

# LENIN

COLLECTED  
WORKS



VOLUME

42

October 1917-

March 1923

---

# V. I. L E N I N

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME

42

*October 1917-March 1923*

From Marx to Mao



© Digital Reprints

2013

[www.marx2mao.com](http://www.marx2mao.com)

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS

M O S C O W

---

---

## CONTENTS

Preface . . . . .	27
<i>October 1917-July 1918</i>	
SPEECH AT A MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS. <i>November 3 (16), 1917</i> . . . . .	35
ADDENDA TO THE DRAFT DECREE ON THE REQUISITION OF ARTICLES OF WARM CLOTHING FOR THE SOLDIERS AT THE FRONT . . . . .	35
INTERVIEW GIVEN TO GREGORI YARROS, CORRESPONDENT OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS AGENCY. <i>November 15 (28), 1917</i> . . . . .	36
THE SALARIES OF HIGH-RANKING OFFICE EMPLOYEES AND OFFICIALS. <i>Draft Decree for the C.P.C.</i> . . . . .	37
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE QUESTION OF THE WAR MINISTRY. . . . .	38
THESES FOR A LAW ON THE CONFISCATION OF APARTMENT AND TENEMENT HOUSES . . . . .	39
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE QUESTION OF FOLLOWING A SOCIALIST POLICY IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD . . . . .	40
OUTLINE OF A PROGRAMME OF ECONOMIC MEASURES . . . . .	40
DEMONSTRATION SLOGANS . . . . .	41
LIABILITY FOR UNFOUNDED ACCUSATIONS. <i>Draft Resolution for the C.C., R.S.D.L.P.(B.)</i> . . . . .	41
THE CONVERSION OF MUNITION WORKS TO ECONOMICALLY USEFUL WORK. <i>Decree of the Council of People's Commissars</i> . . . . .	42
THESES ON THE TASKS OF THE PARTY + THE PRESENT SITUATION . . . . .	43
ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS PUT BY A WORKERS' DELEGATION OF ALEXANDRO-GRUSHEVSKY DISTRICT . . . . .	44
DRAFT DECISION FOR C.P.C. ON STAFF SALARIES IN GOVERNMENT OFFICES . . . . .	45
THE ORGANISATION OF A COMMISSION OF PRACTITIONERS. <i>Draft Decision for the C.P.C.</i> . . . . .	45
INSTRUCTIONS OF THE PROCEDURE FOR TABLING QUESTIONS IN THE C.P.C. . . . .	46
DRAFT DECISION FOR C.P.C. ON THE IRREGULAR ACTIONS OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR JUSTICE I. Z. STEINBERG AND MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR JUSTICE V. A. KARELIN . . . . .	46
PLEKHANOV ON TERROR . . . . .	47
DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE C.C., R.S.D.L.P.(B.) CONCERNING THE EXPULSION FROM THE PARTY OF S. A. LOZOVSKY . . . . .	49

DECISION OF THE C.P.C. ON THE FIGHT AGAINST KALEDIN	51
1. Decision of the C.P.C. . . . . .	51
2. Addendum to the Decision of the C.P.C. . . . . .	51
RATES OF PAY FOR HIGH-RANKING OFFICIALS. <i>Draft Decision for the C.P.C.</i> . . . . .	52
MEASURES FOR IMPROVING THE FOOD SITUATION. <i>Draft Decision for the C.P.C.</i> . . . . .	52
INQUIRY OF THE C.P.C. TO THE C.C. OF THE LEFT S.R. PARTY . . . . .	53
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE ORDER OF SUBORDINATION OF THE BALTIC AND BLACK SEA FLEETS ON SALARIES. <i>Draft Decision for the C.P.C.</i> . . . . .	54
DRAFT DECISIONS FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE ORGANISATION OF FOOD SUPPLY . . . . .	55
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY UNDER THE PETROGRAD SOVIET . . . . .	55
THE CONVERSION OF MUNITION WORKS TO ECONOMICALLY USEFUL WORK. <i>Draft Decision for the C.P.C.</i> . . . . .	56
ADDENDUM TO THE DRAFT OF THE "FUNDAMENTAL LAW ON THE SOCIALISATION OF THE LAND" . . . . .	56
ADDENDUM TO THE DRAFT DECREE ON THE INSTITUTION OF AN ALL-RUSSIA INTER-DEPARTMENTAL EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSION FOR GUARDING THE RAILWAYS . . . . .	57
PROPOSALS ON MEASURES TO IMPROVE THE FOOD SITUATION IN PETROGRAD . . . . .	57
DECISION OF THE C.P.C. CONCERNING THE EMPLOYMENT OF SABOTEURS . . . . .	58
SPEECH AT A JOINT MEETING OF THE BOLSHEVIK AND LEFT S.R. GROUPS IN THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. FEBRUARY 19, 1918. <i>Brief Newspaper Report</i> . . . . .	58
SPEECH TO THE LETTISH RIFLEMEN. FEBRUARY 20, 1918. <i>Brief Newspaper Report</i> . . . . .	59
TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMISSION OF THE PETROGRAD COMMITTEE AND TO ALL DISTRICT COMMITTEES OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY . . . . .	59
DECISION OF THE C.P.C. ON THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE GERMAN PEACE TERMS . . . . .	60
TREATY WITH THE FINNISH SOCIALIST WORKERS' REPUBLIC . . . . .	61
1. Draft Decision of the C.P.C. . . . . .	61
2. Directive of the C.P.C. to the Russo-Finnish Conciliation Board . . . . .	61
3. Draft Decision for the C.P.C. . . . . .	61
ADDENDUM TO THE DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. CONCERNING THE ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY UNDER THE PETROGRAD SOVIET . . . . .	62

