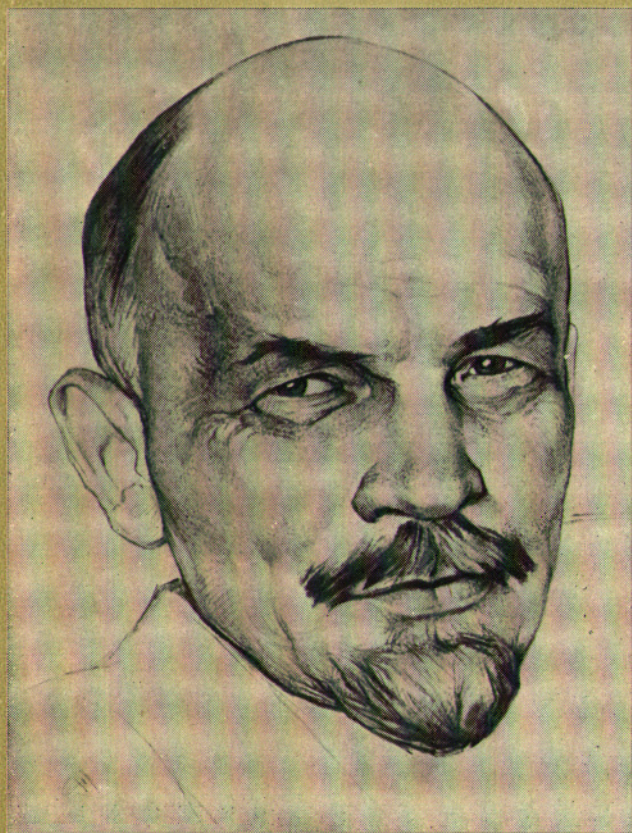


# LENIN

COLLECTED  
WORKS



VOLUME  
13

June 1907-  
April 1908

AGAINST BOYCOTT \* THE INTERNATIONAL  
SOCIALIST CONGRESS IN STUTTGART \* THE  
AGRARIAN QUESTION AND THE "CRITICS OF  
MARX" \* THE AGRARIAN PROGRAMME OF  
SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY IN THE FIRST RUSSIAN  
REVOLUTION, 1905-1907

---

# V. I. L E N I N

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME

13

*June 1907–April 1908*

From Marx to Mao



© Digital Reprints

2010

[www.marx2mao.com](http://www.marx2mao.com)

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS

MOSCOW 1978

---



---

## CONTENTS

Preface . . . . .	13
-------------------	----

1907

AGAINST BOYCOTT. <i>Notes of a Social-Democratic Publicist</i> . . . . .	15
I . . . . .	18
II . . . . .	24
III . . . . .	27
IV . . . . .	33
V . . . . .	36
VI . . . . .	44
VII . . . . .	48
IN MEMORY OF COUNT HEYDEN. <i>What Are Our Non-Party "Democrats" Teaching the People?</i> . . . . .	50
THESES OF A REPORT MADE AT THE ST. PETERSBURG CITY CONFERENCE OF JULY 8 ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY TO THE THIRD DUMA . . . . .	58
THE THIRD CONFERENCE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. ("SECOND ALL-RUSSIAN") . . . . .	60
1. Draft Resolution on Participation in the Elections to the Third Duma . . . . .	60
2. Outline of a Draft Resolution on the All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions . . . . .	61
NOTES OF A PUBLICIST . . . . .	62
THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS IN STUTTGART . . . . .	75
THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS IN STUTTGART . . . . .	82
PREFACE TO THE COLLECTION <i>TWELVE YEARS</i> . . . . .	94
REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION . . . . .	114

THE THIRD DUMA . . . . .	123
ON PLEKHANOV'S ARTICLE . . . . .	133
CONFERENCE OF THE ST. PETERSBURG ORGANISATION OF THE R.S.D.L.P. <i>From a Newspaper Report</i> . . . . .	135
1. Report on the Third State Duma . . . . .	135
2. Resolution on the Third State Duma . . . . .	138
3. Report on the Participation of Social-Democrats in the Bourgeois Press . . . . .	140
THE FOURTH CONFERENCE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. (THIRD ALL-RUS- SIAN". <i>From a Newspaper Report</i> . . . . .	141
1. Report on the Tactics of the Social-Democratic Group in the Third State Duma . . . . .	141
2. Resolution on the Tactics of the Social-Democratic Group in the Third State Duma . . . . .	144
THE PREPARATION OF A "DISGUSTING ORGY" . . . . .	147
BUT WHO ARE THE JUDGES? . . . . .	153
PREFACE TO THE PAMPHLET BY VOINOV (A. V. LUNACHARSKY) ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE PARTY TOWARDS THE TRADE UNIONS . . . . .	161
THE AGRARIAN QUESTION AND THE "CRITICS OF MARX" . . . . .	169
X. The "Work" of the German Bulgakov, E. David . . . . .	171
XI. Livestock in Small and Large Farms . . . . .	182
XII. The "Ideal Country" from the Standpoint of the Oppo- nents of Marxism on the Agrarian Question. . . . .	194
THE AGRARIAN PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY IN THE FIRST RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, 1905-1907 . . . . .	217
<i>Chapter I.</i> The Economic Basis and Nature of the Agrarian Rev- olution in Russia . . . . .	220
1. Landownership in European Russia . . . . .	220
2. What Is the Struggle About? . . . . .	225
3. The Cadet Writers Obscure the Nature of the Struggle	231
4. The Economic Nature of the Agrarian Revolution and Its Ideological Cloaks . . . . .	234
5. Two Types of Bourgeois Agrarian Evolution . . . . .	238
6. Two Lines of Agrarian Programmes in the Revolution	243
7. Russia's Land Area. The Question of the Colonisation	247
8. Summary of the Economic Deductions of Chapter I . . . . .	254

