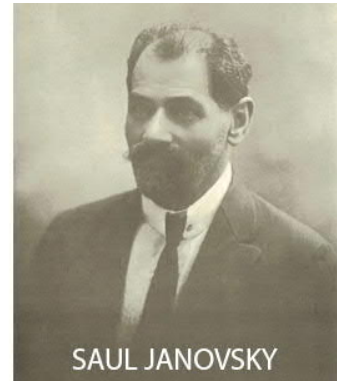
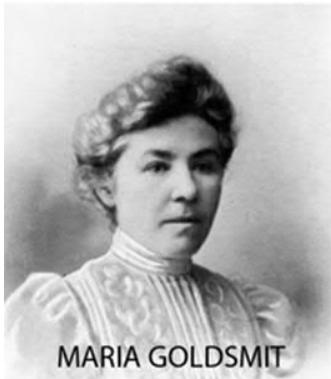


“No anarchist should take ... part in this wretched and insane war”

A Letter by Saul Yanovsky to Marie Goldsmit in 1915



by Dmitry Ivanovich Rublyov, candidate of historical sciences, docent of the Russian State Agrarian University – Moscow Timiryazev Agricultural Academy

The events of the First World War caused a split in the international anarchist movement, casting doubt on its antimilitarist ideology, according to which the onset of war was to be answered with organized desertion, a general strike and an armed uprising. Certainly, this position continued to be upheld by the majority of participants of the international anarchist movement. In February 1915 the most prominent internationalists (Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Luigi Bertoni, Errico Malatesta, etc.) issued an “International Manifesto on the War,” in which they characterized it as imperialist and rapacious on both sides. Responsibility for unleashing the war was credited to the capitalists, landlords and bureaucracies of the belligerent countries. According to the signatories of the “Manifesto,” the only way out of the war was armed insurrection, coalescing into a world social revolution.¹ Among those signing the “Manifesto” were prominent members of the Russian anarchist emigration I. S. Grossman, A. M. Schapiro, and V. S. Shatov.

However, a significant component of the activists of the anarchist movement expressed patriotic, defencist² views. Researchers of the problem typically point to the stance, widely held among anarcho-defencists, of support for the countries of the Entente on the grounds that they were defending the democratic gains of the workers against Germany, associated with militarism and

conservative values. To this group belonged prominent activists of the Russian (P. A. Kropotkin, V. N. Cherkezov, M. I. Goldsmit, A. A. Borovoy), French (Jean Grave, Charles Malato, Marc Pierrot, Paul Reclus), and Dutch (Christiaan Cornelissen) anarchist movements. Their position received its common expression in the “Manifesto of the Sixteen” published by on February 28 1916.³ On the other hand, there were also “defencists” of the pro-German sort, considering a victory of Germany and its allies to be more “progressive” from a political point of view. Such a position was adopted, for example, by the anarchist journalist Erich Mühsam (Germany)⁴ and the anarchist physician Michael A. Cohn (USA).⁵

The controversy between the internationalists and the “defencists”, at times quite sharp and disrespectful, was carried on in the press of the Russian anarchist emigration. The publications which enjoyed the greatest influence among readers were the newspapers *Golos Truda* [The Voice of Labour] (1911–1917, New York) and *Rabocheye Znamya* [The Worker’s Banner] (1915–1917, Lausanne); and the journal *Nabat* [The Alarm] (1914–1916, Geneva). Only in the pages of *Golos Truda* did the editor L. I. Fishlev allow the “defencists,” above all, Marie Isidorovna Goldsmit, to express and defend their views.⁶ Goldsmit’s opponents were Fishlev himself, and also G. I. Gogelia, V. M. Voline (Eichenbaum), and others.⁷ A distinguished researcher in the field of biology, one of the oldest activists of the anarchist movement, a close friend and disciple of Kropotkin, Marie Isidorovna enjoyed the respect of the revolutionary milieu. Her friends and correspondants included V. L. Burtsev, V. N. Figner, V. A. Bogucharsky, N. V. Chaikovsky, M. M. Kovalevsky, N. A. Morozov, and other public figures of the socialist and liberal camps. The writings of Marie Goldsmit had great significance for the formulation of the strategy and tactics of Russian anarchism,⁸ for grasping the problems of syndicalism, for the discussions about terror, and for the question of the participation of anarchists in political struggle. Before the start of the First World War, she served on the editorial boards and contributed articles to many newspapers (*Listki “Khleb i volya”* [Pages of “Bread and freedom,” London, 1906–1907; *Rabochiy mir* [Worker’s world], Zurich, 1909); and journals (*Koruzhiyu!* [To arms!], Paris, 1903–1904; *Kleb i volya* [Bread and freedom], London – Geneva, 1909), published by Russian anarchists in emigration⁹.

