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The Trial of the Social Revolutionaries

June 20th, Morning Session.

(Special Report of the International Press Correspondence.)

Moscow, June 20, 1922.

At the morning session the investigation of the S.R. activities in the first period of the civil war was concluded. It was followed by a statement of Gotz in which he attempted to show that the initiative for the civil war was not furnished by the S.R.'s. In his statement, however, Gotz admitted that the activities of the S.R.'s were directed towards the organization of a new anti-German front, and that he had left for Gatchina in order to meet General Krasnov there, who was to lead the Cossacks into Petrograd. As for the activities of the fighting organization, he tried hard to prove that the Executive Committee of the S.R.P. pursued a policy of moderation, and that it considered the overthrow of the Soviet Government possible only in the event of a mass movement on the part of the workers.

The defendant Grigory Ratner pointed out that Gotz presented the attitude of the S.R.P. during this period in a false light. The sympathy of the workers during the first months of the October Revolution was undeniably in favor of the Bolsheviks. The hopes of the S.R.'s on the other hand, were based entirely upon the peasants. Ratner further pointed to the negotiations between the S.R.'s and the bourgeois parties and said that a bourgeois government would have been much more desirable to them than the Soviet Power.

Session of June 21st.

(Special Report of the International Press Correspondence.)

Moscow, June 21, 1922.

The Session of the Supreme Tribunal was resumed on the 21st of June at 4 p. m. During the greater part of the evening session the defendants of the first group put questions to Grigory Ratner, defendant of the second group. These questions aimed to prove contradictions in his main testimony. The questions were so vaguely formulated that Ratner felt himself compelled to appeal to the Revolutionary Tribunal for protection against the illegal cross-examination on the part of the defendants of the first group.

After the recess, the defendant of the first group, Timofeyev, elaborated upon the second, Moscow period of S.R.P. activities. Timofeyev testified that for the protection of the Constituent Assembly, in case it were to meet in Moscow, a fighting organization consisting of Moscow party members was organized without the participation of the Moscow Committee of the Party. When the Central Committee learned of this, it instructed Zenzinov, and later Timofeyev, to liquidate this organization. Timofeyev insisted that the military activities of the Party in Moscow had begun long before the Central Committee of the Party formed the Military Committee at whose head Timofeyev himself stood.

The Court then proceeded with the examination of the witness Shestakov, a former member of the Moscow Committee of the S.R.P. This witness was called by the defense. He did his best to give testimony favorable to the defendants of the first group, and for this reason mentioned no names. He made up for this by being liberal in his denunciations of Ratner. According to Shestakov, there was no such thing as a Military Committee of the S.R.'s. He claimed that Ratner had personally accepted some sort of a military proposal and had requested him, Shestakov, to assume the direction of this matter, which he of course declined.

Shestakov's testimony was marked by extraordinary precaution and the impression was made that he feared to say anything that might contradict the testimony of the defendants of the first group.

The S.R.'s in League with the White Guards.

(Special Report of the International Press Correspondence.)

Moscow, June 22, 1922.

In the morning session the cross examination of the defendants Ratner-Elkind, Morozov, Agapov and Artemyev disclosed the following facts about the October activities of the Social Revolutionary Party in Moscow. Ratner and Morozov confessed that they personally took part in the armed struggle against the October Revolution. Very few workers joined the ranks of an Extraordinary Safety Committee that fought against the Soviet Power in Moscow in October 1917. According to Ratner's testimony, only monarchists and reactionaries took part in the Moscow battles against the Soviets.

In the evening session of June 22nd, a defendant of the second group, Dashyevsky, gave further testimony. He had come to Moscow at the beginning of April 1918. Timofeyev, a member of the Central Committee of the S.R.P., sent him to Moyseyenkov and Zenzinov to carry on organizing work in the military division, which in the opinion of the Central Committee was performed in a very satisfactory manner. Nevertheless, friction arose between Dashyevsky and Dr. Pavlov who was a member of the Central Committee. For this reason Dashyevsky is of the opinion that the work was carried on in accordance with the directions of Dr. Pavlov. In this manner it was possible to prevent suspicion that the S.R. fraction of the Constituent Assembly had any connection with this work. In the military staff there were two members of the S.R.P., the others being non-partizan but sympathizing with the S.R.'s. The main support of the Staff was a group of counter-revolutionary officers who had representatives of their own in the Staff. Dashyevsky testified that an attempt was made to form fighting organizations among the workers. Connections were also made with many reactionary organizations: House *Okhrana*, parish organizations, both of which had arms

at their disposal. The secret work carried on in Moscow bore the character of a conspiracy. The forces on the Eastern front (the officers' corps), were under the command of Colonel Machin who was a member of the Staff and at the same time served in the Red army—in order to aid the White Guards!

Session of June 23rd

(Special Report of the International Press Correspondence.)

Moscow, June 23, 1922.

The cross-examination of the witnesses by Krylenko and Pokrovsky clearly showed that we cannot accept the "peaceful intentions" of the S.R.'s, as the defendant Ratner attempted to picture them in his testimony. It was proved that there were armed forces on the side of the Committee for Public Safety; in fact, there were two military schools which at the command of the above Committee furnished fighting forces against the Bolsheviks, six officers' schools which at the command of the same Committee fought against the Bolsheviks, and finally the reactionary officers' corps whose officers Ratner claims to have been untrustworthy, because they inclined towards the right elements.

