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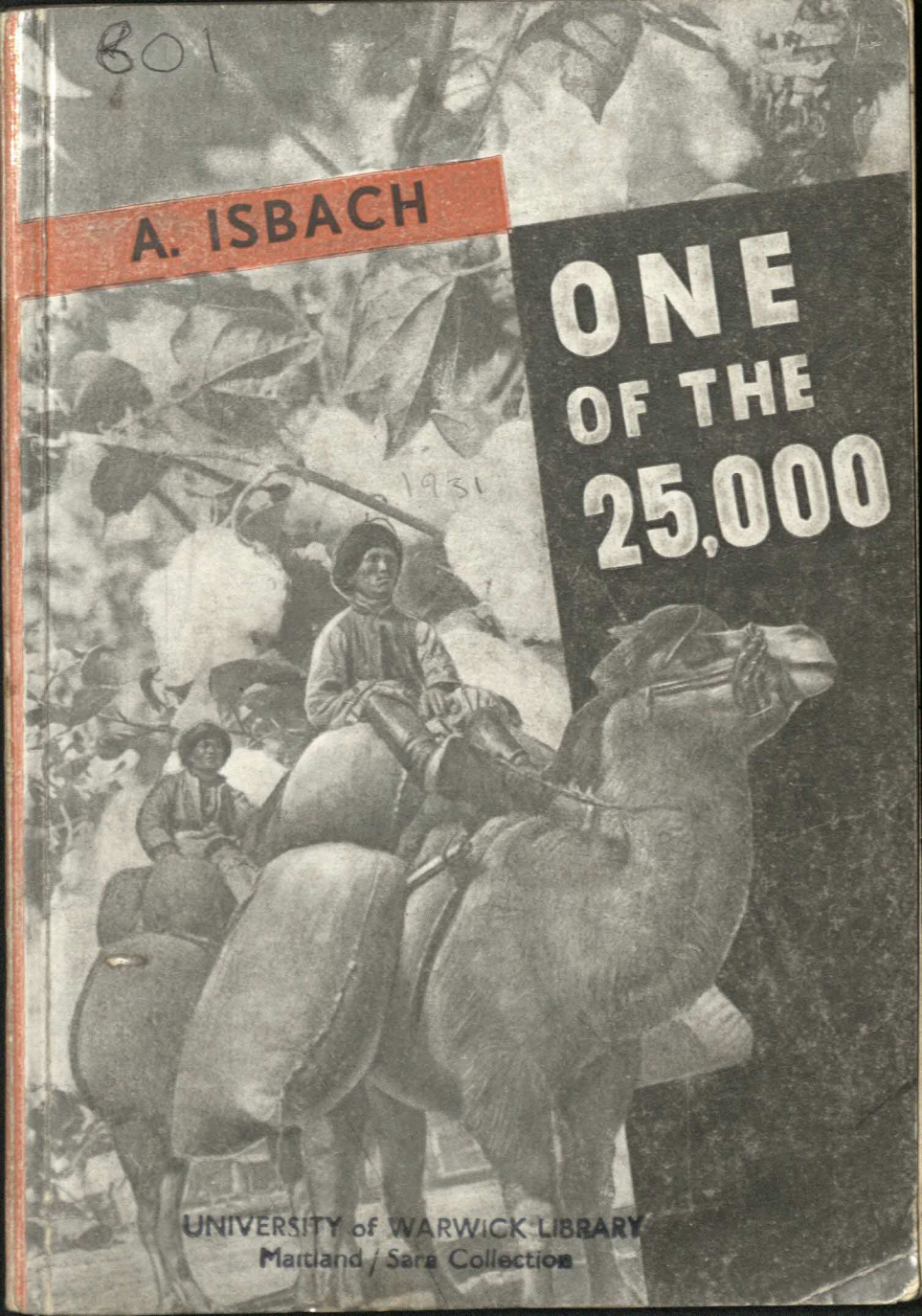
A. ISBACH

ONE OF THE 25,000

1931



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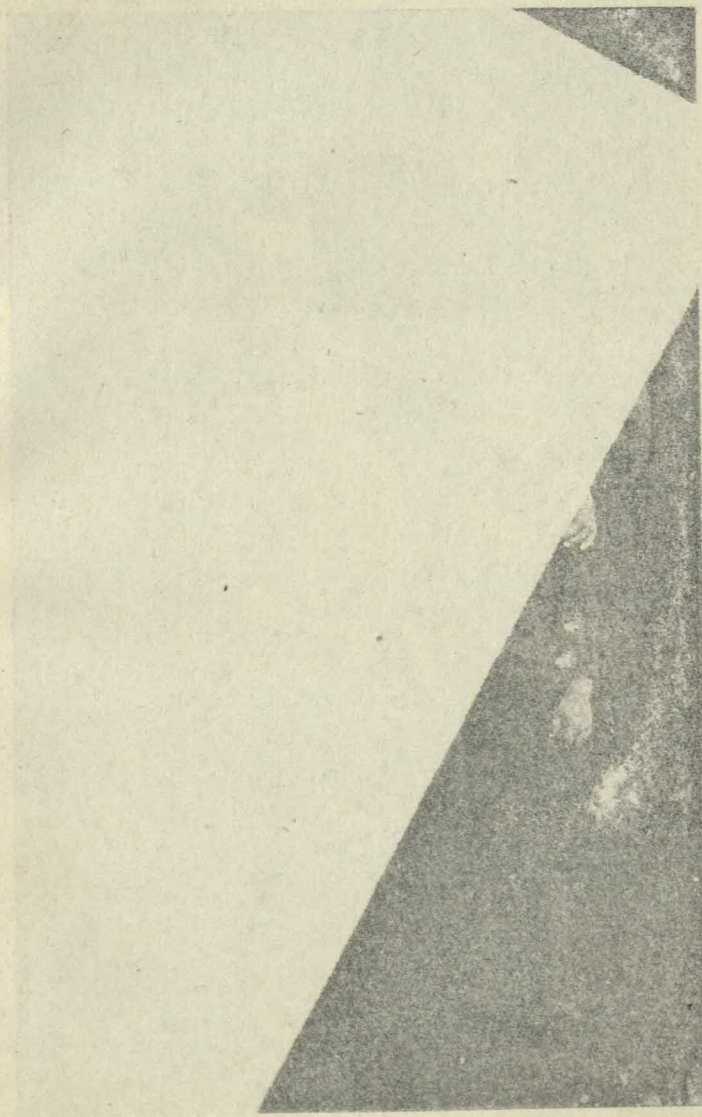

Gregory Indjevatkin with his wife a

Gregory Indjevatkin with his wife and children.

ONE OF THE

25,000

A. ISBACH

CO-OPERATIVE PUBLISHING SOCIETY OF FOREIGN WORKERS IN THE U.S.S.R. MOSCOW 1931

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FOREWORD

On January 25, 1930, thirteen workers from the Moskvoretskaya factory were sent on an important and serious mission — to help reconstruct the agricultural system in the USSR on socialist lines.

"We are sending you on this mission to fight in the class struggle," said the workers, and those who were being sent promised, in the presence of all the workers of the factory, to bring to the peasant masses all the experience and all the hardiness which they had acquired in the factory. Of the thirteen, nine were sent to Kazakstan and Kirghizia, in distant Asia.

One of the nine was Gregory Indjevatkin, formerly an agricultural labourer, and at that time a fitter, and a Bolshevik.

At first, Indjevatkin and the other comrades came up against numerous difficulties, but Indjevatkin did not shrink before any of them.

Indjevatkin fought against the bais (kulaks) and basmaches (bandits). He struggled desperately with the stupid inefficient workers, with those who lost their heads and failed to take into account the local, national conditions and deviated more and more from the line of the Party in the question of collective farm building.

Indjevatkin was not in any way different from the rest of the "25,000". He was no "hero". He was only a rank

and file Bolshevik. He calmly and efficiently carried out his task in the village — the task for which he was sent by the Party.

And he as a Bolshevik fell a victim — murdered by the savage hand of a bai.

Many tales and novels could be written about Indjevatkin, and about thousands of Indjevatkins. Novels about rank and file Bolsheviks who are fighting in the front lines of the class war have yet to appear. They must and will appear.

And it is very likely that the letters of Gregory Indjevatkin, the letters of the Communist nucleus of his factory, and the letters of his comrades will serve as material for these novels.

No. 1

MINUTES

Of the Meeting of the Moskvoretskaya Textile Workers, January 25, 1930.

Presidium:

Bobkova, Murov, Probylova, Kasatkin, Loginova, Belov, Tetyukhina.

Agenda:

1. To send the following comrades to work on the collective farms: Rodichev, Bedov, Smirnov, Kuryatnikov, Savikin, Kopylov, Sdobnov, Shalayev, Kasatkin, Gorchakov, Nikiforov, Indjevatkin, Koptyugov.

2. Report on the collectivisation of agriculture and the spring sowing campaign.

3. Comrade Orlovsky says that the Party and the proletariat are now adopting a new socialist form of agriculture. The middle and poor peasant have joined the collective farms *en masse*. But the kulak opposes the proletariat and the peasantry and tries to disorganise the collective farms in every conceivable way. Today we are sending comrades to the rural districts to carry out the policy of the Party; we are laying tremendous responsibilities on them.

Discussion:

Comrade Bobkova: We are sending comrades for permanent work on the organisation of collective farms

in the rural districts and hope that these comrades will perform the duties imposed on them and that they will, at the same time, maintain close contact with our factory. We, for our part, pledge ourselves to help them in their work and in their difficulties.

Comrade Bedov: We are going to direct the work of organising collective farms. We are going to organise the peasants who have not yet joined the collective farms and give them the leadership they need in order to raise the level of our agriculture.

Comrade Indjevatkin: The Party and the Soviet Government have mobilised 25,000 workers for the organisation of collective farms. The job entrusted to us is a difficult one but we must carry it out, we must finish it and prove that our journey was worth while. We are going to cotton-growing regions, cotton which we need so much and which our factory particularly needs.

Comrade Murov: We are arranging a very important social evening as a send-off to our comrades who are going into the rural districts to organise collective farms and destroy the kulak as a class. The comrades sent from our factory must fulfill the will of Lenin. The comrades we are sending are members of the Party and we must recruit the best workers in our factory to take their places.

Resolved that we, workers and collective farm workers, sent by the Moskvoretskaya factory to work on the collective farms, take an active part in developing socialist construction, in liquidating the kulak as an element hostile to us. We shall take all necessary measures to organise the spring sowing campaign and the further development of the collective farm movement.

We pledge ourselves to maintain contact with our factory and call upon the workers who are remaining to do their share in maintaining this contact, to improve the productivity of labour and to hold aloft the banner of Communism.

(Signed) Chairman.
(Signed) Secretary.

No. 2

BIOGRAPHY OF ONE OF THE 25,000 — COMRADE INDJEVATKIN

Comrade Indjevatkin was born in 1889, in the Samara Gubernia, Pugachev District, Solyan Volost. He went to work when he was thirteen years old. From 1911 to 1913 he was an agricultural labourer on the estate of a big landlord. From 1913 to 1917 he was apprenticed to a fitter and worked at that trade from 1917 to 1918.

From 1918 to 1923 he was in the army and served in the miltary auto transport detachment 32, A. G. O. He then went to the Moskvoretskaya factory where he worked until February, 1930. He was then mobilised by the Party to work on the organisation of collective farms.

