‘Peasants Wait for Them with Hope’: The Civil War in Belarus 1918-1922

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In May 1921, Officer Eliya Kopshits[1] of the Belarusian department of the Jewish Public Committee reported to the head office in Moscow about a crucial situation that had happened in Jewish communities in Southern Belarus as a result of anti-Jewish pogroms and the banditry and activities of anti-Soviet rebels. In many places, the Jews appeared defenceless, their only hope of support lying in the bigger cities with their strong Red Army garrisons. In the meantime, the local peasantry looked towards the forestry areas, where guerrilla units operated actively against the Bolsheviks. Reporting on the pogrom in the shtetl of Lyuban, he admitted that local peasants, angered by the social and economic policy of the Bolsheviks, greeted the rebels as their saviours. Relations between Christians and Jews had undergone drastic changes in the previous few years. Before the First World War, the Christians had managed to get along with their Jewish neighbours. In the years of disturbances, however, Belarusian peasants witnessed crimes committed by rebels and bandits against Jews, or even participated in them themselves.

Eliya Kopshits listed several reasons for this change: first and foremost, the campaign of grain confiscation (the so-called *prodrazvyorstka*, in Russian), conducted violently by the Soviet authorities, and crimes against. Kopshits blames the tactless speeches and actions of some Jews who served in the Soviet bodies and the Red Army, and who depicted all peasants collectively as ‘counter-revolutionary agents’. From the other side, enemies of the Soviet regime engaged in anti-Jewish propaganda that successfully persuaded peasants that only the Jews were guilty in all tax deployments. Taken together, this aggravated the inter-ethnic disputes and conflicts in the region. Kopshits argues that the main destructive influence on Jewish-Christian relations in that part of Belarus were the pogroms committed by troops led by general Stanisłaŭ Bułak-Bałachovič (1883-1940) in the autumn of 1920.[2]

Paramilitary violence spread across Eastern Europe at the end of the First World War. Saboteurs, deserters, and various armed groups that did not

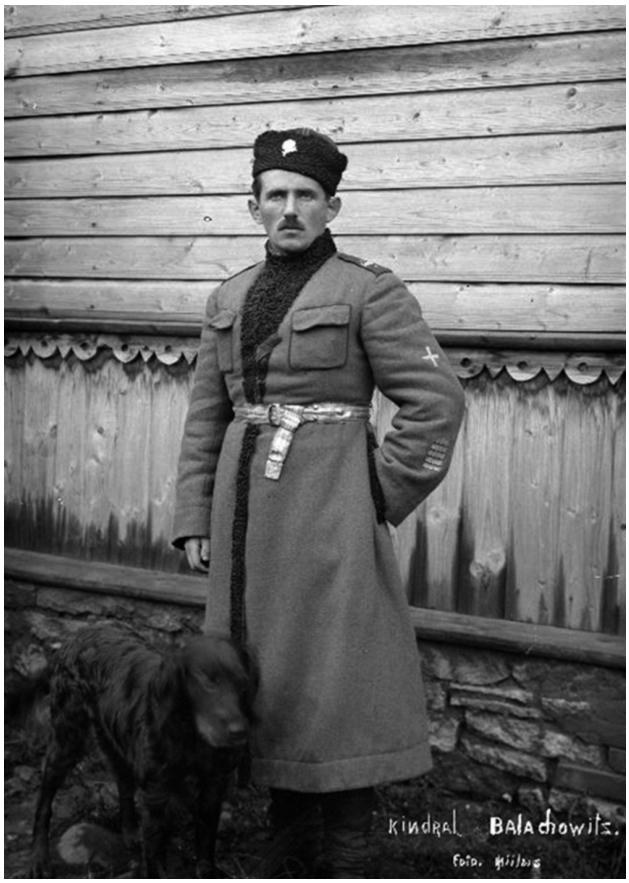

Fig. 1: Stanisłaŭ Bułak-Bałachovič, cavalry officer of the Tsarist army in 1915-1918, major general of the White Army in Belarus in 1919-1920, commander of voluntary units fighting in the Polish army of the Second Polish Republic in 1920 and 1939.