With Ratner's permission Krylenko summarized his testimony as follows: "The soldiers remained in their barracks and the workers remained passive; only the cadets and officers fought against the Bolsheviks at the command of the Committee for Public Safety." The defendant characterized the armed struggle begun by the S.R.'s as the "suppression by the State Power" of disturbances of the peace on the part of the masses", since the state power at that time was in the hands of the Committee for Public Safety which had the moral support of the S.R.'s and enjoyed the protection of their party. On the basis of the testimony of the defendant at the trial, Pokrovsky pointed out that the word "defense" was used by the S.R.'s in a peculiar sense, for it is clear from Ratner's words that it was not the Bolsheviks who first attacked the S.R.'s.

After Ratner, Morozov, who belongs to the first group of defendants, was examined. In the October days, Morozov was a member of the Presidium of the Moscow Soviet. He testified as follows: "After the February Revolution a War Council was formed in Moscow; in this council there were represented all the political groups of the Moscow Soviet. The War Council appointed a staff whose chief was first Verkhovsky, then Ryabtzev. In the October days the War Council began to take a hand in politics. A group of Social Revolutionary members of the Moscow Soviet were at once appointed to the staff". In answer to Krylenko's question on the withdrawal of troops from the front, the defendant answered: "Troops were actually withdrawn! The S.R.'s only wanted to scare the Bolsheviks; they never thought of shedding blood". The defendant, however, knew nothing of the shooting started by the military cadets from an armored automobile belonging to the Moscow Soviets. Nor did he know of the attempt made by the cadets to march against the workers' district in Moscow, called Samoskvoreshye; he knew just as little of the participation of the League of the Knights of St. George, or that of the students' organizations in the fighting.

Another defendant of the same group, Popov by name, stated: The Soldiers' Soviet of Moscow was very much worried over the maintenance of order in Moscow and in the *Gubernia*, where Cadet divisions had been sent for the suppression of mutinies.

The French Mission Financing the S.R.'s.

(Special Report of the International Press Correspondence.)

Moscow, June 26, 1922.

At the morning session the investigation of the war activities of the Social Revolutionaries during the Moscow period was concluded. The defendants Gorikov, Liberov, Artemyev and Slobin denied their participation in the war activities of this period. The Court proceeded to examine the witness René Marchand, who in 1918 was attached to the French Consulate General. He testified as follows: the policy of the French Consulate was all the time directed towards the overthrow of the Soviet Power. For this purpose the Consulate stood in connection with all anti-Bolshevik parties. Charles Dumas was connected with the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s; Henri Gauthier with Savinkov and Ehrlich with the S.R.'s. In the absence of Timofyeyev, Donskoi himself came together with Chevilly, the chief of the propaganda division of the Consulate and who often spoke of his meetings with Timofyeyev. From conversations with Ehrlich, Chevilly and Gauthier, the witness learned that the S.R.'s had made an attempt to fill various commanding posts in the Red

Army with members of their party, and that they entered into a conspiracy with Laurent, the officer at head of the French Mission.

In general, the witness characterized the attitude of the French Consulate towards the S.R.'s as contemptuous. The French Government only wanted to use the S.R.'s for the armed overthrow of the Soviet Power in order to transfer the power into the hands of the extreme Right. The Yaroslav insurrection was organized by Savinkov at the order of the French Ambassador, to whom he wanted to whom that the power was in his hands.

The witness had learned of other directions given by the Mission from the Mission treasurer. After the French Mission had left, the money for the support of the S.R.'s was handed over to the Danish Embassy with which Elias Minor was connected. The witness testified that the group "Unity" received money through Dumas for the purpose of publishing a newspaper.

The cross-examination of the witness brought out the fact that even before the insurrection the Consulate stood in connection with the Czecho-Slovaks whom the French Consul sent to Samara at the command of Noulens. Marshal Foch opposed such a move because he insisted that the Czecho-Slovaks be sent as soon as possible to the French front. Marchand further testified that the greatest attention was paid to the question of landing troops. The witness gave detailed information about the conference that was held at the American Consulate General in August 1918. At this conference the organizational work was discussed; particular attention was paid to Petrograd. At this conference alliances were also effected with various Russian political groups and with a few railwaymen's organizations.

At the evening session the examination of witnesses was continued. The testimony of General Verkhovsky was particularly interesting. Suvorov, an S.R. minister received money from Chevilly. Suvorov as well as the witness were of the opinion that as far as the question of reorganizing the Eastern front was concerned, it was not only possible but necessary to take money from the Entente. The defendant Ignatiev mentioned instance where money was received from French sources and handed over to Suvorov or Postnikov. Gotz made an attempt to prove that he had never sanctioned the acceptance of money from the Allies. As for the sums received from the "Rebirth" organization, he was of the opinion that these were furnished by the participants or by rich people. His testimony, however, was very vague.

