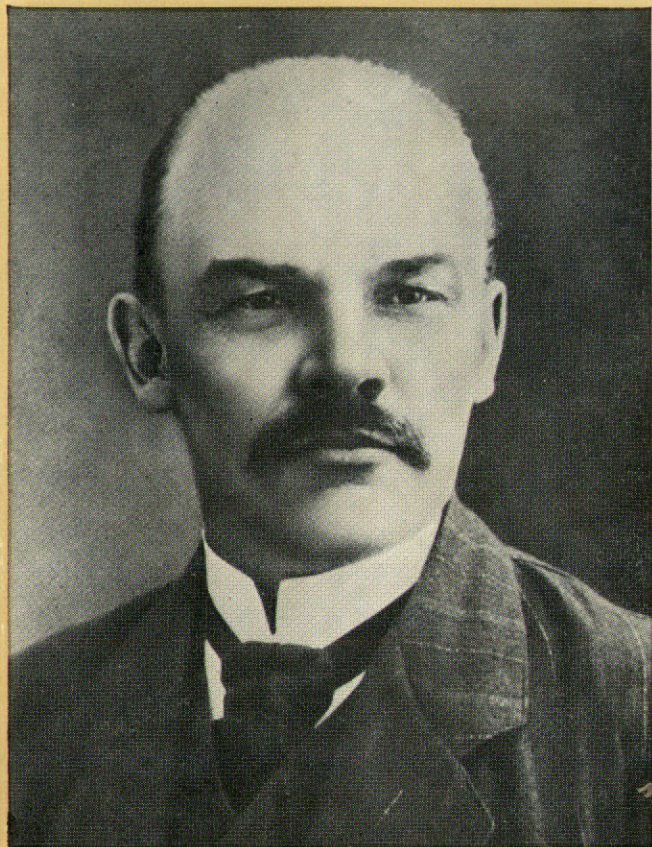


# LENIN

COLLECTED  
WORKS



VOLUME

18

April 1912-

March 1913

IN MEMORY OF HERZEN \* POLITICAL PARTIES IN RUSSIA \*  
DEMOCRACY AND NARODISM IN CHINA \* DEBATES IN  
BRITAIN ON LIBERAL LABOUR POLICY \* THE HISTORICAL  
DESTINY OF THE DOCTRINE OF KARL MARX

---

# V. I. L E N I N

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME

18

*April 1912 – March 1913*

From Marx to Mao



© Digital Reprints

2010

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

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS

M O S C O W

---



---

## CONTENTS

Preface . . . . .	15
THE FOURTH DUMA ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND THE TASKS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS . . . . .	17
THE LIQUIDATORS AGAINST THE PARTY . . . . .	22
IN MEMORY OF HERZEN . . . . .	25
LANDOWNERSHIP IN EUROPEAN RUSSIA . . . . .	32
THE TRUDOVIKS AND THE WORKER DEMOCRATS . . . . .	36
I . . . . .	36
II . . . . .	38
III . . . . .	41
POLITICAL PARTIES IN RUSSIA . . . . .	44
A QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE ORGANISATION OF BIG CAPITAL . . . . .	56
I . . . . .	56
II . . . . .	59
III . . . . .	61
IV . . . . .	65
V . . . . .	68
VI . . . . .	71
THE ESSENCE OF "THE AGRARIAN PROBLEM IN RUSSIA". . . . .	73
SOME CONCLUSIONS TO BE DRAWN FROM THE PRE-ELECTION MOBILISATION . . . . .	78
ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STRIKES . . . . .	83
THE PROBLEM OF RESETTLEMENT . . . . .	91
THE REVOLUTIONARY UPSWING . . . . .	102
THE SLOGANS OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. IN JANUARY 1912 AND THE MAY DAY MOVEMENT . . . . .	110
THE LIQUIDATORS OPPOSE REVOLUTIONARY MASS STRIKES . . . . .	116
"UNITERS". . . . .	118

