

AFTER MAKHNO

The Anarchist underground in the Ukraine in the 1920s and 1930s: Outlines of history By Anatoly V. Dubovik &

The Story of a Leaflet and the Fate of the Anarchist Varshavskiy (From the History of Anarchist Resistance to Totalitarianism) by D.I. Rublyov
Translated by Szarapow



Nestor Makhno, the great Ukrainian anarchist peasant rebel escaped over the border to Romania in August 1921. He would never return, but the struggle between Makhnovists and Bolsheviks carried on until the mid-1920s. In the cities, too, underground anarchist networks kept alive the idea of stateless socialism and opposition to the party state. New research printed here shows the extent of anarchist opposition to Bolshevik rule in the Ukraine in the 1920s and 1930s.

Cover: 1921 Soviet poster saying "the bandits bring with them a ghost of old regime. Everyone struggle with banditry!" While the tsarist policeman is off-topic here (but typical of Bolshevik propaganda in lumping all their enemies together), the "bandit" probably looks similar to many makhnovists.

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Hidden histories of Anarchism in the Ukraine

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What is Anarchism?

Anarchism is a political theory which opposes the State and capitalism. It says that people with economic power (capitalists) and those with political power (politicians of all stripes left, right or centre) use that power for their own benefit, and not (like they claim) for the benefit of society. Anarchism says that neither exploitation nor government is natural or necessary, and that a society based on freedom, mutual aid and equal shares of the good things in life would work better than this one.

Anarchism is also a political movement. Anarchists take part in day-to-day struggles (against poverty, oppression of any kind, war etc) and also promote the idea of comprehensive social change. Based on bitter experience, they warn that new 'revolutionary' bosses are no improvement: 'ends' and 'means' (what you want and how you get it) are closely connected.

The Anarchist underground in the Ukraine in the 1920s and 1930s

Outlines of history

By Anatoly V. Dubovik (Dnepropetrovsk), 2007

The period after the end of the Russian Civil War is still largely a blank space in the history of socialist movements that were opposed to the Bolshevik regime. Apparently, such a situation is due to an extremely poor number of sources available for studies: huge (we have no doubts about that) numbers of archive cases that are held by the heirs of OGPU-NKVD are barely accessible to any relatively large number of historians; the émigré sources (periodicals, memoirs, personal correspondence etc.) are also given insufficient scientific circulation.

The studies in the history of the anarchist movement are no exception in this sense. Only very recently has it become clear that the Soviet and foreign historians' notions of the anarchists in the USSR after 1921 cannot be reduced to the dark picture of a movement dying and fading away which was painted in 1960-1980s by the likes of S. Kanev and V. Komin in the USSR and P. Avrigh in the USA. In fact the anarchists continued their activities throughout 1920s and even into the 1930s, and in this writer's view, this movement was sometimes even more sizeable than the anarchism of some earlier periods, e.g. of the time between the 1905 and 1917 revolutions.

A creation of the true history of the anti-Bolshevik socialist movement in the USSR is a project for the future. In this article we will attempt to make the most basic rough draft, preliminary outline, contours of the history of anarchism in the Soviet Ukraine – the outlines that will, in the future, certainly be filled in by more detailed and precise research.

* * * * *

In the view of the average person and even of some historians, anarchism in the Ukraine during the Civil War means first and foremost the Makhnovist movement. Such a view is generally incorrect but we shall start our overview with the Makhnovshchina. It will be all the more interesting considering that it is thought the "anarcho-makhnovist" insurgent movement ceased to exist from the moment Nestor Makhno himself fled from the Ukraine to Romania – immediately, or perhaps within the next few months.

In reality, in 1922 and 1923 in the Left-bank, South and East Ukraine independent Makhnovist detachments and underground groups kept operating. The scope and results of their activities are naturally incomparable with what was happening in 1921, and the summaries of the banditry-fighting organs most often mention defeats and liquidations of the Makhnovists. For example, in January 1922 the Destructive detachment of the Bogucharsky regiment as a result of two battles in Starobelsky

uyezd [district] defeated the Zaitsev insurgent detachment (over 70 fighters); Zaitsev himself was killed. That same month in the village of Vozvizhenka in Gulyaypolsky uyezd an underground Makhnovist group numbering 11 people was arrested, and its leader Kulinichenko was killed during an escape attempt. In February in Krivorozhsky uyezd the Ivanov insurgent group was destroyed (120 people), in Poltava region the Lontsov detachment surrendered (200 people). In March in Gulyaypolsky uyezd an insurgent detachment that consisted of 134 previously pardoned Makhnovists was defeated and destroyed, and in a battle in early May the Boiko insurgent detachment was defeated.

Nevertheless, there were more than just defeats in the Makhnovist insurgency of this period. In the spring of 1922 the Danilov insurgent detachment undertook a series of attacks and train robberies on the railroad section between Pologi and Chaplino stations. In Volhynia a mounted group of Makhnovists was making raids; its 30 to 50 members, according to the Soviet intelligence sources, came to the Ukraine from Romania. Alongside more or less active guerrilla operations, raids and leaflet distribution, there were even cases of new detachments forming, for example, in Genichesky uyezd where in April 1922 a new Makhnovist detachment formed, numbering 32 people and headed by the former chief of the uyezd militia.

Quite a number of such facts could be listed. But the matter now is not the number of such facts and their scrupulous listing. The most important thing is that "Makhnovschina after Makhno" is a historical reality that demands to be studied.

Moreover, it has to be acknowledged that the question of when the Makhnovist insurgency ended is yet to be closed because the documents that are in circulation among historians do not provide a definite answer. For example, the summary of the Intelligence department of the armed forces of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (UkrSSR), dated July 14, 1922, mentions that in the territory of Donetsk, Ekaterinoslav, Zaporozhye and Chernigov provinces "gangs aren't present" – while in March 1923 only in the territory of Melitopolsky uyezd there are reports of three acting Makhnovist detachments (led by Krivorotko, Kozakov and Kizilov), numbering a total of over 30 people.

Here's another example. The instruction of the Permanent council on the struggle against banditry of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the UkrSSR, dated December 14, 1922, remarks on the degeneration of political banditry into criminality. – But half a year later, on May 23, 1923, the instruction of the Commander of the troops of the Ukrainian military district and the GPU says that "many kulak gangs are acting in the guise of criminal ones." – I.e. we can see that not only the presence of the political "kulak gangs" is noted, but also their numbers.

