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**THE PEASANT REVOLUTION IN THEORETICAL VIEWS
AND POLITICAL PRACTICE OF ULYANOV-LENIN**

Summary. *The purpose of the research is to analyze the theoretical views of V. I. Ulyanov-Lenin on the social peasantry ability to an independent revolutionary struggle and their implementation during the practical revolutionary and state-political activities of Bolshevik leader. The research methodology is the principle of historicism, which consistently allowed to reveal the origins of Lenin's vision of the peasantry ability to the revolutionary struggle, forecast its results and then show its development of the concept of peasant revolution as a type of bourgeois transformation, the statement of this revolution as a reality in the period 1905 – 1907 and 1917 – 1918, and the recognition of the revolutionary achievements of the peasantry and the introduction in its social interests of the NEP policy. The scientific novelty consists in elucidating the type of bourgeois transformations that the leader of the Bolshevik Party was expecting and considered them feasible in the practice of political struggle in the Russian Empire and the stages of the peasant revolution identified by Lenin as a kind of bourgeois revolution, which, from his point of view, took place in reality in 1917 and subsequent years. Conclusions.* Among modern approaches to the scientific comprehension of the revolutionary events of the early twentieth century the concept of peasant revolution takes an outstanding place. The presented article tackles the problem of perceiving of the peasantry's ability for an independent revolutionary struggle. The article analyses the views of of the Bolshevik Party leader, V. I. Ulyanov (Lenin), and their influence on political practice in the process of the Soviet state creation. In particular: 1. The article clarifies that for V. I. Lenin, the ability of the peasantry for an independent revolutionary struggle was quite obvious. As a consequence of the political behavior of the peasantry during the period of the revolution during 1905 – 1907, he concluded that there was a special type of bourgeois revolution – the peasant agrarian revolution. According to his views, the peasant revolution opens the way for a farmer type of agrarian capitalism. 2. Firstly, Lenin believed that by mid-1918 a bourgeois peasant revolution had taken place in the village, which was replaced by socialist transformations. However, over time, he declined to state the socialist revolution in the countryside, a testimony to why the policy of the NEP became. 3. All the components of Lenin's revolutionary transformation program envisaged taking into account the fact of the peasant revolution. Thus, the possibility of the bourgeois-democratic revolution

was assumed only in the form of a peasant revolution, the Bolsheviks' seizure of power was planned through the use of the peasant revolution, the restoration of the acquired power – through the resolute satisfaction of the interests of the peasant revolution, the construction of socialism – through the adaptation of the results of the peasant revolution to socialist progress. Given Lenin's correct definition of the peasant revolution nature, the claim about the bourgeois component of socio-economic transformations carried out by the Bolsheviks in October 1917 finds its confirmation.

Key words: peasantry, peasant revolution, agrarian revolution, V. P. Danilov, V. I. Ulyanov-Lenin.