Comrade Indjevatkin joined the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1924, during the first Lenin enrollment. He carried out various tasks assigned to him by the Party. He worked in the Nucleus Bureau of the CPSU, was attached to the Young Communist League, was in charge of the agitation-propaganda work of the nucleus of the CPSU; was secretary of the editorial board of the factory paper, and also carried out a number of jobs assigned to him by the Party nucleus. In February,

1930, the CPSU nucleus sent him as one of the "25,000" to work for the collectivisation of agriculture.

Secretary of the Moskvoretskaya Factory Nucleus of the CPSU, Murov.

No. 3

FIRST LETTER

Greetings to the Moskvoretskaya Factory Workers!

Dear Comrades:

We arrived after a seven days' journey and today we are in the town of Osh, Kirghiz ASSR. We spent three days in town and now we are starting off for the districts on practical work. The work has been divided among the nine of us in the following manner: Sdobnov — vice-chairman of the Budyenny collective farm; Koptyugov — manager of the collective farm; Smirnov — vice-chairman of the second collective farm; Rodichev — instructor of the District Credit Union; Bedov — vice-chairman of the Grain Co-operative Union; Kuryatnikov — vice-chairman of the District Cattle-breeding Union: Indjevatkin — assistant director of the MTS.

That is the work of each individual comrade. All of us are new to the work but for all that, we shall do our best to get it done properly. The main lines of production in this region are grain, cotton and cattle-breeding. We are now concentrating all our attention on the sowing campaign. For the time being that is all. In our next letter we shall write in greater detail about the principles of our work, of the tasks we are faced with and the situation in this region.

Yours,

(Nine signatures) Feb. 10, 1930

Address: Kirghiz ASSR, Osh District, Uzgen; for the Moskvoretskaya Factory Workers.

No. 4

LETTER FROM THE FACTORY COMMITTEE, FEB. 28, 1930

Dear Comrades:

We have received letters from all the comrades who were sent to the collective farms, with the exception of Shalayev and Gorchakov.

Judging by the letters, it seems that the work is new and difficult for all of you, but the organisation which sent you to do this work hopes that you will be able to cope with it and that you will carry out the correct line.

Life in our factory is concentrated around the fulfillment of the financial-industrial plan. There has been some noticeable improvement for the first half of the second quarter, but it is not enough. The plan has been fulfilled 111 per cent in the dyeing department as against 70 per cent in the first quarter, and 36 per cent as against 76 per cent in the weaving department. Cost of production decreased by 17 per cent. The first quarter, there was a decrease of only 4 per cent.

Comrade Murov, sent by the district committee to replace Comrade Gerasimov, is now working here as secretary of the CPSU Nucleus. Comrade Seleznev has taken Nikova's place as secretary and chairman of the industrial commission. They are growing accustomed to the work and have shown themselves equal to it. The others continue to work as formerly. We are now preparing for elections of the Bureau of the Party Nucleus and the Factory Committee. All work will be reorganised on the basis of sectors and on the principle of "closer to production".

Write us of all your difficulties. We can assist you and send you help if it is necessary.

With comradely greetings,

Chairman of the Factory Committee
(Signature).
Secretary of the CPSU Nucleus
(Signature).

No. 5

ACROSS THOUSANDS OF KILOMETRES

(Letter from Indjevatkin to the Workers of the Moskvoretskaya Factory)

Bazar-Kurgan District
Village of Sakaldy,
Central Asia, Feb. 16, 1930.

From G. P. Indjevatkin

Comradely greetings to the factory nucleus of the Communist Party, to the factory committee and to the managing staff of the Moskvoretskaya textile finishing factory. Dear Comrades, first of all I want to inform you about our safe arrival. All of us arrived in the Osh district of Southern Kirghizia, where we spent about eight days.

I was appointed by the District Party Committee to go to work in the Bazar-Kurgan District — a district which is entirely collectivised and is a purely cotton-growing district. I was appointed vice-director of the Machine and Tractor Station. At the station there were 65 tractors and nothing else. The station is just being organised and I arrived in the nick of time. There is an awful lot of work, particularly in the organisation of ploughing. Contracts are being drawn up for ploughing collectivised land; this is going very slowly. I am

judging by the facts I have observed here, although I have been here only two days. There is no Party Nucleus here in spite of the fact that there is a candidate group which does not function. There are 8 Communists, members of the Party, here, but for some reason or other a Communist nucleus has not been organised.

The chairman of the village Soviet here is a Kirghizian who does not understand a word of Russian, is ignorant and even illiterate in his native language. The preparations for collectivisation are moving very slowly; no explanatory work of any kind is carried on; the local Communists are absolutely illiterate, and, in general, education in the political field is on a very low level.

There is a tremendous lot of work to be done, but in order to do the work efficiently and with precision, one must know the local language; otherwise, it is very difficult to work here.

Now about conditions in general. Where I am at present there is a co-operative store where toilet waters, powder and much more useless stuff of the same kind is sold, but not a sign of places to feed at. There is a Red tea shop here where nothing but tea without sugar and a kind of bun which takes the place of bread is available. We have pockets full of money, but we go about hungry.

When I arrived at this aul (village), I began to make inquiries of the Communists and others as to how the work was going on among the local peasants, about a Communist nucleus, and about how the co-operative was working. To all these questions I received no answers. How I am going to work here I can't tell yet because I do not know yet how they propose to proceed with

the work, for up till now they have not decided on a definite line of organisation. In about two weeks I shall be able to inform you about results.

Now a word about the attitude towards us who have come from an industrial centre, and of whose arrival they knew perfectly well. The attitude is not always what it ought to be. For instance, they say to us, "This is how we are working here, you will work the same way too." In a word, an evasive attitude.

It is impossible for me to tell you everything in this letter. Now about the attitude of the Moscow comrades towards the local organisations. For example, a comrade from the Levers factory, who had been sent to a certain collective farm to work, came to the Organisation Bureau of the Osh Party Committee and said that he refused to go to this place. "I am a skilled worker," he said, "and you are sending me away to do some menial work when I can be utilised for responsible work. Besides, the wages are very low; in Moscow I was getting much more," etc. Finally he said, "I will not work here. I am going back to Moscow." This reveals the unhealthy attitude towards local conditions. Some comrades are only concerned about their personal interests.

This is all I can tell you the first time about our life here. If you have time, write me what you know about the work of the other comrades who were sent to other collective farms. Their experiences might serve as practical examples for our work.

My address: Central Asiatic R. R., City of Djalalabad. Bazar-Kurgan District, Sakaldy Village, Machine and Tractor Station.

Indjevatkin.

No. 6

LETTER TO HIS WIFE

Sakaldy Village (Central Asia)
February 15, 1930

Dear Wife and Children, Tosya and Zhenya,

How are you? I kiss and embrace you warmly. I want to tell you about the journey I have just made. The weather was warm and pleasant all the way from Moscow until we reached the Volga, but the further we traveled, the colder it grew. For two nights of the journey, from Orenburg to Aktyubinsk, it grew so cold that the trains were covered with hoar frost. We could not sleep for the cold. We passed through a wilderness which was bleak all around. For about 500 or 600 versts* there was nothing but sand and snow. A snow storm arose which blinded you if you went out on the platform of the car. After five days we came to Tashkent. We arrived during the night and spent that night in the train. The next day we were informed that the train would start again at nine o'clock that night. All the boys went out into the city. Koptyugov and I stayed to watch the things. And then, at eleven o'clock that morning, the train began to get ready to move on. We were assigned a car. It was twelve o'clock and not a single member of our group had returned. The train was to start in two and a half hours. Everybody had already taken their places and Koptyugov and I did not know what to do. We had so many things.

Should we get on the train and take only our own things with us? That would have been an uncomradely thing to do and so we decided to move over and take

* A verst is about two-thirds of a mile.

everything along with us. And we did. But everybody arrived just before the train pulled out, and so everything turned out all right. We met Russians more and more infrequently after we left Tashkent. The weather was warm and the snow was melting. We were able to buy fruits cheap. Kuryaga and raisins cost 25 kopeks a pound. After we reached our destination we had to go 24 versts by auto to reach Osh, where we put up temporarily. The local population and the representatives of the District Party Committee and of the Soviet Government met us with a band on the road to the city. We arrived in the city at 11 P. M. local time, 8 P. M. Moscow time. We were assigned special premises, bathed and spent a restful night in the city. The next morning we went to a local restaurant for breakfast. It was so warm that I did not even wear a coat. But on the following day there was such a frost and storm that we found the clothing with us inadequate. It was very cold. On the third day of our stay in Osh I had to buy a cotton quilt for 13 rubles.

This, briefly, is the story of our journey. From Osh I was sent to the Bazar-Kurgan Machine and Tractor Station, in the village of Sakaldy, to act as vice-director. I had to go some 50 versts by train and then 60 additional versts on horseback over high mountains in order to get there. The place is quite wild. I haven't started working yet at the place where I am now staying, but will shortly.

Zhenya, I could write much more but there isn't room for everything in this letter. But before I bring the letter to a close I want to tell you one thing — something very important. I miss you all very much. Kiss Tosya and Zhenya for me. I miss them very much.

I have one pleasure — to look at their photograph. I shall send you some money within a week, but I do not know how much it will be.

And now about the revolver. Talk it over with Fedor Yakovlevich. Pack it carefully and send it to my address.

No. 7

LETTER TO HIS COMRADES

Central Asia, Sakaldy,
Bazar-Kurgan District,
Osh, March 4, 1930.

Dear Comrades,

I was sent from Moscow to Central Asia, to the city of Osh, and from there to Bazar-Kurgan District, Sakaldy Village, to be vice-director at the Machine and Tractor Station. I arrived in this village on February 12, 1930.

The first thing I did was to acquaint myself with the state of the Machine and Tractor Station. Morever, I learned that the station was just in the process of being organised, that not all the tractors which were due had arrived — there were supposed to be 65 "International" tractors — and that there were no attachments for the tractors.

First of all I came up against difficulties: there were not enough housing quarters for the tractor workers and the students. In spite of the fact that a co-operative store exists in the village, there is no food to be had. The workers go about hungry. There is nothing to eat except oat cakes. No trade union work is being carried on although there is a trade union committee. There is no Party or Young Communist League Nucleus. The district was declared to have been completely collectivised

but so far practically nothing has been done in the way of collectivisation. The cattle has not been collectivised and the village Soviet is inactive. Seven of us have come to this MTS * district — five from Ivanovo-Voznesensk and two from Moscow. Except for the director, I have not met a single Communist at the station.

The first thing I did was to acquaint myself with the state of affairs at the MTS, go over the inventory, and investigate the method of distributing labour and technical forces in the localities. The housing problem had to be solved and quarters assigned to those who had come to the MTS.

I found workers very resentful and threatening to leave the station because of the lack of food. The sowing season is approaching and there are not enough people to man the tractors.

Encountering great dissatisfaction among the workers and the possibility of a breakdown in all the work, the comrades and I called a meeting of all the workers and students of the MTS. We made a report on collective farms and on the tasks of the workers and discussed their living conditions. The air cleared up somewhat after this meeting. The next day we organised a Party Nucleus and on the third day invited the instructor for trade union work to visit us, and audited the Mestcom ** accounts.

Since no trade union work of any kind had been carried on and the trade union money had been spent by the Mestcom, a new Mestcom was elected.

On the fourth day the Nucleus Bureau decided to organise co-operative work and to open a restaurant. I wrote

* Machine and Tractor Station.