In December 1924 the GPU of the UkrSSR, fulfilling a request from the All-Union Council of People's Commissars, made a decision "to smash the remains

of the guerrilla-bandit groups" during the following year. In order to achieve that in several districts GPU banditry-fighting shock groups had to be organised. They were obliged to compile by January 1925 operative plans on the liquidation of gangs and to have exact information as to their connections, bases, numbers and armaments.

However, by mid-1920s the Makhnovist insurgency was actually but a "remainder" of the previous mass movement, dying under the strikes of the punitive expeditions and decomposing in the situation of isolation into ever-smaller detachments and gangs. As opposed to this, the purely anarchist movement, which mostly covered the cities, gained new strength in that period. We shall move on to its history.

Judging by the materials available today, 1922 was the last year of legal practical activity of Russian and Ukrainian anarcho-syndicalists – practical in the syndicalist understanding of the word, i.e. as part of the organised workers' movement, in union and factory structures.

For example, in early 1922 the Ekaterinoslav anarcho-syndicalists were still on the board of administration of the city Food workers' union but in late March they were "removed" after a decision of the provincial Union congress.

Until the Autumn of 1922 anarcho-syndicalists were members of administrative organs of local coal miners' unions and mine committees in a number of towns and villages of Donbas – where the ideas and organisational principles of the American syndicalist organisation Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) started to spread in Summer 1917. Among these towns were Yuzovo (Donetsk), Lugansk, Gorlovka etc.

In 1922 anarchists (probably not just syndicalists) were active (legally or otherwise) in other cities and regions of the Ukraine – Kiev, Odessa, Poltava, Sevastopol, Elisavetgrad, Nikolaev etc. But Kharkov remained the most important centre of the Ukrainian anarchist movement of the early 1920s, much like during the civil war.

Despite the mass arrests in November and December 1922 – which were undertaken by the GPU throughout the USSR, targeted anarchists and socialists and actually liquidated the anarchist organizations that hitherto survived, e.g. the All-Russian Section of Anarcho-Universalists (Vserossiyskaya Sektsiya Anarkho-Universalistov) – the Kharkov anarchists already managed to restart their work in 1923.

In the beginning of the year several Kharkov-based anarchist circles re-established the city-wide organisation on the former programme of the Nabat Confederation of Anarchists of the Ukraine (Konfederatsiya Anarkhistov Ukrainy "Nabat", KAU Nabat). Anarchists were active at a number of large industrial works, foremost of which were the steam-locomotive-building works, railroad depot

and VEK factory; among other things, they were taking part in union activity. At the Technology institute a student group was organised; it was headed by Alexander Volodarskiy, recently pardoned from the condemned cell, and the young anarchist Boris Nemiretskiy who was also involved in the clandestine activities among the Central Archives employees of which he was one. The old anarchist Avenir Uryadov who was condemned to hard labour back in the Tsarist times and just freed after a three-year stint at the Bolshevik political isolator got a job as a tram-driver and started an active propaganda and agitation campaign among the industrial and office workers of the Kharkov tram depot. Among the handicraftsmen who were forced by the Soviets to unite in artels the work was undertaken by old anarchists Pyotr Zakharov who was a board member of the producers' co-operative and Grigoriy Tsesnik.

In 1923 and 1924 the Kharkov members of Nabat were successfully conducting anarchist propaganda among the various aforementioned categories of workers and attracted both young people and older proletarians to their cause. The group was publishing duplicated leaflets and intended to organise an underground printing shop. In order to facilitate that the former leader of the Elisavetgrad anarchist youth group Iuda Reidman got a job at a printing-house but he couldn't fulfill his task of obtaining the type.

The Kharkov group included not just veterans of the movement who had experienced the Tsarist prisons and the troubles of the Civil War – it was reinforced by the new generation of anarchists. For example, the accountant-economist of the Kharkov liqueur and vodka factory Grigoriy Diyakov joined the group in 1923, aged 20; he was arrested in March 1925 for his belonging to the “anarchist underground.”

The Kharkov group was connected to the anarchist underground in a number of other cities (Kiev, Ekaterinoslav, Nikolaev, Donbas etc.) and also, it has to be added, with the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries and Maximalists. The connection with the SRs was maintained via the well-known Left Socialist-Revolutionary Party activist Vladimir Trutovskiy who was exiled in Poltava in 1925-1926 and led the clandestine activities of the Ukrainian Left SRs. Much like many of his fellow party members, he was quite definitely drifting in the direction of anarcho-syndicalism – he recognized “the stateless federation of producers and consumers” as the ideal of Left SRs.

Ukrainian anarchists were active even in small provincial towns – e.g., in the Chernigov province the Klintsy Union of Anarchist-Syndicalists (Klintsevskiy Soyuz Anarkhistov-Sindikalistov) was active. After the union and its organizations – club and library – were shut down by the authorities in 1921, the organisation continued to function illegally, conducting meetings and propaganda work among

workers and young people. Union member Khaim Vaninskiy maintained connections with the exiled Secretariat of the Russian Confederation of Anarchist-Syndicalists (Rossiyskaya Konfederatsiya Anarkhistov-Sindikalistov, RKAS) and Moscow anarcho-communists.

After Kharkov, the second most important city where the anarchists kept up the struggle was Odessa. It was a hub for anarchist activities in the Ukraine as early as 1904. According to the testimony of the well-known Makhnovist and Nabat anarchist Viktor Belash given in 1937, the Odessa group, via the legendary “grandmother” of Ukrainian and Russian anarchism Olga Taratuta who was freed from internal exile in the North of Russia in early 1924, established an illegal channel via the Soviet-Polish border near Rovno. Using this “corridor,” anarchists smuggled literature into the USSR, sent couriers abroad and into the USSR etc. The Rovno “corridor” was used by anarchists in different cities: the émigré literature was delivered not just into the Ukraine, but also to Moscow, Leningrad, Kursk, Volga Region etc. One of the activists of the Kharkov Nabat, Pomeranets, crossed the border repeatedly and maintained regular connections with the RKAS Secretariat in Berlin and with the anarcho-Makhnovist centres in Warsaw and Bucharest.

The renewal of the inter-regional connections and stirring up of the anarchist underground permitted them to consider holding a congress of the Ukrainian anarchists – their first since September 1920. The Kharkov group planned it for August 1924 but the circumstances were not favourable for these plans.