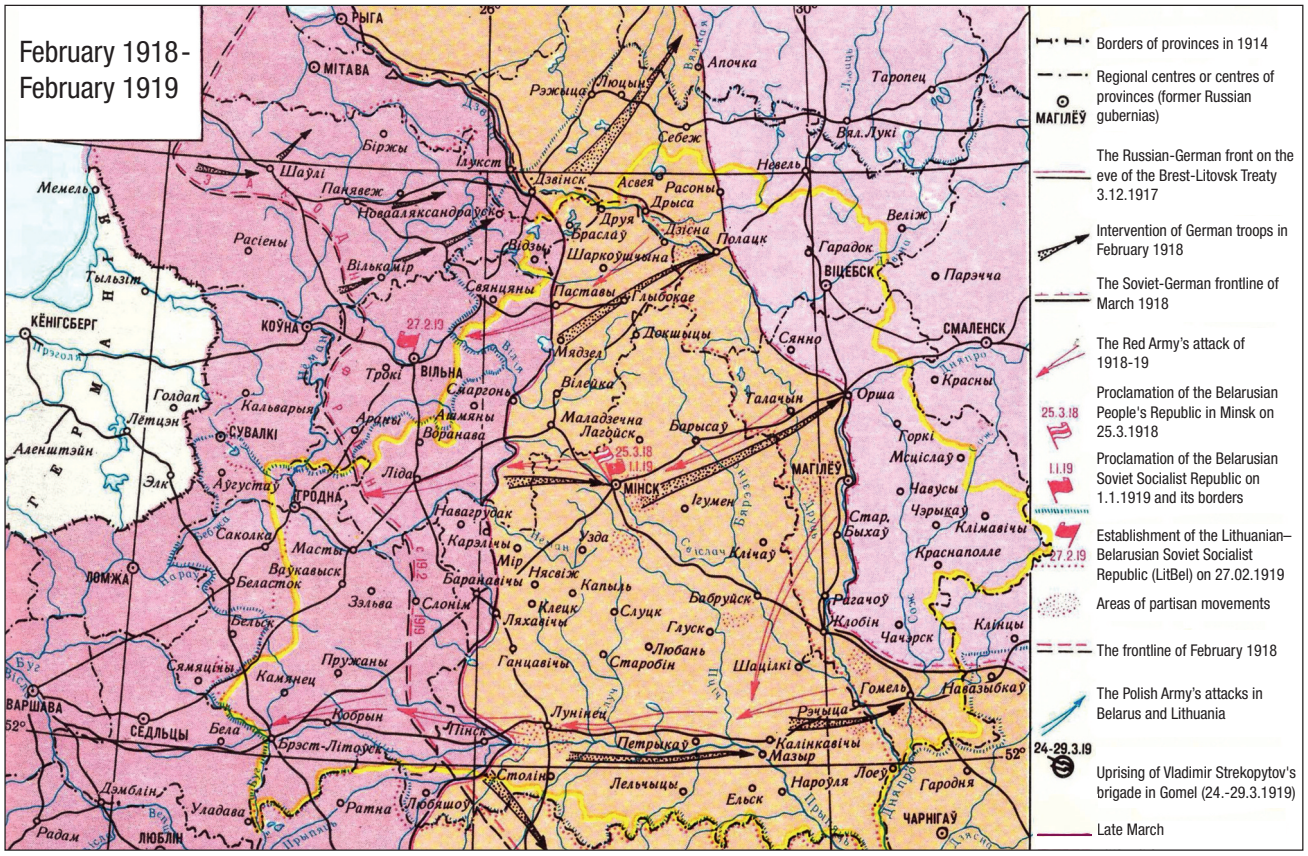

Fig. 2: Frontlines in Belarus 1918-1919.

qualify as regular army units operated in the grey zones.[3] The activities of various anti-Soviet paramilitary groups intensified local conflicts in the former Russian Empire. In Belarus, the activity of gangs consisting of enemies of the Bolsheviks, deserters, and local peasants practically paralysed life in the province.

This civil war on the periphery of the former Russian Empire has attracted and continues to attract the interest of scholars. Existing literature on the problem of establishing the Soviet regime in the region and the fighting against the Bolsheviks' enemies is rich enough. Soviet historians described the activity of anti-Bolshevik rebels only as acts of 'political gangsterism' directed against the young Soviet state. They claimed that the proximity of 'bourgeois' Poland, Latvia, and Lithuania was a decisive factor for the way the civil war developed in the region; that anti-Soviet gangs, spies, and saboteurs were thrown into the Soviet republics from the west; and that they stayed in contact with the local anti-Soviet underground and banditry.[4] The authors did not take into account that many factors could stir up anti-Soviet sentiments among the local population, such as social and ethnic disparity on the periphery and especially in the rural areas. Some modern Belarusian and Polish authors focus mainly on the activities of the rebels, portraying them as representatives of the Belarusian national resistance opposed to the Bolsheviks.[5] However, the problems presented by the transition from the First World War to civil peace in this region are more complicated.

This chapter focuses on some episodes of the so-called 'wars after the War' on the territory of Soviet Belarus, mainly the specificity of the civil war(s) in this region. It discusses the role of Soviet policy in developments such as the escalation of violence, problems of desertion, and warlordism and interethnic conflicts under the severe conditions of the civil war.

