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Reginald E. Zelnik

The Fate of a Russian Bebel

Semen Ivanovich Kanatchikov, 1905-1940

REES

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## Introduction

The former worker-revolutionary Semen Kanatchikov ended his autobiography, *From the Story of My Life*, with his departure from Saratov at the onset of the 1905 Revolution. "I left for Moscow to face the revolutionary storm," he wrote. "There I chose a new specialization—I became a professional revolutionary."<sup>1</sup> When my translation of that work appeared in 1986, there was little information available with which to reconstruct Kanatchikov's life between the time when his own account broke off and his death at the age of 61 in 1940. My brief "Postscript," barely four printed pages, gave only a thumbnail account of the highlights of his later career, and concluded with the speculation that something went awry for Kanatchikov, now an "Old Bolshevik," around 1936, though I was still somewhat hopeful that he died a natural death.<sup>2</sup>

That hope was surely false. The well-informed historian Roy Medvedev asserts in the recently revised edition of his magisterial *Let History Judge*, that Kanatchikov was arrested and killed.<sup>3</sup> While the circumstances of his death remain a mystery (though one that I hope will soon be untangled by historians of the purges, especially if they access the relevant archives of the KGB), the opening up of archives of the Communist Party Central Committee (TsK) and the Society of Old Bolsheviks (OSB) has enabled scholars to enrich their knowledge of Kanatchikov's post-1905 career and to learn much more about the moment when things indeed began to go awry.<sup>4</sup>

For purposes of clarity, I will divide the story illuminated by these new materials into three parts. Part I covers the years from the onset of the 1905 Revolution, when the printed autobiography breaks off, to the end of the Civil War and the start of NEP in 1921. Part I concludes at that point not only because it coincides with normal periodization, but also because 1921 is the final year in a fourteen-page unpublished "*Avtobiografiia*", a typescript produced by Kanatchikov

in 1923 "for presentation" to the Central Committee of the Communist Party ("*dlia predstavleniia v TsK RKP*"). My translation of the second half of that typescript is included here as Document 1. (The first half covers the author's life before 1905, material presented much more colorfully in Kanatchikov's published book.)

Part II covers the years 1921 to 1928, and ends with Kanatchikov's renunciation of his involvement with the Leningrad opposition in 1926-1927, a modest affair that he ended with a short letter to "Comrade Stalin" in January 1928. Although I have not seen the original, Kanatchikov reproduced the letter, presumably *in toto*, in the body of a petition that he presented to the OSB in April 1935 (included here as Document 3). Document 2 is a letter that Kanatchikov sent to an acquaintance (referred to only by his first name and patronymic) on the day after he wrote to Stalin. Although the reasoning is not very clear, the letter, which purports to explain Kanatchikov's withdrawal from the opposition, is a splendid illustration of the ideological confusions that characterized the times.

Part III covers the period from 1928 to Kanatchikov's arrest in 1936. Not surprisingly, this is the least successfully reconstructed period. What is known of Kanatchikov's life during this period comes from his April 1935 petition to the OSB Presidium (included here as Document 3) and several allusions to him in a recent article in *Literaturnaia gazeta*, the periodical which he edited at the time of his arrest. The petition to the OSB is Kanatchikov's rather pathetic attempt to convince that body, itself on the eve of extinction, to reverse its decision not to publish a new edition of his autobiography.

Before turning to Kanatchikov's life from 1905, a few observations are in order about how the first half of Kanatchikov's typed "*Avtobiografiia*," the part of the document not reproduced here, compares with his treatment of the same period in his book. The book is, of course, much longer (384 pages in my translated version) and correspondingly more detailed. But the typescript closely parallels the book in its outline—it might even be seen as a preliminary sketch for the book—and none of the information it contains seriously contradicts the published account. Even the style is similar, although the book was written with much more attention to form

and literary stratagem.<sup>5</sup> All told, the typescript reinforces my earlier impression that, except for a few passages where considerations of political expediency were evident, the book was very much Kanatchikov's own work and authentically recreated his earlier life, if not in all respects as it actually was, then at least as he best remembered it.

But some minor differences are worth noting.<sup>6</sup> For one, in describing Kanatchikov's first exposure to socialist writings as an apprentice pattern-maker in Moscow, the typescript is quite circumspect in assessing the impact on the author of George Plekhanov's pamphlet *Russkii rabochii v revoliutsionnom dvizhenii*: "[A]lthough I read this book with great interest, much of it was incomprehensible to me, since it was written in a not very popular [*malo populiarno*] style."<sup>7</sup> In the published account, however, we read that the pamphlet clarified matters that were previously incomprehensible to Kanatchikov, accelerating his emancipation from "old prejudices."<sup>8</sup> In this case, the more plausible version is surely the un-published one.

Another case in which the earlier version seems more credible is the author's description of an 1899 conversation with a Petersburg student, Ilia Shendrikov. In both the typescript and the book, Kanatchikov stresses the student's aggressive promotion of terror. Although Kanatchikov does note in the book that he was fascinated by the arguments between Shendrikov and other students, in the unpublished "*Avtobiografiia*", after he summarizes Shendrikov's terrorist views, he admits that "[W]e had a positive attitude toward terror" (*K terroru my otnosilis' sochuvstvenno*).<sup>9</sup> Since Bolsheviks were to eschew individual acts of terror, here we may reasonably assume that the published version was sanitized for the sake of political correctness.

The pattern, however, was not consistent, for there are cases where the published version was more reliable. An interesting example is the claim in the typescript, repeated on questionnaires (*ankety*) that Kanatchikov filled out for the OSB and TsK, that in St. Petersburg in 1898-1899, he belonged to the "Union of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class" (*Soiuz bor'by za osvobozhdenie rabocheho klassa*).<sup>10</sup> Although by the time he arrived in St. Petersburg in late 1898

the Union bore little resemblance to the "Leninist" Union of Struggle of 1895-1897, for Kanatchikov to claim early membership in it was to claim some political panache. The Union was, after all, "the pioneer Social Democratic organization in Russia."<sup>11</sup> But nowhere in the relevant parts of his published book does Kanatchikov claim membership in the Union or in any organization other than a loosely organized workers' circle (*kruzhek*); he simply notes, and only once, that he sometimes passed out the Union's leaflets.<sup>12</sup> Kanatchikov evidently thought twice before repeating in print the kind of self-aggrandizing claim that might slip by in an unpublished memoir or *anketa*.<sup>13</sup>

## **Part I: 1905-1921**

Kanatchikov's life from 1905 to 1921 will be summarized here briefly, since it is covered in considerable detail in Document 1. The highlights are as follows. In 1905, Kanatchikov began his career as a full-time "professional revolutionary" in Moscow, where he performed underground tasks for the RSDRP's (Russian Social Democratic Workers Party) Bolshevik-dominated Moscow Committee. That summer, with police hot on his trail, he was sent by "our organization" to do political work in St. Petersburg. (From this point on we regularly see him being "sent"—the verb is usually *npravit'*—somewhere by the party, a role that he seems to have relished). There he joined the RSDRP's Petersburg Committee (also Bolshevik-dominated at the time) and became a leading political organizer, first in the city's Narva region, site of the famous Putilov works, and then in its Neva region, where he once had lived. During this period in St. Petersburg, he made valuable political contacts, among them the future president of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Kalinin, and the famed Bolshevik activist, Elena Stasova. He also met his future wife, Bliuma Solomonovna Landau, who was a Menshevik at the time, obviously Jewish, and most probably an *intelligentka*.<sup>14</sup>

Kanatchikov remained in Petersburg through the momentous events of the fall of 1905, and he was there to see the revolutionary wave "subside" in December. Then, in January 1906, the RSDRP's Central Committee dispatched him to the Urals where, in turn, its Ekaterinburg Provincial Committee (*Gubkom*) sent him on to Nizhnii Tagil, some seventy-five miles north of Ekaterinburg. In the spring of 1906, he represented Nizhnii Tagil at the RSDRP's "Unity Congress" in Stockholm, his first journey abroad (and his last until 1926). Shortly after returning to the Urals, he was arrested by government agents; but thanks to a false passport, which gave his name as Iargin, he was not identified by the police and was released after two months in the Perm prison.<sup>15</sup>

Kanatchikov then returned to Moscow, where he worked both underground and openly, as an official in the now legalized trade-union movement. Rearrested in 1907, he was again released after two months in jail. He returned to Petersburg where, in 1908, he headed the party organization of the city's Moscow district (south of the Obvodnyi canal). He soon became deeply involved in "legal" work, mainly as secretary of the tanners' and woodworkers' unions, but also as a labor journalist and a lecturer in workers' clubs.<sup>16</sup>

Kanatchikov continued his political activity, including what turned out to be a fateful collaboration with Zinoviev (see below) until January 1910, when he was again arrested.<sup>17</sup> This time he did not get off so lightly. After being held in solitary confinement in the Petersburg House of Preliminary Detention for nearly two years, in 1911 he was convicted of membership in a revolutionary group by the Regional Court (*Sudebnaia palata*) and sentenced to exile for life.<sup>18</sup>

Most of Kanatchikov's exile years, 1912-1916, were spent in the villages of Irkutsk. In the summer of 1912, he was joined by Bliuma Landau (still a Menshevik) and the two were married. (Could her conversion to Bolshevism have figured in their vows?) Life in exile, however unpleasant, allowed him to read and write, engage in sharp political debate (as a "defeatist," he debated with "defensists" about the war), edit a newspaper, hold independent jobs, help administer a cooperative, and

function as husband and, in due course, father (a son was born in 1913, another—three years later).

In 1916, Kanatchikov and his family moved to the west Siberian town of Novonikolaevsk, where he worked with (among others) the controversial Aleksei Gastev.<sup>19</sup> In March 1917, freed from exile by the February Revolution, Kanatchikov chose to remain in Novonikolaevsk where, like many other Bolsheviks prior to Lenin's return, he was at first quite comfortable collaborating (once again) with Menshevik comrades. Although he was in Petrograd representing the Novonikolaevsk Social Democrats when Lenin arrived, he spent most of 1917 in western Siberia, first in Novonikolaevsk, then in nearby Tomsk. After the July Days, it appears that he all but abandoned what remnants there were of his belief in Bolshevik-Menshevik collaboration, and after the October Revolution, he threw in his lot with those who preferred a pristine Bolshevik regime. (It is noteworthy, however, that when fighting erupted at the outset of the Civil War, according to Kanatchikov, "we could not get ourselves to shoot the SRs."<sup>20</sup>)

As a Bolshevik regional leader when Czech soldiers began to take over the Trans-Siberian line in May of 1918, Kanatchikov had to evacuate Tomsk along with his family and other "Reds."<sup>21</sup> He spent the fall of 1918 in Perm, where he engaged in activities that were soon to typify his party career: education, propaganda, editing.<sup>22</sup> During that period, he was separated from his family, which was stranded in Ekaterinburg city, then under White occupation. In late November, he was summoned to Moscow, where for the next several months he held some fairly important government positions and helped organize what became the "Communist University," posthumously named for Iakov Sverdlov.

