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**"ONE MUST PUMP OUT EXCESS FUNDS FROM VILLAGE USING LAWS": BOLSHEVIKS'  
COURSE FOR NON-MARKET RELATIONS IN SIBERIA (RUSSIA) IN 1925-1929**

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**Abstract**

The article provides an analysis of a prominent page in the history of the Siberian region of Russia – the Bolsheviks' grain collection policy in the late 1920s. The purpose of the study: the analysis of the essence, causes and consequences of the Bolsheviks' grain collection policy in the late 1920s. Through the use of a set of scientific methods, the authors study the grain collection policy in the late 1920s, the legislation and the Soviet government's actions regarding grain collection in the studied period, the Soviet government's return to the equivalent of the "military communism" policy, i.e. repressive measures to meet the continuously increasing grain production target. The authors conclude that the Soviet government's transition to a repressive grain collection policy in rural areas is connected not only to the needs for industrialization. The requisition of grain is also politically motivated: a radical disruption of the economic system and complete collectivization resulting in the formation of fully subordinate kolkhoz workers.

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### Keywords

NEP – Grain collection – Grain collection policy – Surplus appropriation system – Prodnalog

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## Introduction

It is impossible to understand the unique nature of Russian reality without carefully analyzing the relationship between the government and the peasantry. In this context, the study of the relationship between the government and the peasantry in the critical periods in the Russian history of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century becomes paramount. The early 1930s were characterized by the radical changes in rural life, the emerging model of which led to the total and generally non-economic redistribution of resources into the industrial sector. The main mechanism of this redistribution was the taxation of the peasantry and its foundation was the policy of centralized grain collection that was carried out through economic and political campaigns in Soviet Russia<sup>1</sup>. The reconstruction of the general picture of the Bolsheviks' policy is impossible without studying its regional characteristic aspects.

It is worth noting that the Siberian economy of the aforementioned period was characterized by the disproportion between industry and agriculture. For example, the gross output of the industry within the economy of the Western Siberia in 1928 amounted to 17.3% whereas the gross output of agriculture was 82.7%. Peasants also made up the majority of the Siberian population.

Out of a large number of works on the Bolsheviks' grain collection policy in Siberia, the studies by V.A. Ilinykh<sup>2</sup> are of particular significance. Based on a wide set of sources, the researcher analyses the characteristics of the grain collection policy of the Soviet state in Siberia, its defining features in the context of the new economic policy (NEP). As a whole, the existing studies can be divided into works wherein the authors expound the issue by considering individual periods of the grain collection policy in Siberia or its different aspects.

The first group includes the studies by E.N. Burdina<sup>3</sup> who considers the features of the surplus appropriation system in Siberian villages; A.G. Dianov<sup>4</sup> and V.G. Kokoulin<sup>5</sup> who

<sup>1</sup> A. A. Baksheev; P. A. Novikov; R. P. Musat; S. P. Shtump y D. V. Rakhinsky, "Far Eastern Republic (1920-1922): case of Bolsheviks' Maneuver", *Revista Inclusiones* Vol: 7 num Especial (2020): 192-204.

<sup>2</sup> V. A. Ilinykh, *Gosudarstvennoe regulirovanie zagotovitel'nogo khlebnogo rynka v usloviyakh nepa (1921–1927 gg.)*. Nep: priobreteniya i poteri: collected articles (Moscow, 1994); V. A. Ilinykh, *Khroniki khlebnogo fronta (zagotovitel'nye kampanii kontsa 1920-kh gg. v Sibiri)* (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2007); V. A. Ilinykh y G. A. Nozdrin, *Selskoe khozyaistvo Sibiri v 1890–1920-e gg* (Novosibirsk, 2007) y V. A. Ilinykh y O. K. Kavtsevich, *Khlebozagotovitel'naya politika sovetskogo gosudarstva v Sibiri v kontse 1920-kh gg.: khronikalno-dokumentalnyi sbornik* (Novosibirsk: Novosibirskii poligrafkombinat, 2006).

<sup>3</sup> E. N. Burdina, "Vlast, prodrazverstka i sibirskoe krestyanstvo nakanune vosstaniya 1921 g.", *Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta* num 426 (2018): 64–73.