** Trade Union Committee.

to the Osh District Party Committee on this question and only after much insistence did the co-operative organisation set about organising a restaurant and supplying food.

When the organisational work at the MTS was finished I went to the village to find out how the work of collectivisation was progressing in the villages in the MTS district.

At this point I found myself up against the most troublesome problem—ignorance of the native language. With the help of a translator I learned that no one belonged to the co-operative, that the collective farm was only a name to them and that they knew nothing whatever of its significance. Practically no preparatory work whatever had been carried on which would lead to collectivisation. As soon as we arrived everything changed: cattle, implements and land began to be collectivised. Only now, after we have made insistent demands, has the MTS begun to give us material which will enable us to draw up production plans. At the same time I had to travel to the collective farms which had just been organised to get subscriptions for tractor bonds so that the collective farm would be able to buy a tractor. This work is being carried on successfully. It will all be finished by March 10.

My job now is to carry on the village Soviet election campaign, which must be over by March 16.

Sixty-one machines and their attachments are all in their places. The tractors are working. Almost 20 ploughs have been collected and by March 15 the remaining ploughs will also be collected. We are still having difficulties in getting petrol cans. We have now collected, however, after much work, all the cans available in what-

ever way we could — buying or hiring them from government departments. In spite of the wretched weather we have been able to distribute 2,000 poods of fuel to the local districts.

We have already signed contracts for 6,750 hectares to be ploughed by tractors. Now we shall set about working out a plan of production. This will be ready in two days.

The work we have on hand is very difficult and responsible. We shall have to do our utmost if it is to get done. Our ignorance of the native language is a serious drawback. Twelve collective farms have been organised in the Machine and Tractor Station district, each ranging from 100 to 170 forms. It is very difficult to carry on the work in these collective farms, since they are very widely scattered.

We are doing the work collectively. Just now I have been assigned to work in the collective farms in the Chumbagych village where I am carrying on the village Soviet election campaign.

I have much work to do now besides that at the MTS. While the fields are covered with snow I am doing social work in the villages.

G. Indjevatkin.

No. 8

A BREAKDOWN. "DON'T TELL MY FAMILY!"

(Letter to the CPSU Nucleus and the Moskvoretskaya Factory Committee)

Central Asia, March 12, 1930.

Dear Comrades:

Comradely greetings and thanks for your letter. Write more often and longer letters because we receive no pa-

pers here and are quite cut off from life and know little of what is going on.

Now as to the situation in which we find ourselves. (Very confidential).

The outlook is not very bright where I am now working. The collective farms that have been organised are being neglected and there is danger that the Spring sowing campaign will fail.

I shall describe the situation briefly: the first incident occurred in Bazar-Kurgan District which had been completely collectivised.

On March 7, at 10 A. M., we were informed that the bais (kulaks) in Bazar-Kurgan had armed themselves and were arousing the dehkans (peasants) against us.

I got on a horse and flew to the village of Kokand (Uzbekistan). I telephoned directly from there to the OGPU in Andijan and demanded that help be sent to Bazar-Kurgan. I got the local militia to arm eleven persons in Bazar-Kurgan.

Our MTS was in danger then. When I returned I learned that the local population in Bazar-Kurgan, organised by the bais, had rebelled and had demanded that the *arrested kulaks be freed. Three persons were killed* in this tumult: *a militiaman and two of the active local workers. The secretary of the district committee was wounded.*

On that same day, the crowd *demanded that the collective farms be dissolved and that a list of the members in the collective farms be handed over to them.*

We decided to hold meetings on March 8, International Women's Day, in the villages around our MTS.

Five tractors were fitted up, decorated with banners and slogans, and we drove into the village.

When our speakers got up to make speeches, the kulaks, armed with sticks, attacked them and beat them up so that they barely got out of it alive. I was warned by a messenger when I arrived at the meeting and I did not speak. We turned our machines about and left the village.

The same thing happened all over the whole district.

Our MTS is situated in a rather wide courtyard, surrounded by a wall. Inside are the houses.

Fearing that the people would attack us, after the Bazar-Kurgan incident, we locked ourselves in the yard, barricaded the gate with the tractors and collected all the weapons we could find.

The night passed quietly. Sentinels were posted.

On March 9, at 10 A. M., about 200 Kirghizians rode up to our gates, led by the bais and the priests. They demanded that we give them the list of the members in the collective farms. We went to meet them, hoping to persuade them to disperse. We talked to them for four hours but could come to no agreement.

When we saw that they meant to attack us, we withdrew into the courtyard, locked the gate and continued our negotiations from the roofs of the houses.

When it was clear that all our talk was in vain we decided to give them the list of collective farms but the list did not include all the villages. We then decided to give them a signed statement that the collective farms would be dissolved. The Kirghizians were not satisfied with this and began to insist that we hand over six persons who were then in the yard. These six were our comrades of the "25,000".

We could not do that. Then they began to climb over the gate, crying, "Kill the Communists!" "Down

with the Soviet Government!" "Down with the collective farms!" We kept our heads. We did not open fire. We promised to accede to all their demands. They believed us, agreed, and promised to come back the next day. As soon as they left we sent to Andijan for help. The same thing happened the following day but even more seriously. The director left for Osh, the secretary of the Party Nucleus for Andijan, and I, surrounding myself with the group of the "25,000," organised a political staff, collected weapons, and organised detachments of Communists and class-conscious non-Party workers. The panic was subdued and order was restored.

Dear comrades, do not let this communication upset you.

We hope that the fact that we will finish our work later than was expected is not of such importance. We are now working towards strengthening the authority of the Soviets here.

The collective farms went to pieces here because the local conditions were not taken into account when they were organised.

If we are to organise collective farms here we must first of all start work among the poor peasants and win the dehkan and the middle peasant to our side. We must isolate the bai. The members of our collective farms were not able to do this. The poor peasants were badly organised. The kulaks were not exposed and therefore managed to get into the collective farms and disrupt them from within.

We have taken all of this into consideration now.

We still suffer from one great drawback — we do not know the native language and our translators very frequently translate what we say incorrectly.

All these events upset many comrades, but I think that everything will right itself as quickly as it went wrong.

Comrades, I most earnestly ask you not to tell my family about this.

Give my warm greetings to the factory management, to Comrade Shalayev and Comrade Anufriyeva.

When you write me, tell me how my family is getting along. I do not receive any letters from them even though I write them frequently. Only give them my regards.

Nevertheless I am disturbed and anticipate danger. I don't know what will happen but I think it will blow over.

With comradely greetings,
Goodbye, write me and do not forget me.
Your comrade
Indjevatkin.

No. 9

MY CONDITIONS IMPROVE
(Letter to His Wife)

Central Asia, March 12.

Dear Wife,

How are you?

I hasten to inform you that I received your letters: two letters came at once and one I found in a package. The package arrived in good condition and all is well. I kiss you warmly for all your concern about me. Give Tosya and Zhenya a big, big kiss for me. Zhenya, my living conditions have improved greatly here. I live in a large, clean room with two others and have my meals in a restaurant. I have one problem — there is no one to wash my clothes. As soon as you receive this letter send my

leather breeches to me immediately. I have to ride horseback all day long and my last pair of trousers has worn thin.

Zhenya, besides the first 40 rubles, I have sent 100 rubles in two installments of 50 rubles each. As soon as I can spare the time I will go to Andijan and send you a package and something for the children.

When I get my leave I will come to Moscow for three weeks, but that will be some time in the winter.

Write me more frequently and tell me how the children are feeling, what they need. Buy what you need and get some nice clothes. If you need money, I will send it.

So, goodbye, Zhenya. A big kiss for you, Tosya and Zhenya. I am alive and well and remain,

Your loving
Grisha.

Send me a photo of yourself and the children — to the same address.

No. 10

WE LEAVE FOR THE FIELDS

(Letter to His Comrades)

Central Asia, March 18.

My dear Comrade, Nikita Pavlovich,

The warmest of greetings.

First of all I hasten to inform you of life in Central Asia and how socialist agriculture is being organised. I am now working at a Machine and Tractor Station in the Osh region, Bazar-Kurgan District, as vice-director. We have 65 International 10/20 tractors. We are now leaving for the fields, and in a week, the ploughing will start.

Our station is now working at full swing and has all the material and working staff it needs.

We have one serious defect and that is in the organisation of collective farms. You probably know its history from the letter I sent to the Nucleus Bureau. It all happened spontaneously and the kulaks, who play a much more important role here than they do in the European part of the USSR, took advantage of it.

Until our arrival, there was no sign that any work was being done at all among the dehkan poor peasants. Admission to the collective farms, in many cases, took place simply by a vote's being taken. The work to liquidate the kulak as a class and the preparatory stages of this work were carried on very poorly and as a result we found many kulaks among the members of the collective farms in many of the villages. But this happened because the work was not done at the right time.

There were already collective farms in existence when we arrived; land, agricultural implements and draft cattle had been collectivised. But the kulaks were not interfered with, and though work was carried on among the poor peasants, it was ineffectively done. The kulak carried on his agitation better than the members of the "25,000". The poor peasants wavered and afterwards gave their support to the kulaks.

It is very difficult for us to do any political and agitational work since we do not know the native language and the translator very frequently cannot translate what we have said.

I am now working to get the tractors off to the field. Work on the land will start in the working co-opera-

tives* which we have just organised. After the Spring sowing is finished, we will again start work on collectivisation. It will be impossible to get the poor and middle peasants' farms completely collectivised or the kulak liquidated unless preparatory work is first carried on among the poor peasants. The work on this front in Central Asia was carried on very poorly and consequently not only the middle peasant, but quite frequently the poor dehkan leans to the side of the kulak bai.

We nearly had to pay with our lives for the wrong approach to the question of collectivisation here. But we have survived it and everything is beginning to smooth out.

Living conditions here are not so good. We had nothing but oat cake to eat for a whole month. The co-operative did not function and the housing situation was very bad. Things have improved somewhat now. We exerted pressure wherever necessary and the quality of the food was improved. A restaurant was organised and the work in the co-operative started.

Work will be begun on building a house, a tractor garage, a workshop, a club, and a dispensary. Preparations are now being made for this work, a plan has been drawn up, a plot of land set aside, and the agreement signed with the building organisations. We have already set about collecting the material needed for the work.

With the conditions as they are, the work is being carried on with great difficulty, but I think that no mat-

* The first form of collective farming, in which the peasants combine to work on each other's fields collectively, but do not collectivise their land or implements.

ter how difficult it is, no matter what sacrifices it will demand, we will do the job.

Nikita Pavlovich, I have nothing more to write now. I shall write in more detail concerning the further course of our work in the future, but for the time being—goodbye.

Give my comradely greetings to Comrade Anufriyeva, to the Mestcom, and all my comrades at the factory.

Your comrade,
Indjevatkin.

No. 11

DAYS AND NIGHTS I WANDER THROUGH FIELDS AND VILLAGES

(Letter to His Wife)

Central Asia, April 4, 1930.

My dear wife Yevgenya Yakovlevna,

I greet you and kiss you heartily. And kiss the dear children, Tosya and Zhenya.

Zhenya, I received your last letter and thank you very much for it. You write that all the comrades who had been sent with me to Central Asia have returned. But Koptyugov's is the only name you mention. This interests me very much. Zhenya, tell all the comrades who have returned that the people in Central Asia are not as black as they are painted. We are getting on with our work here. We are now organising a working co-operative here and we will organise the collective farms in the autumn. We are now working on the Spring sowing campaign. The dehkans are very friendly. I travel through the villages for two and three days at a stretch, talk with the dehkans on how the farms should be organised

and how living conditions could be improved. They are very friendly, indeed.