The controversy about the position of the anarchists towards the War is reflected in the document published here: a letter to Marie Goldsmit from Saul (Shaul-Yosef) Yanovsky (1864–1939), journalist, publisher, translator, distinguished orator, and one of the most prominent figures of the Jewish anarchist organizations in the USA. It’s worth taking a look at his life.

Yanovsky was born in April 1864 in Pinsk, on the territory of the Russian empire. His father was a rabbi, but even as a youth Shaul-Yosef arrived at the repudiation of religion and remained an atheist until his death¹⁰. In 1885 he emigrated to the USA, where he lived till the end of his life, with the exception of a period of work in London in 1890–1894. It was during this period that he

became acquainted with Marie Goldsmit, whose correspondence with Yanovsky continued until 1925. His occupation, which he changed several times, included tailor and insurance agent. Under the impact of the tragic events of May 4 1886 in Chicago, connected with the explosion at Haymarket Square and the dispersal by the police of a meeting of striking workers, he joined the anarchist movement, participating in the activities of the Pioneers of Liberty group and the Russian Progressive Association of New York. Yanovsky often spoke at meetings and debated with leaders of the social-democrats. Especially acclaimed was his speech at a meeting in London on 11 November 1892 commemorating the Haymarket events. But above all he was known as a journalist or editor of leading anarchist newspapers and journals published in Yiddish. Among them were *Varhayt* [Truth] (New York, 1889), *Der Arbeter Fraynd* [The worker's friend] (London, 1890–1894), and *Di Fraye Gezelshaft* [The Free society] (New York, 1910–1911). The longest period of his life was associated with his work as editor of *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* [The Free Voice of Labour] (1899–1919). Founded in 1890, this periodical continued publishing till 1977, being the foremost anarchist paper in Yiddish in the world. In 1914 its circulation reached 20,000 copies. Unlike many anarchist publications, the staff of this newspaper were paid for their work, and the authors of articles received honorariums. The authors of brochures and books published by the newspaper were entitled to royalties from sales.¹¹

Having started as a supporter of terrorism and “propaganda of the deed,” Yanovsky came to deny them. He believed that terror discredits anarchism, alienating potential supporters from among the workers. Anarchist doctrine, in his view, is “a philosophy of human dignity and cooperation, love and brotherhood, not bombs.”¹² His critique of terror gave rise to unjust accusations of cowardice on the part of a number of anarchists. In his thinking, a privileged role in preparing the working class for social revolution was the formation of elements of a free society through educational and organization-building activities. The strategy of “direct action” was interpreted by him as the creation of libertarian schools, trade unions, and cooperatives.¹³ In accordance with his educational goals, he wanted to put out a newspaper which not only published trenchant political articles and the writings of the theoreticians of anarchism, but also works of literature and popular science. *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* “combined the functions of a labour newspaper, a radical journal, a literary magazine and a people's university.”¹⁴ Yanovsky sought to make his paper self-supporting, and at times achieved revenues which were high compared with other anarchist publications. To support the newspaper, he conducted fund drives, charity balls, and lecture tours.¹⁵ In the 1900s it was considered prestigious to be published in *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*. In choosing writers, Yanovsky gave more weight to their professional qualifications than their commitment to anarchist ideology.¹⁶ Among these writers was Marie Goldsmit. In November – December 1915, *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* published a series of her “Talks on Science,” which highlighted the problems of contemporary science. Yanovsky had intentions of publishing these columns as a book, but this plan did not work out.¹⁷ Yanovsky was a difficult

person to work with. He was intolerant to the shortcomings of the people around him, had a quarrelsome character, was quick-tempered, sarcastic, and often tactless. Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman noted his penchant for despotism while directing his publishing collective.¹⁸