СЕЛЯНСЬКА РЕВОЛЮЦІЯ В ТЕОРЕТИЧНИХ ПОГЛЯДАХ ТА ПОЛІТИЧНІЙ ПРАКТИЦІ УЛЬЯНОВА-ЛЕНІНА

Анотація. Мета дослідження – проаналізувати теоретичні погляди В. І. Ульянова-Леніна на соціальну спроможність селянства до самостійної революційної боротьби та їх реалізацію у ході практичної революційної і державно-політичної діяльності більшовицького вождя. **Методологія дослідження** – принцип історизму, який допоміг послідовно розкрити витоки бачення Леніним здатності селянства до революційної боротьби, прогнозування її результатів, а далі показати розробку ним концепції селянської революції як виду буржуазних перетворень, констатації цієї революції як реальності в період 1905 – 1907 рр. та 1917 – 1918 р., та визнання революційних здобутків селянства і запровадження в його соціальних інтересах політики непу. **Наукова новизна** полягає у з'ясуванні типу буржуазних перетворень, на які очікував лідер більшовицької партії і вважав їх здійсненими в практиці політичної боротьби в Російській імперії, та визначених Леніним етапів селянської революції як різновиду буржуазної революції, яка, з його точки зору, відбулася в реальності 1917-го і наступних років. **Висновки.** Серед сучасних підходів до наукового осягнення революційних подій початку ХХ ст. – концепція селянської революції. У пропонованій статті порушена проблема сприйняття сучасниками здатності селянства до самостійної революційної боротьби. Розкрито погляди на це питання лідера більшовицької партії В. І. Ульянова (Леніна) та їхній вплив на політичну практику творення радянської держави. Зокрема: 1. У статті з'ясовано, що для В. І. Леніна спроможність селянства до самостійної революційної боротьби була цілком очевидною. За наслідками політичної поведінки селянства у період революції 1905 – 1907 рр. він зробив висновок про існування особливого виду буржуазної революції – селянської аграрної революції. За його поглядами, селянська революція відкриває шлях фермерському типу аграрного капіталізму. 2. Спочатку Ленін уважав, що до середини 1918 р. на селі відбулася буржуазна селянська революція, яку змінили соціалістичні перетворення. Однак з часом він відмовився від цих поглядів, свідченням чого стала політика непу. 3. Усі складові програми революційних перетворень Леніна передбачали врахування факту селянської революції. Так, можливість буржуазно-демократичної революції припускалася тільки у формі селянської революції, прихід до влади більшовиків – шляхом використання селянської революції, утримання здобутої влади – шляхом рішучого задоволення інтересів селянської революції, побудова соціалізму – пристосування результатів селянської революції до соціалістичного поступу. За умов правильного визначення Леніним характеру селянської революції, знаходить підтвердження теза про буржуазну складову соціально-економічних перетворень, здійснених більшовиками у жовтні 1917 р.

Ключові слова: селянство, селянська революція, аграрна революція, В. П. Данилов, В. І. Ульянов-Ленін.

Problem statement and analysis of researches and publications. In recent decades, in Ukraine and the Russian Federation, one of the methodological approaches to the revolutionary events of 1917 was the concept of the Peasant Revolution of 1902 – 1922, proposed by V. P. Danilov and his followers (Danilov, Kondrashin, 2008; Vakhitov, Babashkin, 2010, Marchenya, 2015; Abrazumova, Kornovenko, 2017; Kalinkina, Kornovenko et al., 2017; Kornovenko, Gerasimenko, 2017; Kornovenko, 2018; Kornovenko, Telvak, Ilnytskyi, 2018). In modern historiography, this concept is presented as the latest theoretical toolkit, «new knowledge» about the revolution of the early twentieth century on the territories of the

Russian Empire. The essence of this «new knowledge» is to state the independence of the socio-political behavior of the peasantry in the process of revolutionary struggle (Danilov). The emergence of the concept of peasant revolution with significant methodological claims questions the reasons for the victory in the Soviet revolution, led by V. I. Ulyanov-Lenin. If the concept of Danilov is reliable, then the victory of the Bolsheviks could not depend on the phenomenon of the peasant revolution. The problem was considered in the works of V. P. Danilov himself (Danilov) and his followers: V. V. Kondrashin (Kondrashin, 2008), V. V. Babashkin (Babashkin, 2010), Vakhitov (Vakhitov), O. M. Abrazumova and S. V. Kornovenko (Abrazumova, Kornovenko, 2017). The scientists consider the relations of Soviet power and peasant revolution as a military-political alliance, which, on the part of the Bolsheviks, was combined with actions aimed at achieving ideological and organizational control over the masses. In connection with this formulation of the problem there is a question of a personal role in building relations between the Bolshevik Party and the peasantry of V. I. Ulyanov (Lenin) – the head of the Soviet state. After all, Lenin's perception of the phenomenon of the peasant revolution could objectively have a decisive significance for the formation of relations between the Soviet government and the peasantry, and with that – the solution of the agrarian question and the nature of the political system of Bolshevism. **The purpose** of the proposed article is to analyze the theoretical views of V. I. Ulyanov-Lenin on the social peasantry ability to an independent revolutionary struggle and their implementation during the practical revolutionary and state-political activities of Bolshevik leader.

