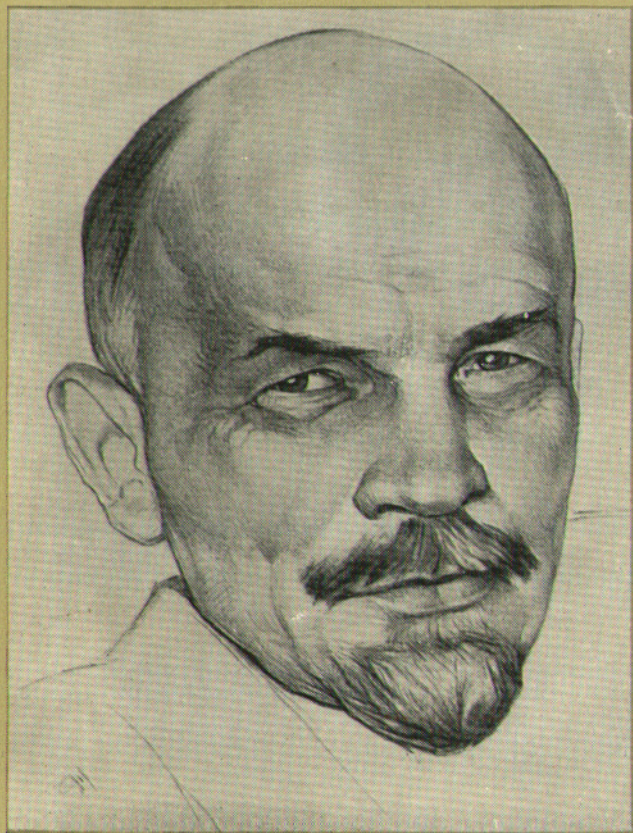


LENIN

COLLECTED
WORKS



VOLUME

12

1907

January-June

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN
ST. PETERSBURG * THE BOLSHEVIKS AND THE PETTY
BOURGEOISIE * THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *
THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS BOURGEOIS PARTIES

V. I. L E N I N

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME

12

January - June 1907

From Marx to Mao



© Digital Reprints

2010

www.marx2mao.com

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS

M O S C O W

CONTENTS

Preface	13
-------------------	----

1907

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN ST. PETERSBURG.	15
DESCENDING RUNG BY RUNG	24
THE PROTEST OF THE THIRTY-ONE MENSHEVIKS	29
THE ST. PETERSBURG ELECTIONS AND THE HYPOCRISY OF THE THIRTY-ONE MENSHEVIKS	33
HOW TO VOTE IN THE ST. PETERSBURG ELECTIONS. <i>Is There a Danger of the Black Hundreds Winning the St. Petersburg Elections?</i>	45
THE ST. PETERSBURG ELECTIONS AND THE CRISIS OF OPPORTUNISM	57
THE ELECTIONS IN THE WORKER CURIA IN ST. PETERSBURG	62
THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN S.D.'s AND S.R.'s IN THE ELECTIONS IN THE WORKER CURIA IN ST. PETERSBURG	70
HOW TO VOTE IN THE ST. PETERSBURG ELECTIONS. <i>Who Benefits from the Fables About the Black-Hundred Danger?</i>	75
THE MOSCOW ELECTIONS—PRELIMINARY RESULTS	81
A POLITICAL LIDVALIAD	83
THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS IN THE WORKER CURIA IN ST. PETERSBURG	86
ON THE REPORT OF THE MOSCOW DISTRICT OF ST. PETERSBURG CONCERNING THE ELECTIONS TO THE SECOND DUMA	93

SOME FIGURES ON THE ELECTIONS IN THE WORKER CURIA IN SOUTH RUSSIA	95
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ST. PETERSBURG ELECTIONS	98
PREFACE TO THE RUSSIAN TRANSLATION OF KARL MARX'S LETTERS TO Dr. KUGELMANN	104
THE SECOND DUMA AND THE SECOND REVOLUTIONARY WAVE	113
THE ELECTION RESULTS IN ST. PETERSBURG	119
REPORT TO THE CONFERENCE OF THE ST. PETERSBURG ORGANISATION ON THE QUESTION OF THE DUMA CAMPAIGN AND DUMA TACTICS. <i>Brief Newspaper Report</i>	127
Concluding Speech	131
DRAFT RESOLUTIONS FOR THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P	133
1. The Present Stage in the Democratic Revolution	135
2. The Attitude to the Bourgeois Parties	136
3. The Class Tasks of the Proletariat at the Present Stage of the Democratic Revolution	138
4. The Tactics of the Social-Democrats in the State Duma	140
5. The Intensification of Mass Destitution and of the Economic Struggle	142
6. Non-Party Workers' Organisations and the Anarcho-Syndicalist Trend Among the Proletariat	142
TACTICS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN. <i>Interview Granted to a Special Correspondent of "L'Humanité" on February 17 (March 2), 1907</i>	145
THE OPENING OF THE SECOND STATE DUMA	152
THE SECOND DUMA AND THE TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT	156
THE FIRST IMPORTANT STEP	161
PETTY-BOURGEOIS TACTICS	165
WHAT THE SPLITTERS HAVE TO SAY ABOUT THE COMING SPLIT	170
ON THE TACTICS OF OPPORTUNISM	173
THE BOLSHEVIKS AND THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE	179