<sup>4</sup> A. G. Dianov, "Metody provedeniya prodnalogovykh kompanii v Sibiri v 1921–1922gg. (po dokumentam raboche-krestyanskoi inspektsii). Istoricheskie, filosofskie, politicheskie i yuridicheskie nauki, kulturologiya i iskusstvovedenie", *Voprosy teorii i praktiki* Vol: 12 num 3 (2014): 63-66 y A. G. Dianov, "Metody provedeniya prodnalogovykh kompanii v Sibiri v 1921–1922gg. (po dokumentam raboche-krestyanskoi inspektsii)", *Istoricheskie, filosofskie, politicheskie i yuridicheskie nauki, kulturologiya i iskusstvovedenie. Voprosy teorii i praktiki* Vol: 1 num 1 (2014): 75-78.

<sup>5</sup> V. G. Kokoulin, "Perekhod ot prodrazverstki k prodnalogu v Sibiri (mart - avgust 1921 goda)", *Klio* Vol: 7 num 58 (2011): 89-93 y V. G. Kokoulin, "Prodnalog i novaya ekonomicheskaya politika v sibirskoi derevne (1921–1924 gody)", *Klio* Vol: 3 num 63 (2012): 80-90.

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pay particular attention to prodnalog campaigns of 1921–1922, A.V. Drozdov<sup>6</sup> who studied the period of the grain collection crisis. The second group includes the studies by T.A. Rekhovskaya<sup>7</sup>, V.G. Kosachev<sup>8</sup> and A.I. Oshchepkova<sup>9</sup>.

## Methods

The following methods were used to study the selected topic: the historical (historical-genetic) method; the narrative (descriptive-narrative) method; the comparative and typological methods.

The main method used in the study is the historical (historical-genetic) method. This is due to the fact that the Bolsheviks' grain collection policy in Siberia in late 1929 significantly changed under the influence of the events that took place in the country from 1919 to 1929.

The narrative method was used to present the general characteristic of the grain production policy in the late 1920s. Due to this method, it was possible to analyze the legislation and the Soviet government's actions in terms of grain collection in the period under investigation. The comparative and typological methods were implemented to analyze the causes of using the peasants' self-taxation as an equivalent of the surplus appropriation system during the Civil war.

## Results

### The prerequisites for the new grain collection policy in the late 1920s: from the surplus appropriation system to the single agricultural tax

Due to the radical disruption of the old economic system, the issue of food was a persistent problem for Soviet Russia<sup>10</sup>. The policy of "military communism", first of all, the surplus appropriation system that was introduced in 1919 by the new government, was met with fierce resistance in Siberia. After their establishment in Siberia, the Bolsheviks implemented the surplus appropriation system from the second half of 1920 in the amount of 110 million poods of grain which was almost double the capacity of the region<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> A. V. Drozdov, *Khlebozagotovitelnyi krizis v Sibiri v 1927-1928 godakh: A textbook* (Omsk: Izd-vo SibADI, 2001) y A. V. Drozdov, "Repressii protiv sibirskikh krestyan v period khlebozagotovitel'nogo krizisa 1927/28 gg", *Omskii nauchnyi vestnik* Vol: 4 num 29 (2004): 27-31.

<sup>7</sup> T. A. Rekhovskaya, "Obespechenie prodovolstvennoi bezopasnosti selskogo naseleniya Zapadnoi Sibiri v pervoi polovine 20-kh gg", *Izvestiya Altaiskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta* Vol: 4 num 4 (2008): 168-172.

<sup>8</sup> V. G. Kosachev, "Nakanune kollektivizatsii. Poezdka J.V. Stalina v Sibir", *Voprosy istorii* num 5 (1988): 105.

<sup>9</sup> A. I. Oshchepkova, "Siberia in V. Shamalov's prose: on the problem of the spatial organization of the text", *Revista Inclusiones* Vol: 7 num Especial (2020): 527-534.

<sup>10</sup> A. B. Volkov; S. A. Shelkovnikov; A. A. Samokhvalova; D. A. Denisov; O. G. Antoshkina y A. I. Golikov, "Improvement of the efficiency of resource potential use of agricultural organizations in the Novosibirsk region, Russia", *Scientific Papers Series Management, Economic Engineering in Agriculture and Rural Development* Vol: 19 num 3 (2019): 633-639.

<sup>11</sup> V. G. Kokoulin, "Prodovolstvennaya politika v Sibiri v period voennogo kommunizma (avgust 1919 – mart 1921 g.)", *Klio* Vol: 4 num 55 (2011): 102-110.