In the summer of 1919, Kanatchikov returned to Ekaterinburg, which the Red Army had captured, where he administered various educational bureaus. In December, after a short stint in Moscow, the TsK sent him to Omsk where he rejoined his family, which he had not seen since the summer of 1918.<sup>23</sup> After eleven months in Omsk, Kanatchikov was sent to Kazan in the Tatar Republic, where he held both government and party posts. In September 1921, at age 42, he returned

to Petrograd, where, with only four years of elementary education, he was named rector of the "Zinoviev" Communist University, a post he still held at the time he completed his "*Avtobiografiia*."

## Part II: 1921-1928

Given the paucity of materials on Kanatchikov for this period, there are only a few new items to add to my 1986 "Postscript." As I noted there, Kanatchikov remained in his university rectorship for three years and then moved to Moscow to chair the Central Committee's Press Bureau (*Otdel pechati*) from July through November 1924, and its Department of Historical Research (*Otdel Istparta*, or *Istpart*) from the end of 1924 to 1926.<sup>24</sup> He was held in such high esteem by important officials that, shortly before Kanatchikov moved to Moscow in 1924, F. N. Petrov, head of the Commissariat of Enlightenment's Chief Administration of Scientific Institutions (*Glavnauka*), requested that he be appointed deputy chief of *Glavnauka*'s Leningrad branch, citing the "extraordinary importance" that Kanatchikov's participation in its work would have. The Central Committee's Northwestern Bureau endorsed the request "in order to strengthen Communist influence on *Glavnauka*."<sup>25</sup> During these years, Kanatchikov was a delegate to party congresses, gave public lectures, and authored several pieces, including two anti-Trotsky brochures.

But perhaps in 1925 and certainly in 1926, Kanatchikov began to find himself on the losing side of one of the Soviet Union's bitter intra-Party struggles. He allowed himself to be identified with Zinoviev's "Leningrad opposition" (in his unpublished writing, Kanatchikov simply calls it "the opposition"), which was then engaged in what was destined to be Zinoviev's futile effort to unite with Trotsky against Stalin, Rykov, Bukharin, and the rest of "the Right."

The key to this new self-identification may well have been Kanatchikov's earlier collaboration with Zinoviev (which is why I earlier called it "fateful"), which had begun in 1908 and was reinforced by a renewed association in 1921-1924, when Zinoviev was the dominant party figure in Petrograd. There was, after all, little in Kanatchikov's long career in the political labor movement from 1898 to 1917 to suggest that he was naturally attracted to the more exclusivist and exclusionary "left" positions. As his memoirs show, his earlier activity had been marked by collaboration with persons of more moderate persuasion, including Mensheviks. Moreover, he viciously attacked Trotsky in 1924 (as did—to be sure—Zinoviev) and authored two anti-Trotsky tracts. More to the point, there is little evidence in his writings of this period of a strong "left" persuasion.<sup>26</sup>

In a letter that he wrote to a comrade in January 1928 (Document 2), shortly after breaking with the opposition, Kanatchikov spoke of his "former confederates" (*edinomyshlenniki*, i.e., Zinoviev et al.) as having counted on his support because he had authorized them to hold his name "in reserve," a situation for which he blamed himself. As far as I can tell, these "confederates" only openly used his name once, in a letter they addressed to the Central Committee on 25 May 1927.<sup>27</sup> This is conjecture, of course, and it must be granted that ideological commitments could be very volatile in this period. My suggestion is also weakened if one accepts at face value Kanatchikov's 1935 assertion (dubious, in my view) that "Breaking with the opposition was all the easier for me in that I had not been connected with it personally" (see Document 3). But in any case, the absence of close connections with "the opposition" is not the same as the absence of close connections with oppositionists, and the evidence of personal considerations is no less convincing than the evidence of ideological proclivity.

Kanatchikov's "deviation" was short lived and rather tame, in part because, bereft of his post in *Istpart*, he was sent to Prague as a Tass correspondent in the fall of 1926, and was still there in 1927 when the Leningrad opposition tried to take its protests to the streets.<sup>28</sup> Sending him to Prague was perhaps the Central Committee's painless way of avoiding the embarrassment of having in Moscow an

opponent of such pristine proletarian background. Like many others, by the time of the Fifteenth Party Congress in December 1927, Kanatchikov was prepared to change his ways. In January 1928, he sent his apologetic though by no means cringing message to "Comrade Stalin," assuring him that he now adhered to the Congress's positions and, again like so many others, disassociating himself from the (now defunct) opposition.<sup>29</sup>

### **Part III: 1928-1936**

The final phase of Kanatchikov's public career began auspiciously. When he returned to Moscow from Prague in July 1928, he was, like others who abjured their oppositional views, welcomed back with some enthusiasm.<sup>30</sup> His OSB comrades treated him "with great tact and warmth," he wrote, and never reminded him of his bygone errors (Document 3). The Central Committee reassigned him to sensitive literary-journalistic posts: he was a member of the editorial board of *Krasnaia Nov'*, secretary of the Federation of Organizations of Soviet Writers (*Federatsiia Ob"edinenii Sovetskikh Pisatelei*), chair of the Federation's editorial council, and as of April 1929, "responsible editor" (*otvetstvennyi redaktor*) of *Literaturnaia gazeta*, the Federation's new weekly publication which later became the organ of the Soviet Writers' Union, a post he held until 1936.<sup>31</sup> The years 1929-1934 were also a time when he published several works, ranging from party-line essays and pamphlets that are best forgotten<sup>32</sup> to his most important and serious literary creation, his autobiography, published in various formats from the late 1920s to 1934. In 1929 and again in 1932, the OSB upheld his right as a member in good standing to "excess" living space (three rooms instead of two). At least some of his 1932, 1933, and 1934 requests to the OSB for subsidized vacation time at holiday rest homes (*doma otdykha*) for himself and his family were favorably received, if not fully funded. And he felt confident enough in his position to request special educational

admission privileges for his children in 1930 and September 1933 (a request the OSB supported). His monthly earnings rose substantially in this period—from 225 rubles in 1929, to 300 in 1933, to 500 in 1934.<sup>33</sup>

Sometime in this deceptively reassuring phase of his life, beginning in late 1934 or early 1935 (after *Literaturnaia gazeta* was taken over by the Soviet Writers' Union, and around the time of Kirov's assassination on 1 December 1934 and of the ensuing arrest of Zinoviev and other ex-oppositionists<sup>34</sup>), Kanatchikov's troubles began, at first mutedly, but then with a vengeance. Judging from his April 1935 petition to the OSB, certain party members accused him of concealing his earlier ties to Zinoviev (expelled from the party on 20 December 1934, tried and sentenced to 10 years in prison in January 1935) and to what now was labeled the counter-revolutionary opposition (Kanatchikov names a Comrade Malyshev, possibly V. A. Malyshev, as his accuser). As a consequence of these accusations, and perhaps aware of the precariousness of its own position as the clouds of terror began to gather,<sup>35</sup> the OSB Presidium had voted to defer the re-publication of Kanatchikov's autobiography, *Iz istorii moego bytiia*, although part two had been re-published as recently as 1934.

In his petition asking the OSB to rescind its decision, Kanatchikov denied the accusations, claiming that in speeches before the party group (*partkollektiv*) of the Writers' Union he had consistently admitted his earlier sins and noting that he had denounced the "vile murderers and traitors" Zinoviev and Kamenev at a meeting of the OSB's party activists (*partaktiv*). To be sure, on that one occasion, he granted, he had indeed failed to mention his past involvement with the opposition, but this was only because he had assumed that everyone present already knew.

That the OSB's decision to block the autobiography was not rescinded is of minor importance, for the OSB itself was disbanded the following month. A far graver fate awaited Kanatchikov. At the end of 1935, as the terror prepared to take its fatal course, the chances were slim indeed that an Old Bolshevik whose name was linked to Zinoviev's would remain unscathed. On 4 December 1935, Kanatchikov was removed from his post as editor of *Literaturnaia Gazeta* and replaced by Lev

Matveevich Subotskii, a thirty-five-year-old military prosecutor (with the equivalent of a general's rank) who was also a sometime literary critic, the chief of the "literature and art" section of *Pravda*, and the secretary of the Writers' Union's organizational committee (*orgkomitet*).<sup>36</sup> In 1936, under the leadership of this *partiinyi vydvizhenets* (as Arkadii Vaksberg calls him), *Literaturnaia Gazeta* became a major forum for the denunciation of traitors, bandits, spies, Trotskyites, and other "enemies of the people" in the literary world.<sup>37</sup> It should come as no surprise that the recently ousted editor, Kanatchikov, was among the many Old Bolsheviks arrested and imprisoned.<sup>38</sup>

It is painful to report, yet so typical of the times, that (according to documents available to Vaksberg) Kanatchikov, whose early years were marked by acts of courage, easily succumbed now to the pressures of persecution. Soon after his arrest, he wrote a letter from jail to his "deeply esteemed" (*glubokouvazhaemyi*) leader "Iosif Vissarionovich", in which he claimed that Stalin knew him "better than anyone else" and therefore could not possibly think him a traitor, for Kanatchikov had punctually, energetically, and voluntarily, not out of obligation but "from the heart" (*po zovu serdtsa*), reported to the NKVD, to Iagoda himself, the opinions uttered by "suspicious" visitors. "I have worked honestly," he reminded Stalin, "and have struggled in the area of literature against every kind of deviation."

According to Vaksberg, Kanatchikov was charged not with acting on behalf of the enemy (*vrazheskaia deiatel'nost'*), but simply with the possession of counter-revolutionary literature, of items, Kanatchikov argued quite plausibly, that he "needed for reference purposes" (*dlia spravok*) "as a writer." His crime, one that except for the "counter" before the word "revolutionary," must have had an ironically familiar ring to Kanatchikov, earned him a sentence of eight years in a work camp. He had served about four at the time of his death.

## Document 1

### S. I. Kanatchikov's "Avtobiografiia"<sup>39</sup>

For Presentation to the TsK RKP (Central Committee, Russian Communist Party),  
1 Feb. 1923.

Autobiography of Semen Ivanovich Kanatchikov

[When I arrived] in Moscow [ca. 1 January 1905], I sought out Aleksei Ivanovich Rykov, with whom an "appointment" [*iavka*] had been arranged for me [when I was] in Saratov; he was very happy to see me, provided me with an illegal passport, gave me literature with information on the disagreements between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, supplied me with money and assigned me a time and place for my "appointment." I found a room in the Zamoskvorech'e area,<sup>40</sup> and began to study the protocols of the Second Party Congress [1903] and Lenin's booklet *One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward* [1904]. On the designated day, I arrived at the "appointment" and was given my assignment: organizer of the Rogozhskaia district.<sup>41</sup> The Moscow Committee put me in contact with workers, and through them I began to establish new connections. Before long there were already about ten circles [*kruzhki*] within my jurisdiction.