Zhenya, I am having a hard time of it, too, on this difficult and responsible work. I find the work very hard, but I must and will make good at this job. Zhenya, I am discontented only because I am completely separated from my family. I feel like a child torn from its mother's breast. I miss my family so, and worry about you. But I cannot make up my mind to bring you here, and then you yourself would not agree to come. It is particularly on account of the children. I cannot take them away from the cultural centre.

I gather from your letter, Zhenya, that you are not sending the children to the kindergarten. If that is really so, you are doing wrong. You are preventing the children from receiving a cultural upbringing.

If you haven't enough money I will send you as much as you need, but in the meantime you take care of your end of it and send the children to the kindergarten for the whole day.

Zhenya, I have already written to you to say that I shall come to Moscow on my leave but I cannot say just now when that will be. As soon as the Spring sowing campaign is over I shall write you and tell you when to expect me in Moscow.

And you write me and tell me when you will get your leave so that we may arrange to spend it together.

Zhenya, I have nothing more to write now — so until we meet, I kiss you, Tosya and Zhenya heartily.

Your

Grisha.

Give Comrade Koptyugov my greetings. Tell him to write and tell me how he organised the collective farms

and how the comrades who were with him there are working.

Write more often. I, most probably, will not write for a long time, until the sowing is finished, because I shall have no time. I spend the whole day and night on the fields and in the villages.

Goodbye. Have yourself and the children photographed and send me the picture.

Your
Grisha.

No. 12

GREETINGS FROM MOSCOW

Dear Comrade Indjevatkin,

We have received your letters. Not long ago, Comrade Anufriyeva wrote you and sent some literature. All the active workers read your letters. And further, we have reported on your work at a Party circle consisting of working men and women who have just been admitted to the Party. This Party school, learning of your work in Central Asia, decided to write a collective letter to you.

We want to arrange for a regular exchange of letters. We want to tell you how our factory is getting along, the difficulties it is encountering and what it has achieved. We want to advise you, send you what literature you may need, and if need be, give you financial help.

Work in a Machine and Tractor Station in Central Asia is, of course, exceedingly difficult, and demands Bolshevik endurance and firmness. The factory Party organisation showed its faith in you by sending you to do this responsible work; it showed that it relied on you

not to surrender to the difficulties, and relied on you to fulfill the task given you like a soldier of the revolution.

We must now call your attention to the fact that there have been very serious cases of deviations and perversions of the Party line in your district (and all over Central Asia). You must watch very carefully to see how the resolutions of the Central Committee of the Party concerning the fight against perversion of the Party line in the collective farm movement, which has been very frequent in Turkestan, are being carried out. They took a wrong line there and tried to collectivise the farms too rapidly. This is what Comrade Stalin says on this point:

> "In some districts in Turkestan, where the conditions were even less favourable for the immediate organisation of collective farms than in the northern section of the consuming regions,* attempts have already been made to 'overtake and surpass' the most advanced districts of the USSR. Those dehkans who did not wish to join the collective farms were threatened with armed force, with being deprived of manufactured goods and with having the water supply to their fields cut off."

This inevitably led to the violation of the voluntary principle of the collective farm movement; it led to the attempt to form collective farms by giving orders from above, and to acts which turned the middle peasants against us. Just now all attention must be centred around the organisation of collective farms both organisational-

* Those districts which do not produce enough grain to satisfy their own requirements and which have to obtain supplies from other districts. The big grain regions are called "producing" regions.

ly and economically, on the rectification of the mistakes made and on the consolidation of the positions won.

Write and tell us, Comrade Indjevatkin, what mistakes have been made in your district, what is being done to rectify them and what were their consequences. The circle is particularly interested in hearing of the difficulties which you are up against in the practical work in Central Asia (apart from the ignorance of the native language). Concretely, how does your Machine and Tractor Station work? How is the work among the poor peasants being carried on? What kind of Party organisation have they got there? Is there one for every village? What forms does the opposition of the bais take? Write, and tell us how the sowing was carried on. How is the plan for extending the area of cotton-sowing getting on? Tell us the difficulties you are faced with in the organisation of collective farms. Are there any old collective farms? Are you making use of their experience?

Comrade Indjevatkin, then there is the question of whether or not anything at all is being done on the most difficult front — is the work among the Eastern veiled women moving ahead at all?

Write us about all your experiences and tell us what questions we should take up in training new workers' brigades to relieve you.

We are now carrying on an election campaign. The work of the Party Nucleus is being checked up from the point of view of how it carried out the industrial-financial plan, and whether or not the quality of goods has improved. The breach in the fulfillment of the plan which we had has been closed up. This breach was due to the fact that we had transferred completely from the manufacture of coloured goods to the manufacture of

plain materials, and because the technical guidance has slackened. We were not vigilant enough and the Party and trade union organisations had not roused public opinion on the question of the fulfillment of the industrial plan. Consequently, our industrial plan was not fulfilled by 24 per cent in the first quarter and 5 per cent in the second quarter. That gave us an average of 87 per cent for the first half year.

But as soon as public opinion among the workers was roused and the technical personnel mobilised, we were able, in the beginning of April, to close up the breach. Now we are aiming for 100 per cent fulfillment and even for exceeding the industrial-financial plan. In this last five-day week the plan was fulfilled 106 per cent.

Our Party organisation has grown. Since January, 52 persons have been admitted into the Party, self-criticism has been developed and a number of workers promoted to responsible positions. We have also started on socialist competition.

Well, Comrade Indjevatkin, goodbye for the time being.

We send you comradely greetings and wish you success in your work.

Awaiting your reply,

Anufriyeva, Bykova, Gorodovich, Pochetova, Trukhanova, Borodulina, Shepeleva, Yemelyanova, Andrianov, Bobrova, Annikova, Starostina, Volkov.

No. 13

WE WERE SENT TO BUILD UP A NEW LIFE

(Letter to His Wife)

Zhenya, you want to know how I live, what are my surroundings, etc.?

Just now I am living quietly, hoping for the best. But I have not yet written about everything I went through since my arrival. For a short time, about a week after my arrival, I lived from day to day in the fear of death. I'll tell you about it when I come to Moscow.

The living conditions here are specifically national in character and quite different from our own. We were sent here to build up a new life, to change conditions here. We must not build up this life on the lines they began to build it before our arrival. The bais took advantage of the deviations committed here in order to draw the dekhan middle peasants, and in some places even the poor peasants, over to their side and set them against the collective farms. That is what endangered my life.

Everything has quieted down now. We have begun to build life in a different mould, to build it according to the instructions we received when we were sent here. Now everything is moving along its normal course. We are now working on the Spring sowing campaign. We spend our time in the fields, have made friends with the Kirghizians and Uzbeks and now things are going satisfactorily.

Zhenya, the place is very nice here, but forty versts from here it is nicer still. We are surrounded by mountains, forest, and orchards. The scenery is very striking. The climate is especially fine, just the place for health resorts. It is really a second Florida. But I can't enjoy the natural beauty here. I am too much taken up with work.

No. 14

SOWING CARRIED OUT 100 PER CENT

(Letter to the CPSU Nucleus, the Factory Committee and the Management of the Moskvoretskaya Textile Factory)

Central Asia, May 1, 1930.

Hello, dear comrades!

Comradely greetings on this great labour holiday — May 1. In these great days the workers of the world, struggling against capitalism, are being drowned in blood. We here are trying in these days to fulfill the sowing and cotton plan through our united efforts. And we are fulfilling it.

Dear comrades, I received your letter through Comrade Filippov and thank you very much for it. I congratulate you on your success in fulfilling the task set by the industrial-financial plan in spite of difficulties with which the Party and the working class are faced.

Comrade Filippov writes that he will help me get anything I may need, particularly in the way of literature, through the local organisations. I am very grateful for so much comradely concern and for the fact that having sent us here to work, you have not forgotten us. I am now receiving three papers from Moscow every day: the *Profrabotnik*, *Trud*, and *Za Kollektivizatsia*. I do not know who subscribed for them for me but I send you my sincere thanks for such comradely solidarity. I am interested in knowing which organisations are sending these papers, so please let me know.

Now a word on the course of the sowing and how we are fulfilling the plan of our Machine and Tractor Station. According to the plan we were to plough 7,740 hectares of cotton land. Accepting the socialist compe-

tition challenge of another tractor station we undertook to plough 10,400 hectares. By May 1, we had already ploughed 7,000 hectares. Ploughing will continue until May 10. There was a long delay in the work because of the continuous rain, which meant that we had to postpone the work for about two weeks. By May 1, the quota in the socialist competition agreement had been fulfilled from 85 per cent to 90 per cent. We think, however, that we will be able to plough all the land required by the socialist competition quota and that is what we are now striving for.

What are the conditions under which we are carrying out this work? I must say that they are very difficult. First of all, as I have already pointed out, the collective farms have gone to pieces, the number of those which survived is very small. We are working, therefore, with individual farms, with poor peasants and with those who have no horses. The sowing is not collectivised and the preparation for it is being made through work among the poor peasants, through the organisations of groups of poor peasants. We are encountering tremendous difficulties during the sowing campaign, particularly with the food question. The local Kirghiz co-operative organisations are inactive. In spite of our repeated demands that our station receive food supplies, nothing has been done.

Just now we are experiencing things like the following: In some places where the tractors are working, the bais and their toadies are starting counter-revolutionary agitation. They are disturbing our work and even threatening to kill the tractor drivers and the mechanics. I also fear for my life because I have to visit the brigades at night when the tractors are at work. We still have

difficulties in directing the work. For example, the District Co-operative Cotton Assn. and the CPSU District Committee, in their work to carry out the Party policy in the village, only come to the MTS and there, instead of giving political guidance, simply issue orders. For example, the District Committee of the Party sends us an order to "Send one tractor to dehkan so-and-so within 24 hours;" or, "Surpass the brigade in such and such a village in 24 hours." This causes bad feeling because these orders prevent us from carrying out our work according to plan. There were cases when we sent 10 tractors on their orders to one place and then discovered that the land was completely unprepared for the tractors. Consequently, the machines were wasted for eight hours. Such orders disrupt our plan. But there are other abnormalities as well to be met with every day. I will tell you of these when I come on my leave because it is physically impossible to write you of everything.

Write often, for letters interest me very much.

By May 10, the ploughing will be finished, and by June 1, the sowing will be finished.

Now, something about my family. My wife writes and reproaches me for having left Moscow. She thinks I went to Central Asia simply because I wanted to get away from the family. I beg of you to explain to her that if it were at all possible I would immediately leave Central Asia for Moscow. But this is impossible. I am a member of the Bolshevik Party and I have firmly resolved to perform the task laid upon me. Only after that is done will I return. I have given everything I have to my family and am more concerned with them than with myself.

And now I want to ask you to help me get a reduction on my raiload ticket to Moscow. I shall get a leave for a month and a half but the fare is so high that I'll not be able to go to Moscow unless I get a reduction. I shall take my leave on June 1 so let me have your answer before then. If you do this, you will be helping me considerably.

So, until we meet. I am in good spirits and well.

Your comrade,

Indjevatkin.

Communist greetings to all the workers in the Moskvoretskaya Factory.