THE IMMINENT DISSOLUTION OF THE DUMA AND QUESTIONS OF TACTICS	184
CADETS AND TRUDOVIKS	189
APROPOS OF STOLYPIN'S DECLARATION. <i>Draft Manifesto</i>	193
THE ELECTIONS TO THE DUMA AND THE TACTICS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS	196
THE PLATFORM OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY	208
I	208
II	213
HOW NOT TO WRITE RESOLUTIONS	219
Instead of an Afterword	240
A NOTE ON THE RESOLUTION OF THE ESTONIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS	243
THE TERMS OF THE DEAL	244
THE MENSHEVIK TACTICAL PLATFORM	249
DRAFT FOR A SPEECH ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION IN THE SECOND STATE DUMA	267
FINE WORDS—FOUL DEEDS	300
THE DUMA AND THE APPROVAL OF THE BUDGET	306
THE CUCKOO PRAISES THE ROOSTER	312
INTELLECTUALIST WARRIORS AGAINST DOMINATION BY THE INTELLIGENTSIA	316
ANGRY EMBARRASSMENT. <i>The Question of the Labour Congress</i>	320
THE AGRARIAN QUESTION AND THE FORCES OF THE REVOLUTION	333
AN ANAEMIC DUMA OR AN ANAEMIC PETTY BOURGEOISIE	337
BANALITY TRIUMPHANT, OR S.R.'s APE THE CADETS	341
THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC GROUP AND APRIL 3 IN THE DUMA . .	345
THE STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION	349
I	349
II	353

PREFACE TO THE RUSSIAN TRANSLATION OF <i>LETTERS BY JOHANNES BECKER, JOSEPH DIETZGEN, FREDERICK ENGELS, KARL MARX, AND OTHERS TO FRIEDRICH SORGE AND OTHERS</i>	359
How the Classics Estimated Intellectualist Opportunism in Social-Democracy	371
THE DUMA AND THE RUSSIAN LIBERALS	379
FRANZ MEHRING ON THE SECOND DUMA	383
German Liberalism and the Russian Duma	384
LARIN AND KHRUSTALEV	390
REORGANISATION AND THE END OF THE SPLIT IN ST. PETERSBURG.	395
ON THE QUESTION OF A NATION-WIDE REVOLUTION.	404
APROPOS OF THE MINUTES OF THE NOVEMBER MILITARY AND COMBAT CONFERENCE OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY.	409
REPORT TO THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. ON THE ST. PETERSBURG SPLIT AND THE INSTITUTION OF THE PARTY TRIBUNAL ENSUING THEREFROM	419
I. Speech for the Defence (or for the Prosecution of the Menshevik Section of the Central Committee) Delivered at the Party Tribunal	421
II. A Brief Summary of the Real History of the St. Petersburg Split	432
<i>THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. April 30-May 19 (May 13-June 1), 1907</i>	437
1. SPEECH DURING THE DISCUSSION ON THE CONGRESS AGENDA, MAY 2 (15)	439
2. SPEECH ON THE REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, MAY 4 (17)	442
3. SPEECH ON THE REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE DUMA GROUP, MAY 8 (21)	448
4. STATEMENT OF FACT, MAY 10 (23)	453
5. STATEMENT OF MAY 11 (24)	455
6. SPEECH ON THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS BOURGEOIS PARTIES, MAY 12 (25)	456

7. CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE REPORT ON THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS BOURGEOIS PARTIES, MAY 14 (27)	469
8. SPEECH ON THE ATTITUDE TO THE POLISH DRAFT RESOLUTION ON BOURGEOIS PARTIES, MAY 15 (28)	475
9. OBJECTIONS TO TROTSKY'S AMENDMENTS TO THE BOLSHEVIK RESOLUTION ON THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS BOURGEOIS PARTIES, ADOPTED BY THE CONGRESS. MAY 15-16 (28-29)	479
10. OBJECTIONS TO MARTOV'S AMENDMENTS TO THE BOLSHEVIK RESOLUTION ON THE ATTITUDE TO BOURGEOIS PARTIES, MAY 16 (29)	480
11. OBJECTIONS TO MARTYNOV'S AMENDMENTS TO THE RESOLUTION ON THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS BOURGEOIS PARTIES, MAY 16 (29)	482
12. REPORT OF THE COMMISSION FORMED TO DRAFT A RESOLUTION ON THE STATE DUMA, MAY 18 (31).	484
13. REMARKS DURING THE DISCUSSION ON THE RE-VOTING OF THOSE ELECTED TO THE C.C., MAY 19 (JUNE 1).	488
ATTITUDE TOWARDS BOURGEOIS PARTIES	489
I	490
II	500
III	506
<i>Notes</i>	511
<i>The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Chronology</i>	555

 ILLUSTRATIONS

First page of the newspaper <i>Zreniye</i> , No. 1, 1907	47
First page of the newspaper <i>Rabochy</i> , No. 2, 1907	157
Facsimile of the first page of Lenin's manuscript "Draft for a Speech on the Agrarian Question in the Second State Duma", 1907	265
First page of the newspaper <i>Nashe Ekho</i> , No. 2, 1907	307