In late 1923 and in the first half of 1924 the Kharkov Nabat members have managed to organise and lead several economic strikes in factories and railroad workshops. The forms used were not just of classic strikes, but also of “Italian” strikes (“work-to-rule”). The demands in these industrial actions were usually the reduction of production norms or refusal to raise them (slogans that were urgent at the times of the New Economic Policy). In most cases that was successful.

But the rise of the industrial action tide and growth of the anarchist movement were stopped by GPU repressions. In Spring 1924 arrests of underground anarchist groups were undertaken in Yuzovo (the local leader Otto Retovskiy was since then permanently confined to prison and internal exile), Poltava (the liquidated group was headed by the former Makhnovist commander Dmitry Bozhko) and Klintsy. In August 1924 a series of simultaneous arrests of anarchists undermined the clandestine work in Kharkov, Kiev and Ekaterinoslav. By the end of the year in Kharkov alone over 70 people were arrested, accused of active anarchist clandestine work. The most active of them were sentenced by the OGPU board to imprisonment at the Solovki Special Purpose Camp or at the political isolators, the rest were internally exiled or were limited in their choice of place to live (so-called “minuses”).

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The arrests continued later. In February 1925 a summary by the UkrSSR GPU reported that the GPU organs had discovered the interconnected underground groups of anarchists and Makhnovists in Ekaterinoslav, Belaya Tserkov, Novograd-Volynsky, Mariupol and Berdyansk. – Obviously by the time the summary was compiled all of these groups were liquidated.

After the 1924 arrests, there remained a clandestine anarchist group in Kharkov in the mid- to late-1920s although its propaganda work was undertaken on a much smaller scale now. The anarchists managed to maintain connections with the émigré centres, continued verbal propaganda among the industrial and office workers, gathered money for exiled comrades in the Anarchist Black Cross fund.

Anarchists who were set free after years-long imprisonment, in some cases started during the Civil War, also joined these clandestine activities. In late 1925 the aforementioned Viktor Belash was allowed out of the Kharkov GPU prison. He reestablished his membership in the underground KAU immediately and on a commission from the Kharkov group undertook a tour of the Makhnovist region in 1925-1926 with the purpose of establishing connections with the former insurgents, discovering underground groups and connecting them with Kharkov.

It has to be mentioned that the former Makhnovists also experienced an upsurge in interest from the punitive organs in mid-twenties. For instance, in June 1926 the UkrSSR GPU issued a top secret summary “On Makhnovists.” Among other things it mentioned that “Makhno is resuming his attempts at ideological leadership of the kulak elements of the village,” due to which the GPU organs were compelled to expose the former Makhnovists and maintain control over them, especially in the regions where the Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine (Revolutsionnaya Povstancheskaya Armiya Ukrainy, RPAU) was active in 1919-1921.

Fulfilling his commission, during 1927 Belash established relations with the Makhnovists in Huliaipole. They were led locally by brothers Vlas and Vasiliy Sharovskiy. It is interesting that Vasiliy Sharovskiy at the time was a committed anarchist although he was a candidate to join the Communist Party and a member of the local Soviet – although during the heyday of the Makhnovist movement he belonged first to the Ukrainian Party of Socialist-Revolutionaries and then was a Bolshevik sympathizer. The former Makhnovists in Huliaipole were holding meetings every now and then, some were “educating the anarcho-Makhnovist youth” (like one of the Chubenko brothers in Novonikolayevka), attempting to organise communes and artels. The most economically successful of those was the Avangard commune in Basan village in the Pologovskiy district of Dnepropetrovskaya oblast. Ex-insurgents’ communes also existed in the Greek village of Kermenchik, in Bolshaya Yanisol, in Konstantinovka, near Grishino. However, according to

Belash, their development and particularly re-establishment of anarchist activity were hindered by lack of people capable of organisational and propaganda work, corruption of everyday life and falling prey to philistinism. Moreover, some of the communards were gradually turning from Makhnovists into Bolsheviks. Another hindrance to the anarchist work was also the lack of trust between the former Makhnovists who felt the attention from the punitive organs and were wary of GPU provocations – some thought that Belash’s sudden appearance in their region was one.

Among the anarchists who distrusted Belash during his trip was the group led by the well-known Makhnovist commander Avraam Budanov. After being pardoned in late 1923, Budanov settled in Mariupol and by mid-1920s he organised and headed an underground group that conducted propaganda among workers in Mariupol and the peasants in the nearby villages and distributed duplicated leaflets. Upon meeting Belash, Budanov studiously showed his disillusionment in political activity, although he was interested in the state of affairs in the Kharkov organisation. Belash was misled by this “security ruse” – and as it soon turned out, for no good reason.

According to the USSR OGPU, the Budanov group, prompted by the start of complete collectivization in 1928, was intending to move from agitation and propaganda work to organising peasant anarchist guerrilla detachments and was gathering arms for that purpose. Shortly before the (ostensibly) scheduled rising, in late 1928 the group was arrested, and the searches at the members’ homes discovered a cache of arms. The GPU sentenced Budanov and another active ex-Makhnovist, Panteleimon Belochub to death by the firing squad. It is curious that during the Makhnovschina Belochub was characterised as an anarchist “with a Soviet deviation,” had some unclear relation to Yevgeniy Polonskiy’s Bolshevik conspiracy [see endnote] and in early 1921 deserted the RPAU and surrendered under an amnesty.

A similar, highly secretive clandestine group was active at the same time in the Mezhevskiy district of the Dnepropetrovsk oblast. It was led by the pardoned Left SR and anarchist Ivan Chernoknizhniy, former chairman of the Makhnovist Revolutionary War Council. In 1928 the GPU arrested seven members of Chernoknizhniy’s group and confiscated 17 bombs, 10 rifles, 1340 cartridges and other weaponry. Regretfully, there is no available information about the connections between Budanov’s and Chernoknizhniy’s groups.

The information on arrests of anarcho-Makhnovist groups in Mariupol, Mezhevskiy district and in Odessa is contained in the OGPU information summary letter #34 “On anarchists,” dated December 1928. The letter demanded that special attention of the punitive organs be paid to “the remainder of anarcho-Makhnovschina.” Among the concrete measures offered were systematic work on exposing the former RPAU cadres and their current anti-Soviet activity, as well as

arresting 'anarcho-kulak' groups in the villages. The letter also mentioned that throughout 1928 23 anarchists and 21 Makhnovists were arrested in the Ukraine.