With the implementation of the NEP and the replacement of the surplus appropriation system by *prodnalog* in Mar. 1921, there were no significant changes in terms of grain collection. Although the size of *prodnalog* in absolute terms compared to the surplus appropriation system was actually lower: whereas the collected surplus appropriation in Siberia amounted to 50.6 million poods, *prodnalog* was stated at 39.8 million poods. During the preparations to collect *prodnalog*, the Siberian Revolutionary Committee ordered to collect 9 million poods of grain by way of barter<sup>12</sup>.

However, considering that surplus appropriation was calculated based on the harvest surplus of the previous years and *prodnalog* was collected after the 1921 harvest, due to the decrease in cultivation area from 5.8 million *desiatinas* in 1920 to 3.9 million *desiatinas* in 1921, the *prodnalog* was only slightly less than surplus appropriation. Thus, in the Altai region, *prodnalog* amounted to 95.7% of surplus appropriation. In the Slavgorod uyezd of the Omsk region, *prodnalog* was set at 9.9 million poods while surplus appropriation was at 5.2 million poods. In general, for one *desiatina* of cultivated land, there were 12 poods of *prodnalog* and 11 poods of surplus appropriation<sup>13</sup>. It was not surprising that the declared volumes of *prodnalog* caused discontent among peasants.

In these conditions, on 17 Mar. 1922, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (ACEC) and the Council of People's Commissars (CPC) passed the decree "On the single natural tax on agricultural produce for 1922–1923". After this, there was a preparation campaign for the collection of the single agricultural tax. In Siberia, it was based on two main practices: identification of "secret" farmland and intensified repressions. Nevertheless, the single tax was lower than the previous tax. The single tax in Siberia amounted to 35.6 million of rye units. As for grain, the tax was 25.3 million poods which was less both *prodnalog* in 1921 and surplus appropriation in 1920. That is why, by the end of 1922, 100% of the tax was collected in Siberia except for the Omsk region which provided 95%. Thus, the food campaign ended successfully for the government which cannot be said for the state of agriculture<sup>14</sup>. In May 1923, the ACEC and the CPC issued a decree "On the single agricultural tax" for 1923–1924. Instead of several taxes, a single agricultural tax was implemented that could be paid in part with money and in part with produce. The tax was progressive, there were concessions for emergencies and the poorest peasants were exempt. As a whole, there were no incidents or instances of abuse during the tax campaign of 1923–1924 which affected the peasants' mood. In Feb. 1924, the second Congress of Soviets of the USSR declared that the tax was to be calculated in gold roubles rather than agricultural produce. In view of this, on 30 Apr. 1924, the ACEC and the CPC approved the "Provision on the single agricultural tax" for 1924–1925. The taxation unit was a *desiatina* of farmland, and cattle and hayfields were equated to farmland using a special coefficient. The taxation rate varied depending on the area. Thus, the transition from natural to monetary taxation was completed which was a significant step in the development of the NEP<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> V. G. Kokoulin, "Prodovolstvennaya politika v Sibiri..."

<sup>13</sup> I. V. Denisova, "O nekotorykh aspektakh podgotovki i osushchestvleniya sbora prodovolstvennogo naloga v Sibiri v 1921 g", *Aktualnye problemy gumanitarnykh i estestvennykh nauk* Vol: 1 num 60 (2014): 85-89.

<sup>14</sup> I. V. Denisova, "O nekotorykh aspektakh podgotovki..."

<sup>15</sup> A. I. Baksheev, "K voprosu o kharaktere "kolonialnoi zavisimosti" Sibiri v XIX – pervoi chetverti XX vv", *Sovremennaya nauka: aktualnye problemy teorii i praktiki*. Series: Gumanitarnye nauki num 1 (2016): 9-13.

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In Aug. 1924, the ACEC and the CPC passed the decree "On self-taxation of the population to meet the public needs". The underlying dangers of the decree will be examined further.

Therefore, in 1924, a certain period in the development of the Siberian village ended. In Soviet historiography, this period was named "restorative" while it was essentially the time of NEP establishment in the Siberian village. From the autumn of 1924, political motives came to the foreground again that increasingly substituted economic relations and the agricultural development goals in Siberia.

