V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME 33

August 1921–March 1923

From Marx to Mao

© Digital Reprints 2012

www.marx2mao.com

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW 1973
CONTENTS

Page

Preface .............................................. 17

1921

NEW TIMES AND OLD MISTAKES IN A NEW GUISE ........ 21
LETTERS TO THE CENTRAL STATISTICAL BOARD ......... 30
  1. To the Manager of the Central Statistical Board, 30
     August 16
  2. To the Manager of the Central Statistical Board or 33
     His Deputy, September 1
LETTER TO THE EDITORS OF EKONOMICHESKAYA ZHIZN, 36
    September 1
PURGING THE PARTY .................................. 39
TASKS OF THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' INSPECTION 42
    AND HOW THEY ARE TO BE UNDERSTOOD AND FULFILLED
TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE EIGHTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS 49
    OF ELECTRICAL ENGINEERS
FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION .... 51
THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY AND THE TASKS OF THE 60
    POLITICAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENTS. Report to the Second
    All-Russia Congress of Political Education Departments,
    October 17
Abrupt Change of Policy of the Soviet Government 60
    and the R.C.P.
| CONTENTS |
|------------------|---|
| The 1918 Decision of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee on the Role of the Peasantry | 61 |
| Our Mistake | 62 |
| A Strategical Retreat | 63 |
| Purport of the New Economic Policy | 64 |
| Who Will Win, the Capitalist or Soviet Power? | 65 |
| The Fight Will Be Even Fiercer | 66 |
| Is This the Last Fight? | 68 |
| We Must not Count on Going Straight to Communism | 69 |
| The Principle of Personal Incentive and Responsibility | 70 |
| Shall We Be Able to Work for Our Own Benefit? | 71 |
| Obsolete Methods | 73 |
| The Greatest Miracle of All | 74 |
| Tasks of Political Educationalists | 76 |
| The Three Chief Enemies. | 77 |
| The First Enemy—Communist Conceit | 77 |
| The Second Enemy—Illiteracy. | 78 |
| The Third Enemy—Bribery. | 78 |
| Difference Between Military and Cultural Problems | 78 |
| SEVENTH MOSCOW GUBERNIA CONFERENCE OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, October 29-31, 1921 | 81 |
| 1. REPORT ON THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY, October 29 | 83 |
| 2. CLOSING SPEECH, October 29 | 102 |
| THE IMPORTANCE OF GOLD NOW AND AFTER THE COMPLETE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM | 109 |
| SPEECH AT A MEETING OF THE PROKHOROV TEXTILE MILLS WORKERS, HELD TO MARK THE FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION, November 6, 1921. Brief Newspaper Report | 117 |
| SPEECH AT A MEETING OF WORKING MEN AND WOMEN, RED ARMY MEN AND YOUNG PEOPLE OF KHAMOVNIKI DISTRICT, MOSCOW, HELD TO MARK THE FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION, November 7, 1921 | 118 |
| SPEECH AT A WORKERS’ MEETING AT THE ELEKTROSILA PLANT No. 3 (FORMERLY DYNAMO PLANT) TO MARK THE FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION November 7, 1921. Brief Newspaper Report | 120 |
| PREFACE TO THE PAMPHLET: THE PROBLEM OF THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY (TWO OLD ARTICLES AND A STILL OLDER POSTSCRIPT) | 121 |
TELEGRAM TO NARIMANOV, CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF
PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF AZERBAIJAN. Baku ............... 124

A CAPABLY WRITTEN LITTLE BOOK ......................... 125

MEMO TO J. V. STALIN WITH THE DRAFT DECISION OF THE
POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE FORMA-
TION OF A FEDERATION OF TRANSCAUCASIAN REPUBLICS.
November 28 ........................................... 127

SPEECH AT THE FIRST MOSCOW GUBERNIA AGRICULTURAL
CONGRESS, November 29, 1921 ............................ 128

THE TESSES ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION ADOPTED BY
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE ...................... 131

LETTER TO P. A. ZALUTSKY, A. A. SOLTS AND ALL MEMBERS
OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU RE THE PARTY PURGE AND
THE CONDITIONS OF ADMISSION INTO THE PARTY, Decem-
ber 19 .................................................. 138

LETTER TO THE POLITICAL BUREAU RE THE RESOLUTION
OF THE NINTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS ON THE
INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, DECEMBER 22 ............ 139

NINTH ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF SOVIETS, December
23-28, 1921 ................................................ 141

1. THE HOME AND FOREIGN POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC,
Report of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee
and the Council of People's Commissars, December 23 143