Speaking of the anarcho-Makhnovist underground, the attempts by the Makhnovist centres abroad to revitalise the activity of their confederates in the UkrSSR can't be ignored. Strictly speaking, at the time we describe (late 1920s) there were two such centres – in Paris around Makhno and in Bucharest, led by the former RPAU artillery commander-in-chief Vasiliy Danilov. It was the Bucharest centre – due to its vicinity to the Ukraine – that was particularly active, sending its agents into Soviet territory. For example, in September 1928 the Soviet-Romanian border was crossed by Makhnovist men Foma Kusch and Konstantin Chuprina who visited Odessa and Huliaipole on a commission from the Bucharest centre of the Makhnovist émigrés to establish connections with the former Makhnovists and underground anarchist groups. Having fulfilled their task, both Makhnovist agents safely returned to Romania. In 1929 Kusch and Chuprina again illegally visited the Odessa region to reconnect with the Makhnovist underground and ostensibly to organise peasants unhappy with the collectivization into insurgent detachments. On their way back both of them were arrested by the OGPU and re-recruited. – Although the "re-recruited" Kusch, upon his return to Romania, informed his émigré comrades about his relationships with the OGPU and later led a double game misinforming the Soviet secret services.

There is relatively little information on the late 1920s anarchists apart from the anarcho-Makhnovist underground.

1927 is marked by a "standalone" case of anarchist Noi Varshavskiy. He had been an anarchist sympathizer since 1911 but previously hadn't taken any sort of active part in the anarchist movement. By 1927 he worked as a deputy head of the labour protection department in the Central Committee of the chemical industry trade union. In Summer 1927 he visited Moscow where he took part in old anarchists' meetings – which is probably how the OGPU got him in their sights. On August 27, 1927, Varshavskiy was arrested at the Odessa train station immediately after paying a visit to Olga Taratuta. During the arrest eight copies of a leaflet supporting the American anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti in Varshavskiy's handwriting were confiscated. The leaflet protested the Soviet authorities' abuse of Sacco and Vanzetti's names at the same time as in reality Soviet Russia itself bore thousands of similarly martyred anarchists. After a four-month investigation, during which Varshavskiy shifted all the blame onto himself and shielded the Moscow anarchists and Taratuta in whatever way he could, in December 1927 he was sentenced by the OGPU Board OSO to 3 years in a political isolator.

That same year there was also some dubious reports on collaboration between the Dnepropetrovsk anarchists and "left-wing opposition": ostensibly, anarchists and Trotskyites together attempted to cause strikes at the factories and at the railroad.

Odessa anarchists made an attempt to revitalize their activity around the boundary of 1928 and 1929. Under the pretence of a New Year's celebration they gathered together at a conference but were arrested by the GPU. In all, some 20 people were held, including activists who were known from the Civil War and even Tsarist times – Aron Vainshtein, Abram Vulis, Lev and Abram Rabinovich, Berta Tubisman, as well as young students and workers Lev Vainberg, Yakov and Aron Gekselman, Lazar Rabinovich and others.

In spring and summer 1929, in the situation of complete collectivization, the aforementioned ex-Makhnovists' communes were dispersed. The openly anarchist members, such as the Sharovskiy brothers, Ivan Chuchko or Maxim Podkova, were expelled from the Ukraine, and the communes themselves were reorganised into collective and state farms.

According to OGPU data, in the first half-year of 1929, 62 anarchists and 40 Makhnovists were arrested in the UkrSSR.

In summer 1929 the adherents of Pyotr Arshinov and Nestor Makhno's "Organisational Platform" made an attempt to spread their activity into the Ukraine. By that time a collective of anarchist old-timers who worked on the organisation of Union of Anarchist Workers (Soyuz Rabochikh Anarkhistov) formed in Moscow. Groups connected to the Union were organised in several cities in European Russia, the Urals and Siberia. In the summer of that year David Skitalets, the "ardent 'Arshinovite' and experienced illegal worker" as his comrades characterised him, went to the South on a Union commission. He visited the port cities of the Ukraine and Crimea and managed to establish connections with the Black Sea Fleet sailors. With the aid of these sailors the Moscow "centre" re-established connections with the anarchist émigrés and set up regular smuggling of the Paris-based *Dielo Truda* magazine into the USSR. It is worth noting that Skitalets was involved in exactly the same sort of activity 18 years previously when he was one of the leaders in the Union of Black Sea Fleet Sailors (Soyuz Chernomorskikh Moryakov). Towards the end of 1929 the Union of Anarchist Workers was smashed by the NKVD, and it should be assumed that its Black Sea branch met the same fate.

Meanwhile, in 1930 the anarchist activities in Kharkov experienced a new upsurge. It was mainly thanks to the return of many previously arrested activists whose exile terms had ended. At the initiative of Pyotr Zakharov, the Kharkov anarchists once again united in an organisation with the Nabat programme and

name. It included Grigoriy Tsesnik, Avenir Uryadov, Reveka Yaroshevskaya (who belonged to the Belostok anarchist group back in 1903) and other experienced underground workers, propagandists and organisers.

According to Belash, in the early 1930s the Kharkov anarchists were most interested and stirred up by the problems of collectivization and the famine that followed. In relation to that they had discussed the perspectives of setting up a mass underground press the use of which was supposed to facilitate the mass resistance to the literally cannibalistic policies of the authorities. But money was needed in order to create an underground printing shop, and they didn't have any. Grigoriy Tsesnik, appealing to the pre-revolutionary experience (including his own) proposed to undertake a robbery ("expropriation") of a bank but he didn't get support. A meeting of the Kharkov Nabat members decided to gather the money needed for setting up a printing shop from the work of their ceramics-making artel and of the commune of old anarchists and SRs (members of the All-Union society of political convicts and exiles) in the Merefa settlement near Kharkov.

Throughout 1930 and 1931 the Kharkov group re-established connections with anarchists in Moscow and Ukrainian cities. They included:

- Elisavetgrad – a group of anarcho-syndicalists formed by "Vanya Chorniy" and other Nikolaev natives who were just freed from internal exile and settlement in Nikolaev;
- Dnepropetrovsk – a group was revived after 1928 by the steam train engine-driver Leonid Lebedev who was wounded in 1923 during the infamous shooting in Solovki; the group he led attempted to once again initiate worker strikes;
- Simferopol where the freed from exile Boris and Lyubov Nemiretskiy settled; they were active anarchists in the early 1920s;
- Kiev where another former exile, Boris Lipovetskiy, returned in 1930;
- and also Voronezh, Bryansk and Orel where Ukrainian Nabat anarchists ended up when they were exiled or limited in their choice of place of residence; one of those was the KAU leader and ideologist of many years, Aron Baron.