The reason for this was the course for industrialization that was declared in 1925 by the 14<sup>th</sup> Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) (AUCPB). Industrialization was supposed to take place using the rural resources which caused the excessive acceleration of speed and volume of repressive grain collection methods which began with the adoption of the Stalin leadership plans on the industrialization of the country<sup>16</sup>. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the AUCPB J.V. Stalin pointed out in the guidance notes to the Soviet party organizations, "One must begin by helping party organizations recover and telling them that the business of collection is the business of the entire party... One must pump out excess funds from the village using the self-taxation laws and peasant loans"<sup>17</sup>. The following administrative documents of the Communist Party leaders, provisions of party forums regarding the rural policy put increasingly more pressure on the peasantry.

### **The new repressive grain collection policy in the late 1920s and its consequences**

In December 1927, the 15th Congress of the AUCPB took place which adopted the first five-year plan for the development of the national economy for 1928–1933 and proclaimed a course for the complete collectivization of agriculture. These monumental decisions were made by the party forum simultaneously. The fulfillment of the grandiose industrial plans became impossible without increasing grain exports for the purchase of foreign industrial equipment. In the period under investigation, the aggravation of relations between the peasant-owners and the authorities led to the grain crisis (the failure to fulfill set targets). Peasant farms did not have or had a limited amount of grain surpluses.

The Soviet state planned to obtain the necessary amount of cheap grain from collective farms.

However, the decisions of the congress did not yet mention the stop of the NEP and the implementation of mass collectivization. So far, the Soviet government limited itself to the following task: "The prerequisites create the possibility of broader cooperation of the lower and middle-class peasants in the village, further strengthening of the planned influence on the peasant economy and a decisive attack on the kulak based on the successes achieved in consolidating the Union of the proletariat and the rural poor"<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> A. I. Baksheev; G. V. Panasenko; L. Yu. Aisner; S. V. Bershadskaya; R. P. Musat y D. V. Rakhinsky, "Government regulations of industry in NEP Russia during the period 1921–1923 and how it worked in practice with particular reference to Siberia", *Opcion* Vol: 34 num 85 (2018): 854-867.

<sup>17</sup> V. A. Ilinykh, *Gosudarstvennoe regulirovanie selskokhozyaistvennogo rynka Sibiri v usloviyakh nupa (1921–1928 gg.)* (Novosibirsk: Izd-vo SO RAN, 2005)

<sup>18</sup> V. A. Ilinykh, *Gosudarstvennoe regulirovanie selskokhozyaistvennogo rynka...*

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At the same Party Congress, a call was made to increase the export of grain, "The market value of agriculture is still very small compared to the tasks that agriculture now faces from the perspective of the socialist national economic plan. This sharply affects the insufficient possibilities of agricultural export which is the basis for import operations necessary for the country's fast industrialization and the further boom of agriculture itself"<sup>19</sup>.

The insufficient amount of export grain led to a constant increase in planning tasks and an even greater intensification of repressive measures during grain collection.

Even during the work of the congress, on 14 Dec. 1927, the Central Committee of the AUCPB issued a directive for the secretaries of district party committees that indicated the need to intensify grain collection. On 6 Jan. 1928, the Central Committee of the AUCPB sent to the local level another classified directive signed personally by the Secretary of the Central Committee of the AUCPB Stalin where, in a threatening tone, the demand for determination in the grain collection policy was expressed to achieve a palpable breakthrough. Thus, in the 4th paragraph of the directive it was noted, "When collecting arrears on all kinds of payments, immediately apply harsh punishment, primarily concerning the kulaks. In particular, repressive measures are needed in relation to the kulaks and profiteers who disrupt agricultural prices... The Central Committee warns you that the delay in the implementation of this directive and the failure to achieve real success in a week will put the Central Committee before the need to replace the current leaders of the Party organizations"<sup>20</sup>.

To increase grain collection targets and their fulfillment, on 11 Jan. 1928, the ACEC and the CPC of the USSR adopted another law on self-taxation "On the updating and amending the resolution of the CEC and the CPC of the USSR dated 24 Aug. 1927 on self-taxation of the population".

Unlike previous self-taxation laws that provided for the voluntary collection of peasant funds "to meet local social needs", the new law provided for enforcement measures for peasants. In particular, the law of January 1928 was supplemented with the following content, "The total amount of self-taxation must not exceed 35% of the total amount of agricultural tax imposed on all farms in a given settlement in this reporting year... The CPC of the Union Republics may grant the regional and district executive committees and the corresponding bodies the right to allow individual volosts and districts to increase the extreme amount of self-taxation specified in this article"<sup>21</sup>.