2. INSTRUCTIONS BY THE NINTH ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS
OF SOVIETS ON QUESTIONS OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES,
December 28 ........................................... 178

BRITISH LABOUR PARTY POLICY ......................... 182

THE ROLE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE TRADE UNIONS UNDER
THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY ............................ 184

1. The New Economic Policy and the Trade Unions 184

2. State Capitalism in the Proletarian State and the
Trade Unions ......................................... 185

3. The State Enterprises That Are Being Put on a
Profit Basis and the Trade Unions ....................... 185
CONTENTS


5. Reversion to Voluntary Trade Union Membership 188

6. The Trade Unions and the Management of Industry .......................... 188

7. The Role and Functions of the Trade Unions in the Business and Administrative Organisations of the Proletarian State ......................... 189

8. Contact With the Masses—the Fundamental Condition for All Trade Union Activity .................. 192

9. The Contradictions in the Status of the Trade Unions Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat 193

10. The Trade Unions and the Specialists .................. 194


1922

DRAFT DIRECTIVE OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU ON THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY .................. 197

TO THE WORKING PEOPLE OF DAGHESTAN .................. 199

LETTER TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE ON THE STRENGTHENING OF THE GEORGIAN RED ARMY. February 13 .................. 200

LETTER TO D. I. KURSKY WITH NOTES ON THE DRAFT CIVIL CODE, February 28 .................. 202

NOTES OF A PUBLICIST. On Ascending a High Mountain; the Harm of Despondency; the Utility of Trade; Attitude Towards the Mensheviks, etc .................. 204

I. By Way of Example .................. 204

II. Without Metaphors .................. 205

III. Catching Foxes; Levi and Serrati .................. 207

THE INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC SITUATION OF THE SOVIET REPUBLIC. Speech Delivered to a Meeting of the Communist Group at the All-Russia Congress of Metalworkers, March 6, 1922 .................. 212
ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MILITANT MATERIALISM ........................................... 227

TO COMRADE MOLOTOV FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU. Re Comrade Preobrazhensky's Theses, March 16 ......................................................... 237

MEMO TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV WITH THE DRAFT OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT'S REPLY TO E. VANDERVELDE, March 17 ............................................. 243


LETTER TO J. V. STALIN ON THE FUNCTIONS OF THE DEPUTY CHAIRMEN OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSIONS AND OF THE COUNCIL OF LABOUR AND DEFENCE, March 21 ................................................................. 247

FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF BEDNOTA ................................................................. 249


THE CONDITIONS FOR ADMITTING NEW MEMBERS TO THE PARTY. Letters to V. M. Molotov ................................................................. 254

1. .................................................................................................................. 254

2. .................................................................................................................. 256

ELEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P.(B.), March 27-April 2, 1922. .................................................................................................................. 259

1. SPEECH IN OPENING THE CONGRESS, March 27 .................. 261

2. POLITICAL REPORT OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.), March 27 ........ 263

3. CLOSING SPEECH ON THE POLITICAL REPORT OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.), March 28 ......................................................... 310

4. SPEECH IN CLOSING THE CONGRESS. April 2 .................. 325

ON THE DRAFT OF THE ELEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS RESOLUTION ON WORK IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. Letter to Comrade Osinsky, April 1 ......................................................... 327

WE HAVE PAID TOO MUCH ................................................................. 330
DECREES ON THE FUNCTIONS OF THE DEPUTY CHAIRMEN OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE’S COMMISSARS AND OF THE COUNCIL OF LABOUR AND DEFENCE

I. The General and Main Functions of the Deputy Chairmen

II. Specific Questions Concerning the Work of the Deputy Chairmen

III. The Deputy Chairmen’s Methods of Work. Their Staffs

IV. Co-ordinating the Work of the Two Deputy Chairmen

V. Distribution of Functions Between the Deputy Chairmen

LETTER TO J. V. STALIN. To Comrade Stalin (for the Political Bureau), April 15

PREFACE TO THE PAMPHLET OLD ARTICLES ON ALMOST NEW SUBJECTS. Preface to the 1922 Edition

TELEGRAM TO THE WORKERS AND ENGINEERS OF THE AZNEFT TRUST. Baku, April 28

ON THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF PRAVDA

REPLY TO REMARKS CONCERNING THE FUNCTIONS OF THE DEPUTY CHAIRMEN OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE’S COMMIS-SARS

DRAFT DECISION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON THE REPORT OF THE DELEGATION TO THE GENOA CONFERENCE