Presentation of the main content. Lenin's views on the peasantry's ability to revolutionize and its importance for the establishment of a new social system, apparently, had roots in the analysis of the social reality of the Russian Empire, carried out by K. Marx and F. Engels. The latter took place in the process of considering the issue of the historic fate of the village community institution. Frederick Engels noted that «the position of the Russian peasants since the liberation from serfdom became unbearable ... this can not continue in such a way for a long time ... For this reason, the revolution in Russia is approaching – that is clear». Then he prophesied that the future «revolution would begin from the higher classes of the capital, maybe even from the government itself, but the peasants would deploy it further and revolution would quickly withdraw beyond the limits of the first constitutional phase» (Engels, 1986a, p. 422, 429). Frederick Engels was optimistic about the results of the upcoming revolution in Russia. In the mid-1890s, he wrote: «The Russian Revolution ... will bring the peasants to the broad arena where they will see the external world, but at the same time they will understand their own position and means of deliverance from the present need ...» (Engels 1986b, p. 443).

The revolutionary struggle of the peasantry was interesting because of its influence on the realization of the interests of the working class. Marx clearly understood that the proletariat could not achieve its goals without the support of the peasantry, in certain circumstances, and warned that without the peasantry «the proletarian revolution would not receive that resonance without which its solo in all peasant countries would turn into a swan song» (Marx, 1986, p. 513).

The revolution of the Russian peasantry, according to their version, solved the fundamental questions of the historical destiny of Western Europe. It should have, on the one hand, protected the revolutionary process in Western European countries from interference in its affairs from the part of the Russian Empire. Frederick Engels wrote that the revolution in Russia «would have the greatest significance for the whole Europe ... because it would de-

stroy in one blow ... the untouched reserve of the whole European reaction» (Engels, 1986a, p. 429–430). On the other hand, «... the Russian revolution will give ... a new impetus to the proletarian movement of the West, create new, better conditions of struggle for it and thereby accelerate the victory of the modern industrial proletariat», which, in turn, will help Russia to enter the path of socialist development (Engels, 1986b, p. 443).

Consequently, the founders of the Marxist doctrine provided Ulyanov with a notable theoretical resource for understanding peasant revolutionist aspirations. At the same time, the Lenin's publication legacy testifies that the phenomenon of the peasant revolution one hundred years ago was quite well-known. Unlike today, at those days, it did not claim the status of a «new knowledge». The peasant revolution was quite visible and conceptually developed, in the theoretical relation, social and political phenomenon for Lenin. An analysis of world tendencies in the transformation of agrarian relations and political activity of the peasantry during the period of the 1905 – 1907 revolution in the Russian Empire led Lenin to the conclusion that there might be a special type of bourgeois revolution – the peasant revolution.

Lenin linked the social origins of this revolution with his ideas about the types of agrarian capitalism: Prussian and American. He argued that capitalist transformation can occur when «landlord economy ... grows into bourgeois one». However, the landlord economy could also be «vanished by the revolution», which, in its turn, leads to «the development of a patriarchal peasant into a bourgeois farmer» (Lenin, 1971, p. 200–201, 203, 309, 311). The Bolshevik leader linked the consequences of peasant revolution not only with the future type of agricultural capitalism, but with capitalism as such. Lenin pointed out that «the national question of the final establishment of bourgeois development in Russia is precisely the agrarian issue (Lenin, 1974b, p. 221)» (even narrower: a peasant one).

Lenin's comrade, M. I. Bukharin, noted that all theoretical conclusions of the Bolshevik leader, in one way or another, were implemented in practical political tasks. «... theoretical issues were never torn apart from the practice» (Bukharin, 1989, p. 177). The concept of the peasant revolution was not the exception. Lenin implemented his political plans from the fact that the future bourgeois revolution in Russia «can win only as a peasant revolution» (Lenin, 1971, p. 200–201, 203, 309, 311). At the same time, the victory of such a revolution, in terms of Lenin, could ensure its strong support by the working class. «... The worker ... must help the peasantry with all its energy to bring this bourgeois revolution to an end», moreover – he must achieve «a leading role in the peasant revolution» (Lenin, 1971, p. 304, 355).

Lenin and Bolsheviks were often reproached for borrowing the agrarian program from the Socialist-Revolutionary Party. It should be mentioned that Lenin did not particularly conceal anything about this fact. Along with the acute criticism of the Narodniks, who were the source of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party ideas, Lenin spoke of «the historically real and progressive historical content of Narodniks, as the theory of mass little bourgeois struggle of democratic capitalism against the liberal-landlordist capitalism» (Lenin, 1974b, p. 220). Discussing at the Second Congress of Workers 'and Soldiers' Deputies the «Decree on the Land», the content of which was not composed by Bolsheviks, Lenin claimed: «Is it important who actually composed ...», «... a decree and an order made up by Socialist-Revolutionaries». «Let us leave it as it is» agreed Ulyanov (Lenin, 1973a, p. 24–25).