No. 15

"I HAVE BEEN SENT HERE SO THAT THE PROLETARIAT MAY LIVE WELL"

(Letter to His Wife)

Central Asia, May 2, 1930.

Dear Yevgenya Yakovlevna,

Greetings and kisses for you, Tosya, and Zhenya.

Zhenya, I thank you very much for your letter. Now something of how we live. So far I am living quietly, am alive and well, have not been ill and need nothing.

I received your package for which I thank you very much. But you did not send me the breeches I asked for and I gave those you sent to my chauffeur as his working clothes. As for myself, well, if I can find a pair here I'll buy them and if not, I'll get along somehow until my leave.

Zhenya, I was particularly displeased by what you say in your letter about my having left Moscow for Central Asia. I have told you and written you lots of times

explaining why I had to leave. No one is to blame — neither you nor I. I am here. The life here doesn't attract me personally and it isn't so pleasant for me to be so far away from my family, but on the other hand, it is for the good of the common cause. We must arouse the masses of dehkans in the backward national regions to the great work of construction. That is all we are living for and all we are concerned with. I have no personal interests here and I am least of all concerned with such things.

Zhenya, you write that you feel lonely and that nothing interests you now. I know it is very hard to live alone at first. I understand it very well, but I was sent here to make it possible for others to live well, other proletarians like myself, and to help the toiling dehkan build up socialism.

We have lived through very much together, Zhenya, and we have still much more to live through, but the time will come when we will live better and more peacefully. If that time is to come, some one must do the work and that is the task which was laid upon me.

Zhenya, don't worry and don't let yourself get depressed. If you need anything let me know and I will help you. Do not upset yourself too much and be calm. I think there is no need to be bored with Moscow. You can find ways to dispel your longing and you will not be without employment.

I am going to take my leave on June 1 and will certainly spend a month in Moscow with you, and together we will make you forget all the pain. Then you will believe me that it is easily possible to live through this period. You will probably also have your vacation at

this time and expect to go to a rest home. Go, you also need a rest, and let me know when you will have your vacation.

You, for your part, prepare the apartment for me so that it will be pleasant to rest in Moscow. Zhenya, on May 10 the ploughing will be finished and then the other work will start. Construction work is going on. Houses are to be built, a tractor garage, a workshop and a number of other things as well. The place is very beautiful here, the climate is excellent and all around we can see the towering mountains and hills.

Goodbye, I kiss you, Tosya and Zhenya.

Your
Grisha.

No. 16

NOT DOWNHEARTED

(Letter to a Friend)

Central Asia, May 3, 1930.

Hello, dear Comrade Koptyugov!

Comradely greetings and congratulations on this great labour holiday, even though I am two days late — but better late than never.

I received your letter and thank you very much for it.

You write of your preparations for May 1. We also prepared for it. Our motto for the day was: "Fulfill the industrial plan, plough 8,000 hectares of cotton land." But in addition we organised socialist competition with another MTS in Kashkar, Aravan Village, Burinsk District, and undertook to plough 10,400 hectares. We have fulfilled this 100 per cent so that by May 8 all the ploughing will be completed.

Now a few words on collective farm building.

When I arrived I found that collective farms had already been organised. The Machine and Tractor Station to which I was sent as vice-director had only just been organised and I hadn't managed to get hold of the ins and outs of the place. I did not know how the collective farms were organised but when I travelled around the villages I saw that they were not organised as they should have been. A meeting was simply called, a vote taken, the collective farms organised, the management elected, and an inventory taken of the live stock and the implements.

The poor peasants were completly unorganised and unprepared. No preparatory work whatever had been carried on among the poor peasants.

Many bais got into the collective farms and disrupted them from within. The dehkans almost took our heads off for this. We were besieged on March 8, 9, 10, and 11 and thought that every hour would be our last. But we were not frightened. We put an end to the disturbance without suffering any losses. But when that all finished we found ourselves in a blind alley. The question arose: what were we to do?

When the collective farms went to pieces we did not get downhearted. We started to organise co-operatives for the common cultivation of land, in which nothing is collectivised except labour. This is the most elementary form of collective farming. With these peasants we began to make contracts for ploughing the land with tractors.

Only poor peasants, peasant labourers and a good part of the middle peasants are in this organisation. We are now working among the poor peasants because the trac-

tor is a good assistant in the work of organising collective farms and in preparing the masses of the population for collectivisation. Collective farms have been organised already in some places and our work is gradually improving and beginning to show definite results.

There are tremendous difficulties connected with all our work. Our living conditions are not very good. The co-operatives are inactive and we have to fight them day in and day out. The district co-operatives and Party organisations rely only on our station, but there is no help to be obtained anywhere.

I am fighting against these abnormalities and have raised the question at the District Committee Plenum. Now I am waiting for the Party Conference which will take place after the sowing has been finished. The question will be formulated differently there.

In a word, Comrade Koptyugov, for the time being, work is going along nicely. We devoted all of May 1 to work on the fields. We had no other tasks.

Now a word or two about my personal life. Perhaps I am accustomed to adapt myself to all conditions but at present, at any rate, things are tolerable. Sometimes things happen to make one lose one's temper, but you know very well that I don't let myself get put out very much. I can give a dressing down to any one who needs it, and do it very calmly.

Comrade Koptyugov, I will come to Moscow on June 1 for a month's vacation, and after that I will continue my work.

Give my regards to my wife, though I write her very frequently. When you write, tell me about my family and how they are getting along.

My wife complains that she is not being put on any definite work and that she is driven from one job to another. Why? I don't know, so make inquiries and let me know the details.

Comrade Koptyugov, give my comradely greetings to all my Party comrades, to all the workers I know personally, and also to all the workers in the factory through the wall newspaper. Write more frequently to us. You know that we are living in a remote district surrounded by mountains.

Give Comrades Anufriyeva and Shaluyev a scolding for me. They haven't answered my letter.

And now goodbye. With comradely greetings,

Your comrade,
Indjevatkin.

No. 17

SPECIAL ATTENTION TO EDUCATING THE MASSES

(Letter to the Workers in the Factory)

Central Asia, May 4, 1930.

To the CPSU Nucleus, the Factory-Mill Committee, the Board of Directors and the Workers of the Moskvoretskaya Textile Factory.

Comradely greetings from Central Asia!

I hasten to inform you first of all that I received your package and collective letter for which I thank you very much. With the literature I brought with me from Moscow and that which you sent we organised a collective library which all the workers of the MTS are using.

Dear comrades, I can't tell you how good it is to know that your comrades are behind you, that they care

enough about you to send you comradely advice and help, to feel that you are not doing the job alone but that a whole collective is working for the same goal — all for one and one for all.

You are interested to know what form the deviations from the Party line in the organisation of collective farms took in our Machine and Tractor Station district. Yes, deviations occurred not only in this district, but throughout the Osh region and even all over Central Asia.

Inadequate preparation complicated the work among the dehkans in the organisation of collective farms. With the spring sowing campaign on, and the collapse of the collective farms, you can't persuade the dehkan to combine the land for tractor ploughing. And so we had to plough each hectare of land separately, which, naturally, reduced the productivity of labour and reduced the quality of the work on the land. After the first attempts to plough in this way, it became clear that it was senseless, and the dehkans themselves began to combine land from 4 to 10 hectares. Things were much better then. The great difficulty in the collectivisation of land in Central Asia is the fact that many farms grow mulberry trees as well and that makes it impossible to combine the land for tractor ploughing. It would be a tremendous loss to the silk industry to destroy these trees.

Now something about the deviations in the organisation of collective farms.

I wrote something about that in the letter I sent on May 2, but the principal reason is the fact that the district was declared to be completely collectivised, the masses were unprepared for it, and no work had been carried on among the poor peasants. The collective farms

had been organised as mechanically as Ford manufactures an automobile. The collective farms were organised at great speed, but they broke down with equal rapidity.

The conditions in Central Asia being as they are, we must be particularly careful about the work among the poor peasants, we must make certain of the opinions and desires of the dehkan, because very often he understands quite well what is told him and agrees very quickly, but quite as often he will change with equal rapidity under the influence of the bais.

That is why we must work particularly hard if we are to educate these masses. Perhaps we who have been sent to do the work here are to blame, since we were not able to avert these mistakes. But we were not able to do so because we arrived so late. We had a most difficult problem to solve, one which has to be solved one way or another. I have already described the methods used in solving this problem in a previous letter.

I found a disgraceful state of affairs here. The Regional Party Committee had declared a number of districts to be fully collectivised, particularly our Bazar-Kurgan district. The District Party Committee did not protest against this although it was absolutely absurd. The peasants had not thought of collectivisation and were not prepared for it. And the Regional Party Committee called upon the Oblast Party Committee* to declare the Osh region a district of mass collectivisation. The March Plenum of the Regional Committee condemned these idiots, crazy with success, for their stupidity, and removed them from their jobs.

* Oblast — a large administrative area of which a region is a part.

We are now waiting for the District Party Conference which will take place in May. Throughout the entire collective farm movement, the District Committee did not know that there were certain almost counter-revolutionary elements in the village Soviets (Sakaldy and Khilin village Soviets) and only after much insistence and after the collective farms went to pieces were these village Soviets re-elected. The bais and the priests had their roots in these village Soviets, and pretty strong ones at that.

Nor could the District Party Committee give any advice on how to start the work before the spring sowing began, when we did not know what to do. Only the District Cotton Co-operative gave us any help. Comrade Gurevich, one of our "25,000", a Moscow comrade who works in the "Red Rose" factory, works there and it is only thanks to this connection that we were able to get the work on the spring sowing going.

In a previous letter, I described how the spring sowing was progressing. I will let you know the results when the sowing is finished. We, in the MTS, have fulfilled our plan by about 123 per cent.

You want to know how the organisation is working? Well, there is a Party nucleus and a Mestcom which were organised after we arrived. We are now working through the village Soviets among the poor peasants and have organised a summer club. We have no funds at our disposal, so it is hard to do any cultural and educational work. The work of the Regional Trade Union Committee is limited to the collection of dues and nothing more. We are now organising a Committee of Agricultural Labourers around our nucleus which will rally the agricultural labourers working for the dehkans on the cotton fields.

The trade union also limits itself to collecting membership dues and that is all. It has no desire to carry on cultural work among the agricultural labourers.

I have repeatedly taken up this question at meetings of the District Committee but it is quite evident that the comrades in the District Committee haven't the slightest idea how trade union organisations should function. Nor do they understand what individual management means. When the sowing began they were quite content to issue orders to the tractor drivers and mechanics, and thought that was enough, but they did not know what was going on in the fields. There are still many things that hinder the work, but I cannot write about everything in this letter.

So goodbye, dear comrades.

I am going on my leave on June 1, will be in Moscow for a whole month and then we will be able to talk everything over in great detail.

I shall look for a letter from you.

I am very glad you are watching the work of socialist construction in the rural districts so vigilantly.

Indjevatkin.

No. 18

JUST AS STOICAL AS WHEN HE WAS WITH US

(Letter from a Member of the Nucleus)

Hello, dear comrade! This is from your comrade J. N. I send you warm greetings, best wishes and happy success in your work. All the comrades in the factory

who know you, and the Party Nucleus in particular, also send you their greetings.

Dear friend, I want to tell you that I received your letter and that we are all very grateful to you for your persevering leadership and for the difficult work which you are doing in that remote part of our Union.