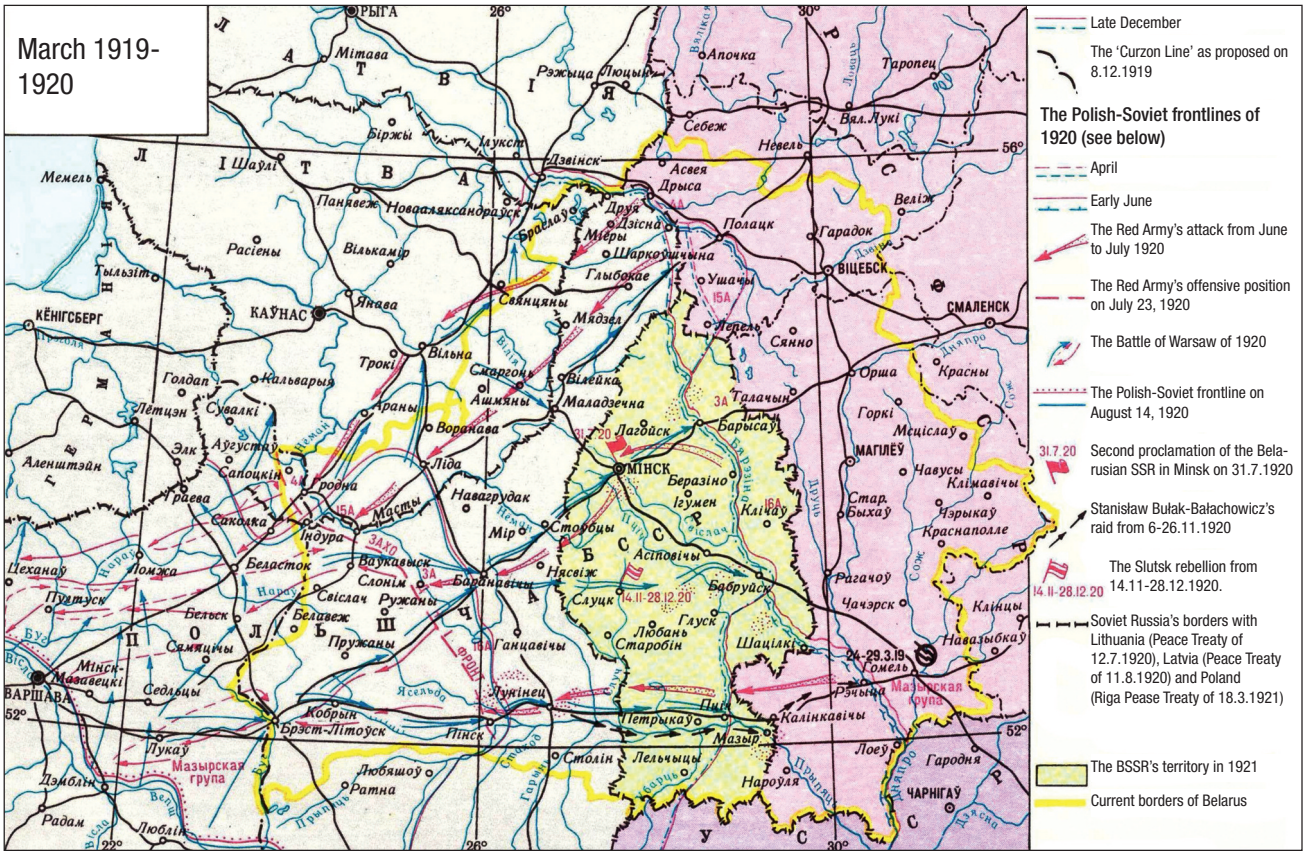

Fig. 3: Polish-Soviet frontlines, 1919-1920

The First World War had significantly affected the Belarusian lands. The Western Russian Front had cut through Belarus in the autumn of 1915, and about 1.4 million Belarusians, mainly from the western provinces, left their homeland.[6] In 1917, the February Revolution catalysed the collapse of the Russian Empire. Under the German occupation of 1918, a group of Belarusian intellectuals in Minsk attempted to establish their state, the so-called 'Belarusian People's Republic' (BNR). In January 1919, the Bolsheviks set up the Belarusian Soviet Socialist Republic, merged the following month with the Lithuanian SSR into the so-called 'LitBel'. This was later abolished by the Polish troops who occupied the region. The eastern Belarusian provinces (Gomel and Vitebsk) were included in the Russian Socialist Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) and were not reincorporated back into the Belarusian SSR until 1924 to 1926. On the unoccupied territories, the new Soviet regime actively introduced a variety of reforms. In the Soviet and post-Soviet literature, this period and the Bolsheviks' policy is known as 'war communism'.[7]

The new authorities brutally transformed the economy using such methods as the nationalisation of banks, companies, and factories; the requisitions of goods; the confiscation of private property; a ban on private trade, etc. Many peasants, mainly former leaseholders, were attracted by the Bolshevik agrarian programme and became active defenders of the new Soviet order. Some joined the ranks of the so-called 'Red partisans' struggling against the German and Polish forces that occupied the region. In Belarus, poor peasants and newly established 'communes' obtained plots of landlords' estates (mostly of Polish origin) and their rich neighbours. The Bolsheviks treated a smaller group of rich peasants as so-called *kulaks* or 'class enemies of the poorer peasantry'. The majority of the peasantry suffered from the requisitions and revolutionary taxes imposed by the Red Army, revolutionary committees, and other

Fig. 4: The Russian writer and revolutionary Boris Savinkov in the early 1920s.

Soviet bodies.[8] Many peasants were angry about the policies of the Bolsheviks, and the tactless behaviour of Soviet employees who participated in collecting the surplus food tax and requisitions in the rural areas. Within the *prodrazvyorstka* campaign, they demanded more than the peasant households could provide.[9] The period of so-called 'political gangsterism' coincided with the anti-Bolshevik rebel activities of the peasants, which rolled through all Soviet republics.