Probably unconnected to the Nabat network were relatively small anarchist groups elsewhere in the Ukraine that weren't mentioned in Belash's testimony. Their existence was established from archive materials and other sources.

In 1930 the anarchist activity of Igor Breshkov, 17 years old metallurgist worker from Zaporozhye, started. He got introduced to anarchism via a Moscow anarcho-mystic of the same age, Iosif Ioffe. In 1930-1932 Breshkov was receiving illegal anarchist literature from Moscow and attempted to distribute it. That led to his arrest on December 5, 1932. He was soon sentenced to 3 years in a prison camp.

Also in 1932 an anarcho-syndicalist circle in Cherkassy was arrested. It was organised by young worker Dmitriy Ablamskiy. The circle was distributing anti-Soviet leaflets. The leader was sentenced to 5 years in a prison camp.

The well-known old Petrograd anarcho-syndicalists Pyotr Gerasimchuk and his wife Lidiya Aksyonova settled in Simferopol after having been freed from internal exile. In 1933 and 1934 they made attempts at underground work. They conducted secret correspondence with the Moscow anarchists and discussed the perspectives of renewal of the anarchist movement in the USSR. After evaluating these perspectives as absolutely non-existent due to the police terror the spouses decided to escape abroad from the Soviet Union but they were arrested in early November 1934 as they prepared their escape. During the investigation they were accused not just of anti-Soviet but also of terrorist activity due to which they were both sentenced to the 5 years' imprisonment at the Solovki camp, unusually harsh punishment for the period.

Kharkov anarchists planned to hold a congress of Ukrainian Nabat groups and to reform the KAU. But once again the GPU forestalled them: on February 1, 1934, there were simultaneous arrests of interconnected anarchist groups and circles in Kharkov, Orel, Voronezh and Bryansk. In Kharkov several dozen people were arrested and two working artels of anarchists were liquidated. However, the evidence probably wasn't sufficient and so the punitive organs decided to exile eight of the group leaders, while the rest were freed under surveillance.

Of course, they didn't stay free for long. Already in 1935 Kharkov was "cleared" from anarchists who were arrested and sent into exile one after another. It was probably that year when the collection of money for the Black Cross and passing it to the exiled comrades finally ceased.

By 1937 the vast majority of the Ukrainian anarchists were outside the republic – in prison camps and political isolators, or exiled in Siberia, the Far North or Middle Asia. The bacchanal of terror in UkrSSR had taken the form of a fight against the "right-wing and Trotskyite conspirators" or "bourgeois nationalists," and according to the UkrSSR NKVD data, in all of 1937 there were just 23 anarchists arrested throughout the Ukraine. The case of a fifteen-strong group in Nikolaev region stands out – perhaps it really did exist. The remainder are the mostly solitary old anarchists who weren't previously arrested by some miracle. They lived in Donetsk region (two people, including anarcho-Makhnovist Ivan Lepetchenko), in Dnepropetrovsk, Kharkov, Kiev region (one person each), and perhaps as a curiosity three of the chief UkrSSR NKVD workers.

Finally, in mid-February 1938 in Huliaipole and Dnepropetrovsk over thirty active ex-Makhnovists were arrested and accused of belonging to the illegal organisation – the Huliaipole Military-Makhnovist Counterrevolutionary Insurgent

Regiment (Gulyay-Polskiy Voenno-Makhnovskiy Kontrrevolyutsionniy Povstancheskiy Polk). Among the other charges were connections to the Ukrainian nationalist centre in Kiev, the foreign Makhnovist centre in Bucharest and Central anarchist group in Moscow, armed struggle against the Soviet authorities, preparations for a rising, anti-Soviet agitation, working on terror and sabotage. The arrestees included the Sharovskiy brothers (who were accused of leading the “regiment”), Konstantin Chuprina and Nazar Zuichenko. All of them were sentenced to death by the firing squad by a decision of the UNKVD Troika for the Dnepropetrovsk region, dated April 25, 1938.

A similar case cropped up at the Zelyoniy Gai khutor in Zaporozhye region where 22 ex-Makhnovists were arrested. Seven of them, including the former deputy commander of the RPAU Artillery, Dmitriy Sipliviy, were sentenced to be shot by the UNKVD Troika for the Zaporozhye region.

We will probably never know whether these cases were completely invented by the investigators or there were some actual facts of clandestine activity...

* * * * *

Endnote

Polonskiy Yevgeniy (?-02.12.1919)

Son of a fisherman in Berdiansk. Black Sea Fleet sailor. Member of Left SRs party (1917-1918), Communist Party (Bolshevik) from Spring 1918. In February – April 1918 worked as a member of Huliai-Polye revolutionary committee (Gulyay-Polskiy Revkom), commander of “Free Battalion” (“Volniy Batalyon”). Member of the Makhnovist movement from Autumn 1918, regiment commander. In Spring 1919 switched sides to RKKA (Workers & Peasants Red Army). In August 1919 joined the Makhnovshchina again, approved as a commander of the 3rd Crimean regiment of the RPAU. Joined the underground Bolshevik revolutionary committee which acted on the territory taken by the Makhnovists and prepared for assassinations of Makhno and other leaders of the insurgency at its order. Was uncovered by the Makhnovist counter-intelligence, arrested and shot on December 2, 1919 in Ekaterinoslav.

(From www.makhno.ru, compiled by A. Dubovik, A. Belash)

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Translated by Szarapow. (Translator's note: all of people's and most place-names are transcribed from Russian, so there may be some differences if referred against the Ukrainian or Yiddish version; but since Kharkov, Huliaipole or Odessa have been largely Russian-speaking cities that should hardly be a problem).