Further, I want to tell you about conditions here. First, the energetic preparations which we made for the First of May were not in vain. More than 600 went to the demonstration. After May 1, our factory closed down until May 8, because we had no raw materials. And the reason for that is there was sabotage in the All-Union Textile Syndicate and the Moscow region was poorly supplied with raw material. Many have already been called to task for this.

The next piece of news is that the election of the Party Nucleus has taken place and that also went through satisfactorily. Further, I want to inform you that the Party organisation was very satisfied to find you as persevering in your work there as you were when you were working with us.

The disgraceful things that used to happen before have been stopped. Things are much better now. A new active group of workers has grown up who work very well.

Please let us know what you require and if you need literature I will send it to you.

So goodbye. All the members of the Party Nucleus and the workers in the factory are all alive and well.

No. 19

OUR MTS MUST BECOME A SHOCK-BRIGADE STATION

(From a Resolution Passed by the Workers of the MTS, Written by G. Indjevatkin)

This year is a historical one in the development of collective farms. Central Asia is one of the most important regions as it is a source of raw materials for our textile industries. If the Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy of Central Asia, which includes the districts served by the Sakaldy MTS, is to be fulfilled, every effort must be made to carry out the spring sowing for 1930.

In order that the MTS may justify itself as an organisation for the construction of collective farms, it must declare itself a shock-brigade machine tractor station.

If the spring sowing plan is carried out 100 per cent, there will be enough cotton for our textile industries to make it unnecessary to import cotton from abroad.

No. 20

URGENT. SOWING CAMPAIGN

May 13, 7:28 P. M., Moscow, 34.

MOSCOW FACTORY COMMITTEE MOSKVORETSKAYA FACTORY KOROBEINIKOV PEREULOK 1/2

GREGORY PETROVICH INDJEVATKIN VICE DIRECTOR SAKALDY MTS KILLED BY BAIS 11 P. M. MAY 12 WHILE FULFILLING HIS DUTIES INSPECTING WATERING OF COTTON FIELDS STOP MTS WORKERS SEND CONDOLENCES TO FAMILY OF MURDERED HERO OF COLLECTIVE FARM CONSTRUCTION ASK FACTORY COMMITTEE TO TAKE CARE OF WORKER'S ORPHANS.

KOLODKO DIRECTOR VORONIN

No. 21

Central Asia RR Station Tintyaksai MTS Sakaldy
CPSU NUCLEUS LOCAL WORKERS' COMMITTEE

YOUR TELEGRAM ON MURDER OF COMRADE- INDJE VATKIN RECEIVED WORKERS OF MOSKVORETSKAYA FACTORY PROFOUNDLY STIRRED DEMAND THAT TRADE UNION ORGANISATIONS ANSWER THIS DEATH OF A FIGHTER FOR COLLECTIVISATION BY ENERGETIC CLASS STRUGGLE AND PUNISH ENEMY STOP INFORM DATE OF FUNERAL STOP WHAT MEASURES ARE BEING TAKEN TO INVESTIGATE STOP FAMILY PROVIDED FOR SEND HIS THINGS TO FAMILY

No. 22

RESOLUTION PASSED AT A MEETING OF THE WORKERS OF THE MOSKVORETSKAYA FACTORY, MAY 14, 1930

Having heard Comrade Orlovsky's report to the general meeting of the Moskvoretskaya factory, we, the workers, profoundly grieved by the tragic death of Comrade Indjevatkin, declare:

That Comrade Indjevatkin, brutally murdered while working for collectivisation, fell like a brave soldier of the revolution, fell at his post, working for socialist construction.

His glorious death stimulates us to greater perseverance and solidarity than ever in the struggle against the remnants of capitalism in our country. Our answer is to rally more closely around the Bolshevik Party, to rouse the millions of masses to the work of socialist construction, to defeat the capitalist gang. We shall send hundreds of new, persevering workers to take the place of our fallen comrade, Indjevatkin, to strengthen the

ranks of the Bolshevik Party, to eradicate capitalism from our country.

Eternal glory to the memory of our comrade who fell at the hands of capitalism.

No. 23

HE FELL AT HIS POST

To the Moskvoretskaya Factory

From the CPSU Nucleus, the Mestcom and the Managers of the Sakaldy MTS

Dear Comrades:

This is to inform you of the grievous news of the murder of Comrade Indjevatkin whom you sent to work for the organisation of collective farms as one of the "25,000". Comrade Indjevatkin was sent to us, to the MTS as assistant director. As soon as Comrade Indjevatkin came to the MTS he immediately started work among the poor peasants and was elected to two village Soviets. He proved to be ideologically consistent and carried out the orders of the Party and the working class which had sent him to Central Asia.

He was murdered on May 12, at midnight, in those fields which the MTS had decided to reclaim for the cultivation of cotton. Comrade Indjevatkin left at 9 P. M. for the fields in order to inspect the work, to see how the sections were being watered. The sowing had been delayed, and he tried, therefore, to help get the work done as quickly as possible. After he had inspected the work and was on his way home, a gang of armed bais, about 30 in all, attacked him. The gang consisted of kulaks and priests opposed to the Soviet Government and the organisation of collective farms. Comrade

Indjevatkin had a revolver with him and evidently tried to defend himself. He shot three times and then began to call for help but as this occurred about 700 yards away from our base we could not get there in time. By the time our guards got to the place the bandits had fled. They took Comrade Indjevatkin's revolver and wounded him twice, the bullets passing through his body, from the right to the left side. We brought him into the house about an hour later, but he was already dead and could not give us his last words.

We took immediate measures to liquidate the bandits but so far we have not succeeded in catching them.

He was buried at 7 P. M. on May 13. All the workers at the MTS and the dekhans from the neighbouring villages came. A number of comrades spoke and promised not to be discouraged but to work at the organisation of the collective farms and finish the work begun by the MTS in the specified time.

We wanted to photograph Comrade Indjevatkin, but there is no photographer in the vicinity. We sent to the city for one, but he could not come.

We are now discussing the question of providing for Comrade Indjevatkin's family. We shall inform you of results later. We are sending his things to his wife and the documents to the Party nucleus.

We ask you to take care of his family and console them, and bring up the question of their being provided for before the higher authorities.

Secretary of the CPSU Nucleus
Nafapailov.
Chairman of the Mestcom (Signature).
Director (Signature).

No. 24

THE CLASS ENEMY ATTACKS

(From a Local Newspaper)

Comrade Indjevatkin, One of the "25,000", Killed by Bais

On May 12, II P. M., armed bais killed Indjevatkin, vice-director of the State Farm in the Sakaldy Village (Basar-Kurgan District, Osh Region) while he was on his round of duties.

Comrade Indjevatkin had been sent to Central Asia to work as one of the "25,000".

No. 25

TO YEVGENYA YAKOVLEVNA INDJEVATKIN

We are forwarding to you all the documents belonging to your deceased husband, Gregory Petrovich, and wish to inform you that he was buried in the common grave of our revolutionary heroes. We are going erect a monument to him as a hero of labour on the front of collective farm building. All his belongings have been packed and will be sent to you tomorrow.

In accordance with the decision made at the general meeting of the workers of the MTS we have arranged that you and the orphaned children receive a pension.

Director of the Sakaldy MTS (Voronin).

No. 26

TOWARDS GREATER SOLIDARITY

To Comrades M. I. Krylov, A. A. Rodichev, N. C. Sdobnov, I. M. Kuryatnikov. F. M. Bedov, Smirnov, Savikin, sent from the Moskvoretskaya Factory to join the "25,000".

Having learned of the untimely death of our Comrade Indjevatkin at the hands of the class enemy, we express our profound regrets and call upon you to show greater solidarity and vigilance, because only strong solidarity under the banner of Lenin and tireless watching of our class enemy will help us to carry on the struggle to a successful conclusion and to conquer on all fronts of socialist construction.

With comradely gretings from the weavers:
Shastny, Akishin, Yegorov, Yesilkin, Smirnov, Russkov.

No. 27

To the Director of the Machine and Tractor Station, Sakaldy Tintyaksai:

We hasten to inform you that Comrade Indjevatkin's family will receive a pension of 125 rubles a month.

The Tractor Trust has also sent 250 rubles to the family. The children are assured places in the kindergarten until they reach the age of seven.

Assistant Director of the Factory (Anufriyeva).

No. 28

OUR ANSWER TO INDJEVATKIN'S MURDER WILL BE TO INTENSIFY OUR WORK

(A Letter from the Factory to Kasatkin, One of the "25,000")

Dear Friend and Comrade Kasatkin:

Greetings!

I want to tell you that I received your letter and thank you for it. I am also glad that you are keeping me informed of the disorderly things that are occurring in the remote corners where you now find yourself.

My friend, please collect whatever information you can, and we will take the necessary measures to abolish this scandalous state of affairs.

And now, dear Kasatkin, I have some sad news. Comrade Indjevatkin was killed on May 12, P. M., while working in the fields. And so, friend, our nucleus has lost a good comrade. Well, what are we to do? Obviously, it is a risky thing to be a Communist under these circumstances, and we must expect such things to happen until we have wiped out the internal enemy. Hence, for every comrade who loses his life in the class struggle, we must take ourselves even more in hand and fight against all the parasites.

So, Comrade Kasatkin, I hope that you, in answer to Indjevatkin's murder, will carry out our Party's policy with even greater energy.

We want to immortalise the memory of Indjevatkin by renaming our factory after him.

His family will be taken care of for life. His children will be sent to a kindergarten for two years and then to school.

Y. N. Filippov.

No. 29

ECHOES OF INDJEVATKIN'S DEATH

(From a Letter from Another Member of the "25,000")

Greetings!

Yury Nikolayevich, I hasten to inform you that I received your letter and I thank you very much for it. However, your letter has made me even more harsh with the kulaks. I gave them no quarter before your letter came, but now that I have read that Indjevatkin is no more, I will make it doubly hot for them. It is true, we

must apply all our energies to the work of socialism and must resolutely fight those who oppose us, who stand in our way and do not allow us to build up and strengthen the cause of the revolution.

Kasatkin.

No. 30

THE PARTY SENT YOU TO FIGHT IN THE CLASS STRUGGLE

(From a Letter Sent by the Party Nucleus to Savikin, One of the "25,000")

Moscow, May 12, 1930

Greetings, dear Comrade Savikin!

Having discussed your letter at the CPSU Bureau Nucleus, we send you greetings from all the Party members of the Moskvoretskaya Factory.

Comrade Savikin, you give us a picture in your letter of part of the class struggle now taking place in the reconstruction of agriculture. We, working at our machines, fulfilling the financial-industrial plan, take everything into account. We are also vigilantly watching the reconstruction of agriculture. We send representatives of the workers to all the important campaigns going on in agriculture and know quite well that the class enemy in agriculture — the kulak — will vanish from the face of the earth as a result of the persistent work we are carrying on together with the poor and middle peasant.

Comrade Savikin, you write of the difficulties you have encountered in the work and ask that we recall you. It would be disloyal, non-Bolshevik, to retreat from one's position. The question must be formulated differently — that your life should be safeguarded so that you may

carry on the work and justify the trust which the Party put in us and in the whole of the working class. We, for our part, will take all the measures necessary to supply you with literature and other cultural accessories, and in general, with whatever we can. We shall refer your letter to the higher bodies which will also not allow your request to remain unanswered.

We hope that you, a factory worker, instructed to carry out the general line of the CPSU, will be able to overcome the difficulties lying in the path of the Socialist reconstruction of agriculture with the support of the working class and the poor peasantry. The work to be done is difficult, colossal, but we Communists do not flinch under the difficulties, but like Bolsheviks, overcome them.