The former S.R. member Sviatitzky, who had quit the party together with the group "People", described in detail the negotiations of the Central Committee of the S.R.'s with the Allies as well as of the Constituent fraction. Two members were sent by the Party fraction to Archangelsk to meet the Allied troops there. Negotiations were carried on for the organization of an Eastern front which was considered absolutely necessary for the overthrow of the Soviet Power.

Excerpt from the Indictment Against the Right Social Revolutionaries.

On the ground of the above-mentioned facts, the following persons are hereby accused of acts described in the historical and in the special part of the indictment, and are herewith brought before the Supreme Tribunal of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee:

I.

Artemyev, Nikolai Ivanovitch
Donskoi, Dmitri Dmitrievitch
Feodorovitch, Florian Florianovitch
Gendelman-Grabovsky, Mikhail Jakovlevitch
Gerstein, Lev Jakovlevitch
Gotz, Abram Rafailovitch
Ivanov, Nikolai Nikolaievitch
Lichatch, Mikhail Alexandrovitch
Morosov, Sergei Vladimirovitch
Rakov, Dmitri Feodorovitch
Ratner-Elkind, Yevgenia Moissayevna
Ratner, Grigory Moissayevitch
Timofyeyev, Yevgeny Mikhailovitch
Vedenyapin, Mikhail Alexandrovitch

At the Third Party Congress, which took place in June 1917, Gotz, Donskoi, Vedenyapin and Gendelman were elected as members of the Central Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party. In December 1917, at the 4th Congress the

were reelected into the same committee. Donskoi, Gerstein, Lichatch, Ivanov, Ratner-Elkind, Rakov, Feodorovitch and Timofeyev were elected into the Central Committee in December 1917. Artemyev, Morosovitch and Grigory Ratner were elected to the Moscow Bureau of the Central Committee in December 1917. These 14 persons are hereby accused of having conducted the activities of the S.R. Party during the first half of 1918 and up to the day of their arrest, and after this day until the 10th Party Congress that took place in August 1921. The prisoners acted in the capacity of leading functionaries and responsible leaders of the S.R. Party, and worked for the overthrow of the Workers' and Peasants' Power conquered by the Proletarian Revolution, and of the existing Workers' and Peasants' Government organized on the basis of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic.

For this purpose:—

1—The prisoners organized armed rebellions against the Soviet power in Petrograd and in Moscow. They created special military and fighting organizations. They entered into relations and contact with other counter-revolutionary organizations. For the same purpose they accepted from the latter financial aid, and together with them they organized technical organs, staffs, city commandoes, etc., for armed insurrections. Everywhere, where such insurrections and mutinies occurred, the prisoners aided and supported them with all the means at their disposal.

2—At a time when the Allied capitalist states were at war with the R. S. F. S. R., the prisoners entered into contact with their official representatives, helped them to occupy territory belonging to the Soviet Republic and furnished them with news and information on the inner situation of the country. For this they received military, financial and technical aid from these countries.

3—For the same purpose they entered into connection with the White Guard commanders of the armed forces fighting against the Soviet Republic, namely, with Generals Krasnov, Alexeiev and Denekin, and with the bourgeois-nationalistic counter-revolutionary centers that called themselves the "governments" of the Ukraine, the Kuban and the Don Region. Under the name of "The Government of the Members of the Constituent Assembly", they contributed with all means at their disposal to the reinforcement of these counter-revolutionary centers, especially in Samara, in the North, in Ufa and in Omsk. They aided these counter-revolutionary centers in their armed struggle against the Soviet Government, through high treason and espionage.

4—They organized those fighting organizations that were created for the special purpose of carrying out terroristic acts against the officials of the Soviet Government, the blowing up of railway tracks, and the armed pillaging of Soviet institutions and civilians. The prisoners conducted the activities of these groups. They used the funds acquired in this way for the continuation of the same counter-revolutionary work.

As for the individual defendants, the indictment is as follows:—

1—Gotz, member of the C.C.S.R.P. (Central Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party), personally agitated among the troops after the October Revolution, and called for resistance against the Government at meetings in Tsarskoye Selo, Moghilev and Pskov. He prepared and helped to organize the Petrograd Junker revolt on the 29th of October. He signed orders to the Junkers to commence the open armed struggle against the Soviet Power. He took part in the sessions of the Military Committee of the S.R.'s and at the joint sessions of the Military Committee with the military division of the "Rebirth" organization, both of which aimed at the overthrow of the Soviet Government. He took part in joint sessions of the military staff of the "Rebirth" organization, with other counter-revolutionary associations belonging to this organization, whose common purpose was to prepare armed actions for the overthrow of the Soviet Republic. For the same purpose he was active as a member of the "Committee for the Salvation of the Fatherland and the Revolution". He received money from the Military division of the "Rebirth" organization, for the counter-revolutionary work of the Military Committee. He is furthermore accused of participation in the acts of individual terror. In February 1918, Lydia Konopleva proposed to him that an attempt upon Lenin's life be organized. Gotz who was at that time the responsible member of the C.C.S.R.P. in Petrograd, gave his personal approval to this terroristic act, and promised to obtain the official sanction of such an act from the Central Committee. He kept his promise, and before the members of the C.C.S.R.P. left Petrograd for Moscow, he

