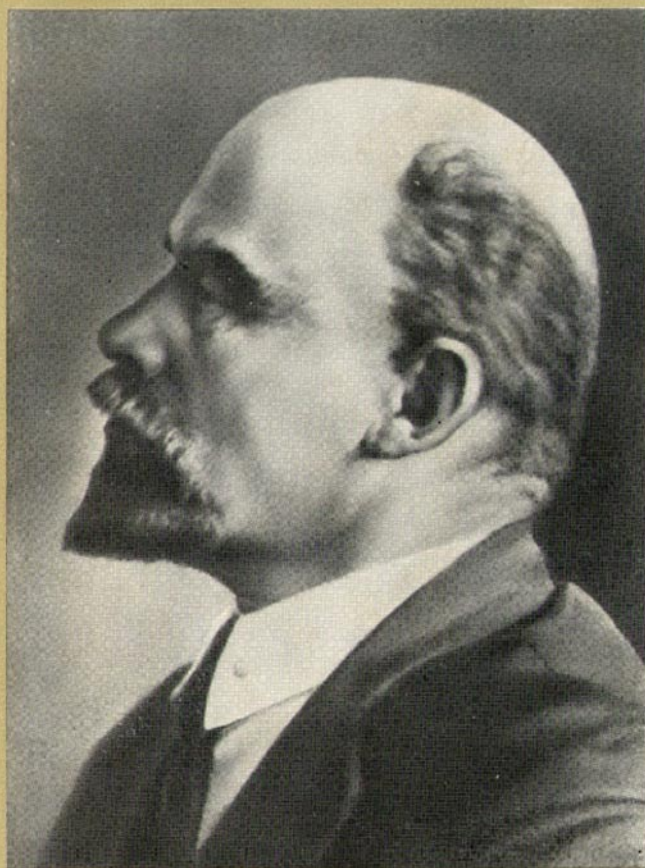


LENIN

COLLECTED
WORKS



VOLUME

32

December 1920-

August 1921

INTEGRATED ECONOMIC PLAN * TENTH CONGRESS
OF THE R.C.P.(B.) * THE TAX IN KIND * THIRD CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

V. I. L E N I N

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME

32

December 1920–August 1921

From Marx to Mao



© Digital Reprints

2012

www.marx2mao.com

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS

M O S C O W 1973

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Preface	15

1920

THE TRADE UNIONS, THE PRESENT SITUATION AND TROTSKY'S MISTAKES. <i>Speech Delivered at a Joint Meeting of Communist Delegates to the Eighth Congress of Soviets, Communist Members of the All-Russia Central Council of Trade Unions and Communist Members of the Moscow City Council of Trade Unions, December 30, 1920.</i>	19
---	----

1921

THE PARTY CRISIS	43
THE SECOND ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF MINERS	54
1. REPORT ON THE ROLE AND TASKS OF THE TRADE UNIONS DELIVERED ON JANUARY 23 AT A MEETING OF THE COMMUNIST GROUP OF THE CONGRESS	54
2. SPEECH CLOSING THE DISCUSSION DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF THE COMMUNIST GROUP OF THE CONGRESS, JANUARY 24.	64
CONCERNING THE CONDITIONS ENSURING THE RESEARCH WORK OF ACADEMICIAN I. P. PAVLOV AND HIS ASSOCIATES. <i>Decree of the Council of People's Commissars</i>	69
ONCE AGAIN ON THE TRADE UNIONS, THE CURRENT SITUATION AND THE MISTAKES OF TROTSKY AND BUKHARIN	70
The Danger of Factional Pronouncements to the Party	71
Formal Democracy and the Revolutionary Interest.	74
The Political Danger of Splits in the Trade Union Movement	75
Disagreements on Principle	80