THE NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF OUR POLEMICS AGAINST THE LIBERALS . . . . .	122
CAPITALISM AND "PARLIAMENT". . . . .	129
THE ELECTIONS AND THE OPPOSITION . . . . .	132
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ST. PETERSBURG ELECTIONS. . . . .	136
A COMPARISON OF THE STOLYPIN AND THE NARODNIK AGRARIAN PROGRAMMES. . . . .	143
THE SITUATION IN THE R.S.D.L.P. AND THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE PARTY . . . . .	150
I . . . . .	150
II . . . . .	153
III . . . . .	156
A REPLY TO THE LIQUIDATORS . . . . .	158
IN SWITZERLAND . . . . .	160
DEMOCRACY AND NARODISM IN CHINA . . . . .	163
THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST CONGRESS. . . . .	170
"FREEDOM OF SPEECH" IN RUSSIA. . . . .	173
HOW P. B. AXELROD EXPOSES THE LIQUIDATORS. . . . .	175
I . . . . .	175
II . . . . .	180
THE RESULTS OF SIX MONTHS' WORK . . . . .	187
I . . . . .	187
II . . . . .	193
III . . . . .	196
IV . . . . .	200
THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE R.S.D.L.P. . . . .	203
To the Executive Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party. . . . .	204
The Situation in the R.S.D.L.P. since January 1912	204
What Is the Relation of the Hitherto Neutral Russian Social-Democrats to the So-called Organising Commit- tee?. . . . .	205
The Social-Democratic Group in the Third Duma. . . . .	208
Officially Verifiable Data on the Influence of the Liqui- dators Compared with That of the Party . . . . .	209
Open and Verifiable Data on the Links of the Liquida- tors and the Party with the Mass of the Workers in Russia	212
Conclusion . . . . .	215
Postscript . . . . .	219

---

ORIGINAL POSTSCRIPT TO THE PAMPHLET THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE R.S.D.L.P. . . . . .	221
CAPITALISM AND POPULAR CONSUMPTION . . . . .	224
LIBERALS AND CLERICALS . . . . .	227
CADETS AND DEMOCRATS. . . . .	229
THE LIBERAL CAMPAIGN . . . . .	231
REVOLTS IN THE ARMY AND NAVY. . . . .	233
ON THE EVE OF THE ELECTIONS TO THE FOURTH DUMA . . . .	237
CAN THE SLOGAN "FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION" SERVE AS A BASIS FOR THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT TODAY? . . . . .	242
LETTER TO THE SWISS WORKERS . . . . .	245
QUESTIONS OF PRINCIPLE . . . . .	246
THE LAST VALVE . . . . .	248
A LITTLE EXPLANATION . . . . .	254
WORKERS' EARNINGS AND CAPITALIST PROFITS IN RUSSIA . . .	256
THE STRIKE MOVEMENT AND WAGES . . . . .	258
THE WORKING DAY IN THE FACTORIES OF MOSCOW GUBERNIA	260
THE WORKING DAY AND WORKING YEAR IN MOSCOW GUBERNIA	262
IN BRITAIN . . . . .	270
CONCENTRATION OF PRODUCTION IN RUSSIA. . . . .	272
A CAREER. . . . .	274
TO THE SECRETARIAT OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU . . . . .	276
THE CADETS AND THE AGRARIAN QUESTION . . . . .	278
A POOR DEFENCE. . . . .	288
THE LIQUIDATORS AND "UNITY" . . . . .	290
A TALK ON "CADET-EATING" . . . . .	292
THE WORKERS AND PRAVDA . . . . .	299
BEFORE AND NOW . . . . .	302
THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF JUDGES . . . . .	304
IN SWITZERLAND . . . . .	307
THE PRIESTHOOD AND POLITICS. . . . .	310

---

YET ANOTHER ANTI-DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN . . . . . 312