All this was taking place at the time of and subsequent to the events of January 9, 1905. At the time, workers were coming to our organization very eagerly, and our work, so to speak, was in full swing. Liberals were eager to give us money and [the use of] conspiratorial apartments. We were very short of literature and leaflets. Besides the circles, we also organized mass demonstrations in working-class neighborhoods, one of the obligations of a [district] organizer.

Soon thereafter a representative of our Bolshevik organization arrived from abroad. I met with him several times and then I was taken to the Moscow Committee. The conspiratorial name [*klichka*] of the representative from abroad was

Sergei Petrovich (I do not know his real name; it seems that he later died in a hospital). Sergei Petrovich was a diehard Bolshevik, and once he was there we carried on a serious fight with the Mensheviks for the workers' allegiance. In this we did very well.

One of the Bolsheviks who worked with me was the young, devoted student Petr Vasil'evich Gaiderov (killed in the [first world] war), the organizer of the Zamoskvorech'e area. Ivan Andreevich Kachalov, with whom I had served time in Tsaritsyn prison, was in charge of "technical" matters. Andrei Vasil'evich Shestakov (Nikodim) soon returned from exile and began to work with us.

My own conspiratorial name was Egor Pavlovich. The following propagandists, who all led workers' circles, were under my authority: assistant barrister Andrei Vladimirovich Sokolov (Stanislav Vol'skii),<sup>42</sup> the Polytechnicum student Artem, whose last name I can not remember, and a student called Terekhov. It was at this very time, in the apartment of a member of our organization, Aleksei Finikov, that I made the acquaintance of Ivan Nikitich Smirnov.<sup>43</sup> Vladimir Mikhailovich Kosarev, only a beginning [political] worker at the time, belonged to one of my circles. At the same time one of the outstanding Bolsheviks, Virgilio Ivanovich Shantser, an assistant barrister, joined the Moscow Committee.<sup>44</sup>

By that summer [the police] had begun to shadow me in earnest. I changed apartments several times and switched passports twice, but this did not help, and our organization then sent me to work in Petersburg.

In Petersburg, I got involved in my work very quickly, since many Petersburg workers knew me from my [earlier] work in factories there, and it was easy for me to make new connections through them. I was named organizer of the Narva region committee,<sup>45</sup> and was brought into the PEKA [Petersburg Committee].

In the summer of 1905, when I was working in Piter [i.e., St. Petersburg], the workers' mood grew more intense, for this was the time of the *Potemkin* mutiny, soon followed by a series of workers' disturbances in the south. During this period the Putilov works were constantly on strike. We were unable to provide them with an adequate supply of [agitational] literature.

In the course of the year, a very respectable group of Bolsheviks worked on the Petersburg Committee: Petr Anan'evich Krasikov (then a student, known by the underground name Anton), Elena Dmitrievna Stasova, "Zemliachka," [N. A.] Skrypnik (Georgii), [B. M.] Knun'iants (Radin), who was later a Menshevik, M. M. Ivanitskaia, Tsyshcharin (a worker), Benua (a student), who also became a Menshevik, Nina L'vovna ("Zver'"), Essen ([a.k.a.] Bur), and many others.<sup>46</sup>

At that time, while we were engaged in bitter arguments with the Mensheviks over the Bulygin Duma, a strike was brewing among the railroad workers. We assembled a detachment of [party] workers and dispatched them there for [agitational] work. But the strike could not be kept waiting, and it soon broke out. It lasted about three days. Our Committee held almost daily meetings to discuss the matter. We were faced with a question: what more should we do if the strike drags on? After some bitter debate the PEKA made a decision: turn the strike into an armed uprising. But no sooner had that decision been made when, on the morning of 17 October, we learned that the government had issued a manifesto on "freedoms" [i.e., the "October Manifesto"].

On the same day, we gathered at the home of Mariia Petrovna Golubeva (who served as the link among several Bolshevik generations) and began to discuss the meaning of these events and what we should do next. After long debate, we reached the conclusion that the issuing of the manifesto had changed nothing essential, that power remained in the hands of the old autocratic government, and that these freedoms could be taken back tomorrow. Hence our party's task at the moment was to arm the worker masses and, with weapon in hand, to seize power and turn it over to a provisional government, comprised of representatives of the workers and peasants. (A dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, in the words of our Congress's resolution.)

Soon many new [party] workers—some were returning from exile abroad, many were arriving from the provinces—streamed into our organization, and our work was much expanded. I felt a need to go to the common people [*poiti v nizy*], so I left the PEKA and went to work in the Narva district only. I began to write in

newspapers and to give lectures in a newly formed workers' club, where I made the acquaintance of M. Iv. Kalinin.<sup>47</sup>

Meanwhile, the revolution was clearly ebbing: Black Hundred pogroms were beginning, and in Moscow the famous December uprising [of 1905] took place. We learned that to subdue the rebels in Moscow, they [the authorities] were preparing to dispatch the Semenovskii regiment, to which the Black Hundred Privat-Dozent Boris Nikol'skii had made a pogrom-type farewell speech.<sup>48</sup> We gathered in the [Narva] region and began to discuss how we could impede the movement of the Semenovskii troops. We got hold of an explosive device and sent one of the comrades (I have already forgotten his last name, but he was called Ivan Ignat'evich) to blow up the train. Risking his life, the comrade placed the device on the tracks and, concealing himself at a distance, awaited the train. The train arrived but the explosion failed to materialize. Ivan Ignat'evich returned in a rage, ready to shoot whomever it was who had given him the useless device.

In January 1906, the party TsK (Central Committee) sent me to work in the Ural region. There I worked under the direction of the Ekaterinburg Provincial Committee [*Gubkom*], but I did not stay very long. The *Gubkom* sent me to Nizhnii Tagil—a little town with a working-class population of 12,000. Comrade Likhachev (Karas') arrived there at almost the same time, and for conspiratorial purposes we rented a tiny cottage in the courtyard of a widow's house, a cottage where, as she put it, two men in a row had hanged themselves, and where, out of fear, no one else had lived.

In Tagil, Comrade Likhachev headed the organizational side, while I was in charge of agitation and propaganda. We also ran five or six ongoing workers' circles, in addition to which we occasionally organized mass meetings. I worked in Nizhnii Tagil for about four months, but then was elected to the regular party Congress, which was to take place in Stockholm (Sweden) in April [1906]. There for the second time I was able to see Vladimir Il'ich Lenin in all his grandeur, locked in single combat with Menshevik leaders.

After returning from the Congress, I spent some time in Piter; having received instructions from our Bolshevik faction regarding the conduct of my work, I returned to the Urals to make the rounds of the area and report on the Congress. As I traveled [by train] from Ufa, my steps were dogged by government agents [shpiki]. We had barely passed a few stations on route to Zlatoust,<sup>49</sup> when the head conductor came up to me and said that a detective was on the train following me: "I advise you to get off." I stayed aboard until Zlatoust, then took a seat in the rear car, and when the train began to move I jumped off while my "agent" kept on going.

At the station I began to ponder my situation—what to do next?—when by chance I happened to run into Sergei Aleksandrovich Cherepanov (later shot by Kolchakites), who was working in Zlatoust. He was delighted to see me and immediately took me to a workers' meeting in the woods, where an SR was to present a report. We handled this meeting very effectively. We gave a very hard time to the young SR speaker. The workers were very pleased. On the road, I presented a report in Cheliabinsk,<sup>50</sup> where a state of martial law [*voennoe polozhenie*] had already been declared. When we left the meeting in the woods, we were stopped by a police patrol, but it all turned out fine in the end.

After reporting on the Congress to the Tagil organization, I went back to Ekaterinburg, where I worked until July [1906], after which I decided to return to Moscow, since I was already compromised in the Urals. But on my way to Moscow, traveling by steamship, I was taken from the boat by gendarmes, who arrested me and sent me to Perm prison. There, using a false passport, I spent two months without my identity having been discovered. In jail I met the now deceased Iakov Mikhailovich Sverdlov for the second time, as well as Evgenii Preobrazhenskii.<sup>51</sup> After two months, since they still did not have anything on me, the gendarmes let me go.

From Perm, I again returned to Moscow, where at first I worked in the textile workers' union, after which I was named organizer of the Butyrskii region,<sup>52</sup> and I became a member of the MK [Moscow Committee]. At the time, the MK included: [M. N.] Liadov (Mandel'shtam), "Odisei," [V. P.] Nogin ("Makar"),

Radus-Zinkovich ("Egor"), [A. I.] Liubimov ("Mark"), [the historian] M. N. Pokrovskii, Veisbrod ("Andrei"), "Mikhail Mironych" (Mandel'shtam), Karpov ("Vladimir"), now deceased, and others.<sup>53</sup>

In Moscow I was arrested once again, but after spending two months in Sretenskaia jail I was released for lack of evidence. Given the political conditions, it was hard for me to work in Moscow after that, so I was again sent to Piter. I believe this was in 1908.

In Piter at that time, our [Bolshevik] party was lodged deep in the underground, while a huge proportion of Mensheviks were beginning to advocate the liquidation of underground work and the shift to legal [i. e., non-underground] work, within the narrow limits afforded us by an autocratic government. They rushed *en masse* into all the legal organizations and began to capture control of the trade unions and workers' clubs. In a series of resolutions, our organization issued directives: strengthen the party's underground apparatus at all costs, but at the same time, exploiting the legal opportunities provided by the autocracy, guide the work of those comrades who are active in legal organizations.

At first, I was in charge of party work in the Moscow district,<sup>54</sup> but then, in order to make better use of my talents, I decided to move into legal work, for which I was happy to receive permission from the party. I had already shifted to legal status in Moscow, so it was very easy for me to move into legal work. For starters, I began to work as an "expert" [*sveduiushchee litso*] in the tanners' union, but soon thereafter I was elected secretary of the union, with a salary of at first 10 and then 15 rubles a month. The president of the tanners' union was Sergei Adashev.

Since it was impossible for me to live on that salary, I put together a workers' chronicle [*rabochaia khronika*] for various more or less democratic newspapers. Sometimes workers' clubs would pay me something to lecture. In this way I managed somehow to maintain a half-starved existence.