Such an interpretation of the law, namely, the permission to increase the taxation of peasants without measure became the cornerstone that practically legalized the robbery of the peasantry. From that time on, grain was no longer collected as before, it was actually taken away, each time increasing the amount of this tax. Regarding the voting of peasants for self-taxation, the January law also provided for the necessary changes, namely: "If at the first general meeting (gathering) of citizens in the matter of self-taxation,

<sup>19</sup> V. A. Ilinykh, Gosudarstvennoe regulirovanie selskokhozyaistvennogo rynka...

<sup>20</sup> V. V. Kondrashin, "Khlebozagotovitel'naya politika v SSSR v gody pervoi pyatiletki i ee rezultaty", Gumanitarnye nauki v Sibiri num 4 (2013): 34-38.

<sup>21</sup> A. A. Berkutov, "Samooblozhenie v pryamykh nalogovykh platezhakh krestyanstva vo vtoroi polovine 1920-kh godov", Gramota Vol: 5 num 31 (2013): 22-25.

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less than half of the total number of citizens with voting rights are present, then a repeated general meeting is called. To resolve the issues of self-taxation at repeated general meetings (gatherings), the presence of at least one-third of the total number of citizens with voting rights is required"<sup>22</sup>.

From then on, only a third of the votes of the peasants with voting rights was needed to legitimize the forced confiscation of grain. As a rule, the wealthy part of the rural population did not have voting rights, and it was primarily them and the middle-class peasants that had to fulfill their obligations of self-taxation. Mainly the poor and part of the middle-class peasants voted for self-taxation. In view of this, the rural confrontation became even more aggravated, the village split into social groups according to property and these groups openly opposed each other.

Thus, the law on self-taxation passed in January 1928 played an extremely negative role in the Siberian countryside. Using it as an instrument of law, the authorities immediately began a total, forcible seizure of grain (in some villages of the Irkutsk and Tulun districts, 120% of the agricultural tax was collected on self-taxation)<sup>23</sup>.

The increased pressure on the peasants through extortion through the system of self-taxation caused indignation and protest among them. Indeed, in addition to self-taxation, the peasants had to turn in the agricultural tax, pay different loans, credits, state insurance, fund land planning, etc. The reports of the State Political Directorate (SPD) inform that the peasants' speeches at the village gatherings had the following content, "Self-taxation is imposed on us by force... The newspapers write one thing, that one needs to take 35%, but in reality, it is not at all like that, they rip us off, we cannot live in such a situation, it is impossible to strengthen our economy and the population will remain poor forever... What is this, tax, insurance, self-taxation, loans, could this be preparation for war... We have nothing to self-tax, let the state tax us... Soviet power works us to the bone... Self-taxation is equivalent to a knife in the heart"<sup>24</sup>.

However, despite the aggravation of relations between the state and the peasantry, the Soviet leadership continued the repressive policy of grain collection. In the second half of January 1928, members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the AUCPB dispersed across the country to speed up the overcoming of the grain collection crisis. J.V. Stalin arrived in Siberia where the leader began to put into practice his own method of grain collection which was called the "Ural-Siberian" method and spread throughout the country. This method was based on the principle of self-taxation and compulsory fulfillment of grain collection targets with extensive use of repression<sup>25</sup>.

As a result of the authorities' repressive actions, the introduction of an element of non-economic coercion into the grain collection policy made it possible to fulfill the collection plan in Siberia by 116%<sup>26</sup>. However, this led to the destruction of the grain market, sowed uncertainty and exacerbated the internal political situation.

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<sup>22</sup> A. A. Berkutov, "Samooblozhenie v pryamykh nalogovykh platezhakh krestyanstva..."

<sup>23</sup> A. A. Berkutov, "Samooblozhenie v pryamykh nalogovykh platezhakh..."

<sup>24</sup> A. A. Berkutov, "Samooblozhenie v pryamykh nalogovykh platezhakh..."

<sup>25</sup> V. G. Kosachev, "Nakanune kollektivizatsii..."

<sup>26</sup> V. A. Ilinykh, *Khlebozagotovitel'naya politika kontsa 1920-kh gg. Istoriya stalinizma: krestyanstvo i vlast: proceedings of the international scientific conference (Moscow, 2011)*

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Rumors about the abandonment of the NEP and a return to surplus appropriation spread throughout the villages. As a result, the peasants did not want to associate with the state authorities, collection organizations, reduced crops, divided the economy among family members, went to work in the cities<sup>27</sup>.