As a newspaper editor, he sought to forge links between the anarchist press and unions of Jewish workers. Following this course, in 1919–1926 Yanovsky got involved in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU). Using the authority of his newspaper among members of the unions of Jewish workers in the garment industry, he helped the leaders of these unions in their struggle with the Communist Party of the USA, which was trying to establish its influence in the labour movement. Soon Yanovsky became editor of the newspaper *Gerekhtiyayt* [Justice], weekly organ of the ILGWU, transforming it into one of the best union publications.¹⁹ Many American anarchists reacted negatively to the perceived integration of Saul Yanovsky into the trade union bureaucracy. The anarcho-syndicalist journalist Sam Dolgoff called him a “privileged union official.”²⁰ Yanovsky himself, as is evident from his letter of February 25 1925 to Marie Goldsmit, was critical of his own activity: “For almost seven years, I edited an ILGWU rag, and put up with as much as I could bear. How many abominations did I gloss over, how much filth did I try to justify and defend! And all this I did – not for the big bucks I got – but because each time I persuaded myself that this was necessary, that the workers’ cause required it, that if I didn’t keep my mouth shut and speak out strongly against these things, I would be doing more harm than good.”²¹

Yanovsky was in constant communication with representatives of the Russian anarchist emigration. In 1899, in an anarchist club on Berner Street in London, he met Kropotkin. Later he arranged lectures by Peter Alekseyevich in the USA. For many years he corresponded with Kropotkin²² and Marie Goldsmit, published their writings in *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*, and collected funds for the newspaper *Listki “Khleb i volya,”* and the journal *Kleb i volya*, and for aid to anarchist organizations and imprisoned anarchists in Russia.²³

During the First World War, Yanovsky vacillated. In the autumn of 1914 he expressed support for the internationalist position, reproaching Kropotkin for the fact “that he, owing to the war fever, forgot all his own convictions.”²⁴ In Yanovsky’s view, Kropotkin caused a split in the movement and prevented the anarchists from increasing their popularity by taking a united stand against the war: “I’d like very much to speak with you about our common friend P. A. K[ropotkin]. I absolutely can’t understand him. . . . How nice it would have been to use the War for our ideas, if only he and a few others hadn’t suddenly become such flaming patriots!”²⁵ In 1915 Yanovsky was among the signatories of the “International Manifesto on the War.”²⁶ However, he was tolerant of the views of his opponents, making the columns of his newspaper available for discussions both to internationalists, and to pro-Entente and pro-German defencists. According to Paul Avrich, Yanovsky soon “under the influence of Kropotkin shifted his own position to support for the victory of the Entente.”²⁷ Like Kropotkin, Yanovsky claimed after February 1917

that the defeat of Germany would help the development of democratic processes in Russia. In 1917, after the United States entered the war, the editorial collective of *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* openly supported the countries of the Entente.²⁸ Perhaps this was just a matter of trimming their sails to the prevailing political winds. But it can't be excluded that a decisive influence on Yanovsky was wielded by Kropotkin, whose letters to him were filled with impassioned pleas for struggle against Germany.²⁹ It's also possible to credit Marie Goldsmit to some degree for Yanovsky's change of position, as she also argued with him in letters and in the columns of the anarchist press. The letter of Yanovsky published below helps to re-introduce the arguments of the anarchist anti-war faction, and demonstrates the author's inherent desire to find common ground with his opponents.

The original of the published letter is preserved in the fond of M. I. Goldsmit in the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF) (GARF, f. [fond = collection of documents from the same source] 5969, op. [opis' = finding aid] 2, d. [delo = folder] 28, l. [listy = pages] 60 – 64 ob. [oborotnye = reverse side, verso]).

* * * * *

New York, January 12 1915

I shall deal first with our “business matters” and get it over with, and then talk about your defense of P. A.'s³⁰ position, a position which you also share.

The articles “Conversations on Science,” of which I have received so far only one, are very good, and just right for the readers of the F.A.S.³¹ Mind you, not for all readers, for among them there are those who already “know it all”; then of course they have nothing to learn, either from you, or from me, or from people even better than us. But for our average reader, they are excellent and, I'm convinced, they will be grateful to you.

I guess you are receiving the F.A.S. You'll find I haven't begun to publish them yet, but this must not stop you for a minute from continuing with these articles. Write, and we'll send you this meagre honorarium. I'm not publishing them now, because I think that the time is not right for such conversations. People are thinking only about the war, quite simply nothing else passes through their heads, and your articles are too good to be wasted. There will come a “psychological” moment and immediately we will print them. So you keep writing and send them right away. Under the condition only that you receive money for them, which shows you that over the course of the years I have become a real kulak, what you call in English a “businessman.”³²

One more thing and I'm finished with "business." Would it be better for you if I sent francs rather than dollars? I believe that it's trouble for you to exchange dollars for francs, but for us this is quite easy to do: I will buy francs and send them to you, and you won't have the bother of exchanging them. If this is more convenient, write, and I will tell my "underlings" to act according to your wish.

