

¹⁰⁷ Тимофеев М. А. Князь-бунтовщик (вступительная статья) // Петр Кропоткин. М., 2004. С. 7.

¹⁰⁸ Кропоткин П. А. Хлеб и воля. Современная наука и анархия. М., 1990. С. 52.

¹⁰⁹ In the same place. P. 110.

Moreover the doctrine of Kropotkin was “Europocentric” because it was created mostly under the influence of Western thinkers and it was intended primarily for the Western reader. Therefore Kropotkin had to constantly retreat from the radical reformist positions. Consequently the radical anarchist doctrine in the form in which originally Kropotkin tried to build it now was in the crisis and it required major changes or he had to attempt or to justify it with a different perspective. So Kropotkin tried to find the law which may be common to all of nature and of development of mankind.

Kropotkin found the foundation for his theory not only in the natural sciences. The history serves for the same purpose too. Idealizing the European Middle Ages of XV-XVI centuries he draws a broad panorama of associations that emerged at the local level in addition to the State and that played an important role in society: cooperatives, artels, clubs, charities, trade unions, voluntary societies, etc. Kropotkin thought that all of this argues that it is possible to get by without the State if we can rely on such non-state actors supposedly by the force of mutual aid which is a fundamental principle of their existence. However the using of the principle of existence of such a private individual associations within the State is not enough for justify building a stateless society in the future. He needed to find the universal law of development of human society and even more convincing: he wanted to find the law of nature which it is possible to show the inevitability of anarchic social structure as a special case of the general laws of development of the whole of nature. For it Kropotkin refers to positivism trying to find in the science of the nature the required justification of development of human society. According to Kropotkin while there is no alienated power over the society such society is arranged more fairly and there is no room to social inequality there such as envy and exploitation. It is based on absolutely other principles: principles of collective equality in all things that is related to social harmony within the team.¹¹⁰

Idealizing the communal system of barbarians and cities of medieval Europe Kropotkin noticed basically such sides as the fact that (according to the ordinance of Ferdinand I) 8-hour working day existed and was supported and often people worked on Saturday not more than noon etc. In this cases Kropotkin stressed that in contemporary society workers has to fight yet for such achievements. But here Kropotkin was close enough to recognize that the State at least in some cases can strive or even use the simple opportunity to act for the benefit of all society.

¹¹⁰ Крoпoткин П. А. Записки революционера. М., 1966. С. 263.

Series of mistakes and failures of authoritarian parties in the Russian revolutionary events of 1905-06 served the impetus for the review and analysis of the revolutionary and evolutionary paths of development of human societies. This is indirectly reflected in his book “The Great Revolution of period 1789-1793”, published in 1909 in French, German, and English.

In his memoirs Kropotkin wrote that “the revolution i.e. periods of accelerated evolution accelerated development and rapid change just so well aligned with nature of human society as a slow, gradual evolution”. It is impossible to avoid revolution and the question is “how to achieve the best results with at least the size of the civil war i.e. with fewest casualties”.¹¹¹ Answering this question Kropotkin noticed that it needs precise goals, broad ideals (but not vague desires) and he concluded: “the outcome will depend... on creative force applied to the rebuilding of society on a new basis. Outcome will depend especially on the creative public-forces... and the moral influence of the objectives pursued”.¹¹²

Thus Kropotkin wrote in his in fact the evolutionary theory of mutual aid the inevitability of the anarchist revolution. On the other hand he saw the revolution as an accelerated evolution. Therefore it was possible to walk through the evolution of the state towards to the anarchist revolution as the final stage of human development. Most notable here is that Peter Alekseevich in his anarchist views became more moving away from the radical direction toward the reformist inside of the anarchism.

In the homeland of Peter Alekseevich Kropotkin his ideas of reformism and federalism have not found any support among political movements of new post-revolutionary Russia. Kropotkin's concept conflicted with aspirations of monarchists to restoration the unified and indivisible Russian Empire or attempts of nationalists to demolish the Empire for the purpose of creation of the national States. And, especially these ideas contradicted desires of the majority of anarchists to destroy the State. Kropotkin's concept completely contradicted also to the dictatorship of the Bolsheviks which has constructed totalitarian society and the state under a sign of federation.

In Russia at the beginning of the XX century Peter Alekseevich Kropotkin began to keep away gradually from various anarchist groups and currents¹¹³ and after

¹¹¹ Крoпoткин П. А. Записки революционера. М., 1966. С. 263.

¹¹² In the same place. P. 264.

¹¹³ Ермаков В. Д. Анархистские группы и организации России в 1917 году: история и современность // Великий Октябрь. Политические партии России и СССР. Социалистические преобразования в стране: Тез. докл. и выступлений на Всесоюз. науч.

1917 he stood independently in Russian anarchism. First of all it has been connected with his refusal of purely radical ideas. And he changed his minds in many respects because of Russia February revolution's victory in 1917. After it Kropotkin moved to reformist ideas of support and cooperation of anarchists with the state for the sake of hope of gradual transformation of the new democratic state in the direction of anarchical society.

The dynamics of the anarchist's views of Kropotkin shows that the traditional division of his views on pre-anarchist and anarchist is incomplete because the second half of the time of anarchist's views of Kropotkin represents a completely separate period. It is not only as a return or more precisely a compromise with pre-anarchist period of his views but it is a special period in anarchism of Kropotkin as a whole. This provision A. A. Nazarov brilliantly showed in the study of anarchism of P. A. Kropotkin.¹¹⁴

Therefore the political views of PA Kropotkin can be divided into a number of periods corresponding to his pre-anarchist, radical anarchist and reformist-anarchist views. Each of these periods in their evolution can be divided into several stages which based on the differences of both the external influence of circumstances where Kropotkin was and the internal evolution of his ideological values. In addition to the stages we can identify the crucial phases of his views on anarchism too.