transmitted the sanction of the C.C. for the organization of an attempt on Comrade Lenin's life to Konopleva. After the C.C.S.R.P. had left for Moscow, he sent Boris Rabinovitch, member of the S.R. Party, to Moscow, to get the C.C.'s second and final sanction of the terroristic act. At the same time he negotiated through the same Rabinovitch, with Yestrin, member of the Petrograd District Committee, on the question of organizing the blowing up of the train that carried the Council of the People's Commissaries from Petrograd to Moscow in March 1918. In order to test Yestrin, Gotz proposed that he shoot at Trotzky when he appears at the meeting in the Alexandrovsk Theater, in Petrograd. In April 1918, Gotz acting in the name of the C.C., sanctioned Semenov's undertaking of terroristic acts against responsible officials of the Soviet Power. He himself pointed out Zinoviev and Volodarsky, as persons against whom terroristic acts should be undertaken first of all. He came to a personal undertaking with the Social Revolutionary, who was to find out the addresses of Zinoviev and Volodarsky. Gotz informed Semenov that he could get the desired addresses from Seyme. In July 1918, Gotz knew of the terroristic act that had been organized against Comrade Volodarsky. Gotz was the actual leader of this deed, for it was he who was to appoint the time. After the assassination, Gotz issued the order according to which the members of the Central Fighting Organization were to leave Petrograd for Moscow at once, in order that the position of Volodarsky's actual murderer and that of his accomplices be rendered safer. At the end of June and in the beginning of July 1918, Gotz sanctioned the attempts on the lives of Comrades Lenin and Trotzky; this time he again spoke in the name of the C.C. Gotz finally announced the C.C.'s sanction of expropriations, to be undertaken against Soviet institutions and civilians.

2—Donskoi, Dmitri Dmitriyevitch, member of the C.C. S.R.P., conducted the Military Committee after the Constituent Assembly was dispersed, and in 1918 he represented the Central Committee of his party at the Military Committee Council, composed of representatives from single divisions of the Military Committee. He represented the C.C. at the Conference of the Military Committee that took place on the occasion of the disarming of the Preobrazhensky Regiment, whereby he entered into contact with the Filolenko counter-revolutionary organization. In the name of the C.C., Donskoi issued the sanction for the establishment of connections with Ivanov's counter-revolutionary organization, and with Ludendorff's German Staff; for this task, he sent the S.R. Postnikov to the German headquarters. In Moscow, Donskoi took part in the military work. He was present at the conference of the representatives of the Ufa Committee, and was active in other connections of the leading organizations of the S.R. Party. The connections were taken care of by other emissaries and couriers. He was also present at the conference with the staff officer Gayevsky, who represented General Alexeiev. Donskoi also received Chrenovsky's report on the commission to the same General Alexeiev, and Ratner's report on the inspection trip to the Ukraine. In April 1918, Donskoi gave Semenov his sanction for the terroristic acts that were to be undertaken against the responsible officials of the Soviet Government, and for the attempts that were to be made on the lives of Lenin and Trotzky. In July 1918, he was active in Moscow in the capacity of responsible member of the C.C., knew of the activities of the Central Fighting Organization (C.F.O.) and conducted them. Shortly before the attempt on Lenin's life was made, Donskoi had a conference with the perpetrator of the act, Kaplan, with whom he discussed the matter. In the name of the C.C., Donskoi gave Semenov his sanction for the terroristic acts that were to be perpetrated against Lenin, Trotzky, Volodarsky, Zinoviev and Uritzky. He gave Semenov official sanction for the undertaking of expropriations against Soviet institutions and civilians. Not only did he announce his readiness to take part in these expropriations, but he also contributed to their realization, namely:—

a) In February 1918, he conferred with the employees of the Consumers' Cooperative, on the corner of Panteleymonovskaya and Mokhovaya Streets on the question of organizing expropriations, and for this purpose he brought Semenov into contact with the above-mentioned employees.

b) He brought Semenov into contact with a certain S.R. who was at that time serving in the Food Commissariat, for the purpose of organizing through him the expropriation in the house of one of the employees of this Commissariat. After the expropriation had been carried out, Donskoi demanded of Semenov that he hand over the expropriated moneys to Yevgenia Ratner, the treasurer of the C.C.

c) Donskoi called Semenov's attention to the S.R. employed in the Linen Cooperative. This S.R. was to aid in the expropriation of the Linen Cooperative.

d) Donskoi gave Semenov money to buy a special apparatus for the purpose of melting the lock on the vault of the Moscow District Food Committee.

e) Donskoi knew of the expropriation of money in the 9th Post and Telegraph Office in Moscow. He ordered that the expropriated moneys be left in the hands of the C.F.O. (Central Fighting Organization).

f) In July 1918, at the time when Donskoi was acting in Moscow in the capacity of responsible member of the C.C., he organized a special bomb-squad through Agapov, with Davidov at its head. The organization of railroad accidents, and the blowing up of railroad bridges was entrusted to this division. Besides, Donskoi received Davidov's reports on the course of the work, and issued directions to him. For this purpose he came three times to the illegal residence of the bomb-squad, in the village Tomilin. Donskoi also knew of the bomb squad's connections with Henri Vertemont, the agent of the French Mission, from whom this organization received money and explosives.

