CONTENTS

Preface ................................................. 11

1901

WHERE TO BEGIN ........................................... 13
ANOTHER MASSACRE ......................................... 25
THE PERSECUTORS OF THE ZEMSTVO AND THE HANNIBALS OF
LIBERALISM .................................................. 31
   I .......................................................... 36
   II .......................................................... 43
   III ......................................................... 48
   IV .......................................................... 55
   V .......................................................... 62
   VI .......................................................... 72
A VALUABLE ADMISSION .................................... 81
THE LESSONS OF THE CRISIS ............................... 89
THE SERF-OWNERS AT WORK ................................. 95
A ZEMSTVO CONGRESS ....................................... 101
THE AGRARIAN QUESTION AND THE “CRITICS OF MARX” ........ 103
   I The “Law” of Diminishing Returns ...................... 107
   II The Theory of Rent ..................................... 119
   III Machinery in Agriculture ................................ 130
   IV The Abolition of the Antithesis Between Town and
      Country. Particular Questions Raised by the “Critics” 146
   V “The Prosperity of Advanced, Modern Small Farms”,
      The Baden Example ..................................... 159
| VI | The Productivity of a Small and a Big Farm. An Example from East Prussia | 167 |
| VII | The Inquiry into Peasant Farming in Baden. | 182 |
| VIII | General Statistics of German Agriculture for 1882 and 1895. The Question of the Medium Farms | 194 |
| IX | Dairy Farming and Agricultural Co-operative Societies in Germany. The Agricultural Population in Germany Divided According to Its Position in the Economy | 205 |

**THE “UNITY” CONFERENCE OF R.S.D.L.P. ORGANISATIONS ABROAD, September 21-22 (October 4-5), 1901**

1. SPEECH DELIVERED ON SEPTEMBER 21 (OCTOBER 4). *(Note from the Minutes)*

2. QUESTIONS SUBMITTED TO THE UNION OF RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS ABROAD AT THE “UNITY” CONFERENCE, SEPTEMBER 21 (OCTOBER 4), 1901

**FIGHTING THE FAMINE-STRICKEN**

**REPLY TO THE ST. PETERSBURG COMMITTEE**

**PARTY AFFAIRS ABROAD**

**PENAL SERVITUDE REGULATIONS AND PENAL SERVITUDE SENTENCES**

**REVIEW OF HOME AFFAIRS**

I Famine

II Attitude Towards the Crisis and the Famine

III The Third Element

IV Two Speeches by Marshals of the Nobility

**PREFACE TO THE PAMPHLET DOCUMENTS OF THE “UNITY” CONFERENCE**

**THE PROTEST OF THE FINNISH PEOPLE**

**THE JOURNAL SVOBODA**

**A TALK WITH DEFENDERS OF ECONOMISM**

**ON THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY OF G. V. PLEKHANOV**

**DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE BEGUN**
CONTENTS

ON A LETTER FROM SOUTHERN WORKERS ...................... 326
ANARCHISM AND SOCIALISM ..................................... 327

1902

CONCERNING THE STATE BUDGET ................................ 331
POLITICAL AGITATION AND “THE CLASS POINT OF VIEW” .... 337
REPLY TO “A READER” ........................................... 344
WHAT IS TO BE DONE? Burning Questions of Our Movement ... 347
Preface ................................................................. 349

I Dogmatism and “Freedom of Criticism” ...................... 352
  A. What Does “Freedom of Criticism” Mean? ............... 352
  B. The New Advocates of “Freedom of Criticism” ....... 356
  C. Criticism in Russia ........................................ 361
  D. Engels on the Importance of the Theoretical Struggle ... 368

II The Spontaneity of the Masses and the Consciousness of the Social-Democrats ................................ 373
  A. The Beginning of the Spontaneous Upsurge ........... 374
  B. Bowing to Spontaneity, Rabochaya Mysl ............... 378
  C. The Self-Emancipation Group and Rabocheye Dyelo ... 387

III Trade-Unionist Politics and Social-Democratic Politics 397
  A. Political Agitation and Its Restriction by the Economists .......... 398
  B. How Martynov Rendered Plekhanov More Profound .... 408
  C. Political Exposures and “Training in Revolutionary Activity” ... 412
  D. What Is There in Common Between Economism and Terrorism? ... 417
  E. The Working Class as Vanguard Fighter for Democracy .......... 421
  F. Once More “Slanderers”, Once More “Mystifiers” ....... 436

IV The Primitiveness of the Economists and the Organisation of the Revolutionaries ........................ 440
CONTENTS

A. What Is Primitiveness? .......................... 441
B. Primitiveness and Economism ................. 444
C. Organisation of Workers and Organisation of Revolutionaries .......................... 451
D. The Scope of Organisational Work ............ 467
E. “Conspirational” Organisation and “Democratism” ........................................... 473
F. Local and All-Russian Work .................... 482

V. The “Plan” for an All-Russian Political Newspaper 492
A. Who Was Offended by the Article “Where To Begin” ......................................... 493
B. Can a Newspaper Be a Collective Organiser? ...................................................... 498
C. What type of Organisation Do We Require? ......................................................... 510

Conclusion ........................................... 517

Appendix. The Attempt to Unite Iskra with Rabocheye Dyelo ................................. 521

Correction to What Is To Be Done? ............... 528

Notes .................................................. 531

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Chronology ....................................................... 569

ILLUSTRATIONS

First page of Iskra, No. 4, carrying Lenin’s article “Where To Begin”. 1901 .................. 15

Facsimile of the cover of the magazine Zarya, No. 2-3 1901; which published the following of Lenin’s writings: “The Persecutors of the Zemstvo and the Hannibals of Liberalism”, the first four chapters of “The Agrarian Question and the ‘Critics of Marx’” (under the heading “Critics’ on the Agrarian Question”), and “Review of Home Affairs” ........................... 33

Facsimile of the title page of the magazine Obrasovaniye, No. 2, for 1906 which carried chapters V-IX of Lenin’s “The Agrarian Question and the ‘Critics of Marx’” .......................... 105

First page of the manuscript of Lenin’s “The Journal Svoboda”. 1901 .......................... 312-313

First page of the manuscript of Lenin’s “Anarchism and Socialism”. 1901 .......................... 329

Cover of Lenin’s What Is To Be Done? 1902 ......................................................... 348-49
В. И. ЛЕНИН
СОЧИНЕНИЯ
Том 5
На английском языке