Yes, one more thing: there are weeks when I don't get anything from you. Like the past week. How so? Either you're not writing, or there's a delay, or it just got lost? I request you to write in detail about everything, because everything is interesting now.

Well, now to our differences.

I read your article in G. T.³³ and must say I found it quite unpersuasive, but I won't respond to it because that would take too long and probably be boring. It's better that I take up the arguments of your letter and try to show you where you are mistaken.

I don't take the same position as Domela³⁴; to me it does indeed matter who wins, but still I'm convinced that neither you, nor P. A., nor any anarchist should take any active part in this wretched and insane war. Why, you want to know, and, as a Jew, I answer you with another question: why do you not take part in the political struggle of two parties, one radical, the other conservative? Why do we stand on the sidelines and not lift a finger to help or hinder one or the other party? Because we are anarchists, we don't believe in political strife, we consider it wicked – distracting people's attention from the main thing. And we don't argue that there's no harm in interfering at a certain moment; rather we stand quietly on the sidelines, because we know that in the final account nothing will come out of this struggle of the bosses. Rightfully we say: our ideal, our goals are incomparably higher than the success of these fleeting victories and defeats; we will keep our hands clean for the real war – that's our reasoning, is it not? So why doesn't this same reasoning apply to the war? Do you really believe in war? You despise it, don't you? You consider it a remnant of barbarism, and understand that any wars, including this one, are waged to increase the servitude of people generally and, in particular, by setting the workers against each other. So why should you, should we, should anarchists, take an active part in it – not through coercion, but willingly – and, even worse, call on people to engage in this war as if it was sacred? Nothing will persuade me that this war is more sacred than any other. Tell me – was there ever a war without these two sides: one aggressive, attacking; and one defending? Why have we up to now kept quiet and not tried to help and not summoned people to help, for example, the Boers? Why? Wasn't that the worst sort of violence?

Look, I just can't believe my eyes, seeing P. A. waxing indignant at the abominations of the German government – as if, as an anarchist, he could expect anything different? Suddenly all

governments have become sinless angels, except for the German government which is the devil incarnate. But P. A. doesn't stop there. For him, not just the government, but the whole German people are Hurons,³⁵ barbarians. If this isn't the most thorough-going chauvinism, what is it?

Anarchists in their speeches, pamphlets and books have always tried to point out the vast difference between a country and its government. We pointed to government as an agent of violence, as an alien force which attacked the people and enslaved them. Am I right or not? Of course I'm right, but suddenly you join hands with these predators because there are others of the same kind who are attacking them. Isn't this ridiculous? In my opinion, if the anarchists were able to, they should help the "enemy" overthrow these parasites, and then deal with the foreigners. Of course this would be unpatriotic, but yet rational and logical!

The fear that Wilhelm³⁶ will turn France into a German province is simply nonsense, which even Wilhelm would never have dreamed of. It's impossible to subjugate the country; he couldn't even subjugate Alsace-Lorraine³⁷ for all these years. It's also impossible to destroy a renowned culture – all this is simply the ravings of a sick mind and that's why your argument that the Dutch should fight for their "own" country is not tenable. First of all, this country is not theirs: they have nothing in their own land. Secondly, the Germans can't take it away from them, can't put it in their pocket, or drive them off of it, or enslave them. So does it matter if the Germans expel the Dutch government? A German one will be worse? Well then, if they are going to fight, let them revolt against these bastards! Of course P. A. proposes the same line in relation to the Russian government. Trusting it, he believes that after the war everything will be fine` and dandy in Mother Russia, but he says that if things turn out otherwise, then rebellion is a possibility. So I ask, if this argument is true in relation to Russia, why not apply it to German provinces in Holland, France, and so on?