Politics and Economics. Dialectics and Eclecticism . . .	83
Dialectics and Eclecticism. "School" and "Apparatus" . .	90
Conclusion	100
SPEECH DELIVERED AT AN ENLARGED CONFERENCE OF MOSCOW METALWORKERS, FEBRUARY 4, 1921	108
SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE FOURTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF GARMENT WORKERS, FEBRUARY 6, 1921	112
INSTRUCTIONS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO COMMUNISTS WORKING IN THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR EDUCATION . .	120
THE WORK OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR EDUCATION . .	123
ROUGH DRAFT OF THESES CONCERNING THE PEASANTS	133
LETTER ON OIL CONCESSIONS. <i>To Members of the Political Bureau and Comrade Rykov</i>	134
INTEGRATED ECONOMIC PLAN	137
GREETINGS TO THE FIFTH ALL-UKRAINE CONGRESS OF SOVIETS . .	146
SPEECH AT A PLENARY MEETING OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET OF WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' DEPUTIES, FEBRUARY 28, 1921 . . .	147
LETTER TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE	160
INTERNATIONAL WORKING WOMEN'S DAY	161
<i>TENTH CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P.(B.), March 6-16, 1921 . . .</i>	<i>165</i>
1. SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE CONGRESS, MARCH 8 . . .	167
2. REPORT ON THE POLITICAL WORK OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.C.P.(B.), MARCH 8	170
3. SUMMING-UP SPEECH ON THE REPORT OF THE C.C. OF THE R.C.P.(B.), MARCH 9	192
4. PRELIMINARY DRAFT RESOLUTION ON IMPROVING THE CONDITION OF WORKERS AND NEEDY PEASANTS	208
5. SPEECH ON THE TRADE UNIONS, MARCH 14	210
6. REPORT ON THE SUBSTITUTION OF A TAX IN KIND FOR THE SURPLUS-GRAIN APPROPRIATION SYSTEM, MARCH 15 . .	214
7. SUMMING-UP SPEECH ON THE TAX IN KIND, MARCH 15 . .	229
8. PRELIMINARY DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THE TENTH CON- GRESS OF THE R.C.P. ON PARTY UNITY	241

9. PRELIMINARY DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THE TENTH CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P. ON THE SYNDICALIST AND ANARCHIST DEVIATION IN OUR PARTY	245
10. REPORT ON PARTY UNITY AND THE ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST DEVIATION, MARCH 16	249
11. SUMMING-UP SPEECH ON PARTY UNITY AND THE ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST DEVIATION, MARCH 16	257
12. REMARKS ON RYAZANOV'S AMENDMENT TO THE RESOLUTION ON PARTY UNITY, MARCH 16	261
13. SPEECH ON THE FUEL QUESTION, MARCH 16	262
14. PROPOSAL ON THE FUEL QUESTION, MARCH 16	263
15. SPEECH IN CLOSING THE CONGRESS, MARCH 16	264
SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF TRANSPORT WORKERS, MARCH 27, 1921	272
TO THE TRADE UNION COMMITTEE AND ALL WORKERS OF THE FIRST STATE MOTOR WORKS	285
REPORT ON THE TAX IN KIND DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF SECRETARIES AND RESPONSIBLE REPRESENTATIVES OF R.C.P.(B.) CELLS OF MOSCOW AND MOSCOW GUBERNIA, APRIL 9, 1921	286
MESSAGE OF GREETINGS TO THE CONFERENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF WOMEN'S DEPARTMENTS OF THE PEOPLES OF SOVIET REGIONS AND REPUBLICS IN THE EAST	299
REPORT ON CONCESSIONS AT A MEETING OF THE COMMUNIST GROUP OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS, APRIL 11, 1921	300
TO THE COMRADES COMMUNISTS OF AZERBAIJAN, GEORGIA, ARMENIA, DAGHESTAN, AND THE MOUNTAINEER REPUBLIC	316
TO THE PETROGRAD CITY CONFERENCE OF NON-PARTY WORKERS	319
PLAN OF THE PAMPHLET <i>THE TAX IN KIND</i>	320
I	320
II	321
III	326
IV	327
THE TAX IN KIND (<i>The Significance of the New Policy and Its Conditions</i>)	329
In Lieu of Introduction	329

The Present-Day Economy of Russia (<i>Extract from the 1918 Pamphlet</i>)	330
Tax in Kind, Freedom to Trade and Concessions	341
Political Summary and Deductions	358
Conclusion	364
RECORDED SPEECHES	366
1. THE TAX IN KIND	366
2. CONCESSIONS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM	368
3. CONSUMERS' AND PRODUCERS' CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES	370
TO COMRADE KRZHIZHANOVSKY, THE PRESIDUM OF THE STATE PLANNING COMMISSION	371
INSTRUCTIONS OF THE COUNCIL OF LABOUR AND DEFENCE TO LOCAL SOVIET BODIES. <i>Draft</i>	375
<i>First Group of Questions</i>	
1. Commodity Exchange with the Peasantry	383
2. The State's Attitude to the Capitalists	385
3. Encouragement of Enterprise in Commodity Exchange and in Economic Development in General	385
4. Co-ordination of the Economic Work of Various Departments in the Local Administrative Areas: Volosts, Uyezds and Gubernias	386
5. Improvement of the Condition of the Workers and	
6. Ditto of the Peasants	387
7. Increasing the Number of Government Officials in Economic Development	388
8. Methods and Results of Combating Bureaucratic Practices and Red Tape	389
<i>Second Group of Questions</i>	
9. Revival of Agriculture: a) Peasant Farming; b) State Farms; c) Communes; d) Artels; e) Co-operatives; f) Other Forms of Collective Farming	390
10. Revival of Industry: a) Large-Scale Industry Entirely Controlled by the Centre; b) Large-Scale Industry Controlled Wholly or Partly by Local Bodies; c) Small, Handicraft, Domestic, etc., Industries	390
11. Fuel: a) Firewood; b) Coal; c) Oil; d) Shale; e) Other Types of Fuel (Waste Fuel, etc.)	391