The Story of a Leaflet and the Fate of Anarchist Varshavskiy (From the History of Anarchist Resistance to Totalitarianism)

D.I. Rublyov¹

Some researchers, generally following the 1960s-1980s Soviet historiographic tradition, view the 1920s as a period of crisis and decline of the anarchist movement in the territory of the USSR.² According to works by other authors and the documents published in late 1990s-early 2000s it is evident that the active struggle of anarchist organisations in many regions of the USSR continued throughout the 1920s in conditions of repression and illegality. During that time the anarchists attempted to reconstitute the federations that were previously smashed, published leaflets and underground magazines, actively participated in the unemployed workers' riots, agitated for the creation of independent unions of workers, unemployed and peasants, called for the struggle to destroy the bureaucratic regime through social revolution and building of the stateless communist society based on self-government. The OGPU even noted the cases of expropriations organised by anarchists. The range of social strata that the anarchists worked with in this period is pretty wide. It's workers and unemployed, peasants, teachers, students and those who were "purged" from institutes of higher education due to being politically suspect, conscripts and soldiers, RKSM (Russian Communist Youth Union) members and former VKP(b) (All-Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) members, even the Cossacks.³ The anarcho-mystics' circles that operated among the intelligentsia were also pretty numerous in the 1920s.⁴ Attempts to reconstitute anarchist organizations continued into the 1930s. The best-known of those include the attempts to revive to Nabat Confederation of Ukrainian Anarchists (Konfederatsiya anarkhystov Ukrainy Nabat) in 1934 and the activity of the underground anarchist group at the Stalingrad chemical plant in 1937.⁵

Studying the archived investigation cases of anarchists uncovers for researchers new, hitherto unknown facts related to the history of resistance to the Bolshevik regime in the late 1920s. One of these we will talk about in this article.

On January 11, 1926 the Supreme Court of the USA finally confirmed a death sentence for American anarcho-communists, members of the workers' movement Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti who were arrested on false charges of killing and robbing a paymaster of a shoe factory in South Braintree on April 15, 1920, as well as a number of other expropriations. Although the two men's innocence was proven, the court rejected the appeal by the defense. On August 23, 1927 both were executed. The protest campaign, which in many countries included demonstrations in front of US embassies and clashes with police, was not ignored by the USSR. The Comintern Executive Committee issued appeals protesting the execution of

Sacco and Vanzetti on August 26 and 27, 1927. The leadership of the VKP(b) and organizations under its control developed a country-wide official protest campaign that included mass demonstrations, meetings at factories and plants and sending protest resolutions to the USA.⁶

The anarchists also participated in the campaign for Sacco and Vanzetti. In the Summer of 1927 a group of Moscow anarchists sent abroad a telegram protesting Sacco and Vanzetti's sentence. It was signed by 12 people. At the same time the Moscow anarchists decided to organise a protest meeting. It was expected that its proposed aim – to express outrage at persecution of members of revolutionary workers' movement in capitalist countries – would not cause it to be banned. Apart from the chief purpose of the meeting, as one of its sponsors N. I. Varshavskiy noted in his testimony several years later, "it was supposed that the meeting would provide us with an opportunity to propagate anarchist ideas and cause the listener to sympathise with them".⁷ The meeting was supposed to be addressed by well-known anarchists – Vladimir Barmash, Alexei Borovoi, Nikolai Rogdayev, Vladimir Khudolei and Ivan Kharkhardin. Barmash and Varshavskiy handed in the application to hold a meeting to the Administrative department of the Moscow soviet several times but they were refused. The meeting did not take place.

Let's talk a little about our article's chief hero.

Noi Ilyich Varshavskiy [translator's note: The biography on Memorial website (<http://socialist.memo.ru/lists/bio/14.htm>) by Anatoly Dubovik gives his first name as Noi (not Non). Taken from documents of the Political Red Cross (Politicheskii Krasnyi Krest), and their questionnaires.] was born in 1895 in Poltava in a Jewish petty bourgeois family. His father was a white-collar worker in a printing-house. From his early childhood Varshavskiy lived in Kursk where he graduated from a commercial school by 1914. Between 1915 and 1921 he lived in Kiev where he went in order to get further education. It seems that he didn't succeed in that – the questionnaire he filled in during his arrest in 1949 lists his education as "primary."⁸ From 1921 he lived in Moscow. By then Varshavskiy was married⁹ and had a daughter.¹⁰ After meeting anarchist P. Chernenko in Kursk in 1911 he was an anarchist sympathizer though he didn't take an active part in the movement. Between 1915 and 1927 Varshavskiy's interest in anarchism was expressed in buying and reading anarchist literature, befriending some anarchists and visiting – in 1917 and 1919 – the anarchist and maximalist club in Kiev. Actually, Varshavskiy's active participation in the anarchist movement started in 1927. At the time he worked as deputy head of the labour protection department in the Central Committee of the chemical industry trade union where he met anarchist Mariya Vartanovna Petrosova who worked in the same department. Petrosova introduced him to one of the leaders of Moscow anarcho-communists, Vladimir Vladimirovich

Barmash with whom he formed a close friendship. Varshavskiy also knew other anarchists – Khudolei, Kharkhardin, Ghezzi, Rogdayev, Borovoi, Alexei Solonovich, as well as anarcho-syndicalist Gerasimchuk.¹¹

Indignant at the authorities' refusal to permit the meeting, in early August 1927 Varshavskiy wrote a leaflet, the text of which we reproduce here:

With the oppressed against oppressors – always!

WORKING MEN AND WOMEN!

For seven years, every day waiting for the execution, in the torture-chambers of American bourgeoisie two workers languish – anarchists SACCO and VANZETTI.

The electric chair threatens the fighters who gave all of their days to the cause of liberation of the oppressed from the yoke of capital, to the cause of struggle for the future society where no man would exploit another.

It's not the first time that the furious slave-owners try to make short work of the slaves who realize the tasks that lie ahead of them. There's no government in the world, be it fascist, democratic or Soviet, the hands of which wouldn't be stained with blood of conscious anarchist proletarians but no amount of terror will ever stop the coming revolution, or weaken the workers' will to fight. Every execution recruits new thousands into our ranks.

The savage reprisal that is being prepared for Sacco and Vanzetti has stirred up millions-strong masses of workers; the proletariat of the entire world wrestles two of its committed fighters from the strong claws of the bourgeoisie through striking and demonstrating, besieging the American consulates and boycotting American products.

Even the bureaucratic clique of the various yellow unions and parties, as it fears losing the remainder of their allies, is forced into writing hypocritical protests.

As the ruling Communist party makes noise to support Sacco and Vanzetti, at the same time it stuffs its gaols full of their comrades-in-arms and increases trading with the American capital on the quiet.

Workers of the USSR who are pressed by the grip of the communist reaction would nevertheless not fall behind their brothers abroad and fulfil their task to the end.

Comrades, protest against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Unmask the hypocrisy of the ruling party, demand the liberation of Sacco and Vanzetti's anarchist comrades who languish in the gaols of the USSR.

Demand the trade relations with America to be broken.

Down with the executioners' governments! Down with the state, the capital and the gaols!

Raise higher the black flag of struggle for anarchy, for economic equality, for the destruction of unemployment, for free organisations of the city and the village – trade unions and co-operatives independent from the state.