<i>Chapter II. The Agrarian Programmes of the R.S.D.L.P. and Their Test in the First Revolution . . . . .</i>	255
1. What Was the Mistake in the Previous Agrarian Programmes of Russian Social-Democracy? . . . . .	255
2. The Present Agrarian Programme of the R.S.D.L.P. . . . .	258
3. The Chief Argument of the Municipalisers Tested by Events . . . . .	261
4. The Agrarian Programme of the Peasantry . . . . .	267
5. Medieval Landownership and the Bourgeois Revolution . . . . .	272
6. Why Had the Small Proprietors in Russia to Declare in Favour of Nationalisation? . . . . .	276
7. The Peasants and the Narodniks on the Nationalisation of Allotment Land . . . . .	284
8. The Mistake Made by M. Shanin and Other Advocates of Division . . . . .	287
 <i>Chapter III. The Theoretical Basis of Nationalisation and of Municipalisation . . . . .</i>	 294
1. What Is Nationalisation of the Land? . . . . .	295
2. Pyotr Maslov Corrects Karl Marx's Rough Notes . . . . .	300
3. Is It Necessary to Refute Marx in Order to Refute the Narodniks? . . . . .	307
4. Is the Repudiation of Absolute Rent Connected with the Programme of Municipalisation? . . . . .	311
5. Criticism of Private Landownership from the Standpoint of the Development of Capitalism . . . . .	313
6. The Nationalisation of the Land and "Money" Rent . . . . .	316
7. Under What Conditions Can Nationalisation Be Brought About? . . . . .	318
8. Does Nationalisation Mean Transition to Division? . . . . .	323
 <i>Chapter IV. Political and Tactical Considerations in Questions of the Agrarian Programme . . . . .</i>	 325
1. "A Guarantee Against Restoration" . . . . .	325
2. Local Self-Government as a "Bulwark Against Reaction" . . . . .	332
3. The Central Authority and the Consolidation of the Bourgeois State . . . . .	337
4. The Scope of the Political and of the Agrarian Revolutions . . . . .	344
5. A Peasant Revolution Without the Conquest of Power by the Peasantry? . . . . .	351
6. Is Land Nationalisation a Sufficiently Flexible Method? . . . . .	355
7. Municipalisation of the Land and Municipal Socialism . . . . .	358
8. Some Examples of the Muddle Caused by Municipalisation . . . . .	363

<i>Chapter V. Classes and Parties in the Debate on the Agrarian Question in the Second Duma . . . . .</i>	366
1. The Rights and the Octobrists . . . . .	368
2. The Cadets . . . . .	374
3. The Right Peasants . . . . .	380
4. The Non-Party Peasants . . . . .	383
5. The Narodnik Intellectuals . . . . .	388
6. The Trudovik Peasants (Narodniks). . . . .	394
7. The Socialist-Revolutionaries . . . . .	400
8. The "Nationals" . . . . .	405
9. The Social-Democrats . . . . .	414
Conclusion . . . . .	421
POSTSCRIPT . . . . .	430

## 1908

THE DEBATE ON THE EXTENSION OF THE DUMA'S BUDGETARY POWERS . . . . .	432
POSTSCRIPT TO THE ARTICLE "THE DEBATE ON THE EXTENSION OF THE DUMA'S BUDGETARY POWERS" . . . . .	439
POLITICAL NOTES . . . . .	440
STATEMENT OF THE EDITORS OF <i>PROLETARY</i> . . . . .	447
A LETTER TO A. M. GORKY . . . . .	448
THE NEW AGRARIAN POLICY . . . . .	455
TRADE-UNION NEUTRALITY . . . . .	460
THE HAPPENING TO THE KING OF PORTUGAL . . . . .	470
LESSONS OF THE COMMUNE . . . . .	475
A POLICE-PATRIOTIC DEMONSTRATION MADE TO ORDER . . . . .	479
DECEPTION OF THE PEOPLE BY THE LIBERALS . . . . .	485
AN ESTIMATE OF MARX BY INTERNATIONAL LIBERALISM . . . . .	490
<i>Notes</i> . . . . .	495
<i>The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin</i> . Outstanding Dates . . . . .	535

## ILLUSTRATIONS

Cover of <i>Kalendar dlya vsekh</i> , 1908 containing Lenin's article "The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart". Lenin's personal copy . . . . .	83
The cover of the collection of Lenin's writings <i>Twelve Years</i> . . . . .	95
The last page of Lenin's manuscript " <i>The Agrarian Programme of Social-Democracy in the First Russian Revolution. 1905-1907</i> ". November-December 1907 . . . . .	428— —429
The first page of V. I. Lenin's letter to A. M. Gorky dated February 25, 1908 . . . . .	451

---