I lived in the same damp, dark ground-floor room on Kazachii Lane that housed the executive board of the tanners' union. Aside from my work as executive secretary, I belonged to the Central Bureau of Trade Unions and to the editorial

board of the journal *Vestnik profsoiuzov*; I wrote news items in Bolshevik anthologies, contributed correspondence to *Proletarii*, the central organ of the party abroad,<sup>55</sup> and belonged to the executive board of the "Women's Club" on Ligovka<sup>56</sup>; along with Pinus, Burgo, [Aleksandra] Kollontai, Ivanov, and others, I gave lectures on political economy and on the trade-union movement in the West at various workers' clubs, and I was also a member of the "interclub commission" [*mezklubnaia komissia*].

It was at that time, while at work, that I happened to meet Comrade Zinoviev (conspiratorial name: Grigorii) who was beginning to organize his Bolshevik [journal] *Vestnik professional'nogo dvizheniia* as a counterweight to the Mensheviks' *Professional'nyi vestnik*. I joined the journal's editorial board, along with N. A. Rozhkov (then a Bolshevik), Zinoviev, and Efimov (known as "The Artist").<sup>57</sup> But it seems that with its second issue the journal was confiscated and its official editor, Efimov, was sentenced to a year in prison.

In the spring of 1909, thanks to the terrible material conditions in which I lived, I came down with typhoid fever and had to spend a whole month in the hospital. After I left the hospital, I was elected secretary of the (Bolshevik) woodworkers' union, which counted some 2,000 members and published its own monthly journal, *Derevoobdelochnik*, of which I became *de facto* editor. The union sent me to Moscow as its delegate to the Congress of Factory Physicians [*s'ezd fabrichno-zavodskikh vrachei*]. A rather large number of labor-union representatives attended the congress, where we formed our own "workers' group." Among the delegates were Skrypnik, Smirnov (a worker from Baku), [V. M.] Shuliatikov, now deceased,<sup>58</sup> and [Roman] Malinovskii (the provocateur); among the Mensheviks were [P. N.] Kolokol'nikov, Ivan Nik. Dement'ev, and others.<sup>59</sup>

The police often intercepted the working-class speakers and prevented them from speaking, and in the end the police closed down the congress. The workers' group was arrested, but I was saved from arrest by B[liuma] S. Landau. I presented a written report to the congress on the situation of workers in the Petersburg

woodworking industry, and it was printed in the [published] works of the congress of factory physicians.

At work, I found myself in frequent conflict with the Mensheviks; we Bolsheviks who were active in legal organizing were in constant struggle with them for dominance over the mass of workers. Besides this work, I also participated as an "expert" in the activity of the SD [Social Democrats] Duma faction.

I was linked with our party's underground work through the now deceased Grisha Usievich, who led a propaganda circle in the woodworkers' union,<sup>60</sup> Fedorov ("Il'ia"), and Gol'denberg ("Meshkovskii"), in whose apartment I then took up residence.<sup>61</sup> In addition, I corresponded with Com. Zinoviev, [who wrote] from abroad; I occasionally sent articles to *Proletarii* there about the work going on in our cultural educational organizations. Later, all that correspondence, which I signed "E. P.," and Zinoviev's letters, were used as material evidence against me at the Petersburg Regional Court.<sup>62</sup> But I will go into that later.

This was an extremely confused and difficult time for party work. Many distinguished [political] workers left the party or withdrew completely and began to settle into ordinary lives. Revolutionary life continued to matter only among [factory] workers, and we had to build our base exclusively with them. But that was a very solid foundation. Among the old Bolsheviks, the only one who remained alive was Mariia Petrovna Golubeva, whom I visited from time to time in order to unburden my heart.

At the end of 1909, the trade unions and the clubs began to prepare for the All-Russian Congress for Combating Alcoholism.<sup>63</sup> We Bolsheviks decided to participate as well, to take advantage of it in order to increase our influence and to link up with other provincial organizations. Again I was chosen as a delegate to the Congress. I provided the Congress with the theses of my report in writing. Following our established practice, we again organized a special "workers' group" at the anti-alcoholism Congress. In general, we got through the Congress quite nicely. A series of speakers from the workers' group gave reports in which they demonstrated very carefully that to conduct a successful struggle against alcoholism

among the working masses it would be necessary to reorganize society on the basis of socialist principles, and that in our country, Russia, what was needed first was to transform our autocratic system into a democratic one.

After the Congress, almost the entire "workers' group," myself included, was arrested and imprisoned. This time I was arrested in my own apartment, on 6 January 1910. When they searched my apartment they found two letters from Zinoviev, sent from abroad, in which he instructed me on how to take advantage of "legal opportunities," particularly the coming anti-alcoholism Congress. I had been betrayed by the provocateur Serova (party name: Liusia). In addition, they took some manuscripts [from my apartment] which, though not important in and of themselves, when added to the illegal material gave a rather well-defined portrait of me as a "prominent party worker," as the prosecutor, using these materials, later described me in court.

For two whole years, 1910 and 1911, I was held in solitary confinement in the [St. Petersburg] House of Preliminary Detention while under investigation. From the moment of my arrest, I understood that this time I would be securely held in prison for a long time, so I decided to take advantage of this time to expand my knowledge. It was there that I studied the German language. I studied mathematics. It was there too that I finally studied the history of philosophy, and I even wrote an original work on dialectical materialism, which later perished during our hasty evacuation of Siberia during the [1918] invasion by the Czechs.

I was already a dialectical materialist, but in prison—where I thoroughly studied [the philosophers Ernst] Mach and [Richard] Avenarius, and their mouthpiece [Aleksandr] Bogdanov—I grew even firmer in my original philosophical worldview.<sup>64</sup> In addition, I read many books on natural science and on the history of culture, both in Russian and in German. The new books were given to me by Bliuma Solomonovna Landau, who later—in Siberia—became my wife. As far as intellectual nourishment was concerned, my set-up in the prison was not bad at all.

Toward the end of my second year in prison, I was shown the evidence against me and the text of the indictment. I was charged under art. 102,<sup>65</sup> as were

the others, some of whom I met for the first time only in court. Their names were: 1) Ivan Ivanovich Pankratov, a Bolshevik woodworker who had just returned from the [party] school [for workers] in Capri and was arrested. I had already known him in Moscow, when he worked on the Kazan railroad and belonged to my propaganda circle. 2) Tsybyshev ("Zaichenko"), a Bolshevik; 3) Grisha Usievish, whom I already knew from work; 4) Grigorii Isaakovich Chudnovskii, then a Menshevik, whom I met for the first time in court<sup>66</sup>; 5) Rovner, a Bolshevik, whom I also knew; 6) Vasili Gavrilovich Chirkin, a worker, at the time a "Liquidator"; 7) Fedorov ("Il'ia"), a Bolshevik whom I also knew; and 8) me.

At the trial at the Petersburg Regional Court, the presiding judge was the well-known Black-Hundred Senator Krashennnikov,<sup>67</sup> who thought of all his client-defendants as his personal enemies and therefore taunted them terribly. (Recently someone told me he was shot by our "CHEKA," and when I heard this it gave me great satisfaction.) We were defended in court by the following luminaries of the liberal bar: Olimpa-Pereverzev, [Alexander] Kerensky, Teslenko, Novikov, V. Berenshtam (the brother), and several others.<sup>68</sup> We were all charged with membership in a party that had as its goal the overthrow of the existing order. As a result of the pleadings, out of which in the words of [the writer M. Saltykov-] Shchedrin, "the truth is born," all of us (except Chirkin, who was acquitted) were sentenced to loss of all civil rights [*prava sostoiianiia*] and exile and resettlement for life in remote parts of Siberia. Three months later we were all transferred from the Preliminary jail [*Predvarilka*] to a prison for convicts sentenced to hard labor and exile.

My first impression of the hard-labor prison, coming as it did after our courteous treatment at the *Predvarilka*, was quite terrifying. To begin with, the guard announced to me harshly that from here on in I would be addressed not politely [*na vy*] but familiarly [*na ty*], and he began to order me about: "strip naked!" Obeying his order, I stripped down to my underwear. "I told you to strip naked," he shouted. I stripped naked. The guard inspected my entire body, even looking inside my mouth to see if I had any forbidden objects. Then they shaved me bald

with a machine, after which they issued me coarse prison underwear and grey prison jacket and pants. After a long series of humiliating insults, they finally sent me to a big cell for common criminals, which held some twenty-five to thirty guys. There I was soon able to locate my comrade-codefendants, which lifted my spirits.

After two years of silence, in isolation, we now had a terrible need to talk, to chatter away. We began to engage in some bitter arguments on philosophical themes. It turned out that Grisha Usievich and [Grigorii] Chudnovskii were leaning toward the philosophy of Mach and Avenarius. Zaichenko-Tsybyshev was a Bogdanovite-Empiriomonist, while Vania Pankratov and I were materialists. Finally, the arguments evolved into organized speeches, which even began to interest the criminals. In this way, three months went by. Then, at the end of February 1912, I was transported under guard [*po-etapu*], in manacles, to Siberia, Irkutsk province, my place of exile.

Having endured every conceivable suffering and deprivation at the wayside jails, having lost some of my best comrades to typhus along the way, I was finally brought by convoy to my place of exile, the village of Kosaia Step', Verkholenskii district, Irkutsk province. The village is located 250 versts from Irkutsk, and hence also from the nearest railroad. In Kosaia Step', I encountered a colony of some twenty-five or thirty political exiles.

For the first half year, we were not permitted to move beyond the limits of our *volost'*. There was no way to earn any money. Nor were exiles given any subsidy from the state. There was nothing to live off. Only our habits of organized action and our comradely mutual support saved us from certain death by starvation.

It was here that I first had the pleasure of learning that the cause to which we had sacrificed so much was enduring: we soon received a parcel containing the first issues of the [Bolshevik] papers *Pravda* and *Zvezda*. We quickly pounced on them and greedily began to read them, after which there were bitter arguments between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. At that time, right after [Evno] Azef's betrayal, the SRs were in a depressed state and the working-class youth were beginning to waver.

In the summer of that year [1912], my fiancée, Bliuma Solomonovna Landau, whom I had known since 1905, came to me at my place of exile, where we got married (she was a Menshevik at the time).

Around autumn, I found myself a job in a nearby little hamlet tutoring a kulak-tradesman, for which he paid me 15 rubles a month. My wife also earned 10 rubles a month from lessons (she taught reading and writing to village children), and we lived not too badly. I soon established contact in Irkutsk (by mail) with N. A. Rozhkov, who edited a newspaper there, to which I began to contribute. I wrote some pieces on the situation of political exiles and on resettled peasants. The gendarme office got wind of this, and soon after they searched my place I was ordered to set out under guard for one of the remote villages of [Irkutsk's] Kirenskii district. In Irkutsk, it was only thanks to the energetic efforts of my wife that I managed to get by. After these events, I was transferred to the village of Manzurka, where things were much livelier. There I met: Semen Filippych Vasil'chenko,<sup>69</sup> who had just served out his time at hard labor, Zhakov, Davyd Ianson, N. N. Popov, and [D. P.] Rozit, leader of the Latvian Bolshevik Party (now deceased).

