

## INTELLIGENTSIA AND REVOLUTION 589

and therefore not only threw itself as a class into the political struggles of the eighteenth century which early in the nineteenth century resulted in the victory of the bourgeoisie and in their capture of political power, but when that phase of political struggle was over and the proletariat attempted to displace the bourgeoisie and to seize the reins of power, the *intelligentsia* in general was ranged, not on the side of the proletariat, but against it. The origin and history of the *intelligentsia* of Western Europe thus account for the antagonism of the *intelligentsia* to socialism. The origin and history of the *intelligentsia* in Russia, on the other hand, predispose the *intelligentsia* of that country towards socialism. Their sympathies and interest do not incline them towards the bourgeoisie, and since the smaller bourgeoisie does not as a class exist in Russia, the advent of socialism would produce by no means so great an economic disturbance in Russia as must inevitably be the case elsewhere. It must be acknowledged, moreover, that the *intelligentsia* are perhaps the only socialists in Russia. The peasant masses cannot be transformed into Social Democrats, and the working men of the industrial centres are not sufficiently well educated to entertain any but crude ideas of socialism, even when they are in general well affected towards socialist ideas as presented to them by the Social Democrats.

The Russian *intelligentsia* have, moreover, by origin and tradition, a profound lack of faith in the autocratic State. Russian evolution has for them meant the development of absolutism, therefore they are opposed to the Russian State in its present form. Under the pre-revolution conditions, Russian men of letters and jurists exercised no influence upon the Government. This exclusion from political power, for the exercise of which they conceived themselves to be well fitted, was the chief cause of their oppositional activity. They threw themselves into the struggle against the autocracy, and in this struggle the *intelligentsia* naturally allied themselves with the parties which devoted themselves to "active resistance."

The attitude towards life and towards the evolution of society which is adopted by the Russian *intelligentsia*, is thus quite different from that adopted by analogous groups in Western Europe. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, the class in Russia was growing in numbers, its education was frequently of the highest