3.—Ivanov, Nikolai, carried on personal negotiations with Ignatiev, on the question of distributing the funds furnished by the "Rebirth" organization for purposes of financing the Military Committee. As for his terroristic activities and the organization of armed robberies, Ivanov, acting on his own initiative, brought up the question of the application of terror to the C.C., in February 1918. Ivanov defended this standpoint in the C.C.S.R.P. Ivanov not only offered his candidacy for any post whatever connected with this field of work; he also communicated his standpoint to Semenov, and demanded of the latter that he organize terroristic acts and expropriations.

4.—Gerstein was the C.C.'s plenipotentiary in the Military Committee, for the organization of the armed insurrections in Petrograd. Gerstein personally agitated among the troops in Moghilev after the revolution. Gerstein assigned Pavevsky to Wesenberg, for the purpose of carrying on similar agitation. Gerstein was the first initiator of the idea of creating fighting organizations. As member of the C.C., he sanctioned the drawing of money from the "Rebirth" organization, for purposes of financing the Military Committee. As delegate of the C.C., and as plenipotentiary extraordinary, he took part in the military work in the Ukraine namely, in the organization of armed forces against the Soviets. Gerstein negotiated with the Rada (the Ukrainian counter-revolutionary, petty bourgeois nationalist government), on the question of concluding an agreement regulating joint actions against the Soviet Government. He negotiated on the same question with the French Mission.

5.—Timofeyev was in contact through Dashevsky with the various persons working in the military field. His task was the sending of White Guard Officers to the anti-Bolshevik front. Through Ilya Manor, Timofeyev was in direct connection with the Allied Missions in Moscow and Petrograd. In his capacity of plenipotentiary extraordinary he made reports to the C.C. He was in connection with the bomb squad during the latter's period of activity in Moscow. Finally, as regards his terroristic activities, he stood in connection with Yefimov and Konopleva, at the time when the latter were organizing the attempt on Comrade Lenin's life. Timofeyev was always informed of the progress of this work.

6.—Vedenyapin went to Samara with special instructions from the C.C.S.R.P. to take part in the insurrection—if any were to break out. After his arrival in Samara, Vedenyapin stood

in connection with the Czecho-Slovak General Staff, namely, with Tchetchek and Medek. As regards his terroristic activities, Vedenyapin was in connection with Yefimov and Konopleva in the organization of the attempt on Comrade Lenin's life. Vedenyapin gave Yefimov the money for the return of Konopleva and himself from Moscow to Petrograd after the attempt in question had failed.

7.—Lichatch was appointed plenipotentiary-in-chief of the military division of the C.C., after the Fourth Party Congress. As member of the C.C., he was present at the sessions of the Military Committee. Together with Paradyelov and Semenov, he was present at the joint session of the Military Division of the "Committee for the Saving of the Fatherland and the Revolution" with the Military Committee of the C.C.S.R.P., which was charged with the task of organizing the armed insurrections on the occasion of the dispersal of the Constituent Assembly. Lichatch personally received from Ignatiev the money coming from English sources for his trip from Vologda to Archangelsk. In the middle of June 1918, Lichatch went North to Vologda, in the capacity of plenipotentiary of the C.C. and of the "Rebirth" organization, for the purpose of organizing a counter-revolutionary government there. Lichatch then took part in the formation of the Northern Government. After the counter-revolutionary upheaval in Archangelsk, Lichatch entered the Northern Government.

8.—Morosov and Artemyev took part in the active work in Moscow. Morosov was present in person at the conference at which the representative of the Ufa Committee of the S.R.P. reported on the creation of an anti-Soviet front in the Volga regions.

10.—Ratner-Elkind, Yevgenia was the treasurer of the C.C.S.R.P. in May 1918. She received from Semenov the funds obtained by the C.F.O. in the expropriation perpetrated at the house of the Food Commissariat employee. At that time she knew of the source of this money.

11.—Ratner, Grigory was personally active politically among the workers of Moscow. As representative of the Moscow Committee of the S.R., he was a member of the military group of the bureau of the members of the Constituent Assembly. Ratner was present during the reports of Chrenovsky and Donskoi. This was a report on the negotiations with the General Alexeiev. He took part in the military work that was conducted in the Ukraine and in the Kuban region, at the time when Schreider and Babin-Korn were active there. Later, Ratner reported to Donskoi on his work. He knew of the C.F.O. having organized the assassination of Volodarsky and the expropriation in the house of the employee attached to the Food Commissariat. These acts were communicated to him by Yevgenia Ratner.

12.—Rakov received from Semenov the money which the latter had expropriated from the Petrograd merchant in Lesnoye; Rakov knew the source of this money.

13.—Feodorovitch stood in direct connection with Kalinin, the agent of the Savinkov organization.

14.—Gendelman was member of the fraction of the Constituent Assembly and took part in connecting the Bureau with the foreign missions. In accordance with the decision of the C.C., he went to the Volga region for counter-revolutionary work, in which he participated. He was also present at the Ufa Conference, as an adherent of the Avksentiev group.