From Manzurka I moved to Irkutsk, from where, three months later, they moved me to Balagansk, where I lived until 1915. In Balagansk, I met David Abramovich Trilisser; soon thereafter his brother, Meer Abramovich Trilisser, who had just served out his hard labor time, arrived as well.<sup>70</sup> Here in our colony a bitter struggle took place between "defeatists" and "defensists" over what attitude to take to the [world] war. The Trilisser brothers and I were "leaders" of the "defeatist" group, while the SRs Krasnov, Morozov, and Vedeniagin headed the "defensists." After an endless series of meetings of colonies [of prisoners], with bitter arguments and mutual recriminations, it got so bad that our colony of political exiles split in two, and one half began to boycott the other.

In the summer of 1915, I was granted peasant "rights" [*prava*], that is, they gave me a passport that said that as a peasant from such-and-such a *volost'*, now living among the exiled settlers, I had the right to live anywhere in Siberia. However, the passport also stipulated that to return to Russia proper, I still had to

do three years hard labor [*katorga*]. Once I had this passport I moved with my wife and three-year-old child to Irkutsk, where I soon became the clerk of a cooperative. But I did not stay in Irkutsk very long. I was offered the position of secretary at one of the largest cooperatives of Siberia, "Zakup-Sbyt," in Novonikolaevsk, so I moved there.

The leaders of "Zakup-Sbyt" were SR-cooperative activists of the kulak type, typical representatives of the Siberian kulak peasantry—Morozov, Ostal'tsev, Milashevskii, Savchenko, and somewhat later Anatolii Sazanov (a notorious fool and chatterbox). I was recommended to this co-op by a person who was politically neutral but very respectable, so the leaders of "Zakup-Sbyt," unaware of my political convictions, gave me a rather hearty welcome. But they were soon forced to change their attitude toward me.

At this time, a fairly large number of political-administrative "*narynchane*" lived "illegally" in Novonikolaevsk<sup>71</sup>; we quickly established relations and began to meet quite frequently. Here too at this time the newspaper *Golos Sibiri* was being published by N. A. Rozhkov, and I soon began to meet with him as well, after which I started contributing to the paper, publishing articles on cooperation, cultural-educational work, and other themes. Soon thereafter I was made a member of the *Golos Sibiri* editorial board, which included, besides me and Rozhkov, Aleksei Kapitonych Gastev (underground name: Ivan Adamykh), who often wrote the lead article and filled in for Rozhkov [as editor].<sup>72</sup>

The more involved I became in the work of "Zakup-Sbyt," the more convinced I was of the speculative-kulak character of the SR operators [*del'tsy*] who were in charge, this despite their grand political pasts (some of them). All the secret business affairs of "Zakup-Sbyt" were known to me, since I occupied a high position in the cooperative. I placed a series of cutting diatribes in the newspaper concerning various speculative machinations of "Zakup-Sbyt." All these things taken together could not go unnoticed by my bosses, and I began to be persecuted. Very soon I was fired. But I was not without work for long.

On 3 March 1917, we received a telegram from Petrograd saying "revolution," and we immediately set out to make one in Novonikolaevsk, following all the rules. We organized a party organization, at first in cooperation with the Mensheviks, a soviet of deputies, etc. I joined the Executive Committee of workers' deputies and was elected deputy chair. The Menshevik Kamenskii—who was then in exile in Novonikolaevsk—was elected chair.

Later, at the end of March, I was elected to the First Congress of Soviets, then being called to Petrograd, which the Mensheviks and SRs later turned into an All-Russian Conference.<sup>73</sup> When I got to Petrograd, I sought out my comrades and right away found myself at the First [Bolshevik] Party conference, which took place at the Kseshinskaia Palace. Then, at this very time, Vladimir Il'ich arrived from abroad [April 3]. I was present then at all our meetings and took part in the debates about our party's tactics, and I was among the fifty-seven Bolsheviks who voted for the resolution against the war at the Congress of Soviets.

When I got back to Novonikolaevsk, I was elected to the Provincial Congress of People's Assemblies [*S"ezd narodnykh sobranii*], which met in Tomsk. There I saw Iv. Nik. Smirnov and the now deceased Nik. Nik. Iakovlev.<sup>74</sup> At the conclusion of the Congress, the Bolshevik faction elected me to the People's Assembly Executive Committee, where I was the only Bolshevik. Once again I had to move with my family, to Tomsk. This was at the end of May 1917. The party organization in Tomsk was also a united one, one that included Mensheviks. Our people also made me a member of the Provincial Committee [*Gubkom*]. On the People's Assembly Executive Committee [*Ispolkom*] our Bolshevik organization made me accept the position of Provincial Commissar of Labor [*gubkomissar truda*]. (To prepare for this they submitted my nomination via the trade unions.) In Tomsk, *de facto* power had been in the hands of the soviets from the very first day of the revolution. We carried out the splitting of the [local] party after the events of July 3-5 [the "July Days"], and I rejoined the *Gubkom*. When the October 25 revolution [*perevorot*] was completed in Petrograd, we still had a People's Assembly in Tomsk. We [Bolsheviks] then decided to disperse it. I was appointed Provincial Commissar,

and the mission of dispersing the very institution to which I myself belonged was assigned to me.

During the [Tomsk] provincial congress of soviets, we smashed the SRs and installed our own majority on the Executive Committee. A. I. Belenets was elected chair of the Executive Committee and I was elected his deputy. In the spring [of 1918], comrade Belenets left for Irkutsk to meet with Arkadii Ivanov. I remained [in Tomsk] as chair of the Executive Committee. It was then that the Czechoslovaks' uprising began in Novonikolaevsk. We placed the town under martial law and formed a revolutionary staff, headed by me. After several tiny uprisings in the city, which we easily put down, we arrested many SRs and Whites. We shot about five White ringleaders. But because of our old ties to them while in exile, we could not bring ourselves to shoot the SRs, even though we had caught all their leaders red-handed. On the other hand, that job was done for us by their ally Kolchak—they were drowned by him in Lake Baikal.<sup>75</sup>

The rising of the Czechoslovaks grew and we found ourselves cut off [from Bolshevik territory]. And so, on 31 May 1918, we hurriedly loaded ourselves onto two steamships—a 200-man detachment of Red Guards and all our important workers and their families—and decided to push our way [south] along the Ob and Irtysh [rivers] to Tiumen. We made fast a three-inch battery on one of the ships, set up machine guns, and shoved off. While underway those of us who did not know how to use a gun would practice the manual of arms daily out on the deck. Thus it was that after ten days we arrived safely in Tiumen, and then reached Ekaterinburg.

I left my family, consisting of my wife and two children, in Ekaterinburg, while I, together with other comrades, went on to Perm; there, until November [1918], I headed the Provincial Commissariat of Education [*Gubnarobraz*], served as a member of the Provincial Executive Committee [*Gubispolkom*], gave lectures at the party school [*partshkola*], and edited the journal *Prosveshchenie*. At the end of November, I received an urgent summons from the now deceased Iakov Mikhailovich Sverdlov [then head of the Central Executive Committee of the Congress of Soviets,

in effect Russia's President] to come to Moscow, and I never returned to Perm. My family remained in Ekaterinburg, which was occupied by the Whites.

In Moscow, I worked at the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs; while serving as a member of the collegium, I headed the foreign section. Then I went from that commissariat to the Small Council of People's Commissars [*malyi Sovnarkom*], and, from December 1918 through July 1919, I attended the sessions of the Council of People's Commissars with an advisory voice [*soveshchatel'nyi golos*, i.e., without full voting rights]. At the same time I was also in charge of Agitprop courses, which toward the end of my period of leadership were transformed into the Communist University, named for Comrade Sverdlov.

In July of 1919, when our Red Army had taken Ekaterinburg, I went back there together with Comrades Krestinskii, [L. S.] Sosnovskii, Chubar',<sup>76</sup> and others, and I worked there for three months. Starting from scratch, I organized first a city office of education [*Gornarobraz*] and then a provincial one [*Gubnarobraz*], which I headed. At the same time, I gave public lectures and organized a party school (a two-week course), where I lectured. In October, I again returned to Moscow.

In December of that year, 1919, the party TsK sent me to work in Omsk, where I headed the Siberian Section of [the Commissariat of] People's Education and joined the Siberian Revolutionary Committee [*Sibrevkom*]. There, in Siberia, I located my family—my wife and child<sup>77</sup>; my wife had been hiding in Barnaul from the persecutions of the Whites for a year-and-a-half, and had suffered terrible deprivations.<sup>78</sup>

I worked in Omsk until November 1920, after which the party TsK summoned me to Moscow and sent me to work in the Tatar Republic, in Kazan, where I headed the City Executive Committee [*Gorispolkom*] and was Deputy Chair of the Tatar Republic's Council of People's Commissars and Chair of the *Oblast'* Party (at the time there were still "chairs" [*predsedateli*] here and there). I worked in the Tatar Republic until August 1921. During all that time, I was twice a member of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee [VTsIK].

In September 1921, I was sent by the TsK to Petrograd, where I have been serving right up to the present in the capacity of Rector of the Communist University named for Comrade Zinoviev, and where I am also a member of the Petrograd Provincial Committee [*Petrogubkom*].

[Signed:] S. Kanatchikov.

Petrograd, 1 February 1923

## Document 2

### Letter to Iakov Genrikhovich, 22 January 1928<sup>79</sup>

Dear Iakov Genrikhovich:

At last I am ready to write to you and to have the opportunity to speak to you more openly. The point is that simultaneously with this letter I have sent a statement to Comrade Stalin [see Document 3, paragraph 4] announcing my withdrawal from the opposition.<sup>80</sup> To be sure, that statement is very short, simply summing up that I have rethought my position and telling the conclusions I have reached.

To you, however, I can give some more detail. I, of course, bear no formal responsibility for the statement made by my former confederates [*edinomyshlenniki*] on 7 November [1927], but of course a share of the guilt falls on me as well. This is because, having my name in reserve, the opposition also counted on my support. This was foolish and short-sighted [of me], as subsequent events would show. People were speaking all the time about the degeneration [*pererozhdenie*] of our party and about its Thermidorian leadership. And suddenly on the day after the [Fifteenth Party] Congress, or while it was in session, it turned out that there truly had been no degeneration and that a dictatorship of the proletariat exists here. This is not denied by even the extreme oppositionists.

So where was the prognosis and where the analysis of the future? This is complete bankruptcy. My guilt, and also that of the others like me, consists in the fact that we staked too much on our former leaders' intuition and their ability to penetrate into the future.