SPEECHES AT THE MEETING OF THE C.P.C. <i>March 4, 1918</i>	63
1 . . . . .	63
2 . . . . .	64
3 . . . . .	65
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE SETTING UP OF A WATER TRANSPORT MANAGEMENT BOARD . . . . .	66
INTERVIEW WITH ARTHUR RANSOME, CORRESPONDENT OF THE <i>DAILY NEWS</i> . . . . .	67
RE DRAFT DECREE CONCERNING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF STATE CONTROL OVER ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE . . . . .	68
ORIGINAL VERSION OF THE ARTICLE "THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT" . . . . .	68
<i>Chapter IV</i> . . . . .	68
<i>Chapter V</i> . . . . .	71
<i>Chapter VI</i> . . . . .	72
<i>Chapter VII</i> . . . . .	72
<i>Chapter VIII</i> . . . . .	76
<i>Chapter IX</i> . . . . .	81
<i>Chapter X</i> . . . . .	83
THE STATE OF INLAND WATER TRANSPORT. <i>Draft Decision for the C.P.C.</i> . . . . .	85
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON CONTROL OF S.E.C. EXPENDITURE . . . . .	85
SPEECH AT A MEETING OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE S.E.C. <i>April 1, 1918</i> . . . . .	86
ADDENDA TO THE DRAFT DECREE ON THE PROCEDURE FOR SENDING COMMISSARS OUT TO THE PROVINCES. . . . .	87
SPEECH AT A JOINT MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS, THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE METAL WORKERS' UNION AND THE SUPREME ECONOMIC COUNCIL. APRIL 11, 1918. <i>From a Newspaper Report</i> . . . . .	88
TO THE PRESIDING COMMITTEE OF THE FIRST CON- GRESS OF SOVIETS OF THE DON REPUBLIC . . . . .	88
ADDENDUM TO THE DRAFT DECREE ON THE REGISTRATION OF SHARES, BONDS AND OTHER INTEREST-BEARING SECURITIES . . . . .	89
DECISION OF THE C.P.C. ON THE FINANCING OF SUGAR-BEET SOWING CAMPAIGN . . . . .	89
DRAFT DECREE ON THE INSTITUTION OF AN ALL-RUSSIA EVACUATION COMMISSION . . . . .	90
ADDENDUM TO THE DRAFT DECREE FOR THE C.P.C. ON SUP- PLYING AGRICULTURE WITH IMPLEMENTS AND METALS . . . . .	91
ADDENDUM TO THE DRAFT DECREE FOR THE C.P.C. ON A DEPARTMENT FOR ORGANISING THE CULTIVATED AREA . . . . .	91
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE ON THE LEADERSHIP OF THE COMMISSARIAT FOR AGRICULTURE . . . . .	92
ADDENDUM TO THE DECREE ON THE FOOD DICTATOR- SHIP . . . . .	92

MOBILISATION OF THE WORKERS TO COMBAT FAMINE. <i>Draft Decision for the C.P.C.</i> . . . . .	93
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON FUEL . . . . .	93
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON MOTOR TRANSPORT	93
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON PRIVATE PURVEYANCE OF FOOD . . . . .	94
MEASURES TO COMBAT FAMINE . . . . .	94
ROUGH DRAFT OF AN AGREEMENT WITH THE S.E.C. AND THE COMMISSARIAT FOR TRADE AND INDUSTRY ON THE CONDITIONS OF BARTER BETWEEN TOWN AND COUNTRY	95
COMMENTS ON THE DRAFT "REGULATIONS FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF THE NATIONALISED ENTERPRISES" . . . . .	96
LIBRARY ORGANISATION. <i>Draft Decision for the C.P.C.</i>	96
RE DRAFT DECREE ON THE ORGANISATION AND SUPPLY OF THE VILLAGE POOR . . . . .	97
RE DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC WORKS . . . . .	98
REHABILITATION OF RAILWAY TRANSPORT. <i>Draft Decision for the C.P.C.</i> . . . . .	98
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON ADVANCING MONEY TO CENTROTEXTIL . . . . .	99
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE FINANCING OF THE CHIEF COMMITTEE FOR THE TANNING INDUSTRY	99
THE DEMOCRATISM AND SOCIALIST NATURE OF SOVIET POWER . . . . .	100
INTERVIEW GIVEN TO THE CORRESPONDENT OF <i>FOLKETS DAGBLAD POLITIKEN</i> . <i>July 1, 1918</i> . . . . .	101
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON SUPPLYING THE PEAS- ANTS WITH AGRICULTURAL MACHINES . . . . .	103
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON NON-FULFILMENT OF THE "DECREE ON MONUMENTS OF THE REPUBLIC"	103
ROUGH DRAFT OF ARTICLE 20, SECTION 2 OF THE CONSTI- TUTION OF THE R.S.F.S.R. . . . .	104
SPEECH AT A MEETING IN PRESNYA DISTRICT. <i>July 26, 1918</i> . . . . .	104

***August 1918-October 1920***

DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON POTATO PRICES . . . . .	106
CONFISCATION OF SEEDS FROM THE KULAKS BY THE POOR PEASANTS' COMMITTEES . . . . .	107
RE THE DECREE ON THE IMPOSITION OF A TAX IN KIND ON FARMERS . . . . .	107
1. Main Provisions of the Decree . . . . .	107
2. Remarks on the Draft Decree . . . . .	108
RE DECISION OF THE C.P.C. ALLOCATING FUNDS FOR THE UPKEEP OF THE POOR PEASANTS' COMMITTEES . . . . .	109
RE DECISION OF THE C.P.C. ON LOGGING . . . . .	109

ROUGH THESES OF A DECISION ON THE STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THE LAWS . . . . .	110
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON CHILDREN'S HOMES	111
ADDENDUM TO THE DRAFT DECREE ON THE ORGANISATION OF SUPPLY FOR THE POPULATION . . . . .	111
THE TASKS AND ORGANISATION OF THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL OF DEFENCE . . . . .	112
1 . . . . .	112
2 . . . . .	113
3 . . . . .	113
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE DEFENCE COUNCIL'S FUEL COMMISSION . . . . .	114
PROPOSALS CONCERNING THE WORK OF THE VECHEKA	115
ROUGH DRAFT PROPOSALS FOR INTENSIFYING AND INCREASING FOOD PURVEYANCE . . . . .	115
RE DRAFT "REGULATIONS ON THE ORGANISATION OF A WORKERS' FOOD INSPECTION" . . . . .	116
1. Draft Decision of the C.P.C. . . . .	116
2. Remarks on the Draft "Regulations" . . . . .	116
NOTES AT A MEETING OF THE COMMISSION ON CARTRIDGES . . . . .	117
RE DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON AN ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF BANK EMPLOYEES . . . . .	118
PROPOSALS ON THE QUESTION OF FINANCING CENTRO-TEXTIL . . . . .	118
TO G. V. CHICHERIN . . . . .	119
INSTRUCTIONS FOR COMPILING A READING BOOK FOR WORKERS AND PEASANTS . . . . .	122
NOTES ON HELP TO KHARKOV . . . . .	122
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE CO-OPERATIVES THE STATE OF LIBRARY SERVICE. <i>Draft Decision for the C.P.C.</i> . . . . .	123
A CONCESSION ON THE GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY. <i>Draft Decision for the C.P.C.</i> . . . . .	124
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE QUESTION OF ALLOTING FARMS TO INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES . . . . .	125
RE DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE FOOD SURPLUS-APPROPRIATION SYSTEM IN THE UKRAINE	125
ON THE APPEAL OF THE GERMAN INDEPENDENTS . . . . .	126
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE COUNCIL OF DEFENCE ON REGULATING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE VECHEKA, THE RAILWAY CHEKA AND THE COMMISSARIAT FOR RAILWAYS AND A LETTER TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF DEFENCE . . . . .	127
SPEECH AT AGITATORS COURSES OF THE MOTHER AND CHILD PROTECTION DEPARTMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR SOCIAL SECURITY. <i>March 8, 1919</i>	129
ROUGH DRAFT FOR A C.P.C. DECISION ON THE PRINTING INDUSTRY DEPARTMENT OF S.E.C. . . . .	129

