

[Letter from Voronsky to Ordzhonikidze, 3 March 1927]

Comrade Ordzhonikidze,

1. I find incorrect and untrue the assertion that I am organizing the opposition on the literary front. I am defending myself against the VAPPists. This is my legal right as established in the famous resolution of the Central Committee of the VKP(b) on literary policy.
2. I find incorrect and untrue the attempt to organize a federation of Soviet writers by relying almost solely on VAPP, but that is what is in fact happening. The other tendency (Voronskyism) is seen to be a pernicious opposition, but in actual fact it more closely expresses the spirit and meaning of the Central Committee's resolution.
3. I find incorrect and harmful the reorganization of "Red Virgin Soil" along such lines that it is being handed over to the On-Guardists. Politically this can lead to the worsening of moods among significant cadres of Soviet writers who have worked with me and among whom I have conducted significant work over the course of six years. I find a collective editorial board to be useful, but without On-Guardists.
4. I find incorrect and harmful the persecution of such literary groups as "Pereval" which are seen to be centers of the opposition. That is not what they are. Would it not be better to guarantee any requisite influence by introducing into such groups comrades who are communist writers but who are not suspected of sympathizing with the opposition? This is what I have done, but I have been encountering obstacles on the part of the Press Department.
5. I find incorrect the foisting of ZiF [Land and Factory (publishing house)] onto the federation and the closing of "Krug" [Circle], for this is unnecessary and of dubious practical value.
6. What is considered a sign of oppositional tendencies in my literary work is in actual fact merely disagreement with VAPP and with Comrade Gusev, who in my opinion has neither known nor taken into account all the complexities of the literary milieu, and who is making a number of extremely serious mistakes. Moreover, my disagreements with him are passed off as a struggle against the party line; in essence this is not what they are [examples: 1) how many and which organizations should be included in the federation, and on what grounds, 2) should we accept cooperative writers' publishing houses, 3) should we advertise that the Press Department leads the federation, 4) should we hand the federation over to ZiF, i.e. to Narbut, etc.].
7. The reason for this note is information which I have received that the question has been decided about removing me from "Virgin Soil," closing down "Krug" and so forth. I don't hope to correct the situation, but I consider it my party duty to tell you what I think about this matter. It may be that later on much will become more obvious and clearer.

For clarity's sake I will say that I mainly sympathize with the opposition on questions regarding the widening of party democracy. In literature I feel that I have fundamentally been promoting the line of the Central Committee, but I do not feel that Comrade Gusev is a representative of that line.

A. Voronsky
3.III. 1927

P. S. Yaroslavsky's statements about the jubilee of "Red Virgin Soil" are mistaken. Insofar as it depended on me, I tried to lend the jubilee a general party character. It is not my fault that when I learned, and I learned very late, that neither "Pravda" nor "Izvestiia" would be taking part in the jubilee, I then asked Comrades Rakovsky and Radek to come to the gathering. I am under the impression that I was being artificially isolated.