    I . . . . . 312

    II . . . . . 315

    III . . . . . 317

    IV . . . . . 319

    V . . . . . 321

THE UNITY OF THE CADETS AND *NOVOYE VREMYA* . . . . . 323

CONCERNING N. S. POLYANSKY'S LETTER . . . . . 326

THE POLITICAL LINE . . . . . 328

THE SUCCESSES OF THE AMERICAN WORKERS . . . . . 335

THE END OF THE ITALO-TURKISH WAR . . . . . 337

A GAME OF CHANCE . . . . . 339

THE PRIESTHOOD IN THE ELECTIONS, AND ELECTIONS WITH  
THE PRIESTHOOD. . . . . 341

MR. MILYUKOV'S "POSITION" . . . . . 345

DEPUTY OF THE ST. PETERSBURG WORKERS. . . . . 347

THE BALKAN PEOPLES AND EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY . . . . . 349

THE FOX AND THE HEN-COOP . . . . . 351

A DISGRACEFUL RESOLUTION . . . . . 353

TWO UTOPIAS . . . . . 355

DEBATES IN BRITAIN ON LIBERAL LABOUR POLICY . . . . . 360

A CADET PROFESSOR . . . . . 366

A NEW CHAPTER OF WORLD HISTORY . . . . . 368

CADETS AND NATIONALISTS . . . . . 370

THE HORRORS OF WAR . . . . . 372

THE CADETS AND THE BIG BOURGEOISIE . . . . . 374

TRULY RUSSIAN MORALS . . . . . 376

THE PLATFORM OF THE REFORMISTS AND THE PLATFORM  
OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS . . . . . 378

THE ILLEGAL PARTY AND LEGAL WORK . . . . . 387

    I . . . . . 388

    II . . . . . 391

    III . . . . . 393

    IV . . . . . 394

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SERBO-BULGARIAN VICTORIES	397
REGENERATED CHINA . . . . .	400
THE RESULTS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS . . . . .	402
THE "VEXED QUESTIONS" OF OUR PARTY. <i>The "Liquidationist" and "National" Questions</i> . . . . .	405
I . . . . .	405
II . . . . .	407
III . . . . .	409
IV . . . . .	411
CONCERNING CERTAIN SPEECHES BY WORKERS' DEPUTIES. . .	413
CONCERNING THE WORKERS' DEPUTIES TO THE DUMA AND THEIR DECLARATION . . . . .	420
CONCERNING THE EVENT OF NOVEMBER 15. <i>An Undelivered Speech</i>	424
A LETTER TO J. V. STALIN. . . . .	427
A LETTER TO J. V. STALIN. . . . .	430
THE DISEASE OF REFORMISM. . . . .	432
IMPOVERISHMENT IN CAPITALIST SOCIETY . . . . .	435
THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS "PARLIAMENTARY" REPRESENTATIVES . . . . .	437
THE "RECONCILIATION" OF THE NATIONALISTS AND CADETS. .	439
THE NATIONAL-LIBERALS. . . . .	441
ON THE ATTITUDE TO LIQUIDATIONISM AND ON UNITY. <i>Theses</i>	444
NOTIFICATION AND RESOLUTIONS OF THE CRACOW MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. AND PARTY FUNCTIONARIES . . . . .	447
Notification . . . . .	449
Resolutions . . . . .	456
The Revolutionary Upswing, the Strikes, and the Tasks of the Party . . . . .	456
Building the Illegal Organisation . . . . .	458
The Social-Democratic Group in the Duma . . . . .	460
Illegal Literature . . . . .	461
The Insurance Campaign . . . . .	461
The Attitude to Liquidationism, and Unity . . . . .	463
Non-Russian Social-Democratic Organisations . . . . .	465
THE BRITISH LABOUR MOVEMENT IN 1912. . . . .	467