Due to the transition to non-economic methods of grain collection, the mobilization of the party activists began which was essentially similar to the years of the civil war. According to incomplete data, in January-April 1928 alone, about 6 thousand party workers were mobilized in Siberia and sent to the village to reinforce grain collection<sup>28</sup>.

Even when the January grain collection plan was exceeded through repression, when the grain collection crisis reached its climax, the Soviet government continued to talk about "a decisive turn in the grain collection business" and the growth of planned targets.

On 13 Feb. 1928, the party organizations received a classified directive from the Politburo of the Central Committee of the AUCPB signed by J.V. Stalin in which the latter insisted on strengthening grain collection, for which the leader recommended applying Art. 107 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR which allowed implementing repressions against the peasantry. To encourage the poor peasants to do this, the document pointed out the need to provide the peasants 25% of grain from the so-called confiscated surplus on the terms of a long-term loan<sup>29</sup>.

The directive dated 13 Feb. 1928 contained the following information on self-taxation: "as for self-taxation, apply an increased progression of taxation for the kulak and well-to-do part of the village compared the agricultural tax... Start the self-taxation campaign everywhere, increase social initiative, attract the poor, Komsomol, delegates and rural intelligentsia"<sup>30</sup>.

Thus, the policy of the Bolshevik leadership that was implemented in the late 1927 – early 1928 meant a radical breakdown of rural economic relations. Without officially changing the political course, the state returned from the market relations of the NEP to the times of "military communism", forced surplus appropriation only under a different name. Such a policy was based on violence and repression and bled the Siberian peasantry.

Implementing Stalin's decisions, state power structures, local party and executive bodies increasingly began to apply punitive and repressive measures to peasants who were unable to fulfill huge state extortions: fines, increased self-taxation, inventory and confiscation of property, arrests, long imprisonment, deportation<sup>31</sup>.

Despite the catastrophic state of agriculture, the joint plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the AUCPB which took place in April

<sup>27</sup> A. I. Baksheev y O. V. Andrenko, "Politika VKP(b) v otnoshenii krestyanstva v period svertyvaniya NEPa (1928–1929 gg.)", *Kazachestvo* Vol: 32 num 8 (2018): 78-88.

<sup>28</sup> L. S. Tsubikova, "Kollektivizatsiya krestyanskogo khozyaistva v Vostochnoi Sibiri v 1920–1930-e gody" *Gramota* Vol: 4 num 54 (2015): 189-192.

<sup>29</sup> L. S. Tsubikova, "Kollektivizatsiya krestyanskogo khozyaistva v Vostochnoi Sibiri..."

<sup>30</sup> A. V. Drozdov, "Repressii protiv sibirskikh krestyan v period khlebozagogovitel'nogo krizisa 1927/28 gg", *Omskii nauchnyi vestnik* Vol: 4 num 29 (2004): 27-31.

<sup>31</sup> A. I. Baksheev, *NEP v Sibiri. Atmosfera i logika voiny* (Krasnoyarsk: KrasGMU, 2020).

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1928, stated: "To paralyze the threat of the general economic crisis and not only provide cities with grain but also protect the pace of industrialization set by the party, the Central Committee must take a number of measures, including extraordinary ones. These measures listed the following as their immediate goal... The confiscation of a part of the rural savings in cash, ...the application of Article 107, the distribution of 25% of confiscated grain to the rural poor, ... Party intervention in grain collection and the mobilization of the party forces from the top down for the successful implementation of the grain collection campaign"<sup>32</sup>.

The plenum confirmed the exemption of 35% of poor households from agricultural tax to be one of the most important achievements of recent years and an increase in the agricultural tax for other strata of the village.

Thus, in the process of class stratification of the Siberian countryside by the Bolshevik power during the 1920s, the number of impoverished peasants increased significantly and amounted to at least 35%. Exempt from taxes, stimulated by the distribution of grain confiscated from fellow villagers, often half-starved, the army of the lumpen poor was mostly ready (some people, due to the need to feed families – had to) to implement the plans of the Stalinist regime<sup>33</sup>.

The aforementioned party decisions showed that the repressive grain collection campaigns would only intensify.

