

## Contents of Volume 12

*Preface* XI

THE RIGHT DEVIATION IN THE C.P.S.U.(B.). *Speech Delivered at the Plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the C.P.S.U.(B.) in April 1929. (Verbatim Report)* 1

- I. One Line or Two Lines? 3
- II. Class Changes and Our Disagreements 11
- III. Disagreements in Regard to the Comintern 21
- IV. Disagreements in Regard to Internal Policy 29
  - a) The Class Struggle 30
  - b) The Intensification of the Class Struggle 37
  - c) The Peasantry 42
  - d) NEP and Market Relations 46
  - e) The So-Called “Tribute” 52
  - f) The Rate of Development of Industry and the New Forms of the Bond 60
  - g) Bukharin as a Theoretician 72
  - h) A Five-Year Plan or a Two-Year Plan 84
  - i) The Question of the Crop Area 87
  - j) Grain Procurements 91
  - k) Foreign Currency Reserves and Grain Imports 98
- V. Questions of Party Leadership 101
  - a) The Factionalism of Bukharin’s Group 102
  - b) Loyalty and Collective Leadership 104
  - c) The Fight Against the Right Deviation 109
- VI. Conclusions 112

EMULATION AND LABOUR ENTHUSIASM OF THE MASSES. *Foreword to E. Mikulina’s Pamphlet “Emulation of the Masses”* 114

TO COMRADE FELIX KON. *Copy to Comrade Kolotilov, Secretary, Regional Bureau of the Central Committee, Ivanovo-Voznesensk Region* 118

TO THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF THE UKRAINE ON ITS TENTH ANNIVERSARY 122

ENTRY IN THE LOG-BOOK OF THE CRUISER “CHERVONA UKRAINA” 123

A YEAR OF GREAT CHANGE. *On the Occasion of the Twelfth Anniversary of the October Revolution* 124

- I. In the Sphere of Productivity of Labour 125
- II. In the Sphere of Industrial Construction 127
- III. In the Sphere of Agricultural Development 131
- Conclusions 141

TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE NEWSPAPER TREVOGA, ORGAN OF THE SPECIAL FAR EASTERN ARMY 142

A NECESSARY CORRECTION 143

TO ALL ORGANISATIONS AND COMRADES WHO SENT GREETINGS ON THE OCCASION OF COMRADE STALIN’S FIFTIETH BIRTHDAY 146

CONCERNING QUESTIONS OF AGRARIAN POLICY IN THE U.S.S.R. *Speech Delivered at a Conference of Marxist Students of Agrarian Questions, December 27, 1929* 147

- I. The Theory of “Equilibrium” 149

- II. The Theory of “Spontaneity” in Socialist Construction 153
- III. The Theory of the “Stability” of Small-Peasant Farming 155
- IV. Town and Country 162
- V. The Nature of Collective Farms 167
- VI. The Class Changes and the Turn in the Party’s Policy 172
- VII. Conclusions 177

LETTER TO A. M. GORKY 179

CONCERNING THE POLICY OF ELIMINATING THE KULAKS AS A CLASS 184

REPLY TO THE SVERDLOV COMRADES 190

- I. The Sverdlov Students’ Questions 190
- II. Comrade Stalin’s Reply 192

DIZZY WITH SUCCESS. *Concerning Questions of the Collective-Farm Movement* 197

LETTER TO COMRADE BEZYMENSKY 206

REPLY TO COLLECTIVE-FARM COMRADES 207

TO THE FIRST GRADUATES OF THE INDUSTRIAL ACADEMY 235

REPLY TO COMRADE M. RAFAIL. (*Regional Trade-Union Council, Leningrad.*) *Copy to Comrade Kirov, Secretary Regional Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.)* 237

AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY WORKS, ROSTOV 240

TRACTOR WORKS, STALINGRAD 241

POLITICAL REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO THE SIXTEENTH CONGRESS OF THE C.P.S.U.(B.), *June 27, 1930* 242

- I. The Growing Crisis of World Capitalism and the External Situation of the U.S.S.R. 242
  - 1. The World Economic Crisis 244
  - 2. The Intensification of the Contradictions of Capitalism 254
  - 3. The Relations Between the U.S.S.R. and the Capitalist States 262
- II. The Increasing Advance of Socialist Construction and the Internal Situation in the U.S.S.R. 269
  - 1. The Growth of the National Economy as a Whole 270
  - 2. Successes in Industrialisation 272
  - 3. The Key Position of Socialist Industry and Its Rate of Growth 275
  - 4. Agriculture and the Grain Problem 282
  - 5. The Turn of the Peasantry Towards Socialism and the Rate of Development of State Farms and Collective Farms 288
  - 6. The Improvement in the Material and Cultural Conditions of the Workers and Peasants 299
  - 7. Difficulties of Growth the Class Struggle and the Offensive of Socialism Along the Whole Front 309
  - 8. The Capitalist or the Socialist System of Economy 326
  - 9. The Next Tasks 334
    - a) General 334
    - b) Industry 341
    - c) Agriculture 342
    - d) Transport 347
- III. The Party 348
  - 1. Questions of the Guidance of Socialist Construction 352

- 2. Questions of the Guidance of Inner-Party Affairs 362

*Notes* 386

*Biographical Chronicle (April 1929-June 1930)* 400