However, the real reason for the implementation of the SR program was neither their program as such, nor the crisis of their own Bolshevik projects, but the phenomenon of the peasant revolution. After all, Lenin agreed on the whole peasants' scenario of revolutionary transformations. At the II-th Congress of Workers 'and Soldiers' Deputies, he stated: «... the

peasantry will be best at resolving the issue. Whether according to our program or following the SR plan», but «Peasants ... themselves want to solve all the questions about the land « and « ... we must give full creative freedom to masses» (Lenin, 1973a, p. 24–25).

With such recognition of the peasant revolution, Lenin's actions, aimed at alliance with the left-wing Socialist-Revolutionaries, were logical, as they seemed to be the best at expressing its interests. Agreements were not easily achieved though. According to the eyewitnesses, Ulyanov stood at the rostrum of the All-Russian Peasant Congress, held in November 1917, for more than ten minutes, with the crowd crying «Down with him!» (Rid, 1957, p. 238). The coalition with the left SRs in the middle of 1918, as we know, collapsed. However, its emergence becomes quite understandable in view of the peasant revolution factor.

Regarding Bolsheviks' recognition of the peasant revolution, a question about their vision of the general nature of revolutionary events arises. In general, Lenin, following Marx, appreciated the social system that the revolution of the peasantry brought. «The basis of capitalism can become a free mass of farmers without any landlord's economy», he claimed. In this situation, capitalism in agriculture «must go immeasurably wider, freer, faster, as a result of the huge growth of the domestic market, the rise of the standard of living, energy, initiative and culture of the entire population» (Lenin, 1971, p. 377–378). However, having embodied the populist program in 1917 at the end of 1918, Lenin pointed out that «June 26, 1917» was the first day of the «proletarian, socialist, revolution» (Lenin, 1973b, p. 311). At the same time, in his words, «The victorious Bolshevik revolution ... meant the complete destruction of the monarchy and landlord land tenure ...». And then he explained: «The bourgeois revolution was brought to an end by us», «only the proletariat really proved the end of the bourgeois-democratic revolution» (Lenin, 1973b, p. 299, 301). Consequently, from Lenin's point of view, October 1917 was also a time for bourgeois revolution, which he called «the peasant revolution», emphasizing that «socialist revolution cannot be implemented in a backward country», because it is «still a bourgeois revolution» (Lenin, 1973b, p. 302).

The relations of this «peasant revolution» with the socialist revolution were based on a «temporary bloc (union) with the peasantry in general». Lenin gave it a beneficial role in implementing bourgeois transformations, as: «... the Bolsheviks ... only through the victory of the proletarian revolution, helped the peasantry to bring the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the end» (Lenin, 1973b, p. 301, 311).

Both revolutions – proletarian and bourgeois (that is, «all-peasant»), according to the version of the Bolshevik leader, were at a high level of integration with each other. «Trying to put an artificial, Chinese, wall between the two to separate them from each other ...» – he said – is a huge distortion of Marxism, its deception, the replacement of liberalism « – that is: absolutely unacceptable. Meanwhile, the «peasant revolution» had its chronological limits. It continued, according to Lenin, almost until the end of 1918. «... our countryside experienced the October revolution only in the summer and autumn of 1918». And then he continued: «A year after the proletarian revolution deployed in the capitals, the proletarian revolution in rural corners emerged, under its influence and with its help...» when the proletariat «managed to split the village, to join its proletarians and semi-proletarians, to unite them against the kulaks and the bourgeoisie, including the peasant bourgeoisie». The general dynamics of the revolution, according to Lenin, is as follows: «The peasantry should end the bourgeois-democratic revolution; the poorer, proletarian and semi-proletarian part of the peasantry should lead the socialist revolution!» At the same time, such a trajectory of the development of revolutionary events, as Lenin recognized, would not occur if «the peasantry would have

remained «as a whole», that is, it would remain under the economic, political and spiritual leadership of the kulaks, the rich, the bourgeoisie, then – as it was frankly pointed out by Lenin – the revolution would not go beyond the bourgeois-democratic limits» (Lenin, 1973b, p. 297, 300–301, 307).