You write that you have not been given work suitable to your qualifications. The Party sent you to fight in the class struggle and in the class struggle it must make no difference to a Communist whether he is standing with a rifle in his hands or at the helm of the government.

Grisha Indjevatkin, one or our workers, killed by the bais, is an example of a Bolshevik who fell fighting at his post. You, sent together with him, must continue to work for the cause for which Indjevatkin gave his life.

Elections to the Factory Committee and the Bureau Nucleus have only just finished. We are now getting ready for the district conferences. All our attention is now concentrated on fulfilling the industrial-financial plan. There are many difficulties in the way, but we think that we will overcome them and hope that we will fulfill the plan.

For the CPSU Bureau Nucleus — Volkov.

No. 31

TERROR WILL NOT STOP US!

(From a Letter of One of the "25,000", Sent with Indjevatkin)

Hello, Lesha!

Warm comradely greetings to you and all the workers.

First, I want to inform you and all the workers of the regrettable fact that we have lost one of our number, Comrade Indjevatkin. At night, on May 12, while going on his round of duties, Comrade Indjevatkin was murdered by the bais. The savage hand of the class enemy, in his death convulsions, has torn a Communist — a fighter for socialist construction — out of our midst. The case is deplorable and tragic but it will not slacken our efforts and initiative one iota. All of us, as one man, will increase our activity and work with tenfold energy to carry out the decisions of the Party. No acts of terror will make us, in this district, retreat from our daily conquests in collective construction. It is quite possible that further attemps will be made. The bais and kulaks in our districts have concealed weapons. But in spite of the danger which threatens every one of us as long as we remain in the villages, we go out to the villages and do our work there.

Well, now about the work. Not long ago our District Party Conference took place. All the deficiencies and mistakes of our Party organisations were revealed, particularly those in collective farm construction. We outlined the means of overcoming and correcting the mistakes and how to proceed with the work.

There are now 31 collective farms in the district. All in all, they include 1,407 households, of which 625 are

batraks (agricultural labourers), 596 poor peasants, and 186 middle peasants. The figures show how small is the percentage of middle peasant farms in the collective farms. This is to be explained by the fact that when we carried on the work for collectivisation in the Spring, the local Party organisation paid too little attention to the middle peasant, forgot about him and left him alone. The Party organisations did not know the temper in the district nor the conditions there. And where the masses were already prepared, anybody who took it into his head to organise a collective farm did so. There were cases when, without any preparatory work having been done, a delegate made a report and immediately called for the organisation of collective farms. Absolutely no attempt whatever was made to explain the principles of organisation of collective farms and of the co-operative organisations for the joint working of the land, nor was any agitational work whatever carried on. In nine village Soviet districts collective farms were organised in an administrative way — the peasants were forced to join the collective farms — and in one village, Pokrovsky (a Russian village), it was proposed to immediately organise a commune, to socialise everything. Nothing came of it. The commune went to pieces because of mass emigration from that place. Another organisation was again started but this time it was only of a collective farm.

In March, the bais-kulak elements organised an anti-collective farm movement, taking advantage of the mistakes made in our district. Some of the collective farms were dissolved as a result. Just now there are, as I have pointed out, 31 collective farms. Much attention is being paid to strengthening and developing them. We are now

correcting the mistakes we made in collectivisation. At the same time we are not allowing our work of organising collective farms to slacken and those collective farms which have remained intact are proving their superiority to the individual peasant farms.

First of all, all our collective farms fulfilled the sowing plan for both grain and technical crops almost in the specified time. However, cultural and educational work in the collective farms is being carried on poorly. Labour is unorganised and rules have not been definitely formulated. The industrial conferences in the collective farms are feeble affairs. Just now we are applying all our efforts to this weak side of the work and the deficiencies will, without doubt, be overcome.

I will stop writing at this point, although I have not told you all I wanted to. In my next letter, I will write about the work and the condition of the Party organisations, the work in the Young Communist League, among the women and the poor peasants. And now just a few words about my own work.

I am an inspector of collective farms for the District Credit Association. The work consists of the following: I look after the collective farms as a mother after her child. I supply them with agricultural implements, credits, draft cattle. As soon as a need arises it is immediately taken care of. Our collective farms were supplied for spring sowing with all the agricultural implements, draft cattle, transport, that they needed. I have now started drawing up estimates and plans for building stables and schools for the collective farms. There is a demand now for agricultural implements for gathering the harvest. This must be filled quickly and the necessary

steps taken here to satisfy the need of the collective farms.

Lesha, I have hardly a free minute to myself. I travel around the collective farms constantly and our collective farms are some 5 to 50 versts from Uzgen. All of April was spent in the struggle with the bais gangs, Twice I took part in the fighting. I spend all the time in the mountains and so I caught cold and don't feel well, but health can be regained — the most important thing is the work.

That is all, write soon. Greetings to all the boys and girls. I remain

Shura Rodichev.

No. 32

WE SHALL SHARE OUR INDUSTRIAL EXPERIENCE WITH THE DEHKAN

(Echoes of G. Indjevatkin's Murder)

Warm proletarian greetings to all the workers and employees of the Moskvoretskaya Textile Factory in the name of the members of the "25,000" sent by you to build up collective farms in Central Asia.

Comrades, by choosing us, as the best of the workers, to do the great work of collective farm construction, you entrusted us with the leadership of the peasant masses of our country. We assure you, comrades, that we will fulfill the great obligation laid upon us. We will apply all our energies and justify your faith. No matter how the bais who killed Grisha Indjevatkin and are trying to break down our collective system may attack us, we are nevertheless marching forward to new victories on the front of collective farm construction.

Comrades, we came to these remote and backward places from the industrial cities of Russia. We have industrial experience and a Communist training which you gave us. We are also sharing this experience with the collective farms and economic organisations with great enthusiasm. We think that this experience will add much to the work of collective farm construction.

And now, comrades, about my own work.

I am working in Central Asia in a cotton co-operative in the Urazbek as vice-director of the co-operative. I work on two fronts: on the economic line and in the struggle with the bais. There are certainly no set hours or rest days. Work with the cotton co-operative management is going on nicely even though we have to bear the whole burden on our shoulders since the local workers only know how to do things in the old way and can write their name only with great difficulty. But all this is nothing. The masses of peasants here are very backward. It is our duty to share our industrial experience with them and teach them how to work.

The plan that was submitted for cotton sowing has been carried out 115 per cent. Our Uzgen district was to sow 3,050 hectares; 3,501 hectares were ploughed and sown. And the harvest was twice as good as last year's. We also hope to realise the cotton harvest plan 100 per cent with equal speed so that we will be able to supply our textile factories with cotton. And it was particularly difficult to fight with the hostile elements who were working and managing the cotton co-operative. Of the 23 employees 11 had to be dismissed and 3 prosecuted. These had to be replaced and the work continued.

But now permit me to remind you of your promise

to help us in the difficulties under which we are working.

Comrades, if you will help us overcome these difficulties in our work, we will be able to carry out the task entrusted to us.

Please read this letter to the Party Bureau and at the general meetings of the workers. With comradely greetings.

Matvei Kopilov, weaver with the "25,000".

No. 33

WE SHALL SEND NEW FIGHTERS TO TAKE THE PLACE OF INDJEVATKIN

(Newspaper Item on the Death of Comrade Indjevatkin)

Comrade Indjevatkin, a textile worker in the Moskvoretskaya Factory, one of the "25,000", was killed on May 12, at night. He been working as vice-director of the Sakaldy Machine and Tractor Station (Kirghiz SSR).

Comrade Indjevatkin fell at his post. At 11 P. M., while looking over the irrigation of the cotton fields, he was attacked by armed bais. The bandits killed one of the best fighters against the kulak, a stalwart soldier of the revolution, an energetic, consistent Communist.

Indjevatkin enforced strict discipline among the workers of the MTS. He carried on political work among the poor peasants and the agricultural labourers according to the instructions of the Communist Nucleus. From the very first day of his arrival at these remote districts, he won the respect and confidence of the agricultural workers. Indjevatkin was elected member of three village Soviets.

With the death of Indjevatkin, the Party Nucleus has lost a talented organiser and agitator in the rural districts. The MTS has lost the person best able to inspire the workers with enthusiasm, who, infected with the zeal of the "25,000", worked tirelessly and surpassed the cotton ploughing plan by 20 per cent.

The trade union organisations have lost in Indjevatkin the organiser of socialist competition among the tractor brigades and the tractor workers. The union has lost a pitiless critic of all parasites, loafers and self-seekers.

Indjevatkin was one of the best fighters for the socialist reconstruction of the Kazak village, and consequently the kulaks marked him as their victim.

The conditions in which Indjevatkin had to work are revealed in his last letter to the factory. In it he writes that the activity of their station was considerably hampered by the armed bais and several workers became panic-stricken. But Indjevatkin and the others of the "25,000" were able to maintain order.

"Comrade, I most earnestly ask you not to tell my family about this. I don't want them to be worried," writes Indjevatkin.

He ends his letter with the words:

"Nevertheless I am disturbed and anticipate danger. I don't know what will happen but I think it will blow over."

Unfortunately, Comrade Indjevatkin's fears were justified. The kulaks could not tolerate such a dangerous enemy and he was killed in a dastardly fashion at the hands of the bais.

The announcement of the death of the stalwart fighter aroused neither panic, consternation, nor despair. Standing at the grave of Comrade Indjevatkin, the workers and peasants of the Machine and Tractor Station vowed that on the field where the bais kulaks killed the best of the "25,000", the best cotton field will be cultivated. It has been decided to name this field after Indjevatkin.

The news of the brutal murder of our comrade roused the indignation of the workers of the Moskvoretskaya factory.

"He fell like a brave soldier of the revolution, at the post of socialist construction," said the workers. "His glorious death will make us even more persevering and consolidated. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party we will rouse the millions of masses of peasants for the attack on these hounds of capitalism. We will send hundreds of new workers to take the place of the murdered Indjevatkin."

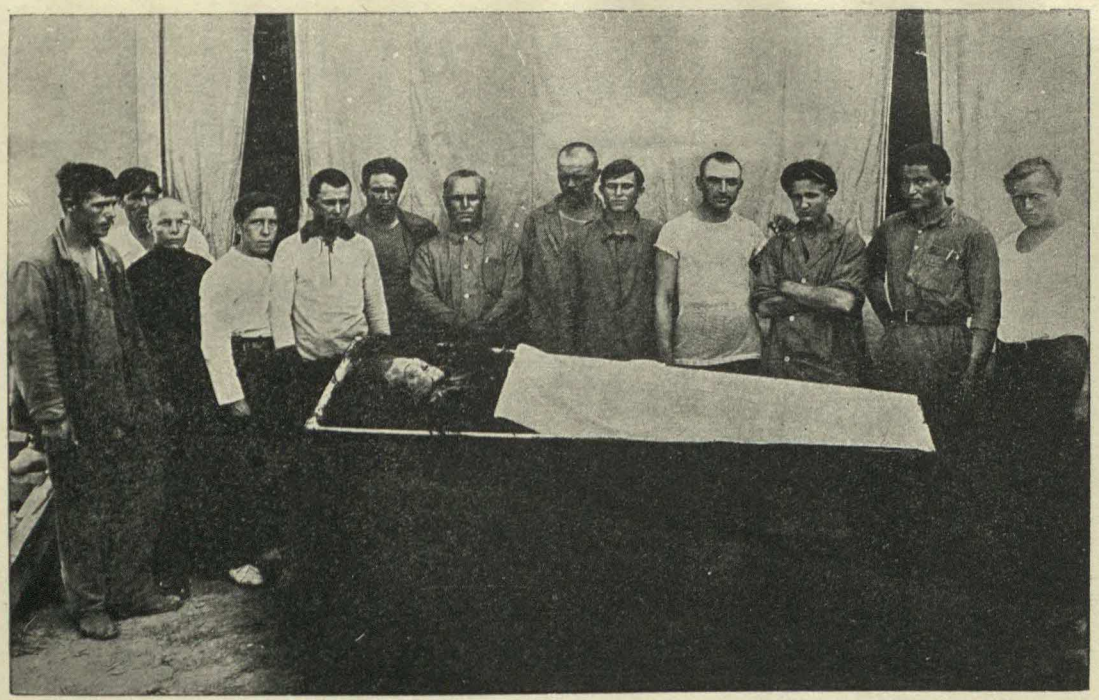
Investigations are now being made into the murder. It is the duty of the factory social organisations and the Moscow organisation of our union to see to it that the guilty are punished and that they get the punishment they deserve.