Furthermore, I don't deny the right to fight against aggression. On the contrary, I even consider this the duty of each person, and each anarchist especially, but first of all there must be aggression against me or against my neighbour, and then I, as a thinking person, must determine what provoked this attack on me and my neighbour. I must more or less make a thorough investigation of the act of aggression. Maybe it would help to give a minor example: I'm sitting alone in my room now and writing you this stupid, unnecessary letter. Suddenly the door flies open and a man with a gun in his hand bursts in, asks for dinner, and threatens to kill me if I refuse. This is undoubtedly an act of violence, though it would also be an atrocity on my part if I pulled a revolver from my pocket and killed him on the spot. Wouldn't it be more humane to ask him to sit down, find out what the matter is with him, feed him, and part as friends? Why doesn't the same apply in the case of war, when a whole army breaks into your country? You meet it not with guns, but with a question: what can we do for you? There's enough room here, work together with us, please! We don't want to fight you because you didn't come here of your own

free will – wouldn't it really be better not to fight? Of course the bourgeois only scoffs at me, but you and P. A. and all the other anarchists – we all must oppose the recourse to arms. Only by such means will we ever put an end to this insane fratricide.

P. A. in fact devised a special means: form an International and vow not to let anyone be harmed, even if this requires some kind of military action. But since we already have war, and since there is a stronger force which certainly wants to harm the weak, so we must fight together – a fine perspective!

Listen friend; I'll never end, and it's already two in the morning. It's time to rest. I don't know what you will make of all this. My Russian is probably insufferable, but what can you do?! You would need to learn how to read and write in Hebrew – now that would lead to a correspondence between us!

Well, good luck, give my regards to your mother, and write more often. Because life is easier when you get a letter from a friend.

Your S. Yanovsky

Since I can't get to sleep I shall continue. You ask: since each of us has our own sympathies, since each of us has a particular opinion about the desired outcome, why feign indifference? Well, just imagine what would happen if we act on our differences, and you will be positively horrified. Suppose it's my opinion that Germany is in the right and that civilization will benefit from its victory – I could certainly have such an opinion! Your opinion is just the opposite and each of us acts in accordance with our own opinion. You join the French, and I the German army. We meet on the field of battle, and we – yes, you and I – cut each other's throat. Isn't this awful? If it was just a matter of a verbal disagreement, it wouldn't be so terrible. But if we are people who express ourselves not just in words, but in actions, then our differences become a really terrible tragedy. So we cut each other's throat, it's not such a big deal, but that's not all: what about after the War? How can the German and the French anarchist work together then? Can't you see that P. A.'s efforts have in fact made joint anarchist propaganda an impossibility for many, many years? That's why it's important on the war question not to speak out, even less to agitate or write all sorts of silly letters, the only consequence of which are some misunderstandings.

You know perfectly well that I'm not afraid of compromises. I may have been the first anarchist who dared to speak out in favour of such. I know life too well to refuse to concede. But once I concede, I expect something in return, otherwise it's stupid and sinful to concede. So now I ask: what have we won, as anarchists, if we've already gone to war? Because you know that after the

war the bourgeoisie will be quite right to despise us as windbags and phrase-mongers: what a bunch of anti-militarists! When called to fight, they even came running! And in fact these are the opponents of any sort of government!

I don't know about others, but I feel myself so against P. A. No matter how convinced he is, he should remember that he is regarded as a head of a party, and in view of this he should be more careful. Because when I write or speak, I'm representing myself, not anyone else. But of course that's not the case with P. A. He speaks for me, for you, for anarchists – and on such an issue he must come to terms with us.

However, good-bye, Yanovsky.

*Translated by Malcolm Archibald from a text kindly provided by Dr. Rublyov. The article was originally published in the Russian journal **Historical Archive** in a slightly different form:*

*Rublyov D. I. "Nikakoy anarkhist ne dolzhen prinimat' nikakogo uchastiya v etoy neschastnoy i bezumnoy voyne." Pis'mo SH-Y. Yanovskogo k M.I. Gol'dsmit. 1915 g. // **Istoricheskiy arkhiv**. 2014. № 3. S. 195–202.*

1 Anarkhisty. Dokumenty i materialy. 1883 - 1935 gg. [Anarchists. Documents and materials. 1883 – 1935], Vol. 1 (Moscow, 1998), pp. 584–586.

2 Although “anarchist defencism” was not a term used by proponents of this tendency, it was not pejorative. Among the pejorative terms applied to this tendency were “anarchist-patriotism” and “anarchist-democratism.” There were other varieties of defencism on the left, e. g. the “revolutionary defencism” of the Russian SRs, Mensheviks, and even the Bolsheviks for a time.