During the Polish-Soviet War in the summer of 1920, the Polish military command abandoned Belarus, widely employing a scorched-earth policy against the Red Army. The Belarusian SSR was restored in the summer of 1920. The re-establishment of the Soviet regime in the rural areas of Belarus spanned the period of the rebels and the anti-Jewish pogroms. After Poland and Soviet Russia had agreed a ceasefire in the autumn of 1920, the Stanisłaŭ Bułak-Bałachovič detachments attacked in Southern Belarus ('the campaign of Polesia'). Bałachovič is rightfully considered one of the most interesting and controversial characters of Belarusian history during the civil war period.[10] Like many rebel leaders, he switched sides from serving as an Imperial Russian officer to joining first the Red and then the White Army. Bułak-Bałachovič then later joined the Polish side and led the troops he called the Belarusian army. Bałachovič was supported by the Poles and by the anti-Bolshevik Russian émigré Boris Savinkov (1879-1925), the head of the Russian Political Committee in Poland.[11]

During the autumn campaign of 1920, the Red Army was unable to stop Bałachovič's troops, mainly soldiers of Russian and other nationalities who had fought against the Bolsheviks during the Russian civil war and the Polish-Soviet War. They captured several towns in the region.[12] Because of his ambition to rule, Bałachovič proclaimed the re-establishment of the power of the Belarusian People's Republic's (BNR) in Mozyr. Being a 'military minister' of the provisional government and acting in the name of the BNR, he established his own government in the Belarusian woods.[13] At the end of the autumn of 1920, during the Red Army attacks, his soldiers returned to the territory controlled by the Poles, where they were interned.[14] Simultaneously, the Red troops defeated the so-called 'Slutsk uprising', an attempt by the Belarusian regional congress of the Slutsk region to restore the authority of the BNR. In the meantime, a split in the BNR government-in-exile and its weak financial position hindered coordination between supporters of Belarusian statehood. Slutsk rebels had little time to unite their forces with Bałachovič and were disarmed in Poland. Bałachovič's 'Polesian raid' considerably worsened the situation in the whole region. Bałachovič's soldiers committed mass rapes and other crimes against civilians, mainly Jews and Soviet employees.[15] The Soviet and Jewish press abroad paid attention to his activities.[16] *Balakhoŭcy* (Bałachovič's men) became a collective name for all gangsters who operated in the region from the autumn of 1920 onwards.

The Russian Eastern Front destabilised life in the region from 1917, especially during the mass desertions. The large number of military deserters were one factor that led to the spread of so-called political gangsterism in Belarus. It is difficult to estimate the exact number of deserters in the region. During the First World War, thousands of deserters from the old Russian Imperial army and the Red Army hid in the local countryside. Numerous deserters (former peasants and workers from different regions of the former Russian Empire) remained in the woods after the collapse of the Western Front and the Red Army's defeat in Poland in the summer of 1920.[17]

Fig. 5: 'Coat of arms: Long live the Belarusian People's Republic'.

Fig. 6: Visit by the highest command of the Estonian Army to Pskov in May 1919. Stanisłaŭ Bułak-Bałachovič' (left) talks with the commander of the Estonian Army Johan Laidoner (1884-1953).

Anti-Soviet guerrillas actively recruited such deserters into their ranks. Desertions were caused by different factors. Deserters escaped from various labour duties and unresolved everyday problems, such as the lack of quarters for soldiers and the food crisis in the Soviet republics.[18] The Red Army command took severe measures to prevent desertion from its ranks. In August 1920, the Politburo of the Communist party allowed military tribunals to use the death penalty for desertion when it would be associated with active gang violence.[19] Treating it seriously, they established special bodies to combat it and utilised varying methods, ranging from amnesty to severe punishment.[20] The Soviet authorities of course attempted to inform the population about the consequences of desertion and collaboration with deserters. Nonetheless, many former soldiers in Belarus in 1920-1921 decided to stay in the forests, some of them merging with bigger gangs.[21]

Different anti-Soviet insurgent groups and gangs operated in Belarus, headed by warlords, so-called *atamans* (leaders of various 'armies' during the Russian civil war) and *batskas* (from Belarusian 'father', heads of gangs).[22] Anti-Soviet resistance in Belarus was not politically and ideologically homogeneous. The majority of insurgent leaders had only vague political ideas and acted according to their tactical considerations. As mentioned above, some of them switched sides in 1918-1920. Having initially joined the ranks of the revolutionary Bolshevik forces, they later based their ideology on anti-Communism. They led so-called 'peasant armies' and their propaganda targeted the peasantry, which constituted the majority of the population. Their ideas were a part of the ideology of peasant uprisings that swept the entire former Russian Empire from Belarus to Siberia. Among them there were strong anti-urban and anti-Semitic sentiments.[23] The agrarian ideas of the

Socialist Revolutionary Party (the SR) were very influential among the peasantry and rebels in the region. Belarusian rebel groups led by *ataman* Vyačaslaŭ Adamovič (1890-1939?) ('*ataman* Dergač') closely collaborated with the 'Belarusian Peasant Party of Green Oak'. Members of 'Green Oak' (Zyalyëny Dub) promoted the struggle for an independent Belarus, with no Russian or Polish rule on Belarusian territories.[24] *Ataman* Yurka Monič (1890-1924) enjoyed strong support among local Belarusian peasants, and is nowadays portrayed as a 'Belarusian Robin Hood'.[25] Regarding the post-war national or local order, many groups delegated political powers to their commanders abroad. The Belarusian insurgent groups that operated in Soviet Belarus from 1921 onwards subordinated themselves directly to Bałachovič's staff in Poland.[26]