NOTES ON CO-OPERATION . . . . .	130
DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON SENDING GROUPS OF WORKERS OUT ON FOOD TRANSPORTATION JOBS . . . . .	131
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE COUNCIL OF DEFENCE ON SUP- PLYING BREADSTUFFS TO THE RAILWAYMEN . . . . .	131
ON THE QUESTION OF RELATIONS WITH THE MIDDLE PEASANTS . . . . .	132
DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE REPORT ON THE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN SITUATION OF THE SOVIET REPUBLIC AT THE EXTRAORDINARY PLENARY MEETING OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET OF WORKERS' AND RED ARMY DEPUTIES. <i>April 3, 1919</i> . . . . .	133
MOTION TO ENDORSE THE DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) CONTAINING DIRECTIVES FOR THE C.C. OF THE C.P.(B.) OF THE UKRAINE . . . . .	135
RE DECISION OF THE COUNCIL OF DEFENCE ON STEPPING UP WORK IN THE FIELD OF MILITARY DEFENCE . . . . .	135
POSTSCRIPT TO THE APPEAL TO HUNGARIAN INTERNA- TIONALISTS . . . . .	135
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C.'S ECONOMIC COMMISSION ON ALLEVIATING THE POSITION OF THE WORKERS . . . . .	136
SALARIES FOR SPECIALISTS. <i>Draft Decision</i> . . . . .	136
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE COUNCIL OF DEFENCE ON THE MOBILISATION OF SOVIET EMPLOYEES . . . . .	137
DECREE OF THE COUNCIL OF WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' DEFENCE ON CALLING UP FOR MILITARY SERVICE TRADE, INDUSTRIAL AND TRANSPORT WORKERS AND OTHER EMPLOYEES . . . . .	138
ORDER TO THE C.P.C. SECRETARIAT . . . . .	139
DIRECTIVES TO THE COMMISSARIAT FOR AGRICULTURE RE MODIFICATION OF INSTRUCTIONS . . . . .	140
DRAFT DECISIONS FOR THE C.C. POLITBUREAU ON MEASURES TO FIGHT MAMONTOV . . . . .	141
1 . . . . .	141
2 . . . . .	142
3 . . . . .	142
INTRODUCTION OF ONE-MAN MANAGEMENT IN LIEU OF BOARD MANAGEMENT IN CENTROTEXTIL. <i>Draft Decision for the Council of People's Commissars</i> . . . . .	143
NOTE TO G. V. CHICHERIN AND DECISION OF THE POLIT- BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON RELATIONS WITH THE ENTENTE COUNTRIES . . . . .	144
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE CONFLICT BE- TWEEN THE S.E.C. AND THE COMMISSARIAT FOR STATE CONTROL . . . . .	144
SUGGESTIONS ON THE QUESTION OF CO-OPERATION . . . . .	145
INTERVIEW WITH MOHAMMAD WALI-KHAN, AMBASSA- DOR EXTRAORDINARY OF AFGHANISTAN. OCTOBER 14, 1919. <i>Newspaper Report</i> . . . . .	146

SPEECH TO IVANOVO-VOZNESENSK COMMUNIST WORKERS LEAVING FOR THE FRONT. OCTOBER 24, 1919. <i>Reporter's Notes</i> . . . . .	147
SPEECH TO ADULT-EDUCATION COURSE STUDENTS LEAVING FOR THE FRONT. <i>October 28, 1919</i> . . . . .	147
MOTION ON THE QUESTION OF A SINGLE FORESTRY BODY	148
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON POTATO PURCHASES	149
NOTES AT A MEETING OF DELEGATES TO THE SECOND ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST ORGANISATIONS OF THE PEOPLES OF THE EAST . . . . .	150
DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) PLENUM . . . . .	150
RE DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) PLENUM ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE . . . . .	151
ON IMPROVING THE MANAGEMENT OF RAILWAY TRANSPORT. <i>Draft Decision for the Council of People's Commissars</i> . . . . .	151
REMARKS ON DRAFT REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE BUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) GROUP AT THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS . . . . .	152
THE WORK OF THE FOOD SUPPLY AGENCIES. <i>Draft Resolutions</i> . . . . .	152
ROUGH DRAFT FOR THE C.P.C. DECISION ON MOSCOW'S FOOD SUPPLY . . . . .	154
DRAFT C.P.C. DECISION ON GRAIN CONSIGNMENTS TO MOSCOW BY THROUGH TRAINS . . . . .	154
LETTER TO P. I. POPOV. ( <i>Re Consumption by the Population of the R.S.F.S.R. Before and After the October Revolution</i> ) . . . . .	155
1 . . . . .	155
2 . . . . .	155
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE QUESTION OF SUPPLYING THE WORKERS WITH CLOTHES AND FOOTWEAR	157
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING PURVEYANCE OF RAW MATERIALS . . . . .	157
RE TRANSPORT DEPARTMENT OF VECHEKA. <i>Draft Decision for the Council of Defence</i> . . . . .	158
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) . . . . .	158
DECISION OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) IN CONNECTION WITH THE ENTENTE'S ATTEMPT TO START TRADE RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA THROUGH THE RUSSIAN CO-OPERATIVES . . . . .	159
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF'S PROTEST CONCERNING THE ORDER TO THE COMMANDER OF THE TURKESTAN FRONT . . . . .	159
POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) DIRECTIVES ON A WORKERS' INSPECTION . . . . .	160