Now, as is evident from the two documents of the opposition published in *Pravda* on the 15th of this month, the ground has clearly been cut from under the opposition, for it has no substance for a struggle, it has no slogans that would be capable of inspiring and moving [people] to battle.

In point of fact, is it even possible to consider "Prevent the further development of Thermidor!"—as the Trotskyists formulate their goal in these documents—to be a slogan? All that the opposition had left was Trotsky himself, around whom his friends united. The resolutions of the Fifteenth Congress completely exhausted the opposition's *raison d'être* [*smysl bytiia*]. For me personally, the main evidence [*argument*] that the party was on the right path was the fact that 100,000 workers joined it, and that it is seriously thinking about the introduction of a seven-hour workday. The main argument of the oppositionists, the Thermidorian degeneration of the party—and of its leaders—which they rode on for almost two whole years, turned out to be without substance, as witness even the statement of those oppositionists who have remained "true to themselves."

Yes, and it would indeed be absurd [*smeshno*] to think that the Stalin-Rykov group has degenerated, while the Zinoviev-Trotsky group has not. How could it be that the rot of degeneration has failed to touch the opposition while at the same time it has now seized the leading nucleus of the party?

It is impossible to prove this, for we have known each of these groups for two whole decades, we know both their positive and their negative sides, with only one difference, that the Stalin-Rykov group has turned out to be more far-sighted and steadfast. I think that now we will carry out our continued struggle against degeneration and all bureaucratic distortions not in opposition to the TsK but in cooperation with it, under its leadership, on the basis of the resolutions of the Fifteenth Congress.

The opposition's error cost the party dearly, but at the same time it taught many of us a great deal.

This is more or less, in brief outline, everything that I can tell you about my current state of mind. I hope that it is sound and definitive.

With best wishes, I shake your hand,

S. KANATCHIKOV, Prague, 22 Jan 1928.

### Document 3

#### Petition to the OSB Presidium, 20 April 1935<sup>81</sup>

TO THE PRESIDUM OF THE SOCIETY OF OLD BOLSHEVIKS

Dear Comrades,

The Presidium recently passed a resolution to withhold my book, "The Story of My Life," on the grounds that I allegedly have never come out publicly with an exposure of my oppositional errors.<sup>82</sup>

I suggest that the Presidium would have acted more justly toward me had it called on me for an explanation beforehand. I dare to believe that my thirty-seven years of uninterrupted work in the party give me some kind of right to that.

But now permit me to tell you, comrades, of my previous errors and of my past adherence to the counterrevolutionary Zinoviev opposition.<sup>83</sup> In 1926 I really did side with the Leningrad opposition. I deeply regret that and I repent; each time I think about it, I remember it as my gravest crime against the party. I do not wish to minimize my guilt before the party, but in October 1926 our TsK sent me abroad to Prague as a TASS correspondent, and I remained there until July 1928. In January 1928, I sent the following statement to Com. Stalin:

To Comrade Stalin, General Secretary, TsK VKP(b). Esteemed comrade, Concerned that my silence could be misinterpreted, I consider it my party duty to make the following declaration: I fully and completely agree with the decisions of the Fifteenth party congress, consider them correct, and pledge to put all its decisions into practice. If you think it necessary and useful I could write a more detailed statement of the reasons for my break with the opposition.

S. Kanatchikov, member of VKP(b) since 1898. 21/1/1928.

When I returned from abroad, my comrades in the Society of Old Bolsheviks treated me with great tact and warmth. Not once did any of them ever remind me of my old, bygone errors. This gave me all the more reason to feel it my duty to justify their trust. There was not a single assignment, however big or small the responsibility, that I would fail to carry out. Not only with my words, but also with my work against the opposition, I demonstrated that all of that [support of the opposition] belonged to the past. Breaking with the opposition was all the easier for me in that I had not been connected with it personally. And ideologically, I am one of the first who struggled against Trotsky and Trotskyism: in 1924-25, I wrote two books against Trotsky and Trotskyism, *Istoriia odnogo* and *Po lozhnomu puti*.<sup>84</sup>

I am not trying to minimize my guilt—for the fact remains that in 1926 I did indeed belong to the counter-revolutionary Trotskyite bloc. I say this because I wish to describe everything the way it was.

For the entire duration of my work, I have always come out publicly with exposures of the counter-revolutionary opposition. Moreover, I was one of the first to write journal articles directed against the opposition (in *Zemlia sovetskaia*, 1930, in *Krasnaia nov'*, 1931). And I wrote two books on the kolkhoz—*Rozhdenie kolkhoza* and, dealing with rural *politotdely* [political departments of Machine Tractor Stations], *Opora*. And you know, comrades, that it was the kolkhoz policies of our TsK, led by our brilliant [*genial'nyi*] leader Com. Stalin, that probably aroused the greatest loathing on the part of the counter-revolutionary opposition.

Nor did I ever try to conceal my adherence to the counter-revolutionary opposition. Com. Malyshev is simply engaging in slander. Why, it would be ridiculous for me to conceal it, when it is printed in every dictionary and reference book. After the foul and villainous murder of Com. S. M. Kirov by the scum [*podonki*] of the former Zinoviev opposition, I often spoke out at party meetings of the Union of Soviet Writers, in the party collective to which I belong. My speech would begin with the declaration: In 1926, I myself adhered to that base opposition, which sank to counter-revolution, to fascism, etc.<sup>85</sup>

I also spoke out at one of the meetings of the party activists of the Society of Old Bolsheviks, together with Com. [M. N.] Liadov. There are even stenographs of my speech, in which I unmasked those vile murderers and traitors to the party—Zinoviev and Kamenev.

True, when speaking at that meeting I failed to state that there was a time when I myself had belonged to the opposition. That silence was an error on my part, but I had assumed that everyone present already knew.

I earnestly request the comrade members of the Presidium to review their decision, which besmirches my good Bolshevik name, for without any inducement from you, I considered and consider it my party duty to appear and speak out wherever needed, and first of all, of course, to speak as directly as I can about my own errors.

With comradely greetings, S. Kanatchikov. [written and typed]

## Notes

1. *A Radical Worker in Tsarist Russia: The Autobiography of Semën Ivanovich Kanatchikov*, trans and ed. Reginald E. Zelnik (Stanford, 1986), 384 (henceforth *A Radical Worker*). Further citations of Kanatchikov's autobiography refer to that version. On the various editions of the original Russian version, see "Editor's Note," *ibid.*, xi.
2. "Editor's Postscript," *ibid.*, 387-91. That Postscript was a revised version (based on fresh information generously provided by William Burgess) of the Postscript to my earlier article "Russian Bebels," *Russian Review* 35, nos. 3 and 4 (1976). Burgess' material is in his unpublished paper "S. I. Kanatchikov: A Half-Rehabilitated Old Bolshevik" (1980).
3. Medvedev, *Let History Judge: The Origins and Consequences of Stalinism*, ed. and trans. George Shriver (New York, 1989), 408. Medvedev's words, unaccompanied by a source citation, are: "S. I. Kanatchikov, who belonged to the Union of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, the organization Lenin founded in St. Petersburg in 1895, was also arrested and killed" (which could mean that he was shot or simply that he perished under the deadly conditions of the Gulag). (Kanatchikov's connection to the Union of Struggle is addressed below). Kanatchikov is not mentioned in the first edition of *Let History Judge*, trans. Colleen Taylor (New York, 1972). My citations below are to the 1972 edition.
4. The archival material under discussion is in the former *Tsentral'nyi Partiinyi Arkhiv Instituta Marksizma-Leninizma* (TsPA IML pri TsK KPSS), now called the *Rossiiskii tsentr khraneniia i izucheniia dokumentov noveishei istorii* (RTsKhIDNI). The material is held in two files: RTsKhIDNI, f. 17 (*Tsentral'nyi Komitet Kommunisticheskoi partii Sovetskogo Soiuz*), op. 100, d. 134977; and f. 124 (*Vsesoiuznoe obshchestvo starykh bol'shevikov pri TsK VKP[b]*), op. 1, ed. khr. 816. I am grateful to Eugene A. Swift for locating and photocopying these materials for me, to Sarah Hepler for her able assistance, and to Daniel Orlovsky and Yuri Slezkine for their very helpful criticism and advice.
5. In a personal statement accompanying an *anketa* that he filled out for the OSB in 1931, Kanatchikov calls his published book an "autobiographical tale" (*povest'*), suggesting an awareness of its literary character. RTsKhIDNI, f. 124, op. 1, ed. khr. 816, l. 13.
6. I exclude reference to typographical errors, such as the year of birth on the first page of the typescript (1878 vice 1879). Note that *delo* 134977 contains two variants of the typescript. My page references are to typed page numbers on the version that I used as my

working copy (ll. 18-24). Since the two are almost identical, I was able to use each one to check on words that were hard to decipher in the other and to correct for minor errors. The section translated as Document 1 begins on p. 7 and ends on p. 14, the last page. Hereafter I cite the typescript as "*Avtobiografiia*."

7. "*Avtobiografiia*," 1.

8. *A Radical Worker*, 34.

9. "*Avtobiografiia*," 3; *A Radical Worker*, 91.

10. "*Avtobiografiia*," 4. For instances of Kanatchikov making this claim to the OSB and TsK, see RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 100, d. 134977, l. 4 (1921), and f. 124, op. 1, ed. khr. 816, ll. 3, 4 (1929), where he also claims to have joined the Social Democratic Party (RSDRP) in 1898, the year it was founded.

11. Allan K. Wildman, *The Making of a Workers' Revolution: Russian Social Democracy, 1891-1903* (Chicago, 1967), 110. Another factor complicating this picture is that by the time Kanatchikov got to Petersburg, the Union of Struggle was linked with *Rabochaia mysl'*, a worker-oriented journal later vilified by Lenin for its "opportunism." These ties are ignored in the relevant section of *A Radical Worker*, although there is a brief evocation of the author's mixed feelings about the journal at the time (p. 98). On *Rabochaia mysl'* and the complexities of its relations with the Union and other groups, see Wildman, *The Making*, chap. 5.

12. *A Radical Worker*, 99.

13. So much for the notion that archival material is necessarily more accurate than published material!

14. "*Avtobiografiia*" provides us with the first information that I have seen on the identity of Kanatchikov's wife. On most *ankety* and *lichnye listki* in Kanatchikov's files, which include entries for marital or family status (*semeinoe polozenie*), he omits her name. (On a 1933 OSB *anketa*, he even lists her income without her name; RTsKhIDNI, f. 124, op. 1, ed. khr. 816, l. 28). If, as stated in "*Avtobiografiia*," Landau helped save him from arrest at the end of 1909, and we assume she was then at least 18, she was born no later than 1891. Yet in an *anketa* dated 29 March 1934 (*ibid.*, l. 33), Kanatchikov gives her age as 39, which puts her birth year at 1894, making her an unlikely 15 in 1909 or 11 when they met in 1905.