3 P. A. Kropotkin i yego ucheniye. Internatsional'nyy sbornik, posvyashchenny desyatoy godovshchine smerti P. A. Kropotkina. [P. A. Kropotkin and his teachings. International collection of articles devoted to the 10th anniversary of the death of P. A. Kropotkin.], (Chicago, 1931), pp. 341–343. This document was actually signed by 15 anarchists, as one of the signers turned out to be a place name.

4 E. Mühsam soon adopted an antiwar stance.

5 See, for example: M. Korn (M. I. Gol'dsmit), Nashi spornyye voprosy [Our contentious issues] // Golos truda, 18 December 1914, № 16, p. 1, 25 December 1914, № 17, p. 2; M. Korn (M. I. Gol'dsmit), Yeshche raz "Nashi spornyye voprosy" [Once more “Our contentious issues”] // Golos truda, 26 March 1915, № 30. pp. 2–3; M. Korn (M. I. Gol'dsmit), Marks, Bakunin i voyna [Marx, Bakunin and war] // Golos truda, 25 June 1915, № 41, p. 2 and 2 July 1915, № 42, p. 2.

6 P. Avrigh, Anarchist Portraits, (Princeton, 1988), p. 294.

7 See: «Nashi spornyye voprosy» (Po povodu stat'i M. Korn) [“Our contentious issues” (Concerning the articles of M. Korn)] // 1 January 1915, № 18, p. 2, 8 January 1915, № 19, p. 2, 15 January 1915, № 20, p. 1; 5 February 1915, № 23, p. 1; Orgeiani [G. I. Gogelia] Anarkhisty i voyna [Anarchists and war] // 5 March - 6 August 1915, №№ 27–43; V-in [V. M. Eikhenbaum], Gde Vykhod? [Where's the Exit?] // Golos Truda, 21 May 1915, № 37, p. 2; V. E. [V. M. Eikhenbaum], Kray zavesy [The Edge of the curtain] // Golos Truda, 27 August 1915, № 50, p. 2, 3 September 1915, № 51, p. 2.

8 See: M. Korn [M. I. Gol'dsmit], Revolyutsionnyy sindikalizm i anarkhizm [Revolutionary syndicalism and anarchism], (London, 1907); idem, Bor'ba s kapitalom i vlast'yu. Nashi spornyye voprosy. [The Struggle with capital and state power. Our contentious issues.], (London, 1912).

9 For details about the ideas and personality of M. I. Goldsmit, see: Michael Confino, ed., Anarchistes en exil: Correpondance inédite de Pierre Kropotkine à Marie Goldsmit, 1897–1917, (Paris, 1995); V. V. Kriven'kiy, Gol'dsmit // Politicheskiye partii Rossii. Konets XIX - pervaya tret' XX veka. Entsiklopediya. [Political parties of Russia. End of the 19th – first third of the 20th century. Encyclopedia.], (Moscow, 1996), p. 161; D. I. Rublev, Gol'dsmit // Revolyutsionnaya mysl' v Rossii XIX - nachala XX veka: Entsiklopediya. [Revolutionary thought in Russia in the 19th – early 20th centuries: Encyclopedia], (Moscow, 2013), pp. 109–112.

10 Paul Avrigh, Anarchist Portraits, p. 187.

11 State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF), fond 5969 (M. I. Gol'dsmit), opis' [finding aid] 2, delo [folder] 28, listy [pages] 2, 57, 59 oborotnaya [verso]. The “manager” who ran the newspapers received \$15 per week. According to Yanovsky, this was a “respectable salary” for the times (Ibid., listy [pages] 2).

12 Paul Avrigh, Anarchist Portraits, pp. 179, 189.

13 Moshe Goncharok, Ocherki po istorii yevreyskogo anarkhistskogo dvizheniya (idish-anarkhizm). [Essays on the history of the Jewish anarchist movement (Yiddish anarchism).], (Jerusalem, 1998), pp. 36, 52, 54, 58, 60, 62, 63, 64, 216; Saul Yanovsky, Kropotkin, kakim ya yego znal [Kropotkin as I knew him] // P.A. Kropotkin i yego ucheniye. Internatsional'nyy sbornik, posvyashchenny desyatoy godovshchine smerti P.A. Kropotkina. [P. A. Kropotkin and his teachings. International anthology devoted to the 10th anniversary of the death of P. A. Kropotkin.], (Chicago, 1931), p. 219; Paul Avrich, Anarchist Portraits, pp. 158, 180 - 182, 187 - 189.