12. Food Supplies	391
13. Building Industry.	392
14. Model and Hopeless Enterprises and Establishments	392
15. Improvement in Economic Work.	392
16. Bonuses in Kind	392
17. The Trade Unions. Their Part in Production	393
18. Stealing.	394
19. Profiteering	394
20. Use of Army Units for Labour	394
21. Labour Service and Labour Mobilisation	395
<i>Third Group of Questions</i>	
22. Regional and Local Economic Councils	395
23. Gosplan (The State General Planning Commission of the C.L.D.) and Its Relationships with Local Economic Bodies	396
24. Electrification	396
25. Commodity Exchange with Foreign Countries	397
26. Railway, Water and Local Transport.	397
27. Press Publicity for Economic Work	397
<i>Fourth Group of Questions</i>	398
TENTH ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF THE R.C.P.(B.), <i>May 26-28, 1921</i>	399
1. SPEECH IN OPENING THE CONFERENCE, MAY 26	401
2. REPORT ON THE TAX IN KIND, MAY 26	402
3. SUMMING-UP SPEECH ON THE TAX IN KIND, MAY 27.	417
4. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON QUESTIONS OF THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY	433
5. SPEECH IN CLOSING THE CONFERENCE, MAY 28	436
SPEECH ON LOCAL ECONOMIC BODIES DELIVERED AT A SITTING OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, MAY 30, 1921	438
SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE THIRD ALL-RUSSIA FOOD CONFERENCE, JUNE 16, 1921.	441

<i>THIRD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, June 22-July 12, 1921</i>	451
1. THESES FOR A REPORT ON THE TACTICS OF THE R.C.P.	453
1. The International Position of the R.S.F.S.R.	453
2. The International Alignment of Class Forces	454
3. The Alignment of Class Forces in Russia.	455
4. The Proletariat and the Peasantry in Russia	455
5. The Military Alliance Between the Proletariat and the Peasantry in the R.S.F.S.R.	456
6. The Transition to Proper Economic Relations Between the Proletariat and the Peasantry	457
7. The Conditions Under Which the Soviet Government Can Permit Capitalism and Concessions, and the Sig- nificance Thereof.	457
8. The Success of Our Food Policy	458
9. The Material Basis of Socialism and the Plan for the Electrification of Russia	459
10. The Role of "Pure Democracy", the Second and Two- and-a-Half Internationals, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks as the Allies of Capital	460
2. SPEECH ON THE ITALIAN QUESTION. JUNE 28	462
3. SPEECH IN DEFENCE OF THE TACTICS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, JULY 1	468
4. REPORT ON THE TACTICS OF THE R.C.P., JULY 5	478
IDEAS ABOUT A STATE ECONOMIC "PLAN"	497
GREETINGS TO THE DELEGATE CONGRESS OF TSENTROSOYUZ.	499
MESSAGE OF GREETINGS TO THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL CON- GRESS OF REVOLUTIONARY TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONS	501
APPEAL TO THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT.	502
APPEAL TO THE PEASANTS OF THE UKRAINE	503
A LETTER TO G. MYASNIKOV	504

CONTENTS

ix

TO COMRADE THOMAS BELL	510
A LETTER TO THE GERMAN COMMUNISTS	512
<i>Notes</i>	525
<i>The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates</i>	569

ILLUSTRATIONS

Portrait of V. I. Lenin. May 1921	18-19
First page of Lenin's "Preliminary Draft Resolution on the Tenth Congress of the R.C.P. on Party Unity". March 1921 . .	239
First page of Lenin's "Instructions of the Council of Labour and Defence to Local Soviet Bodies. Draft". May 1921	377