Comrade Indjevatkin's family will be taken care of. The Central Asia Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU has instructed the Kirghiz Council of Trade Unions to arrange with the local social insurance organisation to pay Indjevatkin's family a pension of 250 rubles a month. "Tractorcentre" must pay three months' salary to his family and take the responsibility for sending the children of the deceased comrade to a kindergarten.

The trade union organisations must make themselves responsible for seeing that these decisions are carried out.

The Party, the government and the workers will never forget those who died a glorious death at the militant post of socialist construction.

The Textile Workers' Union will reinforce the ranks of the "25,000" with the best of their workers to take the place of Comrade Indjevatkin.



He fell at his post.... The workers of the Machine and Tractor Station pay a last tribute at Indjevatkin's bier.

THE COLLECTIVE FARM MOVEMENT

One of the main problems of socialist construction in the USSR is the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. From the very first days of the October Revolution, Comrade Lenin pointed out that the only way to bring the divided, backward, individual peasant farming out of poverty and ignorance was the change to collective farming. Since then, the Party and the Soviet Government have never ceased to advocate collectivisation. About 1928, the call to collective farming found a mass response among the poor and middle strata of the village. This change in attitude towards collective farming of the main masses of the peasantry was caused by the development of co-operative ownership in the villages through the example of the existing and annually increasing soviet and collective farms, and by the considerable organisational, material and financial aid which the Proletarian State gave to the collective farms.

The Machine and Tractor Stations are state enterprises in which the tractors, agricultural machinery, etc., are concentrated and serve exclusively for the purpose of tilling the soil and harvesting the crops of the collective farms. The Machine and Tractor Stations are not only the organisers of the technical base of the collective farms, but also of the whole work of these farms,

and are therefore the most powerful means for fulfilling the great tasks of mass collectivisation and liquidating the kulak as a class in the USSR. The expenditures on Machine and Tractor Stations in 1931 alone, when 1,400 stations will be in operation, will amount to 540,000,000 rubles. Since the Machine and Tractor Stations are being built for the collective farms, it stands to reason that the latter should contribute towards this expenditure. According to the government plan the collective farms have to contribute in 1931 160,000,000 rubles out of the 540,000,000 rubles. Where the Machine and Tractor Stations are being established, the collective farms contribute this money by purchasing bonds issued by the Tractor Centre, the organisation which unifies the work of the stations. In buying these bonds the collective farms become part owners of the station.

Naturally the kulaks, to whom the entire collectivisation movement is the last blow, offer desperate resistance to the work of the Machine and Tractor Station. They try in every way to undermine the confidence of the middle peasant in the Machine and Tractor Station through their adherents, who, in individual cases, have managed to get into the collective farms. They try to spoil or break the machinery of the Machine and Tractor Stations, to terrorise the workers; there have also been cases of murder.

For the poor and middle peasant masses, however, the work of the Machine and Tractor Stations is the most convincing argument proving the advantages of collective farming. As a rule the percentage of collectivisation in the Machine and Tractor Station regions is nearly twice

as high as in the regions which have no Machine and Tractor Stations.

The success of the collective farm movement is really phenomenal. In 1929, the total number of peasant farms organised in collective farms did not exceed one million. During the last two years this number has rapidly and steadily increased and at the present time — the summer of 1931 — more than fourteen million farms, that is, more than 57% of all the poor and middle farms of the country, have been collectivised. In the principal grain regions (the Ukrainian steppe, Northern Caucasus, the Lower Volga, Middle Volga, the Crimean steppe, and the grain regions in the Urals and in Moldavia) collectivisation is almost complete. Here, from 68 to 98% of the total number of households and from 75 to 90% of the entire peasant land and means of production were organised in collective farms. As the June Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union pointed out, "As a result of the development of soviet farms and the entrance of the majority of the *labouring* peasantry on the road to collectivisation, *our country became the greatest agricultural country in the world.*"

The collective farm peasant became the central figure in the agriculture of the USSR. The collective farm became the basic producer in the field of grain production as well as of agricultural raw materials (cotton, sugar beets, sunflowers, etc.).

On the basis of complete collectivisation in several regions, the Party changed its former policy of restricting and squeezing out the capitalist elements in the village to a new policy, the policy of liquidating the kulak as a class. This policy is an integral part of mass

collectivisation and is carried out by the poor and middle peasants themselves.

Naturally this great change in the life of tens of millions of people, the change from individual peasant farming to large socialised farming, encountered great difficulties, due to the intense resistance of the class enemies within the country and also to the fact that our country is surrounded by capitalist powers. These difficulties were intensified by the struggle which the right opportunists carried on against the general Party line, their definite opposition to collectivisation, their suggested policy of capitulation to the kulaks. The situation was further complicated by those "left" mistakes and perversions of the Party line which took place in the Spring of 1930, when collectivisation was being introduced on a large scale.

These mistakes and perversions expressed themselves in the desire of the local Party workers to show high figures of collectivisation, no matter how obtained, in employing forcible measures to compel the poor and middle peasants to join the collective farms, in taking a crude and bureaucratic attitude towards the collective farms and farmers, in the lack of understanding of the specific conditions in the various regions, in issuing orders from above, and, instead of explaining things to the peasants, using the same methods against the middle peasant as against the kulak.

As a result an anti-collective farm movement arose. This movement, in some instances, through the instigation of the kulak, developed into an anti-Soviet movement.

The Party corrected these mistakes which were called forth, as Comrade Stalin said, by "dizziness from

success". The Party crushed the right opportunists as well as the remnants of the counter-revolutionary opponents and achieved the greatest success in the field of collectivisation.

The Party has sent the best forces of the working class into the village to the assistance of the collective farm movement. At the end of 1929, the Party appealed to the workers to select twenty-five thousand of their best comrades to be sent to the villages to help in the socialist reconstruction of agriculture.

This measure assumed the form of a mass movement among the workers and had great political significance. Suffice it to say that sixty thousand voluntary applications were received from those wishing to go to the villages.

Of the twenty-five thousand that were sent, nearly 70 per cent were either members or candidates of the Communist Party, and nearly 9 per cent were members of the Young Communist League. Of the total, 7.79 per cent were women.

Here is how the secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Kaganovich, characterised the work of these 25,000 in the villages, at the XVI Party Congress:

"Many in the villages met these 25,000 rather skeptically, and they themselves were rather skeptical about what they could do.

"...Many thought that the 25,000 would not hold it out in the villages. To date (summer of 1930 — *Ed.*) fully 23,000 remained in the villages. The 23,000 are now the organisers of the village, who will organise and train new comrades for the Party."

One of these "village organisers" is the hero of the human documents reproduced in these pages. He was sent to work in a Machine and Tractor Station in one of the remote regions of the Soviet Union — Central Asia. This region comprises three union republics, Usbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Tadzhikistan, and one autonomous republic — Kirghizia, which together with the southern part of Kazakstan represents an economic unit which bears the historic name of Turkestan.

Turkestan is the cotton base of the Soviet Union. Because of its natural conditions, Turkestan is one of the few regions on the globe extraordinarily adapted for cotton-growing. This year 1,344,000 hectares were sown with cotton. Of these 823,000 hectares were sown by collective farms and 89,000 hectares by the state soviet farms.

There are about ten million hectares of available cotton-growing soil in Turkestan, that is, the existing cotton area can be increased tenfold. Besides this, the regions are quite rich in ores.

Prior to the Revolution, Turkestan, actually a colony of tsarist Russia, was almost exclusively an agrarian region. At the present time, simultaneously with cotton-growing, the extracting and manufacturing industries are rapidly developing. In 1931 the construction of several factories will be completed — cotton, woollen and silk textile mills, a plant for manufacturing cotton machinery in Tashkent, etc. A great many electric power stations and fertiliser plants are projected. The extraction of coal, oil, sulphur, ozocerite, cerite, Glauber's salt, and other minerals is being developed.

The population of Turkestan is in the main of the Turco races who had been oppressed by the capitalist

policy of tsarism. Prior to the Revolution, strong remnants of the patriarchal form of society were prevalent among these people, and in these conditions the kulaks, or, as they are called in Turkestan, the bais closely associated with the clergy, had complete economic and political power over the toiling masses of that region. This power was retained to a considerable extent during the first years of the Revolution, which developed much more slowly in Central Asia than in the rest of the Soviet Union.

The agrarian policy of the Soviet Government and the land reforms introduced in Central Asia destroyed the economic base of the kulaks, and considerably undermined their political influence. The national policy pursued by the Communist Party and the Soviet Government and the enormous cultural-political work carried on by them in this region raised the class consciousness of the agricultural labourers and poor peasants, and freed the middle peasant from the influence of the kulak. Naturally the policy of the Soviet Government encountered the violent resistance of the kulaks, who in politics were the bearers of ideas of national reaction. This resistance became particularly intensified with the development in Central Asia of collective and Soviet farming, which completely undermined the influence of the kulaks. In their struggle against the Soviet Government the kulaks made wide use of the Basmach movement. Under the tsarist regime the Basmach movement was a kind of national protest against the political and economic enslavement of the country by the Russians. At the beginning of the Revolution the Basmach movement took the form of inner counter-revolution, supported by the kulaks and

the clergy in their attempt to fight the Soviet Government. As a result of the change in the attitude of the wide masses towards the Soviet Government, the Basmach movement began to break up. A part of the Basmaches voluntarily disarmed. The population itself began to assist the Red Army in its struggle with the Basmaches. The remnants of the Basmach bands degenerated into mere robbers who were used by the kulaks and the clergy in the intensified class struggle. The international counter-revolution also attempted occasionally to use these bands for their own purposes.

The documents compiled in these pages portray the work and struggles of these "25,000" whom the industrial workers, on the appeal of the Communist Party, have sent to help to organise socialist production in the village. They reveal the close interest which the factory workers display in the work of their comrade whom they have delegated to do this important work. In the case of the hero of these documents, his work was complicated by the special economic and national conditions prevailing in the region, in addition to the mistakes made by the local workers who had become "dizzy with success". He left his home, his family and comrades to go to the "front", to fight for socialism in the village. He fell at the hand of the class enemy, but his work goes victoriously on.

80 kopeks