14 Paul Avrich, Anarchist Portraits, p. 184.

15 GARF, fond 5969, opis' [finding aid] 2, delo [folder] 28, listy 2, 58 – 60 oborotnye [verso].

16 P. Avrich, Anarchist Portraits, p. 188; M. Goncharok, Ocherki, pp. 58, 61–62.

17 GARF, fond 5969, opis' [finding aid] 2, delo [folder] 28, listy [pages] 58, oborotnaya [verso] - 59.

18 Moshe Goncharok, Ocherki, pp. 33–34; Paul Avrich, Anarchist Portraits, p. 188.

19 M. Goncharok, op. cit., p. 68, 216; P. Avrich, Anarchist Portraits, pp. 194 - 195; Sam Dolgoff, Anarchistische Fragmente. Memoiren eines amerikanischen Anarchosyndikalisten, (Lich, Hessen: 2011), p. 38 [available in English as Fragments: A Memoir, (Refract Publications: Cambridge (England) 1986)].

20 S. Dolgoff, Anarchistische Fragmente, p. 38.

21 GARF, fond 5969, opis' [finding aid] 2, delo [folder] 28, listy [pages] 70 oborotnaya [verso].

22 M. Goncharok, op. cit., p. 67; S. Dolgoff, Anarchistische Fragmente, pp. 37 - 38.

23 Pis'ma Kropotkina Yanovskomu [Letters of Kropotkin to Yanovsky] // P. A. Kropotkin i yego ucheniye, pp. 252, 254, 256, 258 - 259, 261.

24 S. Yanovsky, Kropotkin, kakim ya yego znal, p. 220.

25 GARF, fond 5969, opis' [finding aid] 2, delo [folder] 28, listy 74 oborotnaya [verso].

26 Anarkhisty. Dokumenty i materialy. 1883 - 1935 gg., Vol. 1, p. 586.

27 P. Avrich, Anarchist Portraits, p. 195.

28 M. Goncharok, op. cit., p. 67; S. Yanovsky, Kropotkin, kakim ya yego znal, p. 214; S. Dolgoff, Anarchistische Fragmente, pp. 37 - 38.

29 See, for example: Pis'ma Kropotkina Yanovskomu, p. 268.

30 P. A. = Peter Alekseyevich Kropotkin.

31 F. A. S. = Freie Arbeter Stimme.

32 Yanovsky wrote this word in English [translator's note].

33 G. T. = Golos Truda. The article in question is entitled "Our contentious issues."

34 Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis (1846–1919), activist in the labour, socialist and anarchist movements of the Netherlands. One of the notable anarchist communicators of the 19th century. Began his public activity

as a Lutheran pastor. At the end of the 1870s broke with the church and joined the socialist movement. Founder of the first social-democratic organization in the Netherlands. In 1888–1891 was a deputy in the Dutch parliament. Headed the Dutch delegations to the congresses of the 2nd International in 1889–1896. Became famous as a propagandist of anti-militarism. Advanced the notion of opposing war by means of a general strike of the workers. Gradually came to repudiate parliamentarism, moved closer to the anarchists, protested against their expulsion from the 2nd International. In 1896 was himself expelled from the International. During the 2nd half of the 1890s, became one of the most prominent figures of the anarchist movement in the Netherlands and a popular anarchist writer. A number of his works about anti-militarism, atheism, and the labour movement were published in Russia in the 1900s. During the First World War joined the internationalist wing of the anarchist movement, carried on pacifist propaganda. In 1915 a series of his articles (“Holland in wartime,” “The Crusade of women against war,” “Thoughts of an anti-militarist”) were published in the Russian anarchist journal Nabat.

35 Hurons – a confederation of indigenous tribes speaking an Iroquoian language (1600s – 1700s) inhabiting territory now part of Canada. Yanovsky may have used “Hurons” as a metaphor for barbarism.

36 Wilhelm II (1859–1941), German Emperor (Kaiser) and King of Prussia in 1888–1918.

37 Alsace, Lorraine: regions in the northeast of France. As a result of the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871), the Treaty of Frankfurt awarded the major part of these territories to Germany. The French population of those regions absorbed by Germany exhibited strong anti-German sentiments.