DIRECTIONS CONCERNING THE WORK OF THE PROPAGANDA-INSTRUCTOR TRAINS AND STEAMERS . . . . .	160
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON UNLOADING POTATOES AND SNOW CLEARING OF MOSCOW'S STREETS AND RAILWAY TRACKS . . . . .	162
NOTES CONCERNING THE DRAFT REGULATIONS ON BONUSES FOR WORKERS AND OFFICE EMPLOYEES . . . . .	163
SPEECH AT A CONFERENCE OF CHAIRMEN OF GUBERNIA AND UYEZD EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES. <i>February 1, 1920</i> . . . . .	163
DRAFT DECISIONS FOR THE COUNCIL OF DEFENCE ON THE STATE OF TRANSPORT . . . . .	164
POSTSCRIPT TO DECISIONS OF THE COUNCIL OF DEFENCE ON THE STATE OF TRANSPORT . . . . .	165
PRIVILEGES FOR LOCOMOTIVE REPAIR WORKERS. <i>Draft Decision for the C.P.C.</i> . . . . .	166
SPEECH AT THE FOURTH CONFERENCE OF GUBERNIA EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSIONS. <i>February 6, 1920</i> . . . . .	166
DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE UKRAINIAN BOROTBIST PARTY . . . . .	174
INTERVIEW WITH LINCOLN EYRE, CORRESPONDENT OF THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER <i>THE WORLD</i> . . . . .	175
Allies Playing "Chess Game" . . . . .	175
United States Oppresses Socialists . . . . .	176
Europe Dependent on Russia . . . . .	177
World Needs Russian Goods . . . . .	178
Internal Situation Hopeful . . . . .	179
Scores Socialist Leaders . . . . .	180
REMARKS ON THE RESOLUTION OF THE EXECUTIVE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL ON THE BOROTBISTS . . . . .	180
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON STOCKS OF COMMODITIES . . . . .	181
REMARKS ON TROTSKY'S DRAFT THESES "THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT" . . . . .	181
THE PROSECUTION OF MINORS. <i>Notes and Amendments to the Draft Decree</i> . . . . .	182
MEASURES FOR IMPROVING THE ORGANISATION OF STATE FARMS. <i>Draft Decision for the C.P.C.</i> . . . . .	183
RESOLUTIONS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) CONCERNING BREACH OF PARTY DISCIPLINE BY MEMBERS OF THE A.C.C.T.U. PARTY GROUP . . . . .	184
PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION OF THE PAMPHLET <i>THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND KAUTSKY THE RENEGADE</i> . . . . .	185
ADDENDUM TO THE DRAFT REGULATIONS ON SUBBOTNIKS . . . . .	187
I. Aims and Purpose of Subbotniks . . . . .	187
TO MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) . . . . .	187

NOTES CONCERNING THE DECREE ON WORK RATINGS	188
1 . . . . .	188
2 . . . . .	188
SPEECH AT THE STONE-LAYING CEREMONY FOR A MONUMENT TO KARL MARX. MAY 1, 1920. <i>Newspaper Report</i> . . . . .	189
SPEECH AT THE OPENING CEREMONY OF THE ZAGORSKY WORKERS' PALACE, MAY 1, 1920. <i>Newspaper Report</i> . . . . .	190
SPEECH AT THE ELEVENTH ISSUE OF RED COMMANDERS OF THE FIRST MOSCOW MACHINE-GUNNERS TRAINING COURSES. MAY 12, 1920. <i>Chronicler's Record</i> . . . . .	190
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS ON THE PURVEYANCE OF RAW MATERIALS . . . . .	191
REMARKS ON THE DRAFT DECREE ON MEASURES FOR PROPER DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSING AMONG THE WORKING POPULATION . . . . .	192
ROUGH DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON GRAIN RESOURCES . . . . .	192
INTERVIEW WITH M. NAKAHIRA, CORRESPONDENT OF THE JAPANESE NEWSPAPER <i>OSAKA ASAHI</i> . . . . .	193
INTERVIEW WITH K. FUSSE, CORRESPONDENT OF THE JAPANESE NEWSPAPERS <i>OSAKA MAINICHI</i> AND <i>TOKYO NICHU-NICHI</i> . . . . .	194
DECISION IMPOSING A PENALTY ON E. Y. VEVEK, MANAGER OF "GORKI" SANATORIUM . . . . .	196
SPEECH AT A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. JUNE 19, 1920. <i>Newspaper Report</i> . . . . .	197
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE TASKS OF THE R.C.P.(B.) IN TURKESTAN	198
<i>MATERIAL FOR THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL</i> . . . . .	199
1. PLAN OF A RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE MEANING OF THE CONCEPT "DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIATE AND THE FIGHT AGAINST THE "FASHIONABLE" DISTORTION OF THIS SLOGAN . . . . .	199
2. RE JACK TANNER'S SPEECH AT THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE COMINTERN . . . . .	202
3. REMARKS ON THE REPORT OF A. SULTAN-ZADE CONCERNING THE PROSPECTS OF A SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN THE EAST . . . . .	202
4. NOTES FOR THE COMMITTEE ON THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTIONS . . . . .	203
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE PLENUM OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE PETROGRAD COMMUNE AND THE PETROGRAD SOVIET . . . . .	203
ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS BY A. M. KRASNOSHCHOKOV, FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE FAR-EASTERN REPUBLIC . . . . .	204
SPEECH AT A STONE-LAYING CEREMONY FOR A MONUMENT TO KARL LIEBKNECHT AND ROSA LUXEMBURG HELD IN PETROGRAD. JULY 19, 1920. <i>Newspaper Report</i> . . . . .	204

DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON MAXIM GORKY'S ARTICLES IN THE JOURNAL <i>THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL</i> . . . . .	205
PROPOSALS ON MILITARY QUESTIONS . . . . .	205
DECISIONS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE ORDER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE WESTERN FRONT . . . . .	206
<i>THE NINTH ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF THE R.C.P.(B.), September 22-25, 1920</i> . . . . .	207
1. SPEECH ON THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF PARTY DEVELOPMENT. <i>September 24</i> . . . . .	207
2. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF PARTY DEVELOPMENT . . . . .	212
3. PROPOSALS FOR THE RESOLUTION ON THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF PARTY DEVELOPMENT . . . . .	214
REPORT ON THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POSITION OF THE REPUBLIC AT A MEETING OF ACTIVISTS OF THE MOSCOW ORGANISATION OF THE R.C.P.(B.). <i>October 9, 1920</i>	214
ROUGH DRAFT OF A RESOLUTION ON PROLETARIAN CULTURE . . . . .	217
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE TASKS OF THE R.C.P.(B.) IN LOCALITIES INHABITED BY EASTERN PEOPLES . . . . .	218
NOTES ON THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE PARTY . . . . .	219
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE COUNCIL OF LABOUR AND DEFENCE ON THE QUESTION OF RESTORATION OF THE BALTIC FLEET . . . . .	220
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS ON THE WORK AND FOOD RATIONS FOR SOVIET EMPLOYEES . . . . .	220
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) . . . . .	221
<b><i>November 1920—March 1923</i></b>	
ESTABLISHING CONTACTS BETWEEN THE ECONOMIC COMMISSARIATS . . . . .	222
1. Draft Decision for the Council of People's Commissars . . . . .	222
2. Rough Draft Proposals . . . . .	222
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE CHIEF COMMITTEE FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION . . . . .	223
A LETTER TO MEMBERS OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) . . . . .	224
SPEECH AT AN ANNIVERSARY PLENARY MEETING OF THE SOKOLNIKI DISTRICT SOVIET HELD JOINTLY WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FACTORY COMMITTEES AND INDUSTRIAL MANagements OF MOSCOW. <i>November 7, 1920</i> . . . . .	225

DRAFT DECISION FOR THE PLENUM OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON PROLET CULT . . . . .	226
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE PLENUM OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.)	227
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON CONCESSIONS . . . . .	227
DRAFT DECISION OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) . . . . .	228
RE THESES OF A REPORT AT THE EIGHTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS ON IMPROVING THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES IN COMBATING BUREAU- CRATISM . . . . .	229
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU ( <i>On Chicherin's Motion That Krasin Be Temporarily Recalled and Krasin's Invited Opinion</i> ) . . . . .	229
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON DIRECT TAXES . . . . .	230
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION OF THE C.P.C. . . . .	230
RE THE DRAFTING OF A DECREE ON MEASURES FOR CON- SOLIDATING AND DEVELOPING PEASANT FARMING. <i>Notes to the Commission Members</i> . . . . .	231
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE TRADE AGREEMENT WITH BRITAIN . . . . .	232
REPLY TO THE DEBATE ON CONCESSIONS AT A MEETING OF ACTIVISTS OF THE MOSCOW ORGANISATION OF THE R.C.P.(B.). <i>December 6, 1920</i> . . . . .	232
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE PLENUM OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE REORGANISATION OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMIS- SARIAT FOR EDUCATION. . . . .	237
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE PLENUM OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON PRODUCTION PROPAGANDA . . . . .	238
ADDENDA TO DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) PLENUM CONCERNING THE ORGANISATION OF A SPECIAL PRODUCTION ORGAN . . . . .	238
<i>THE EIGHTH ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF SOVIETS. Decem- ber 22-29, 1920</i> . . . . .	239
1. REPLY TO THE DEBATE ON THE REPORT ON CONCESSIONS DELIVERED TO THE R.C.P.(B.) GROUP AT THE EIGHTH CONGRESS OF SOVIETS, <i>December 21</i> . . . . .	239
2. SPEECH TO THE R.C.P.(B.) GROUP AT THE EIGHTH CONGRESS OF SOVIETS DURING THE DEBATE ON THE REPORT OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS CONCERNING HOME AND FOREIGN POLICIES, <i>December 22</i> . . . . .	248
3. SPEECH ON ADDENDA TO THE BILL OF THE C.P.C. "ON MEASURES TO CONSOLIDATE AND DEVELOP PEASANT FARMING" DELIVERED TO THE R.C.P. GROUP OF THE EIGHTH CONGRESS OF SOVIETS, <i>December 27</i> . . . . .	257
4. REPLY TO QUESTIONS AT THE MEETING OF THE R.C.P. GROUP OF THE EIGHTH CONGRESS OF SOVIETS, <i>December 27</i> . . . . .	262

5. ADDENDA TO THE RESOLUTION ON THE AGRRARIAN QUESTION. . . . .	267
TO N. N. KRESTINSKY FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) . . . . .	267
DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE PLENUM OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR AGRI- CULTURE . . . . .	268
DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE PLENUM OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON GEORGIA . . . . .	268
DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE LETTER OF TSEKTRAN OFFI- CIALS . . . . .	269
ROUGH DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE C.P.C. ON OIL CONCES- SIONS . . . . .	269
DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE C.P.C. ON CHECKING FUL- FILMENT BY THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIATS OF THE DECIS- SIONS AND ASSIGNMENTS OF THE C.L.D. AND THE C.P.C.	270
AMENDMENTS AND ADDENDA TO THE DECISION OF THE C.L.D. ON COPING WITH THE FUEL CRISIS . . . . .	270
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE IMPORT PLAN	271
DRAFT OF THE MAIN POINT OF THE C.L.D. DECISION ON THE GENERAL PLANNING COMMISSION . . . . .	271
SPEECH AT A MEETING OF MOSCOW PARTY ACTIVISTS. <i>February 24, 1921</i> . . . . .	272
NOTES ON THE QUESTION OF MOBILISING RAW MATERIAL RESOURCES . . . . .	275
DECISION OF THE COUNCIL OF LABOUR AND DEFENCE ON IMPROVING THE SUPPLY OF THE WORKERS . . . . .	277
PLAN OF A LETTER TO THE BAKU COMRADES . . . . .	277
NOTES ON ELECTRIFICATION . . . . .	280
1 . . . . .	280
2 . . . . .	280
ADDENDUM TO THE DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON AN OBLIGATORY SCIENCE MINIMUM IN THE HIGHER SCHOOLS . . . . .	281
<i>THE TENTH CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P.(B.), March 8-16, 1921</i>	281
1. OUTLINE OF A SPEECH AT A MEETING OF SUP- PORTERS OF THE "PLATFORM OF TEN". . . . .	281
2. REMARK ON THE AMENDMENT OF RAFAIL (R. B. FARBMAN) TO THE RESOLUTION ON PARTY UNITY, <i>March 16</i> . . . . .	282
3. REMARK ON KISELYOV'S SPEECH CONCERNING THE RESOLUTION ON PARTY UNITY, <i>March 16</i> . . . . .	283
4. REMARK ON MARCHENKO'S AMENDMENT TO THE RESOLUTION ON THE ANARCHIST AND SYN- DICALIST DEVIATION, <i>March 16</i> . . . . .	283
MOTION AT THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) CONCERNING THE DRAFT DECISION FOR THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON THE ABOLITION OF MONETARY TAXES . . . . .	284

DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON PURVEYANCE IN TAMBOV GUBERNIA . . . . .	284
<i>MEETING OF THE COMMUNIST GROUP OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS, April 11, 1921</i>	285
1. REJOINDER DURING THE DEBATE . . . . .	285
2. REPLY TO THE DEBATE ON THE REPORT ON CONCESSIONS . . . . .	285
APPLICATIONS FOR FOREIGN TRADE ORDERS. <i>Draft Resolution for the C.P.C.</i> . . . . .	297
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE COUNCIL OF LABOUR AND DEFENCE ON "ALGEMBA" . . . . .	297
ADDENDUM TO THE DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF AGRICULTURAL MACHINES" . . . . .	298
DRAFT OF A LETTER OF THE C. C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE ATTITU- DUDE TO NON-PARTY WORKERS . . . . .	298
SPEECH AT A MEETING OF COMMUNISTS AND CANDIDATE MEMBERS OF THE R.C.P.(B.) OF THE KREMLIN AREA. MAY 2, 1921. ( <i>From the Minutes</i> ) . . . . .	299
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.). . . . .	300
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON MEASURES FOR ACHIEVING CONCENTRA- TION OF PRODUCTION . . . . .	301
PLAN OF A SPEECH AT A MEETING OF THE COMMUNIST GROUP OF THE FOURTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS . . . . .	302
PROPOSALS TO THE DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) PLENUM ON CLAUSE 13 OF THE PARTY PRO- GRAMME . . . . .	302
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.L.D. ON LOCAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCES, ON REPORTING AND ON COMPLYING WITH THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE C.L.D. . . . .	303
DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) . . . . .	305
REMARKS CONCERNING THE WORK PLAN OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) . . . . .	306
PLAN OF A SPEECH AT THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS . . . . .	307
TO THE MINER COMRADES OF THE PETROVSKOYE IN- DUSTRIAL GROUP . . . . .	308
<i>TENTH ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF THE R.C.P.(B.). May 26-28, 1921</i> . . . . .	309
1. STATEMENT CONCERNING THE AGENDA, <i>May 26</i>	309
2. SPEECHES DURING THE DEBATE OF THE MOTION ON QUESTIONS OF THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY, <i>May 28</i> . . . . .	309
1 . . . . .	309
2 . . . . .	310
3 . . . . .	311
4 . . . . .	311
5 . . . . .	312
6 . . . . .	312
7 . . . . .	312

---

TO ALL PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS AND TO THE CHIEF OF THE CENTRAL STATISTICAL BOARD . . . . .	313
BRIEF MONTHLY EXTRACTS FROM REPORTS . . . . .	314
PROPOSALS ON A CHECK-UP AND PURGE OF THE R.C.P.(B.)	315
<i>THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. June 22-July 12, 1921</i> . . . . .	316
1. LETTER TO O. W. KUUSINEN AND REMARKS ON THE DRAFT "THESES ON THE ORGANISATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES, ON THE METHODS AND CONTENT OF THEIR WORK . . . . .	316
2. LETTER TO O. W. KUUSINEN AND W. KOENEN . . . . .	318
3. REMARKS ON THE DRAFT THESES ON TACTICS FOR THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. <i>Letter to G. Y. Zinoviev.</i> . . . .	319
4. MOTION ON THE DRAFT THESES ON TACTICS . . . . .	324
5. SPEECHES AT A MEETING OF MEMBERS OF THE GERMAN, POLISH, CZECHOSLOVAK, HUNGARIAN AND ITALIAN DELEGATIONS, <i>July 11</i> . . . . .	324
1 . . . . .	324
2 . . . . .	327
3 . . . . .	328
ADDENDA TO THE DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON COLLECTIVE PAY FOR EMPLOYEES OF STATE INSTITUTIONS . . . . .	329
Point "A" . . . . .	329
Point "D" . . . . .	329
MOTION TO THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON BONUSES FOR ENTERPRISES . . . . .	329
NOTES ON MEASURES FOR COMBATING FAMINE AND STEPPING UP ECONOMIC WORK . . . . .	330
RE DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE ORGANISATION OF COMMODITY EXCHANGE BY CENTROSOYUZ . . . . .	332
MOTION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.). . . . .	332
PROPOSALS TO F. E. DZERZHINSKY'S CONCLUSIONS ON THE STATE OF TRANSPORT . . . . .	333
LETTER TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV AND INSTRUCTIONS TO THE SECRETARY . . . . .	333
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE INSPECTION OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOREIGN TRADE . . . . .	336
MOTION TO THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON BRINGING UNGERN TO TRIAL . . . . .	336
A NOTE TO E. VARGA AND THESES ON THE ORGANISATION OF AN INFORMATION INSTITUTE ON QUESTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MOVEMENT . . . . .	337
TO E. VARGA . . . . .	339
DECISION OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON KEEPING A RECORD OF WORKERS' DONATIONS IN EUROPE. <i>September 2, 1921</i> . . . . .	340