Many warlords were experienced military officers of the Russian Imperial army, who just continued their 'war after the wars'. Captain Methodius (Mefodii) Karatkevič (1890?-1921), born in an aristocratic family, was an officer of the former Imperial Russian Army. His desire to take vengeance could be explained by the fact that the Bolsheviks deprived him of a large estate. Karatkevič led a gang consisting of about 1400 infantrymen and cavalrymen, which was officially subordinated to Bułak-Bałachovič in Poland. In the spring of 1921, his detachment, known for its bestial cruelty, operated in the territory of the Bobruisk district in Central Belarus.[27] During a raid in July 1921, his squad was defeated by the Red Army and Cheka units. Karatkevič and his inferiors were killed.[28] The warlord Ivan Vasilčikov (1890-1921) ('*ataman* Galak') was a former Red Army commander who led a gang that operated in the Gomel and Chernigov governorates in 1921. Former Red Army soldiers actively joined this gang, which in January 1921 consisted of 200 soldiers. This number increased three-fold several months later due to the rise of peasant anti-Soviet rebels and desertion in the region. In July 1921, the gang together with its leader was eliminated by the Gomel Cheka battalion, which consisted of Chinese soldiers.[29]

Some military leaders, such as Ilya Struk (1896-1969), who operated both in Ukraine and the southern part of Belarus, were involved in the so-called Ukrainian revolution. Struk was an *ataman* of an Ukrainian insurgent group, also known for its bestial brutality and crimes against the Jewish population. Born into a family of peasants, he had worked as a teacher before the First World War. He initially served as a Baltic Fleet Navy officer and later in 1916 became an infantry lieutenant. In 1919, he joined the Bolsheviks, then the White Army of Anton Denikin (1872-1942), and later Semyon Petljura`s (1879-1926) Ukrainian forces.[30] By 1921, his detachment included about 100 cavalrymen. The *ataman* successfully escaped abroad that same year.[31]

Fig: 7: Ukrainian *ataman* Ilya Struk.

Soviet secret services managed to discover the close cooperation between Bałachovič's staff and the Second Department of Polish General Staff responsible for military intelligence, etc.[32] The Soviet government accused the Polish authorities of huge material losses caused by the banditry supported from abroad in the Soviet borderlands.[33] Meanwhile, the Soviet secret services actively supported anti-Polish rebels and terrorist groups in the eastern regions of the Second Polish Republic, mainly Belarusians and Ukrainians.[34]

Fig. 8: Jewish children in an orphanage in Kovchitsky in Belarus, 1920s.

Violence and political terror were put to vigorous use against political opponents and civilians. In the years of the Russian civil wars, various political forces actively promoted anti-Semitic agitation. Attacks on Jews were closely linked to a high level of aggression in the post-revolutionary society.[35] In many rural areas in Belarus, gangs brutally attacked Soviet activists and Jews, viewing them as supporters of a new Soviet order.[36] Enemies of the Bolsheviks managed to find fertile soil for anti-Semitic propaganda in villages. Deserters from the Red Army, criminal elements, and the peasantry (Belarusians, Russians, Ukrainians and Poles) participated in pogroms. The peasants often sympathised with anti-Soviet troops and bandits.[37] With the participation of some local peasants, those conducting the pogroms destroyed the property of Jews, murdered the Jews themselves, and looted and burned their possessions. However, these attacks, which were both ideological and criminal in character, targeted principally the rural Jewish population, which was widely spread across the Belarusian territory.[38]

Violence was evidently important for maintaining a certain local way of life. Along with the Red terror widely used by the Bolsheviks, the White terror was carried out actively by their enemies in the local areas. Some military leaders advocated violence as a tool of political struggle against the new order. By attacking Soviet employees and Jews, the gangsters aimed to overawe local peasants. Some gangs encouraged peasants to take part in their robberies and looting during and after the attacks and pogroms, making them culpable participants. Under the collapse of the local economies, such robberies accompanied with terror seemed to be a kind of 'redistribution' of property and goods. This chain of confiscations, requisitions, and other violent measures started with the First World War, the Russian Revolution, and the civil war.

Beginning in 1918, the Red Army, Cheka, and Soviet paramilitary troops suppressed the revolts and the banditry in the region.[39] The administration was aiming to prevent all efforts to overthrow the Soviet regime.[40] Militia brigades were set up to maintain