So was there a second marriage or just a writing error (the entry is handwritten)? —Probably the latter.

15. RTsKhIDNI, f. 124, op. 1, ed. khr. 816, ll. 4-5.

16. On Kanatchikov's time as a union organizer in 1908-1910, see also "*Rech' tovarishcha Kanatchikova*," in *Materialy po istorii professional'nogo dvizheniia v Rossii, sbornik 3* (Moscow, 1925), 18-24. According to the Menshevik union organizer F. A. Bulkin, Kanatchikov was one of only two Bolshevik leaders active in "legal" labor organizations in Petersburg in 1909; cited in Victoria E. Bonnell, *Roots of Rebellion: Workers Politics and Organizations in St. Petersburg and Moscow, 1900-1914* (Berkeley, 1983), 342.

17. Kanatchikov's 1929 *anketa* mentions two additional months in jail during his stay in Petersburg in 1908-1909. RTsKhIDNI, f. 124, op. 1, ed. khr. 816, l. 5.

18. The "solitary confinement" claim in "*Avtobiografiia*" is absent in Kanatchikov's allusion to these two years in the 1929 *anketa*. Alexander Kerensky served on his legal defense team.

19. On Gastev, see note 72 below. The town of Novonikolaevsk was renamed Novosibirsk in 1925; it is located where the Ob River meets the Trans-Siberian rail line, just south of Tomsk.

20. "*Avtobiografiia*," 14.

21. Kanatchikov's reference to "those of us who did not know how to use a gun" (*ibid*) suggests that it was during the Civil War that he and other party members first used firearms.

22. In his 1929 *anketa*, Kanatchikov gave his current social status (*sotsial'noe polozenie*) as *intelligent* (*partrabotnik* was another option); for his *past* social status he underlined both *rabochii* and *krest'ianin*, though he had not been a "practicing" peasant since childhood (RTsKhIDNI, f. 124, op. 1, ed. khr. 816, l. 3). In other *ankety*, his choices for past status were inconsistent, including various combinations of "worker," "peasant," and "professional revolutionary" (see for example, RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 100, d. 134977, ll. 3, 6, 9). In part, this inconsistency was an accurate reflection of his career and, perhaps, of his labile self-awareness.

23. A third child, Bella, was born in 1919, but it appears likely, especially in light of his long separation from his wife in 1918-1919, that Bella was an adopted daughter. I infer

Bella's birth year from Kanatchikov's petition of 8 Dec. 1930 (asking the OSB's support for placing her in a special Kremlin school), in which he gives her age as 11 (RTsKhIDNI, f. 124, op. 1, ed. khr. 816, l. 21). There are archival documents dating from after her birth in which Kanatchikov claims only two children, Vladimir and Evgenii, and in one petition he refers to Bella as a ward (*vospitannitsa*) (*ibid.*, l. 28).

24. Dates here are more precise than those that I gave in "Postscript"; they are taken from, RTsKhIDNI, f. 124, op. 1, ed. khr. 816, ll. 5-6, 8.

25. Petrov to TsK RKP(b), 15 March 1924 (*Sekretno*), RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 100, d. 134977, l. 36; Northwestern Bureau to TsKRKP(b), *tov. Molotov (TELEFONOGRAMMA)*, *ibid.*, l. 37. Petrov headed *Glavnauka* from 1923 to 1928; Loren R. Graham, *The Soviet Academy of Sciences and the Communist Party, 1927-1932* (Princeton, 1967), 69.

26. The sole exception is his criticism of those historians who downplayed Lenin's distrust of the peasantry, a criticism that did earn Kanatchikov some harsh words from Bukharin in the summer of 1926 (see Burgess, *passim*).

27. This is all he is specifically accused of in a TsK document of 1 Aug. 1927 entitled "*Lichnoe delo* No. 1906. KANATCHIKOV, Semen Ivanovich," RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 100, d. 134977, l. 50; see also l. 52. The document, written just on the eve of the first arrests of oppositionists, refers to the letter as having been signed by Zinoviev, Trotsky, I. T. Smilga, and G. E. Evdokimov, as well as by Kanatchikov.

28. A typed excerpt from a 1933 (?) Moscow *raikom* personnel form says of Kanatchikov (probably his own words): "In 1926 took part in Leningrad opposition; in connection with departure abroad did not participate actively. Officially submitted announcement of withdrawal from opposition after XVth Congress of VKP(b)." The handwritten date is only partially legible. *Ibid.*, l. 53.

29. See Document 3 (the petition to the OSB in which Kanatchikov reproduces his statement to Stalin). On recantations by other oppositionists (including Zinoviev and Kamenev) during and shortly after the Fifteenth Congress, see *Reabilitatsiia: Politicheskie protsessy 30-50-kh godov*, ed. A. N. Iakovlev (Moscow, 1991), 149-150 (hereafter cited as *Reabilitatsiia*); Robert Vincent Daniels, *The Conscience of the Revolution: Communist Opposition in Soviet Russia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), 317-320.

30. Zinoviev and his group were readmitted to the party in mid-1928, and were not accused of anti-party activity during the purge of fall 1929, the year in which Stalin turned on Bukharin and the "Right". *Ibid.*, 371; *Reabilitatsiia*, 150.

31. RTsKhIDNI, f. 124, op. 1, ed. khr. 816, ll. 6, 9.

32. In addition to works listed in my "Russian Bebels," 447 n. 59, he was the author of *Rozhdenie Kolkhoza and Opora* (see Document 3), and a book of essays entitled *V bor'be za proletarskuiu ideologiu*; he also was admitted to membership in the "litorganizatsiia" *Proletarsko-Kolkhoznye pisateli*. RTsKhIDNI, f. 124, op. 1, ed. khr. 816, l. 9.

33. *Ibid.*, ll. 3, 18-22, 25-28, 30-31, 33-35. A request to the OSB to send his tubercular son Vladimir to a rest home was dated 17 May 1935 (*Ibid.*, l. 14). Eight days later the TsK published its decree abolishing the OSB. Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror: Stalin's Purge of the Thirties* (New York, 1968), 88.

34. Zinoviev and Kamenev were arrested on 16 December 1934. *Reabilitatsiia*, 154.

35. "Political tension steadily increased after the [January 1935] trial of the former Zinovievites." Medvedev, *Let History Judge*, 166. In the case of the OSB, there was an additional problem: its pleas for leniency for arrested oppositionists. See Conquest, *The Great Terror*, 82, 88; on page 82, Conquest calls the OSB "a sort of Party conscience."

36. For information on *Literaturnaia gazeta*, Subotskii (or Subbotskii), and Kanatchikov's situation at this time, see Arkadii Vaksberg, "Vrazhdebno kritikoval rabotu organov...", *Literaturnaia gazeta*, No. 44 (5370), 6 Nov. 1991. Vaksberg has also published investigative studies of the "Riutin platform" affair and other aspects of the trials and persecutions of the 1930s; see R. W. Davies, *Soviet History in the Gorbachev Revolution* (Bloomington, 1989), 83-85. Vaksberg's short but informative article, printed in *Literaturnaia gazeta's* History section and apparently based on that paper's archival documents, is mostly about Subotskii. Subotskii is not mentioned in the Garrards' study of the Writers' Union, but they have this to say about the post he held: "In the Writers' Union the term 'organizational secretary' (*orgsekreter*) came to be used to designate the ideological commissar." John and Carol Garrard, *Inside the Soviet Writers Union* (New York, 1990), 87. In 1937, Subotskii was involved in the "investigation" that resulted in the execution of Marshal Tukhachevskii and other officers. *Reabilitatsiia*, 295.

37. While Subotskii was editor, the literary hack and professional accuser Vladimir P. Stavskii, "General Secretary" of the Writers' Union and its liaison with the TsK, used the pages of *Literaturnaia gazeta* to disseminate his deadly accusations. Edward J. Brown, *Russian Literature Since the Revolution*, rev. and enl. ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 171; Garrard, *Inside*, 51-52. See also Medvedev, *Let History Judge*, 231.

38. Vaksberg uses the term *partiinyi vydvizhenets* for Kanatchikov as well as for Subotskii; he classifies Kanatchikov as one of the *partiinye vydvizhentsy* who were placed at the head of Communist cultural institutions in those days. This may be true insofar as the party liked to put former workers (and, before 1935, Old Bolsheviks) in positions of high visibility, but anyone familiar with the full scope of Kanatchikov's biography would understand that he was not a *partiinyi vydvizhenets* in the usual (scholarly) sense of that term. Vaksberg may simply mean that Kanatchikov was given his editorial position by the party on the basis of non-professional criteria.

39. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 100, d. 134977. As noted above (note 6), there are two nearly identical copies of the typescript in the file. My translation is from the copy with pages numbered 1 to 15. The translated text reproduced here begins at the chronological point where Kanatchikov's *published* autobiography breaks off. I have omitted Roman numerals that set off subsections of the text, made minor changes in paragraphing, and corrected some misspellings of names. All notes and bracketed words are my own; they are meant to clarify obscure points and, where possible, to identify little known persons and places.

40. The southernmost part of the city, with a very heavy concentration of factory workers.

41. The southeastern part of the city; location of the famous Taganskaia Square.

42. Sokolov was a syndicalist writer who wrote under the name of Vol'skii, a militant but very independent "other Bolshevik." Robert C. Williams, *The Other Bolsheviks: Lenin and His Critics, 1904-1914* (Bloomington, 1986), 67, 68; *Bol'sheviki: Dokumenty po istorii bol'shevizma s 1903 po 1916 god byvsh. Okhrannogo Otdeleniia*, comp. M. A. Tsiavlovskii (Moscow, 1918), Telex reprint edition (New York, 1990) (which updates information in the 1918 index of names), 333-334. The title of this collection is misleading, since it also includes material on Mensheviks and other SDs.

43. Bolshevik factory worker, hero of the Civil War, and later a leading Trotskyite, Smirnov, one of the few defendants to give the prosecution a hard time, was tried and executed in the August 1936 "trial of the 16," which included Zinoviev and Kamenev.

Medvedev *Let History Judge*, 60, 140, 168-169; Daniels, *Conscience of the Revolution*, 151, 218, 370-371, 386; Conquest, *The Great Terror*, 96-97, 101-102, 107-111, 116-117.

44. Kosarev went on to chair the Omsk soviet after the October Revolution (*Bol'sheviki*, 297). In 1905, the Moscow Bolshevik V. L. Shantser (a.k.a. "Marat"; patronymic Leonovich, not Ivanovich), in addition to chairing the Moscow Committee, edited the journal *Golos truda* and the Moscow soviet's *Izvestiia*. Shantser died of tuberculosis in 1911 in a prison hospital. Williams, *Other Bolsheviks*, 68, 73, 163; *Bol'sheviki*, 345-36.