A NOTE TO V. M. MOLOTOV AND A DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON NOULENS' NOTE . . . . .	340
ADDENDUM TO THE DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON DIRECTIVES TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOOD . . . . .	341
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON SPENDING FROM THE GOLD FUND . . . . .	342
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE FREE SALE OF BOOKS FROM MOSCOW WAREHOUSE STOCKS . . . . .	342
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) . . . . .	343
A NOTE TO V. M. MOLOTOV WITH A MOTION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) . . . . .	343
A LETTER TO V. V. KUIBYSHEV AND A DRAFT ENGAGEMENT FOR WORKERS GOING TO RUSSIA FROM AMERICA . . . . .	344
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE QUESTION OF THE FAR-EASTERN REPUBLIC . . . . .	345
RE DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) PLENUM . . . . .	346
DRAFT DIRECTIVES FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE ALLOTMENT OF LANDS FOR SUGAR-BEET CULTIVATION IN THE UKRAINE . . . . .	346
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON SOCIAL INSURANCE . . . . .	347
NOTES ON YUGOSTAL . . . . .	347
A NOTE TO V. M. MOLOTOV WITH A DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE QUESTION OF AN AGREEMENT WITH THE RUTGERS GROUP . . . . .	348
A LETTER TO POLITBUREAU MEMBERS WITH A DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) AND THE COUNCIL OF LABOUR AND DEFENCE ON THE QUESTION OF RUTGERS' PROPOSALS . . . . .	350
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON ASSIGNING A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV TO FOOD SUPPLY WORK . . . . .	350
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) . . . . .	351
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE SETTING UP OF A SINGLE COMMISSION ON CONCESSIONS . . . . .	351
A NOTE TO V. M. MIKHAILOV WITH A DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE QUESTION OF AN AGREEMENT WITH THE RUTGERS GROUP . . . . .	352
PROPOSALS TO THE TEXT OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT WITH THE A.R.A. ON THE ORGANISATION OF FOOD PARCELS TO RUSSIA . . . . .	353
A LETTER TO THE POLISH COMMUNISTS . . . . .	354
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) . . . . .	355
DRAFT DECISION FOR C.L.D. ON FOWLER PLOUGHS . . . . .	356

DECISION OF THE C.L.D. ON THE QUESTION OF REPORTS AND DIAGRAMS FOR THE C.L.D. <i>October 21, 1921</i> . . . . .	356
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE MANAGEMENT OF THE COTTON INDUSTRY . . . . .	357
PLAN OF AN ARTICLE "COMMERCIAL ORGANISATION" . . . . .	357
DRAFT DECISIONS FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE FINANCIAL PLAN AND PLAN OF EMISSION FOR 1922 . . . . .	359
1 . . . . .	359
2 . . . . .	359
TALK WITH A DELEGATION OF THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC. <i>November 5, 1921</i> . . . . .	360
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) . . . . .	361
A NOTE TO V. M. MIKHAILOV WITH A DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) . . . . .	362
A NOTE TO V. M. MIKHAILOV WITH A DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON FOOD SUPPLY WORK IN THE UKRAINE . . . . .	362
RE DRAFT DECREE "ON PENALTIES FOR FALSE DENUNCIATIONS" . . . . .	363
REMARKS ON THE DRAFT DECREE "ON THE INTRODUCTION OF PAYMENT FOR NEWSPAPERS" . . . . .	363
A NOTE TO V. M. MOLOTOV WITH A MOTION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) . . . . .	364
A LETTER TO A. D. TSYURUPA WITH A DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND A NOTE TO THE MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF C.C., R.C.P.(B.) . . . . .	365
ROUGH DRAFT OF A DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE VECHEKA. . . . .	366
DRAFT DECISION OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE TACTICS OF THE UNITED FRONT . . . . .	367
DRAFT DECISION OF THE C.L.D. ON THE COMMISSION FOR THE UTILISATION OF MATERIAL RESOURCES . . . . .	367
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) . . . . .	368
REMARKS TO THE THESES ON A UNITED FRONT . . . . .	368
LETTER TO THE PROPAGANDA AND ACTION COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLES OF THE EAST . . . . .	369
COMMENTS ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE ELEVENTH CONFERENCE OF THE R.C.P.(B.) ON THE PARTY PURGE . . . . .	369
SPEECHES AT A MEETING OF NON-PARTY DELEGATES TO THE NINTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS. <i>December 26, 1921</i> . . . . .	370
1 . . . . .	370
2 . . . . .	371
3 . . . . .	373

DRAFT THESE ON THE ROLE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE TRADE UNIONS UNDER THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY . . . . .	374
1. The New Economic Policy and the Trade Unions . . . . .	375
2. State Capitalism in the Proletarian State and the Trade Unions . . . . .	375
3. The State Enterprises That Are Being Put on a Profit Basis and the Trade Unions . . . . .	376
4. The Essential Difference Between the Class Struggle of the Proletariat in a State Which Recognises Private Ownership of the Land, Factories, Etc., and Where Political Power Is in the Hands of the Capitalist Class, and the Class Struggle of the Proletariat in a State Which Does Not Recognise Private Ownership of the Land and the Majority of the Large Enterprises and Where Political Power Is in the Hands of the Proletariat . . . . .	376
5. Reversion to Voluntary Trade Union Membership . . . . .	378
6. The Trade Unions and the Management of Industry . . . . .	378
7. The Role and Functions of the Trade Unions in the Business and Administrative Organisations of the Proletarian State . . . . .	379
8. Contact with the Masses—the Fundamental Condition for All Trade Union Activity . . . . .	381
9. The Contradictions in the Status of the Trade Unions Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat . . . . .	382
10. The Trade Unions and the Specialists . . . . .	383
11. The Trade Unions and Petty-Bourgeois Influences on the Working Class . . . . .	385
MEMO TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) WITH DRAFT DECISIONS . . . . .	386
MOTION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON ALLOCATION OF FUNDS TO THE NIZHNI-NOVGOROD RADIO LABORATORY . . . . .	387
DIRECTIVES ON THE FILM BUSINESS . . . . .	388
MOTION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON M. I. KALININ'S TRIP TO THE UKRAINE . . . . .	389
MOTION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) DRAFT DIRECTIVES TO THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN AND ALL MEMBERS OF THE GENOA DELEGATION . . . . .	390
LETTER TO N. I. BUKHARIN AND G. Y. ZINOVIEV . . . . .	393
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) IN CONNECTION WITH THE GENOA CONFERENCE ON THE PUBLICATION OF A TELEGRAM REPORTING THE PAMPHLET BY PARVUS . . . . .	395
1 . . . . .	395
2. Decision of the Politbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.), <i>March 11, 1922</i> . . . . .	396