Long live anarchy!

*A group of anarchists.*¹²

We reproduce the text of the leaflet from the typewritten copy that was included with Varshavskiy's investigation case when he was re-arrested in 1949. He maintained then that he made eight typewritten copies of the leaflet. It is not very clear whether Varshavskiy's actions were a part of prepared campaign by the Moscow anarchists. Neither it is known if the other anarchists in Moscow knew about the leaflet, or if they attempted to copy and distribute it. The materials of Varshavskiy's archive investigation case do not contain any information regarding the distribution of the leaflet in Moscow. In his testimony to the investigators both in 1927 and in 1949 Varshavskiy maintained that he didn't distribute the leaflet in Moscow and didn't inform any of the Moscow anarchists about his plans. He absolutely refused to say whose typewriter was used to make copies of the leaflet. Vladimir Barmash, who was also interrogated in connection with the Varshavskiy case in 1927, denied any connection between the leaflet and the Moscow anarchists.

Judging by Varshavskiy's further actions, he attempted to establish connection with the anarchists in the South of the country. During his summer vacation he went to Odessa where on August 22 he visited the well-known anarchist Olga Ilyinichna Taratuta whom he met, according to his testimony during investigation, back at the Kiev anarchist club. He discussed the contents of the leaflet with her and left two copies to duplicate and distribute. Why did Varshavskiy had to get in touch with Taratuta isn't very clear. Perhaps he was acting on a commission from the Moscow anarchists, namely Barmash and Petrosova with whom he was closer than with the other comrades. Perhaps it was due to the fact that Olga Ilyinichna, old revolutionary and Tsarist-era political convict commanded a lot of respect among anarchists, and due to her break with the Political Convicts' Society as a protest against the Bolshevik domination of its structures, had a reputation as a non-conformist. In any case, Varshavskiy sought her approval and advice: "Taratuta commanded much authority among anarchists, and that's exactly why I decided to ask her for advice."¹³

Varshavskiy, as an active anarchist, was probably tailed since the moment he left Moscow. The circumstances of his all too quick arrest point to that. He intended to go to Kiev from Odessa. Right after talking to Taratuta he went to the train station where he was arrested [translator's note: A day before Sacco and Vanzetti were executed! That leaflet does ring true.]. During arrest the remaining six copies of the leaflet were found on him, as well as a note from one "Dvof" to "Aron."¹⁴

Varshavskiy refused to co-operate with the investigation when he was interrogated. Besides refusing to say who helped him type up the leaflet in Moscow, he refused to disclose the name of his acquaintance with whom he wanted to meet in Odessa, disclose who "Dvof" and "Aron" (mentioned in the note that was taken from him) were and tried to shield Taratuta. He insisted that he visited her by accident, as an old friend, and didn't discuss anarchism or leaflets with her. He maintained that he only brought with him the leaflets that were confiscated from him at the train station. He also denied having any criminal plans against the authorities and said that the leaflets were written by him with no purpose to distribute them but exclusively "from the mood." Even after the Odessa GPU searched Taratuta's home and confiscated the two remaining leaflets, Varshavskiy maintained his line of defense and insisted that he didn't know how the leaflets he typed up ended up with Taratuta. Some of Varshavskiy's statements to the investigators seem pretty naïve and unprepared. For example, he claimed: "I have no relation to the meeting whatsoever, I went with Barmash [to the Administrative department of the Moscow soviet. – D.R.] because I was idle."¹⁵ Varshavskiy was taken to Moscow and on December 23, 1927 was sentenced by a decision of the Special Council attached to the OGPU on article 58-10 of the RSFSR Criminal Code to three years in ITL ['corrective-labour camp'].¹⁶ He served his sentence at the Suzdal political isolator. The Moscow anarchists seems to have informed the comrades abroad about Varshavskiy's arrest because in 1928, while at the political isolator, he received two small postal money orders from the French anarchists. According to his testimony, during his gaol time Varshavskiy moved away from active participation in anarchist organisations. His words suggest that it was due to the sympathies of the Moscow anarchists in the Barmash group for the ideas of Makhno and Arshinov's "Platform" which advocated creation of an anarchist party, the role of which in the workers' movement they understood in almost the same way as the Bolsheviks. The ideological evolution of the comrades he respected, their aspiration to create a centralised party organisation were in Varshavskiy's eyes an evidence of failure of anarchism: "Later I continued standing on anarchist positions but after meeting Barmash, Khudolei and Kharkhardin again in 1929 at the political isolator and finding out that they support creating an anarchist party, which didn't correspond with my convictions, I started to rethink my views on the fortunes of anarchy, and after long meditations I came to the conclusion that its idea proved to be impracticable."¹⁷ After serving out his gaol sentence in 1930 he was internally exiled to Siberia for three years.

Upon his return to Moscow in 1933 Varshavskiy got a job as work superintendent at construction sites. In this period he didn't associate with any of the anarchists that he was previously acquainted with, with the exception of the Italian

anarchist émigré Francesco Ghezzi who lived in Odintsovo in the Moscow region and once came to visit Varshavskiy. In September 1942 Varshavskiy was drafted to the Red Army and until October 1945 he served as military clerk and loader in the rear units of the North-West, Leningrad and later Far Eastern fronts. He ended the war as a private, and was awarded with a medal "For the Victory over Germany." After the war he worked as construction chief at the Ozeretskiy state farm, then as senior engineer at the MOSPO major construction works department.

On September 22, 1949 Varshavskiy, like many others who were previously gaoled under article 58 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, was rearrested and charged with "active anti-soviet work."¹⁸ During a search of his apartment books on theory and history of anarchism he kept since the 1920s were discovered and confiscated: Lev Chorniy's "On Classes" (published in 1919) and A. Borovoi and N. Otverzheniy's "The Bakunin Myth" (published in 1925).¹⁹ The materials of the case expose the investigator's attempts to force Varshavskiy into confessing about his "anti-soviet activities." But he maintained categorically that he didn't undertake any since his conviction in 1927 and has no connections to the anarchists.²⁰ It seems that Varshavskiy was subjected to the many standard pressure methods during the investigation. Suffice to say that the interrogations listed in his case all took place at night and lasted between 1 ½ and 6 hours each.²¹

Although the investigation admitted that "no data confirming the undertaking of anti-soviet activities by the accused in the following years was discovered," Varshavskiy, having been an active anarchist in the past, was recognized as a "socially dangerous person." On February 25, 1950 he was sentenced by the Special Council attached to the USSR Minister for State Security on article 7-35 of the RSFSR Criminal Code to ten years' internal exile in the Krasnoyarsk Territory.²²

Varshavskiy attempted to dispute the OSO [Special Council] decision as illegal. But his complaint to the Minister of Internal Affairs Lavrentiy Beria, lodged on May 18, 1953 [translator's note: That's a few weeks after Stalin's death; in 1953 there were mass amnesties, mostly of non-political convicts.] was turned down. The rehabilitation followed in 1955 by the decision of the judicial board on criminal cases of the Supreme Court of the USSR. We are not aware of N.I. Varshavskiy's further fate.