45. The southwestern part of the city, location of several important factories, including the famous Putilov works.

46. Krasikov, "one of Lenin's oldest comrades," had a successful career in the Soviet judiciary, but was dismissed from the Supreme Court in 1938. Medvedev, *Let History Judge*, 217. Skrypnik was a leading Petersburg Bolshevik in 1905; in 1933, while serving as Ukrainian Commissar of Education, he committed suicide after being accused of Ukrainian nationalism (*ibid.*, 140-41). Stasova, who could claim membership in SD circles from 1898 and in the Bolshevik faction from 1903, was close to Lenin; "Zemliachka" was Rozaliia Zalkind, a leader of the Moscow uprising of 1905. On Stasova and Zalkind see Richard Stites, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism, 1860-1930* (Princeton, 1978), 274, 275, 321, 323.

47. Kalinin later became president of the Soviet Republic.

48. The Semenovskii regiment was ordered from St. Petersburg to Moscow on 12 December 1905. Howard D. Mehlinger and John M. Thompson, *Count Witte and the Tsarist Government in the 1905 Revolution* (Bloomington, 1972), 148. B. V. Nikol'skii, conservative legal scholar, poet, critic, and member of the Petersburg University faculty, was boycotted by students in 1905. Susan K. Morrissey, "'More Stories about the New People': Student Radicalism, Higher Education, and Social Identity in Russia, 1899-1921" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1993), 156-157 (esp. n. 46); *Leningradskii universitet v vospominaniakh sovremennikov*, ed. V. V. Mavrodin and V. A. Ezhov, II (Leningrad, 1982), 185 n. 4; J. D. Morison, "Political Characteristics of the Student Movement in the Russian Revolution of 1905," *1905: La première révolution russe*, ed. F.-X. Coquin and C. Gervais-Francelle (Paris, 1986), 70.

49. An industrial town in the Urals.

50. A town some sixty miles to the east of Zlatoust.

51. The famous "left" economist of the 1920s.
52. In the northern part of the city of Moscow.
53. The punctuation in the original list of names and aliases is confusing. Martyn N. Liadov-Mandel'shtam, a revolutionary since the 1890s, was part of Kanatchikov's SD circle in Saratov in 1902, as was his brother Nikolai ("Mikhail Mironych") Mandel'shtam. Liadov, despite his rift with Lenin in 1909, would become rector of Sverdlovsk University in 1923. See *A Radical Worker*, 191, 432 n. 6; *Bol'sheviki*, 308-309. The moderate Bolshevik Viktor Nogin chaired the Moscow soviet in 1917; *ibid.*, 314-316. Aleksei Liubimov became a member of the RSDRP TsK in 1904; *ibid.*, 303-304.
54. An administrative district in the southern part of St. Petersburg city.
55. Actually the central organ of Lenin's faction, at the time.
56. "Ligovka": Ligovskii prospekt, an avenue perpendicular to Nevskii prospekt, intersecting it from the southwest at Znamenskaia square.
57. The Marxist economic historian Nikolai Rozhkov was elected to the RSDRP TsK in 1906. Arrested by the tsarist authorities in 1908, he was convicted of membership in the RSDRP and exiled to Siberia. In 1917, he served in the Provisional Government as a Deputy Minister. See *Bol'sheviki*, 324. Aleksandr Egorovich Efimov is characterized at length in *A Radical Worker*, chap. 32.
58. Vladimir Shuliatikov ("Donat") was a Marxist literary critic with a record of several arrests, he died of cancer in 1912. *Bol'sheviki*, 347-348.
59. Pavel Kolokol'nikov was a leading Menshevik trade-union organizer. Bonnell, *Roots of Rebellion*, 133, 154-155, 159.
60. Grigorii A. Usievich, a Petersburg University student in 1908, was a Bolshevik leader in Moscow during the October Revolution. *Istoriia Leningradskogo universiteta, 1819-1969*, ed. V. V. Mavrodin (Leningrad, 1969), 175, 628 n. 255.
61. Kanatchikov knew the Bolshevik intellectual Iosif P. Gol'denberg from their time together in Saratov (1904); see *A Radical Worker*, 380-382.

62. On the position and functions of the Regional Court (*Sudebnaia Palata*) under the 1864 Judicial Reform, see Samuel Kucherov, *Courts, Lawyers and Trials under the Last Three Tsars* (New York, 1953), 43-44, 49, 161-162.

63. The Congress took place from late December 1909 to early January 1910.

64. For background to this "philosophical" debate on the Russian left, see Alexander Vucinich, *Science in Russian Culture, 1861-1917* (Stanford, 1970), 446-454, and chap. 8; Williams, *Other Bolsheviks*, esp. 41-45, 127-141.

65. Article 102 of the Criminal Code (*Ugolovnoe ulozhenie*) of 22 March 1903 (implemented in June 1904) provided for severe penalties for joining revolutionary organizations and for related crimes.

66. Pankratov ("Starover") was one of the original group who attended Gorky's "party" school for workers in Capri in 1909, an institution shunned by Lenin; but he broke with the school and joined up with Lenin in Paris before returning to Russia. After the Revolution, he chaired the party's Vladivostok Committee and later held a variety of government posts. Williams, *Other Bolsheviks*, 149-153, 214 n. 25; *Bol'sheviki*, 66-68, 317. The Menshevik Chudnovskii switched to the Bolsheviks and played a major role in their seizure of power; see Alexander Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power: The Revolution of 1917 in Petrograd* (New York, 1976), esp. chap. 15.

67. Nikolai S. Krasheninnikov, Chief Justice of the Regional Court, was a member of the Council of State as well as the Senate. The term "Black-Hundred" (*chernosotenets*) should not be taken too literally.

68. N. V. Tselenko (a prominent Kadet political figure) and Vladimir V. Berenshtam were liberal defense attorneys who took on controversial political and civil rights cases. Olimpa-Pereverzev may refer to P. N. Pereverzev, one of their close associates. Kanatchikov's allusion to "the brother" must refer to M. V. Berenshtam, another well-known defense lawyer of this type. V. R. Leikina-Svirskaiia, *Russkaia intelligentsiia v 1900-1917 godakh* (Moscow, 1981), 79-80; Kucherov, *Courts*, 234-235, 239, 284-285.

69. A former railroad worker and leader of the 1902 Rostov general strike. Henry Reichman, *Railwaymen and Revolution: Russia, 1905* (Berkeley, 1987), 63; in August 1903 he was sentenced to four years hard labor by a military court. L. I. Gol'dman, ed., *Politicheskie protsessy v Rossii, 1901-1917. Chast' I: 1901-1905* (Moscow, 1932), 56-57.

70. The Bolshevik Meer Trilisser (also known as Moskvín) was later a Deputy Chairman of the OGPU and, in the mid-1930s, director of a special section of the Comintern. In the latter capacity, according to Medvedev, he tried to purge "enemies of the people," but himself fell victim to the purges. *Let History Judge*, 219.

71. "Narynchane"—though possibly a reference to people from Naryn, a fortress town in Kirghizia, near the Chinese border—is probably an error; the correct word would seem to be "narymchane," i.e., people from Narym, a town on the Ob river (downstream from Tomsk) that was then a common exile destination. I am grateful to Yuri Slezkine for this correction.

72. On Gastev, a student-turned-metalworker-turned-Bolshevik poet-turned visionary industrial manager, a "prophet of the mechanized man and poet of the machine," see Richard Stites, *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution* (Oxford, 1989), 39, 149-155, 243-244. Gastev was arrested in 1938 and probably shot in 1941.

73. The All-Russian Conference of Soviets took place in Petrograd from 29 March to 2 April 1917. Kanatchikov's use of "Congress," implying fully national representation, reflects the initial Bolshevik position; hence his reference to Mensheviks and SRs turning the meeting into a "Conference," implying a lesser degree of representative legitimacy. See John L. J. Keep, *The Russian Revolution: A Study in Mass Mobilization* (New York, 1976), 130.

74. Nikolai Iakovlev, a veteran of the 1905 Moscow uprising, chair of the Tomsk soviet from August 1917, was shot by White partisans in August 1918. *Bol'sheviki*, 349-350. On Smirnov, see note 43 above.

75. Reference is to the period when Admiral Aleksandr Kolchak's Tomsk government ended its tenuous anti-Bolshevik alliance with the SR Party.

76. Nikolai N. Krestinskii, then a member of the Bolshevik TsK, and Vlas Ia. Chubar', a member from 1921, both fell victim to the purges. Medvedev, *Let History Judge*, 175-176, 186-187, 192; Conquest, *Great Terror*, 137, 369-380, 420, 451, 463, 468. Chubar', a "leading light of the factory committee movement" of 1917, was on the Presidium of the Supreme Council of National Economy from 1918 to 1923, then served as president of the Soviet Ukraine. From 1935 to his arrest (while holding the office of deputy premier) in 1938, he was a full member of the Politburo; he was executed in 1939 and rehabilitated in 1961. (See S. A. Smith, *Red Petrograd: Revolution in the Factories, 1917-1918* (Cambridge, 1983), 164; *Reabilitatsiia*, 82.

77. There is no explanation of Kanatchikov's reference to only one child; by this time, as we know both from this document and from various *ankety*, Kanatchikov and his wife had two sons, Vladimir and Evgenii. His daughter (or ward) was born around this time, but may not have been with the family (see note 23, above).

78. Barnaul: A town on the Ob, south of Novonikolaevsk, in the Altai region of southern Siberia.

79. RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 100, d. 134977, l. 47. This is a typed copy of the original. The recipient's last name is not given. Kanatchikov addresses him formally, as "Vy," indicating that he may not have been a close friend.

80. The text of the letter to Stalin, apparently dated one day before the present letter, is included in the body of Document 3.

81. *Ibid.*, f. 124, op. 1, ed. khr. 816, ll. 15-17. All underlined words were underlined by hand, apparently by someone who examined the petition and added marginal comments (which I include in my notes, below, after the word "Inserted." (Words in square brackets are my own clarifications). Handwritten on the top of the first page, is the name of Comrade Iaroslavskii ("T. Iaroslavskomu"), possibly indicating that the petition was reviewed by the influential Stalinist, Emilian Iaroslavskii.

82. Inserted: "What is the basis of this charge?"

83. Inserted: "Evidently one doesn't need permission for that."

84. Inserted: "But the fact is that in 1924 and the beginning of 1925 all the Zinovievites were writing against Trotskyism, and the actual attack against the TsK was launched under the smokescreen of a struggle with Trotskyism." In other words, the writer is accusing Kanatchikov of having already been a concealed oppositionist in 1924-1925.

85. Inserted (in the margin opposite Kanatchikov's claims to have spoken out, etc.): "This must be verified."