LETTER TO D. I. KURSKY, May 17

LETTERS TO J. V. STALIN FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE PROMOTION OF RADIO ENGINEERING

1. May 19

2. May 19

“DUAL” SUBORDINATION AND LEGALITY, May 20
CONTENTS

A FLY IN THE OINTMENT ........................................ 368

LETTER TO THE FIFTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF TRADE
UNIONS, September 17 ........................................... 370

MEMO TO THE POLITICAL BUREAU ON COMBATING DOMINANT
NATION CHAUVINISM, October 6 ................................. 372

TO THE WORKERS OF BAKU, October 6 .......................... 373

TO THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST
LEAGUE OF RUSSIA, October 11 ............................... 374

LETTER TO J. V. STALIN FOR MEMBERS OF THE C.C.,
R.C.P.(B.) RE THE FOREIGN TRADE MONOPOLY, October 13 .... 375

TO THE ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF FINANCIAL WORKERS,
October 20 .......................................................... 379

TO THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA (IN THE
UNITED STATES), October 20 ...................................... 380

TO THE SOCIETY FOR TECHNICAL AID FOR SOVIET RUSSIA,
October 20 .......................................................... 381

GREETINGS TO THE LIBERATED PRIMORYE TERRITORY,
October 26 .......................................................... 382

INTERVIEW GIVEN TO MICHAEL FARBMAN, OBSERVER AND
MANCHESTER GUARDIAN CORRESPONDENT ..................... 383

SPEECH AT THE FOURTH SESSION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA
CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, NINTH CONVOCATION,
October 31 .......................................................... 390

TO PETROGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, November 1 ..................... 396

TO PRAVDA, November 2 ............................................ 397

TO THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST
CO-OPERATORS, November 2 ..................................... 398

TO THE ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF STATISTICIANS, November 4
 ................................................................. 399

INTERVIEW WITH ARTHUR RANSOME, MANCHESTER GUARDIAN
CORRESPONDENT .................................................. 400

First Version ..................................................... 400

Second Version (Unfinished) .................................... 406
TO THE NON-PARTY CONFERENCE OF WOMEN WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF MOSCOW CITY AND MOSCOW GUBERNIA, November 6 ................................................. 410

TO THE WORKERS OF THE FORMER MICHELSON PLANT, November 7 ................................................. 411

TO THE WORKERS AND EMPLOYEES AT THE STATE ELEKTROPEREDACHA POWER STATION, November 7 ................................................. 412

TO THE WORKERS AT THE STODOL CLOTH MILL IN KLINTSI, November 8 ................................................. 413

FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, November 5-December 5, 1922 ................................................. 415

1. TO THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND TO THE PETROGRAD SOVIET OF WORKERS' AND RED ARMY DEPUTIES, November 4 ................................................. 417


GREETINGS TO THE ALL-RUSSIA AGRICULTURAL EXHIBITION, November 14 ................................................. 433

TO THE CLARTÉ GROUP, November 15 ................................................. 434

SPEECH AT A PLENARY SESSION OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET, November 20, 1922 ................................................. 435

TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE FIFTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF THE SOVIET EMPLOYEES' UNION ................................................. 444

TO THE EDUCATIONAL WORKERS' CONGRESS, November 26 ................................................. 445

TO THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, MOSCOW, December 4 ................................................. 446

NOTES ON THE TASKS OF OUR DELEGATION AT THE HAGUE ................................................. 447

A FEW WORDS ABOUT N. Y. FEDOSEYEV ................................................. 452

TO THE ALL-UKRAINE CONGRESS OF SOVIETS, December 10 ................................................. 454

RE THE MONOPOLY OF FOREIGN TRADE, December 13 ................................................. 455

LETTER TO J. V. STALIN FOR MEMBERS OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.), December 15 ................................................. 460
CONTENTS

1923

PAGES FROM A DIARY ........................................ 462
ON CO-OPERATION ........................................... 467
  I ......................................................... 467
  II ......................................................... 472
OUR REVOLUTION (Apropos of N. Sukhanov’s Notes) ........ 476
  I ......................................................... 476
  II ......................................................... 480
HOW WE SHOULD REORGANISE THE WORKERS’ AND PEAS-
ANTS’ INSPECTION (Recommendation to the Twelfth Party
Congress) ...................................................... 481
BETTER FEWER, BUT BETTER .................................. 487
Notes ........................................................ 503
The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates .... 539

ILLUSTRATIONS

Portrait of V. I. Lenin. 1921 .................................. 16-17
First page of Lenin’s manuscript “Fourth Anniversary of
the October Revolution”, October 14, 1921 ............... 48-49