As a result of the research of social and political views of P. A. Kropotkin we proposed a new periodization of his social and political views. It may be built in the following scheme.

I. Inside the pre-anarchist period of P. A. Kropotkin (1842-1876.) there are:

1) Liberal stage (1850 - 1871). It reflects the reformist constitutional-monarchist views of Kropotkin;

2) The populist stage (1872-1876). It reflects the radicalization of the views of Kropotkin toward socialist.

II. The radical-anarchist period of P. A. Kropotkin (1877-1901) is dating to the time of his exile. It may be divided into stages:

1) Swiss-French stage of emigration (1877-1885) is characterized by the formation on the basis of socialist (actually anarchist) Kropotkin's views;

конф., 23-26 сент. 1991 г., г. Суздаль. Ч. 2. Владимир, 1991.

¹¹⁴ Назаров. А. А. Эволюция социально-экономических воззрений П. А. Кропоткина: Дис... канд. экон. наук. М., 1994.

2) 1st phase of London stage of emigration (1885-1897). Here Kropotkin mainly developed alien views and he began to develop his own anarchist ideas trying to use the scientific methods to build his anarchist theory.

III. Anarcho-reformist period of P. Kropotkin (1897-1921) includes:

1) 2nd phase of London stage of emigration (1897-1917) and the end of the February Revolution in Russia. They showed the reformist and democratic benchmarks that established in the anarchist views of Kropotkin especially under the influence of Western Europe;

2) Stage of isolation (1917-1921) when the anarchist views of Kropotkin has evolved in the condition of Bolshevik regime. These change was first of all in the assessment of revolution and he turn to the side mainly to ethical issues.

In this case we have three periods and five main stages in the evolution of anarchist views of P. A. Kropotkin. London's stage of emigration of Kropotkin is divided into two phases and the conventional boundary between them shares all the anarchist Kropotkin's view not only in two periods but on two different levels. There is the level of the extensive anarchism of Kropotkin when he developed alien anarchist ideas par excellence (and that was reflected in the radicalization of his own social and political views), and there is the level of intensive anarchism that expressed in creation and justification own theory of the anarchism by Kropotkin. As a result he passes to the democratic and anarcho-reformist position in his views. Thus our periodisation of social and political views of P. A. Kropotkin is significantly different from schemes that offered before although in many respects it builds on the experience already gained previously.¹¹⁵

Final period is the anarcho-reformist views. It was selected on the basis of the principle of contrast of early and late reformism of P. Kropotkin with his anarchist radicalism. Dedicated periods, stages and phases reflect the major changes in the socio-political views of Kropotkin. On this principle this periodisation is built.

Anarchist views of P. A. Kropotkin can be considered a certain stage in the world anarchist thought because so great the value and credibility he has between the anarchists in the world and not only among anarchists and we know how many new

¹¹⁵ Назаров. А. А. Эволюция социально-экономических воззрений П. А. Кропоткина: Дис... канд. экон. наук. М., 1994; Шубин А. В. Два этапа творчества П. А. Кропоткина и идейная борьба в российской анархистской эмиграции 20-х – 30-х гг. // Труды комиссии по научному наследию П. А. Кропоткина. Вып. 2. М., 1992.

ideas Kropotkin put to the theory of anarchism. But also in Europe and in Russia Kropotkin always stood alone in relation to other areas of anarchism. However we do not set the task of correlating Kropotkin's creativity with any classification of the internal flows of anarchism. We restrict ourselves in the consideration of periods and stages in the socio-political views of Peter Alekseyevich Kropotkin.

As E. I. Nikulchenkov noted in his work that when we traced the evolution of anarchist views of P. A. Kropotkin we can see that the Russian thinker and theorist of anarchism "constantly was putting the adjustments to his views. The objective course of history and science made him do it. And Kropotkin moved ahead in his own self-awareness and awareness of reality without fear".¹¹⁶

In accordance with this, a new periodisation of social and political views of P. A. Kropotkin was built and substantiated. And in it the anarcho-reformist views of Kropotkin are organically inscribed as an integral part of a whole.

We think that anarcho-reformist position of Kropotkin was his attempt to look more realistic at possible mechanisms and the directions of movement of progress in evolution of state and society.

So Kropotkin was follower of realization of politic and social reforms and his reformist theory of mutual help was evolutionary as a matter of fact. Nevertheless Kropotkin has inserted imminence of anarchical revolution into his theory keeping elements of radicalism in theoretical questions and simultaneously he was remaining on his anarchical positions. And we can see that in his practical political activities and anarchical views P. A. Kropotkin has changed his positions to reformism but at the same time he has persisted the ideological anarchist. It is the reason to identify his social-political views at the end of XIX till 1921 as anarcho-reformism.

Researches in this direction can enable to look absolutely in a different way at apparent settled traditional approaches and appraisals of social-political views as P. A. Kropotkin and of anarchism as a whole world-view system.

¹¹⁶ Никульченков Е. И. Проблема эволюции и революции в социально-политической теории П. А. Кропоткина (политико-этический аспект): дис. ... канд. полит. наук. СПб., 1993. С. 78.