However, later on, the proletarian leader had to admit that after 1918, «the peasantry remained ... «the whole», and the revolution did not go «beyond the bourgeois-democratic boundaries». In October 1921, speaking on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the October Revolution, Lenin, as before, expressed his views about «the bourgeois-democratic content of our revolution». Noting that in 1917 Russia still had the remnants of feudalism, Lenin emphasized the remarkable importance of the October 1917 events in carrying out the very bourgeois transformations. Among them: «we have thrown away all monarchical evil», «gave all the non-Russian nationalities their own republics», overcame «exclusion and inferiority of women», «left no stone ... in the perpetual structure of the state», while eliminating «Deep roots of the statehood, namely: the remnants of feudalism and serfdom in land tenure», «the landlords and all their traditions were vanished into the thin air». Lenin emphasized: «That is the meaning of the bourgeois-democratic revolution». At the same time, he noted the Bolsheviks' consistency in the implementation of bourgeois-democratic transformations. «We have brought the bourgeois-democratic revolution to an end, as no one did» (Lenin, 1974a, p. 136–138).

Lenin did not renounce the socialist revolution, noting that «the issue of the bourgeois-democratic revolution ...» is a by-product of our ... socialist work». But the tonality and the content of the results of the socialist revolution at the end of 1921 in its interpretations have already undergone fundamental changes. Lenin claimed that the «economic construction» of the Soviet regime – revolutionary socio-economic transformations – led to «the greatest failures, the greatest mistakes». He no longer spoke of the victory of the socialist revolution in the countryside, but encouraged «firstly to build strong bridges that lead in a peasant country through state capitalism to socialism». In the end, Ulyanov pointed out that «We correct ... now ...by «a new economic policy» a number of our mistakes ...» (Lenin, 1974a, p. 142–143). It clearly follows that, according to Lenin's trajectory of revolutionary restructuring, which was concentrated in his thesis, «from a small peasant economy through state capitalism to socialism» (Lenin, 1974a, p. 144) – the Bolsheviks did not cope with the results of the «all-nation revolution», which was «still a bourgeois revolution» (Lenin, 1973b, p. 302). The Bolshevik authorities did not succeed in destroying the concept of the «whole» village, and they returned to the system, which was called state capitalism. Lenin explained: «That is what life taught us. That is how the objective progress of the revolution led us» (Lenin, 1974a, p. 143).

Conclusions. The whole construction of the Leninist revolutionary struggle concept is, in a nutshell, the theoretical and practical discussion of the «peasant revolution». According to Lenin, a bourgeois-democratic revolution could have happened only in the form of a peasant revolution, the seizure of power – through the use of the peasant revolution, the maintenance of the acquired power – by means of resolute satisfaction of the interests of the peasant revolution, the construction of socialism – through the adaptation of the results of the peasant revolution to socialist progress.

During the Soviet period, Lenin's concept of the bourgeois revolution transformation into a socialist outlook was widely studied. But at the same time researchers did not specify exactly what concept of the bourgeois revolution was meant by Lenin. In fact, he meant one of its types –

the peasant agrarian revolution. The bourgeois nature of the October 1917 events was not concealed, but was widely discussed, mainly in academic circles. As for a wide audience, the educational domain, this question, as a rule, was not tackled. This fact created the impression of a united, consistent socialist revolution in October 1917. However, in fact, both in political theory and practice, Lenin and his party saw in the kaleidoscope of social life the reality of the peasant revolution phenomenon. The factor of the uncontrolled revolutionary creativity of the peasantry was the reason for the victory of the Bolsheviks in the extremely tense process of the political-revolutionary struggle during the first decades of the twentieth century.

Prospects for further research. The provision and conclusions of this article are formulated on the basis of the analysis of Lenin's published works. Some of them are well-known and during the Soviet times were obligatory for study at higher educational institutions. Despite this the Lenin concept of the peasant revolution was unnoticed by the researchers. Therefore, further study of the theoretical heritage of Ulyanov-Lenin may lead to a further study of the Bolshevik leader views to the revolutionary transformations of the first decades of the twentieth century.

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