On 25 Apr. 1928, the Executive Committee of the Siberian Region received a directive from the Central Committee of the AUCPB which indicated the strict fulfillment of monthly collection targets for May and June and shipments per the instructions of the People's Trade Commissariat. At the same time, the directive required the mobilization of party forces to carry out collection, severe punishment of peasants for violating the united collection front and intensification of the onslaught on the "kulak".

In the summer of 1928, it became possible to combine the theoretical concept, which had matured as a result of political discussions in the party (to a large extent, this task was fulfilled by the 15th Congress of the AUCPB and the April plenum of 1928) with real political practice and approach the formation of a completely different policy: the final closure of the NEP and the establishment of the dominance of the "military communism" era. This was started by the July plenum where Stalin announced the intensification of the class struggle as the country moved towards socialism and "the strengthening of resistance from the capitalist elements"<sup>34</sup>.

At the same time, the individual farm remained the main supplier of marketable grain for the state. Therefore, at the plenum, the task was to ensure the farm's productivity through the regulated pricing policy, the expansion of contracting and lending.

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<sup>32</sup> A. V. Drozdov, "Repressii protiv sibirskikh krestyan v period khlebozagotovitel'nogo krizisa 1927/28 gg", Omskii nauchnyi vestnik Vol: 4 num 29 (2004): 27-31.

<sup>33</sup> A. I. Baksheev, "Sotsialno-psikhologicheskoe myshlenie sibirskogo krestyanstva v period NEPa", Istoricheskaya i sotsialno-obrazovatel'naya mysl Vol: 7 num 8 (2015): 11-13.

<sup>34</sup> V. A. Ilinykh, "Agrarnaya politika i selskoe khozyaistvo Sibiri v 1920–1930-e gg", Voprosy istorii Sibiri v noveishee vremya: collected academic articles. Novosibirsk. 2011.

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The USSR leadership named the causes of the commodity crisis as the rapid growth of financially reliable demand from the peasantry compared to the small supply of industrial goods and the increase in the profitability of the village, especially of its wealthy and kulak strata<sup>35</sup>.

However, without a doubt, the almost complete dependence of the state for the fulfillment of grain collection tasks on the property status of the middle-class and wealthy peasants, on their capabilities and intentions could not but distress the Bolshevik leadership. That is why the resolution of the plenum, along with a warning against a "return of surplus appropriation" which looked like a temporary retreat before decisive action, stated that the development of socialist forms of the economy based on the NEP leads to not weakened but increased resistance from the capitalist elements.

Regarding the confiscation of grain from the peasants, the Stalinist regime, which was increasingly gaining the traits of totalitarianism, resorted to yet another violent action – the contracting of grain "from the field".

The Soviet government had used forced and economically unprofitable contracting for the peasantry in the past, forcing them to sign a contract (agreement), which obliged them to surrender to the state part of the harvested crop of a particular grain crop, sugar beet, meat and other products. However, this event forced the peasant to give the crop directly from the field. The grain had not yet ripened, the harvest had not begun, and the peasants were already forced to sign onerous terms of the contract for the future harvest. The directive ended with a stipulation to the district party committees that the harvested grain should be delivered to the state no later than the deadline.

## Conclusion

Economic ties of the city with an individual village could be built only through the market, and only the peasants decided whether to sell the produce to the state. J.V. Stalin and his associates were completely dissatisfied with this fact as the party strived to collectivize the village in the shortest terms and proceed to non-market relations where the current mechanism of an approximately fair exchange between the city and the village automatically ceased to exist.

The confiscation of production means in the form of collectivization led to the separation of every single worker from the collectively attained product. In this situation, the chairman of the collective farm controlled the product and carried out management. Through direct administrative influence on the chairman, the state decided how much product to leave for the needs of farmers (if any) and how much to confiscate for the centralized fund. Thus, the Soviet state's transition to the repressive grain collection policy did not merely pursue an objective related to economic processes: the need for industrialization. Grain confiscations were also politically motivated as such measures led to the radical change in the economic system, complete collectivization, and, as a result, obedient farmers.

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<sup>35</sup> T. A. Stadnik; S. G. Chernova; K. E. Vahnevich; S. Schelkovnikov y A. A. Samokhvalova, Y. A. Leonova, "Improving the Grain Distribution System in the Context of the State Regulation of the Market". Journal of Advanced Research in Law and Economics Vol: 10 num 3 (2019): 922-931.

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