

**MODERN SOCIALISM
IN ITS HISTORICAL
DEVELOPMENT**

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Modern socialism in its historical development by M. Tugan-Baranowsky & M. I. Redmount

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M. TUGAN-BARANOWSKY & M. I. REDMOUNT

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BY
DR. M. TUGAN-BARANOWSKY

TRANSLATED FROM RUSSIAN BY
M. I. REDMOUNT



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PREFACE

THE Socialistic literature notwithstanding its vastness opens to view a gap, the almost total absence of a systematic, scientifically objective and critical investigation of what constitutes the doctrine of modern Socialism. Schaeffle's famous book *Quintessence of Socialism* exhibits to a certain extent such a tendency but lacks every historical illustration and bears more or less a dogmatical stamp. This work, as well as Menger's *New State Doctrine* are besides mere expositions of a part of the general doctrine of Socialism as they interpret only its positive side. Bourguin's *Contemporary Socialist Systems*, one of the latest researches in this province, is to my mind far from fulfilling the void I have pointed out, being in a considerable measure but an unconvincing attempt to confute Socialism as a positive doctrine.

Many good writings on Socialism have of late been published. It will suffice to mention Sombart's well-known book *Socialism and the Socialist Movement during the Nineteenth Century* which also belongs to that class of writings, the

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tendency of which, in most cases, is not so much to characterise the doctrines of Socialism as to expound the Socialist movement.

The book now put before the reader has another aim: a succinct critical exposition of the essential tenets of modern Socialism as a definite social doctrine. And taking into consideration that Marxism, as I strongly believe, does not embrace all the scientific elements of Socialism, my investigation necessarily assumed an historical character in so far as I was obliged to retrospect and introduce earlier, partly forgotten doctrines of the so called *Utopian* category, which I consider deserving of the most serious attention and which in some respects are even more scientific than Marxism. I shall be glad, indeed, if my book will again draw attention to the either wholly neglected or but little read works of the many great originators of modern socialist ideals, who, failing to accomplish what they had striven for during their lifetime, have left a deep and indelible mark of their thoughts upon the epoch we live in.

M. TUGAN-BARANOWSKY.

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MODERN SOCIALISM

INTRODUCTION

THE ESSENCE AND THE AIMS OF SOCIALISM

THE curtain of the twentieth century was drawn up under the sign of Socialism. The proletarian red flag, hailed by some with enthusiasm, viewed by others as a menacing symbol with horror, is by none regarded with indifference. Creations of the brain of solitary thinkers turned into a social movement the mightiest history knows of; the immense Socialistic literature is increasing every day; thousands of organs of the press in the old and new worlds endeavour to elaborate, develop and spread Socialistic ideas. Millions of people actively participate in this movement, and it is indeed not to be wondered at that the problem contained in this agitation forms the central topic of public thought.

However, Socialism as a doctrine is as yet very far from the ideal of an accomplished scientific system. The very conception of Socialism is unsettled and vague. What is Socialism? Laveleye in his work on modern Socialism says that he did not light upon an exact definition of this conception. Proudhon's answer when a similar question was put to him was, that, in his opinion, whoever aims at the improvement of social conditions "is a Socialist." If

this be so, who can be a non-Socialist? Every one, concluded Laveleye, is a Socialist from somebody's point of view—"le socialiste de quelqu'un."

The predominating tendency of modern Socialism—Marxism—prides itself on its having changed Utopian Socialism into a scientific doctrine, but unfortunately one of the peculiar features of Marxism is its unscientific indifference with regard to the definition of the terms and notions it makes use of. Generally speaking, we can say that Marxism identifies Socialism with socialization of the means of production, with the transition of the means of production from private property, which they are at the present time, to the community as a whole, for a regular organization of social production. As to objects of consumption, they are supposed to retain their private character.

But this conception of the essential point of Socialism can also be considered as unsatisfactory. It takes a wrong view of the matter, first and foremost, by showing the means and not the goal of Socialism. It is true that, according to the predominant Socialist views, the new order can be reached only by socializing the means of production. But does this imply the attainment of the actual scope of Socialism under all circumstances and conditions? By no means. The passage of the means of production from the hands of the capitalists and landlords to those of the whole community can be effected in two ways, either by purchase or by confiscation. To bring about this passage, Rodbertus proposes the expropriation of the present owners of land and capital by the community pledged to pay to them to the full the annuities they formerly received from their property. In this case the landlord and capitalists would, for ever and ever, become creditors of the community with the right to the claim of