(To be continued.)

The Social Revolutionaries and the Second International.

By Ilya Vardin (Moscow).

The Second International most ardently defends the Social Revolutionary Party. At the Berlin Conference it obtained the right to organize the defense of the innocent and harmless White Social Revolutionaries. The public must certainly think that the Second International and the Social Revolutionary Party are the closest friends, since the latter comes under the pathetic care of Messrs. Vandervelde and MacDonald. For this reason we have resolved to inform the reader of one or two facts.

The Second International died morally at the beginning of the war. The naive cynical declaration of Hervé: "At the beginning of the war we were all brought down from the clouds back to the earth, each one into his own fatherland", could at

that time be sincerely repeated by the overwhelming majority of the Socialist leaders.

Thus wrote the leader of the Social Revolutionaries, Victor Tchernov in January 1921, in the chief organ of the Social Revolutionaries' "Revolutzionnaya Rossia" ("Revolutionary Russia"). During the war the Vanderveldes, Herndersons, Scheidemanns, Renaudels, etc., doubtless made similar statements, that are not so much naive as cynical. In March 1920 the Social Revolutionary Party withdrew from the Second International. The Central Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party later gave as the reasons for its withdrawal, that the Second International appeared to be of the opinion "that no alterations had taken

place in the world since the fateful days of August 1914. At its Geneva Congress it was prepared to continue that policy which had failed to prevent the world slaughter and which had suffered total bankruptcy in consequence of its incapacity to lead the proletariat at the most decisive historical moment."

The Central Committee of the S.R.'s characterized the Second International in this manner in its communication to the Vienna International on the 23rd of April 1921, (see "Revoluzionnaya Rossia", No. 8). The Central Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party began to knock at the door of the Vienna International. They have not yet been admitted. Whether it be that the foreign delegation of the S.R. Party has not knocked with sufficient energy at the Vienna door, or that Vienna does not venture to accept such a notorious party, the fact remains that the S.R. Party belongs at present to no international organization.

Why then were the S.R.'s dissatisfied with the Second International? Mr. Tchernov wrote in this connection:—

"During the war, the most prominent leaders of the Second International accustomed themselves to the idea of the national bloc which they retained it in an altered form ("the coalition at any price"), after the war... Scheidemann in Germany, Vandervelde in Belgium and Branting in Sweden, energetically carried out this coalition policy. It means the inevitable splitting of the working-class, dragging one portion of the workers into the ruts of bourgeois politics, and the other portion into the swamp of anarchism".

Tchernov scathingly attacked the "quasi-Socialist politicians" with whose help the Second International attempts to galvanize the corpse". He writes:

"The Second International is dead and cannot be resurrected. It must give place to the Third International. Those who cling helplessly to the old, cannot bring in the rebirth of the International. They can only bring about its degeneration. The right wing of Socialism, (we speak of the uppermost sections), diverges from the International in the direction of open reformism, an anti-revolutionary direction which approaches more and more to the left bourgeois wing. Their speedy termination of this evolution, their conversion into good bourgeois-democratic reformists, would be a better state of affairs than their present one of being bad Socialists (See "Revoluzionnaya Rossia" No. 2).

Tchernov has very well characterized the leaders of the Second International, or as he calls them, the leaders of the "former Second International". It is beyond all doubt that the policy of coalition directly splits the working class. Without doubt all these Scheidemanns, Vanderveldes, Brantings and bourgeois-democratic politicians are the worst enemies of the proletarian revolution. The social-reformists are the agents of the bourgeoisie within the working class. All this is correct.

In 1920, the S.R.'s began to spit at the stinking carcass which they had previously idolized. They had, however, forgotten that one should not spit into the well from which one will one day drink. The S.R. Party, however, at present drinks chiefly from the Scheidemann-Vandervelde well. A fine picture. In the years 1920-21 the S.R. railed against the Second International and withdrew from it. They left it principally because the parties of the Second International are, in the eyes of the Russian workers, direct agents of capital. They left it because membership in the Second International is in the eyes of the Russian workers an infallible sign that these "Socialists" are social-traitors. Out of regard for the temper of the Russian workers the Russian Mensheviks also withdrew from the Second International almost at the same time as the S.R.'s.

In reality, however, the S.R.'s, the Mensheviks and the Second International are all of the same brand.

The Mensheviks have entered the Vienna Working Union as a party of the 2½ International. The S.R.'s remained between the Second International and the 2½ International. In reality, however, they remained a party of the "former Second". All their abuse, all their indictments were only a blind. The Tchernovs had simply deceived their few Russian adherents who demanded the withdrawal from the Second International; they merely simulated this withdrawal. In order to make it appear an actual withdrawal, Tchernov writes articles in which he states the truth with regard to the Second International.