DRAFT DIRECTIVES OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) FOR THE SOVIET DELEGATION TO THE GENOA CONFERENCE . . . . .	396
MEMO TO V. M. MOLOTOV WITH A MOTION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) . . . . .	398
MARKS ON N. L. MESHCHERYAKOV'S LETTER AND A DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) . . . . .	399
LETTER TO MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) WITH REMARKS TO THE DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE FIRST EXTENDED PLENARY MEETING OF THE COMINTERN EXECUTIVE ON PARTICIPATION IN A CONFERENCE OF THE THREE INTERNATIONALS . . . . .	400
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE TASKS OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION AT GENOA . . . . .	401
MEMO TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) WITH A DRAFT DECISION ON THE NOTE TO ITALY . . . . .	404
AMENDMENTS AND REMARKS TO THE DRAFT REGULATIONS ON THE NARROW C.P.C. . . . .	405
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE SWEDISH LOAN . . . . .	405
LETTER TO MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) WITH PROPOSALS ON THE DRAFT DIRECTIVES OF THE COMINTERN EXECUTIVE FOR THE COMINTERN DELEGATION TO THE CONFERENCE OF THE THREE INTERNATIONALS . . . . .	406
LETTER TO THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) WITH A DRAFT OF DIRECTIVES TO COMRADES TRAVELLING	407
LETTER TO THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) . . . .	408
NOTE TO N. P. GORBUNOV AND PROPOSALS ON THE QUESTION OF THE CO-OPERATIVES . . . . .	409
AMENDMENTS AND REMARKS TO THE DRAFT DECLARATION OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION AT THE GENOA CONFERENCE . . . . .	410
<i>ELEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P.(B.). March 27-April 2, 1922 . . . . .</i>	<i>411</i>
1. PROPOSAL TO THE DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE REPORT OF THE R.C.P.(B.) DELEGATION IN THE COMINTERN . . . . .	411
2. SPEECH ON THE QUESTION OF PRINTING ADVERTISEMENTS IN <i>PRAVDA</i> , April 2 . . . . .	411
3. NOTES AT THE CONGRESS MEETING, April 2	412
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE PLENUM OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON ORGANISING THE WORK OF THE SECRETARIAT . . . . .	413
NOTES TO THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) WITH DRAFT DECISIONS . . . . .	413
1 . . . . .	413
2 . . . . .	414

REMARKS AND PROPOSALS TO THE DRAFT DECISION FOR THE COMINTERN EXECUTIVE FOLLOWING THE CONFERENCE OF THE THREE INTERNATIONALS, <i>Letters to G. Y. Zinoviev</i>	415
1. . . . .	415
2. . . . .	416
INTERVIEW WITH THE CORRESPONDENT OF <i>THE NEW YORK HERALD</i> . . . . .	417
DECISION OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE PUBLICATION OF THE WORKS OF G. V. PLEKHANOV. <i>April 27, 1922</i> . . . . .	417
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON PRESENTATION TO THE C.C. OF SUMMARISED INFORMATION CONCERNING THE TAX IN KIND. . . . .	418
NOTE TO J. V. STALIN WITH A DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE QUESTION OF THE FOREIGN TRADE MONOPOLY . . . . .	418
ADDENDUM TO THE DRAFT PREAMBLE TO THE CRIMINAL CODE OF THE R.S.F.S.R. AND A LETTER TO D. I. KURSKY . . . . .	419
LETTER TO THE SECRETARIAT OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE QUESTION OF REDUCING THE RED ARMY . . . . .	420
LETTER TO J. V. STALIN FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) WITH A DRAFT DECISION ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA C.E.C. . . . .	420
TO THE FIRST CONGRESS OF WORKING WOMEN OF TRANSCAUCASIA . . . . .	421
ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE U.S.S.R. <i>Letter to L. B. Kamenev for Members of the Politbureau</i> . . . . .	421
TO THE CONGRESS OF TEXTILE WORKERS . . . . .	423
ADDENDA TO THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT WITH L. URQUHART . . . . .	424
THESES ON THE CO-OPERATIVE BANK . . . . .	424
TO THE TEXTILE WORKERS OF PETROGRAD . . . . .	425
MOTION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE REDUCTION OF THE ARMY . . . . .	425
TO THE RUSSIAN COLONY IN NORTH AMERICA . . . . .	425
DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE COMINTERN ON THE QUESTION OF THE PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL . . . . .	427
PROPOSALS FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF FUNCTIONS BETWEEN THE DEPUTY CHAIRMEN OF THE C.P.C. AND THE C.L.D. . . . .	428
RE DRAFT PROPOSAL FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE REPORT OF THE STATE SUPPLIES COMMISSION. . . . .	429
PROPOSAL FOR THE PLENUM REGARDING THE POLITBUREAU STANDING ORDER . . . . .	429
PROPOSALS CONCERNING THE WORK ROUTINE OF THE DEPUTY CHAIRMEN AND THE CHAIRMAN OF THE C.P.C. . . . .	430

LETTER TO L. B. KAMENEV, A. I. RYKOV AND A. D. TSYURUPA ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF WORK BETWEEN THE DEPUTY CHAIRMEN OF THE C.P.C. AND THE C.L.D. . . .	432
<i>MATERIALS TO THE ARTICLE "HOW WE SHOULD REORGANISE THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS INSPECTION"</i>	433
1. PLAN OF AN ARTICLE "WHAT SHOULD WE DO WITH THE W.P.I.?" . . . . .	433
2. WHAT SHOULD WE DO WITH THE W.P.I.? . . . . .	435
WHAT SHOULD WE DO WITH THE W.P.I.? ( <i>Continuation</i> ) . . . . .	437
WHAT SHOULD WE DO WITH THE W.P.I.? ( <i>Continuation</i> ) . . . . .	439

## APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR DELEGATES OF THE NINTH CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P. (BOLSHEVIKS) . . . . .	443
REREGISTRATION FORM FOR MEMBERS OF THE MOSCOW ORGANISATION OF THE R.C.P.(B.) . . . . .	445
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR DELEGATES OF THE NINTH ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF THE R.C.P. (BOLSHEVIKS) . . . . .	449
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR DELEGATES OF THE TENTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P. . . . .	450
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR DELEGATES OF THE ELEVENTH ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF THE R.C.P. (BOLSHEVIKS) . . . . .	455
ALL-RUSSIA CENSUS FORM FOR MEMBERS OF THE R.C.P.(B.) . . . . .	457
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR DELEGATES OF THE ELEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P. (BOLSHEVIKS) . . . . .	462
JOURNAL OF LENIN'S DUTY SECRETARIES. <i>November 21, 1922-March 6, 1923</i> . . . . .	463
<i>Notes</i> . . . . .	495
<i>Name Index</i> . . . . .	623