BETTER LATE THAN NEVER . . . . .	469
THE DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY STRIKES AND STREET DEMONSTRATIONS . . . . .	471
ORIGINAL POSTSCRIPT TO THE ARTICLE "THE DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY STRIKES AND STREET DEMONSTRATIONS	478
THE SPLIT AMONG THE POLISH SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS . . . . .	479
ON BOLSHEVISM . . . . .	485
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF POINCARÉ'S ELECTION . . . . .	487
FRANKLY . . . . .	489
THE BRIAND CABINET . . . . .	491
RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS. . . . .	493
I. Manipulating the Elections . . . . .	493
II. The New Duma. . . . .	495
III. Changes within the June Third System. . . . .	498
IV. What Was the Issue in the Elections? . . . . .	502
V. The Election Slogans Tested by Experience . . . . .	505
VI. "End" of the Illusions about the Cadet Party . . . . .	510
VII. Concerning an "Enormous Danger to the Land- ownership of the Nobility" . . . . .	513
VIII. Covering Up the Defeat . . . . .	514
EXPERIENCE TEACHES . . . . .	519
NEW DEMOCRATS . . . . .	522
ON NARODISM . . . . .	524
I . . . . .	524
II . . . . .	525
TO THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS. . . . .	529
The Mass of the Workers and the Underground. . . . .	529
IN THE WORLD OF THE AZEFS . . . . .	532
THE BOURGEOISIE AND REFORMISM . . . . .	534
APROPOS OF THE OPEN PARTY . . . . .	536
MOBILISATION OF PEASANT LANDS . . . . .	539
A WORD ABOUT STRIKES . . . . .	541
RUSSIANS AND NEGROES . . . . .	543



A DISCOVERY . . . . .	545
THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE . . . . .	547
CONSTITUTIONAL ILLUSIONS SHATTERED . . . . .	549
THANK YOU FOR YOUR FRANKNESS . . . . .	551
THE QUESTION OF UNITY . . . . .	553
WHAT GOES ON AMONG THE NARODNIKS AND WHAT GOES ON IN THE COUNTRYSIDE . . . . .	555
AN INCREASING DISCREPANCY. <i>Notes of a Publicist</i> . . . . .	562
I . . . . .	562
II . . . . .	563
III . . . . .	564
IV . . . . .	566
V . . . . .	567
VI . . . . .	568
VII . . . . .	569
VIII . . . . .	571
IX . . . . .	573
X . . . . .	574
SOME RESULTS OF THE "LAND DISTRIBUTION" POLICY . . . . .	580
THE HISTORICAL DESTINY OF THE DOCTRINE OF KARL MARX	582
I . . . . .	582
II . . . . .	583
III . . . . .	584
BIG LANDLORD AND SMALL PEASANT LANDOWNERSHIP IN RUSSIA	586
FALSE NOTES . . . . .	588
"THE CRUX OF THE MATTER" . . . . .	590
LIBERAL EMBELLISHMENT OF SERFDOM . . . . .	592
A "SCIENTIFIC" SYSTEM OF SWEATING . . . . .	594
OUR "ACHIEVEMENTS" . . . . .	596
AGREEMENT OR SPLIT? Concerning the Differences Within the Social-Democratic Duma Group . . . . .	598
"SPARE CASH" . . . . .	601
<i>Notes</i> . . . . .	603
<i>The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates</i> . . . . .	641

## ILLUSTRATIONS

First page of <i>Nevskaya Zvezda</i> No. 15, of July 1, 1912, in which Lenin's articles "The Significance of the St. Petersburg Elections" and "A Comparison of the Stolypin and the Narodnik Agrarian Programmes" were published . . . . .	139
First page of <i>Pravda</i> No. 80, of August 1, 1912, in which Part III of Lenin's article "The Results of Six Months' Work" was published . . . . .	189
First page of Lenin's manuscript "Concerning Certain Speeches by Workers' Deputies". November 1912 . . . . .	415
First page of Lenin's manuscript "Notification" on the meeting of the C.C. R.S.D.L.P. and Party functionaries. January 1913	451

---