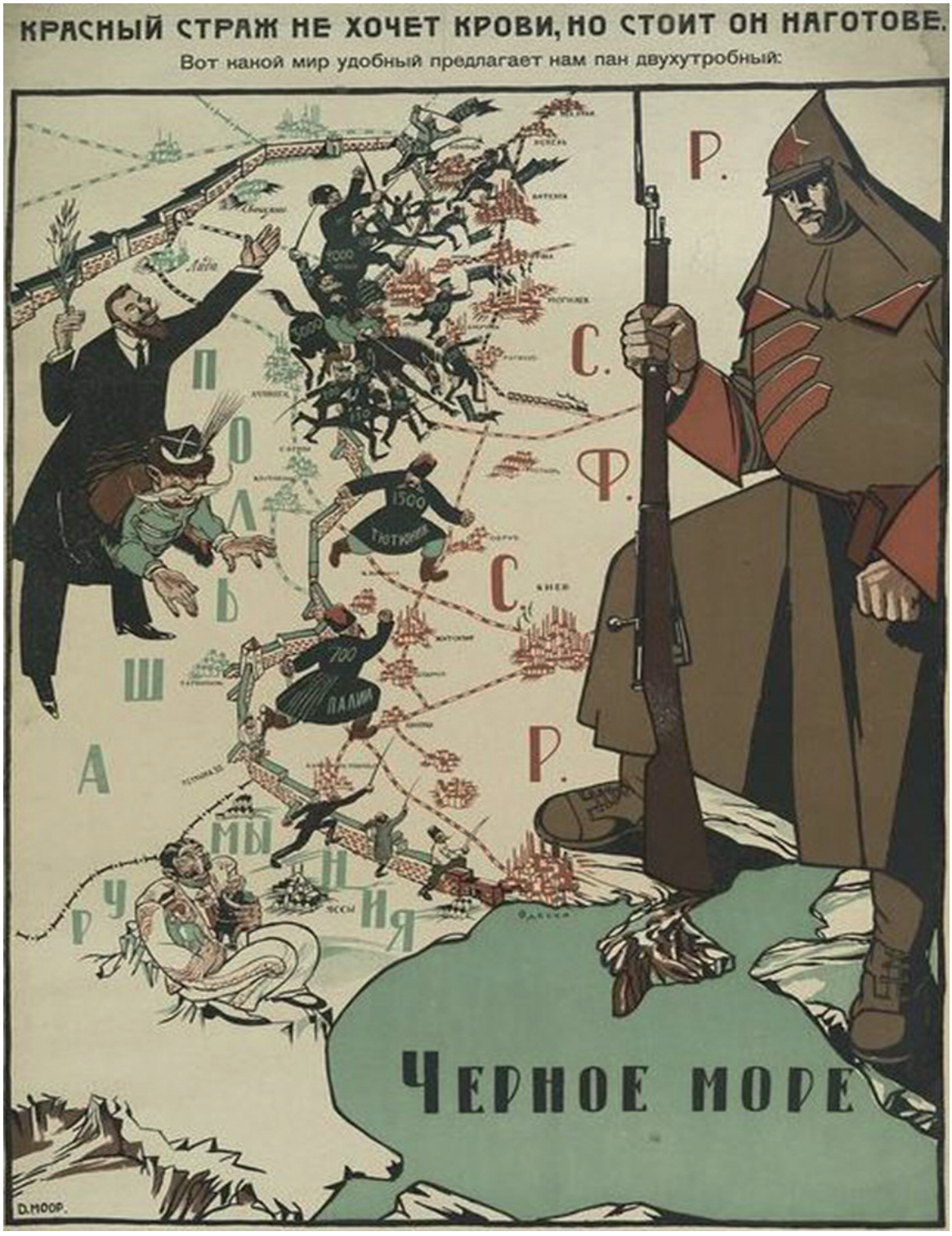

Fig. 9: 'Red Guards Don't Want Blood, But They Are Ready'. Propaganda poster on the 'good and strong' Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic and their 'troublesome' neighboring states and regions on the Western border, painted by Dmitriĭ Stakhievich Moor, 1921.

order in the countryside. These bodies mainly included local residents who participated in guerrilla groups, and former Red Army soldiers. Komsomol members (Communist youth organisation) were recruited into the militia to promote discipline among militiamen. The Soviet authorities actively recruited Belarusian, Russian, and Jewish workers to the ranks of various military detachments, such as 'communist squads', 'military-party detachments' or 'Komsomol military units'. As Belarus had a considerable proportion of Jews in cities and small towns, it was natural enough that they would serve in such units, fighting against the counter-revolutionaries and suppressing rebels in their region.[41]

In 1921-1922, the Soviet regime managed to suppress most of the anti-Soviet guerrilla detachments – not only at the point of the bayonet, but also through the implementation of the new social and economic policy known as the New Economic Policy (NEP). Anti-Bolshevik groups that infiltrated the region from Poland attacked Soviet Belarus until the mid-1920s. At the end of the decade, some peasants rebelled against the massive collectivisation and the establishment of *kolkhozes*, yet Stalin's secret services and the Red Army managed to put down such riots quite quickly.[42]

At the centenary of the end of First World War and the establishment of the Belarusian Peoples' Republic in 1918, the names of those people who struggled against the Bolsheviks are being brought back into the discourse. The crimes committed by the 'green' armies and rebels in Belarus were widely used by Soviet propaganda to demonise Belarusian nationalism. In present-day Belarus, political opponents of the authoritarian Belarusian regime of Lukashenko actively discuss the role of Stanisłaŭ Bułak-Bałachovič. For example, Belarusian internet media portrays Bułak-Bałachovič's 1920 raid in Polesia as an attempt to restore Belarusian statehood, suppressed by the Bolshevik Russia.[43] The official Belarusian side (including the government, state institutions responsible for public memory and 'official' historiography) uses previous Soviet evaluations or keeps silence on these events. In the meantime, some historians, mainly Russian-oriented, ascribe the blame to all 'Belarusian nationalists' for crimes committed by Bałachovič's troops. This tendency could be explained by the fear of a potential so-called 'colour revolution' in Belarus, as has already materialised in Ukraine. Certain circles in Belarus and Russia aim to struggle with 'an anti-Soviet as well as an anti-Russian vision of the historical past', where Bułak-Bałachovič and other warlords managed to occupy an important place. Meanwhile, in Belarusian pop culture Bułak-Bałachovič, ataman Monič, and other rebel leaders are winning more and more popularity among Belarusian youth.[45]

