

1936, 1st vol., p. 49 "But all the same the peasantry, even without learning to handle firearms, could NEVER OF ITS OWN FORCE have achieved the Russian Rev. — that is, its own rev. IT HAD TO HAVE LEADERSHIP."

pp. 315-16 "The actual course of the Feb. rev. disrupted this accustomed schema of Bol. It is true that the rev. was accomplished by a union of workers & peasants... in that sense it would SEEM possible to say that the schema of a peasant had been est'd. But as a matter of fact, the Feb. rev. overturned the bourgeois gov't, & nobody had foreseen this. Whoever made a great rev. knowing beforehand how to carry it through to the end? asked L later. Where could you get such knowledge? It is not to be found in bks. There are no such bks. OUR DECISIONS COULD ONLY BE BORN OUT OF THE EXPERIENCES OF THE MASSES."

pp. 318 "Lenin himself, to be sure, did not replace the formula of rev. d.b. by any other formula, even conditional or hypothetical, until the very beginning of the Feb. rev. Was he correct in this? WE THINK NOT. That formula of the party after the rev. revealed all too alarmingly the belatedness of that warning — which moreover IN THE GIVEN SITUATION no one but L himself could have carried thru."

pp. 407 "This fact that the peasantry as a whole found it possible once more FOR THE LAST TIME IN THEIR HIS. — to act as a rev. factor is testified at once to the weakness of the cap. relations in the country & to their strength. (THIS AFTER IT HIMSELF SHOWS THE LAND COMMITTEES BEING TRANSFORMED FROM MEMBERS OF CONCILIATION INTO WEAPONS OF AGRARIAN REV.)"

p. 408 "Len. criticized this utopia from the liberal-bourgeois point of view. (Bol.) on the other hand exposed the progressive-dem. tendency which was finding in these theories of the Soc. Rev. a utopian expression. This exposure of the GENUINE MEANING OF THE RUE. AGRARIAN MOVEMENT was one of the greatest services of Lenin."

(1932) vol. 2:

p. 29 "The necessity of creating special peasant organs of leadership in the localities had been defended by L during the events of 1905. 'The peasant rev. committees,' he argued at the party congress in 1905, 'present the sole road along which the peasant movement can travel.' The muskiks had not read L, but L knew how to read the minds of the muskiks."

p. 30 "The peasantry pushed the Bolsheviks power with their revolt. But only by conquering the power could the Bol. win over the peasantry, converting their agrarian REV. INTO THE (LANS) of a workers' state."

Appendix # 3 His. References on the Theory of Per. Rev., pp. 418-427. Sec. 8 "A workers Gov. in Rus. & Socialism" based on STATE power & STATE help of Europe.

PROBLEMS OF CH. REV. Quoted VIL AT 2nd CI "Can we acknowledge as correct that the cap. dev. of eco. is necessary to the backward peoples who are now liberating themselves, among whom the progressive movements have now arisen after the war? — We came to the conclusion that we must answer in the NEGATIVE. All the rev. victorious prolet. organizes a systematic propaganda & the Sov. gov't. come to its aid with all means it is wrong to assume that the cap. stage of dev. is necessary for such people. (MINUTES OF 2nd, p. 147) The idea of Sov. org. is simple & can be applied not only to prol. rels. but also to feudal & semi-feudal peasant relationships... It is necessary to wage a determined war against the attempt to cloak the not really prolet. rev. liberation movements in the backward countries with a Communist mantle."

Ref. to 1st edition, xviii-xix  
The formula of the dem.dic. of prol.&peasantry in large  
measure is conventionally PEASANTIC character... He did not exclude the  
possibility that the peasantry would be represented in the rev. by an independent  
... the decisive significance of the agrarian rev.  
the fate of bourgeois rev. was, at least since the autumn of 1902, that  
from the moment of my flight abroad; a part of Lenin. Let I came out  
with the formula "dem.dic. of prol.&peasantry" because I saw its short-  
coming in the fact that it left open the ques. of what class the real die  
would belong to. I endeavored to show that in spite of its enormous social  
rev. weightiness the peasantry was incapable of creating a REALLY INDEPENDENT  
part still more incapable of concentrating the rev. power in its hands.

Q: Finally I never endeavored to create a grouping on the basis of the  
theory of the per. rev. My inner-party stand was a conciliatory one  
at certain moments I strove for groupings, then it was precisely on  
this basis. My conciliationism was derived from a certain SOCIAL REV. FATALISM.

STALIN, 1940 Appendix 3 Concepts of the RE  
p. 425: "The weak point of Lenin's concept was its  
inherently contradictory notion of the dem.dic. of the prol.&peasantry."... The  
peasantry was dispersed over the surface of an immense country, with cities  
as points of contact. BY ITSELF THE PEASANTRY WAS INCAPABLE EVEN OF  
FORMULATING its own interests... True, in ancient China, revolutions brought  
peasantry to power, or rather, the military leaders of peasant insurrections.  
... After my writing pamphlet "Until the 9th of Jan." REPEATEDLY returned  
to the dev. of the grounding of the theory of per. rev... the peasantry is utterly  
incapable of an independent pol. role... I deem it (dem.dic. of prol.&peasantry)  
unrealizable... The insufficiency of the perspective of Bol. did not become  
apparent in 1905 ONLY BECAUSE the rev. itself did undergo further dev...."

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Intro. to Isaacs' The Tragedy of the Chinese Rev. 1938.

xv: "Agrarian backwardness ~~which~~ always goes hand in hand with  
the absence of roads, with the isolation of provinces, with 'medieval'  
particularism, and absence of national consciousness." \*\*\*\*\*

xvi: "The peasantry, the largest numerically & the most atomized, backward, &  
oppressed class, is capable of local uprisings & partisan warfare, but requires  
the leadership of a more advanced & centralized class in order for this struggle  
to be elevated to an all-national level."

xx: "The weak point in L's conception was the internally contradictory idea  
of the 'bourg. dem.dic. of prol.&peasantry' A pol. bloc of 2 classes whose  
interests only partially coincide excludes a d... L left these questions  
unanswered up to his famous Thesis of April 4, 1917. The role of the prol. automatically  
placed on the agenda the soc. rev. which in this case was not separated from  
the dem.dic. by any his. per., but was uninterruptedly connected with it...  
Such was in broad outline the essence of the conception of the per. (uninterrupted)  
re. It was precisely this conception that guaranteed the victory of the prol. in  
Oct."

xix: "In China the conception of the per. rev. was confirmed once more, this  
time not in the form of a victory of a catastrophe."  
"It would of course be impermissible to identify Rus & China...."