Varshavskiy's choice to participate in the active anarchist struggle seems to have been a conscious decision. He started his active participation as a grown-up, mature family man, and at the most unfavourable time for the anarchists at that. After seeing from his personal experience that under a totalitarian regime, legal work becomes absurd, he came to accept the necessity of underground work.²³ Quick defeat in the struggle, lack of perspectives for the movement and probably worry for

his family contributed to his moving away from anarchism. Probably the most important reason for his disillusionment in anarchism was disillusionment in anarchists. His friends seemed to have come to ideas that weren't very far from Bolshevism. He didn't slander himself or anyone else in 1927 or 1949 which wasn't that easy at the time. Until 1949 Varshavskiy kept anarchist literature at home which was dangerous for him as an ex-anarchist.

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<http://socialist.memo.ru/books/html/varshavsky.html>

[Translated by Szarapow]

Notes

1 Dmitry Ivanovich Rublyov, post-graduate student at the State University of Humanitarian Sciences (Moscow), Candidate in History and senior lecturer at MSUEE.

2 See: Kanev S.N. Oktyabrskaya revolyutsiya i krakh anarkhizma (borba partii bolshevikov protiv anarkhizma 1917-1922 gg.). Ī. 1974. Yermakov V.D. Anarkhistskoye dvizheniye v Rossii: istoriya i sovremennost. SPb. 1997. Shtyrbul A.A. Anarkhistskoye dvizheniye v Sibiri v 1-y chetverti XX veka. (1900-1925). Chast 2. Omsk. 1996. And also articles by V.V. Krivenkiy in: Politicheskiye partii Rossii: istoriya i sovremennost. M. 1996. S. 32-35.

3 "Sovershenno sekretno": Lubyanka – Stalinu o polozhenii v strane (1922-1934 gg.). Tom 2. S. 31, 49, 97, 104-105, 131, 142, 153-154, 180-181, 209-210, 240, 271, 294, 307-309, 392, 397-398. See also: Yarutskiy M. Makhno i makhnovtsy. Mariupol. 1995. S. 330-342. Razumov A. Pamyati yunosti Lidii Chukovskoi. // Zvezda. 1999. # 9. S. 117-136. Leontiyev Ya.V. Iz istorii poslednikh stranits anarkho-dvizheniya v SSSR: delo A. Barona i S. Ruvinskogo (1934 g.) // Pyotr Alexeyevich Kropotkin I problemy modelirovaniya istoriko-kulturnogo razvitiya tsivilizatsii: materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii. SPb. 2005. S. 157-171. Glushakov Yu.E. Idei P.A. Kropotkina I ikh posledovateli v Belorussii: o sudbakh i deyatelnosti anarkhistov v 1920-30-ye gg. // Pyotr Alexeyevich Kropotkin I problemy modelirovaniya istoriko-kulturnogo razvitiya tsivilizatsii: materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii. SPb. 2005. S. 82-83. On the activities and fates of Russia's anarchists in 1920s see also: Nikitin A.L. Mistiki, rozenkreitsery i tampliry v Sovetskoj Rossii: issledovaniya i materialy. M. 2000; Bykovskiy S. Anarkhisty – chleny Vsesoyuznogo obshchestva politkatorzhan i sslynoposelentsev. // Vsesoyuznoye obshchestvo politkatorzhan i sslynoposelentsev. Obrazovaniye, razvitiye, likvidatsiya. 1921-1935. M. 2004. S. 83-108; Dolzhanskaya L.A. "Ya byl i ostalsya anarkhistom". Sudba Franchesko Gettsi (po materialam sledstvennogog dela). // Pyotr Alexeyevich Kropotkin I problemy modelirovaniya

istoriko-kulturnogo razvitiya tsivilizatsii: materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii. SPb. 2005. S. 238-256.

4 See: Nikitin A.L. Op. cit.; Orden rossiyskikh tampliyerov. Tt. 1-3. Ī. 2003.

5 Leontiyev Ya.V. Op. cit. S. 160-162. Shubin A.V. Anarkhiya – mat poryadka. Mezhdru krasnymi i belymi. Ī. 2005. S. 378-380.

6 For more details about this campaign see: Kulyshev Yu. Sakko i Vantsetti. Ī. 1963. S. 38, 43, 44. For the texts of the Comintern Executive Committee appeals see: Gornev A. Borba za Sakko i Vantsetti. M. 1927. S. 30-32.

7 GARF (State archive of the Russian Federation). F. 10035. Op. 1. D. P-30827. L. 21 ob — 22.

8 Ibid. L. 6 ob.

9 Wife – Anna Lvovna Nisnevich (born 1895).

10 Daughter – Liya Nonovna Varshavskaya (born 1919).

11 Pavel Petrovich Gerasimchuk, printer, from 1924 – one of the founders of the anarcho-syndicalist publishing house “Golos truda” (“Voice of Labour”). Varshavskiy knew him since 1925. At the time Gerasimchuk worked at the Federatsiya (Federation) anarchist bookstore in Moscow where Varshavskiy was buying anarchist literature.

12 GARF. F. 10035. Op. 1. D. P-30827. L. 38.

13 Ibid. L. 22.

14 This note and its contents are mentioned in the copies of the 1927 Varshavskiy examination record. But neither the note itself nor a copy thereof are included with the case.

15 GARF. F. 10035. Op. 1. D. P-30827. L. 43.

16 ITL (Ispravitelno-trudoviye lagerya) – Corrective labour camps.

17 GARF. F. 10035. Op. 1. D. P-30827. L. 26.

18 Ibid. L. 2.

19 Ibid. L. 18.

20 Ibid. L. 22 ob., 31.

21 Ibid. L. 21, 24, 27.

22 Ibid. L. 49, 56, 60, 62.

23 Ibid. L. 41.