Conclusion

The First World War, the collapse of the Russian Empire, the establishment of new states and borders on its ruins, the all-embracing political changes that occurred in the wake of the Russian revolution, the 1918 Brest-Litovsk Treaty, and the 1921 Riga Treaty, all greatly affected life in Belarus. The progress of the conflicts after the First World War in the region, and its brutalisation, were the result of many factors, such as the geographical location of Belarus and its legacy as a battlefield zone in the global conflicts, the dynamics of political and economic transformations in the region, and a dilemma of tangled social and ethnic relations. Desertion became a broad phenomenon in Belarus during the collapse of the Russian Imperial army. Many gangs also consisted of former Red Army soldiers. The events of the First World War and the 'wars after the War' reinforced anti-Semitism in the region, where many Jewish communities suffered from pogroms and attacks. In the period of unrest, Soviet activists and loyalists were actively attacked by gangsters and ordinary criminals. Between 1918 and 1921, peasant uprisings took place in the former Russian Empire. Angered by the Bolsheviks' policy of war communism, and by the unpopular economic and social policies and repressive measures that became an inescapable attribute of political life under the Soviet regime, local peasants clashed with the new authorities. Such activity in Belarus was characterised by numerous anti-Soviet riots committed by deserters, criminals, former members of Bułak-Bałachovič's groups and others. It happened where the Bolsheviks' positions were not strong enough, while their political enemies enjoyed certain public support in the rural areas. Under unfavourable political and military circumstances, some military leaders supported by the local peasantry struggled for an

independent Belarus, which came into being only 70 years later. In Belarus, the remembrance and evaluation of this page of history remains contested to this day.

Endnotes

1. The 'Jewish Public Committee to Aid Victims of War, Pogroms and Natural Disasters,' known as 'Evobshchestkom' in Russian, was established in the summer of 1920 to assist the Jewish population suffering greatly during the wars and pogroms.
2. Report of the authorised representative of the Belarusian Commission of the Evobeshchestvo Eliya Kopshits in Evobeschestkom of the attack on the town of Lyuban in the Bobruisk district on 26 May 1921; National Archives of the Republic of Belarus (NARB), fond 782, opis 1, delo 5, list 12; printed in Lidiya Milyakova, ed., *Kniga pogromov: pogromy na Ukraine, v Belorussii i evropeĭskoĭ chasti Rossii v period Grazhdanskoĭ voĭny, 1918-1922 gg.: sbornik dokumento* (Moskva: ROSSPĖN, 2007), 525-526.
3. Jochen Böhler, 'Generals and Warlords, Revolutionaries and Nation State Builders. The First World War and its Aftermath in Central and Eastern Europe,' in *Legacies of Violence: Eastern Europe's First World War*, eds. Jochen Böhler, Włodzimierz Borodziej and Joachim von Puttkamer (München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2014), 51-66, here 58.
4. Aleksey Khokhlov, *Krakh antisovetskogo banditizma v Belorussii v 1918-1925 godakh* (Minsk: Belarus, 1981), 19.
5. On these topics see: Oleg Łatyszonek, *Białoruskie formacje wojskowe: 1917-1923* (Białystok: Białoruskie Towarzystwo Historyczne, 1995); Ihar Puškin, *Uzbroenyy supratsiŭ va Uskhodnyay Belarusi (20-30-ia gady XX st.): Dakumenty i matėryyaly* (Magilieŭ: Medysont, 2003); Nina Stuzins'ka, *Bilorus' buntivna. Z istoriĭ zbroynogo antyradyans'kogo sprotyvu v 20-ti rr. XX stolittya* (Minsk: Varaskin, 2012).
6. Per Anders Rudling, *The Rise and Fall of Belarusian Nationalism, 1906-1931* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015), 70.
7. See: Efim Gimpelson, *Voennyj kommunizm: politika, praktika, ideologiya* (Moskva: Mysl', 1973).
8. 'An Instruction to a Grain Confiscation Brigade (prodotryad), 20 August 1918', Russian State Military Archives, fond 42, opis 1, delo 278, list 23.
9. Marya Byaspalaya, *Belaruskaya vyėska u pershyia gady NEPa* (Minsk: Belaruski universytėt kul'tury, 1999), 32.
10. See: Marek Cabanowski, *Generał Stanisław Bułak-Bałachowicz: zapomniany bohater* (Warsaw: PW Mikromax, 1993); Maksim Vasil'ev, 'Ataman S.N. Bulak-Balakhovich v istoricheskoy pamyati naroda,' in *Grazhdanskaya voyna v Rossii (1917-1922): istoricheskaya pamyat' i problemy memorializatsii «krasnogo» i «belogo» dvizheniya,* eds. Dmitriy Alisov and Juriy Zakunov (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo RNIIKiPN, 2016), 188-193; Jonathan Smele, *The 'Russian' Civil Wars, 1916-1926: Ten Years that Shook the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 127.
11. Nicholas Vakar, *Belorussia, the Making of a Nation* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1956), 115.
12. Some authors have mistakenly supposed that the 'army' managed to capture Gomel, a big industrial city and a centre of Gomel Province, which at that time belonged to Russia. Per Anders Rudling, *The Rise and Fall of Belarusian Nationalism, 1906-1931* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015), 115; Andrew Wilson, *Belarus: The Last European Dictatorship* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 95.
13. Later in the 1920s, the contacts between the BNR and Bałachovič were cut off, and the BNR leaders viewed him as an 'enemy of the Belarusian people' (Kastus Jesawitau, *Vospominaniya* [Memoirs], Nëman, 19939, 132-162, here 160.
14. Stanislaŭ Lis-Błoński, *Balakhoŭtsy. Svedchanni, dakumenty, dasledavanni* (Smolensk: Inbelkul't, 2014), 159-162.
15. Andrei Zamoiski, 'Military Pogroms, Jewish Self-Defense Units and the New Order in the Belarusian Lands, 1918-1921,' in *Akteure der Neuordnung. Ostmitteleuropa und das Erbe der Imperien, 1917-1924*, eds. Tim Buchen and Frank Grelka, Interdisciplinary Polish Studies, vol. 4, (Berlin: epublim, 2016), 113-130, here 122.
16. The media reported on acts of terror and vandalism in the borderlands of Soviet Belarus 'Po Sovetskoy Rosii', Izvestia, 8 March 1921, 3.
17. Khokhlov, *Krakh antisovetskogo banditizma*, 19.
18. Erik Landis, *Bandits and Partisans: The Antonov Movement in the Russian Civil War* (Pittsburg: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008), 33.
19. Protocol of Politburo no. 34 on August 6, 1920. Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (RGASPI), fond 17, opis 3, delo 100, list 1.
20. Khokhlov, *Krakh antisovetskogo banditizma*, 19.
21. The protocol 'The Struggle Against the Bandits' of the meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belarus on 28 April 1921, NARB, fond 4p, opis 1, delo 425, list 54.
22. About 85 gangs in the second half of 1921 with app. 5000 rebels; Pavel Muraško, *Osobogo naznacheniya (Iz istorii ChON Belorussii. 1918-1924)* (Minsk: Izdatelstvo BGU, 1979), 91.
23. Viktor Kondrashin, *Krestyanstvo Rossii v Grazhdanskoĭ voĭne: k voprosu ob istokakh stalinizma* (Moscow: ROSSPĖN, 2009), 255, 276.
24. Stuzins'ka, *Bilorus' buntivna*, 156-160, here 157.
25. A documentary on Monic'c anti-Bolsheviks struggle was filmed by the Belarusian TV channel ONT <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3qXYwaq87TU> (accessed 10 December 2017).
26. Stuzins'ka, *Bilorus' buntivna*, 163.
27. Panteleymon Selivanov, Pyëtr Akulov, eds., *V ogne grazhdanskoy voyny: Vspominayut veterany* (Minsk: Belarus, 1987), 137.
28. Khokhlov, *Krakh antisovetskogo banditizma*, 83.
29. Milyakova, *Kniga pogromov*, 898.
30. Joseph Schechtman, Elias Tcherikover, eds., *The Pogroms in the Ukraine under the Ukrainian Governments (1917-1920): Historical Survey with Documents and Photographs* (London: J. Bale & Danielsson, 1927), 118.
31. Milyakova, *Kniga pogromov*, 847.