The Second International "Goes Bail" for the S.R.'s

But each time that the S.R. Party needed "international" help in its fight against the Communists, it obtained this in the first instance from the Second International, in the second instance from the Vienna Working Union. The same Vandervelde whom Victor Tchernov had so appropriately characterized a year ago, now steps forward as chief defender of Mr. Tchernov's

party. See an extract from the S.R. newspaper, "Golos Rossii", (No. 933), upon the first sitting of the Berlin Conference of the three Internationals. It reads:

"It was at first decided to admit only those representatives of party papers which are affiliated to one of the three Internationals. On this ground Radek energetically protested against the admission of the S.R. press. A debate was held on this question. Vandervelde declared that the delegates of the Second International would leave the conference if the S.R. papers were not admitted. Adler proposed that the Second International should assume responsibility for the S.R. journalists. Vandervelde and his comrades accepted this proposal. The S. R. Delegation intends to lodge an appeal against the actions of the Vienna Secretariat which declined to support the demands of the S.R.

"Admit the S.R. journalist or we sabotage the united front", was the challenge of the Second International and its worthy leader, His Majesty's Minister Vandervelde. He "goes bail" for Tchernov, who but yesterday had spit in his face. He defends the whole S.R. Party which had officially said that the Second International was a "living corpse", an institution without strength or will, and incapable of action.

These gentleman understand each other perfectly! Vandervelde knows that one can calmly pocket the insults of a friend, especially when one knows that circumstances have compelled the friend to resort to insults. The Second International knows that the S.R. Party is in reality its party; and for this reason it takes up the rôle of chief advocate. The Vienna Working Union knows that every party of the Second International is at the same time its party and therefore accepts the role of junior counsel to the S.R. Party of murderers and incendiaries. In consequence of this the question of the Russian S.R.'s took up a great deal of time at the deliberations of the conference of the three Internationals.

How have the Social Democratic counselors defended their S.R. friends? The S.R. paper "Goloss Rossi" writes:—

"Mr. MacDonald rejected with indignation the "cynical" proposal of Radek that there be an exchange of prisoners. The Socialist parties of Europe have no hostages. Such a bargaining and bartering with the heads of men is unworthy of Socialism."

We see in this declaration a good deal of noble sentiment and still more hypocrisy. Citizen MacDonald seeks to sidetrack the question. Radek knows well enough that the Second International has no party prisoners. The whole world knows, however, that the Communist prisoners of the bourgeoisie in Germany, England, France Poland, Spain, Jugoslavia, Lithuania, Finland, etc. are the prisoners of the Second International, in that it supports its bourgeoisie in the fight against the Communists and against the revolutionary workers. When the Second International supported Menshevik Georgia and Dashnyak Armenia with all its energy, it thereby at the same time supported the prisons that held Georgian and Armenian Communists.

MacDonald declared with indignation, that "bargaining and bartering with the heads of men is unworthy of Socialism". Of which Socialism is he speaking? The "Socialism" of Lloyd George, of the Webb couple, or the Socialism of Marx and Engels? He is probably referring to the first two varieties of "Socialism" for the party of MacDonald has nothing in common with Marxist Socialism. The appeal to "Socialism" is therefore only a piece of rhetoric.

With regard to this question, the fact is that the Soviet Republic cannot permit the Mensheviks to sabotage the work of the revolution. They are working for the return of the bourgeois regime, (for "Democracy" and the "Constituent Assembly"); we need the consolidation of the Soviet regime; we must go forward, not back. On the other hand bourgeois and Social Democratic Europe throws the Communists into prison because they fight against the rule of the bourgeoisie. It would be perfectly in the interest of Socialism (Communism) if we were to say to the European bourgeoisie: "Citizens take what is yours, take the S.R.'s and the Mensheviks; give us, however, in return, what belongs to us; give back to the revolution the Communists who have been imprisoned by you..." Citizen MacDonald considers this to be "cynicism"; to him it is only right that the proletarian revolution release its worst enemies, and the bourgeois democracy keep the soldiers of the revolution in prison...

Karl Liebknecht and Victor Tschernow.

Citizen MacDonald has moreover said many other things. He declared:

"What have Liebknecht and Luxemburg done? They wished to free their country from what they held to be tyranny. What have the S.R.'s done? They wished to free their country from what they held to be tyranny. If it is inadmissible and abhorrent to murder Rosa Luxemburg, why is it permissible to murder the S.R.'s?" ("Golos Rossii", No. 935.)

Liebknrecht fought against "what he held to be tyranny". He should not have been murdered. The S.R.'s fight against "what they hold to be tyranny". They should not be murdered... This noteworthy observation is infinitely idiotic, monstrously base and hypocritical. Does not MacDonald really comprehend, that there can be no comparison between Liebknrecht and Tchernov, between the leader of the revolting slaves and the flunkey of the slave owner? Liebknrecht, the leader on the revolutionary workers, wished to overthrow the tyranny of the bourgeoisie. The leader of the rich peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, (are you aware of this, Citizen MacDonald?) Tchernov, wishes to overthrow the "tyranny" of the working class. The victory of Liebknrecht's party meant the liberation of the working class and of the whole of oppressed humanity, from the bloody chains of imperialism. The victory of Tchernov's party means for Russia, bourgeois dictatorship, and for the whole world, the strengthening of imperialism. The overthrow of bourgeois tyranny is an enormous step forward on the part of mankind; the overthrow of the Proletarian Revolution is an enormous historical relapse. The party of Tchernov embodies that "reactionary democracy" of the small manufacturers of whom Kautsky has written forty years ago in his book on the Social Revolution. The party of Liebknrecht represents the real proletarian democracy.

From the revolutionary standpoint it is therefore criminal to put these two parties on the same level. The demand of the Vienna International, as formulated by Paul Faure, "to grant equal political rights to all Socialist parties of Russia", is therefore a *reactionary Utopia*, in that it requires equality for the revolutionary and for the counter-revolutionary parties. The demand of Vienna is also reactionary and utopian, because "equality of parties", means "equality of classes". That is something impossible. The utopian, delusive "equality of classes" is not the task of Socialism. Its actual realisable task is the *abolition of classes*. The political domination of the working-class during the transition period is the means to this abolition.

According to MacDonald, Liebknrecht had the right to shoot the German bourgeois tyrants, and Tchernov has the right to shoot the Soviet "tyrants". *You lie, Citizen MacDonald!* In reality you do not recognize the right of the Communists to fight against the bourgeoisie. When the English Communists will launch the attack against English capital, you, Citizen MacDonald, and your party, will defend with weapons the "Throne of His Majesty the King". Even now your party and your "labor leaders" persecute the English Communists. But recently, Mr. Thomas, a member of the King's Privy Council brought a Kings Bench action against our comrade MacManus. We recollect the infamous speech of Thomas at this trial, and the revolutionary workers of England remember it too. (With regard to the action against Comrade MacManus, see the article by Comrade Borodin, "One hand washes the other", in the "Communist International", No. 20). This, however, is only the beginning. The further matters proceed, the more treacherous will the attitude of your party be, the party which is *independent* of the revolution. Oh, you will not permit MacManus to organize an insurrection against your King-Emperor. You will applaud Henderson however, when he shoots down English workers . . .

But you recognize *unconditionally* the right of Tchernov to overthrow "that which he holds to be tyranny", the right of the petty bourgeois counter-revolutionaries to carry on with impunity the fight against the proletarian power. The persecution of the Bolsheviks by the government of Kerensky and Tzeretelli you found quite normal and natural. The shooting at the leaders of

the working class by the S.R. terrorists you sanction and legitimize. You consider the effort of the Bolsheviks to bind the hands of the murderers as an unnatural, unlawful, savage act of dictatorship. The Second International which assists the bourgeois governments in strangling the revolution does not admit the right of the Workers' Government to settle with its irreconcilable enemies. To the Government of the "Masters" everything is permitted; for the Government of the "Plebeians" the pious Social Democrats will prescribe the rules of "pious" behavior.

The workers of Europe will remain *slaves* so long as they do not rid themselves of their dishonest, hypocritical leaders who are serving the bourgeoisie.

What do the defenders of the S.R.'s want? Why does the Second International act as chief defender of the S.R. Party? In defending the S.R.'s, the Georgian Mensheviks and the Armenian Dashnyaks, Citizens Vandervelde, MacDonald and Paul Faure defend the people whom the Entente "needs". Only hypocrites can dispute the fact that the Russian S.R.'s and the Caucasian Social Democrats are the direct agents of the Entente. The S.R.'s "work" for the most part with French money. As the Central Committee of the S.R. Party obtained money from the French Government in 1918, through the mediation of the Danish Government, so does the S.R. Party at present obtain French money through the mediation of Czecho-Slovakia. Our Czecho-Slovakian comrades have already addressed an inquiry on this question to the Czecho-Slovak Parliament. The Armenian and Georgian politicians who out of work, likewise find themselves in perfect spiritual and material "contact" with the government of the French Stock Exchange. The inference to be drawn is, that the noble pathos of Vandervelde and MacDonald has a very prosaic lining, the defense of the political agents of the Entente.

But this is not all. The Social Democratic defenders hope to be able to make use of the S.R. cause for their own purposes. In their stupidity they hope to profit from the cause of the S.R.'s and the Mensheviks. They hope to compromise the Communists in the eyes of the workers and by this means to *hinder the formation of the united front*. They commend the S.R.'s, exaggerate their services in the struggle against Czarism, hush up their criminal fight against the Soviet Government, write lying reports about the Soviet prisons, (they seem to be of the opinion that the Soviet prisons be converted into political clubs), publish indignant articles of protest and draw up resolutions against the "red terror". They, the Social Democratic leaders, who have the White Terror on their conscience, hope in this manner to convince the workers that the Communists are beasts in human form.

No, they will not succeed! They will not succeed in deceiving the workers of Europe with regard to the S.R.'s and the Mensheviks. On the contrary; this time the European Social Democrats will only cut their own fingers, as the workers, after their interest in the S.R.'s and Mensheviks has been won, will come to know the *whole truth* concerning them. Thanks to the study of the Russian social traitors the European workers will know what they have to expect from their Social Democratic leaders in the days of the decisive struggles against the bourgeoisie. *The defense of the Russian strikebreakers of the revolution by the Social Democratic attorneys will have detrimental consequences for the Social Democracy. These gentlemen will unmask themselves before the working class.*

The history of the struggle against the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s is the history of the struggle for the revolution and against the traitors. This history will teach the workers of Europe to hate the Social Democratic flunkies of the bourgeoisie who are defending the enemies of the first proletarian republic of the world.