32. Valeriy Nadtachaev, *Voennaya kontrazvedka Belarusi: Sud'by, tragedii, pobedy* (Minsk: Kavaler, 2008), 96.
33. Protocol of Politburo no. 34 on 6 August 1920, 'On Real Action Against the Poles for Losses Incurred by the Russian SSFR,' RGASPI, fond 17, opis 3, delo 249, list 8.
34. Wojciech Śleszyński, *Walka instytucji państwowych z białoruską działalnością dywersyjną 1920-1925* (Białystok: Prymat, 2005), 173.
35. Vladimir Buldakov, 'Freedom, Shortages, Violence: The Origins of the "Revolutionary Anti-Jewish Pogrom" in Russia, 1917–1918,' in *Anti-Jewish Violence: Rethinking the Pogrom in East European History*, ed. Jonathan Dekel-Chen (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 74-94, here 76.
36. Muraško, Osobogo naznacheniya, 45; Ostrovskiy, '*Evreyskie pogromy*,' 70.
37. Report of Dr. Raisky at the United Meeting of Public Organizations in Gomel, 20 February 1921, YIVO Archives, Tcherikover papers, 81, folder 106, P. 8584.
38. Zamoiski, 'Military Pogroms,' 127-128.
39. Muraško, *Osobogo naznacheniya*, 79.
40. Some 'preventive' measures against the so-called 'counter-revolutionaries' were also carried out. On 6 August 1920, the entire Political Bureau under the Mozyr militia ordered all local revolutionary committees to register everyone of Polish nationality (!) who could be potentially hostile towards the Soviet regime (The State Zonal Archives in Mozyr, fond 30, opis 1, delo 2, list 4).
41. Puškin, *Uzbroenyy supratsiŭ*, 47.
42. See: Viola Lynne, *Peasant Rebels Under Stalin: Collectivization and the Culture of Peasant Resistance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 100.
43. On this day, the troops of general Stanislav Bulak-Balakhovich liberated Mozyr (in Russian), <https://charter97.org/ru/news/2017/11/10/268786/> (accessed 14 December 2017).
44. Vseslav Zin'kevič, *Nesvyadomaya istoriya Beloy Rusi* (Moskva: Knižnyy mir, 2017), 250.
45. The image of General Bułak-Bałachovič in mass culture (in Belarusian) <https://www.racyja.com/kultura/vobraz-generala-bulak-balakhovicha-u-mas/> (accessed 15 December 2017).